THE GENRE OF TELEVISION NEWS: GRAMMAR, RHETORIC, AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

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Sandra Dueck

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APPROVAL

NAME: Sandra Dueck

DEGREE: Master of Arts

TITLE OF THESIS: The Genre of Television News: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Politics of Representation

Examining Committee:

Chair: June Sturrock

Richard M. Coe
Senior Supervisor
Professor of English

Nancy Hedberg
Assistant Professor
Department of Linguistics, SFU

Robert A. Hackett
Associate Professor
School of Communication, SFU

James R. Martin
External Examiner
Associate Professor of Linguistics
University of Sydney, NSW, Australia

Date Approved: December 5, 1995

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The Genre of Television News: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Politics of Representation

Author:
(signature)

Sandra Dueck
(name)

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Abstract

Speech is shaped by syntactic rules. New Genre theory suggests it is also shaped by specific, recurrent social contexts. Being socially constructed, rules governing genres rhetorically reflect biases or world views of speakers who participate in them. Yet while speakers exercise choice in their utterances, world views too are socially shaped. Based on the premise that syntactic, rhetorical, and generic constraints are concomitant, this thesis develops a methodology combining Systemic Linguistics and the Pentad to show that, given two different utterances within the same genre, aspects of syntax are rhetorically significant in differentiating them. Similarities can be attributed to conventions of the genre, differences to world views of the speakers.

The "utterances" compared are transcripts of two televised accounts of the same story (the British Columbia government's land-use decision on old-growth forest in Clayoquot Sound) as reported by BCTV, privately owned affiliate of CTV, and CBC, publicly owned national broadcaster. Superficial genre-specific similarities are evident: both are hosted by an anchor, about the same story, and divided into two segments which are also about the same things (current reactions to, and future consequences of the decision). Yet in their construal of semantic field, positioning of speaker and hearer, and mode of development, they diverge significantly, producing different rhetorical/ideological effects. BCTV takes a pragmatic/individualist stance with an (unwarranted) assumption of trepidation, CBC an idealist/liberal one with (unjustified) confidence.

Chapter 1 identifies semantic Field, categorising components of the clause--noun and verb phrases--to show BCTV focuses on loss of income, CBC on fairness. Rhetorically, these focii are biases of Agency and Purpose.

Chapter 2 examines how mood and tense construct Tenor, positioning speaker and hearer within utterances to reflect rhetorical Attitude: BCTV construes the future as fixed, worrisome; CBC as an ongoing process of conflict resolution.

Chapter 3 compares structuring Modes. It posits and defines a bridging unit between clause and segment, designated "passage." Like clauses and genres, passages demonstrate recurring structural features

indicating ideological organisation: BCTV foregrounds the narrator, an Agentive bias; CBC presents issues from several perspectives, a Scenic bias.

Although they function within the same generic constraints, these accounts present different versions of the story, informed by different world-views, abbreviated as ratios of the Pentadic terms: [(Agency/Agent)+Attitude] (BCTV), and [(Purpose/Scene)+Attitude] (CBC). The rhetorical Act of this thesis offers potential for teaching basic discourse analytical concepts of grammar, rhetoric, genre, and the politics of representation.

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INTRODUCTION

But first the notion that man has a body
distinct from his soul is to be expunged;
this I shall do by printing in the infernal method,
by corrosives
which in Hell are salutary and medicinal,
melting apparent surfaces away,
and displaying the infinite which was hid.

William Blake

Speech is shaped by syntactic rules. Following Bakhtin, New Genre theory suggests it is also shaped by specific, recurrent social contexts, that all utterances are linked within the already-existing web of human communication. Not just any utterance is acceptable in a specific context, either. Generic conventions arise to give form to utterances. Just as individual words acquire "meaning," taking on significance only when placed in a context of other words, so too "[any speaker] presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances--his own and others'--with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another . . .. Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances" ("The Problem of Speech Genres" 69).

Following Bakhtin, these discursive fields have come to be called "speech genres." And the constraints on speakers as they link their own utterances within these chains are identified as "generic conventions." The concept of genre seems like a logical extension of syntax. When we construct sentences we follow a set of rules specific to the language we are using. And it seems evident that even if they are not as clearly identifiable as syntactic rules, we follow similar kinds of rules when we speak on specific occasions, and in specific places. But it is one thing to assert their existence, another to show them in action. The main problem is that even though there do seem to be rules governing what can be said, individuals still have a great deal of freedom to say diverse things within those rules.

In order to develop a methodology which can show how both generic constraints and speaker choice work to construct meaning, a combined analysis of language and context--that is, of grammatical and rhetorical features--is needed. Such an analysis shows that grammar and rhetoric are not separate levels of meaning, but inextricably bound together. Syntactic/grammatical choices have rhetorical implications: it

means something when you choose an imperative command over an interrogative offer. And rhetorical features of utterances are constructed from syntactic components--from noun and verb phrases, from groups of clauses.

Such a method can be synthesised by combining M.A.K. Halliday's systemic linguistics with aspects of the New Rhetorical theories of Kenneth Burke. Systemic linguists show connections between syntax and semantics, but their analysis of context has been confined to the non-semantic categories of class, gender, and ethnicity. On the other hand Burke does make connections between context and semantics, but his analysis does not relate semantics to specific syntactic features. By combining these techniques a systematic analysis can be produced, showing how syntax, semantics, and context function simultaneously to construct meaning in all utterances.

Systemic linguistics uses a structural approach to language. It treats language as a series of subsystems which are operated when speakers select from among numerous subsystems or menus. We choose declarative or imperative mood, active or passive voice, past or present tense, we allocate subject and predicate positions, and much more, all before we have uttered a sound. Systemic linguists then group these sub-systems into related clusters which can be analysed for their contribution to the semantic meaning: some of them contribute to content, some contribute to identifying the position of the speaker in relation to the hearer and the topic, and some contribute to structuring the utterance syntactically.

This idea of linguistic selection from sub-systems is similar to Burke's pentad, which he uses to categorise different possible perspectives from which to describe situations. Instead of hundreds of subsystems, though, he uses only five, which is why the name "pentad." They are Agent, Scene, Agency, Purpose, and Act. All utterances will contain each of these aspects, but speakers inevitably emphasise some of them over others. This emphasis represents ideological bias or preference, it reveals the social context within which the speaker is situated, and it too is present before a word is uttered.

As the following analysis shows, Burke's and Halliday's systems can usefully merge and complement each other in the overlapping area of semantics. Such an analysis, rigorously rooted in language, avoids the essentialism inherent in the analysis of subject positions, without denying their role in discursive practices or in the construction of knowledge/power relations.

1. Linguistics

In his seminal work "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin complained that "The vast majority of linguists . . . see in the utterance only an individual combination of purely linguistic (lexical and grammatical) forms ("Speech Genres" 81). This view was unorthodox in 1952, when he was writing this essay. But subsequent to the publication of "Speech Genres," there is a growing body of research corroborating Bakhtin's insights, suggesting that no "utterances" are possible, or at least they are not comprehensible, outside of appropriate occasions for their expression, which implies a community of hearers able to understand and respond to the messages. Some linguists such as M. A. K. Halliday have posited theories which show syntax inherently linked to social context through semantics.

Halliday was influenced by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's innovative cultural research practices which Halliday describes as "the kind of commentary that placed the text in its living environment" (*Language, Context and Text* 6). For Halliday, as for Malinowski, language can only be understood as arising from specific, concrete contexts: "Ultimately all the meaning of all words is derived from bodily experience" (cited in *Language, Context and Text* 6).

Halliday uses an analogy to systems theory to explain systemic linguistics as a description of the linguistic code: although immense, the code itself is finite; on the other hand, the messages speakers construct by combining elements of the code are infinite. In Halliday's model, set out in *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985), which he also calls systemic linguistics, utterances are constructed from a series of open-ended dynamic systems where speakers select options from a range of ever more specific "menus," which become progressively more constrained as they move toward realisation in lexical choices.

The clause is the basic syntactic vehicle for expressing these combined choices. Halliday shows how aspects of the context of situation which he identifies as the ideational/experiential, the textual, and the interpersonal are realised within the clause through constituent units such as phrases, groups, and words. For example the clause

Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island

can be analysed for aspects of context as follows:

1) The ideas or experiences it reflects about the world--These are realised as noun, verb, and prepositional phrases--or in systemic linguistic terms, as Participants, Processes, and Circumstances. These constituents are analysed for the way they combine syntactically to construe the world in words. Here, the noun phrases, *Clayoquot Sound, area, west coast of Vancouver Island* tell us we are talking about geographical location. The verb *is* joins the concepts on either side of it in an identifying Process--the entity on the left is identified or defined by the entity on the right. Finally, the prepositional phrase reports the location or Circumstance of being on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

2) The interpersonal relations it implies between speaker and hearer--As Bakhtin's analogy of utterances as links in a complex chain suggests, every utterance presupposes a speaker and a hearer, realised by "I" and "you." Whether explicitly present in the clause or not, these positions can be retrieved by analysing the mood. For example, they are implied in the example above, and could be made explicit in a declarative clause such as "I say to you that Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island." The tone set by this message differs from that of a question--"I ask do you know where and what exactly is Clayoquot Sound?" or a command, "I order you, Clayoquot Sound, BE an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island!"

3) The textual elements which give structure to the message--Based on a modified form of subject/predicate relations in traditional grammars, designated in systemic linguistics as Theme/Rheme, this has to do with the organisation of Given or already familiar information in combination with New information which the speaker wants to provide. Here, *Clayoquot Sound* foregrounds or Thematises a familiar (because already Given by the previous co-text) proper name of a geographical area--and signals hearers to prepare to receive, in the following Rheme, New information about that area, which they might not already know: that it *is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island.*

Next, to make the links between grammar and semantics, Halliday systematically maps these aspects of syntax onto an elaborated version of the register system, consisting of three parts: ideational/experiential aspects are realised as semantic content in the Field; the interpersonal aspects of the utterance are conveyed primarily by the mood, which establishes Tenor; and the structuring textual aspects of the utterance as determined by the relationship between Theme/Rheme and Given/New are examined in

the Mode. The register of an utterance is determined by the combined analysis of these accumulated features.

Halliday's model of the register system corresponds closely to the model posited by Foucault's "enunciative modalities," which positions the speaking subject within the discourse by examining that position from the three parallel aspects--who is speaking, where do they speak from, and what can be said from within these sites (50-53). With Tenor, Mode, and Field, Halliday offers a more grounded way of explaining these aspects.

2. Genre

Although the growing outline of Halliday's system is becoming visible in the work of systemic linguists, the system itself is massive and not yet fully understood or described. Though complete enough to supply an adequate framework for producing suggestive genre analyses, such as those made by J. R. Martin, this is a work in progress.

In his comparative work on writing in academic genres (for example in the article "Life as a Noun: Arresting the Universe in Science and Humanities," Martin shows how the Registers of each use regular, recurring forms, which differ from discipline to discipline because of the generic conventions each works within. His application allows for a flexible and complex approach, enabling analysts to identify different genres within disciplines and to make larger distinctions between disciplines as well. Martin says of his own approach to genre, that it "amounts to characterizing social context as a system of genres" ("Genre and Literacy" 142).

Insofar as my own analysis is concerned with the grammatical and semantic aspects of genre, it is modeled to a large extent on Martin's application of systemic linguistics. But our different purposes lead to different analyses. He does connect genre to social context and thence to ideology, but because he is interested in promoting awareness of the way syntax shapes and influences pedagogical discourses, his analysis of genre remains focused on linguistic aspects of utterances, particularly as they are realised by syntactic and semantic forms. The syntactic category of Theme in the clause is metaphorically extended to a semantic analysis of paragraphs (as hyper-theme), and to entire utterances (as macro-theme) ("Life as a Noun" 244-251).

I, on the other hand, want a methodology for analysing genre which conveys concepts of academic writing, including grammar, and rhetoric, and allows for a semantic analysis which promotes critical awareness of the role language plays in shaping the utterances of others and oneself. While I want to show that larger semantic units are conditioned by or composed of accumulated clauses, they are not clausal themselves. These units have generic features in their own right, as well as contributing to the structure of other genres, and they cannot be defined solely as extensions of the clause. For my purposes these larger semantic units constitute a discrete intermediary level between syntax and genre, and require an additional vocabulary to adequately describe their role in the system. Martin describes genres as "staged goal-oriented social processes," a useful image which I want to extend to these larger units as well.

Second, because we are writing for different purposes, our analysis of ideology differs as well. His is based on the subject positions occupied by speakers within different genres (e.g., class, gender, ethnicity)--looking for differences and similarities in discourses of authority, and of "right" and "wrong" student responses. I am comparing different utterances in the same genre, by speakers occupying similar subject positions, to find evidence of different world view, bias, ideology. And again I need a different terminology to discuss ideology than that provided by considering subject position.

3. Rhetoric

Traditionally the semantic aspects of generic language have been the domain of rhetoric--arrangement, invention etc. And the social construction of world view has been the domain of rhetoric as well, in its analysis of persuasive tactics: "Rhetoric [comprises] both the use of persuasive resources (*rhetorica utens*, as with the *Philippics* of Demosthenes), and the study of them (*rhetorica docens*, as with Aristotle's treatise on the "art" of Rhetoric)" (*Rhetoric* 36). But rhetorical analyses are not typically concerned with articulating the relationship between semantics and syntax.

So while I have modeled the syntactic analysis of genre on Martin's, I have adapted and modified the semantic aspect to highlight rhetorical aspects. For example, in order to make the connection between syntax and semantics, I posit a larger unit of meaning above the clause, which I have designated as passage (also known as "paragraph" or "topic"), and classified according to type, based on their generic features.

In order to show the generic nature of ideologies, I have used the New Rhetorical theories of Kenneth Burke, whose work suggests that like clauses and passages, world views too have regular recurring features which can be identified as semantically organised patterns.

Drawing, like Halliday from the work of Malinowski, Burke also sees language situated in the "context of situation" in which it arises, and he suggests that the linguistic encoding will be a response to external, not necessarily linguistic circumstances (*Rhetoric* 205-6). Although there are many parallels between his theories of rhetorical structures and Halliday's linguistic ones, Burke lacked the metalinguistic vocabulary and the analytical techniques which structural linguists have developed, consequently his theories are not as well defined as Systemic Linguistics. As a result, his work is complex and not readily summarised. In the summary which follows, I have tried to show similarities between Burke and more recent lines of inquiry emerging from poststructural theory, as well as Halliday's linguistic ones.

Briefly, for Aristotle and the classical rhetoricians, the study of rhetoric was the study of contests or "agons" enacted through language on formal public occasions. For Burke, the basic function of rhetoric is the use of words by human agents on all occasions, private as well as public, informal as well as formal, "to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents." Rather than being aimed at producing decisive outcomes for participants, it is "rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols" (*Rhetoric* 41). Shared language builds human communities. Persuasion is innate, but it need not be overt, in fact it most frequently is not. In its covert or unmarked aspect, Burke refers to it as "identification," rather than persuasion (*Language* 19-46).

This corresponds to Foucault's theory of micro relations of power, where discourses are constructed cooperatively by individuals who identify themselves with, or who are "situated in" institutional projects (e.g. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and *Discipline and Punish*). But in *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke's rhetoric goes further in describing the ways that discursive power is realised differently in different discourses and by different speakers. He shows that all speakers use ideological models in constructing their arguments. These models, which he calls "motives," are not specific to individuals, but the shared, socially constructed substance of all of our utterances. He says they are based on "universal principles" of discourse.

For Burke, these "universal principles" are the essence of the rhetorical. The extent to which we are able to realise them in our speech marks our knowledge of the world, the extent to which we learn to recognise them is the aim of rhetorical pedagogy.

For Aristotle and the classical rhetoricians, the "topics" around which speakers constructed their arguments were notional--generated from the speaker's own common-sense knowledge of the world. Burke shows that such topics are systematically incorporated as part of these larger models (*Grammar* 292-3). He suggests that the application of universal principles in speech can be sorted into patterns composed of different sets of motives. They are recurrent features of all speech situations, and speakers use different combinations of them to construct different world views or ideologies. In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke presents an extended definition of each of the patterns he identifies, combined into a theory he called "Dramatism." He defines dramatism as "a method of analysis and a corresponding critique of terminology designed to show that the most direct route to the study of human relations and human motives is via a methodical inquiry into cycles or clusters of terms and their functions" ("Dramatism" 445). Part of the methodology he developed for pursuing this inquiry, he called "the Pentad." He originally suggested five categories (hence the name "Pentad"): scene, agent, act, agency, and purpose (he later added a sixth, which I shall also be using--attitude). These terms are derived from medieval rhetoric, which in turn were based on Aristotelian categories (outlined in the Nichomachean Ethics).

They are similar to the contemporary "5-W's" heuristic used by journalists for encompassing all aspects of a story: who, what, where, when, and why? However, when used in journalism, this heuristic device often functions as an algorithm, prompting the reporter to simply fill in the blanks. When used by Burke, it becomes an analytical tool capable of describing complex and subtle ideological patterns in utterances.

This meta-model of world views shares many features in common with Halliday's concept of syntax as systemic: just as speakers select from the mood system whether a clause will be declarative, imperative, or interrogative, so too they select whether they will use narrative or logical forms, that is, whether they will have an Agentive or a Scenic bias (*Rhetoric* 364-65).

In positing the idea of universal principles, Burke also anticipated Lyotard and the so-called "master narratives"--the narratives identified as respectively of truth (knowledge for its own sake) where "the subject of knowledge is not the people, but the speculative spirit" (Lyotard 33), and of justice (freely paraphrased as knowledge for the good of society). In *The Post-Modern Condition*, Lyotard suggests that one or other of these master narratives forms the structuring paradigm of all major post-Enlightenment discourses in the Western world.

Burke goes further than Lyotard in suggesting discursive differences by which each type of narrative can be identified. In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke offers what could be called a prototypical genre analysis to show how different philosophical schools and approaches fit into these categories in order to illustrate his definitions. In Burke's model, discourses which are constructed around individuals, and/or which personify abstract entities, may be loosely equated with Lyotard's narrative of "truth," in Burke's terms described as Agent-based discourses. Whereas discourses constructed around material or socially motivated analyses--discourses of "justice" in Lyotard's model--will generally produce what he calls a Scenic bias.

Lyotard offers these two as the only alternatives. While they may indeed be two dominant ones, as Burke himself suggests (*Grammar* 11), Burke identifies several recognizably recurring universal principles which continue in play alongside these two in social discourse generally: the instrumental or "pragmatic" Agency, the mystic discourses of Purpose, and the self-reflexive or "realist" construal of Act, which he ranks alongside Scene and Agent in importance (the quoted adjectives are from Charles Kneupper's useful applied Pentadic analysis, cited in Coe, *Process* 154), and finally there are the specifics of Attitude, which seems to imbue and pervade all utterances.

Although all human situations or dramas involve all of these components, speakers select which aspects to emphasise. Any utterance, Burke suggests, will inevitably focus on one or more of these elements at the expense of some other of them, as the organising principle of the discourse and of its world view. And when the dominant ones in a specific utterance are identified, they can be analysed by examining what he called the "ratios" among them (*Grammar* 3-20). This concept of ratio produces a nuanced and complex analysis which Lyotard's sketch lacks. And again, there is congruence with Halliday's model: world views

are made up of a combination of ideological systems, just as clauses are made up of accumulated selections from a variety of syntactic systems.

By combining Burke's system with Halliday's it is possible to analyse the informing ideological structures of any utterance, situated in the specific syntactic features of that utterance. This produces a significantly different approach to the analysis of ideology than those based on the "subject-position" of the speaker as identified by membership in the categories of class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and some others. These categories are problematic in that they define individuals as members of a group, and do not account for differences among speakers within the same group. Eleanor Roosevelt and Margaret Thatcher occupy similar subject-positions in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity, and yet in terms of the ideology or world views as presented in their words, they are literally worlds apart.

Burke's system looks at language as symbolic action (in fact that is the title of one of his major works), and for him this means, among other things, that "language is primarily a species of action, or expression of attitudes" ("Dramatism" 447). At the time Burke was developing his ideas about language the study of linguistics was in the state which Bakhtin complained about-- linguists were only interested in "purely linguistic (lexical and grammatical) forms" ("Speech Genres" 81). The theories about syntax as a kind of "symbolic action," and its relation to semantics were being worked out by the Prague School, but not widely known in the English-speaking world. Because he was interested is the "expressive" aspects of language, since it is here that the "action" he refers to takes place, he did not focus on syntax. Despite this, his analyses of contexts of situation are semantic and clearly rooted in specific concrete texts (frequently literary texts since he has a formidable reputation as a literary critic), rather than in the psychological make-up of individual speakers. Although he does not ignore this aspect of communication, he is interested in looking for instances of a type repeated in numerous individual utterances ranging across the most formal public occasions to the least formal gossip among intimates, rather than exploring the idiosyncracies of any particular speaker.

While there is no doubt that the categories of class, gender, and ethnicity do have bearing on the analysis, a more precise analysis can be made by first looking at actual structural (i.e. syntactic and semantic) features of utterances to determine what symbolic action or expression of attitudes they embody,

and then determining who is authorised to take such actions or to express such attitudes. This avoids the essentialism of the class/gender/ethnicity approach, and grounds the analysis in language.

In making such an analysis, the most outstanding advantage Burke's system offers is an avoidance of the polarisation between good and evil which characterises much analysis of ideology. For Burke, no utterance is innocent of ideological bias, neither the one being critiqued nor the one offering the critique. Burke recognises that any selection of one of these sets of terms or motives eliminates another; this bias will generally go undetected by those who use the terminology, and so it is up to individuals and groups whose interests are not served by the proffered terms, to unmask the vested interests within them:

> [A] human terminology of motives is necessarily partial; accordingly, whatever its claims to universal validity, its "principles" favor the interests of some group more than others; and one may look to opposing theorists for discoveries that "unmask" [demystify, we would say now] the partisan limitations lurking in speciously "universal" principles.
>
> Any such "unmasking" of an ideology's limitations is itself made from a limited point of view. but each such limited perspective can throw light upon the relation between the universal principles of an ideology and the special interests which they are consciously made to serve (*Rhetoric* 198).

That is, ideologies must be used to interrogate each other, or at least the users of those ideologies must interrogate the ideologies of their competitors. This has to do, I think, with his views on negation. If we negate one world view, we are always doing so by means of another (*Language* 419). In my analysis, I have tried to show how this dynamic perspective works by comparing two utterances which construct the same world from systematically different points of view.

However, Burke offers no easy way to apply his method. The system he outlines in *A Grammar of Motives* forms the basis, or at least contains the central themes much of his other work revolves around. He wrote in a series of loosely connected aphoristic texts, "with a set of terms that mutually or circularly imply one another" as he himself said of other work in another context, and his work resists linear applications (*Language* 365). In my use of his theories here, I have relied on a reading strategy suggested by Richard Coe, who says Burke understands that "language develops by metaphorical extension" into successively larger units, and also that "Language allows us to name on various levels of generalization or abstraction, for our verbal categories are like Chinese boxes: *animal* envelopes *mammal* envelopes *primate* envelopes *human being* envelopes *Kenneth Burke*" ("A Better Life" 11).

Following Burke, Coe suggests readers begin by looking for key terms, seeing how they are clustered, looking for relations between clusters, and from these clusters, identifying the pivotal terms and root metaphors which organise the discourse. I have adopted this method in this analysis, applying it not just to single words, but to phrases, clauses and passages as well.

Useful as Burke's multiply constructed perspective is, and helpful as Coe's reading strategy is for sorting it out, Burke's methods can still seem intuitive and notional. I believe his theories are based on his own profound if unarticulated sense of the relationship between grammar and rhetoric. His choice of the title *A Grammar of Motives* indicates his awareness of this connection. This study is an effort to develop a methodology which will make his concepts both more systematic and more accessible, though no doubt at the cost of simplifying and even flattening Burke's original work. And although the results presented here are promising, more research is required to determine what if any empirically identifiable discursive basis there is for Burke's original Pentadic categories.

Here, I have simply mapped these categories onto the aspects of syntax identified by systemic linguistics, as they are generically organised. To do this, I have nad to modify and adapt Martin's original model considerably. However, I have found the continual contrast between his model and my application a productive source of insight into genre.

4. Television News: Values

The "utterances" compared are transcripts of two televised newscasts of the same story. Newscasts are ubiquitous, hence familiar examples of "official" public discourse, and thus the world views they present will be familiar as well. To a large extent electronic media make possible whatever sense of human community we can have when organized in such large units as the nation-state, the information society, or the global village. And broadcast television newscasts engage in the work of upholding official public meaning on a massive scale: they are one node in the web of meanings and significations disseminated by other official institutional sites. The potential for abuse--deliberate or inadvertent--in enforcing conformity to a set of standards determined by groups with access to such communication systems, and a vested interest

in establishing certain social configurations, is great. And the need for an informed public who can "read" and evaluate such messages is correspondingly important.

The inherent bias or ideology present in all discourses has been widely recognised, although strategies for demonstrating how it works have been more difficult to come by. O'Sullivan et. al. summarise Althusser's 1971 definition in *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies* that, "no specific discourse . . . is exempt from ideology. Instead, there are at any one time numbers of contending ideological discourses in play within an overall social formation, and . . . what is at stake in the way they are produced, deployed, regulated, institutionalized and resisted is not only knowledge but also power" (142). The differences in the two newscasts I have compared corroborate the idea of "contending ideological positions" engaged implicitly in a struggle to define a significant site of social conflict. What Burke and Halliday can offer to this discussion is a way of charting the ideological significance of these different utterances by showing how they are systematically built up from different sets of terminologies.

The transcripts are taken from two locally originating six o'clock newscasts: BCTV, affiliate of the privately owned national broadcasting consortium CTV, and the CBC, publicly owned national broadcaster. Both are conventional, mainstream newscasts. The story itself is about one of the British Columbia government's land-use decisions on old-growth forest in Clayoquot Sound. The story was featured by both stations on the six o'clock newscasts Wednesday April 14, 1993 (as the opening story on BCTV, and as the second one on the CBC). It was also the top story on the previous day when the decision was first announced, and it continued to feature in a minor way for several days afterwards. Of the several major stories I could have selected from my data, I chose this one because it is what Burke might call a "representative anecdote," a story which serves as "a summation, containing implicitly what the system that is developed from it contains explicitly" (*Grammar* 60). This anecdote reveals different world views or ideologies in the course of touching on many important historical and political issues, even as it reveals the different syntactic, rhetorical, and generic principles by which each account is constructed.

Both newscasts represent essentially the same "subject position": both are authoritative examples of public discourse. They have composite speakers and thus are not gendered or otherwise identifiable by subject position, although an argument could be made that these collective speakers are mostly male, middle

class, white. However, as they would still occupy similar subject positions such an analysis would not significantly differentiate them.

There are differences, however. BCTV has the highest provincial audience share for all newscasts originating in B. C. from 1990-1993. For 1993, the year my data was collected, the audience share of BCTV was 52%, the CBC 9%. (from Bureau of Broadcast Measurement figures generously provided by BCTV). This difference is reflected in advertising rates: BCTV's rate for a 30-second spot on the news during the peak fall-to-spring season was approximately $3500.00, the rate on CBC approximately $700.00 for the same length of time during the same period.

Like academic genres, newscasts have common values, some of which overlap with academic ones, some of which are genre-specific. O'Sullivan et al. offer a comprehensive definition of some genre-specific news values in *Key Concepts*, which I present here in abbreviated form:

1) News values prioritize stories about events that are recent, sudden, unambiguous, predictable, relevant and close (to the 'home' culture/class/religion).
2) Such events happen all the time without becoming newsworthy. Priority is given to stories about the economy, governmental politics, industry, foreign affairs of state, domestic affairs--either of conflict or human interest, disasters or sport.
3) Within such stories, priority is given to personalization, conflict, violence, reference to elite nations (USA, USSR, UK, Europe, Japan), reference to elite people, negativity (bad news).
4) Less agreeable news values can often be shown to be in play, including metropolitanism . . . racism, patriarchy . . naturalization . . . consensus (everyone shares the worldview of the sub-editor or middle management).
5) News stories have to appeal to the supposed interests of the readers/viewers, so they must be commonsensical, entertaining, dramatic, like fiction (good stories), glamorous, visual, about showbiz, about television.
6) Stories must be compatible with institutional routines, so events must be diary events . . ., or already covered in another news outlet, in press releases or in agency reports (202).

Comprehensive as this definition seeks to be, however, it falls prey to commenting on news in general without distinguishing the "contending social forces" at play in public discourse. And yet power and knowledge are constructed differently by each of these newscasts. While there are strong structural similarities, they diverge significantly in their construal of semantic field, mode of development, and positioning of speaker and hearer, producing different rhetorical/ideological effects. Based on the definition of news values above, both of these accounts feature recent unambiguous occurrences; they are about government politics, the economy and industry; but only BCTV tends to personalise the issues, CBC prefers

a more analytic approach; the BCTV account is characterised by what O'Sullivan et al. call "metropolitanism" (which they further define as an undue focus on London), but here it might be realised in the fact that unlike CBC, BCTV did not have a camera and reporter on location, although this is not evident in the visual aspects of the story, and thus remains a submerged feature of the account; both accounts seek to establish consensus, to present their views as "natural," and they both appeal to the interests of the audience, although they construe consensus and audience interests differently. And they both do, of course, contain visual aspects, since the visual is the essence of television. This is one of the defining imperatives of its presentation not an ideological "choice," unlike the traits of "glamour" and "showbiz" with which it is (negatively) associated in this definition. As Marshall McLuhan, and many others since him have noted, media do shape communication--the visual imperative shapes television just as it differently shapes printed texts. And it is the premise of this thesis that language itself is the ultimate medium, giving shape to all else. What is of interest is how these different media work in specific texts, what specific choices have speakers made about how to use them, from what possible range have they made their choices, and what are the different effects of these different choices?

My data indicate that BCTV does reflect many of the ideological biases which are said to define "news values." There is a strong pragmatic concern with economic survival, which Burke would associate with the motive of Agency; there is a demonstrable focus on the individual and the personal--for Burke, a bias of Agent; and finally, the account assumes an Attitude of trepidation toward the future survival of the forest industry in B. C. In doing so, BCTV is implicitly critical of the mildly social democratic provincial government, while at the same time approving its stance towards the demands of environmentalists who precipitated the issue and the story. In fact though, environmental concerns are not the primary motive of this story, criticism of the government is. This is evident in their relatively limited coverage of this important environmental story, and their contrasting extensive critical coverage of many aspects of the government, in this story, elsewhere in this newscast, and throughout my data sample.

The CBC on the other hand, embodies many of the positive values implicitly expressed by O'Sullivan et al. in their definition of mainstream news values. The CBC is concerned with the principles of balance and consensus, a motive of Purpose; they focus on issues rather than on personalities, preferring to

show several speakers presenting issues from different perspectives--a Scenic bias. And in terms of Attitude, the CBC expresses confidence in the ongoing process of negotiation by which the conflict will be resolved. However, despite their effort to present the issue fairly, there are some notable gaps in their coverage. Nowhere in this newscast, nor in their extensive coverage of this story on other days, do they feature a forest industry representative presenting the case for labour and industry; yet this is a legitimate member of the category "interest groups" as established by the internal logic of the CBC perspective. Although many British Columbians are concerned about environmental protection, the forest industry is important to the entire provincial economy, its future is a matter of concern to many British Columbians, and the CBC account has failed to include this aspect in their coverage. BCTV demonstrates a canny awareness of audience lacking in the CBC account, and does address this concern, albeit in a partisan fashion. This may go a long way toward explaining the continuing success of BCTV in drawing an audience. Again I have found Burke's heuristic useful in using these ideologies to "unmask" each other.

5. Television News: Structure

The tendency to overgeneralisation in definitions of "news values," such as the one offered by O'Sullivan et al. above, may arise because it is difficult to find sensitive enough tools to demonstrate these differences. These two accounts are structurally similar, and it is difficult to show that perceived differences in content reflect anything more than the subjective perceptions of individual audience members, many of whom will be more or less conscious of these features. For this reason, the analysis of syntax has been useful in empirically demonstrating the systematic ideologically significant differences between the two.

Strong, genre-specific superficial similarities are immediately evident: both are hosted by an anchor, both are about the same story, and both are divided into two segments which are also about the same things: Segment 1 deals with current reactions to the decision, and Segment 2 with its expected future consequences, as the following diagram shows:

Anchor-Intro. Anchor: Intro. Anchor: New story

Segment 1 Segment 2

Furthermore, each segment is also divided into levels, with the anchor serving to present the high level introductions, the reporter acting as mediator between anchor, audience, and interview subjects, and the interview subjects themselves functioning to provide evidence or corroboration for the higher level claims.

Level 1: Anchor

Level 2: Reporter

Level 3: Interview Subject

The transcripts in the Appendices contain the complete text of each account, but because I am concerned with the structure of the newscast, or the way it imposes form on events, the main focus of this analysis has been Levels 1 and 2, although Level 3 is also included in parts of the analysis.

6. Literature

In constructing this genre analysis, there have not been many models which I could follow. Martin's has been useful, but our different audiences and purposes have required different forms. Genre theory is new, and although there is an emerging body of media analysis which is based on Halliday's system, it has not yet produced applied genre analyses. Researchers working with this model (among them Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew; and Hodge and Kress) want to suggest a general systemic model for thinking about utterances (Hodge and Kress 129). Some of them do discuss the need for an account of the intermediary level above the clause. Eric Steiner suggests several, among them the sociolinguistic theories of W. Labov and also the theory of discourse schemas which link syntax to larger generic features of utterances (in Chilton 215-230, and n. 227). To my knowledge, there are no analyses of News which combine systemic linguistics, and rhetoric in the way I have done here.

And while the Pentad lends itself to genre analysis, Pentadic analyses typically focus on larger rhetorical features of language, though the potential application of Burke's rhetoric to the analysis of genre in combination with the systemic linguistics has been noted by other researchers. In her seminal 1984 paper "Genre as Social Action," Carolyn Miller suggests Burke's theory of symbolic action as a way of analysing what she first identified as the "recurrent situations" which give rise to genres. She offered a three-level

analysis of genre, which at the lowest level described the role of grammar, moved through to genre and then to social context. As she said: "A rhetorically sound definition of genre must be centered not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish" ("Genre as Social Action" 152). More recently, however, she says she is unsure "whether the semiotic relationships still pertain at levels higher than the genre"--that is at the ideological level, and nor can she say "whether these levels are usefully described as being connected by sets of constitutive and regulative rules" ("Rhetorical Community" 3). As I have tried to show in my analysis, however, the rhetorical or ideological is just as basic to, or constitutive of, syntactic units, as syntax is of larger units.

Within the analysis of television news there is a structural approach emerging which is similar in focus to that presented here. Analysts such as Gruneau and Hackett, in "The Production of TV News," offer structural accounts of specific television news stories, by examining "the cultural codes by which TV news bulletin items are put together to 'create reality'" (281). Researchers working in this model look at what can be learned from the surface of the newscast itself: how pieces of the story are edited together, what kind of shots are used and in what sequence, what kinds of "pressures and limits" are placed on the production of news, what conventional representations are used, and what kinds of ideological interpretations these constructions can yield. Although they tend to downplay the role of language, saying that "[as] a primarily visual medium, television has difficulty accommodating complex and detailed verbal narrative" (285), I think the structural analysis of language presented here forms a compatible supplement to their work, by showing that narrative does play an important role in delivering the ideological message of the newscast.

Because space does not permit an extensive analysis of the way in which visuals and narrative work together, here I have been able to only briefly indicate them in the transcripts, and in Chapter 2, when examining their role in topic shift.

7. Method

In order to collect data, I videotaped both newscasts for a period of three weeks. As part of my research the BCTV newsroom generously permitted me to work as a volunteer "newsroom researcher" during the period of my data collection, which enabled me to watch, work with, and interview newsroom staff. This information is incorporated in the discussion, where applicable.

Chapter 1 identifies the semantic field by simply listing noun and verb phrases, and "clustering" them in similar categories or sub-fields. In "pure" systemic linguistic analyses, Field is usually determined by looking at the transitivity relationships construed by Participants and Processes. But the information produced by an analysis of transitivity is more detailed than my purpose requires since it could be argued that semantic content is not a stable indicator of ideology--that the patterns noted in a particular account may be specific to it and not found elsewhere. Although I think further analysis of a larger sample would tend to show these patterns remaining stable over time, this sample is too small to draw firm conclusions, only to note tendencies.

Chapter 2 looks at position of speaker within the discourse. Here the verb phrases are most significant, both in determining mood, and also tense.

Chapter 3 examines Mode. This Chapter is the most detailed in the thesis, because it is here that syntax, rhetoric and genre intersect. In his analyses of genre, Martin suggests that different disciplines place emphasis on different aspects of register: where the Sciences emphasise field (the focus on terminology), Humanities discourses emphasise mode (the logical organisation of arguments or "points"). Insofar as newscasts employ discursive rather than analytic techniques of development, they too emphasise mode.

This chapter posits and defines a bridging semantic unit between clause and segment, here designated as "passage." As the next largest unit after the clause, passages are composed of clusters of clauses (sometimes called paragraphs). It is at this level that non-syntactic structural similarities of larger units of meaning, such as the segment, give way: within segments, the mode of development differs in each account. And it is at this level that specific semantic content of Field and Tenor is shaped into relatively stable persuasive structures. The chapter shows how passages are built up from phrases and clauses.

The combined analysis of grammatical and rhetorical aspects of utterances presents ongoing difficulties for representation of the data: grammatical exempla are usually brief and intensely analysed, whereas rhetorical analysis can cover large expanses of text in a less detailed way. The utterances I have selected are relatively long for a grammatical analysis, and relatively brief for a rhetorical or statistical analysis. Yet, in our attitudes to the environment can be found many of our fundamental beliefs about the shape the social order "should" take in general and thus, I am assuming, will provide a representative

sample of each newscast's "typical" approach with regard to content. By analysing the second day's coverage, I assume that each station had time to present a more considered and organised response than on the previous day, which are representative of "typical" approaches to structuring the accounts. Although it is my impression as a long-time viewer of both these newscasts that the sample does indeed represent each of their characteristic approaches, further research is required to verify if the conclusions remain stable through time, and across different types of story.

The transcripts and Tables of data are contained in two appendices. Appendix A contains the data for the CBC, Appendix B for BCTV. In each Appendix, Table 1 provides a complete transcript of each account, by line, by topic and by speaker. Level 1 is distinguished by italics, Level 2 is in boldface. Visual shifts are also very briefly indicated in the far right column. The tables in each Appendix correspond--thus Table A.1 and Table B.1 both contain the transcripts of the accounts, Tables A.2 and B.2 contain Participant analyses. Tables A.3 and B.3 contain Processes, etc. In my discussion, I have referred to the Tables simply by number when the discussion applies to both, and specified by name (CBC) or letter and number (A.1) when referring to one or the other. When referring to specific utterances, the table number is followed by the line number (A.1, 117),or by the passage and clause number (A.5, 1.2). (NOTE: in the course of printing this document for publication, a different font was used, which has caused some of the data in the transcripts to shift slightly. This does not materially affect the conclusions drawn in this analysis.)

Chapter One: FIELD

> *Field refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place. What [activity/topic] is it that the participants are engaged in, in which language figures as an essential component (Language, context and text 12).*

1.1 Introduction

When considering field, it is helpful to think of it as the semantic content of a text. That is, what are people talking about, what is the subject of their conversation, the focus of their common interest. This feature of English which enables users to construct (and reconstruct) a shared field of experience or ideas is an important aspect of language generally. It is, as Halliday says, "[a] fundamental property of language . . . that . . . enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experiences of what goes on around them" (*Functional Grammar* 105). The proposition that humans construe experience in language does not deny the "reality" of the external world being described, but rather it directs attention to the way that world is incorporated in language. Given the same set of events, no two speakers will represent it identically. This chapter compares the way these two newscasts differently incorporate the same events. By understanding which terms are foremost in the "speaker's" mind, one can begin to examine what is most important to that speaker, what s/he values, what constitutes knowledge within the utterance, and how power is constructed.

In determining the field of a discourse or text, Halliday suggests the clause is the most significant unit, the most useful site for making this analysis because "it is the clause that functions as the representative of processes" (*Functional Grammar* 105), that is to say, the components by which speakers represent processes are incorporated in clauses. Systemic grammar recognises three components of a process:

1) participants

2) the process itself

3) circumstances associated with the process

"Participants" are realised by nominal groups, the "process itself" by verbal groups, and "circumstances" by adverbial groups and prepositional phrases. A systemic analysis looks to see how the

nominal groups are connected to each other through the verbs. This relationship between verbs and nouns is called transitivity. And the associated circumstances, which constitute the third component of the analysis, shade or elaborate these relationships.

Both Halliday and Martin use a complex analysis of transitivity relations--who is construed as doing what to whom--for discussing the processes which constitute a semantic field, and Martin in particular has made productive use of it in contrasting different academic genres. Within critical linguistics, Hodge and Kress also discuss transitivity in relation to ideological structures within clauses. But while an analysis of transitivity reveals a great deal about relationships within clauses, and about the way speakers construct Field generally, it says less about the more stable constructions of larger units than other aspects of syntax. For my purposes, it has been sufficient to classify and simply list both participants and processes.

After identifying the Participants, I have clustered them into categories suggested by the terms themselves. And with regard to Processes, because I am interested in types of process rather than specifics, I have grouped them in categories suggested by Halliday in *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, and then defined the categories. Throughout, I have tried to show parallels between Halliday and Burke, between grammar and rhetoric.

1.2 Participant Roles

1.2.1 Introduction

In newscasts generally, there are two types of participants--the people who speak, and the objects and concepts they invoke in their speech. These are referred to respectively as "the speaking subjects," and "the subjects of discourse," although the line between these two types frequently blurs when speaking subjects become subjects of someone else's discourse: when the anchor introduces the reporter--*Clem Chapple reports*, (B.1, 17); when the reporter introduces an interviewee--*So does tourism operator Dorothy Baert*, (A.1, 167); or when any other speaker is named by another person or whenever the speaker is identified graphically. In this analysis, only subjects of discourse are considered.

In news reporting, interview subjects respond to questions from reporters. Interview subjects co-operate by responding appropriately, and a shared vocabulary emerges. Speaking subjects agree, as Grice's

Co-operative Principle suggests, to talk "about" the same thing: if there were any interviewees who did not co-operate in discussing the common topic, presumably they were excluded from the final edited accounts. In this way the answer to Foucault's question "What can be said?" is determined, at least by newscasts. Thus for the analysis of participants, I have not distinguished between the participants construed by the newscast personnel and those construed by the interview subjects, but listed them all together.

In identifying participants or discursive entities, I have kept the noun phrases intact, rather than listing isolated words, since phrases give some sense of the textual context in which the entity is situated. First and second person pronouns, and some miscellaneous terms which were anomalous and neither established new categories nor fit existing ones are not considered. Finally, for each of the stories, I compiled terms by category according to the semantic fields they participate in, which yielded the following sub-fields (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 1:1 Participants: Sub-categories of Field

Table #	Sub-Field	CBC		BCTV	
		%		%	
2.1	Government	27	(53)	25	(39)
2.2	Environmentalism	22	(44)	8	(13)
2.3	Industry & Labour	12	(24)	34	(53)
2.4	Money	.5	(1)	15	(23)
2.5	Clayoquot Sound	12	(24)	12	(19)
2.6	CORE	17	(34)	0	(0)
2.7	Consensus/Negotiation	5	(10)	.6	(1)
2.8	Media	1	(2)	4	(7)
2.9	Research	3	(6)	0	(0)
2.10	The U.S.	0	(0)	1	(2)
	TOTAL		**198**		**157**

These categories are specific to the discourse itself, not determinable *a priori*, and further they are specific to each analyst. Others might group these terms into different categories. Nonetheless, when so grouped they yield a set of propositions about the discourse which can then be discussed. The designation of each sub-field was a complex process. Sometimes the field is clear: *environmental groups* (A.1, 1), *the*

Sierra Club of Western Canada (A.1, 32), *Opponents of the Clayoquot decision* (B.1, 30), and *a small group of social parasites* (A.1, 193) all refer to roughly the same entities, in a field designated as "Environmentalism."

However it was less clear how to position complex constructions which participate in more than one field simultaneously, as this example from BCTV: *far more than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday* (B.1, 31). Here *more* refers elliptically to "land area in the Clayoquot," and *what Premier Harcourt announced* refers to the government decision about that land area. This phrase could have been separated into components, with *far more* placed in the field of "Clayoquot Sound," and *what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday* in the field of "Government." But because it is construed here as a single entity, desire for which is attributed to environmentalists, it becomes part of the way BCTV constructs the field of "Environmentalism," and I have designated it as such.

1.2.2 Discussion: Agency/Purpose

This categorisation of sub-fields is significant not only from a linguistic perspective, but it is also the first step suggested by Coe in performing a Burkean analysis of key words, master metaphors, or "god-terms." One of Burke's most accessible concepts is about the rhetoric of naming, the power of words as "terministic screens" or "entitlements" (to do with titling). Thus he proceeds to index or "locate pivotal terms (words or images), especially those that dominate crucial moments in the text;" then "[note] associational clusters, what goes with what" ("A Better Life" 3).

This is a complex story of groups engaged in social conflict--primarily the NDP government who made the land-use decision, and two groups affected by it--environmentalists and forest industry people, including executives, lobbyists, loggers, managers, and small business people. Not surprisingly, when Participants are classified in associational clusters, there are considerable similarities in some of the resultant sub-fields. Common to both are references to the geographical area of Clayoquot Sound, to the provincial government decision about that area, to environmentalists, and to people who work in the forest industry, although they occur with different frequency in both accounts, as the tables show.

Evidence for the particular bias of each account lies in the clusters which do not overlap. The CBC text produced numerous references to CORE (the Commission on Resources and the Environment, which is a government-sponsored commission set up to mediate between interested local groups in land-use disputes) and balance, BCTV yielded an emphasis on money and the media. Also of interest are the different distributions of terms for environmentalism and industry: environmentalism is more frequently represented on the CBC, industry on BCTV. In fact, although this is ostensibly a story about an environmental issue, the scant representation of environmentalism on BCTV is surprising.

These "associational clusters" can be empirically derived from the analysis of syntax. But syntactic analyses do not go beyond naming structural features, in this case the noun phrase. To derive the titles, or sub-Field classifications for these clusters of noun phrases, one must move beyond syntax into the domain of semantics. And to classify the types of sub-Fields, a Pentadic analysis moves one more step beyond this. In much the same way the Linnaean taxonomy works to classify biological organisms, Burke's Pentad can be combined with the classification of sub-Fields: "noun phrase *x*" corresponds to "Species," "sub-Field *y*" to "Genus," and "motive *z*" to "Family." Or to return to Coe's metaphor of the Chinese boxes, *motives* encompass *sub-Fields*, which in turn encompass *specific noun phrases*.

As discussed in the Introduction, Burke identifies five basic, "universal" motives which speakers use to structure their utterances: they can focus on either the individual, the context, the means, the end, or the action. Each of these motives serves as a "terministic center from which many related considerations can be shown to radiate, as though it were a "god-term" from which a whole universe of terms is derived" ("Dramatism" 445). Thus, each of these motives names, or encompasses, many different genera and species.

In this taxonomy of motive, "money" in the BCTV account could be placed under the "god-term" of Agency, which is defined by a concern with the means or tool for achieving an end. The corresponding or "symptomatic" terminology is that of pragmatism., which Burke defines as "a mode of thought according to which a thing's value is tested by its economic usefulness, as tested in turn by its marketability (that is, its function as a means in satisfying desires)." His analysis of agency expresses admirably the motivating forces of industrial capitalism and its alliance with technology: "modern science is par excellence an

accumulation of new agencies (means, instruments, methods)" which in their own turn serve the ends of this commercial activity (*Grammar*, 275-277).

Biases of agency are not restricted to a concern with commodities and profit, however. They are immediately concerned with the primal goal of survival and still play a large role in human affairs, not surprising given that one of the ways we define ourselves is "the tool-making animal." But while integral to many discourses, motives of agency have received less attention from western thinkers compared to the master discourses of Agent, Scene and Act, beginning, as Burke observes, with Aristotle's slighting of the manual in favour of the intellectual in the *Rhetoric* (*Grammar* 276).

The virtual absence of such concern on CBC, given that the means of survival is a real concern for thousands of resource industry workers in this province, is significant. On the other hand, the CBC account does express concern about balance and negotiation throughout the entire account implicitly and explicitly. Implicitly by presenting numerous speakers representing a variety of perspectives on the issue; and explicitly in its coverage of CORE.

The overt emphasis on balance and associated concepts of consensus and negotiation corresponds to Burke's category of Purpose, where speakers use discursive strategies to relate their aims to metaphysical abstractions such as unity with some higher universal purpose. Burke equates the motive of purpose with mysticism, but he gives mysticism a specific characterisation as the search for connection or connectedness: "Often the element of unity *per se* is treated as the essence of mysticism. We should contend however that not mere unity, but unity of the individual with some cosmic or universal purpose is the mark of mysticism" (*Grammar* 288. Emphasis added).

These observations about content differences could be made by any casual viewer of either account. However, indexing and clustering the key terms shows that they are not merely "intuitive" or "common sense." These respective foci are actually present in each account and reveal what is important to each "speaker" about these events. Burke's categories offer a relatively systematic way of classifying the two different sets of motives represented here.

1.3 Processes

1.3.1 Introduction

While the newscast determines which participants or entities will be construed in the field, it cannot control the processes to the same extent. Reporters can ensure that interview subjects stay "on topic" by asking focused questions, but they cannot determine what those individuals will say about the topic. Yet in their construal of processes, newscasts do actively define fields. This is accomplished during the editing process, when the anchor and/or reporter frames the story by giving background information which sometimes supports the words of the interview subjects, but sometimes over-rides, contradicts, or ignores what the interview subjects say about the topic.

Traditional grammars offered one basic definition to describe processes: they involved an Actor, an Action, and a Goal. However, while there is a large class of processes which do involve these traditional participant roles there are even more which do not. Processes need have neither actors nor goals, and the traditional grammar cannot account satisfactorily for these types. Thus, following from work done by Halliday on transitivity and thematisation, and Fillmore's seminal paper "The Case for Case" (1968), systemic linguists have built a model which distinguishes process types and participant roles. I have reproduced the table of six basic process types as offered by Halliday in *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Chapter 5).

Figure 1:2 Process Types: Definition

(Taken from *Functional Grammar* 131)

Process type	Category meaning	Participants
1. material: action event	'doing' 'doing 'happening'	Actor, Goal
2. behavioral	'behaving	Behaver
3. mental: perception affection cognition	'sensing' 'seeing' 'feeling' 'thinking'	Senser, Phenomenon
4. verbal	'saying'	Sayer, Target
5. relational: attribution identification	'being' 'attributing' 'identifying'	Token, Value Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier
6. existential	'existing'	Existent

In the second edition of *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Halliday represents these processes on a wheel, graphically demonstrating as continuous rather than linear, the relationships among them (J.R. Martin, personal communication December 6, 1995). But I am concerned not so much with the fineness of the grammatical distinctions, as with the role processes play in construing reality within larger discursive practices, and this simpler classification system is adequate for my purposes. Of these six categories of process three are central in Halliday's system: material, mental, and relational. In my data, a fourth category--verbal processes--is also significant. The other two--behavioral and existential--hover between the borders of the major categories, and are frequently indistinguishable from them.

In this section, focus is on the **kinds** of contests or relationships the participants are involved in, rather than on the contests themselves. The different types of Processes are defined using examples from my data as illustrations. These definitions do not yield rhetorically significant information in the same way that the analysis of Participants did, although the outlines of conflicting views do begin to emerge. In the next chapter however, the types of verbs defined here do become significant in establishing tone or Tenor, and they will be discussed more fully there.

In this analysis processes are distinguished into those construed by the newscast (Levels 1&2), and those construed by the interview subjects (Level 3). Because I am interested in the structure of the newscast proper, in what types of processes each account uses to create and control its particular field, my analysis here focuses on Levels 1 and 2. Table 3 in the Appendices shows the complete classification of all verb phrases, both finite and non-finite, as process types. Once again, as in my analysis of Participants, I have included the semantic aspects of the process in the analysis. And it should be noted that although these categories refer to structural features of the verb, their designation is not definitive, but also subject to some interpretation, as I have indicated in the discussion below.

The table below shows the combined distribution of all processes for Levels 1 and 2 (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 1:3 Process Types: Distribution

Table #	Process Type	CBC		BCTV	
		%		%	
3.1	Material	49	(43)	48	(39)
3.2	Mental	14	(12)	6	(5)
3.3	Verbal	17	(15)	10	(8)
3.4	Relational	20	(17)	36	(29)
	Total Processes		**87**		**81**

1.3.2 Material Processes

Material processes are processes of doing (*Functional Grammar* 102-106). They conform to the traditional definition of processes in that they have an agent and an action, and optionally an object or goal. They can express either the notion that some entity 'does' something (which may be done 'to' some other entity), as in *The decision protects some logging* (B.1, 32) or the notion that the entity is one which is brought into being by the process, as in *but first the industry has to build roads into the area* (A.1, 142). Aside from this simple form ***Actor/Action[/Goal]***, Halliday identifies three characteristics of material processes: they can refer to concrete or abstract processes, they can take the passive voice, and they can be expressed as agentless passives.

i) **Concrete/Abstract**: Most of the processes represented here are concrete such as: *The decision protects some logging* (B.1, 32), but they are mostly posited as future actions: *the government will protect 1/3 of the forest* (A.1, 47) which verge on the abstract (and may be classified under behavioral rather than strictly material processes).

ii) **Active/Passive**: An important feature of material processes is that representation of the participant roles may be in either the active or passive voice. In English, the important information in the clause comes after the verb, and the passive voice allows speakers to shift information which would usually be before the verb (in the subject position), to the end of the clause where it will be given more weight. Thus *but first the industry has to build roads into the area* (A.1, 142) could be made passive as follows: "but first, roads into the area have to be built by the industry." The shift from active to passive would shift the focus of the clause from "roads into the area" to "the industry." Since the reporter is actually concerned with road-building activity in the Clayoquot Sound area, he has chosen a

construction which reflects that focus. Not all process types have the ability to shift voice this way. In mental processes, described more fully below, the thinker and the thing thought do not exchange places so easily. In relational processes, also described below, some participant roles are interchangeable, but relational processes are not ones of doing, they are ones of being--they represent appositions or definitions, not actions. The ability to shift voice is one characteristic by which material processes can be recognised.

iii) **Agentless passives**: The passive voice offers speakers yet another linguistic resource: the optional deletion of the Actor, as in *plans were being made to defy the government's decision* (A.1 180), rather than the simple passive "plans were being made by environmentalists" or even the active "environmentalists were making plans." Some critical linguists (e.g. Fowler, Kress and Hodge) have produced interesting analyses of the ideological implications of this shift. However, my data suggests that these features also have a bearing on information structure, and therefore the implications of this construction will be considered more fully in Chapter 3 in the discussion of Thematisation.

Because news stories are about agents and actions, most of the processes in both these accounts are material, with approximately the same distribution in each account (CBC 49%, BCTV 48%). By exploiting the ability of material processes to convey abstraction, speakers are able to construe both experiential and ideational meanings as active happenings. Here, it helps create the impression that "the news" really is New, a process which is happening now, although paradoxically both accounts are about events which have already happened, or are anticipated to happen--the government's decision was announced yesterday, the consequences will become apparent in the future.

1.3.3 Behavioural Processes

As material processes become more abstract, the distinction made by traditional grammars between Actor and Goal breaks down, and speakers begin to construe behaviours or thought processes of Agents, rather than actual events. However, the distinction Halliday makes between behavioural and material on the one hand, and behavioural and mental on the other does not constitute a significant part of my data (*Functional Grammar* 128-29). Thus, I have designated some "behavioural" process as material, and others

as "mental." For example, I have designated as material the following propositions: *The decision protects some logging* (B.1, 32), and *the government will protect 1/3 of the forest* (A.1, 47). A "decision" does not really "protect" anything in the material sense, but it signifies an intent to act protectively on a given occasion. In the second example, the government intends to act protectively at some time in the future. Whether these intended actions are behavioural or material processes is difficult to discern--is protection a behaviour, or is it an event?

At the other end, the distinction between behavioural and mental processes is also blurred: *Environmentalists wanted to protect the remaining forest* (A.1, 44) signifies intent to act protectively, but it is expressed as a desire--"wanted"-- attributed to an agent--"environmentalists." Again, is desire a behaviour or a mental/emotional condition? Since such examples constitute a relatively small portion of my data, I have assigned them to whichever category seemed closest--material or mental.

1.3.4 Mental Processes

In a clause of mental process, according to Halliday (*Functional Grammar* 106-112):

i) One participant is always cognizant, and functions as a feeler, thinker, or perceiver. The participant may be human, or may be endowed with sentience for the purposes of a particular grammatical environment.

ii) The second participant role, that which is felt thought or perceived, may be a thing as in material processes, but it may also be a "fact." Nouns in mental processes are not interchangeable participants in the same way they are in material processes. In the clause *Environmentalists wanted to protect the remaining forest* (A.1, 44), the process of wanting requires sentience. The relationship is not rendered by "The remaining forest wanted to be protected by environmentalists."

iii) Because the verbs in mental relationships cannot do double duty in the same way they do in material processes, speakers must produce parallel constructions in order to reverse the relationships: *Environmentalists wanted to protect the remaining forest* (A.1, 44) can become "The forest required protection by environmentalists," where wanted to and required are roughly equivalent ways of describing a phenomenon either from the perspective of the perceiver, or from the perspective of the

fact or phenomenon (although even "required" needs some further modification explaining who the forest required protection from, since "require" could otherwise also imply desire on the part of the forest). As a "representative anecdote" for this category, Halliday cites the distinction between like and please, as in *I like it*, and *It pleases me*, where like is the "active," and please the "passive" form.

iv) Material processes can be probed by asking "What did the Actor do?" but in mental relationships, the processes construed cannot be replaced by "do." We can have:

"What did they do?" "They protected the forest,"

but not

"What did they do?" "They wanted to protect the forest."

Points i) and ii) above are particularly significant. They identify the participant roles in mental processes, and distinguish them from the Actor/Goal roles established in material processes. All mental processes potentially involve both a sensor and a phenomenon,

Mental processes are the reflection of experience from the inner perspective of the perceiver. The recounting of mental processes in a cognizant other than oneself is usually restricted to literary genres. These processes are usually attributed to human agents, although sometimes sentience is endowed on non-human entities. In the traditional taxonomy of literary criticism, this is called "personification." In either case, the revealing of inner, personal views is a powerful device for transforming information from the abstract to the personal, and it is the personal agent-based recount which TV news requires.

But in the conventions of newscasts, which are supposed to be objectively concerned with "doings" and "happenings" one would not expect to find many attributions of mental processes made at Levels 1 or 2 (by anchors or reporters, that is). Such attributions are risky and subject to law suits when made carelessly. On the other hand, in the personal recounts of interview subjects, this would not be unusual--for some types of stories, as in the interviews with loggers in the CBC account of Clayoquot Sound, it is one of the roles of a reporter to get such subjects to express their personal opinions and feelings.

Therefore, when attribution of a mental process is made by a reporter, it is significant and worthy of closer analysis. Generally, mental processes represent projection on the part of the speaker about internal

states of others, and function as indicators of the speaker's attitude toward the subject. The CBC contains more mental processes than BCTV (14% compared to 6%). These aspects will be considered further in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

1.3.5 Verbal Processes

These are words or phrases noting the process of speaking (*Functional Grammar* 139-30): *Vicky Husband **says*** (A.1, 49), *The head of the IWA in Canada **says*** (B.1, 148), but these can also be rhetorical constructions: *people in the forest industry **are complaining*** (B.1, 7), and *Premier Harcourt **defends** the decision* (A.1, 22). Again as with behavioural processes, the line between mental and verbal becomes blurred in some constructions, as in the following: *Others **wonder** if there's any point in participating in the CORE process (*A.1, 5). While this is an attribution offered by the anchor, it is corroborated later in the story by Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, and thus I have classified it as a verbal process--the environmentalists wonder out loud to reporters.

Like mental processes, verbal processes represent projection on the part of the speaker, having to do with utterances attributed to third parties, rather than internal states. In my data, verbal processes tend to be relatively neutral (e.g. *says, reported, announced* etc.), and do not convey as much information about the speaker's attitude toward the subject as do mental processes. On the other hand, verbal projection is one of the strategies used by newscasts to maintain continuity: reporters often introduce a Level 3 interview subject with a brief summary. Because they contribute to cohesion, they will be discussed further in 3.3.3. The CBC contains more verbal processes than BCTV (17% compared to 10%).

1.3.6 Relational Processes

Relational processes are those of being (*Functional Grammar* 112-128). Their central meaning is that something is. This is a large and complex category of processes. They can be identified by the structure ***BE + Noun Phrase, Adjective, or Adverb.*** Halliday divides relational processes into attributive and identifying modes. In the attributive mode, an attribute is ascribed to some entity; in the identifying, one entity is used to identify another. Identifying relations are reversible--*One of the first places MacMillan*

Bloedel will attempt to log is the Clayoquot Valley (A.1, 151-52), attributive ones are not--*the decision . . . is asinine* (A.1, 18). Within each of these modes, three types can be distinguished: intensive, circumstantial, and possessive. Because the delicacy engendered by the distinction between identifying and attributive relations does not have an immediate bearing on this consideration of field, the features of the three types are summarised below, although they are not classified thus in the Appendices:

i) Intensive relations (*x is a*): This type of relationship is used in definitions, and identification: *Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island* (B.1, 34-35), and *Core stands for Commission on Resources and the Environment* (A.1, 7). In the tables, some intensive relations carry the complement as part of the process: *the decision . . . is asinine* (A.3.4, 18), and *it seems unlikely* (B.3.4, 80).

ii) Possessive relations (*x has a*): *Brian Coxburn has more* (B.1, 91).

iii) Circumstantial relations *(x is at a)(Functional Grammar* 119-21): Generally, circumstances are appended by prepositions or prepositional phrases. Halliday includes these in his discussion of processes, but he also devotes a separate category to them. Here he divides them into two types: pre- or post-modifiers of nouns; and quasi-processes. For example, *CORE stands for Commission on Resources and the Environment* (A.1, 7) contains both types of circumstance: *stands for* is an example of a quasi-process which contains the preposition as an integral part of the process--it serves to locate the process rather than the participant; and *on Resources and the Environment* post-modifies the noun *Commission.* In most cases in my analysis, when prepositions are part of a verb phrase, they are classified as the Process type represented by the main verb; when they are part of a noun phrase, they are included in the analysis of Participants. This leaves a rather small category of "true" circumstances, which will be discussed in 1.4 below.

The CBC account contains significantly fewer relational processes-20% compared to BCTV's 36%. Generally, relational processes act to define and identify entities. Relational processes feature prominently in the most culturally privileged discourses, among them scientific, bureaucratic, and legal discourses. In a sense, all processes are relational, in that they relate experience or ideas in language. Nonetheless, English has developed rich and varied resources for representing processes and the speaker's

choice is a significant feature in construal--material processes have different rhetorical significance than do mental or verbal ones. And specifically relational processes again have unique and significant features.

1.3.7 Existential Processes

This category contains the lexical item *there is* (*Functional Grammar* 130-31). This is an empty placeholder used by speakers when they wish to shift the subject to a more emphatic position is the sentence, which is done in English by placing it after the verb. Thus we get *There is even flack flying from the United States* (B.1, 10), which serves to emphasise *flack* in the context of "*criticism* from every direction." This feature will be discussed more thoroughly when I analyse Mode, since it has to do with displaced Themes.

1.3.8 Discussion

The CBC has slightly more processes generally (87 compared to 81), both accounts contain more Material processes than other types (49% and 48%), the CBC has more Mental processes than BCTV (14% compared to 6%), and more verbal processes as well (17%-10%). BCTV has more Relational processes than the CBC (36%-20%). Process types reveal some genre-specific similarities--Material processes predominate in both accounts, possibly because of the generic convention that newscasts are about immediate, concrete events. There are significant differences in the distribution of Relational processes which define from the speaker's point of view, and in Mental and Verbal processes in which the internal states of third parties, or utterances attributed to them, are featured. These will be discussed in the following chapters. While Processes can be classified, and while some inferences can be made about typical or generic Process type distribution, the extent to which these accounts represent typical distribution of types cannot be known without a larger sample.

1.4 Circumstances

Circumstances consist of adverbs, prepositions, and prepositional phrases (*Functional Grammar* 137-44). Traditionally the category of prepositional phrase is a large one. But as discussed in 1.3.6 above,

most circumstances are linked to noun or verb phrases in my data, and thus they are classified either as Participants or Processes. As a result, the separate category of Circumstance, which forms the third component of Field, is very restricted. The CBC has 16, BCTV 23. Circumstantial information is used in these accounts to designate relations in space: *In Clayoquot* (B.4, 118); in time: *on Tuesday* (B.4, 31); but also logical relations such as ownership: *yesterday's decision by the NDP government* (A.4, 2).

Sentence-initial Circumstances are used in both accounts as an emphatic way of shifting topic by shifting the focus of the utterance, and as such contribute to the structure. This will be examined further in Chapter 3.

BCTV also uses Circumstantial information as a way of modifying main clauses. This produces a compact delivery, although it also presents less information than can be included in an embedded relative clause. For example, the clause *45% of the area will stay with its current status for conventional logging as a working forest* (B.1, 41) contains two prepositional phrases--*for conventional logging*, and *as a working forest* (*with* is treated as part of the verb *stay*), which offer rapid, abbreviated background information. The CBC on the other hand prefers to use embedded clauses, which enables the inclusion of more detailed information: *the decision* ***to turn 2/3 of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest into this is asinine*** (A.1, 17). Here, the relative pronoun "which" is elided, and *to* is part of the infinitive *turn*.

However, while these different preferences are interesting, the results of the comparative analysis were inconclusive, and are not presented here. A wider sample would be needed to determine what if any bearing they have on information structures.

1.5 Conclusion

In this analysis, Participant categories have featured larger than Process types. Although in themselves, the Participants in each account do not present evidence of overt ideological bias, comparing the two sets of terms reveals different emphases, which lead to different effects. On BCTV jobs and money feature prominently, while on CBC terms for balance and negotiation are evident. While these biases might be evident to a casual viewer, the collection and "clustering" of these key terms reveals that they are not merely intuitive observations, but that they do have some empirical basis which gives some indication about

the different ways power/knowledge is constructed in each. The emerging biases can be summarised as pragmatic Agency on BCTV, and "mystic" Purpose on CBC.

These differences might be accounted for by the different mandates of each station. As the national public broadcaster, the CBC is required by law to act as an agent of national unity, which means providing balanced accounts of the positions of different interest groups. Balance is part of the operating environment they work in, and implicitly, a concern they attribute to their audience as well. And this concern with balance could be quite easily transferred into the focus on equitable use of natural resources which is present in this account.

BCTV on the other hand is privately owned and required to make a profit. The focus on jobs and money in this account represents an implicit assumption that their audience shares these concerns. These pragmatic concerns in turn are derived from the traditional view which sees old-growth forest primarily as an instrument for ensuring economic survival, a view which has been widely held in industrial societies until quite recently, and which is only slowly and with difficulty being challenged, as the very events which prompted this story attest.

Although I believe these respective biases will remain consistent over time, further research is required to determine if the results are part of an overall pattern on each of these stations, part of a larger pattern of differences between public and private broadcasters, or simply specific to these accounts.

While process types do not yield a great deal of rhetorically significant information here, some similarities can be observed, which may be characteristic of the genre: because newscasts purport to be about current happenings, the majority of processes in both accounts are Material. Again, a larger sample would be required to determine if this usage is typical, or peculiar to these accounts.

There are significant differences in the distribution of some process types as well, which indicate the outlines of ideological distinctions. BCTV uses more Relational processes, which define participants by identification or attribution. Such definitions are offered from the perspective of the speaker, implicitly or explicitly. The CBC uses more Mental and Verbal processes, which define from internal perspectives, or report speech of third parties. The significance of this distribution will be more apparent in the following chapter, in the analysis of Mood.

Chapter Two: TENOR

The tenor of a discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved? (Language, context and text 12).

2.1 Introduction

Utterances are addressed by speakers to hearers in the world beyond the text. As Bakhtin's comments about genre imply, every utterance contains an "I" and a "you," whether these are explicit or not. But these are not just any speakers, nor just any hearers. Rather, they are aspects of the utterance itself which reflect speakers' assessments of their relationship with their hearers, both temporary and permanent as Halliday suggests, and which are realised in syntax: does the speaker question, order, instruct, or entreat the hearer? Is the relationship authoritative or deferential? Halliday calls this interpersonal aspect of language the Tenor.

This concept corresponds closely to the sixth term Burke proposed to add to his Pentad: "attitude." He proposed this relatively late in his career however, and thus did not fully develop it as a separate category. He discusses it in *A Grammar of Motives* in his definition of Act, where, following G. H. Mead, he suggests that "the sense of "self" is developed as the individual learns to foresee the kinds of resistance which external things will put forward if he acts in certain ways. . . . A social relation is established between the individual and external things or other people, since the individual learns to anticipate their *attitudes* toward him. He thus, to a degree, becomes aware of himself in terms of them (or generally, in terms of the "other") . . . This complexity of social attitudes comprises the 'self'" (*Grammar*, 237).

But this complex self is only partially present in any given utterance. Not just anyone can speak in a newscast, and even among those authorised to speak on behalf of the newscast, not just anything can be said: "Legitimate competence is the statutorily recognized capacity of an authorized person--an 'authority'--to use, on formal occasions, the legitimate (i.e. formal) language, the *authorized, authoritative language*, speech that is accredited, worthy of being believed, or, in a word, performative" (Bourdieu 70, emphasis added). Despite their similar subject positions--mostly middle-class, mostly white, mostly male--there are differences is the way "legitimate competence" is exercised by each of these "speakers." A certain tone

must be established by the reporter, typical of both the genre and the individual newscast This chapter will examine those differences and consider the implications for the construction of knowledge/power in each newscast.

Halliday sees the interpersonal elements being realised in the clause as the Mood system, which consists of the (grammatical) subject and the finite element of the verb. To this I have added an analysis of tense, since it is here that evidence of the way the speakers position themselves with regard to both the hearer and the topic can be found.

In "Genre and Literacy," Martin suggests that subtle forms of appraisal may be discerned in the way speakers more or less consciously use grammatical metaphor (the complex process whereby verbs become nominalised and vice versa) (153-56). However, as Martin's analysis in "Life as a Noun" shows, grammatical metaphor serves to condense and nominalise complex processes--hence the subtitle of his article: "Arresting the Universe in the Sciences and Humanities." And at the outset, I had expected that pre- and post-modifying aspects of the noun phrase might play a large role in establishing the tenor within newscasts, but for the most part the information carried in these positions was rhetorically neutral. I conclude that this is because although newscasts do use grammatical metaphor, the purpose of news is to clarify and simplify, not to complexify, and grammatical metaphor is not as important to the tenor of news as are other syntactic features.

Thus, where Chapter 1 focused on clause content as realised by noun phrases, Chapter 2 will look at clause tenor through the lens of verb phrases, specifically through mood and tense.

Table 5 in the Appendices contains the analysis of all finite clauses in my data for Mood and tense. Again, while Level 3 utterances can be analysed for evidence of the relationship between various interview subjects and reporters, space does not permit the presentation of those data here. In any case, as noted previously the comments of interviewees can easily be over-ridden or discounted later during the editing process, it is these framing processes which give form to the genre, and which constitute the focus of this analysis.

2.2 Mood

2.2.1 Introduction

Mood relates propositions to a context--it is what enables us to talk to others about our experiences and ideas, past and present. Clauses are organised as messages passed from a speaker/writer to a hearer/reader. The speaker adopts a particular speech role, which determines the Mood of their utterance, and in so doing, automatically assigns a complementary speech role to the hearer. For example, "in asking a question, a speaker is taking on the role of seeker of information and requiring the listener to take on the role of supplier of the information demanded" (*Functional Grammar* 68). The two fundamental types of speech role are giving/offering, and demanding, these roles are further divided for greater specificity: OFFER, COMMAND, STATEMENT, and QUESTION (*Functional Grammar* 68). The language of English grammatology obscures it, but these are dynamic and therefore complex speech acts. In offering, the speaker is inviting the listener to receive; in demanding, the speaker is inviting the hearer to give. Offers and questions seek the point of view of the hearer, commands and statements reflect the point of view of the speaker. As Bakhtin suggests in "The Problem of Speech Genres" the role of listener requires active participation in a language relationship, willy-nilly (67-78). Based on the analysis of mood, these relationships can be empirically established.

The commodities exchanged through speech acts can be of a concrete physical nature--i.e. **goods and services**--or they can be **information. Goods and services** can be offered--as in *would you like more information?* (in this case it is the offer to give more information, not the information which would subsequently be provided which is at issue), or they can be commanded--for example *Look for more of this in Clayoquot* (B.1, 132) commands the attention of the hearer. Likewise, **information** can be offered in the form of a statement--*Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island* (B.1, 34), or it can be requested in the form of a question--*What does that mean*? (B.1, 88). The hearer can accept the offer, carry out the command, acknowledge the statement, and answer the question. As Halliday says, only the last of these requires a verbal response, the others can be either verbal or non-verbal. But in making any response, the listener in turn assumes the role of "speaker."

There is rhetorical significance when a speaker chooses among these functions. Commands and offers construe hearers differently. They make presuppositions about the relative ability of the speaker to get the listener to do something, about their respective power in the world. Statements and questions have different effects as well. Statements give information from the speaker's point of view, which can but need not be indicated by the words "I think" or "in my opinion." Thus declarative statements make assertions about the nature of reality, or claims about truth, which they invite, or expect, or anticipate the listener to agree with. Open ended "wh" questions seek information about the listener's point of view. Such questions construct listeners differently than questions requiring a yes/no response which restrict the hearer/respondent to affirming or denying the speaker's proposition.

The presence of the Mood element is determined by the structure **Subject plus Finite**. The Subject is that which can be argued about. The Finite element of the verb realises the proposition as concrete rather than posited in the realm of the possible or probable. Finite processes are marked for either modality and temporality. That is, the proposition can be related to the context in two ways: by including the judgment of the speaker--modality; or by reference to the time of speaking--the tense system. In English, the order in which these elements appear determines whether the Mood is offer, statement, command or question.

When looking at the Mood structure, Halliday is interested in the way dialogue develops as a series of exchanges in which speakers take turns addressing a proposition. He looks for the development of Subject/Finite relationship as each speaker successively incorporates it into their utterance. But newscasts are constructed as a one-way series of propositions about reality which the viewer can accept or not: viewer response will not affect the already determined text of the news.

Not surprisingly, because newscasts are not interactive utterances, the sample data contain no examples of offers, which are often phrased in the form of a question "*would you like more information*?", and which might more typically be found in conversations or interviews. Thus the following discussion only considers commands, questions, and statements. And of these, declarative statements form by far the largest category, and will be considered at greatest length. Column 6 in Table 5 shows the analysis of Mood, but because the majority of clauses are declarative, only non-declaratives are indicated. Below is the distribution of Mood for each account:

Figure 2:1 Mood: Distribution

Station	Imperative	Interrogative	Declarative	Total
CBC	0	0	71	71
BCTV	1	1	59	61

2.2.2 Imperatives

The CBC data has no examples of imperatives, BCTV has 1:

Figure 2:2 Mood: Imperative

(From B.1, 132)

132	[You]	look	for more of this in Clayoquot
	Subject	Finite	Adjunct

The (default) subject of a command is the person being addressed (*Functional Grammar*, 76). The Subject and the Actor are usually the same, but may frequently be unstated, and there may not be a finite either. But for any clause there is one choice of Subject that is "unmarked"--that is the subject will be supplied by the listener in the absence of evidence to the contrary. In a giving clause (offer or statement) the unmarked, implicit Subject is "I"; while in a demanding clause (question or command), the unmarked, implicit Subject is 'you'. Thus, even when a clause occurs without a subject, the listener will understand the Subject by depending on the interpretation of other mood elements: *look for more of this in Clayoquot* will be interpreted as a command to the listener to pay attention: "YOU look for more of this". This command represents a direct address to the audience, acknowledging its presence in a way that the CBC does not do. The word "this" makes anaphoric reference to the definition "heli-logging" supplied in the next clause, and deictic reference (reference to the immediate context) to the film clip shown on the screen as the reporter speaks--an industry supplied description of the advantages of heli-logging. The use of the imperative here assumes a high level of shared context between speaker and hearer.

2.2.3 Interrogatives

There are two types of interrogatives--questions which can be answered yes or no--polarised declaratives--or the so-called WH questions--who, what, when where why and how. There are no examples of polarised interrogatives in the sample data, and only one of the WH type. Again, CBC has none, BCTV

uses only 1, shown below. However, because it is a rhetorical question, it too assumes a high level of shared context between speaker and hearer.

Figure 2:3 Mood: Interrogative

(From B.1, 88)

88	What	does	that	mean?
	complement/WH-	Finite	Subject	Predicator

The Wh element specifies "the entity that the questioner wishes to have supplied" (*Functional Grammar* 83). In this example, the speaker wishes to know about something expressed in the verb--in this case what the decision "means." Significantly it is a question about the future, which will be considered further in the discussion of tense. The question construes this concern as of close interest to the listeners, asking the question on their behalf, and subsequently responding to it. Like the imperative, it represents a direct acknowledgment of the audience.

2.3.4 Declarative Clauses

Declaratives are realised by the word order **Subject before Finite:**

Figure 2:4 Mood: Declarative

(From B.1, 34-38)

Clayoquot Sound	is	an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island
Subject	Finite	Residue

The subject need not be an Actor, but is always that on which the validity of the information is made to rest. (The choice of a particular item as Subject has to do with Thematisation which will be discussed in Chapter 3).

Like other classes within the Mood system, with the exception of WH-questions, declaratives incorporate polarity: propositions are either positive or negative--that is, either true or false. Polarised declarative statements make flat assertions about the world: *Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island, comprising 350,000 hectares of spectacular land and sea scape* (B.1, 34-38) is an assertion about reality which the speaker does not believe will be questioned. It is assumed as given that although we are not familiar with its location, we accept the name "Clayoquot" which is the aboriginal name

for the region, that we accept that the area so named fits into the geographical taxonomy of "Sounds," that we are familiar with "Vancouver Island," and that it is primarily valuable (to this speaker at this moment) for its scenic features. Ultimately, it is assumed that we accept this speaker's authority to offer this definition, and that it is accurate. The proposition is presented as the objective truth, existing outside of the speaker or any other human agents for that matter.

Because Newscasts purport to represent facts about reality, not surprisingly both accounts are heavily marked by a preference for the declarative mood (in the sample data, for the CBC 71 of 71 finite clauses are declarative statements, for BCTV 59 out of 61). Thus a more elaborated examination of the properties of such statements is needed to discern the distinguishing characteristics of each newscast as it relates to its audience. Consequently, in the following discussion, I have examined Process types (first defined in Section 1.3) for their role in establishing Tenor--what are the different implications and uses of Material, Mental, and Relational processes in declarative statements, and how do they differ between accounts? Because modalisation is also part of the mood system, I have then analysed them for modality, or evidence of truth claims--are the declarative claims qualified or baldly asserted?

1) Material Processes

Material processes construe actions. They predominate in both accounts, and the "reality" they construe in each account differs significantly. Below are some selected examples which illustrate different attitudes to logging and protection.

Figure 2:5 Declarative: Material (CBC)

	Terms for Logging		Terms for Protection
3	to allow logging	9	to use and protect
22	to allow continued logging	47	will protect
41	have already been clear-cut	48	will save
42	scarred	63	protecting jobs
43	stripped	64	protecting the environment
153	is poised to log	145	has been preserved

Figure 2:6 Declarative: Material (BCTV)

	Terms for Logging		Terms for Protection
4	to make available for logging	14	will be destroyed
6	[too much logging] will be	32	protects some logging

	allowed	33	protects some wilderness
8	[not enough logging] will be allowed	33	allows negotiation between the two
9	will be lost	39	will be protected
85	will cost	119	to protect
86	will be open to logging		
93	will lose		
96 99	collected from won't be paid out		

Tables A.3.1 and B.3.1 in the Appendices contain the complete list of Material processes. The two terms above featured frequently in both accounts. These tables do not constitute a comprehensive analysis of the way loggin$_g$ or protection are construed in the data--for example, there are some terms not included here which refer obliquely to logging processes, such as BCTV's description of a new logging method being proposed by a local businessman which features a technical discussion about logging equipment (B.1, 147-164).

In the above examples, it is significant that in the CBC account, logging is represented as an act of violence--valleys have been *scarred*, hillsides *stripped* by *clear-cut* logging. Most of the references to protection refer to environmental protection, with the exception of 63. On BCTV, logging is represented as an economic activity. The one concessive acknowledgment that some consider *too much logging will be allowed* is made in the introduction, and not developed further elsewhere in the newscast. Mostly it is considered in terms of lost income engendered by cessation or diminishment. Among the references to protection, there is one acknowledgment that *an irreplaceable ecosystem **will be destroyed***, but it is attributed to Robert Kennedy Jr., an outsider, a foreigner, and possibly a flake, and not referred to again. The clause complex *the decision protects some logging and protects some wilderness and allows negotiation between the two*, is part of a set of three such parallel structures contained in the account. These constructions imply an equal distribution of land uses through their repetitive form, even as this is explicitly contradicted by the specifics of the decision itself.

There is one anomalous example of a rhetorically significant material process, not included in the sample above, which is featured in the BCTV account as the opening statement of the entire newscast. It personifies the collective entity of the provincial government, embattled and *taking it on the chin f m just*

about every direction (B.1, 1-2). This renders compelling and memorable the central participant in the following story, simultaneously characterising its decision as questionable and possibly unstable--i.e. open to defeat. The significance of this metaphorical representation will be taken up again in Chapter 3.

2) Mental and Verbal Processes

Statements about mental processes reflect speakers' assessments about the inner state either of themselves, the listener, or third parties. In my data, all mental processes assess the inner states of third parties. Below are the complete lists of mental processes used in Levels 1 and 2 (they can also be found in Table 3.2 in the Appendices)

Figure 2.7 Declarative: Mental Processes (Examples)

CBC	Levels 1 & 2	BCTV	Levels 1&2
1	are still smarting	30	want far more
2	smarting	75	are feeling
44	wanted to protect	77	felt
57	is reconsidering	79	deciding
80	has already decided	157	needs
81	wants no		
90	wants to assess		
91	intend to stay in		
92	are so upset at		
97	have seen		
98	are appalled		
165	is reeling		
	Total: 12		**Total: 5**

Although mental processes are used to attribute internal states, there are differences in how these attributions are used, which differentiate the Tenor of each account. On the CBC, these processes are attributed primarily to environmentalists. They are reflections of what environmentalists want, how they feel and what action they intend to take (CBC 1, 2, 44, 57, 80, 81, 91, 92, 98). Stephen Owen, government-appointed head of CORE *wants to assess* (CBC, 90) the damage to the CORE Commission. These are either positive, in terms of what environmentalists want, or neutral--what Owen wants is "assessment."

BCTV on the other hand, offers only one characterisation of environmentalists, as potentially greedy: *environmentalists want far more* (BCTV 30) than what the government promised. Most of the remaining attributions are made about the government (BCTV 75, 77, 79), and they are also negative. We

are told it "appears" government officials *are feeling comfortable*, in *contrast to the extreme discomfort they felt* a few weeks ago--this could imply arrogance or indifference in the face of the lack of universal popularity mentioned by the reporter (*The Clayoquot decision may not be popular with everyone*, B.1, 73).

In this account, sympathy lies with business interests rather than environmental ones. We know that a small-business person on BCTV *needs* more government assistance in order to function under the new forestry regulations (157), whereas the CBC had a small-business person in tourism *reeling* (CBC, 165) from the decision (she seems to think it is bad, and volunteers the information that she is willing to throw herself in front of logging machinery if need be, in order to stop the logging).

In the CBC account, the attributions made by reporters, although there are more of them, are usually supported by the subsequent story, while the BCTV ones are not always. On the CBC, environmentalists are *reconsidering* their participation in CORE, followed by an interview with an environmentalist who does say he believes many groups won't continue to participate in CORE (A.1, 86-7), we are told that *we have seen environmentalists are appalled* (A.1, 98), and indeed the preceding segment does have interviews with environmentalists who describe the decision as *stupid* (A.1, 13) and *not a balanced decision* (A.1, 31).

In the BCTV account, only one attribution--the attribution of neediness (157)--is supported by an interviewee. Significantly, it is small businessman Paul Alton who *needs government help* to launch his alternative logging method (B.1, 157). Generally, in its use of mental attributions the BCTV account privileges the opinion of the observer/reporter, and relies on that for its credibility, rather than on the completeness of the analysis.

These differences in the use of corroborating evidence can be seen in the construal of verbal processes also, which report the speech of third parties. The CBC uses these processes to introduce Level 3 interviewees, BCTV to summarise the words of speakers who usually do not appear in the story. For the most part, verbal processes are construed more neutrally than mental ones in my data, and thus they are not discussed here. However, verbal processes and how they are corroborated affect the structure of the utterance, and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

3) Relational Processes

Relational processes are used to define and identify entities. They are a way of "relating" the discursive representation to the referent, a way of connecting the utterance with the world. Such processes can be used to characterise participants, and thus contain rhetorically significant information. Table 3.4 contains the complete list of Relational processes for both accounts. Below are some selected examples which contain significant information about speaker attitude:

Figure 2:8 Declarative: Relational (CBC)

18	the decision to turn 2/3 of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest into this	**is asinine.**
33	the Clayoquot decision	**was a sellout**
50	one example of where	**that's absurd** is Flores Island
101	they [the loggers]	**are grateful**
144	there	**'ll be a fight**
150	that	**'s just too much** [logging]

Figure 2:9 Declarative: Relational (BCTV)

18	The first organised protest against the Clayoquot decision	**was a tame affair**
109	The forest industry and future logging practices	**was the issue**
120	A lighter foot on the forest	**is the goal**

On the CBC, these processes again represent the perspective of the environmentalists: they consider the decision *asinine* and *absurd, a sell-out* to the logging companies, they are reported as believing it allows *too much* logging. The CBC also offers a sympathetic definition of the loggers--we are told that loggers *are grateful* that their jobs will be preserved, followed by loggers who can reasonably be characterised as such, although the loggers themselves might not describe their emotions as gratitude. Relief or exasperation might be more accurate: *hopefully I still have a job for the next coupla years* (A.1, 127-28), and *Well I guess that it's the best of both worlds* (A.1, 122-23), but also *He's been sittin' on his butt for four or five months, and at least he finally got a decision* (A.1, 110-11), and *Whether it's good, bad, or indifferent remains to be seen* (A.1, 111-12). By themselves, these last two examples do not really qualify as "gratitude," although it seems this characterisation is intended to be sympathetic, and is not completely

inaccurate. We don't know how loggers feel in BCTV's world (although it should be noted that BCTV did feature extensive interviews with loggers on the previous day's coverage).

On the BCTV account, *the first organised protest was a tame affair,* although we are told that by contrast, *the warnings are for more serious events to come (*B.1, 21*).* Environmentalists are described as *angry* (whereas people in the forest industry are characterised elsewhere by a verbal process as only *complaining. B.1, 7-8).* And we are shown an environmentalist--the only environmentalist in the entire account--saying *so the war isn't over. To save the area* (B.1, 28--Level 3). This portrayal represents environmentalists as the probable aggressors in any future conflict. On the CBC, it is only after MacMillan Bloedel builds a logging road into Clayoquot Sound that *there'll be a fight.* And even then, environmentalists are subsequently featured discussing how to keep radical *fringe people* out of the anticipated protests (A.1, 183--Level 3). Despite the sympathetic nod in the direction of the loggers, it is they who respond with hostility to the reporter's query for solutions. They are shown saying, among other mildly aggressive comments, that someone *should put 'em in jail, . . . or worse* (A.1, 198--Level 3), thus designating the loggers as the likely source of conflict in this account.

The two remaining examples on BCTV are interesting in terms of the way they identify the problem: *future logging practices* are ***the issue,*** and a *lighter foot on the forest is* ***the goal.*** Both of these definitions are concerned with the decision as it affects ongoing logging activity, whereas for environmentalists, the issue was whether there would be an outright ban on logging in Clayoquot Sound--their preferred choice.

Relational processes usually situate definitions as "objective" aspects of the external environment, although such processes actually describe from the perspective of the speaker, implicitly or explicitly. They can be used to make powerful claims about "truth," and they can be subject to more or less corroboration by evidence. In this account, BCTV uses 36% Relational processes, the CBC 20%. Their significance will also be considered further in terms of the structure of the newscast, in the next chapter.

(4) Modality

Despite the bias of newscasts towards making definite true/false assertions, declarative statements can also be qualified: they can speak of possibilities and estimates, rather than asserting actualities. Propositions can be conditional, claims can be qualified as in *A yet-untried method may be another way to go (BCTV, 138)* where "may be" acts as the speaker's assessment of the possibility of this course of action. Halliday calls this modality. This resource of English is not commonly selected in newscasts: the CBC contains 2 examples of modalisation, and 2 quasi-modals. BCTV has 4 modals and 3 quasi modals. Because there are so few of them, all of the examples are presented in the Tables below. Halliday identifies two types of modality, one applying to information, and one to goods and services.

i) Goods and Services

There are two ways speakers qualify offers of goods and services--obligation (*you **must** do that*) and inclination (*I **must** win*) (*Functional Grammar* 86-89): only the former appears in the data, it is only represented in the CBC account, shown below:

Figure 2:10 Modality: Goods & Services (Examples)

61	Modal--Obligation	Owen	**is supposed to** come up with	solutions on how to divvy up valuable land,
63	Modal--Obligation	[he]	**[is supposed]to** find	a balance between protecting jobs and protecting the environment

Here, the modalisation applies to a proposition about goods and services offered by Stephen Owen, the CORE commissioner, making reference to his (ongoing) obligation to fulfill his mandate. This is relatively straightforward, although in the second example the Modal elements are elliptical, relying on cohesive ties to the first. These are the only instances of modalisation in the CBC account.

ii) Information

Offers of information, the second type of modalisation, are qualified in terms of probability (which ranges in degree through possible/probable/certain), or frequency (which again ranges through sometimes/usually/always). These degrees are rated as high low or median, and there is rhetorical significance in the speaker's choice. Halliday says "even a high value modal ('certainly,' 'always') is less determinate than a polar form: *that's certainly John* is less certain than *that's John; it always rains in summer* is less invariable that *it rains in summer.*"(*Functional Grammar* 86). This type is only represented in the BCTV data, and the sample contains examples only of the former type, that is assessments of probability, rather than of frequency:

Figure 2:11 Modality: Information (Examples)

73	The Clayoquot decision	may not be	popular with everyone
138	And a yet-untried method	*may be*	another way to go
151	He	*would*	use a big radio-controlled helium balloon
167	And the ways of getting them out	*may be*	different from the traditional logging methods we know

BCTV modalises claims about information in a variety of less straightforward ways than the CBC. These examples are modalised Relational Processes, but unlike the relational processes discussed earlier, the modal auxiliary qualifies the assertion, softens it. Three of them (138, 151, and 167) represent claims about the future, two of them rather dubiously expressed as *may be* instead of "will be." The fourth example is a claim about present conditions, which would be too-strong a claim if positively asserted as "the Clayoquot decision is not popular with everyone." But because it reflects speaker assessment of possible outcome, it also frees the reporter to speculate about the implications of the condition being posited, here it is government satisfaction with itself in the face of this discontent, as expressed in the next clause.

iii) Quasi-Modals

Both accounts also use quasi-modals, constructions which act like modals, but which are not carried by the auxiliary:

Figure 2:12 Modality: Quasi-Modals (BCTV)

50	This $30,000 event	**seems to be**	more controversial among politicians than the decision itself
74	but it	**appears**	that Premier Harcourt and his government are feeling comfortable today
80	and it	**seems unlikely**	there will be any backing down . . .

Figure 2:13 Modality: Quasi-modals (CBC)

141	but first the industry	**has to**	build roads into the area.
148	the industry still	**gets to**	log about 75% of the trees

Here the quasi-modals "seems," "appears" and "seems to be" in the BCTV account could be classified as mental processes, but they reflect the internal state of the speaker, rather than internal processes attributed to a third party. As with mental processes, one does not expect to find speculations about the internal emotional states of reporters in a newscast. Significantly all of these quasi-modals speculate about internal states of government and opposition politicians, and all manage to cast the government in a negative light--government profligacy in publicising the decision is more important than the decision itself; doubt is cast on the firmness of the decision--maybe they will back down; and despite criticism of the decision, the government is feeling comfortable.

The quasi-modal processes in the CBC account operate more like modals on the obligation spectrum in the category of goods and services, ranging in degree from "must," expressed as *has to*, to "may," expressed as *gets to*.

There is one more aspect of modalisation to consider. In the examples above, modalisation does reflect the speaker's assessment more explicitly than polarised declaratives, but speakers have the option of prefacing their statements with even more direct reference to their assessments, like "**I think** it is so" versus "It is so," or "It seems so." Thus modals represent finely nuanced claims which acknowledge to varying degrees the speaker's certainty about the proposition. There are no examples of such direct personal assessment in the Level 1 and 2 data, although the CBC account does contain an example in Level 3 (***I know that*** *. . . there is an area that's being promised to the logging companies* CBC, 170).

On the newscast, claims may be qualified, but human agency is not acknowledged--it would be a violation of the genre conventions, designed to produce at least the illusion of a "factual" account. Newscasts seem to use modal forms as a way of including claims about third parties which could not be outrightly asserted.

2.3.5 Discussion

Emerging differences in positions can be identified through this analysis of Mood. Broadly, despite the generic preference for declarative statements, BCTV does use a slightly more varied tone, addressing the audience directly through command and question. The CBC maintains an apparently more aloof position.

But there are different ways of making assertions, and they have different effects. Despite the more formal tone on the CBC, the report is from the perspective of third parties. Most claims made on behalf of them are subsequently corroborated in the Level 3 interviews. The account is positively concerned with environmentalists, and consensus established through negotiation. This focus is reflected in all three process types.

It is also corroborated by the transcript. In Segment 1 of the CBC account the reporter gathers responses to the government decision from two different environmental groups, counter-responses from the premier, and synthesizing responses from the Commissioner responsible for ensuring continuing discussions among interested groups. Segment 2 focuses on anticipated future conflict, and concludes with a statement implying the need for continuing negotiation: *Mike Harcourt said yesterday all outstanding land-use questions in Clayoquot have been resolved. Well they haven't* (CBC, 199-201).

The BCTV reporter also uses Segment 1 to gather responses to the decision, all of which are characterised from the outset as negative--*the provincial government is taking it on the chin from just about every direction.* Segment 2 focuses on future consequences of the decision too, but in terms of job loss rather than negotiation, and anticipates a negative outcome. This focus can be found in modalisation rather than process type. Negative assessments are carefully attributed to represent either the reporter's personal views or the views of others (opposition politicians). The problematic future is also represented through

modalisation. These different syntactic forms of assessment--sympathetically from the perspective of third parties, and negatively from the perspective of the reporter--result from the different ways of establishing legitimate authority in the two newscasts.

In trying to ascertain and evaluate these embedded claims, it is useful to take the third step Coe recommends in a Burkean analysis, by "[noting] oppositions (what vs. what?)" (Coe 3). This has to do again with Burke's concept of godterms, which act as "summarising titles" representing the highest values within a set of terms. A godterm is the "moral impulse that motivates perception, giving it both intensity and direction, suggesting *what to look for* and *what to look out for*" (*Philosophy* 164, cited in "A Better Life 13"). That is by understanding what is valued, we can form some expectations about what will be vilified.

On the CBC, a distinguishing aspect of the Field was its focus on negotiation to achieve consensus. In this chapter, the Tenor is sympathetic to environmentalists. The opposed terms would therefore be intransigence, and anti-environmentalism. Those who refuse to negotiate (on terms approved by the CBC) should expect to be portrayed negatively-- for example forestry companies are indirectly portrayed as potentially violent, as characterised by the agentless passive acts of *stripping* and *scarring*. And perhaps absence is a form of negative representation as well, in the fact that there is no specific representation of business interests. There is some concern expressed for the loggers who will be affected by the decision, although their response is of more interest in terms of future conflict.

On BCTV, the Field focused on jobs, here the Tenor is anti-government. Thus the positive term would be work, the negative would be anyone who interferes with work. Indirectly, this includes environmentalists, but more specifically it applies to the government, portrayed as bumbling idiots who can't fight, have a bullying indifference to public discomfort, and a possible weak-kneed tendency to backing down in the face of opposition.

2.3 Tense

2.3.1 Introduction

In addition to modality, speakers have a second choice for marking finite processes--tense. Declarative statements not only make assertions about the world, they allow speakers to refer to the time of speaking, and to pasts and futures relative to this time as well, in the complex system of verb tense. Tense is

established by the finite element and a predicator. The finite element is always one of the primary or tenses--past present or future at the moment of speaking, time relative to 'now'. So we get simple present constructions:

Figure 2:14 Tense: Simple (Definition)

Premier Harcourt	defends	the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot
Subject	**Finite**	**Adjunct**
Mood		**Residue**

The function of the predicator is fourfold: it allows speakers to refer to time other than the time of the speech event; it allows them to refer to non-existent aspects like *seeming trying hoping;* it allows them to specify the voice--active or passive; and finally, it allows them to specify the process that is predicated of the Subject. These functions produce complex tense systems whereby speakers posit past, present, and non-existent worlds relative to their present time of speaking. So we can also get:

Figure 2:15 Tense: Complex (Definition)

A tremendous amount of time and effort	has	been spent	deciding on this compromise
The company	is	poised to log	the upper valley
Subject	**Finite**	**Predicator**	**Adjunct**
Mood		**Residue**	

Here, "has" situates the utterance in the present, but "been spent" refers to a past action; "is poised" happens at the time of speaking, but the infinitive "to log" is a process predicated as a future action. (Although it is part of the verb phrase, the predicator does not contribute to the Mood, and Halliday includes it in the Residue of the clause. The Residue consists of all those elements which are not part of the Mood: in Halliday's terms, Predicator, Adjunct, and Complement. Together, all of these remaining elements constitute the predicated information about the proposition introduced in the Subject).

2.3.2 Discussion

Each account uses more Present tense than any other, this is to be expected in a genre which presents itself as situated in the immediate, reporting on unfolding events as they happen. The most rhetorically significant differences in tense between these stories lies in the different distribution of Future

and Complex tenses. The next most preferred tenses on the CBC are complex, on BCTV simple Future (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers): (see Table 5, Column 7 for the complete analysis of Tense)

Figure 2:16 Tense: Distribution

	Future		Present		Past		Modal		Complex		Total
	%		%		%		%		%		
CBC	13	(9)	45	(32)	10	(7)	3	(2)	30	(21)	(71)
BCTV	25	(15)	48	(29)	8	(5)	7	(4)	13	(8)	(61)

The use of Complex tenses, preferred by the CBC, positions the speaker's time relative to the actions of the past or future: *Environmentalists wanted to protect the remaining forest* (CBC 43-44) where "wanted to protect" refers to plans made in the past regarding a possible future, and where both the past and the future being construed are relative to the "now" of the reporter--that is, the "coding time" is the "present" of the speaker, and the "event times" occur before and after that coding time; Stephen Owen *wants to assess* (CBC 90-91) the dissent among CORE participants where "wants to assess" refers to a present intention to obtain information in the future.

This use of tense represents events in the social world as a continuum: present actions can and do influence the outcome of future events, and actions in the past contribute to the present conditions. It implies that the future is not fixed, that it is open to negotiated change, to reasonable argument. Even the use modalisation in the previous section indicates ongoing process--Owen *is supposed to come up with* solutions, implying the problem can eventually be resolved, the industry *has to build roads* which will result in a predicted consequence of conflict. There is no guarantee of arriving at solutions or producing conflict, and there is no assertion that these events will come to pass. The result is a construal of events as related to each other through time, and of the social world as an ongoing process of arousing and resolving conflict.

By contrast, the use of the simple Future favoured by BCTV posits a future not necessarily related to the present situation in any linear way. Rather it construes an absolute future where the consequences of present decisions will have to be endured: *hundreds of jobs will be lost* (BCTV 9); *the Clayoquot decision will cost hundreds of forestry jobs* (BCTV 85-86); *half of the area will be open to logging* (BCTV 86-87); *About one thousand forest jobs and related employment will also be lost* (96-98). Here the outcomes of

actions taken now are neither contingent nor subject to variation. Even the dubiously modalised future in the previous section supports this construal of inevitable, uncontrollable change--There *may be* another way to go, the ways of logging *may be* different than the traditional methods we know.

This use of tense provides a clear and probably inadvertent portrait of different Attitudes in each of these accounts. Perhaps these differences arise because the world is a less certain proposition for BCTV reporters and viewers. On the CBC, propositions are contingent on present conditions, rational planning makes the future, if not knowable, at least controllable to a certain extent, and thus a relatively stable place.

On BCTV future actions are not necessarily controllable, or changeable. This is manifested as fear and uncertainty about the absolute future being planned by people who think like the CBC newscast, differently from them, and who do not share or understand their concerns.

This would account for the different foci in Chapter 1: the CBC can focus on Purpose and the process of negotiation since it is that from which the future unfolds, but BCTV's focus on Agency suggests survival is not assured in such a risky world, individuals are on their own to adjust as best as they can to conditions. Since the future is presented as absolute, there are only two options--give in or fight.

2.4 Conclusion

The analysis of Tenor is more complex than Field, because the structures it examines are more deeply embedded. One of the conventions of newscasts is an adherence to "objectivity," that is to reporting the "facts." Yet while these accounts makes strong claims to represent the truth, they each emphasise different sets of facts which only indirectly reveal bias, particularly toward the negative terms. The assessment of Attitude presented here is therefore not necessarily as accessible to a casual viewer.

The category of Attitude works differently than the other ones in the Pentad when applied to discourse analysis. In the previous chapter, Purpose and Agency described actual sets of metaphors, just as Scene and Agent will in the following chapter. But Attitude encompasses any possibility, it hovers pervasively over all utterances, and I have used it here as a heuristic category, rather than an analytic one. Despite this, the features examined here are empirically present in the utterances--the preponderance of declarative statements, the differences in process types and in tense.

Although it could be argued that the examples analysed above are contingent merely on individual speaker preferences, the "legitimate competence" of each reporter is dependent on his appropriate use of the "legitimate, authorised, authoritative language." There is a hierarchy of authority in the newsroom: reporters defer to editors during the editing process, editors report to the producer; frequently the head newswriter is responsible for the words of the anchors, as was the case at BCTV. And presumably those anchors who write their own material do so also with the sanction of higher authorities. Thus, although reporters may self-censor, or indeed be oblivious to other possible constructions, those words which do become part of the newscast have passed through a screening process, both short and long-term.

In conformity to the conventions of the genre, both newscasts strive for an authoritative presence through declarative, largely unqualified statements. But BCTV uses more varied structures--although few in number, the use of rhetorical questions, imperatives, and modality have a powerful effect on the Tenor. The resultant newscast is livelier and more engaged with the audience.

Within the declarative mood, speaker legitimacy is established differently, and what counts as power/knowledge is configured differently as well. There are significant variations in the distribution and use of Material, Mental, Relational, and modalised processes. On BCTV the prominence given to Relational processes indicates the account is based on the speakers' assessments, explicit or not. Their effect is to create the conditions they describe--*the issue* and *the goal* are defined in terms of continued logging activity. The greater presence of modality on BCTV is a direct acknowledgment of non-neutral, negative speaker assessment. Although this is a story about an environmental issue, the focus of this negative assessment is not environmentalists, but the government itself. Through the use of imperative, interrogative and modalised forms, BCTV relates the speaker closely to the audience. The future is regarded with anxiety as uncontrollable and fixed.

Although the CBC presents an apparently more authoritative account through the exclusive use of declarative statements, this authority is derived from the representation of third parties, not from the reporters, as evident from the use of mental and verbal processes. The CBC represents some selected positions--environmentalists, the Commissioner of CORE, and loggers--in terms sympathetic to the parties themselves, and such representations are corroborated in the Level 3 interviews. Negative assessment is

directed toward the logging industry through negative portrayal by the reporter, and absence of representative speakers. The future is construed as arising out of present and past actions in a continuous process of ongoing negotiation.

Interestingly, both accounts contain oblique slurs on the designated villains. On the CBC logging companies are represented as violent by means of an agentless passive construction which will be discussed further in 3.2.7. On BCTV the government is personified as ineffective and arrogant: arrogance is implied when speculating that despite discontent about the decision from some quarters, the government *appears* to be *feeling comfortable*; ineffectiveness is implied in the reporter's speculation that *it seems unlikely* the government will back down from this decision–a subtle reminder that they did indeed back down from controversial proposals in their provincial budget the week previously. Ineffectiveness is further implied by showing the Premier, who is pudgy and balding, speaking in an extended stammer in one clip (B.1, 69-70). Given the computerised editing equipment available to BCTV staff, and the time constraints on news stories (shorter is almost always better), this could have easily been edited out.

To summarise the Attitude contained in each of these accounts, it is helpful to consider the combined effect of Field and Tenor. BCTV's can be summed as a pragmatic instrumentalist one of Agency, which regards the future with an Attitude of trepidation about job loss. But this attitude to the future should not in itself be taken as a fixed and non-dialectical position. There was opposition to the decision from pro-logging interests. The rising groundswell of resistance to CORE which subsequently followed this decision was not surprising (as indicated by a series of quarter-page ads in local papers sponsored by the Cariboo Communities Coalition (New Solutions): "CORE Threatens Our Family and Our Way of Life," *The Vancouver Sun*, 21/9/94).

The CBC account can be summed as a more abstract concern with unity and higher Purpose, combined with an Attitude of confidence that the process of achieving consensus will continue in the future. In terms of environmental concerns, this confidence has proven to be justified. Far from backing down, in the intervening two years since the government announced it, the Clayoquot decision has remained in place, and in fact almost two years to the day of the first announcement, they passed even greater environmental protection measures in Clayoquot Sound, designating a larger portion of the area as wilderness.

Thus far, this analysis has focused only on how the utterance itself represents the speaker, the hearer and the topic in an utterance. But while these declarative clauses, these Processes and tenses are present in the accounts, they say nothing about the way the accounts are received by actual audiences. That is, ultimately, how much influence do they have on viewers?

Many researchers have examined the heterogeneous composition of audiences in an effort to identify the diffuse influence of the media. David Morley's *Television, Audiences, and Cultural Studies* contains an extensive analysis of audience based on categories of class, gender and ethnicity, the role these factors play in audience decoding of "text," and what if any influence television has on their attitudes. That information is inconclusive in my data. But some inferences can be drawn about the nature of the audiences who view these newscasts, and about the nature of the influence the newscast has on them without this detailed information. For example:

1. Far more people watch BCTV than CBC--52% compared to 9% (Figures for 1993, from Bureau of Broadcast Measurement, supplied by BCTV).
2. Provincially, environmentalists enjoy a high level of support, which increased sharply in 1993 AFTER the government's land-use decision was announced (*The Vancouver Sun*. Wednesday Nov. 15, 1995. Figures from B.C. Ministry of Finance).

BCTV clearly supports the social status quo which favours business interests over any other considerations. The account deals largely with business concerns, only marginally with environmental ones, and even more interestingly, only marginally with worker concerns as well. While the environmental issue is marginalised in this account, the NDP government responsible for passing the legislation is vilified. And yet if their audience is indeed heterogeneous, then presumably some at least of their viewers also form part of the groups who support environmentalists, and who voted the NDP into power. This indicates that there is no direct correlation between the sway BCTV holds over audience share and its sway over audience mind.

Apparently viewers continue to choose BCTV, despite an available alternative newscast. It may be that there are deep internal conflicts between personal survival in terms of jobs, and the survival of the group in terms of the environment, which lead to the apparently contradictory attitudes of support for environmentalists on the one hand, and for a newscast which is opposed to interference with business on the

other. It may be that BCTV manages to connect with these contradictions in a way that the CBC has not. But the resistance to the ideological load carried by the BCTV newscast on the part of at least some of the audience (in terms of support for environmental issues, and for the NDP in the last election), also suggests that it is not only the bias in semantic content or the attitudes expressed toward it which draw viewers. As the next chapter proposes, it may also have to do with the way the story is told.

Chapter Three: MODE

Mode refers to the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written, or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like (Language, context and text 12).

3.1 Introduction

Marshall McLuhan's famous dictum "The medium is the message" is misleading. It collapses several complex aspects of signification into uniformity. In defining the third element of the Register system, Halliday distinguishes between the channel (i.e. the medium), the organisation, and the rhetoric. All of these aspects are present in all linguistically coded messages. Halliday's multiply-faceted approach accounts for the production of difference, and identity, in a way that McLuhan's aphorism does not. It is true that "channel" is one of the defining features of television newscasts--the genre is a combination of visual, spoken, and graphic representations. Yet in their symbolic organisation and their rhetoric (or in Burke's terms, their symbolic ACTION), these accounts differ significantly, and so do the respective messages each constructs.

This is not to deny the similarities in symbolic organisation which are also present. As Foucault's characterisation of enunciative modalities suggests, discourses are conditioned not only by what can be said and who can say it, but also by *how* "it" can be said. Use of appropriate forms signals the participation of an utterance in a given genre. However, speakers can choose among a range of appropriate forms, and again when making their choices, speakers act from an ideological orientation. Differences between utterances within a genre give evidence of these different world views. If speakers are working within Grice's co-operative principles, the utterers of each of them believe their account is the "true" one. Both of the news stories analysed here present themselves in self-assured terms which make implicit claims to validity. Yet differences noted between them thus far indicate that they represent the social world in competing terms. And if discourse analysis is not to be reduced to mere formalism, if it does have some insight to offer into the way social negotiation is accomplished, some means of evaluating these claims to truth is needed.

This has proven problematic in contemporary pluralist societies. Foucault was resolute in his refusal to offer any such means: "The search for a form of morality acceptable to everybody in the sense that everyone should submit to it strikes me as catastrophic" ("Michel Foucault: Final Interview" cited in Diamond and Quinby xiii). This does not imply however, that he saw the only solution to the dilemma as a strategy of relativism by which people can avoid engaging with such issues. Quite the contrary. By refusing to define a "code of ethics," Foucault was indicating that no one person or group can be responsible for developing such a code, that it is developed through ongoing discussion and negotiation among all or as many members as possible of the groups concerned.

However, having said that, Foucault's refusal to engage with the issue has left no set of procedures by which such a discussion could be fairly conducted. Such procedures are described in the work of Jurgen Habermas, which while they are not consistent with relative pluralism, do reasonably complement Foucault's own work, as these summarising comments from Thomas McCarthy's introduction to *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* indicate: "If taking modern pluralism seriously means giving up the idea that philosophy can single out a privileged way of life . . . that is valid for everyone, it does not, in Habermas's view, preclude a general theory of a much narrower sort, namely a theory of justice. The aim of the latter is to reconstruct the moral point of view as the perspective from which competing normative claims can be fairly and impartially adjudicated" (vii). This chapter will compare the criteria each account uses to establish validity, how these claims are organised, and what symbolic action is being achieved.

In the preceding chapters, the analysis focused on the components of the clause--noun and verb phrases. "Symbolic organisation" implies a larger unit of text. Bakhtin constructed a progression in which sentences are organised into utterances and utterances into genres ("Speech Genres" 81). Halliday's system moves from the clause to the clause complex to connect with larger structures. His main technique for showing this progression is an examination of a modified subject/predicate relation which he calls Theme/Rheme. He suggests that speakers use Theme and Rheme positions to map information units. According to this theory, the Theme is customarily reserved for Given or already-familiar information, and the Rheme for New (*Functional Grammar* 38-67, 277-80).

In his work on genre, Martin suggests that the concept of thematisation works not only at the level of the clause, but as Burke might say, it can also be expanded metaphorically, to include "staging," at the level of the paragraph--where it might be more familiar as the "topic sentence," or what Martin calls "hyper-theme;" and that it further expands to structure entire texts as "thesis statements" or "introductions." In this capacity, Theme becomes a "macro-theme" prefacing the rest of the text, which in turn becomes a macro-rheme ("Life as a Noun" 244-57). When speakers combine these units into clause complexes, they get movement, shape and meaning.

Martin's analysis focuses on complex academic texts, in which speakers are concerned to maintain coherence through long sections, and where claims and arguments are made as explicitly as possible. He notes differences between Science and Humanities texts in the kinds of explicitness produced, showing that Humanities texts prefer internal conjunctive structures in which the reasoning is embedded and comparatively inexplicit ("Life as a Noun" 233-35). This is true of the reasoning in newscasts as well.

However, as is plain from his examples of Humanities texts, their aim is still to produce a sustained argument, explicit or not. For this purpose, it is important to use regularly structured Theme/Rheme relations which transfer New information from the Rheme of one clause to become the Given in the Theme of the next, and which structure clusters of clauses and entire utterances as a series where the logical connections among them are intentional if not explicit. This is not necessarily true of newscasts.

Television news differs from academic genres in several important respects. First, one of the characteristic features of "News" is that it moves quickly from one story to another, from one segment to another within stories, and from one topic to another within segments as well. Even though each of these units represents an apparent symbolic (i.e. logical) organisation, even though each topic within a story or segment may be significant in its own right, and related to the main topic, its connection with its neighbours is often tenuous at best. There is no time for in-depth topic development.

Second, reporters are restricted in constructing their stories by the visual accompaniments. Frequently, when they don't have the footage to back up claims, they revise and reconstruct parts of the story, which can lead to disjunctive effects.

Third, unlike academic discourses, newscasts avoid making explicit normative claims about controversial or conflicted issues, partly because of the convention of objectivity, and perhaps more importantly because they must appeal to a heterogeneous audience, and cannot risk alienating viewers or losing advertisers. But finally, as the analysis of Tenor showed, despite these constraints, newscasts are supposed to be authoritative representations of events, and therefore they must make assertions.

In sum, newscasts must establish continuity in the face of deliberate and/or uncontrollable disjuncture, and significance in the face of constrained inexplicitness. While they use Thematisation (along with visual and structural shifts), to emphasise these deliberate disjunctures, they exploit other features of English to maintain continuity and establish significance.

Because of this disjuncture within accounts, the focus of analysis here is on a unit larger than the clause, but smaller than the story, or segment. To describe this semantic unit, an additional vocabulary is required. The term "paragraph" is often used, but this is a problematic designation. It suggests a primarily printed unit, and even in printed texts, paragraphing is notoriously unstable and subjective. Martin suggests "hyper-theme," and while this is an intuitively logical extension of "theme," it is difficult to locate its pattern in the disjointed texts represented in my data.

In *Toward A Grammar of Passages*, Coe proposes the designation *passage*, and presents a "discourse matrix" with which to diagram logical relations within passages, much as a sentence diagram shows relations between phrases and other constituent structures in clauses. Following Coe, I have so designated it here. But my analysis of passages is an intensive examination of the constituent parts, where Coe focuses on passages as the smallest units in the construction of larger arguments.

The analysis moves from the phrase to the clause to the passage, to show how each element is both significant in its own right, and also contributes to the structure of the next larger unit. Thematisation is used to set boundaries between passages, cohesion maintains continuity within and between passages through reference and conjunction, and finally, passage types, based on the distinction between Narrative and List, can be discerned. Like clauses and genres, passages demonstrate regularly recurring structural patterns--symbolic organisation--which can be compared for their symbolic action.

The data is contained in two tables in the Appendices: Table 6, the main one, contains the complete text of Level 1 and 2 utterances. It shows the breakdown of clauses into theme and rheme, the conjunctive relations between them and numbers the passage divisions. The second table, Table 7, maps the Participants by means of referring expressions as they are introduced, displaced and re-introduced in each topic. It also indicates marked, unmarked and reactivated Themes. Because of space limitations, the tables do not reflect the interspersed Level 3 comments, nor the accompanying visual shifts.

3.2 Thematisation

3.2.1 Introduction

If a clause is organised as a message, it is because one part of it--in English it is the first part--is assigned the function of signaling the point of departure for the message and "this then combines with the remainder so that the two parts together constitute a message" (*Functional Grammar* 38). This first part Halliday designates as the THEME, and the second element of the clause, where the information is delivered, is the RHEME. The knowledge presumed by the speaker as "given" is commonly mapped onto the theme, it is what the discourse is about, it is what hearers remember as the "topic," it is what helps them make connections to the larger world. The rheme is where that which the speaker wishes to convey as "new" information usually contained, because it is the most powerful position in the clause, the climax of the message, as it were.

This allows speakers to arrange the presentation of the message in such a way that the familiar can be presented first--enabling hearers to orient themselves--and then connected with what the speaker wants to add to that given information. However, although it is often the case that Given/New CAN correspond to Theme/Rheme, it is important to recognise that this is not a necessary relation, as the following discussion will show.

3.2.2 Unmarked Clauses

"Theme" is not the same as the grammatical subject, although the two can be conflated: When Theme is mapped onto Subject in a declarative clause, it is called UNMARKED--the default position of the

theme in English (*Functional Grammar* 45). Generally, in an unmarked declarative clause, Theme consists of everything before the main verb.

Figure 3:1 Thematisation: Unmarked Clause (Definition)

Vast stretches of the Clayoquot	have already been clear-cut
Theme	**Rheme**
Given	**New**
Subject	**Predicate**

Table 6 contains the complete Theme/Rheme analysis of my data. Each clause is numbered separately in Column 1.

3.2.3 Complex Clauses

It should be noted that complex clauses in which more than one clause may be embedded can also be analysed for complex Theme and Rheme (*Functional Grammar* 61-64). In my data, this is particularly common for projecting clauses, which report someone else's words. In order to indicate this kind of embedding, I have represented such clauses on a separate line, without numbering them, as in the following example:

Figure 3:2 Thematisation: Complex Clause (Definition)

	Theme	**Rheme**
8.	**The head of the IWA in Canada**	says
	the Clayoquot decision	**will cost hundreds of jobs**

(There are several examples in my data of very complex embedding in the Rheme. When this occurs, if it contributes significantly to passage development, I have represented each clause separately without numbering it. Otherwise, it is represented as part of the generalised Rheme.)

3.2.4 Marked Themes

Theme need not be a noun or nominal group--prepositional and adverbial phrases can also function as thematised elements (*Functional Grammar* 39-40): ***In Clayoquot, new regulations will insist on alternative logging methods to protect the environment*** (B.1, 118); as can relative and adverbial clauses:

And as we've seen *the environmentalists are appalled and plan to fight* (A.1, 23). These constructions yield a complex theme, which displace the grammatical subject to the right.

Theme can also consist of a simple adverb: ***Yesterday's*** *decision will open up virgin territory to logging* (A.1, 140) (*Functional Grammar* 39-40); or a nominalised verb phrase: ***Picketing of an industry organisation*** *called the Forest Alliance* (B.1, 20) *(Functional Grammar* 42*).* The Theme can be displaced by the use of cleft constructions or existential "there" and "it": *There will be* ***a lot of laying down on roads this summer*** (A.1, 177) (*Functional Grammar* 59-61). Finally, the Theme can contain New information (*Functional Grammar* 278-281)--**Vast stretches of the Clayoquot** have already been clear-cut (A.1, 41). All of these are known as MARKED Themes.

Generally, the use of a prepositional phrase or adverbial clause indicates a strongly marked theme, whereas adverbs, nominalisation, displaced theme, or New information produces a weakly marked theme. In Table 7, Marked themes are indicated in Column 2 by the letter M, and the weakly marked themes are indicated by parentheses. Strongly marked Thematic elements such as prepositional phrases are also presented on a separate line (Note: only Participants are shown in this table. For the complete text, see Table 6):

Figure 3:3 Thematisation: Marked Theme (Definition)

Pass	Mark	Theme	Rheme
9.	M	By setting aside **a third of Clayoquot Sound**	
		the federal and provincial governments	**20 million dollars in revenue** each year

In Table 6, in order to show the full Theme/Rheme relationships, all thematic elements of independent clauses are combined as follows:

Figure 3:4 Thematisation: Complex Theme (Definition)

Pass	Theme	Rheme
9.	By setting aside **a third of Clayoquot Sound the government**	**will lose 20 million dollars in revenue each year, forever**

In my data, the distribution of Marked themes is as follows:

Figure 3:5 Thematisation: CBC (Distribution)

Type	Passage Initial	Non-Passage-Initial
Strong	2	2
Weak	7	4
Unmarked	4	26
TOTAL	**13** (of 45 clauses)	**32** (of 45 clauses)

Figure 3:6 Thematisation: BCTV (Distribution)

Type	Passage Initial	Non-Passage-Initial
Strong	6	0
Weak	2	10
Unmarked	4	27
TOTAL	**12** (of 49 clauses)	**37** (of 49 clauses)

In the BCTV data, strongly marked themes often give linguistic indication of a topic shift as well: all the strongly marked themes are passage-initial, and the only weakly marked passage-initial theme is the opening clause of the story, which in itself constitutes a different kind of markedness. Of the non-passage-initial weakly marked themes, five of them are in the opening introduction to the story. The remainder seem to be used as a means of emphasis for the purpose of adding interest and variation to the account: three are nominalisations, and two have an inverted order in the Given/New information structure. All but one of the topic shifts are accompanied by visual shifts as well.

The CBC account tends towards more complex passage introductions, consisting of more than one clause, which accounts for the strongly marked themes in non-passage-initial position. As with BCTV, there is a weakly marked theme in passage-initial position in the first clause of the story, and elsewhere weak passage-initial themes are present in conjunction with a dramatic shift in scene--from reporter back to anchor, from the Victoria living room of environmentalist Vicky Husband to the wind-swept reaches of a forested mountain, from loggers at a work site back to the same forested mountain, to a different forested mountain, to a meeting room, and back to the reporter.

3.2.5 Reactivated Themes

From this analysis, it is clear that newscasts do use marked themes to indicate topic shifts to their audiences. However, marked themes do not account for all the topic shifts between passages I have identified in my data. Several passages are introduced by re-instituting or "reactivating" an already-mentioned, but displaced Participant. Speakers indicate this using a more specific referring form. In the BCTV account for example, *Opponents of the Clayoquot decision* (B.5, 3) is more specific than the vague references to *protesting, picketing* and *warnings* in the previous topic (B.5, 2). And with the introduction of this more specific reference, the visual image moves from an interview with environmentalist Paul Watson to footage of Clayoquot Sound. In the example ***The Clayoquot decision*** *may not be popular with everyone,* which introduces Passage 7, ***The Clayoquot decision*** is more specific than the immediately preceding reference to *the decision itself* in Passage 6. This topic shift is indicated visually by moving from the debate in the Legislature to a shot of the reporter himself, standing in a book-lined study. BCTV uses this technique of reactivation to indicate topic shift four times, the CBC only once. Reactivated themes are indicated in Column 2 of Table 7 by the letter "R."

3.2.6 Unmarked Themes

Marked and reactivated themes account for all of the BCTV passage-initial themes, and most of the CBC ones as well. But there is a third type of passage which seems to stand alone providing background information to the story as a whole. On the CBC, three of the passage-initial themes--Passages 3, 4, and 6--consist of unmarked clauses, unaccompanied by any visual shift. They are problematic in that while each of them is connected to the preceding and following passages, each of these passages in turn are about distinctly different aspects of the situation. In their transfer of New from the previous Rheme to act as Given in the New passage-initial position of the next passage, they do function in the way Halliday and Martin expect, however these are atypical examples in the newscast. These are indicated in Table 7 by the letter "U."

There is a similar example on BCTV. Passage 4 offers a definition of the area of Clayoquot Sound as an interjection between explanations of the land-use decision. Because it is a more specific reference to

an already-introduced Participant, I have designated it as a Reactivated theme. But the visuals remain focused on forested mountains and rocky coastline as for the preceding and following topics. Like the Unmarked themes above, the definition itself gives background knowledge for both topics, which themselves seem to be about different aspects of the decision, even though the BCTV account uses a more emphatic structure than the CBC. The following figure shows the distribution of topic-initial thematisation for both account (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 3:7 Thematisation: Passage Initial (Distribution)

Type	CBC		BCTV	
	%		%	
Strong--M	38	(5)	50	(6)
Weak--(M)	31	(4)	17	(2)
Reactivated--R	8	(1)	33	(4)
Unmarked--U	23	(3)	0	(0)
TOTAL		**13**		**12**

3.2.7 Passives and Agentless Passives

Finally, in addition to unmarked and marked themes, there is a third resource available to speakers in arranging the focus of information--passive or agentless passive constructions. As noted in Chapter 1, this is an optional feature available in clauses construing material processes. In his analysis of academic genres, Martin spends considerable time analysing this construction. However, academic genres are concerned with condensing complex information, newscasts on the contrary are concerned to make their information clear and accessible.

This feature has also been identified and vilified by numerous news analysts. In *Language as Ideology* for example, Hodge and Kress devote an entire chapter, "Transformations and Truth" to this feature, in which they suggest that speakers have volition and motive when they use passive and agentless passive clauses, and that hearers need to be able to "unpack" the information condensed in these constructs in order to understand the ideological load they bear.

There are some interesting examples of agentless passives which do display these characteristics in my data. In the CBC account, the agentless passive construction *Vast stretches of the Clayoquot have*

already been clear-cut: hillsides scarred beyond repair; valleys stripped (A.1, 41-43), allows the reporter to equate clear-cut logging to environmental rape--stripping in the context of scarring does not refer to simple disrobing, but to violation--without directly attributing responsibility to logging companies. This is accompanied by visual footage of deforested areas, with debris, including what look like entire trees left to rot. But although passive constructions can be used to avoid connecting agents with actions, this is not always with an intent to mislead, but sometimes, as here perhaps, to avoid inflaming a sensitive situation, while still registering outrage.

Halliday suggests that the capacity of the English clause to allow passive constructions, and subsequent deletion of the agent, has been exploited as a result of the pressure put on language by scientific discourse, which required the ability to suspend active processes in descriptive language. It was in this way that the subject/agent was deleted from some kinds of speech, and the convention of "objectivity" in scientific discourse developed (Lectures, ENED Summer School, UBC, Summer 1993, and also the introductory chapter to *Writing Science*)

This practice has migrated from science to become a feature of written discourse generally, and written discourse increasingly influences spoken English. It is a useful feature, in that it does allow efficient condensation of information, as in the following clause, also taken from the CBC account, *Yesterday's decision will open up virgin territory to logging* (A.1, 140). Two agents are missing--it was **the government's** decision which was made yesterday, and it is to **forest companies** that logging will be opened up. This information is already active in the surrounding text and would be redundant and lacking appropriate focus if used here: "The government's decision of yesterday will allow forest companies to log virgin territory." To use the active voice here would result in shifting the focus away from the *virgin territory* and onto "the forest companies," whereas it is the territory itself that is of primary interest.

While it is true that the ability to delete the agent also means the ability to avoid declarative statements connecting agents to their goals, they are also are used to structure and focus information more tightly. But because the passages they structure are so disjointed, no significant pattern in their use emerged. I have analysed them for their contribution to textual cohesion as referring expressions, rather than for their effect on thematisation.

3.2.8 Discussion

Because of their rapid topic shifts, and adherence to the principle of "objectivity," both of which are characteristics of the genre, newscasts make neither extended nor explicit arguments. Instead they use thematisation, in the form of Marked and Reactivated themes, to emphasise the numerous shifts in focus. Implicit claims are made within passages. In order to determine the nature of the claims, and the rhetorically significant differences between them, this outline of the boundaries between passages is a necessary first step.

3.3 Cohesion

3.3.1 Introduction

Compelled to maintain coherence in the face of deliberate disjuncture, newscasts exploit an array of supple and inventive techniques. In order to describe these, I have used a modified form of the cohesive analysis suggested by Halliday and Hasan in *Cohesion in English.* This work identifies five categories speakers use for producing textual cohesion: reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction, and lexical. Here, I have conflated the first three categories as "Reference:" reference proper, nominal ellipsis and nominal substitution. Conjunction will be considered separately. Other types of ellipsis and substitution, and lexical cohesion will not be discussed. Further, Halliday and Hasan identify two aspects of conjunction--internal and external. In this description of passages, I have extended the concept to reference as well, since referring expressions contribute internally to the cohesion of passages, as well as externally to the cohesion of the entire utterance.

3.3.2 Reference

(1) Introduction

"Reference" describes the various strategies speakers use to introduce and re-introduce objects, entities, or events in their speech. The three main types of reference Halliday and Hasan distinguished in *Cohesion* are personal (i.e. first, second and third person reference), demonstrative (this, that, a, the) and comparative (some, each, all, etc.). Subsequent to their publication of that work, there has been suggestive research into how reference moves through texts as Given/New information structures. This research is concerned with establishing linguistic criteria for determining what is presumed by the speaker as known or "Given" to the hearer, and what should be presented as "New" (Prince; Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs; Gundel, et. al.; and see Schiffrin, Ch. 6 & 8 for an overview), regardless of reference type, or thematisation patterns.

As Grice's Maxims of Quantity and of Relevance suggest, this research verifies that speakers try to keep their contributions as brief as possible, to avoid repetitiveness, and at the same time to ensure that hearers have enough information to identify new entities. Effectively, as Participants become progressively more familiar, speakers should be able to refer to them more economically: in the CBC account, *Yesterday's announcement by the NDP government to allow logging in Clayoquot Sound* (A.1, 2-4), *the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot* (A.1, 22-23), and *the Clayoquot decision* (A.1, 33) represent such progressively familiar reference. And as references become more familiar, and therefore briefer, the hearer's ability to make inferential connections between them increasingly depends on the belief that the speaker's comment is relevant, that the speaker does not intend to mislead or confuse them by introducing unmentioned entities into the discussion in this abbreviated way. This pattern can be observed in the passages as analysed in Table 7.

But reference is used to maintain cohesion throughout the story, as well as within a specific passage. Stability of reference is one of the main ways newscasts ensure continuity. Chapter 1's analysis of Participants showed some categories of Participants are referred to more frequently than others, there is considerable overlap in frequency of reference between accounts in some categories, and almost none in others. Terms for *the government* and *the environment* are sustained throughout both accounts. But some

referents are specific to each account, and require a closer analysis of the segments. Segment 1 in both accounts is concerned with reactions to the decision, but from different perspectives: on BCTV, it is generalised *flack* (B.1, 10), *criticism* (B.1, 5); on the CBC the more specific *the right land-use decision* (A.1,29), and *a sell-out* (A.1, 34). Segment 2 in each account is about future consequences, but again from different perspectives: *future logging practices* (B.1, 110), *the goal* (B.1, 120), *alternative logging methods* (B.1, 89) are featured on BCTV; the CBC focuses on *a fight* (A.1, 144), *another difficult season* (A1,187), *outstanding land-use questions* (A.1, 201). And there are passage specific terms for each account as well, such as people in the forest industry (both general and specific), environmentalists (again both general and specific), and politicians (also general and specific).

The following discussion examines the way cohesive referring systems are constructed internally within passages, and externally throughout the entire accounts.

(2) Internal Reference

Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski have developed a "Givenness Hierarchy" which tracks individual referring expressions as they become progressively more definite (*Language* 275-80). This model, reproduced in the table below, identifies the constraints on the order in which terms can be mentioned.

Figure 3:8 Cohesion: Reference and Givenness Hierarchy (Definition)

in focus>	activated>	familiar>	uniquely identifiable>	referential>	type identifiable
{it}	{that} {this} {this N}	{that N}	{the N}	{indefinite this N}	{a N}

In this model, they say, "[each] status on the hierarchy is a necessary and sufficient condition for the appropriate use of a different form or forms. . . . in the model we propose here, the statuses are implicationally related (by definition) such that each status entails (and is therefore included by) all lower statuses, but not vice versa. And thus, "An entity which is in focus is necessarily also activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential, and type identifiable" (Gundel et al., 275-76). Their analysis does not look at the nature of representations of words in long term memory, nor at the cognitive processes which call

them into an utterance. It is concerned rather with the changes in referring to entities as they are invoked in a specific utterance.

The hierarchy is shown from right to left here, with the rightmost term being the least familiar, or the "lowest" on the hierarchy, and the leftmost as the most familiar or "highest." In this model, the categories of reference identified by Halliday and Hasan (*Cohesion* 37-43) can be loosely mapped as follows: *In Focus* includes pronouns (e.g. he, she, it), and demonstratives specifying closeness (e.g. this, these, here, now); *Activated* includes demonstratives specifying distance (e.g. that, those, there, then); *Familiar* includes precise use of demonstrative *that*, as in "that N;" *Uniquely Identifiable* is what Halliday calls the specific demonstrative, consisting of the definite article "the"; *Referential* includes comparatives (e.g. some, each, most); and *Type Identifiable* non-specific reference realised as the indefinite article "a."

Nominal substitution is ranked on the hierarchy for degree of familiarity, and the referents in nominal ellipsis, when it occurs, are represented in square brackets, and also ranked.

Further, I have added a seventh category of non-referential expressions. Because Gundel et al. are interested in the patterns of intentional reference, they do not include non-referential terms, but in my data, this category is important for topic structure. Language gives speakers the opportunity to construe abstract concepts, which are not intended to refer to any actual entity, either specific or non-specific. The non-referential category includes such terms as *consensus*, *bio-diversity*, *solutions*, *balance*, etc.

Internally, referring expressions construct cohesion through linking story-specific, segment-specific, and passage-specific references, represented as successively more familiar entities. In the following example reference status is analysed as it works to structure one passage from the CBC account. Table 7 in the Appendices contains the complete analysis of Reference for both accounts.

Figure 3:9 Cohesion: Reference, Mention, and Passage Structure (Example)

Pas.	Visual	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
3.	Cut to Paul George	A-Next	The Commission	Nonref-First T-First	is trying to reach a **consensus** on the best way to use and protect other valuable land resources
3.1		R-Next	**some environmentalists**		say
		A-Next	CORE	A-Next	has been now tainted by the Clayoquot decision
3.2		U-First	Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee	T-First	doesn't mince words
3.3		F-Next	He		says
	Cut to forest	A-Next T-Next A-First	the decision to turn 2/3 of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest into this		is asinine.
3.5	Cut to Mike Harcourt	Fam-First	Premier Harcourt	A-Next T-Next A-Next	defends the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot
3.6	Cut to Vicky Husband	U-First	Vicky Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada		says
		F-Next	the Clayoquot decision	Nonref U-First	was a sellout to **the logging companies**

Key: Nonref=Non-Referential, T=Type Identifiable, R=Referential, U=Uniquely Identifiable, Fam=Familiar, A=Activated, F=In Focus, First and Next=order of mention, **boldface** indicates a first-mentioned entity (other than a Proper Name) which receives subsequent mention. Table 6 in the Appendices contains a complete analysis of referring expressions showing their distribution in Theme and Rheme, and their division into topics.

In this topic, most of the key terms are bound together in the opening clause. One of the central Participants in the story, the *announcement by the NDP government to allow logging in Clayoquot Sound,* is carried over from Passage 1. Although some mentions of it here are very minimal, most have a surprising degree of explicitness: *the decision to turn two thirds of the Clayoquot Sound rain forest into this; the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot; the Clayoquot decision.* As can be seen in this example, news stories deal with numerous entities, and incorporate the utterances of numerous interview subjects as part of their typical structure. These repeated references act as reminders of the current topic, necessary because, as Chafe suggests, "[one] indisputable property of consciousness is that its capacity is very limited. As new ideas come into it, old ones leave. The speaker's treatment of an item as given, therefore, should cease when he judges that item to have left his addressee's consciousness" (cited in Brown and Yule 180). Not surprisingly, topic continuity can only be sustained by frequent refreshing of the terms of reference.

Environmentalists are also central to the story, and the reference is also carried over from Passage 1. The expression *some environmentalists* is designated as *Referential* because it is a more specific subset of the non-specific, *Type Identifiable* group *environmentalists* referred to in Passage 1, and thus it assumes a higher status on the Givenness hierarchy. Subsequent references to environmentalists become more rather than less explicit as the reporter goes into more passage-specific detail, and these are designated as Uniquely Identifiable, not because they refer of course to unique individuals, but because the newscast itself carefully situates them on the hierarchy: compare *Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee*, and *Vicky Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada* with *Premier Harcourt.* These designations give some indication about the degree of familiarity which the news staff presupposes on behalf of their audience--the Premier will be better known to viewers than the two environmentalists and the organisations they represent, thus he is identified in less explicit terms than they are.

Because, as Gundel et al. note, each status entails (and is therefore included by) all lower statuses, it is possible for speakers to use any of the lower status terms which are entailed by a given reference, it therefore becomes necessary for the analyst to interpret the highest possible status an expression could have, regardless of lexical choice. Thus, the reference to *Premier Harcourt* assumes a higher status than the *Uniquely Identifiable* environmentalists, and yet not high enough to warrant the usage "this Premier," hence, the designation *Familiar.*

The Commission is not new, having been introduced in the previous Passage, and could be referred to as "*this* Commission" here without loss of coherence. It is central to Segment 1, in conjunction with the main terms, *government* and *environmentalists*. Hence its designation as *Activated. A consensus* is a new idea, however and serves to link the already activated *Commission* with the *Referential* group *some environmentalists*. This term is passage-specific, but although not mentioned again, it defines the problem which the remainder of the segment focuses on.

The above passage offers a relatively clear example of internal reference. By no means all topics were this clear, and one of the boundaries of this one is also ambiguous. The immediately preceding topic consists of a single clause: *CORE stands for Commission on Resources and the Environment,* which could

equally well have been designated as an aside or background information. Functionally, however, the move from definition of the entity to discussion of its purpose seemed to mark a shift in focus.

The clause immediately following this excerpt marks the beginning of a new topic: *Vast stretches of the Clayoquot have already been clear-cut.* The topic shifts here from the government decision to discussion of the geographical area itself. And this shift is emphasised by the accompanying visuals, which move from Vicky Husband's living room to a panoramic shot of a forested mountain.

(3) External Reference

Referents can be tracked not only as they become increasingly familiar within a passage, but by identifying their path through the entire utterance, noting when they are first mentioned, and if they are mentioned subsequently--what Deborah Schiffrin calls the order of mention (Schiffrin 317). This information is useful in two ways. First, long strands of reference to a single entity can be traced--examined not only for its life-span, but also for the transformations which it endures throughout its life in the utterance. And second, a combined analysis of the distribution of reference types, the order of mention, and thematisation yields information about the environment participants find themselves in when they are first introduced. Genre-specific patterns are evident in the way significant referents are introduced in passage-initial clauses. And these patterns are in turn part of the way newscasts construct their claims to valid representation.

i) Transformations

Schiffrin's analysis of mention becomes extremely complex as she traces the course of each Participant through numerous mentions. Since the focus of this analysis is primarily on the birth of the entity, with a generalised rather than a specific interest in its longevity, referring expressions are only designated as "first" or "next" mention, without trying to show how often each specific entity is invoked. The analysis of Participants in Table 2 yields adequate information about frequency of mention. Table 7 contains the combined analysis of reference type and order of mention. First mentions of subsequently discussed entities are in bold face. The analysis, presented in the table below, shows that BCTV introduces slightly more referents, and subsequently features them fewer times. This could indicate a less-in-depth

treatment of each entity on BCTV, although a larger data sample would be required to determine if this is a pattern, or specific to this story. The first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers:

Figure 3:10 Cohesion: Order of Mention (Distribution)

	CBC		BCTV	
	%		%	
First	41	(55)	53	(72)
Next	59	(79)	47	(65)
TOTAL		**134**		**137**

As the analysis of internal reference showed, newscasts take great care in establishing and maintaining stable reference systems. In view of this, discontinuities are significant. Such discontinuities can be found in the BCTV account, in the terms referring to environmentalists. Although the environment and Clayoquot Sound are mentioned more often than environmentalists, there is a comparative absence of all such terms, as was noted in Chapter 1: there are 19 references to the environment and the area, and 13 to environmentalists, compared to a total of 76 references to Labour, Industry, and Money (see Tables in B.2 for complete lists). And remember, Chapter 2 showed that the government was the "negative" term in this story about the environment, not environmentalists. Here, the analysis of such references as are made to environmentalists in Segment 1 reveals a puzzling disjuncture. *Environmentalists* are explicitly mentioned in the introduction, but they are subsequently referred to in the most oblique terms: seemingly *the first protest* (B.1, 15 & 18), *Picketing* (B.1, 20), and *the warnings* (B.1, 21) indicate environmentalists, or at least activities associated with environmentalists, although this relationship is nowhere rendered more explicitly. Most puzzling is the construction *Opponents of the Clayoquot decision* (B.1, 30), which also apparently refers to environmentalists, even though the introduction to the story specified that many groups opposed the decision: *The provincial government is taking it on the chin from just about every direction tonite* (B.1, 1-2).

The transformation of terms is rhetorically significant for Burke. It is, he suggests, one of the ways persuasion is introduced into language. He says, "Though in its essence purely developmental, the series is readily transformed into rigid social classifications . . ." (*Rhetoric* 141), that is, purely conceptual

hierarchies, such as the relatively neutral categories represented here by the Givenness Hierarchy, become transformed into moralised ones: to name specifically is to "entitle," that is to acknowledge the legitimacy of the entity so named. And sometimes, says Burke, this moralisation of reference leads to mystification, which is never "merely" the result of trivial usage: "if the ultimate reaches in the principle of persuasion are implicit in even the trivial uses of persuasion, people could not escape the ultimates of language merely by using language trivially . . . The choices between war and peace are ultimate choices. Men [*sic*] must make themselves over profoundly, when cooperatively engaged in following such inescapable principles. And as the acts of persuasion add up in a social texture, they amount to one or the other of those routes" (*Rhetoric* 179).

The explanation for the peculiar reticence on the part of BCTV may be found in the fact that, as the previous chapter showed, many people in the province, and presumably in BCTV's audience, support the environmental protection measures taken by the government. But at the same time, the aims of environmentalists are antithetical to agency-oriented capitalist institutions including BCTV itself. This constitutes a paradox for BCTV, because as Gruneau and Hackett note in "The Production of TV News," "the competition for audiences pressures news production to gear itself to the predictable and familiar, since anything else might be upsetting or confusing and may cause viewers to switch channels" (Gruneau and Hackett, 291). BCTV cannot risk alienating some of their audience who support environmental issues by openly criticising a decision which, despite BCTV's assertions to the contrary in this account, met with a wide degree of public support, except from environmental groups--in fact, industry representatives are featured in the BCTV coverage on the previous day expressing themselves as being satisfied with the decision.

By covering the story at all, BCTV identifies its own concern with environmental issues; by remaining silent about environmentalists, this story denies them status as legitimate commentators on the issue. Apparently BCTV made the "moralised" decision to ignore environmentalists, or to mystify them as much as possible, and concentrate negative coverage on the government, since it is the government which is responsible for passing the legislation. Possibly this is why BCTV did not send reporters to Vancouver Island to cover the story, for any of the three days it was featured in the newscast. The footage for their

political coverage came from their Victoria correspondent, and such footage as they had from Clayoquot Sound itself came from the government sponsored helicopter trip for journalists which is referred to in the transcripts (B.1, 46-49).

This decision not to provide on-site coverage was made at the management level. Despite management efforts to cut production costs, such a major story usually calls for at least one reporter on location (personal communication, April 15, 1993--Harvey Oberfeld, George Ross, Stu McNish, BCTV News staff). Furthermore, during this same period, money *was* made available for the relatively trivial purpose of sending a crew to a small town in the interior of the province to cover a squabble among the local volunteer fire department while one of their members houses had burned to the ground.

ii) Distribution

The Givenness Hierarchy tracks the distribution of *types* of reference throughout an utterance. As the figure below shows, this provides useful information about the degree of presupposed audience familiarity with the Participants expected by each story (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 3:11 Cohesion: Referring Expressions (Distribution)

	Focus		Act		Fam		Unique		Ref		Type		Nonref		Total
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		
CBC	16	(22)	23	(31)	8	(11)	18	(24)	13	(17)	11	(15)	10	(14)	(134)
BCTV	8	(11)	17	(24)	11	(15)	17	(23)	40	(54)	4	(6)	3	(4)	(137)

The most significant differences here are in the *Non-referential*, and the *Referential* statuses. The CBC makes significantly more use of abstract, *Non-referential* terms than BCTV, but its use of abstractions is proportionate with other kinds of reference. On the other hand, BCTV uses *Referential* expressions far more than the CBC, and as its most favored means of referring to participants. *Referential* expressions are, as the Givenness Hierarchy indicates, mid-way between indefinite and definite reference. For example, if the indefinite expression "a decision" refers to the entire set of possible decisions, and if the definite expression "the decision" refers to only one specific decision, then "some decisions," "many decisions," "each decision," etc. refer to a non-specific subset of decisions, midway between indefinite and definite--

hence the designation "Referential." This is a more specific, less abstract mode of referring than the *Non-referential* or *Type Identifiable* statuses, although it serves a similar function: it allows the speaker to introduce generalisations into the utterance. BCTV's disproportionate reliance on this form may result from the lack of available footage on which more specific propositions could be based, rather than a habitual tendency to over-generalising. A larger sample would be required to determine this.

One of the most characteristic features of the genre of "newscasts" is that topics are frequently introduced with a general proposition which is then made the focus of the rest of the report. The example below shows a passage-initial abstract proposition, *The Commission is trying to reach a consensus*, a claim which the remainder of the passage develops in terms of positions for and against the work of CORE:

Figure 3:12 Cohesion: Reference, Mention and Thematisation (Example 1)

Pass	Visual	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
3.	Cut to Paul George	A-Next	The Commission	Nonref-First T-First	is trying to reach a **consensus** on the best way to use and protect other valuable land resources

Here, thematisation, reference type and first-mention of a significant entity combine to introduce a new passage. In this example, thematisation works as Martin and Halliday predict: Given information is mapped onto the Theme, New onto the Rheme. Below is a more emphatic use of thematisation, which gives hearers warning of the impending topic shift in the prepositional phrase, and then delivers New information in both the Theme and Rheme:

Figure 3:13 Cohesion: Reference, Mention, and Thematisation (Example 2)

Pass	Visual	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
9.	Lumber Mill	Fam-Next	By setting aside a third of Clayoquot Sound		
		Fam-First	**the federal and provincial governments**	R-First R-First	**will lose 20 million dollars in revenue** each year, forever

The New information consists of the first-mentioned federal (though not provincial) government, and the generalised reference to an obviously estimated sum of money. The remainder of the passage expands on this expected loss of income.

This pattern of assertions supported by empirical observations or marshaled facts is characteristic of public discourse generally. And as Bourdieu defines it, public discourse is "the legitimate (i.e. formal) language, the authorized, authoritative language" of the community (Bourdieu 69). Along with agentless passive constructions, this form has been developing since the Enlightenment focus on scientific method, and it, too, has migrated into oral discourse. However, unlike agentless passives, evidence for this construction cannot be found within the confines of the clause, but rather as here in the analysis of clause sequences or passages. Use of it usually indicates higher status in both individual speaking subjects, and in discourses such as the newscast. Although space does not permit the presentation of my analysis of Level 3 utterances, those data reveal that the more highly placed the interview subjects are, the greater their ability to combine generalisations with specific information.

Along with the shifts from anchor to reporter to interview subject and back, this feature is a hallmark of the genre. My analysis shows that the BCTV account relies heavily on generalisations to perform this function (10 of 12 Passages have topic initial clauses containing generalised *Referential* expressions significant for the topic). In the CBC, *Non-referential* expressions play a significant role in topic-initial positions. Five of the fourteen *Non-referentials* are in topic-initial clauses, whether in Theme or Rheme position. Of the remaining eight topics, seven contain *Referential* expressions and one is a definition. (There is one additional type of topic-initial clause which appears in both accounts--2 in BCTV and 1 on CBC--and which I have called "Definition." This will be discussed further in the definition of passage types).

This form is not innate, nor does it come spontaneously to speakers. Martin says that such hierarchic organisation is "more common in rehearsed than spontaneous speech, and much more common in writing than talking" ("Life as a Noun" 152). Furthermore, it does not come easily in writing either, and is often the focus of writing instruction, as this example from Coe's advanced composition textbook *Process, Form, and Substance* attests (as does the existence of the book and the entire genre of composition textbooks of which it is a part): "The writing we most admire often flows so naturally when we read it that we assume it must have flowed just as naturally when the writer wrote it. But the writers who produce such

writing generally spend much more time on revision than less experienced writers who produce less fluent writing" (*Process* 110).

He goes on to talk about revising to make generalizations and abstractions on which arguments are based accurate: "Rarely is a generalization totally true--indeed, part of what we mean by *generalization* is "*generally* true" (*Process* 112). And Martin too recognises the effort and artifice which goes into this construction: "Multiple layers of Macro-Theme and Macro-New have to be consciously constructed in writing, through a determined editing and planning process" ("Life as a Noun" 251).

This form plays a large role in the classification of passage types, it constitutes an important means by which each newscast establishes its claim to validity, and there are significant differences in the way they use it. It will be discussed further in 3.4.

(4) Discussion

Generally, the analysis of referring expressions distinguishes passage boundaries by tracking Participants within passages via Givenness Hierarchy. Although the resultant designation of passages is not always determinate, some patterns do emerge from the data. Shifts can be recognised when an entity is either newly introduced or reintroduced, connected to already activated ones, and then made the focus of the ensuing commentary.

Individual terms can also be tracked through numerous passages and can be analysed for transformations, as Burke suggests. Given the generally stable chain of reference which both accounts establish, ambiguous references are of particular interest in terms of transformations. Such ambiguity can be found in the BCTV account with regard to environmentalists and activities associated with them. This oblique referring pattern may be a result of BCTV's decision to minimise air time given to environmental issues, while at the same time attacking the government responsible for the legislation.

Referring expressions can also be analysed for distribution of types through an entire utterance, and for patterns of use in passage initial position. In combination with thematisation, passages are introduced by either generalised or abstract first-mentioned referents in both accounts. This is a significant pattern in public discourses generally, and bears on the way each account establishes its claim to validity. It

will be reconsidered in the discussion of passage types. The preference for abstraction in passage-initial positions on the CBC was predicted by the cluster of Participant terms dealing with abstract concepts of consensus and negotiation, in Chapter 1. BCTV's heavy, and disproportionate reliance on generalisation even in non-passage initial positions indicates that the account is constructed in large part out of generalised rather than specific claims. A larger sample would be required to determine if such generalisation is customary to BCTV, or peculiar to this story. It may be that the decision to minimise coverage also accounts for this heavy use of generalised expressions.

3.3.3 Conjunction

(1) Definition

Conjunction forms one of the largest categories in Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English.* Halliday and Hasan apparently intend their analysis of conjunction to apply to actually uttered instances, but presumably speakers intend some kind of logical connection between all the propositions in an utterance, whether these connections are stated or not. Frequently such relations are left for the hearer to add by inference, as Halliday and Hasan recognise:

> [It] is the underlying semantic relations . . . that actually have the cohesive power. This explains how it is that we are often prepared to recognize the presence of a relation of this kind even when it is not expressed overtly at all. We are prepared to supply it for ourselves and thus to assume that there is cohesion even though it has not been explicitly demonstrated (*Cohesion*, 229).

This view accords with Grice's Maxims as well. Cooperative speakers "make their contributions relevant" and "avoid ambiguity," and hearers can interpret the implicatures in adjoining clauses as intentionally linked. Given that speakers intend to respect these maxims, it follows that one should be able to retrieve conjunctive relations between clauses even when none is specified by the speaker. This is after all what we do in conversations, even if we do not consciously identify the process as such, and even if we do not yet have the analytical tools to accurately describe the process. Conjunction construes logical relationships between clauses, within passages, between passages, and among larger units of meaning as well. It is one of the most significant means for speakers to establish the validity of their claims, although

conjunctive relations are often left to be inferred by the hearer. This is particularly true in newscasts, where too-direct claims might signal a lack of objectivity.

Thus in the following, I have not confined the analysis to explicitly mentioned conjunctions, but assumed that conjoining relations are present between clauses even where none are explicitly expressed. This analysis is based on the model in Martin's "Life as a Noun," although it is much simplified. Following his application, conjunction is analysed internally and externally. There are two types of internal conjunction discussed below: conjunctive relations between adjoining independent clauses, and a type of conjunction within clauses which Halliday calls "expansion," whereby dependent or hypotactic clauses are "joined" to independent ones. Martin does not discuss expansion, but expansion encompasses projection, the means whereby speakers report the speech of third parties, and it is an important structural feature of news. Also, because the transcripts are of oral discourse rather than written documents, it was frequently difficult to discern "sentence" or clause complex boundaries and so for the most part relations between all independent clauses are treated as instances of conjunction, and relations within clauses as instances of expansion.

External conjunction relates any given clause to all other clauses in the passage. It has great influence on the classification of passage types, and therefore it will be discussed as part of passage classification in 3.4.1.

(2) Internal Conjunction

Halliday and Hasan identified four categories of conjunction in *Cohesion in English*: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. The table below, adapted from there, contains a simplified version of this taxonomy of types, which I have abbreviated to show only those terms I have used in my own analysis. The full analysis of conjunctive relations between all the independent clauses in my data can be found in Column 2 of Table 6 in the Appendices. Square brackets indicate implicit conjunctive relations which I have supplied. As is evident in those tables, conjunctions, whether explicit or implicit, always occupy the Theme initial position.

Figure 3:14 Cohesion: Conjunctive Terms (Definition)

(Adapted from Halliday and Hasan, 242-243)

Additive	Adversative	Causal	Temporal
For example (E.g.)	But	Because	At this point
By the way	However	Therefore	To sum up
Likewise	Well	So	To resume
That is to say	Despite this	As a result	Finally
Also	In any case		First
By contrast			Meanwhile
It means			Next
			From now on
			Up to now

This analysis of conjunction does not claim to be definitive: the classifications are shifting and unstable. Many of these relations could be assigned to different categories than they have been here. However this analysis does represent a starting point by offering propositions about how these accounts construct logical meanings. Although none of the conjunctive relations were especially clear, neither the explicit nor the implicit ones, the following excerpted example from Table B.6 was particularly difficult to classify:

Figure 3:15 Cohesion: Internal Conjunction (Example)

Pas	Conj	Theme	Rheme
3.	[because]	**Opponents of the Clayoquot decision**	want far more than **what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday**
3.1	[E.g.]	The decision	protects some logging
	and		protects some wilderness
	and		allows for negotiation between the two
4.	[by the way]	**Clayoquot Sound**	is **an area** on the west coast of Vancouver Island comprising 350,000 hectares of spectacular land and seascape.

This example, which has presented a recurring problem throughout my analysis, constitutes a deliberate flouting of Grice's maxims with regard to logic, as it did with regard to reference in the previous section. All links between the clauses in this example are inexplicit and inferred. The same speculations as in the preceding section apply with regard to *Opponents of the decision*, but in addition, it is unclear why these declarative statements are placed in juxtaposition, since they are never linked in any explicit way. This is puzzling because, as Brown and Yule point out, "there is a constant analysis in conversation of what is

said in terms of 'why that now and to me'" (*Discourse*, 77). We are never told exactly what it is that environmentalists want, although as noted earlier, there is an implication that they are greedy and potentially violent.

The previous passage in the transcript deals with the anticipated protests by environmentalists unhappy with the government decision, showing Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee saying, *So the war isn't over. To save Clayoquot Sound* (B.1 28). Here, Passage 3 takes on an explanatory character, with the reporter laying out the environmentalist position and contrasting it with the position of the government. This reasonableness is strongly inferable from the balanced, parallel clause structures in which it is contained.

In general the designation of conjunctive relation was accomplished through a recursive process whereby a conjunctive type was assigned AFTER the classification of topic types. Often it was only after seeing what pattern of meaning the reporter was striving for that the logical connections between what are often disjointed and rambling accounts could be discerned. Although the designation of conjunctive category was difficult, the categories themselves are relatively straight-forward. I made no attempt at a complex analysis of conjunction, merely looking at the relationships between one clause and its neighbors.

The distribution of conjunctive relations in my data is as follows (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 3:16 Cohesion: Internal Conjunction (Distribution)

Conjunction	CBC		BCTV	
	%		%	
Additive	39	(18)	54	(30)
Adversative	24	(11)	9	(5)
Causal	13	(6)	24	(13)
Temporal	24	(11)	13	(7)
Total		**46**		**55**

The distribution of explicitly mentioned and implicit conjunction was as follows (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 3:17 Internal Conjunction: Explicit/Implicit

	CBC		BCTV	
	%		%	
Explicit	20	(9)	20	(11)
Implicit	80	(37)	80	(44)
TOTAL		**(46)**		**(55)**

If an explicitly mentioned conjunction has a different implicit meaning, it is designated as implicit. For example, in *Logs from the Clayoquot are big and worth a lot of money, and the ways of getting them out may be different from the traditional logging methods we know* (B.6, 12.6 & 12.7), the second clause is joined to the first one with the conjunction "and," although the relationship is much more complex than simply, "and here's more information to add to that." A grudging (because implicit) concessive relationship is being construed, one of the few adversative relations in the BCTV data, giving the following reading: "***[But]*** the ways of getting them out may ***[well]*** be different from the traditional logging methods we know."

Of the explicitly mentioned conjunctions, 6 of 9 on the CBC were adversative, 1 each was additive, temporal and causal. 6 of 11 on BCTV were additive, 2 were adversative, 2 causal, and 1 temporal.

The disproportionate representation of additive conjunctions compared to other types on BCTV was surprising. From the absence of adversatives, it seems that BCTV has avoided representing the story as a conflict. But this does not mean that conflicting positions are absent, simply that they can be found expressed in other structures than conjunction, as the previous analysis has made evident. By comparison, the use of adversatives in the CBC account predict that the story will be constructed from conflicting positions--adversatives indicate contradictions and disagreements. The effects of these different uses of conjunction become clearer in the analysis of passage type below.

(3) Internal Expansion

In addition to conjunctive relations between independent clauses, there is a type of relation which functions within clauses in much the same way as conjunction to allow speakers to elaborate on their statements. These internal relations are realised by prepositional phrases and dependent relative and adverbial clauses. Frequently, they form embedded theme/rheme structures in independent clauses.

Halliday identifies three kinds of expansion (*Functional Grammar*, Chapter 7): **elaboration** is similar to the subordinating aspects of the additive relation, as exemplification; **extension** comprises equative addition, and also treats adversative or variational relations as being a kind of addition; and **enhancement** which deals with temporal, spatial, manner, and causal-conditional relations. These relations are realised by means of prepositional phrases or dependent adverbial and relative clauses, and thus far, their functions correspond loosely to those of conjunction. In general, in my data, if an expanded clause or phrase contributed to the topic structure, such as temporal or causal pairs, it is shown on a separate line in Table 6, without numbering it, as noted in the discussion of thematisation above.

However there is a fifth type of expansion which has no parallel in conjunction, and which *is* significant to newscasts: projection. Projection is "the logical-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation" (*Functional Grammar*, 228). That is to say projection is the way in which words, ideas or facts can be taken from other times and places, or other speakers, and incorporated into our own utterances: *Owen says there's no point in boycotting CORE.* Here, *Owen says* is the projecting clause, and *there's no point in boycotting CORE* is what gets projected. The projecting pronoun "that" is elided here, as it frequently is in such constructions. The verb *says* signals that projection is being construed, projection is usually signaled by Verbal processes, sometimes by Mental ones. For the complete list, see Table 3 in the Appendices. And for a discussion of these types, see Field, 1.3 and Tenor, 2.2).

It is important to note that "projection" does not refer to the "clips" which feature actual interview subjects speaking for themselves. In the newscast, such clips are most usually related to the topic by the additive conjunction, usually exemplification. But interview subjects are also frequently introduced by the reporter with a projecting statement, and sometimes the words of individuals are simply reported as part of the story, even though the attributed speaker never appears in the story.

Although projection is a more complex process than conjunction, it has less bearing on relations between topics than it does in defining the quality of the text under consideration--are there many voices or one; how are they incorporated in the text--through their own words, or represented by the words of others. In this way it is very similar to the mental processes discussed in the previous chapter. Because newscasts

typically rely for "authority" on the accounts of interview subjects, projection is the most significant type of expansion, it occurs frequently in the transcripts, projecting clauses are indicated in Table 6 by placing them on a separate line as noted above, and will be discussed briefly here.

Clauses are classified as projection when reporters summarise what is said or thought by others, either by way of introducing the speaker: *But Premier Harcourt defends the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot*, and then showing a clip of the Premier saying more or less what was reported of him; or as a means of expediting the account without subsequently showing a clip of the invoked individual: *people in the forest industry are complaining that not enough logging will be allowed*, where no forest industry spokesperson actually appears anywhere in the account.

There are more instances of projection on the CBC than BCTV (the CBC has 15, BCTV 8 Verbal processes, see Figure 1.3), suggesting the CBC construes knowledge as contingent, constructed by appeal to the authority of sources or evidence. In the BCTV account on the other hand there are far fewer projections generally, and the person whose words they report does not usually appear in the account. This is not because BCTV uses no sources, but at least partly because of a stylistic preference: BCTV aims for a seamless integration of levels, in which the narrative flow is not interrupted. Thus interview subjects often are not introduced either before or after speaking. This makes for a more streamlined account, but also one which is more dependent on the reporter for cohesion.

But also, the distribution of words between the levels indicates that in this account at least, BCTV does rely far less on corroborating evidence from interview subjects than does the CBC. On BCTV, Levels 1 and 2 combined have more words than Level 3 (in fact Level 2 alone has more words than Level 3). On the CBC, interview subjects clearly occupy the largest amount of air time. The distribution is as follows (the first number represents proportional distribution in per cent, the second in actual numbers):

Figure 3:18 Cohesion: Internal Expansion (Distribution)

Level	CBC		BCTV	
	%		%	
Level 1: Anchor	10	(160)	18	(221)
Level 2: Reporter	32	(488)	42	(520)
Level 3: Interview	58	(893)	40	(501)
TOTAL		**1541**		**1242**

As with the analysis of Tenor, this analysis of projection indicates BCTV uses a speaker-centered approach, the CBC one which focuses on third parties (i.e. interview subjects). While these results may reflect the lack of footage on BCTV, this lack is in itself indicative of the decision on the part of the production staff to adopt a more authoritative, reporter-based stance toward the issue. Furthermore, despite the absence of on-location footage, the account could not be constructed in too anomalous a fashion, or this lack would become apparent. Given the oblique nature of the references, this does not seem to be BCTV's intent. It seems likely that this account is not completely anomalous in terms of structure.

(4) Discussion

The CBC account emphasises adversative conjunctions, BCTV additive ones. And as the analysis in the preceding chapters has suggested, the role of internal expansion in terms of projection confirms that the CBC prefers a third-party oriented account, BCTV a speaker-oriented one.

3.3.4 Discussion

Cohesion structures passages internally through thematisation, referring expressions and conjunction. Referring structures also contribute to the cohesion of entire utterances. Despite frequent topic shifts, newscasts usually maintain a stable and frequently refreshed reference system. Disjunctures in this system are rhetorically significant. In the BCTV account ambiguous references to environmentalists suggest that BCTV has adopted a strategy of silence on environmental measures, preferring to focus negative attention on the government responsible for passing the legislation, instead.

Referring expressions combined with thematisation and order of mention produce a map of rising and falling familiarity within utterances, and indicate that newscasts typically introduce new topics not only with marked themes, but also with generalised or abstract propositions which the passage then develops as an assertion about the event. This form is not only specific to the genre of newscasts. It is highly prized as evidence of speaker access to knowledge/power in public discourse generally; its production requires training, speakers who use it usually have high status, and it constitutes one of the main forms used to establish claims to validity in each of these accounts. BCTV has a disproportionate number of Referential expressions, indicating the account relies heavily on generalisations. This may be accounted for by BCTV's lack of live coverage on which to base more specific assertions.

Logical relations within passages are construed by conjunction. Either because of the convention of objectivity, or the need to avoid offending viewers, newscasts cannot make normative claims. Therefore these logical connections are usually inexplicit, and left to be inferred by the hearer. Sometimes these connections are obscure, possibly because of the need to shift topic rapidly, possibly because the reporter cannot make logical assertions without appropriate footage. Usually they can be retrieved with some guesswork, but sometimes, as in the case of BCTV's discussion of what environmentalists want, this obscurity seems to be a deliberate flouting of Grice's maxim of relevance.

There are more additive conjunctions in each account than any other type (CBC has 39%, BCTV 54%), but BCTV has disproportionately more of these. Conjunctive types are more evenly distributed on the CBC, which features significantly more adversative conjunctions than BCTV (24% compared to 9%).

Expansion functions within the clause somewhat like conjunction functions between clauses. In the newscast projection, a kind of expansion which reports the words of third parties, is of interest because third parties constitute the evidence for generalised claims made by the newscast. The CBC uses more projection than BCTV, and it is used to introduce the interview subjects who corroborate the claims made by reporters. BCTV uses fewer projections, and interview subjects have significantly fewer words, indicating once again that BCTV prefers a speaker-based mode, the CBC a third party one. As the next section on passage types will show, these differences achieve different effects--the CBC constructs arguments, while BCTV explains events.

3.4 Passages

3.4.1 Introduction

As the preceding analysis has suggested, newscasts are disjunctive, they move rapidly from topic to topic, and their normative claims are only implicit. Identifying the boundaries of units which contain individual claims is the necessary first step before classifying them according their symbolic organisation, evaluating them in terms of the symbolic action each account performs, and comparing them in terms of the competing versions of the social order they represent. This requires an interpretive leap from the clause into

larger, less stable, less clearly defined units. However, the following classification is based on the preceding syntactic elements of thematisation, reference, and conjunction.

(1) The Narrative/List Distinction

In this section, I have relied on Deborah Schiffrin's descriptive analysis of lists, and the comparisons she draws between lists and narratives, an approach she calls "variation analysis." This approach was first developed by William Labov "not just out of a search for discourse units per se, but also out of a set of social and political concerns stemming from the notion of verbal deprivation" supposedly found in non-standard dialects (Labov, cited in Schiffrin 284). Labov was able to demonstrate through his analysis of narrative structure that "the black English vernacular is the vehicle of communication used by some of the most talented and effective speakers of the English language" (Schiffrin 284).

While Labov's work centered on narrative (in Labov and Waletsky; and Labov), Schiffrin focuses her own analysis on the list. Taken together, these structures of narrative and list are viewed as basic types "largely independent of surrounding talk," that is, while they can be incorporated into other kinds of talk, they have distinctive features which mark them as separate speech units. Schiffrin offers this explanation of the distinctions between the two types: "Narratives tell what happened and lists describe a category. Units of lists are entities whereas units of narratives are events. Lists focus on items per se, rather than on what can be predicated of those entities" (Schiffrin 297). Narratives focus on what happened to individuals, lists on members of categories. There is a greater inherent objectivity in lists than in narratives: "Members of a category seem slightly [more] immune to individual subjectivity: some categories may even have members whose qualities justify their inclusion in the category independent of an observer's subjective view of those qualities. . . categorization is structured according to perceived structure and function in the world: naturally occurring groups of attributes may be non-arbitrarily related to particular functions" (Schiffrin 307). But this categorization is not "totally independent of who is doing the categorizing and on what basis;" the specific details of categorization can vary across individuals, subgroups, and cultures, and can change over time. Despite such variation, however, "categorization seems to be a less subjectively guided process than narration: the involvement of the self seems less likely to pervade the "logical" processes underlying category membership than the "narrative" processes underlying memory of experience" (Schiffrin 306).

Labov's analysis of narrative and Schiffrin's of lists gives rigor and grounding to these categories while Burke gives a wider significance in terms of world view. Labov (and Schiffrin) connect chronological order with Narrative, logical order with List. And they produce detailed analyses showing that Narratives are centered on agents both in their focus and in their telling, while lists are centered on categories determined by the nature of the list itself. Like them, Burke distinguishes between chronologically and logically ordered forms of utterance, and although Burke himself never explicitly made a connection between these forms of order and the terms Agent and Scene from his Pentad, such a connection can usefully be made.

These distinctions are different names for widely recognised pattern, used by many researchers in many lines of inquiry. In the table below, I have produced a list showing the pattern of transformations made by these different terminologies:

Figure 3:19 Passage Type: Scene/Agent (Definition)

Scene	Agent
List	Narrative
Logical organisation	Chronological order
Objective	Subjective

It should be noted that the term "objectivity" is used by media analysts and journalists in a different but related way to the narrower sense in which Schiffrin uses it here. In media analysis, an opposition is often implied between objectivity and bias. But in Schiffrin's definition, "objectivity" is a quality inherent in syntactic or semantic structures, it does not refer to the more abstract concepts of "fairness" and "accuracy" in representation. And Schiffrin's use of the term corresponds closely with Halliday's (*Writing Science* 2-21).

Another term or set of terms used in media analysis, as in other kinds of public discourse, is the "objective/subjective" polarity. But just as I have not used "objective" to mean strict adherence to a neutral and empirically observable truth, I have not used the term "subjective" as a pejorative term meaning "naively biased." Rather, it too describes a syntactically or semantically identifiable pattern of language use.

In adopting Labov's model, a new vocabulary is required to describe the function of units of text above the clause--Labov and Schiffrin use terms such as "description," "evaluation," and "temporal

sequence." Both Labov and Schiffrin have developed detailed models for analysing the syntactic components of each of these types. But many of the features they identify can be described by conjunctive functions, and accordingly I have adapted their terms in order to show their connection to Halliday and Hasan's vocabulary for describing conjunction.

(2) External Conjunction

Internal conjunction consists of the relations between adjoining clauses. But clauses can be joined in more complex ways. An opening clause in a passage can act as introduction to the passage, just as the final one can act as a conclusion. Indeed, entire passages can function as introductions or conclusions to larger units such as segments.

Therefore, conjunction is not just important as relation between clauses, it also describes the hierarchical function each clause plays within a topic. I have adapted the following classification offered by Halliday and Hasan by adding some terms from Labov and Schiffrin: List item, background, introduction, conclusion sequence, and summary.

In the appendices, Column 2 in Table 6 names the Conjunctive function of each clause within the passage:

Figure 3:20 Passage Type: External Conjunctive Function (Definition)

Additive	Adversative	Causal	Temporal
List Item	Complication	Premise	Introduction
Comparison	Dismissive	Outcome	Conclusion
Exemplification	Concessive	Background	Sequence
Additive			Summary
Background			Background

I have analysed each clause for its conjunctive function within the topic. The role of each of these types will be discussed further as they arise in the definition of passage types. This list of conjunctive function is no doubt partial, based as it is on the relatively small sample in my data. In "Life as a Noun" Martin has made a subtle and complex analysis of conjunctive relations between various levels of text, in which he includes locative adverbs (233-241, and passim, particularly Figures 11.4 and 11.5). My approach flattens a great deal of this subtle meaning potential, but nonetheless, awareness of the logical relations within topics is for many speakers, deeply embedded intuitive knowledge. And the conventions of

newscasts, like those of everyday conversations do not make these relations explicit. Doing so is at least a necessary first step to a more sophisticated analysis.

(3) Other Features of Passages

Newscasts, like other genres are neither pure narrative nor pure list. Accordingly, some mediating categories were required. Although lists and narratives are present in my data in relatively "pure" form, there are other patterns, hybrids derived from these basic types which I have called **explanation** and **argument**.

Because the distinction between narrative and list also rests on the nature of the Participants--Agents or Categories--I have also indicated whether the topic is based on an abstraction (i.e. a *Non-referential* expression), a generalisation (a *Referential* expression), or an Agent (a proper noun), and because chronological time is prominently featured in narrative, I have also analysed for two types of tense: the first type is the simple tense system of past, present, and future; the second, conditional tense, includes progressive as well as relational processes that define logically and atemporally. The formal categories yielded by this analysis may quite well be specific to the newscast, although they do display characteristics which also seem generic.

In the following discussion, I have given an example of each topic type accompanied by a description of its characteristic features. Both Labov and Schiffrin give detailed analyses of narratives and lists, which I have adapted and simplified here. (Although this analysis is only concerned with passages, some of these passages also participate in larger sequences--for example both accounts offer Lists in their first passage, but in this first position they also function as an introduction, either to the account as a whole in the case of BCTV, or to the first segment on the CBC. And both accounts feature passages at the end of each segment which function to conclude the segment as a whole. This level of signification belongs traditionally to the domain of classical rhetoric and its categories of invention and arrangement, and is not the focus here. Where I have identified passages with such dual roles, this second, larger role is also indicated in Column 1, although I have not made a detailed analysis of these larger sequences). The distribution of passage types is as follows in my data:

Figure 3:21 Passage Types: Distribution

	Narrative	List	Explanation	Argument	TOTAL
CBC	0	2	5	6	13
BCTV	2		8	1	12

3.4.2 Narrative

In my data, there are only two examples of narrative, both on BCTV, and neither have all of the features described by Schiffrin. This is not surprising in a genre which is supposed to be about facts, rather than individuals. However, they do embody narrative forms to a certain extent. According to Schiffrin, "Narratives have a linear structure in which different sections present different kinds of information. Each section has a different function within the story.. . . Narratives are opened by an abstract, a clause that summarizes the experience and presents a general proposition that the narrative will expand (284). These features can be seen in the example below:

Figure 3:22 Passage Type: Narrative (Example)

Pas	Topic Type	Conjunct	Theme	Rheme
7.	Narrative: Agent Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Conditional	[To sum up]	The Clayoquot decision	may not be popular with everyone
7.1	Adversative: Complication Tense: Conditional	but [despite this]	it	appears
	Tense: Present		Premier Harcourt and his government	are feeling comfortable today
7.2	Additive: Comparison Tense: Past	[by contrast]	A contrast from the discomfort they felt two weeks ago	following their provincial budget
7.3	Temporal: Background Tense: Conditional	[up to now]	A tremendous amount of time and effort	has been spent deciding on this compromise
7.4	Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Conditional	and	it	seems unlikely
	Tense: Future		there	will be any backing down despite the inevitable protests,blockades, international media campaigns and other attempts to change it.

Here, the topic-initial clause presents "a general proposition that the narrative will expand"--this generalisation is evident in the plural "everyone." There is then what could be called an "orientation clause" which provides some background "such as time, place, and identity of characters"--*the Premier and his government, today*. However, in Schiffrin's description, the main part of the narrative should

characteristically be taken up with "complicating action clauses." The example here is too brief to display such a structure. Instead, what characterises this example as a narrative is the focus on individuals--the Premier, his government. (The conjunctive designation "Temporal: Conclusion" here refers to the higher level position of the topic in the segment. In both segments of the BCTV account, the narratives are not randomly situated: they offer the final comment of the reporter before returning to the anchor. They clearly serve to personalise or humanize the events being described in the rest of the story).

Narrative focuses attention not only on the events it relates, but also on the narrator of the events: "it is the personal value of an experience for the story teller that is responsible for evaluative structure in narrative, and hence for the way that narratives "command the total attention of an audience in a remarkable way, creating a deep and attentive silence that is never found in academic or political discussion"" (Labov, cited in Schiffrin, 285). Evidence of "pervasive evaluation" by the speaker can be seen in this example in the projected mental processes--the government (as Agent) *is* comfortable, it *was* uncomfortable, it *probably won't* back down in future. This evaluation is temporally situated--time present, time past, and time future.

The second example of narrative, Passage 12, also contains the features of narrative in abbreviated form: the complicating action is missing here as well. However, the focus on a central character, evaluation by the speaker (more muted but implicit), and some temporal elements are present.

This description corresponds to Burke's Pentadic category of Agent. In *A Grammar of Motives*, he describes this category as referring to the actor, and he says agent-based accounts place the actor at the center of the drama. Any account which privileges the individual would conform to this pattern, as would accounts which personify and privilege non-human entities. Burke equates this motive with Idealism which he characterises thus: "Idealistic philosophies think in terms of the "ego," the "self," the "super-ego," "consciousness," "will," the "generalized I," the "subjective," "mind," "spirit," the "oversoul," and any such super-persons" as church, race, nation, etc. Historical periods, cultural movements, and the like, when treated as "personalities," are usually indications of idealism." (*Grammar*, 171).

3.4.3 List

By contrast to narratives, "lists are descriptive structures that center on categories and category members (Schiffrin, 291). In narratives, "[speakers'] involvement in the reconstruction of what happened has an important consequence for the language used in story telling; so, too, the relative lack of involvement in category reconstruction has a consequence for the language used in list making" (Schiffrin, 307).

Figure 3:23 Passage Type: List (Example)

Pas	Topic Type	Conjunct	Theme	Rheme
1.	**Intro: Abstraction**	[And]	**The provincial gov't**	is taking it on **the chin** from just about every direction tonight
1.1	**Superordinating List:** Generalisation	[that is to say]	**Its decision to allow continued logging in Clayoquot sound**	is in for **heavy criticism**
1.2	Additive: List Item: Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	**Environmentalists**	are angry
			that too much logging	will be allowed
1.3	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	and	**people in the forest industry**	are complaining
			that not enough logging	will be allowed
1.4	Additive: List Item Tense: Future	and	**hundreds of jobs**	will be lost
1.5.	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	[and also]	There	is even **flack** flying from **the United States**
1.6	Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	There [U.S.] Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the late Bobby Kennedy	is saying
	Ca:sal: Background		once the old growth trees in Clayoquot are cut	an irreplaceable ecosystem will be destroyed

"[Part] of what makes a text into a list is the use of predicates representing situations that can serve as continuing instantiations of a given category" (Schiffrin, 300). Here, the super-ordinating proposition--*the government decision is in for heavy criticism from every direction*--becomes the basis for the following clauses which specify the categories of the criticism--environmentalists, people in the forest industry, hundreds of jobs, and the United States. This is evident here in the use of generalised Referential expressions.

Evaluation can also be a part of lists, as it is here indirectly in the form of the projections attributed to critics. But in order to produce a list, "the speaker establishes for each list-item the validity of its

membership in the list," here, the connection is with the opening proposition about criticism from every direction.

The main conjunctive relation in lists is additive, thus the conjunctive structure is a logical one rather than a chronological one: first this item, then that, and finally this other. This is also indicated by the tense structure--progressive tenses indicate continuing conditions, rather than self-contained "events."

Lists can also be concerned with individuals, but as part of a category, rather than because of their actions. Here, Robert Kennedy Jr. serves as an illustration of the list point "the United States," which is an instantiation of *every direction* above.

Lists can be embedded in other topics (BCTV makes use of this technique in Passages 3 and 5), and they can be more diffuse, less compact than the example here. Both newscasts use super-ordinating lists as a means of introducing many, though not all of the subsequent topics in the story, and the CBC uses them to introduce each segment as well. Elements of the list given in Passage 1 above--*criticism from every direction--can* be found throughout both segments of the BCTV account: environmentalists, politicians, and union leaders are mentioned in each. And Segment 2 of the CBC account also contains a diffused list, elaborating on the category *the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound*: loggers, scientists, business people, and local environmental activists.

The category of List corresponds to Burke's definition of "Scene," which he relates to materialistic philosophy, citing this among other definitions:

> "[materialism is] that metaphysical theory which regards all the facts of the universe as sufficiently explained by the assumption of body or matter, conceived as extended, impenetrable, eternally existent, and susceptible of movement or change of relative position" (131).

That is, materialist explanations focus on qualities of matter--external, observable, and "objective." But for Burke as for Halliday and Schiffrin, this form of explanation is no less motivated than subjective, Agent-based ones--hence his appellation "metaphysical."

3.4.4 Argument

Arguments contain background facts and evaluations. They can also conceivably contain entire narratives and lists. However they are structured around categories rather than individuals, and as such, they

are a kind of elaborated list. In my data, they are characterised by adversative conjunctions. Abstract and generalised referring expressions provide background facts which function as propositions on which the argument is based. Arguments can contain causal or temporal sequences as well, and they can be situated in either "real" or "conditional" time. The example given below is a very regularly constructed argument, typical of the CBC approach.

Figure 3:24 Passage Type: Argument (Example)

3.	**Argument: Abstraction** Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[by the way]	The Commission	is trying to reach a **consensus** on the best way to use and protect other valuable land resources
3.1	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	but	**some environmentalists**	say
			CORE	has been now tainted by the Clayoquot decision
3.2	Additive Tense: Present	[E.g.]	Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee	doesn't mince words
3.3	Additive: Tense: Present	[E.g.]	He	says
			the decision to turn 2/3 of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest into this	is asinine.
3.5	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	But	Premier Harcourt	defends the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot
3.6	Adversative: Complication: Tense: Present	[but]	Vicky Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada	says
			the Clayoquot decision	was a sellout to **the logging companies**

On the CBC, 6 of 13 passages are based on the Argument form, compared to 1 on BCTV. The use of the argumentative form on the CBC could be predicted by the presence of adversative conjunctions, the use of Mental and Verbal Processes construing from the perspective of third parties, and the greater proportion of Level 3 words in comparison to Levels 1&2.

In Segment 1, the CBC account focuses on arguments based on the abstractions of consensus and negotiation. In Segment 2, however, the argument structure is only vestigially present. There is still an attempt to present a range of perspectives, some of which are the multiple for-and-against positions of

argument, but some of which are not. It can be seen that the argument structure does not work to represent speakers in non-expert, non-official positions, including the loggers.

This difficulty reveals a problem with the CBC coverage, and with the trope of "objectivity" in general. The argument or agon has been, since Plato's dialogues, one of the principle means by which truth is "proven" in Western public discourses. Two or more sides of an issue are presented, and hearers decide which is the most credible based on the evidence marshaled by the disputants. The ability to negotiate in this form is important for the establishment of social consensus in legal and political decisions. Since the loggers do not participate in the analytical commentary required by the argumentative form, and since nowhere in this account, or in the previous day's coverage are there any interviews featuring official spokespersons with authority and expertise who can define these issues, the problem of job loss goes unaddressed. This is a significant gap in coverage.

3.4.5 Explanation

The main conjunction is *and*, either as addition or as exemplification, although there are often causal and temporal conjunctions as well. Like the other topic types, explanations can contain facts or evaluations; they can contain temporal sequences typical of narrative, and also logical sequences typical of lists. In my data, explanations usually function to provide background facts, but this is not the same as background information within other topic types because unlike background information within a topic, Explanations do not link what went before with what came after. Often they act as a segue, allowing the reporter to make a transition from one aspect to another, to introduce a new term, or to bridge a gap between topics.

Figure 3:25 Passage Type: Explanation (Example)

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunct	Theme	Rheme
3.	**Explanation: Generalisation** Causal: Premise Tense: Conditional	[because]	Opponents of the Clayoquot decision	want far more than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday
3.1	Additive: List Item	[E.g.]	The decision	protects some logging
	Additive: List Item	and		protects some **wilderness**
	Additive: List Item	and		allows for negotiation between the two
4.	**Explanation: Definition** Additive: Background	[by the way]	Clayoquot Sound	**is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island** comprising 350,000 hectares of spectacular land and seascape.

Explanations can also be extended as in Passage 3 above, to contain additional background facts--here presented as a list, which elaborates on the statement *what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday.* But this example is anomalous: explanations are more typically presented as in Passage 4, by offering definitions of the entity to be explained. Explanations can also conceivably contain arguments and even narratives. However newscasts are restricted in the complexity of the information they deliver, and such extended explanations are not present in my data, presumably they are not typical of newscasts.

Like argument, explanation is a hybrid. It is a variation of narrative in that it employs a narrator who acts as a mediating filter between the hearer and the phenomenon construed. And the narrator or explainer acquires a position of authority vis-à-vis this phenomenon. Explanation is not pure narrative, however, because it focuses on categories rather than individuals; but it differs from lists because it expands on one category rather than adding new ones. The preference for Explanation on BCTV (8 out of 12 passages) is predicted by the frequent use of relative processes to define concepts, as noted in Chapter 1, the predominant use of generalisations (*Referential* expressions) over more specific referring expressions, and the preference for additive and causal conjunctions. The CBC also uses Explanations in 5 of 13 topics (this constitutes the second-largest category in the account after Argument which has 6 instances).

The role of the narrator, and thus the type of authority accruing to her in an explanation can vary with the genre. In the academic/scientific genres described by Martin, explanations are constructed as an appeal to *logos*: they are based on observable, quantifiable categories. In the Humanities, explanations

require qualitative, interpretive evidence where proof is established by the quality of the reasoning, and appeal to authority and precedent. In their use of proof, newscasts are similar to Humanities discourses, but individual newscasts vary in their use of evidence.

The speaker-oriented account on BCTV is evident in the dominant mode of Explanation. Here, as in Narrative, the credibility of the story becomes a function of the degree of confidence the audience places in the reporter. The typical passage structure in this account is a generalisation (represented by a *Referential* expression) used to introduce the concept which is then explained by the reporter, rather than by an interview subject. This constitutes an appeal to the *ethos* of the individual reporter. Interestingly, despite the preference for this more apparently spontaneous and natural form, this use of generalisations to introduce passages reveals evidence of "rehearsal" and planning. (The emphasis on agency can be seen here in the reference to Clayoquot Sound for its "spectacular" scenery, relevant in selling the area as a tourist destination, rather than for its ecological importance).

The CBC use of Explanations maintains the third-party focus--the longest topic in the account is an Explanation which shows several loggers and other industry people reacting to the decision. And the Explanation dealing with reactions from other people *who live and work in Clayoquot Sound*, including a biologist and a business woman, also incorporates more Level 3 words than Level 2 ones. Thus the reporter's authority is derived from presented evidence, an appeal to *logos*.

3.4.6 Discussion

Passage boundaries are identified by thematisation, reference and conjunction. Once identified as units, they can be classified as types. Based on a distinction first developed by Labov, and expanded on by Schiffrin, the basic categories of Narrative and List can be defined. To these are added two more yielded by the newscast transcripts--Argument and Explanation. The specific features of these types may be typical of newscasts, although they also have generic features. Narratives are rare in this data. There are only 2 examples, both in BCTV, and they appear in this account in truncated form. They are used as Conclusions to each segment. They emphasise the speaker role in their use of evaluation and interpretation, and they depend for their organisation on chronological time. Lists also are infrequent (BCTV 1, CBC 2), although

they are used in the important introductory position where they provide super-ordinating references for many of the entities which will subsequently be introduced.

Argument is derived from the List, and like it expands on a logical proposition made in topic-initial position, but unlike the List, Argument explores the category from at least two positions. Explanation is a hybrid of Narrative and List, taking the feature of speaker-focus from Narrative, and of logical category from List. Explanations can be more or less speaker oriented, depending on how they incorporate evidence to support their claims.

BCTV uses more Explanations than any other form (8 of 12 passages), a preference which is predicted by the use of additive (and to a lesser extent Causal) conjunctions, Relational processes (for defining), and the almost equal distribution of words between all 3 Levels. This can be classified as an Agentive bias.

The CBC uses both Arguments and Explanations–6 and 5 respectively, out of a total of 13 passages. The emphasis on Argument is predicted by Adversative conjunctions, the use of Mental and Verbal processes, and the proportional distribution of words: Level 3 has more than Levels 1&2 combined. The preference for third-party accounts in maintained in the Explanations, which are constructed from Level 3 evidence as well. This is a Scenic bias.

Although they cannot make explicit claims, especially about socially contested issues, newscasts make implicit normative claims all the time. The social world is represented in competing terms in each account. The symbolic organisation is different in each, and so too is the symbolic action. These claims can be assessed for validity, on their own terms, and in terms of the larger social context in which they are made. As Habermas says, the "existence or social currency of norms says nothing about whether the norms are valid. We must distinguish between the social fact that a norm is intersubjectively recognized and its worthiness to be recognized. There may be good reasons to consider the validity claim raised in a socially accepted norm to be unjustified" ("Discourse Ethics" 61).

The BCTV account is organised as a story, both in Narrative and Explanatory passages. And this preference marks the entire newscast. It is the stated aim of the head newswriter to incorporate narrative continuity throughout the hour (Tim Perry, head newswriter, BCTV 6 O'Clock News. Personal

communication, June 18, 1994). Although some analysts (Fiske and Hartley, among others) have critiqued this narrative preference as "bardic" and authoritarian, it is not inherently unworthy. To the extent that it is successful in using this approach, BCTV fulfills its claim to valid representation, despite the suppression of information about environmentalists revealed in the analysis of Reference. On the other hand, this account relies heavily on the appeal to *ethos*, and by this standard, its claims to valid representation do not hold up.

The CBC on the other hand is organised around the different principles of logical categories, revealed by its use of Argument, and the use of Level 3 evidence in Explanations. Lists, and list-like passages have a logic of their own. As quoted earlier, Schiffrin says "some categories may even have members whose qualities justify their inclusion in the category independent of an observer's subjective view of those qualities" (307). That is, categories can have an internal logic which is both implied and entailed by invoking the category in the first place.

One of the logical categories implied by gathering reactions to the decision in Segment 1, is people in the forest industry with decision-making responsibility. They are not represented there, nor in Segment 2, where they are at least implicitly among the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound. There is no such representation in the other two days the story was covered either. To this extent, the CBC does not fulfill the criterion of balanced coverage implied by the use of this form, nor its appeal to *logos*.

The different ideological patterns identified here are not the result of explicit instructions to the news staff. They are the result of complex factors not all of which can be identified. And yet the different factors affecting the production of each account do have a bearing on the end product. Object-centered forms such as argument require more advance planning, more production, and more post-production editing time as well. Speaker-centered forms such as narrative and explanation are less costly and easier to produce. They require less planning and less production. As noted in Chapter 2, audiences prefer them despite their pro-industry stance, indicated directly by their negative portrayal of the NDP government, indirectly by their oblique or non-existent references to environmentalists.

3.5 Conclusion

Newscasts do not typically make extended analyses nor do they usually make normative claims about controversial issues. Despite this, the two accounts represented here do make different implicit and

competing claims to be valid representations of events. This is a result of an innate function of language. Before speakers begin to assemble words into phrases, or phrases into clauses, they are already operating within the confines of a genre, and already speaking from a certain perspective or focus. That is, they have Motives. These motives are deeply embedded, not articulated in words and their presence is not self-evident in the clause structure. Just as phonology does not describe syntax, syntax does not describe semantics. Motives can only be detected in symbolic organisation, not single clauses. Because they function on the symbolic plane, they are elusive and difficult to pin down. The semantic unit of the passage is the crucible where grammar is blended with rhetoric, where linguistic organisation becomes symbolic organisation, and where the action performed is symbolic as well.

Passage units can be identified by analysing thematisation, reference, and conjunction. Thematisation organises noun phrases and verb processes syntactically. Characteristically, newscasts use emphatic marked or reactivated themes to ensure viewers follow the rapid topic shifts.

Cohesion is produced internally by reference and conjunction. Within passages, reference becomes increasingly familiar and abbreviated. At the boundaries, passages are marked not only by thematisation, but by the use of generalised or abstract references. This usage is typical not just of newscasts, but of public discourses generally. Its use requires training and practice, and it is associated with speakers of high status. Externally, a stable system of references contributes to the cohesion of the entire account. Disjunctures, such as that represented by BCTV's ambiguous references to environmentalists are rhetorically significant, and may indicate deliberate mystification.

Conjunction contributes to cohesion within the passage by establishing logical relations between clauses. Typically newscasts prefer implicit conjunction, perhaps because they cannot make explicit claims, but this may also be a feature of other discourse types as well. Usually the relations can be inferred, sometimes they seem to be deliberately flouted, as in the BCTV account again when making claims about environmentalists.

Expansion is a type of conjunction which functions within the clause in much the same way that regular conjunction functions between clauses. Projection is a type of expansion significant in the newscast, as it is used to report the words of third parties. In the CBC account, these reported meanings are confirmed

by Level 3 interviews. BCTV does not use as much projection, and reported words are not usually confirmed. In part this is a stylistic preference: Level 3 speakers on BCTV are usually incorporated into the account without a summarising introduction. But also Level 3 speakers are featured less frequently.

Once passage units are identified, they can be classified according to type. The definition of passage types is based on the distinction between Narrative and List first proposed by Labov and expanded by Schiffrin. In addition to these basic categories, these accounts use two additional forms derived from them: Arguments and Explanations. Conjunction functions externally in the symbolic organisation of passages. Based on the use of conjunction, relational processes and distribution of representation between Levels, BCTV prefers speaker-based forms of Narrative and Explanation (2 Narratives, 8 Explanations out of 12 passages). This preference is an Agentive bias in Burkean terms. The BCTV preference for Agent-based terms can be seen not only in the use of narrative and explanation, but also in the tropes used to characterise the government as an entity, exactly as Burke predicts such discourses will do--the introductory statement *The provincial government is taking it on the chin*, metonymically represents the government as being on the losing side of a fight, for example.

The CBC account, on the other hand attempts to avoid such individualist explanations, taking a more issues oriented approach to this story. Passages are divided almost evenly between Argument and Explanation (6 and 5 respectively). This is a Scenic bias, predicted by the use of adversative conjunctions, Mental and Verbal processes, and the proportionate distribution of words--Level 3 has more than Levels 1&2 combined. Both grammatically and rhetorically it embodies a materialist world view, in which the whole is emphasised over the parts.

Based on this analysis, these accounts are constructed according to different criteria of value. If, following Habermas, we want to establish a "perspective from which competing normative claims can be fairly and impartially adjucated" (McCarthy viii) then these competing claims need to be evaluated on their own terms, according to the standards inherent in each of them.

In their seminal work *Reading Television* (1978), Fiske and Hartley designate television news as bardic, part of the oral tradition and they are critical of the ideological constraints imposed by this emphasis on the individual. For those who prefer explanations which emphasise the shared social construction of

human experience, the doctrine of individualism as represented by the BCTV account is associated with greed, selfishness, and inaccurate views about the role of the individual in society. But this is not a fair standard of adjudication. It may be that the reason for BCTV's continuing popularity is precisely its use of this form which, as Labov says, is able to command "the total attention of an audience" (Labov, cited in Schiffrin, 285). It is a vivid way of telling a story, but it is also more difficult to challenge preconceptions and expectations embedded in this form. Although in itself this is a valid form, it relies heavily on the perspective of the narrator. BCTV's lack of honesty in obscuring the role of environmentalists in this story betrays the *ethos* required by the form. It is difficult to weigh the consequences of BCTV's withholding information. Decisions may be made on the basis of faulty information, which would not otherwise be made.

The qualities of objectivity and detached observation valued by Fiske and Hartley, which are embodied in the CBC account do allow for consideration of the multiple complex factors which affect events. Scenic perspectives are never innate, but always acquired. This is a more difficult form to sustain. Arguments are presented to the audience, which is then left to draw its own conclusions. This technique used by the CBC reflects an attempt at balance and objectivity. In order to validate its normative claims, though, this form requires fairness. One of the shortcomings which has frequently been cited in liberal humanist discourse generally is that the method is frequently applied selectively and exclusively. The CBC fails to apply the standard of fairness to representatives of the forest industry. Because it does not encompass this interest group, the would-be objective analysis of Scene provided by the CBC freezes. Instead of an analytic tool which could assist negotiation, this method becomes an ideological weapon in the hands of an interest group. This lack of fairness is evident, and just as the deceptive references to environmentalists on BCTV might create mistaken impressions on which hearers base their actions, the perception that CBC coverage is unfair may linger. It seems possible that BCTV even exploits this perception among its audience when expressing trepidation about the future.

When the claims made by these accounts are evaluated on their own terms, it is possible to establish the criteria of value used by each, and to evaluate each account according to how well it has adhered to its own criteria. It is not possible to identify an ultimate single standard which must be adhered

to by the whole society. And it is also unfortunately not possible to say that either of these accounts has presented a "truer" version of events than the other. We are only left with questions: "Is dishonesty "less worthy" than injustice?"; "Why do neither of these accounts adhere to their own standards?"; and "How will we as a society successfully achieve a means of communication which is accountable to all of us?"

Finally, it could only be a very uncasual viewer indeed who made these observations about the ideological affiliations evident in the structuring modes of these accounts or about the way they act as "archives" of western form, as Foucault might say. They are deeply embedded, and even the vocabulary for talking about them is in a cloudy and uncertain stage of development. The evanescent nature of television, or even of every-day conversation, does not lend itself to sustained analysis of this type. Although skilled speakers do intuitively exploit these forms prior to any explicit awareness of them, their skills can only be enhanced by understanding them, and this is likewise true for less skilled speakers. If freedom comes, as Marx argued, through controlling the means of production, then surely language is the most fundamental means of production there is, the founding condition for all discourses, the very possibility of meaning itself, and learning to control its forms a basic human right.

Chapter Four: CONCLUSION

There is one term remaining in Burke's Pentad, which is not covered by any of the foregoing analysis, and that is Act: "Dramatistically, the basic unit of action would be defined as "the human body in conscious or purposive motion." (*Grammar* 14) And "to study the nature of the term, act, one must select a prototype or paradigm of action. This prototype we find in the conception of a perfect or total act, such as the act of "the Creation" (*Grammar* 66). It is primarily "symbolic action" that Burke is concerned with. This term describes a feature of language "outside language." It refers to representation, self-reflexion and synthesis. It is the act of reflection which enables the synthesis and assessment of the preceding analysis presented below.

Using the model of Register provided by systemic linguistics, a systematic analysis is produced, covering major aspects of English grammar. Comparing two televised news accounts of the same story reveals similarities which indicate generic conventions; it reveals differences which indicate rhetorically significant differences in ideological perspectives. The significance of any one linguistic feature to an analysis of Register depends on the utterances being compared. Different aspects will be emphasised by comparing utterances from the same genre than by comparing utterances from two different genres.

Field analyses primarily noun and verb phrases, producing a map of semantic content. This content is further categorised according to sub-field in the case of noun phrases, and process type in the case of verbs. The analysis yields information about overlap and difference in the accounts being compared, indicating rhetorically significant differences in focus. Although this method does not analyse for transitivity relations, as a purely systemic analysis would, awareness of these relations is necessary to classify verbs.

Tenor examines verb phrases for Mood and Tense, to determine the position of the speaker with regard to both topic and hearer. Possibly because the texts examined are in the same genre, the classes of process types contain rhetorically significant information about the positive and negative terms construed by each account. Tense also offers important information about speaker attitude, although again this could be due to the nature of the texts under consideration.

Mode looks at structural features which contribute to symbolic organisation. From this, an assessment of the symbolic action, or the claims established by each account can be made. Typically in systemic linguistics, this consists of analysing Theme and Rheme, or subject/predicate relations. Because of the disjointed nature of the texts being compared, no extended thematic patterns emerged. A bridging unit between the clause and the story, designated "passage," was needed. The analysis of theme and rheme is supplemented by an examination of cohesive ties as realised by reference and conjunction.

Passage boundaries in these texts are characteristically identified by emphatic use of thematisation (usually accompanied by visual shifts of focus), and generalised or abstract propositions in which already Given entities are combined with New ones to move the account forward. This use of generalisation and abstraction to introduce topics is a feature of public discourses generally.

Internally, cohesion is maintained by frequent, increasingly familiar references to entities; by conjunction between clauses, and by expansion within them. Typically, conjunctive relations are implicit, and although this may be a genre-specific trait, it may also be typical of a wide range of utterances, including every-day conversations. Differences in the use of expansion also suggest different organisational preferences.

Externally, cohesive relations are maintained throughout the text by a stable system of reference to entities, which can be examined for their life-span: some endure through the entire account, some through a single segment, and some are passage-specific.

Once the passage units are identified, they can be categorised, based on a distinction between Narrative and List, and two derived forms--Argument and Explanation. Conjunction contributes externally to the cohesion of the passage by symbolically organising the hierarchised or logical relations within it. Some aspects of earlier categories are also important in passage organisation: process type is again significant, as is tense. Specific features of the classes yielded by this analysis may be typical of the genre, although there are also generically recognizable characteristics in each type.

The terms of the Pentad can be mapped onto these aspects of register, to identify rhetorically significant features, or symbolic action. The analysis of Field revealed respectively a pragmatic focus on Agency, and a "mystical" focus on higher Purpose. The analysis of Tenor revealed an attitude of

trepidation, combined with a negative focus on government, and a positive one on industry, in one account. It revealed an attitude of confidence, combined with a negative focus on industry, and a positive one on environmentalism and negotiation, in the other. The analysis of Mode revealed a preferred pattern of symbolic form in each account. One uses subjective Agent-based forms which appeal to *ethos*, the other uses objective Scenic ones which appeal to *logos*. Each of these forms is valid in its own right, and makes competing, symbolic claims to validity in the construction of power/knowledge. The "worthiness" of the specific claims made by each account can be assessed in terms of how well each has sustained the requirements implied by the form.

The kind of reflexive synthesis Burke implies in his term "Act" occurs when the terms of his Pentad are combined into what he called the "Ratios." The four terms identified in this analysis can be metaphorically mapped onto a graph, with the horizontal axis representing the Field, and the vertical the Mode. Here we see that BCTV moves in an Agent/Agency plane, the CBC in Scene/Purpose. And in their Tenor, each of them express accompanying Attitudes, BCTV one of trepidation, the CBC one of confidence. They can be represented as equations thus: [(Agency + Agent) + Attitude] and [(Purpose+Scene) + Attitude]. The power of this model it that it allows for clarity of comparison, while maintaining complexity.

Burke himself expressed skepticism about the possibility of a method in which Cartesian dualism would be eradicated, that the search for "a vocabulary midway between "mind" and "body"" would not be successful: "We need not dare to say that such a vocabulary cannot be found. We need only say that, whenever it seems to be found, you are admonished to be on the look-out for the covert workings of the action-motion ambiguity" (*Grammar* 235). However, if it does not provide that midway vocabulary, the combined grammatical and rhetorical analysis presented here can at least offer a bridge over the split. All choices or selections made by speakers, from the terms of reference, the actions they construe, the way they situate themselves, their hearers, and their objects, and the way they combine words to form ideas and arguments, contribute to, and are composed of, larger sets of ideas about the world, whether speakers are conscious of them or not. While the analysis presented here is tentative, it has potential. The categories of

Burke's Pentad may not be the only ones, or the right ones, but the outlines of a possible approach are emerging.

Finally, as Bakhtin said, discourses are infinitely permeable, and hence difficult to define. Structural theories such as this one are frequently criticised for imposing closure, as genre theory is for offering a set of prescriptive rules. As this analysis shows, although there are and have always been strong constraints on speakers at every linguistic level, there is a great deal of flexibility as well. Structural analyses do not in themselves produce these constraints, and it may be they even serve to liberate speakers from some of them. If as Derrida says, the entire system of grammar is presupposed by a single phoneme, then it seems quite possible that so too are genres and motives.

Structural theories do raise the specter of finiteness, however. Our ideas about possibility have been shaped since at least the Enlightenment by the concept of infinity. Yet there is increasing evidence that we live in a finite system. The environment is a good example of this. And the environmental movement is a good example of the capacity of discourses to transform themselves repeatedly.

As I see it, given a finite system, choice is the most valuable "commodity," and it is the aim of critical pedagogy to ensure that individuals are given maximum opportunity to render into conscious awareness--i.e. "choice"--the selections and forms of representation they inevitably use on any given occasion. Knowledge of the practical workings of language, and an understanding of its use in symbolic signification, or what is sometimes called the politics of representation is vital. I have tried to avoid singular truths, to avoid viewing "the media" as a monolithic discourse of authority which can be debunked by those who stand "outside" the system. There is no "outside," there are only the multiple purposes to which our language can be bent by speakers. In its capacity to be endlessly reshaped, I think the social world is like Steven Hawking's definition of a sphere: "finite but unbounded." Blake was wrong. When the doors of perception are cleansed, we do not see "the infinite which was hid," but at least we can see unbounded possibility.

APPENDIX A: CBC

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Word count:	
Level 1-160	**10%**
Level 2-488	**32%**
Level 3-893	**58%**
Total words--1541	

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
1	*John Gibb Level 1*	*1*	*Environmental Groups are still smarting tonight,*	*John Gibb*
		2	*smarting over yesterday's announcement by the NDP*	
		3	*government to allow logging in Clayoquot Sound.*	
		4	*One group calls the decision stupid and others*	
		5	*wonder if there's any point in participating in the*	
		6	*CORE process.*	
2	*Gibb Level 1*	*7*	*CORE stands for Commission on Resources and the*	
		8	*Environment.*	
3	*Gibb Level 1*	*9*	*The Commission is trying to reach a consensus on*	
		10	*the best way to use and protect other valuable land*	
		11	*resources, but some environmentalists say CORE*	
		12	*has been now tainted by the Clayoquot decision.*	
	Paul George, WCWC	13	It was stupid decision and it was a wrong decision	Paul George
		14	and they'd better reverse it or else this is gonna be	
		15	short term government.	
	Steve Hauser Level 2	**16**	**Paul George of the WCWC doesn't mince words.**	**Clayoquot Sound**
		17	**He says the decision to turn two thirds of the**	
		18	**Clayoquot Sound rain forest into this**	
		19	**is asinine.**	
	Mike Harcourt	20	This government had the courage to make the right	Mike Harcourt
		21	land use decision.	
	Hauser Level 2	**22**	**But Premier Harcourt defends the decision to**	Legisla-ture
		23	**allow continued logging in the Clayoquot.**	
	(Mike Harcourt, Premier, B.C.	24	The people who take extreme positions of either	Mike Harcourt
		25	log it all or preserve it all are not gonna be	
		26	happy with this decision.	
		27	They're expressing that unhappiness.	
		28	But for the vast majority of British	
		29	Columbians, Honourable Speaker, this was	
		30	the right balance of land use decision.	

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Vicky Husband, Sierra Club	31	Well, uhh, this is not a balanced decision.	Vicky Husband
	Hauser Level 2	**32** **33** **34**	**Vicki Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada says the Clayoquot decision was a sellout to the logging companies.**	
	Vicky Husband	35 36 37 38 39 40	No government stands up to the industry, and in an industry like MacMillan Bloedel, that threatens the government with very high compensation costs if they protect any old growth forest, uhh, it's going to scare government.	
4	**Hauser Level 2**	**41** **42** **43** **44** **45** **46** **47** **48** **49** **50**	**Vast stretches of the Clayoquot have already been clear-cut - hillsides scarred beyond repair, valleys stripped. Environmentalists wanted to protect the remaining forest, partly for its natural beauty, partly for the bio-diversity found in old growth forests. The government says it will protect 1/3 of the forest and will save scenic corridors and coast line vistas. But Vicki Husband says one example of where that's absurd is Flores Island**	**Deforested mountain** **Beach**
	Husband	51 52 53 54 55 56	Flores Island is a mountainous island, and when you go by it's the mountains that strike you, and a few trees along the shoreline. To save a couple of trees along the shoreline and, uhh, log those mountains is not going to protect the scenic values of Clayoquot Sound.	Husband & Photo of Flores Island
	Hauser Level 2	**57** **58**	**Husband says the Sierra Club is reconsidering its participation in the CORE process.**	
5	**Hauser Level 2**	**59** **60** **61** **62** **63** **64**	**The Commission on Resources and the Environment was set up by the government. Commissioner, Steven Owen is supposed to come up with solutions on how to divvy up valuable land, to find a balance between protecting jobs and protecting the environment.**	**Press conference**
6	**Hauser Lev 2**	**65**	**Owen says there's no point in boycotting CORE.**	**Steven Owen**

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Steven Owen, CORE	66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75	Well they're gonna miss out on the opportunity to have an impact on the decision. But if a sector, whether it's environmental or industry or labour or recreation or fishing, felt that they were disadvantaged by the Clayoquot decision of government, umm, the way that they can have that concern addressed is by coming to the regional table and making sure that any imbalance that they see in that decision is corrected on a regional basis.	
	Husband	76 77	It was a very sad, if not a shameful day, for the CORE process yesterday.	Husband
	Hauser Level 2	**78 79 80 81**	**But the Sierra Club is still reviewing whether it will stay in the process or not. The Western Canada Wilderness Committee has already decided it wants no part.**	**Paul George**
	Paul George	82 83 84 85 86 87 88	I don't have any respect for him at all. I think he sold out his credibility and he's trading on that now and the CORE process for Vancouver Island, maybe some groups, some environmental groups, will participate, but I think, uhh, a lot won't participate and it will be just another one of these whitewash jobs.	**Paul George**
6	**Hauser Level 2**	**89 90 91 92 93 94**	**Steven Owen has called a special meeting for CORE participants on Friday. He wants to assess how many intend to stay in the process and how many are so upset about the Clayoquot decision, they're dropping out. Steve Hauser, CBC News, Victoria.**	**Owen**
7	*John Gibb Level 1*	*95 96 97 98 99*	*The government's decision, of course will have the biggest impact on the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound. And as we've seen, environmentalists are appalled and plan to fight on a number of fronts.*	*John Gibb & Graphic of C.S.*
8	*Gibb Level 1*	*100 101 102 103 104*	*For the loggers the decision ends months of uncertainty, and for that they are grateful. Here's the reaction from some loggers as they started to work this morning at MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division at Ucluelet.*	

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Ian Gill Level 3	105 106 107	Morning. I wonder what you think of this decision the government made yesterday at Clayoquot Sound.	Kennedy Lake
	Logger #1	108 109 110 111 112	Well at least he finally made a decision. He's been sittin on his butt for about four months or five months and did nothing and at least he finally got a decision. Whether it's good, bad or indifferent remains to be seen.	Logger #1
	Ian Gill Level 3	113	You think you'll stay employed?	
	Logger #1	114 115	Who knows? Who knows? We don't know all of the final details of it.	
	Logger #2	116 117 118 119	It's what should've been done in the first place. It's been a lot of waiting around for the decision. A lot of wasted time, wasted money on studies and what have you.	Logger #2
	Gill, Level 3	120	So are you pretty happy?	
	Logger #2	121 122 123	Well, y'know, I hope that we don't have any confrontations but, you know, I guess that, uhh, it's the best of both worlds.	
	Logger #3	124 125	Well it was, uhh, I guess it was in our favour, yeah.	Logger #3
	Gill, Level 3	126	You happy about that?	
	Logger #3	127 128	Well I, hopefully I still have a job for the next coupla years. Why? Does that bother you?	Logger #3
	Gill, Level 3	129	No, not at all.	
	Logger #3	130	Seems to bother a lot of people, doesn't it?	
8	Clive Pemberton, Camp Chairman, IWA	131 132 133 134	We're not going to be working anywhere near traditional levels, and y'know, our employment's down from 145 a coupla years ago, down to 63 today.	Clive Pemberton
	Bob Rogers, Manager, Kennedy Lake Division	135 136 137 138 139	Well, from a Kennedy Lake point of view, it's positive to have a decision and y'know, get rid of the uncertainty that's been there. We now know the land base that we have to work within and that's the most critical thing.	Bob Rogers

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
9	**Gill Level 2**	140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150	**Yesterday's decision will open up virgin territory to logging, but first the industry has to build roads into the area. That won't happen for a few weeks, but when it does there'll be a fight. It's true that 1/3 of the area of Clayoquot Sound has been preserved but environmentalists say that what that translates into in terms of the forests themselves, is that the industry still gets to log about 75% of the trees. And environmentalists say that's just too much.**	**Ian Gill in front of Forested mountain and beach**
10	**Gill Level 2**	151 152 153 154 155 156	**One of the first places MacMillan Bloedel will attempt to log is the Clayoquot Valley. It's untouched right now but the company is poised to log its upper reaches. That will put paid to a research project taking place in the lower valley.**	**Clayoquot Valley**
	David Laroche, Clayoquot Biosphere Project	157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164	We don't know very much about the resources in our own rain forest. We seem to be a lot better at preaching to other countries about what they should do with their rain forest, but not nearly as good as practicing those things here at home. Bio-diversity is something apparently for other people, not here. I think it's tragic.	David Laroche
	Gill Level 2	165 166	**So does tourism operator, Dorothy Baert, who is reeling from the decision.**	**Dorothy Baert**
	Dorothy Baert, Tofino Sea Kayaking	167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176	They're giving it away. They're gonna open it up. It's just extraordinary. It's unbelievable to me. I just can't fathom what they could be thinking of. . . I know that, although I've not actively participated in blockades, there is an area that's been promised to the logging companies and that is the Sidney River Inlet, that if I have any way to put myself in front of a vehicle or, uhh, logging machinery, I would do so.	**Dorothy Baert**

TABLE A.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T
CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
11	**Gill Level 2**	177 178 179 180	**In fact, there'll be a lot of laying down on roads this summer. At a meeting last night of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, plans were being made to defy the government's decision.**	**Friends of Clayoquot Sound**
	Speaker #1	181 182 183 184 185	We know that every plan of action that we take is gonna have to be really well coordinated because we don't need fringe people coming in and making it any more difficult than it's already been.	
12	**Gill Level 2**	186 187	**Back at Kennedy Lake, workers are bracing for another difficult season.**	**Kennedy Lake**
	Gill, Level 3	188 189	Whaddya think it's gonna be like out on the roads this summer? The environmentalists are. .	
	Logger #1	190	Idiotic. Idiotic. The same as it was last year.	Logger #1
	Logger #4	191 192	Oh, that's just normal. It's just gonna keep happening, yep.	Logger #4
	Logger #3	193 194 195 196 197	I can't understand why a small group of social parasites can actually try and keep us from working, you know? Like they contribute nothing to the community except maybe uhh, some local colour, shall we say?	Logger #3
	Logger #1	198	Should put em in jail. Or worse.	Logger #1
13	**Gill Level 2**	199 200 201 202 203	**Mike Harcourt said yesterday, all outstanding land use questions in Clayoquot Sound have been resolved. Well - they haven't. For the CBC Evening News, I'm Ian Gill in Clayoquot Sound**	**Kennedy Lake**

TABLE A.2 PARTICIPANTS

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

2. 1. Government

2	yesterday's announcement by the NDP government to allow logging in Clayoquot Sound	20	This government	95	the government's decision	118	a lot of wasted time, wasted money on studies and what have you
4	the decision	21	the right land use decision	100	the decision	123	it
12	the Clayoquot decision	22	Premier Harcourt	106	this decision the government made yesterday about Clayoquot Sound	124	it
13	It	22	the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot	108	a decision	124	it
13	a stupid decision	29	this	108	He	126	that [decision]
13	it	31	this	109	his butt	136	a decision
13	a wrong decision	33	the Clayoquot decision	110	four or five months	140	yesterday's decision
14	they	34	a sell-out to the logging companies	110	he	165	Tourism operator Dorothy Baert, who is reeling from the decision
14	it	35	No government	111	a decision	169	what they could be thinking of
15	this	37	the government	115	all of the final details of it	180	the government's decision
15	a short term government	40	government	116	what should have been done in the first place	199	Mike Harcourt
17	the decision to turn two thirds of the Clayoquot Sound rain forest into this	47	the government	117	a lot of waiting around for the decision	199	all outstanding land-use questions in Clayoquot
		49	one example of where that's absurd				
		60	the government				
		70	the Clayoquot decision of government				

2.2. Environmentalism

99	a number of fronts	179	a meeting last night of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound	187	another difficult season	193	a small group of social parasites
122	any confrontations by...			189	the roads		
144	a fight	179	plans	189	this summer	195	they
171	blockages	181	every plan of action that we take	190	the same as it was last year	195	nothing
174	any way to put myself in front of a vehicle or logging machinery	183	any fringe people	191	that [protest]	196	the community
		184	it [protesting]	191	It [protesting]	197	some local colour
177	a lot of laying down on roads	184	any more difficult than it's already been			198	them
						198	jail
						198	worse [than jail]

TABLE A.2 PARTICIPANTS CON'T
CBC: Clayoquot Sound

2.3. Industry and Labour

35 the industry
36 an industry like MacMillan Bloedel
96 the biggest impact on the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound
99 the loggers
101 the reaction from some loggers as they started to work this morning at MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division at Ucluelet
127 a job for the next coupla years
128 that [my job]
132 traditional levels [of employment]
133 our employment
133 145 [workers] a coupla years ago
134 63 [workers]
135 a Kennedy Lake point of view
138 the land base that we have to work within
139 that
139 the most critical thing
141 the industry
142 roads into the area
148 the industry
149 75% of the trees
150 too much [ellipsis]
151 one of the first places MacMillan Bloedel will attempt to log
153 the company
186 Kennedy Lake
186 workers

2.4. Money

38 very high compensation costs

2.5. Clayoquot Sound

38 any old growth forest
41 vast stretches of the Clayoquot
42 hillsides
43 valleys
44 the remaining forest
45 its natural beauty
46 the bio-diversity found in all old-growth forests
47 one third of the forest
48 scenic corridors and coast-line vistas
50 Flores Island
51 Flores Island
51 a mountainous island
52 the mountains that strike you
53 a few trees along the shoreline
54 a couple of trees along the shoreline
55 those mountains
56 the scenic values of Clayoquot Sound
140 virgin territory
144 one third of the area of Clayoquot Sound
147 terms of the forests themselves
152 the Clayoquot Valley
154 its upper reaches
172 an area that's being promised to the logging companies
173 the Sidney River Inlet

TABLE A.2 PARTICIPANTS CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

2.6. CORE

6 any point in participating in the CORE process
7 CORE
7 Commission on Resources and the Environment
8 The Commission
11 CORE
58 its participation in the CORE process
59 the Commission on Resources and the Environment
60 Commissioner Steven Owen
64 Owen
65 no point in boycotting CORE
71 the way that they can have that concern addressed
73 the regional table
75 a regional basis
76 It a very sad if not a
79 shameful day for the
81 CORE process the
82 CORE process
83 no part[ellipsis]
84 any respect for him his credibility that [credibility]
84 the CORE process for Vancouver Island
87 it
87 another one of these whitewash jobs
89 Steven Owen
90 CORE participants
90 Friday
91 how many [ellipsis]
91 the process
92 how many [ellipsis]

2.7. Consensus and Negotiation

9 a consensus on the best way to use and protect other valuable land resources
29 the right balance of land-use decision
31 not a balanced decision
62 solutions on how to divvy up valuable land
63 a balance between protecting jobs and protecting the environment
66 the opportunity to have an impact on the decision
68 a sector, whether its environmental or industry or labour or recreation or fishing
74 any imbalance that they see in that decision
123 the best of both worlds
124 our favour

2.8. Media

93 Steve Hauser CBC News, Victoria
201 for the CBC Evening News, I'm Ian Gill

2.9. Research

155 a research project taking place in the
157 lower valley
the resources in our own rain forest
158 a lot better at preaching to other countries about what they should do with their rainforest
161 practicing those things here at home
162 Bio-diversity
163 something apparently for other people

TABLE A.3 PROCESSES

CBC Clayoquot Sound

3.1. MATERIAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
3	to allow logging	14	had better reverse
6	in participating in	20	to make
8	is trying to reach	24	take
9	to use and protect	25	log
11	has been tainted by	25	preserve
17	to turn	35	stands up to
22	to allow continued logging	37	threatens
41	have already been clear-cut	38	protect
42	scarred	52	go by
43	stripped	53	to save
46	found in	55	is not going to protect
47	will protect	55	log
48	will save	70	were disadvantaged
60	is set up by	72	addresses
61	is supposed to come up with	73	coming to
62	to divvy up	75	is corrected
62	to find	83	sold out
63	protecting	83	is trading
64	protecting	86	will participate
65	boycotting	87	won't participate
78	is still reviewing	108	has been sitting
79	will stay in or not	108	made . . . about
93	are dropping out	110	got
96	live and work	113	will stay employed
98	plan to fight	116	should have been done
100	ends	117	waiting around
102	started to work	130	doesn't
140	will open up	131	are not going to be working
142	has to build	136	get rid of
142	won't happen	138	have to work within
143	does [happen]	159	preaching to
145	has been preserved	160	should do with
148	gets to log	161	practicing
151	will attempt to log	167	are giving . . away
153	is poised to log	167	gonna open it up
154	will put paid to	171	not participated in
155	taking place	174	to put
165	does	175	would do
177	laying down	182	take
179	were being made to defy	182	is gonna have to be coordinated
186	are bracing for	184	coming in
200	have been resolved	184	making
201	haven't [been resolved]	191	is gonna keep happening
		194	try and keep
		195	working
		195	contribute
		198	should put
	Total: 43		**Total: 46**

TABLE A.3 PROCESSES CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

3.2. MENTAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1 & 2		Level 3
1	are still smarting	25	are not gonna be happy
2	smarting	39	is going to scare
44	wanted to protect	52	strike
57	is reconsidering	69	felt
80	has already decided	73	making sure
81	wants no	74	see
90	wants to assess	82	think
91	intend to stay in	86	think
92	are so upset at	105	wonder
97	have seen	105	think
98	are appalled	112	remains to be seen
165	is reeling	113	think
		114	knows
		114	knows
		114	don't know
		120	are happy
		121	hope
		122	guess
		124	guess
		126	are happy
		128	does bother
		130	seems to bother
		132	know
		137	know
		157	don't know
		163	think
		168	is unbelievable
		169	can't fathom
		169	could be thinking of
		170	know
		181	know
		183	don't want
		188	do think
		193	can't understand
	Total: 12		**Total: 34**

TABLE A.3 PROCESSES CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

3.3. VERBAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
4	calls	27	expressing
5	wonder	172	is being promised to
11	say	197	shall say
16	doesn't mince		
17	says		
22	defends		
33	says		
47	says		
49	says		
57	says		
64	says		
89	has called		
146	say		
150	say		
199	said		
	Total: 15		**Total: 3**

TABLE A.3 PROCESSES CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

3.4. RELATIONAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
5	is any point	13	was
7	stands for	13	was
18	is asinine	15	is gonna be
33	was a sell-out	20	had
50	is absurd	26	are
50	is Flores Island	29	was
'64	is no point	31	is not
95	will have	51	is
101	are grateful	52	is
144	is true	66	are gonna miss out on
147	translates into	67	to have
150	is too much	68	is
151	is Clayoquot Valley	72	can have
152	is untouched	72	is
177	will be a fight	76	was
202	am	82	don't have
		87	will be
		111	is
		116	is
		117	has been
		121	don't have
		123	is
		124	was
		124	was
		127	still have
		133	is down from
		135	is positive
		136	to have
		137	has been
		139	is
		158	seems to be
		162	is
		164	is tragic
		168	is extraordinary
		171	is
		173	is
		174	have
		185	has been
		188	is gonna be like
		189	are
		190	was
		191	is
	Total: 17		**Total: 43**

TABLE A.4 CIRCUMSTANCES

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

LEVELS 1&2	
2	by the NDP government
4	in Clayoquot sound
18	Into this
23	in the Clayoquot
34	to the logging companies
46	in all old-growth forests
99	on a number of fronts
102	from some loggers
103	at MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division
104	at Ucluelet
141	to logging
142	into the area
155	in the lower valley
178	At a meeting
186	Back at Kennedy Lake
200	in Clayoquot Sound
Total	**16**

TABLE A.5 MOOD AND TENSE

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
1	Environmentalist	are		(still) smarting		PRES in PRES
2	[environmentalists]	[are]		smarting		PRES in PRES
4	One group	calls		calls		PRES
5	others	wonder		wonder		PRES
5	there	is		is any point in		PRES
7	CORE	stands		stands for		PRES
8	The Commission	is		trying to reach		FUTURE in PRES in PRES
11	environmentalist	say		say		PAST in PRES
11	CORE	has	been	(now) tainted		PAST in PAST
16	Paul George	doesn't		mince		PRES
17	He	says		says		PRES
18	the decision	is		is asinine		PRES
22	Premier Harcourt	defends		defends		PRES
33	Vicky Husband	says		says		PRES
33	Clayoquot decision	was		was a sell-out		PAST
41	stretches	have	been	clear-cut		PAST in PRES
44	Environmentalists	wanted		wanted to protect		FUTURE in PAST
47	government	says		says		PRES
48	it	will		save		FUTURE
49	Vicky Husband	says		says		PRES
50	that	is		is absurd		PRES
50		is		Flores Island		PRES
57	Husband	says		says		PRES
57	Sierra Club	is		reconsidering		PRES in PRES
60	CORE	was		set up by		PAST
61	Steven Owen	is		supposed to come up with	MODAL	MODAL
63	[Owen}	[is]		[supposed] to find	MODAL	MODAL
64	Owen	says		says		PRES

TABLE A.5 MOOD AND TENSE CON'T

CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
64	there	is		is no point in		PRES
78	Sierra Club	is		(still) reviewing		PRES in PRES
79	it	will		stay in (or not)		FUTURE
80	WCWC	has		(already) decided		PAST
81	it	wants		wants no part		PAST
89	Owen	has		called		PAST
90	He	wants		wants to assess		FUTURE in PRES
91	how many	intend		intend to stay		FUTURE in PRES
92	how many	are		(so) upset at		PRES
93	they	are		dropping out		PRES in PRES
95	decision	will		have the biggest impact		FUTURE
97	we	have		seen		PAST
98	environmentalist	are		appalled		PRES
98	[they]	plan		plan to fight		FUTURE in PRES
100	the decision	ends		ends		PRES
101	they	are		are grateful		PRES
101	here	is		is the reaction		PRES
140		will		open up to logging		FUTURE
141	industry	has to		has to build	Q-MODAL	FUTURE in PRES
142	that	won't		happen		FUTURE
143	it [roads built]q	does		[happen]		FUTURE
144	there	will		be a fight		FUTURE
144	it	is		is true		PRES
145	1/3 of the area	has	been	preserved		PAST in PRES
146	environmentalist	say		say		PRES
147	that	translates		translates into		PRES
148	that	is		is that	Q-MODAL	PRES
148	industry	gets to		gets to log		FUTURE in PRES

TABLE A.5 MOOD AND TENSE CON'T
CBC: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
150	environmentalist	say		say		PRES
150	that	is		is too much		PRES
151	one of the first places	is		is the Clayoquot Valley		PRES
152	It	is		untouched		PRES
153	company	is		poised to log		FUTURE in PRES
154	That	will		put paid to		FUTURE
165	So	does		does		PRES
165	who	is		reeling		PRES
177	there	will		be a fight		FUTURE
179	plans	were	being	made		PRES in PAST
186	workers	are		bracing		PRES in PRES
199	Mike Harcourt	said		said		PAST
200	questions	have	been	resolved		PAST in PRESENT
201	they	haven't		haven't [been resolved]		PAST in PRESENT
202	I	am		am		PRES

TABLE A.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE

CBC Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
1.	**Intro: Generalisation Superordinating List Tense: Present**	[And]	**Environmental groups**	are still smarting tonight: smarting over **yesterday's announcement by the NDP gov't to allow logging in Clayoquot Sound**
1.1	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	One group	calls the decision stupid
1.2	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	and [E.g.]	others	wonder
			if there	is any point in participating in **the CORE process**
2.	**Explanation: Definition** Additive: Tense: Conditional	[by the way]	CORE	stands for **Commission on Resources and the Environment**
3.	**Argument: Abstraction** Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[by the way]	The Commission	is trying to reach a **consensus** on the best way to use and protect other valuable land resources
3.1	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	but	**some environmentalists**	say
			CORE	has been now tainted by the Clayoquot decision
3.2	Additive Tense: Present	[E.g.]	Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee	doesn't mince words
3.3	Additive: Tense: Present	[E.g.]	He	says
			the decision to turn 2/3 of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest into this	is asinine.
3.5	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	But	Premier Harcourt	defends the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot
3.6	Adversative: Complication: Tense: Present	[but]	Vicky Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada	says
			the Clayoquot decision	was a sellout to **the logging companies**

TABLE A.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
4.	**Argument: Generalisation** Temporal: Background Tense: Past	[at this point]	**Vast stretches of the Clayoquot**	have already been clear-cut: hillsides scarred beyond repair, valleys stripped
4.1	Causal: Outcome Tense: Conditional	[therefore]	Environmentalists	wanted to protect the remaining forest partly for **its natural beauty**, partly for the bio-diversity to be found in all old-growth forests
4.2	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	[but]	The government	says
			it	will protect 1/3 of the forest and will save scenic corridors and coast line vistas
4.3	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	But	Vicky Husband	says
			one example of where that's absurd	is Flores Island
4.4	Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Present	[to sum up]	Husband	says
			the Sierra Club	is reconsidering its participation in the CORE process
5.	**Explanation: Abstraction** Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[By the way]	The Commission on Resources and the Environment	is set up by the government
5.1	Additive Tense: Conditional	[and]	**Commissioner Steven Owen**	is supposed to come up with **solutions** on how to divvy up valuable land, to find a balance between creating jobs and protecting the environment

TABLE A.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
6.	**Argument: Abstraction** Temporal: Background	[To resume]	Owen	says
		[however]	there	is no point in [ellipsis] boycotting CORE
6.1	Adversative: Complication Tense: Conditional	But	the Sierra Club	is still reviewing
			whether it	will stay in the CORE process or not
6.2	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Past	[meanwhile]	The Western Canada Wilderness Committee	has already decided
			it	wants no part
6.3	Causal: Outcome Tense: Past	[Therefore]	Steven Owen	has called a special meeting for CORE participants on Friday
6.4	Causal: Premise Tense: Conditional	[because]	He	wants to assess
			how many intend to stay in the process	and how many are so upset at the decision they're dropping out
6.5	Temporal: Conclusion	[finally]	Steve Hauser	CBC News, Victoria
7.	**Segment 2: Shift to Anchor** **Intro: Super-ordinating List** Tense: Future	[and]	The Government's decision, of course	will have the biggest impact on **the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound**
7.1	Temporal: Summary Tense: Past	and as	we	have seen
			the environmentalists	are appalled and plan to fight on a number of fronts
8.	**Explanation: Abstraction** Additive: List Item Tense: Present	[and]	For **the loggers**, the decision	ends **months of uncertainty**
8.1	Causal: Outcome Tense: Present	and [so]	for that, they	are grateful
8.2	Additive Tense: Present	[E.g.]	Here	's the reaction from some loggers as they started to work this morning at MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division at Ucluelet

TABLE A.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
9.	**Argument: Abstraction** Additive: Background Tense: Future	[and]	Yesterday's decision	will open up **virgin territory** to logging,
9.1	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Conditional	but first	the industry	has to build **roads** into the area
9.2	Causal: Premise Tense: Future	[but]	That	won't happen for a few weeks yet
9.3	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Future	but	when it	does
	Causal: Outcome Tense: Conditional	[then]	there	'll be a fight
9.4	Adversative: Concessive Tense: Conditional	[Yes]	It	is true that
			1/3 of Clayoquot Sound	has been preserved
9.5	Adversative: Complication Tense: Present	but	what environmentalists	say that
			what that	translates into is that
			the industry	still gets to log about 75% of the trees
9.7	Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Present	and [finally]	environmentalists	say
			that	is just too much
10.	**Explanation: Generalisation** Additive: List Item Tense: Future	[and]	**One of the first places MacMillan Bloedel** will attempt to log	is **the Clayoquot Valley**
10.1	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Present	[at this point]	It	is untouched right now
10.2	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Conditional	but [next]	the company	is poised to log its upper reaches
10.3	Causal: Outcome Tense: Future	[as a result]	That	will put paid to a research project taking place in the lower valley
10.4	Additive Tense: Present	[likewise]	So	does tourism operator Dorothy Baert, who is reeling from the decision

TABLE A.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

Top	Topic Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
11.	**Explanation: Abstraction** Additive: List Item Tense: Future	[and]	In fact, there	will be a lot of laying down on roads this summer
11.1	Additive Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	At a meeting last night of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, **plans**	were being made to defy the government's decision
12.	**Explanation: Generalisation** Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Present	[meanwhile]	Back at Kennedy Lake, **workers**	are bracing for another difficult season
13.	**Argument: Generalisation** Temporal: Conclusion Time: Past	[to sum up]	Mike Harcourt	said yesterday
			all outstanding land-use questions in Clayoquot	have been resolved
13.1	Adversative: Complication	Well	they	haven't
13.2	Additive Tense: Conditional		For the CBC Evening News	I'm Ian Gill in Tofino

TABLE A.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

PASS	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
1.	(M)	T-First	**Environmental groups**	U-First Fam-First Fam-First	**yesterday's announcement by** **the NDP government to allow logging** **in Clayoquot Sound**
1.1		R-Next	one group	F-Next	the decision
1.2		R-Next	others [ellipsis]	Nonref U-First	**any point in participating in** **the CORE process**
2.	U	A-Next	CORE	U-First	**Commission on Resources and the Environment**
3.	U	A-Next	The Commission	Nonref-First R-First	**a consensus** on the best way to use and protect **other valuable land resources**
3.1		R-Next	some environmentalists	A-Next A-Next	CORE the Clayoquot decision
3.2		U-First	Paul George of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee	T-First	words
3.3		F-Next	He	A-Next T-Next A-First	the decision to turn two thirds of the Clayoquot Sound rain forest into this
3.4		Fam-First	Premier Harcourt	A-Next T-Next A-Next	the decision to allow continued logging in the Clayoquot
3.5		U-First	Vicky Husband of the Sierra Club of Western Canada	F-Next Nonref U-first	the Clayoquot decision a sell-out to **the logging companies**

TABLE A.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

PASS	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
4.	(M)	T-First A-Next	**Vast stretches of** the Clayoquot	T-First T-First	hillsides valleys
4.1		Fam-Next	Environmentalists	U-Next T-First Nonref T-First	the remaining forest **its natural beauty** the bio-diversity found in all old-growth forests
4.2		Fam-Next	The government	R-Next T-Next	one third of the forest scenic corridors and coast-line vistas
4.3		Fam-Next	Vicky Husband	R-First A-Next U-First	one example of where that's absurd Flores Island
4.4		A-Next	Husband	A-Next U-Next U-Next	the Sierra Club its participation in the CORE process
5.	R	A-Next	The Commission on Resources and the Environment	Fam-Next	the government
5.1	(M)	U-First	**Commissioner Steven Owen**	Nonref-Next Nonref-Next T-First U-Next	solutions on how to divvy up valuable land a balance between protecting jobs and protecting the environment

TABLE A.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

PASS	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
6.	U	A-Next	Owen	Nonref U-First	no point in [ellipsis] boycotting CORE
6.1		Fam-Next	the Sierra Club	F-Next A-Next	it the CORE process
6.2		Fam-Next	the Western Canada Wilderness Committee	F-Next A-Next	it no part [ellipsis]
6.3		A-Next	Steven Owen	T-First A-Next R-First	a special meeting for CORE participants on Friday
6.4		F-Next	He	F-Next A-Next F-Next F-Next	how many [ellipsis] the process how many [ellipsis] they
6.5		U-First	Steve Hauser CBC News, Victoria		
7.	(M)	A-Next	The government's decision, of course	Nonref U-First A-Next	the biggest impact on the people who live and work in Clayoquot Sound
7.1	M	F-First	we		
		A-Next	the environmentalists	Nonref	a number of fronts
8.	M	U-First	the loggers	A-Next Nonref	the decision months of uncertainty
8.1	M	A-Next	that		
		F-Next	they		
8.2	(M)	F-First	Here	U-First R-Next F-Next R-First U-First	the reaction from some loggers as they started to work this morning at MacMillan Bloedel's Kennedy Lake Division at Ucluelet

TABLE A.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

CBC **Clayoquot Sound**

PASS	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
9.	(M)	A-Next	Yesterday's decision	Nonref	virgin territory
9.1		U-Next	the industry	R-First	**roads into the area**
9.2		F-Next	That	Nonref	a few weeks
9.3		F-Next	it		
	(M)		there	T-First	**a fight**
	(M)		It		
9.4		R-Next	one third of the area of Clayoquot Sound		
9.5		R-Next	environmentalists		
		F-Next	that	Nonref A-Next R-First	terms of the forests themselves the industry **75% of the trees**
9.6		A-Next	environmentalists	F-Next F-Next	that too much [ellipsis]
10.	(M)	R-First	**One of the first places MacMillan Bloedel will attempt to log**	U-first	**the Clayoquot Valley**
10.1		F-Next	It		
10.2		A-Next	the company	A-Next	its upper reaches
10.3		F-Next	That	T-First	**a research project taking place in the lower valley**
10.4		F-Next	So	U-First A-Next	tourism operator Dorothy Baert who is reeling from the decision
11.	(M)		There	Nonref-Next	a lot of laying down on roads this summer
11.1	M	T-First U-First	**a meeting last night of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound**		
		R-First	**plans**	A-Next	the government's decision

TABLE A:7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

CBC		Clayoquot Sound			
12.	M	A-Next	Kennedy Lake		
		U-Next	workers	R-Next	another difficult season
13.	(M)	Fam-Next	Mike Harcourt (yesterday)	R-Next	all outstanding land-use questions in Clayoquot
13.2		Fam-First	the CBC Evening News	U-First	Ian Gill

APPENDIX B: BCTV

TABLE B.1 TRANSCRIPT

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Word Count:	
Level 1-221	18%
Level 2-520	42%
Level 3-501	40%
Total Words--1242	

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
1.	*Pamela Martin LEVEL 1*	*1*	*Good evening. The provincial government is*	*Pamela Martin with Back-ground: Photo of C.S.*
		2	*taking it on the chin from just about every*	
		3	*direction tonite. Its decision to make nearly*	
		4	*half of Clayoquot Sound available for some*	
		5	*form of logging is in for heavy criticism.*	
		6	*Environmentalists are angry that too much*	
		7	*logging will be allowed and people in the forest*	
		8	*industry are complaining that not enough logging*	
		9	*will be allowed, and hundreds of jobs will be lost.*	
		10	*There is even flack flying from the United States.*	
		11	*There, Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the late Bobby*	
		12	*Kennedy, is saying that once the old growth trees*	
		13	*in Clayoquot are cut, an irreplaceable ecosystem*	
		14	*will be destroyed.*	
2.	*Martin Level 1*	*15*	*In Vancouver today, there was the first protest in*	
		16	*what promises to be a long, hot summer and Clem*	
		17	*Chapple reports.*	
	Clem Chapple Level 2	**18**	**The first organised protest against the Clayoquot**	**Unidenti-fied Picketers**
		19	**decision was a tame affair. Picketing of an**	
		20	**industry organization called the Forest Alliance.**	
		21	**The warnings are for more serious events to**	
		22	**come.**	
	Paul George, WCWC	23	Well it's gonna be valley by valley we're gonna	Paul George
		24	fight for Clayoquot Sound. We're gonna have our	
		25	cameras up there observing the clear-cut	
		26	logging. We're gonna, y'know, take it to the	
		27	public, take it to everybody on Vancouver	
		28	Island. So the war isn't over. To save the area.	
		29	It's just begun.	

TABLE B.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
3.	Clem Chapple Level 2	30 31 32 33 34	Opponents of the Clayoquot decision want far more than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday. The decision protects some logging and protects some wilderness and allows negotiation between the two.	Forested mountain & Press conference
4.	Chapple Level 2	35 36 37 38	Clayoquot Sound is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island comprising three hundred and fifty thousand hectares of spectacular land and seascape.	Computer-generated map
5.	Chapple Level 2	39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46	Under the new plan, thirty-three per cent of the Clayoquot Sound forest will be permanently protected against logging. Forty-five per cent of the area will stay with its current status for conventional logging as a working forest. Another seventeen per cent, mostly the immediate coastal terrain, will be called special management, meaning mixed use, which includes some logging.	
6.	Chapple Level 2	47 48 49 50 51 52	In order to publicize the decision, the government ferried four helicopters full of journalists into Clayoquot Sound for the announcement. This thirty thousand dollar event seems to be more controversial among politicians than the decision itself.	Helicopters
	Jack Weisgerber SC MLA, Peace River South	53 54 55 56	Yesterday's government junket to Tofino for propaganda cost taxpayers, cost taxpayers thousands of dollars. How can he possibly justify that expense?	Legisla-ture: Jack Weisgerber
	Mike Harcourt, Premier, B.C.	57 58 59 60 61 62	And I can say, Honourable Speaker, that it was very important that there be a technical briefing, the members of the media who ahh, before the announcement went, went through all of Clayoquot Sound and were able to see, ahh, with their own eyes. . .	Mike Harcourt
	Linda Reid, Lib. MLA, Richmond East	63 64 65 66	I asked and I will ask again the cost of taking those individuals yesterday. Because my feeling is that you've not provided the numbers to this house.	Linda Reid

TABLE B.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Mike Harcourt	67 68 69 70 71 72	I'd like to know the position of the Liberal Party. Ahh, do they want the media to be able to see first hand? Would they, would they, would they ahh, would they ahh, would they have said, "No, we don't want members of the media to inform the public of the facts."?	Mike Harcourt
7.	**Clem Chapple Level 2**	73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83	**The Clayoquot decision may not be popular with everyone, but it appears Premier Harcourt and his government are feeling comfortable today. A contrast from the extreme discomfort they felt two weeks ago following their provincial budget. A tremendous amount of time and effort has been spent deciding on this compromise, and it seems unlikely there will be any backing down despite the inevitable protests, blockades, international media campaigns and other attempts to change it.**	**Clem Chapple in book-lined study**
8.	*Pamela Martin Level 1*	*84* *85* *86* *87* *88* *89* *90* *91*	*The head of the IWA in Canada says the Clayoquot decision will cost hundreds of forestry jobs. Yes half of the area will be open to logging but there are restrictions on that logging. What does that mean? A ban on large-scale clear-cutting and the increasing use of so-called alternative logging methods. Brian Coxburn has more.*	*Pamela Martin*
9.	**Brian Coxburn Level 2**	92 93 94 95 96	**By setting aside a third of Clayoquot Sound, the federal and provincial governments will lose twenty million dollars in revenue each year, forever. It comes from stumpage and taxes collected from forest workers.**	**Forested valley**
	Coxburn Level 2	97 98 99 100 101	**About a thousand forest jobs, and related employment will also be lost, meaning about forty to fifty million dollars in wages won't be paid out in local communities, a problem the federal government has begun to address.**	**Lumber Mill**

TABLE B.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Michael Wilson, Cons., Federal Minister for Industry and Trade	102 103 104 105 106 107 108	We've recently increased funding for active labour forest development purposes by three hundred million dollars, to two point two billion dollars in 1993. And this funding will provide the special skills upgrading services for workers who lose their jobs after long-term employment.	**Michael Wilson**
10	**Brian Coxburn Level 2**	**109 110 111 112**	**The forest industry and future logging practices in B. C. was the issue when federal ministers met with the Forest Advisory sector yesterday.**	**Forest Alliance Sector meeting**
	Frank Oberle, Cons., Federal Minister of Forestry	113 114 115 116 117	In terms of sustainable development, biodiversity, and, and, so on, we are the custodians of ten per cent of the planet's forests. So this is a very , very heavy obligation that we have.	**Frank Oberle**
11	**Brian Coxburn Level 2**	**118 119 120 121**	**In Clayoquot, new regulations will insist on alternative logging methods to protect the environment. A lighter foot on the forest is the goal.**	**Small clear-cut**
	Don Miller, NDP, B.C. Minister of Forests	122 123 124 125 126 127 128	As ahh, timber supplies are constrained, people are looking at timber that used to be inaccessible and trying to devise new ways to access that in a, in an environmentally friendly way. So there has been, I think, a reasonably amount of change in, in B. C., particularly on the helicopter side.	Dan Miller
	Helifor Industries video	129 130 131	The environment is better protected because of heli-logging. There are no skid trails or roads leading into logging areas.	Helifor Industries video
	Brian Coxburn Level 2	**132 133 134 135 136 137**	**Look for more of this in Clayoquot. Heli-logging is the quickest of the environmentally friendly ways to pull the big trees out. And when the price of lumber is high and in short supply, it's the method of choice. But it's cost intensive and provides fewer jobs.**	**Heli-logging**
12	**Coxburn Level 2**	**138**	**And a yetuntried method maybe another way to go**	

TABLE B.1 TRANSCRIPT CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Speaker	Line		Visual
	Paul Alton, Innovative Technologies	139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146	It's ahh, pound for pound ten times stronger than steel cable. And ahh, this is where the cost reductions in our type of harvesting will come in, and then we're gonna have a helium dirigible attached to a sky-car, a sky which, and ahh, then we'll have the ability to actually extract the stem without it even hitting the ground.	Paul Alton, with steel cable
	Brian Coxburn Level 2	**147** **148** **149** **150** **151** **152** **153** **154** **155** **156** **157**	**Paul Alton has been trying for five years to get his idea off the ground. He says he'll be able to systematically lift sections of B.C.'s biggest trees out without the need for roads. He'll use a big radio-controlled helium balloon attached to his super-strong, American made fibre cable. It's a labor-intensive system that has been endorsed by groups from the World Wildlife Fund, forestry companies, and several environmental groups. But to launch it, he needs government help.**	
	Paul Alton	158 159 160 161 162	You need a test track to ahh, prove it out, so . . .Introducing technology requires research and development funding and that's the bottom line, and ahh, to this point in time, we haven't gotten any. So.	
	Brian Coxburn	163	Are you asking for a hand-out?	Paul Alton
	Paul Alton	164	We're not asking for a hand-out.	
	Brian Coxburn Level 2	**165** **166** **167** **168**	**Logs from the Clayoquot are big and worth a lot of money. And the ways of getting them out may be different than the traditional logging methods we know.**	**Lumber mill**

TABLE B.2 PARTICIPANTS

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

2.1. Government

1	The provincial government	53	Yesterday's junket to Tofino for propaganda	77	following their provincial budget	110	federal ministers
3	Its decision to make nearly half of Clayoquot Sound available for logging	57	a technical briefing	78	A tremendous amount of time and effort this compromise	111	the Forest Advisory Sector
5	heavy criticism	66	this House	81	any backing down despite the inevitable protests, blockades, international media campaigns and other attempts to change it	114	the custodians of 10% of the planet's forests
10	flack	67	the position of the Liberal party			116	this
32	The decision	68	they			116	a very very heavy obligation that we have
38	the new plan	72	the public			118	new regulations
43	"special management"	72	the facts			171	the provincial government
45	meaning mixed use	73	The Clayoquot decision	85	the Clayoquot decision	171	inside trading
46	the decision	74	Premier Harcourt and his government	93	the federal and provincial governments	171	B.C.
47	the government	76	A contrast from the extreme discomfort they felt two weeks ago	100	a problem	172	weeks before announcing the Clayoquot decision
51	the decision itself			100	the federal government		

2.2. Environmentalism

5	environmentalists	19	a tame affair	24	the war	154	groups from the World Wildlife fund, forestry companies, and several environmental groups
15	the first protest in what promises to be a long hot summer	20	Picketing of an industry organisation	29	It		
18	the first organised protest against the Clayoquot decision	21	The warnings	30	Opponents of the Clayoquot decision		
		22	more serious events to come	31	far more [ellipsis] than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday		
		23	our cameras				

TABLE B.2 PARTICIPANTS CON'T
BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

2.3. Industry and Labour

7 people in the forest industry
9 hundreds of jobs
21 The Forest Alliance
25 the clear-cut logging
32 some logging
46 some logging
84 The head of the IWA in Canada
85 hundreds of forestry jobs
86 half of the area
87 restrictions on that logging
88 A ban on large-scale clear-cutting
89 increasing use of so-called alternative logging methods
96 one thousand forest jobs and related employment
100 local communities
106 the special skills upgrading services for workers who lose their jobs after long-term employment
109 the forest industry and future logging practices in B.C.
110 the issue
113 terms of sustainable development in B.C.
119 alternative logging methods to protect the environment
120 a lighter foot on the forest floor
121 the goal
122 timber supplies
123 people
123 timber that used to be inaccessible
124 ways to access that in an environmentally friendly way
126 a reasonably amount of change
128 the helicopter side
130 heli-logging
130 no skid trails or roads leading into logging areas
132 heli-logging the
133 quickest of the environmentally friendly ways to pull the big trees out
135 short supply
136 it's the method of choice
137 fewer jobs
137 a yet-untried method
138 another way to go
139 it
139 pound for pound ten times stronger than steel cable
143 a helium dirigible attached to a sky-car
144 the ability to actually extract the stem without it even hitting the ground
146 Paul Alton
148 his idea
147 five years
148 the ground
149 sections of B.C.'s biggest trees
150 the need for roads
151 a big radio-controlled helium balloon
152 his super-strong, American-made fibre cable
153 a labour-intensive system
158 a test-track to prove it out
159 introducing technology
165 logs from the Clayoquot
166 the ways of getting them out

TABLE B.2 PARTICIPANTS CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

2.4. Money

49	This $30,000 dollar event	98	40-50 million dollars in wages	141	the cost reductions	170	a hand-out
54	thousands of dollars	102	funding for active labour forest development purposes	159	research and development funding	172	millions of dollars of MacMillan Bloedel stock
56	that expense	103	300 million dollars	160	the bottom line		
55	taxpayers	104	300 million dollars	162	any [R&D funding]		
63	the cost of taking those individuals yesterday	105	2.2 billion dollars in 1993	163	government help		
65	the numbers [cost]	135	the price of lumber	164	a hand-out		
94	20 million dollars in revenue	136	it's cost intensive	165	a lot of money		
95	stumpage and taxes collected from workers						

2.5. Clayoquot Sound

12	the old-growth trees in Clayoquot	32	some wilderness	38	33% of the Clayoquot Sound forest	92	a third of Clayoquot Sound
14	an irreplaceable ecosystem	34	Clayoquot Sound	39	45% of the area	114	biodiversity and so on
23	valley by valley	35	an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island	41	its current status for conventional logging as a working forest	118	Clayoquot
24	Clayoquot Sound	36	350,000 hectares of spectacular land and seascape	43	another 17% [ellipsis]	132	more of this in Clayoquot
28	the area			44	the immediate terrain	129	the environment

2.6. Consensus and Negotiation

34 negotiation between the two

TABLE B.2 PARTICIPANTS CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

2.7. The Media

17 Clem Chapple

47 four helicopters full of journalists into Clayoquot Sound for the announcement

59 the members of the media who before the announcement went through all of Clayoquot Sound

62 their own eyes

71 members of the media

68 the media to be able to see first hand

90 Brian Coxburn

2.8. The United Stated

10 the United States

11 There Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the late Bobby Kennedy

TABLE B.3 PROCESSES
BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

3.1. MATERIAL PROCESSES

:	Levels 1&2		Level 3
1	is taking	23	are gonna fight
4	to make available	24	are gonna have
6	will be allowed	25	observing
8	will be allowed	26	are gonna take it to
9	will be lost	27	take it to
10	flying from	28	to save
13	are cut	29	has just begun
14	will be destroyed	54	cost
22	to come	60	went through
32	protects	60	taking
33	protects	61	were able to see
33	allows	64	have not provided
39	will be protected	68	want
41	will stay with	68	to be able to see
46	to publicize	71	don't want
77	following	102	have increased
79	has been spent	105	will provide
81	backing down	107	lose
83	to change	122	are constrained
85	will cost	123	are looking
86	will be open to logging	124	trying to find
89	increasing use of	124	to access
91	has more	129	is protected
92	setting aside	131	heading into
93	will lose	132	look for
95	comes from	134	to pull out
96	collected	137	provides
98	will be lost	138	to go
99	won't be paid out	141	will come in
101	has begun to address	143	attached
111	met with	144	to extract
119	to protect	146	hitting
147	has been trying to get	158	to prove
149	will be able to lift	159	introducing
151	would use	161	haven't gotten
152	attached to		
156	to launch		
166	of getting		
171	bought		
	Total: 39		**Total: 35**

TABLE B.3 PROCESSES CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

3.2. MENTAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
30	want far more	67	would like to know
75	are feeling	55	can justify
77	felt	158	need
79	deciding	159	requires
157	needs		
	Total: 5		**Total: 4**

3.3. VERBAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
7	are complaining	57	can say
12	is saying	63	asked
17	reports	63	will ask again
31	announced	69	would have said
84	says	72	to inform
118	will insist on	163	are asking for
148	says	164	not asking for
154	has been endorsed by		
	Total: 8		**Total: 7**

TABLE B.3 PROCESSES CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

3.4. RELATIONAL PROCESSES

	Levels 1&2		Level 3
3	is in for	23	is gonna be
4	are angry	28	isn't over
10	is	57	was very important
15	was the first protest	58	be
16	promises to be	65	is
19	was a tame affair	114	are
20	called	116	is
21	are for	117	have
35	is an area	123	used to be inaccessible
36	comprising	126	has been
44	will be called	130	are
46	includes	133	is
45	meaning	135	is
50	seems to be	136	is
73	may not be popular	136	is
74	appears	138	may be
80	seems unlikely	139	is
80	will be any backing down	140	is
		142	are gonna have
87	are restrictions	144	will have
88	does mean		
89	so-called		
98	meaning		
110	was the issue		
120	is the goal		
138	may be		
153	is a labor intensive system		
165	are big		
166	[are] worth		
167	may be		
	Total: 29		Total: 20

TABLE B.4 CIRCUMSTANCES

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

LEVELS 1&2	
2	on the chin
2	from just about every direction
3	tonite
15	In Vancouver
15	today
31	on Tuesday
38	Under the new plan
42	for conventional logging
42	as a working forest
44	mostly the immediate terrain
46	In order to publicise the decision
48	into Clayoquot Sound
49	for the announcement
51	among politicians
76	today
77	two weeks ago
92	By setting aside 1/3 of Clayoquot Sound
94	each year
95	forever
98	also
98	about 40 to 50 million dollars in wages
99	in local communities
118	In Clayoquot
Total	23

TABLE B.5 MOOD AND TENSE

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
1	The provincial government	is		taking it on the chin		PRES in PRES
3	decision	is		in for		PRES
4	Environmentalist	are		angry		PRES
6	logging	will	be	allowed		FUTURE
7	people in the forest industry	are		complaining		PRES in PRES
8	logging	will	be	allowed		FUTURE
9	jobs	will	be	lost		FUTURE
10	flack	is		flying		PRES in PRES
12	Robert Kennedy Jr.	is		saying		PRES in PRES
13	trees	are		cut		PRES
14	ecosystem	will	be	destroyed		FUTURE
15	there	was		was the first protest		PAST
17	Clem Chapple	reports		reports		PRES
19	protest	was		was a tame affair		PAST
20	organisation	called		called		PRES
21	warnings	are		are for		PRES
30	Environmentalist	want		want [far more]		PRES
32	The decision	protects		protects some logging		PRES
33	[the decision]	protects		protects some wilderness		PRES
33	[the decision]	allows		allows negotiation		PRES
35	Clayoquot Sound	is		is an area		PRES
39	Clayoquot Sound forest	will	be	protected		FUTURE
41	the area	will		stay with		FUTURE
44	17%	will	be	called		FUTURE
47	the government	ferried		ferried		PAST
50	event	seems		to be	Q-MOD	PRES

TABLE B.5 MOOD AND TENSE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
73	Clayoquot decision	may not		be popular with	MODAL	MODAL
74	it	appears		appears	Q-MODAL	PRES
75	Premier Harcourt and his government	are		feeling comfortable with		PRES in PRES
79	time and effort	has	been	spen		PAST in PRES
80	it	seems		unlikely	Q-MODAL	PRES
80	there	will		be any backing down		FUTURE
84	The head of the IWA in Canada	says		says		PRES
85	decision	will		cost		FUTURE
86	half of the area	will		be open to logging		FUTURE
87	there	are		are restrictions		PRES
88	that	does		mean	INTERROG	PRES
91	Brian Coxburn	has		has		PRES
93	the federal and provincial governments	will		lose [revenue]		FUTURE
95	It	comes		comes from		PRES
98	jobs	will (also)	be	lost		FUTURE
99	wages	won't	be	paid out		FUTURE
101	federal government	has		begun to address		FUTURE in PAST in PRES
110	logging practices	was		the issue		PAST
111	federal ministers	met		met with		PAST
118	new regulations	will		insist on		FUTURE
120	a lighter foot	is		is the goal		PRES
132	[You]	look		look for	IMPERATIVE	PRES
132	Heli-logging	is		the quickest [way]		PRES
136	It	is		the method of choice		PRES
136	it	is		cost intensive		PRES
137	[it]	provides		provides		PRES
138	a yet-untried method	may		be another way	MODAL	MODAL
147	Paul Alton	has	been	trying to get		PRES in PAST in PRES

TABLE B.5 MOOD AND TENSE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Line	Subject	Finite	Aux.	Event	Mood	Tense
148	He	says		says		PRES
149	he	will		be able to lift		FUTURE
151	He	would		use	MODAL	MODAL
153	It	is		is a labor intensive process		PRES
157	he	needs		needs		PRES
165	Logs	are		are big		PRES
166	[logs]	are		are worth		PRES
167	ways	may		be	MODAL	MODAL

TABLE B.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE
BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
1.	Intro: Abstraction	[And]	The provincial gov't	is taking it on the chin from just about every direction tonight
1.1	Superordinating List: Generalisation	[that is to say]	Its decision to allow continued logging in Clayoquot sound	is in for heavy criticism
1.2	Additive: List Item: Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	Environmentalists	are angry
			that too much logging	will be allowed
1.3	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	and	people in the forest industry	are complaining
			that not enough logging	will be allowed
1.4	Additive: List Item Tense: Future	and	hundreds of jobs	will be lost
1.5.	Additive: List Item Tense: Conditional	[and also]	There	is even flack flying from the United States
1.6	Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	There [U.S.] Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the late Bobby Kennedy	is saying
	Causal: Background	once	the old growth trees in Clayoquot are cut	an irreplaceable ecosystem will be destroyed
2.	Explanation: Generalisation Additive: List Item Time: Present	[and]	In Vancouver today, there	was the first protest in what promises to be a long hot summer
2.1	Additive	and	Clem Chapple	reports
2.2	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Past	[First]	The first organised protest against the Clayoquot decision	was a tame affair
2.3	Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	Picketing of an industry organisation	called the Forest Alliance
2.4	Temporal: Sequence Tense: Present	[next]	The warnings	are for more serious events to come

TABLE B.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
3.	**Explanation: Generalisation** **Causal: Premise** **Tense: Conditional**	[because]	Opponents of the Clayoquot decision	want far more than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday
3.1	Additive: List Item	[E.g.]	The decision	protects some logging
	Additive: List Item	and		protects some wilderness
	Additive: List Item	and		allows for negotiation between the two
4.	**Explanation: Definition** **Additive: Background**	[by the way]	Clayoquot Sound	**is an area on the west coast of Vancouver Island comprising 350,000 hectares of spectacular land and seascape.**
5.	**Explanation: Definition** **Temporal: Background**	[From now on]	Under the new plan	
	Additive: List Item **Tense: Future**	[and]	33% of the Clayoquot Sound rainforest	will be permanently protected against logging.
5.1	Additive: List Item **Tense: Future**	[and]	45% of the area	will stay with its current status for **conventional logging** as a working forest.
5.2	Additive: List Item **Tense: Future**	[and]	Another 17%, mostly the immediate terrain,	will be called **special management**, meaning mixed use, which includes some logging.
6.	**Explanation: Generalisation** **Causal: Background** **Tense: Past**	[because]	In order to publicise the decision, the government	ferried four helicopters full of **journalists** into Clayoquot Sound for the announcement
6.1	Additive: List Item **Tense: Conditional**	[And]	This $30,000.00 event	seems to be more controversial among politicians than the decision itself

TABLE B.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
7.	**Narrative: Agent** Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Conditional	[To sum up]	The Clayoquot decision	may not be popular with **everyone**
7.1	Adversative: Complication Tense: Conditional	but [despite this]	it	appears
	Tense: Present		**Premier Harcourt and his government**	are feeling comfortable today
7.2	Additive: Comparison Tense: Past	[by contrast]	A contrast from the discomfort they felt two weeks ago	following their provincial budget
7.3	Temporal: Background Tense: Conditional	[up to now]	A tremendous amount of time and effort	has been spent deciding on this compromise
7.4	Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Conditional	and [so]	it	seems unlikely
	Tense: Future		there	will be any backing down despite the inevitable protests, blockades, international media campaigns and other attempts to change it.
8.	**Segment 2: Shift to Anchor** **Argument: Generalisation** Additive: List Item Tense: Future	[and]	**The head of the IWA in Canada**	says
			the Clayoquot decision	will cost hundreds of jobs
8.1	Adversative: Concessive Tense: Future	Yes	half the area	will be open to logging
8.2	Adversative: Complication Tense: Conditional	but	there	are **restrictions** on that logging
8.3	Causal: Interrogative	[So]	What	does that mean?
8.4	Causal: Outcome Tense: Conditional	[It means]	A ban on large scale clear cutting and increasing use of so-**called alternative logging methods**	
8.5	Additive	[And]	Brian Coxburn	has more

TABLE B.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
9.	**Explanation: Generalisation** **Causal: Background** **Tense: Conditional**	[Because of this]	By setting aside 1/3 of Clayoquot Sound, the government	will lose **20 million dollars in revenue** each year, forever
9.1	Additive **Tense: Conditional**	[E.g.]	It [revenue]	comes from stumpage and taxes collected from forest workers.
9.2	Additive **Tense: Future**	[Also]	About one thousand forest jobs and related employment	will also be lost,
	Causal: Outcome **Tense: Conditional**	[as a result]	meaning about forty to fifty million dollars in wages	won't be paid out in **local communities**, a problem the federal government has begun to address
10.	**Explanation: Generalisation** **Additive** **Tense: Past**	[Likewise]	The forest industry and future **logging practices in B.C.**	was **the issue**
	Temporal: Sequence **Tense: Past**		when federal ministers	met with the Forest Advisory sector yesterday
11.	**Explanation: Generalisation** **Temporal: Background** **Tense: Future**	[From now on]	**In Clayoquot, new regulations**	will insist on **alternative logging methods** to protect the environment
11.1	Causal: Outcome **Tense: Conditional**	[Because]	**A lighter foot on the forest**	**is the goal**
11.2	Causal: Imperative **Tense: Conditional**	[So]	Look for **more of this** in Clayoquot	
11.3	Additive: Background **Tense: Conditional**	[E.g.]	Heli-logging	is the quickest of the environmentally friendly ways to pull the big trees out.
11.4	Causal: Premise **Tense: Conditional**	And when	**the price of lumber**	is high and in **short supply**
	Causal: Outcome **Tense: Conditional**	[then]	it	's the method of choice
11.5	Adversative: Dismissive **Tense: Conditional**	But [in any case]	it'	s cost intensive and provides fewer jobs

TABLE B.6 PASSAGE STRUCTURE CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pas	Passage Type	Conjunction	Theme	Rheme
12.	Narrative: Agent Causal: Outcome	And [so]	a yet-untried method	may be another way to go
12.1	Additive: Background Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	Paul Alton	has been trying for five years to get his idea off the ground.
12.2	Additive	[E.g.]	He	says
	Tense: Future		he	'll be able to systematically lift sections of B.C.'s biggest trees out without the need for roads.
12.3	Additive Tense: Conditional	[E.g.]	He	'd use a big radio-controlled helium balloon attached to his super-strong, American-made fibre cable.
12.4	Additive Tense: Condltional	[And]	It	's a labor intensive system that has been endorsed by .groups from the World Wildlife Fund, forestry companies, and several environmental groups
12.5	Causal: Background Tense: Conditional	But [because]	to launch it, he	needs government help
12.6	Temporal: Conclusion Tense: Conditional	[To sum up]	Logs from the Clayoquot	are big and worth a lot of
12.7	Adversative: Concessive	And [in any case]	the ways of getting them out	may be different from the traditional logging methods we know.

TABLE B.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pass	Mark	Ref type	Theme	Ref type	Rheme
1	(M)	Fam-first	**The provincial government**	Nonref R-First	the chin every direction
1.1	(M)	A-First R-First	**Its decision** **to make nearly half of Clayoquot Sound available for logging**	R-First	heavy criticism
1.2	(M)	R-First	**Environmentalists**	R-First	too much logging
1.3	(M)	R-First	**people in the forest industry**	R-First	not enough logging
1.4	(M)	R-First	**hundreds of jobs**		
1.5	(M)		**There**	R-Next Fam-First	flack **the United States**
1.6		F-Next U-First	There Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the late Bobby Kennedy	U-First T-First	the old-growth trees in Clayoquot an irreplaceable ecosystem
2	M	Fam-First	In Vancouver today		
			there	R-First R-First	**the first protest in** **what promises to be a long hot summer**
2.1		U-First	Clem Chapple		
2.2		A-Next A-Next	The first organised protest against the Clayoquot decision	Nonref	a tame affair
2.3	(M)	U-First R-First	**Picketing of** **an industry organisation**	U-First	The Forest Alliance
2.4	(M)	U-First	**The warnings**	R-Next	more serious events to come
3	R	U-Next	Opponents of the Clayoquot decision	R-Next Fam-Next R-First	far more [ellipsis] than what Premier Harcourt announced on Tuesday
3.1		A-Next	The decision	R-Next R-First R-First	some logging **some wilderness** negotiation between the two

TABLE B.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

Pass	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
4	R	U-Next	Clayoquot Sound	U-First	an area **on the west coast of Vancouver Island**
				R-First	**350,000 hectares of spectacular land and seascape**
5	M	A-Next	Under the new plan		
		R-Next	33% of the Clayoquot Sound forest		
5.1		R-Next	45% of the area	U-First	its current status for
				T-First	**conventional logging** as a working forest
5.2		R-Next	Another 17% [ellipsis]	A-First	the immediate terrain
				R-First	**"special management"** meaning mixed use
				R-Next	some logging
6.	M	A-Next	In order to publicise the decision		
		Fam-Next	the government	R-First	four helicopters full of
				A-Next	journalists
				A-Next	into Clayoquot Sound for the announcement
6.1		A-Next	This $30,000 dollar event	Fam-First	**politicians**
				A-Next	the decision itself
7.	R	A-Next	The Clayoquot decision	R-Next	everyone
7.1		Fam-Next	Premier Harcourt and his government		
7.2	(M)	A-Next	[ellipsis] A contrast	A-First	following **their provincial budget**
		U-First	from the extreme discomfort		
		F-Next	they felt		
		R-First	two weeks ago		
7.3	(M)	R-First	**A tremendous amount of time and effort**	A-Next	this compromise
7.4	(M)		It		

TABLE B.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pass	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
8.	(M)	U-First	**The head of the IWA in Canada**	A-Next R-Next	the Clayoquot decision hundreds of forestry jobs
8.1		R-Next	half of the area		
8.2	(M)		there	R-First A-Next	**restrictions** on that logging
8.3		Interrog	what	A-Next	that
8.4	(M)	R-Next R-First	A ban on large-scale clear-cutting **increasing use of so-called alternative logging methods**		
9.	M	Fam-Next	By setting aside a third of Clayoquot Sound		
		Fam-First	**the federal and provincial governments**	R-First R-First	20 million dollars in revenue each year
9.1		F-Next	It	R-First U-First	**stumpage and taxes collected from workers**
9.2		R-Next	one thousand forest jobs and related employment		
		R-First	meaning 40-50 million dollars in wages	R-First A-Next Fam-Next	local communities a problem the federal government
10.	R	A-Next R-Next	the forest industry and future logging practices in B.C.	U-First	the issue
		Fam-Next	federal ministers	U-First	the Forest Advisory Sector

TABLE B.7 REFERENCE AND THEMATISATION CON'T

BCTV: Clayoquot Sound

Pass	Mark	Ref Type	Theme	Ref Type	Rheme
11.	M	U-Next	In Clayoquot		
		R-Next	new regulations	R-Next Fam-Next	alternative logging methods to protect the environment
11.1	(M)	T-First	**a lighter foot on the forest floor**	U-First	**the goal**
11.2		Imperative		A-First Fam-Next	more of this in Clayoquot
11.3		A-Next	Heli-logging	U-First	**the quickest of the environmentally friendly ways to pull the big trees out**
11.4		R-First	when the price of lumber	R-First	high and in short supply
		F-Next	[then] it	U-First	the method of choice
11.5		F-Next	it	R-First R-Next	cost intensive fewer jobs
12.	(M)	T-First	**a yet-untried method**	R-First	another way to go
12.1		U-First	Paul Alton	R-First A-First Nonref	five years his idea off the ground
12.2		F-Next	He	R-First Fam-First	sections of B.C.'s biggest trees the need for roads
12.3		F-Next	He	T-First A-First	**a big radio-controlled helium balloon** **his super-strong, American-made fibre cable**
12.4		F-Next	It	T-First R-First U-First R-Next R-Next	a labour-intensive system groups from the World Wildlife fund, forestry companies, and several environmental groups
12.5	M	F-Next	But to launch it		
		F-Next	he	R-First	**government help**
12.6		A-Next	Logs from the Clayoquot	R-Next	a lot of money
12.7		U-Next	the ways of getting them out	A-Next	traditional logging methods we know

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