

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nature and scope of the study

A central issue of the present study is the relationship between language and ideology. Over the past three decades several studies following the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA) have set out to examine how underlying ideologies are embedded in the linguistic choices that are made in various types of texts and discourses. This study adopts a critical approach to discourse analysis and focuses on the ideological underpinnings encoded in the linguistic and discursive choices of the texts used in foreign language tests.

Within the CDA tradition, ideology is viewed as “intrinsically connected with discourse and its expression in text” (Dendrinos 1992: 99), and therefore the linguistic and discursive choices made in a text are themselves seen as “ideologically invested” (ibid.). As it has been argued by others before, in order to reveal ideological underpinnings in texts a critical linguistic analysis is best approached through systematic analysis of the lexicogrammar. Thus a central position of this thesis is that a detailed analysis of the lexicogrammar of a text is essential in revealing the implicit sociocultural meanings it encodes. In fact, this position is best reflected in Fowler’s words (1991:10), as follows:

Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium. If we can acknowledge this as a positive, productive principle, we can go on to show by analysis how it operates in texts.

Within the above framework, the linguistic system is understood to be socially functional, or put differently, to be organized in such a way that the sociocultural context is reflected in the content of a text. Therefore, central to my position are Halliday's perspectives on the sociofunctional character of language, according to which the particular form taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve (Halliday, 1978).

On the basis of the theoretical principles of CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL), which inform this study, language is seen as social practice and meanings are understood to be "influenced by the sociocultural context in which they are exchanged" (Eggins, 1994: 2). Moreover, in the light of Fairclough's understanding of discourse as the "use of language seen as a form of social practice", discourse analysis is viewed as an "analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice" (Fairclough, 1995a: 7). Placed within this framework, texts are defined as "social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction" (ibid.: 6). Thus, texts are perceived as the linguistic forms of social interaction, which also implies that the meanings created by the social system are exchanged by the members of this social system in the form of a text.

In these respects, text analysis, based on the language theory provided by SFL, can show how ideology operates in texts. Therefore Halliday's multifunctional view of text (i.e. ideational, interpersonal, and textual) has proved essential in CDA. In relation to the contribution of the SFL theory and analytical tools to CDA Fairclough (1995a: 6) notes:

I have followed systemic linguistics in assuming that language in texts always simultaneously functions ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole (a text, precisely) and tying texts to situational contexts.

On the basis of the above, this study, combining the methodological tools of SFL with those of corpus linguistics, attempts a detailed lexicogrammatical analysis of a corpus of reading texts, used to test comprehension in three different English language proficiency exam batteries (i.e. the State Certificate Exams for Language Proficiency, Cambridge ESOL¹, and Michigan)², in order to reveal the way these texts linguistically construe or represent the world, and the subject positions³ (i.e.) they create for their readers.

¹ English for Speakers of Other Languages

² Henceforth for reasons of text economy the acronyms KPG, CESOL and ELIUM will be used for the three exam batteries, respectively.

³ The term refers to the construal of interpersonal meanings, that is, the social identities of the implied writer and reader and the relationship a text establishes between them. For a detailed discussion of subject positioning see 1.5.

1.2 Background and object of the study

The perspectives of CDA on the close relationship between discourse and ideology and the works of many scholars and researchers in the field, in which, by critically analysing various types of discourses and texts they have shown “how textual and syntactic elements of texts are ideologically loaded and how the use of different elements would construct a very different reality” (Dendrinos, 1992: 99), provided me with useful insights which motivated my decision to study the ideological implications of the reading texts used for English language certification exams. The ideological underpinnings of the particular type of texts was a challenging area worth investigating especially due to my involvement in language teaching and testing over the past 25 years.

A preliminary investigation of a sample of 15 randomly selected reading texts⁴ from each of the three exam batteries (i.e. KPG, CESOL, and ELIUM) for the same level of competence (i.e. the B2 level⁵), allowed me to confirm my initial assumption that the texts of the three batteries construe different realities and to get a first impression of the different worlds represented therein. That is, apart from the preferences each battery showed for particular text types and thematic choices, which were meaningful in themselves, the distinct preference of each battery for particular lexico-grammatical choices seemed to be meaningful as well.

⁴ These texts were later on included in the corpus of the study.

⁵ B2 level is described as ‘Independent user- Upper Intermediate’ on the scale set by the Council of Europe through the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (C.E.F.R.)

Specifically, the KPG texts appeared to represent a socially active, mainly ‘Greek world’ with a global, socio-political orientation, while the CESOL texts appeared to represent a world focused on the exciting personal experiences of its British participants. On the other hand, the American world of the ELIUM texts seemed to be scientific, professional, and well-organized, yet also quite serious, and politely distant. These observations raised questions as to how and to what extent the different impact of the texts of each exam battery could be associated with the particular lexico-grammatical and discursive choices made therein, and whether there were more ideological implications that the preliminary analysis had left undetected. I decided therefore to carry out a more detailed study on a larger number of texts from each exam battery, applying the SFL tools and using CDA theory to interpret the implications of the results.

The appropriacy of the SFL model for the purposes of CDA was one of the central factors that determined my decision to launch the present study, as SFL provides the appropriate theory of language and methodological tools on which to base a systematic text analysis that can reveal meanings lying below the surface of linguistic forms. What is more, my literature review of several CDA studies which have drawn on SFL in their investigation of ideologies encoded in various text and discourse types (e.g. the discourse of the media, advertising discourse, political discourse, educational discourse etc.) and of studies in the field of testing, which focus on the washback effect of tests, indicated that the ideological implications of texts used in English language certification exams had not as yet been systematically investigated. Hence, the challenge I was confronted with was

to reveal the different ways in which reality is represented in the texts of the three aforementioned batteries, thus contributing to the development of a critical and political angle from which to view texts not only as instruments for testing but also as instruments for promoting particular world views.

Most importantly, I should mention at this point that Dendrinou's intriguing ideas as well as the fruitful discussions I have had with her on several issues concerning the ideological nature of texts, played a central part in conceiving the present study. In addition, her research on the ideological meanings of the foreign language textbook (1992) has provided me with useful insights into shaping the methodological and interpretative framework of this thesis.

Shohamy's critical perspectives on the powerful role of tests have been another significant source of inspiration and motivation in my study. As Shohamy argues, tests apart from measuring knowledge are also used as a means for the implementation of specific language and educational policies, thus playing a significant role in the promotion and maintenance of ideologies. She also sees tests as social institutions which have the power to administer and introduce specific knowledge according to the perceptions and values of the educational institutions which design and administer them. What is more, she stresses the power of texts used in tests, which is of particular significance for the present study, as after Shohamy, I understand that given the power of language in general, the combination of language and tests, that is, two sources of power, enhances significantly the symbolic power of the texts used in tests (Shohamy,

2001: 123-124). This entails that the enhanced power of the texts in question is also transferred to the particular world views of the test makers the texts encode⁶. Thus, tests in general and high-stake examinations in particular, such as the ones this study is concerned with, have major effects and consequences on a variety of factors concerning education and society. However, this does not imply that all effects and consequences of tests are purposeful on the part of educational institutions and test makers in general, since as Shohamy points out, “even with the best intentions”, as it was in the case study of a national reading comprehension test she discusses, “while the intended purpose of the test was very educational”, the effects of the test “went far beyond what those who introduced the test could foresee” (Shohamy, 2001: 58).

In view of the above and taking into account Shohamy’s remarks on the effects and consequences of tests on education and society, I believe that the critical purposes of my study belong with the interests of the wider field of what Shohamy names *Critical Testing*. In fact, one of the basic aims of my research being the development of language awareness on the part of all those involved in English language certification exams, that is, teachers, testers, and test takers, Shohamy provided me with a wider scope within which to incorporate the aims and contributions of my critical study into those of critical testing, which “attempts to encourage testers, teachers, test takers and the public at large to

⁶ In her most recent article Shohamy (2011) even argues that the current policies of cultivating multilingualism in schools and societies is actually in contrast with the current language testing policies and practices, since the latter are still based on monolingual assessment approaches which are “rooted in nationstate ideologies that are still attempting to promote national collective agendas of “wishful thinking” and ignore the reality of how languages are being used” (ibid.: 418).

question the uses of tests, the materials they are based on and to critique the values and the beliefs inherent in them” (Shohamy, 2001: 132).

Ultimately, I believe that an important dimension of this work is its contribution to the development and spread of critical language awareness, which can in turn generate critical reading and consequently a critical stance to the content of testing. As Wallace (1992: 69) notes, critical reading involves readers in challenging the ideological content of texts, and she adds that “central to the idea of critical reading is an awareness of the role that language plays in conveying not just a propositional message but an ideological one.” In fact, it is in the wider frame of such understanding that the present study attempts to reveal the ideological meanings encoded in the reading texts of the particular language certification exams.

1.3 Basic assumptions

In line with the theory of language that this thesis adopts, the systematic linguistic and discursive choices made in the target texts encode specific explicit and implicit socio-cultural meanings, which are not ideologically neutral, nor disconnected from the institutions in which they are shaped. In fact, in Althusserian terms, they are ideological formations bound to the test development institutions.

Therefore, the basic assumption on which this thesis rests is that the texts, used by each of the three test development institutions, articulate different ideological meanings and positions and that a detailed and systematic analysis of the texts' lexico-grammar can reveal how the systematic discursive and linguistic choices of the texts in question contribute to the construal of different realities and subject positions for their readers (i.e. the exam candidates).

1.4 Aims and methods of the study

Based on the above stated main assumptions of the current study, its main aims are twofold. The first is to investigate the different ideologies, or put differently, the different systems of socio-cultural values and attitudes, which are encoded in the linguistic and discursive choices of the reading texts used by the three English language examination batteries in question. The second aim is to provide a systematic and accurate model of analysis based on a combination of the SFL tools of transitivity and mood analysis with more objective quantitative corpus linguistics techniques.

With regard to the first aim of the study, the different ways reality is linguistically represented by the texts in question are understood to encode the particular socio-cultural values and attitudes which characterize the three exam batteries as well as the specific subject positions they construe for the exam candidates.

Consequently, the focus of the study is on the experiential and interpersonal meanings the texts encode.

As we shall see more thoroughly in the third chapter of this thesis, according to SFL, experiential and interpersonal meanings are two of the three kinds of meanings which language is structured to make. In fact, a basic premise of the systemic functional theory, which informs this study, is that there are systematic correlations between the organization of language, the three types of meanings it encodes, and specific contextual features. In other words, each meaning category is realized through certain linguistic patterns in a text, while at the same time it realizes a particular aspect of its context.

Thus, in the light of Kress and Hodge's (1993: 7) fundamental argument that "the grammar of a language is its theory of reality", the main aim of the present study is to be achieved by means of a detailed lexicogrammatical analysis which would focus on the patterns through which experiential and interpersonal meanings are realized in the texts in question. This actually brings us to the second main aim of the study, namely the development of a systematic and accurate model of analysis.

As already mentioned, SFL has provided the present study with a useful descriptive and interpretive analytic framework, given that its analytical tools allow for text analysis considered in relation to the cultural and social context in which text meanings are negotiated (Eggins, 1994: 1). Moreover, a particular

asset of the systemic functional model lies in that it allows for the prediction of the particular types of analysis relevant to the focus of a given investigation. Hence, the two types of analysis that have served the purposes of the present study are Transitivity analysis, which enabled me to reveal the transitivity patterns which represent the encoding of experiential meanings in the texts, and Mood analysis, which revealed the mood and modality choices which represent the encoding of interpersonal meanings in the texts.

Yet, as will be more thoroughly discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, the model of analysis developed for the purposes of the present study is not exclusively based on the SFL tools of Transitivity and Mood analysis. It also incorporates corpus linguistics techniques (i.e. frequency counts, concordances, and significance tests for the major analytical steps) as well as the investigation of the use of specific pronouns and of patterns of passivization and nominalization, both of which are closely associated with the construal of relevant implicit meanings.

Thus, in an attempt to shed light on the experiential and interpersonal meanings construed in the texts and in the ways these are realized through particular linguistic choices, my analysis primarily focused on the following two general questions in which the two basic aims of my study can be articulated as follows:

- 1) What are the primary experiential and interpersonal meanings in the texts?
- 2) What are the linguistic patterns through which the particular experiential and interpersonal meanings are realized?

In further exploring my data for experiential meanings the following questions were raised: Who are the dominant actants (i.e. social actors)? What are the dominant processes (i.e. social actions)? What types of processes are the dominant actants associated with? What types of actants are less frequent or even absent? What types of processes are less frequent or even absent? What types of processes and actants are foregrounded and what types are backgrounded? Which actants occur in subject and which occur in object positions? By the same token, in my investigation of interpersonal meanings I focused on the following questions: What kinds of attitudes are expressed in the texts? What are the implicit judgements of the text writers? What is the writer's identity? What is the reader/candidate's identity? What kind of relationship is established between the writer and the reader of the texts?

As it becomes obvious from the aims of my study, my intention was to reveal and identify the linguistic construction of the meanings in question. However, a further assumption to be validated throughout this study is that the model of analysis it is based on, i.e. combining the theoretical perspectives of CDA with the theoretical and methodological framework of SFL and corpus linguistics techniques, has proved rewarding both in terms of creating the necessary conditions for the linguistic analysis which was undertaken and in terms of providing a firm grounding for the interpretation and explanation of the findings as well as the drawing of conclusions.

To sum up, this study aims at showing the differences, yet also the similarities, in the realities construed by the systematic linguistic choices made in the reading texts of my research corpus. I shall then be able to claim the validity of the basic assumption my study makes, namely that the texts used by the three English language exam batteries in question are ideologically loaded and that the linguistic and discursive patterns used therein are selected so as to reflect the particular ideologies that characterize the institutions responsible for the particular exams. Yet, it should be stressed at this point that these differences are not to be viewed as pertinent to the quality of the tests developed by the three exam batteries as the present study is not intended to criticize their testing policies and practices.

Last but not least, by revealing the ways the three exam batteries choose to construe the particular reality which the institutional subjects and particularly the exam candidates and ELT professionals are ‘constrained’ to perceive, this study aims at developing a critical awareness which will be of benefit to the exam stakeholders. Hence, they will be able to choose themselves whether or not to “accept automatically the role of the ‘ideal reader’ which is constructed in the text” and whether to “question and if necessary reject the view of the world represented there” or “conform with open eyes and recognise the compromises they are making” (Janks and Ivanic, 1992: 317-318).

1.5 The theoretical framework of the study: representation and ideology

As already stated, this study is based on a social theory of language and draws on the basic principles of SFL, thus viewing language as a social semiotic which operates as a system of representation. Hall (1997: 61) defines representation as “the process by which the members of a culture use language to produce meanings”. Language is thus conceived as the medium through which the production and exchange of meanings takes place between the participants of the same culture, who “must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world in roughly similar ways.” (ibid.: 4). Hence, reality is represented through language in the form of all the cultural values and meanings produced and exchanged in a given culture. It is actually on the basis of this interpretation that I perceive reality as the whole of the sociocultural meanings produced and circulated by and within a given culture.

However, the members of a culture need to share the same ‘cultural’ and subsequently linguistic codes in order to be able to communicate meaningfully within their ‘world’, i.e. to interpret meanings ‘in roughly similar ways’. Hence, ‘code’ is another central concept involved in the process of representation. Drawing on Halliday’s and Hasan’s (1989) perspectives, I understand ‘code’ to be the result of sociocultural conventions, some of which are unconsciously internalized from an early age in a person’s life. As Halliday explains “the codes transmit, or control the transmission, of the underlying patterns of a culture or

subculture, acting through the socializing agencies of family, peer group and school” (Halliday, 1978: 111). He also defines codes as “types of social semiotic or symbolic orders of meaning generated by the social system” (ibid.) which are located at the semiotic level of language, and are actualized in language through ‘register’. It is then due to the function of language as a semiotic system that meanings are encoded into language through the process of representation and it is due to the encoding and decoding of these meanings that cultural communication is sustained and facilitated. Moreover, Halliday points out that “the construal of reality is inseparable from the construal of the semantic system in which the reality is encoded” (ibid.: 1). Consequently, social reality or culture are viewed as a semiotic construct, that is, a construct of meanings, and language as one of the semiotic systems that constitute a social reality or culture.

Within this framework, the production and circulation of meanings takes place through culture and discourse, rather than simply through language. It follows therefore that, “to see language as discourse is to study it in its communicative context, as language socially and historically situated” (Fowler, 1996: 93). This implies that discourse plays an active role in culture and society, which brings us to the basic premise of the social constructionist approach to representation that this study adopts, according to which sociocultural meanings are not conceived as pre-existing but as constructed, that is, produced through culture and discourse. Moreover, this entails that representation is conceived not merely as a reflection of the world but as “entering into the very constitution of things” (Hall, 1997: 5-6). Hence, meanings are constructed in discourse through the process of

representation and their interpretation is based on the sharing of common codes between the participants of a society or culture. In fact, it is by these theoretical perspectives that my approach to the representation of meanings through language is informed throughout this study.

However, as Hall (1997: 9) points out “meaning is not straightforward or transparent, and does not survive intact the passage through representation. It is a slippery customer, changing and shifting with context, usage and historical circumstances”. Similar views are also held by Fairclough (2000: 23), who argues that “...language is not just a transparent medium for reflecting the way things are. On the contrary, language constructs the world in one way or another according to position or perspective”. Along the same lines, Fowler (1991: 24) claims that meanings cannot be communicated neutrally since “they have to be transmitted through some medium with its own structural features, which are already impregnated with social values which make up a potential perspective on events”. Hence, according to these perspectives, meanings are ideologically invested, and consequently ideology is understood to be closely interwoven with the representation of sociocultural meanings.

On the basis of the above and given that the focus of this study lies on the representation of sociocultural meanings in texts aimed for a specific use, the concept of ideology is central in the theoretical point of view from which this thesis is argued. What is more, in recognizing the distinction Thompson (1990) makes between critical and neutral conceptions of ideology, my conception of

ideology belongs with the critical ones. Specifically, Thompson (1990: 53-54) defines neutral conceptions of ideology as “those which purport to characterize phenomena as ideology or ideological without implying that these phenomena are necessarily misleading, illusory or aligned with the interests of any particular group”. On the other hand, critical conceptions of ideology “imply that the phenomena characterized as ideology or ideological are misleading, illusory or one-sided” (ibid.).

Critical conceptions of ideology share common ground with the Marxist perspectives of ideology as ‘false consciousness’⁷, according to which ideologies were “popular but misguided beliefs inculcated by the ruling class in order to legitimate the status quo, and to control the real socioeconomic conditions of the workers” (van Dijk, 2000: 7) (see also van Dijk, 1998 and Dendrinos, 1992: 80). They also draw basic insights from Althusser’s theories of ideology and interpellation (1984; 1998: 294-304)⁸, from Foucault’s philosophy (1980), and from Gramsci’s (1971) conceptualization of the relations between ideology and society in terms of ‘hegemony’. Yet, as van Dijk points out “although the legitimization of dominance is an important function of many ideologies”, we should adopt a general theory of ideology according to which “in the same way as ideologies need not be negative, they need not be dominant” thus allowing “a broader and more flexible application of the notion”, which does not exclude a critical account of negative or dominant ideologies (ibid.: 8).

⁷ For an extensive account of the history and philosophy of ideology as a false consciousness see Hawkes (1996)

⁸ For a brief overview of Althusser’s theory see also Gray (2005)

In accordance with the above, my understanding of ideology is best captured in Kress and Hodge's (1993: 6) much quoted definition of ideology as "a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view". Along the same lines, Fowler (1996: 165) views ideology as "the system of beliefs, values, and categories by reference to which a person or a society comprehends the world". He also notes that "...language performs a crucial role in stabilizing, reproducing, and changing ideology" (ibid.). Moreover, Fairclough (1995b: 14) goes as far as to claim that "...ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination". Thus language, apart from being viewed as an instrument of communication, is also viewed as an instrument of control. Consequently ideology is essentially tied to power relations, and in fact, as Van Dijk (2000: 36) claims, "if there is one notion often related to ideology it is that of power". Ideologies are then perceived as meaning constructions which contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of power relations.

As was noted earlier in this chapter, meanings are constructed in discourse through the process of representation. Therefore ideology is inherent in discourse and consequently ideological meanings are understood to be constitutive of both the reality and the theory of reality of a society. In fact, as Stephens (1992: 2) points out in examining the workings of ideological practices within the discourse of narrative fiction, "ideology is never separable from discourse. Its presence is only more or less apparent". Thus, the analysis of ideology is primarily concerned with "the ways in which meaning is mobilized in the social world and serves

thereby to bolster up individuals and groups who occupy positions of power” (Thompson, 1990: 56). It then follows that “to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination” (ibid.).

Therefore, my views on ideology are tied to the perspectives of CDA, according to which, the study of discourse, namely discourse analysis, takes a particular interest in the relation of language with power and ideology. In support of such an approach, Dendrinos (1992: 99) makes the following statement:

Ideology is intrinsically connected with discourse and its realization in text, which is determined by generic, normative rules which are themselves ideologically invested. Adopting this position means that the investigation of ideology implies critically analysing discourse and its material configurations, in order to understand how these function as instruments to sustain relations of domination and, by extension, how they may function as instruments to transform these relations.

Interwoven in the above critical perspectives is a key concept about discourse and social institutions which informs my understanding of language certification examination systems throughout this study. According to Kress (1989: 7) discourse expresses, in systematic ways, the specific meanings and values of institutions. In the same line of thought, Fairclough (1995a: 27) views social institutions as “containing diverse ideological-discursive formations”, one of which is “clearly dominant”. He defines (ibid.: 38-39) a social institution as “a sort of ‘speech community’ with its own particular repertoire of speech events” which simultaneously facilitates and constrains the social actions of its members. He also claims that “institutional subjects are constructed in subject positions whose ideological underpinnings they may be unaware of” (ibid.: 27). In fact, by

the concept 'institutional subject' he refers to the members of an institution who "have institutional roles and identities acquired in a defined acquisition period and maintained as long-term attributes" (ibid.: 38), whereas he uses the concept 'client' to refer to outsiders rather than members. Thus, 'clients' are those who participate in certain institutional interactions in accordance with norms laid down by the institution, but without a defined acquisition period or long-term maintenance of attributes.

On the other hand, texts, being the linguistic forms of social interaction, are "the fabric in which discourse is manifested" (Talbot 1995: 24). It follows therefore that texts apart from encoding the specific meanings and values of social institutions, they also create particular subject positions for their writers and readers, earlier identified as institutional subjects involved in the form of interaction represented by texts. Specifically, the position a text construes for its writer is that of the 'implied writer' and the position it construes for its reader is that of the 'implied reader'. It should be noted, however, that the implied writer and reader are to be clearly distinguished from the actual writer and reader of a text, as the terms 'implied writer' and 'implied reader' do not refer to the person who actually writes or reads a text, but to artificial personas. More accurately, the 'implied reader' is to be understood "rather like a role which the real reader is being encouraged to adopt, providing a 'position' from which the real reader interprets the text" (Montgomery *et al*, 2000: 271). Put more simply, the 'implied text reader' is the reader to whom the text is addressed, or better still, "an

imaginary addressee for whom the text was written, someone with particular sets of ideas and values, notions of common sense, and so on” (Talbot, 1995: 28).

Yet, subject positioning implies that social institutions constrain the social actions of their subjects. Thus, actual readers, that is, the language users who are actively involved in interpreting a text produced by a social institution, are to do so within the constraints imposed by the institution. In fact, the actual readers have to “negotiate with the subject positioning of the implied reader inscribed in the text” (Talbot, 1995: 28), since “the extent of the reading subject’s autonomy as an interpreter who invests a text with meaning is diminished by focusing on the enactment of language conventions which mediate between society and individuals” (ibid.: 27). In this respect, the construction of an ‘implied reader’ is also understood to entail the text writer’s powerful position to “assume all kinds of shared expectations, commonsense attitudes and even experiences” (ibid.: 29), and consequently to contribute to the establishment and/or maintenance of ideologies and asymmetrical power relations.

The ‘implied author’, on the other hand, is neither the real author of the text nor the text narrator (i.e. the imaginary person who narrates the text) but is to be understood as the role the real author adopts for her/his interaction with the implied reader, which actually functions as an effect of the text. In fact, as Montgomery *et al* explain (2000: 289), the implied author can be understood as the reader’s rationalization of the impression that s/he is being confided in by some specific human consciousness, the effect of which on the reader is that “it

defines and stabilizes interpretive possibilities for a text by suggesting that readings of the text can be distilled into a coherent moral position and meaning controlled by an authoritative moral consciousness or intention”.

Within the above framework, the present study understands English language examinations systems as social institutions, which, by means of their dominant ideological-discursive formations, construct their own reality, that is their specific meanings and values organized from their own point of view, as well as their particular subject positions. What is more, following Fairclough’s line of thought, I regard all those involved in the development and administration of the exams as the subjects of these institutions, and the exam candidates as their ‘clients’. Specifically, the exam candidates, by participating in the exams, which is seen as a form of institutional interaction, function as ‘short-term subjects’ of the institutions and therefore comply with the norms ‘laid down’ by the institution’s dominant ideological-discursive formations.

Also, given that the present study is concerned with the texts selected to be used for the reading comprehension component of the exams in question, the exam candidates are also understood to be ‘constrained to occupy’ not only the position of the ‘client’ but also the position of the ‘implied reader’ the particular texts construe. Then, if the exam candidates “have a great deal in common with the ‘implied text reader’, they are likely to take up the positions constructed comfortably, unconsciously and uncritically” (Talbot, 1995: 28-29). If the opposite is true, the negotiation required of them “is likely to become more

substantial and difficult, and the likelihood of actual readers fitting the writer's implied reader is correspondingly diminished" (ibid.).

1.6 Data sources

There are various reasons for which I selected to study the three English language proficiency exam batteries of KPG, CESOL, and ELIUM. The main reason was that, despite the fact that all three of them measure language competence, they present a number of fundamental differences which are understood to affect the ideological underpinnings encoded in the texts selected for their reading comprehension component. The most important of these differences is that CESOL and ELIUM are international exam batteries which offer exams exclusively in English, while KPG is a glocal examination system which apart from English also offers exams in other European languages⁹.

Specifically, Cambridge and Michigan exams are both large-scale international examination systems, exclusively concerned with English language certification, whose international reputation has come to attract high percentages of candidates in Greece but also worldwide. They are both developed by agencies associated with universities, namely the Cambridge program for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and the English Language Institute of the University of

⁹ Inter-cultural differences are also understood to have an impact on the ideological character of the examination systems in question, yet this issue is beyond the scope of the present study.

Michigan (ELI-UM) respectively. In addition, they are both based in English speaking countries and have a long history in English Language Teaching and Testing. In fact, the first exam UCLES (i.e. the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate) set in English for speakers of other languages, which was then as now called the Certificate of Proficiency in English (CPE), was first administered in 1913. The Lower Certificate in English (LCE), which in 1975 was renamed as the First Certificate in English (FCE), appeared in June 1939 (Hawkey, 2009: 5-7).

By the same token, ELI, which was established in 1941 as the first English language research and teaching program of its kind in the United States, developed the ECPE (i.e. Examination for the Certificate of Proficiency in English) for use abroad in 1953. The ECCE (i.e. the University of Michigan Examination for the Certificate of Competency in English) was first administered in Greece in 1994¹⁰.

Unlike Cambridge and Michigan exams, KPG is a state, glocal examination and certification system which was implemented on the basis of a 1999 law, by the Greek Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs. The system started developing in 2002 and the first KPG exams were administered in November 2003. Responsible for the administration of the exams is the Greek Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs. Responsible for the design and the development of the KPG exams are teams of “testing and assessment specialists engaged to work at the Universities of Athens and

¹⁰ Information on Michigan ECPE and ECCE exams was retrieved from the official sites of the Hellenic American Union and the ELI-UM.

Thessaloniki, under the supervision of professorial staff” (Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs, 2003: 7) (see also Dendrinos, 2008b). In particular, the English Exams project is carried out by a team of experts at the Research Centre for English Language Teaching and Testing (RCEL) in the Faculty of English Studies, of the University of Athens.

As a state examination system, KPG is subsidized by the state and therefore it “differs markedly from large-scale international examination systems” in that “it does not have commercial interests” and in that “there is no interest in the material and symbolic profit often connected with international exams concerned with assessing and certifying proficiency in one of the ‘strong’ European languages” (Dendrinos, 2005) (see also Mitsikopoulou, 2008). In addition, KPG does not promote the English language exclusively “as the cultural capital of a country” (Dendrinos, 2008a), since, as already stated, it aims at evaluating proficiency in different European languages, thus acknowledging the great value of “linguistic pluralism in contemporary Greek society” (ibid.). Finally, KPG exams are designed for people living, studying and working in Greece, whose common language is considered Greek, and in fact, they are required to understand (not to produce) oral and written discourse in Greek (Dendrinos, 2005)¹¹.

In view of the above, my focus of interest in investigating the reality representations in the particular examination systems can be summarized in the

¹¹ For an extensive account of the characteristics of KPG as a glocal language proficiency exam suite see Dendrinos (2011).

following two points: First, I am interested in investigating how the two international examination systems with similar aims and interests are different, and secondly whether these two or each one of them differs from KPG, which is a national rather than international examination system with different social purposes.

A final point I would like to make in relation to my data sources is that according to the critical aims of my study and the theoretical perspectives I have adopted to this end, the authors of the reading texts of the aforementioned exams are viewed as members of the wider educational institutions of which the specific English language certification batteries constitute language education policy mechanisms. In this respect, given that the development of the exams in each educational institution is assigned to teams of experts, the authors of the exam reading texts, known as item writers, are understood as institutional subjects who work according to particular guidelines and comply with the norms set by the educational institutions responsible for the particular examination batteries. Therefore, I view the reading texts my research data comprise as a result of team work, which entails that the particular meanings the texts encode do not reflect the personal ideological positions of their writers but the values, perceptions and beliefs that characterize the institutions which are responsible for the design and administration of the particular exams.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

In addition to this introductory chapter, the thesis consists of nine chapters and an appendix, comprising the tables which summarize the detailed results from the different analytical stages. The CD included contains the corpus of the study in digital form. Chapter 2 presents the basic theoretical principles and aims of CDA and Critical Testing, which inform this thesis, and presents a review of works in the fields of CDA, foreign language teaching and testing, with which the present study shares common goals, interests, and methods.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology employed in this study. The first part of the chapter presents an overview of the theoretical perspectives of SFL and explains the purposes which the selection of specific SFL analytical tools (i.e. transitivity, mood, and modality analysis) serves in the present study. In the second part of the chapter, details concerning the corpus design are presented, while the third part is concerned with a detailed description of the different levels of analysis which were undertaken, along with the various analytical steps each level of analysis involved.

Chapter 4 focuses on the first level of analysis, which was aimed at exploring various aspects of the three sub-corpora, which the main body of lexico-grammatical analysis is not concerned with. Precisely, the first and the second part of the chapter discuss findings concerning the selection of text types and thematic choices, respectively. The third part investigates the types of narration

and the modes of address the texts tend to select and the fourth part explores the use of certain pronouns and possessives. The chapter ends with the consolidation of the findings and the conclusions drawn from the first level of analysis.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 comprise the three key stages of the first part of the second level of analysis, namely Transitivity analysis, which investigates the experiential meanings encoded in the texts. The quantitative and qualitative parts of each of the three key stages of Transitivity analysis are described and findings are presented, categorized and discussed. Precisely, chapter 5 focuses on the distribution of the major process types in the three sub-corpora as well as the distribution of their further types and sub-types, which emerged from the sub-categorization of the dominant processes. Chapter 6 is concerned with the actants of the processes. It first explains and describes the categorization of human and non-human actants in turn and then presents and discusses the distribution of their sub-categories in each sub-corpus.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the main body of Transitivity analysis, as by consolidating the findings of the two previous analytical stages it explores how the dominant process types and sub-types are associated with the actant categories, thus providing an accurate description of the world of experience each sub-corpus represents. It also comprises the analysis of two syntactic transformations associated with the deletion of the actors, namely nominalization and passivization. At the end of the chapter the consolidation of the findings and the final conclusions from Transitivity analysis are presented.

Chapter 8 focuses on the second part of the second level of analysis, namely Mood analysis, which explores the interpersonal meanings encoded in the lexicogrammatical choices of the texts. The two main analytical stages (i.e. the analysis of Mood classes and the analysis of Modality) involved, along with their findings, are presented and discussed in two separate parts. The chapter ends with the consolidation of the findings and the final conclusions from Mood analysis.

Finally, chapter 9 presents the final conclusions of the study. The last part of the chapter discusses the usefulness of the study along with suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CRITICAL TESTING

In this chapter I shall discuss the basic theoretical principles and aims of CDA and Critical Testing, and I shall present a review of works in the fields of CDA and foreign language teaching and testing, with which the present study shares common goals, interests, and methods. The first section of the chapter, which is concerned with CDA, begins with an overview of the history of CDA and discusses its basic theoretical principles as well as some of the most influential theoretical and methodological approaches within the CDA paradigm. The perspectives on the notion of critique and the position of the critical analyst that this study adopts are also discussed here, while special attention is drawn on the contribution of the SFL theory and analytical tools to CDA.

As already stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the object of my study is a corpus of pedagogical texts, and its methodology draws on SFL as well as on corpus linguistics. Thus, the review of the relevant literature is presented in three separate sub-sections, namely, CDA studies which have drawn on SFL, studies which have combined CDA with corpus linguistics, and CDA studies on educational discourse. Finally, in the second section of the chapter, after a brief overview of the perspectives of Critical Testing, I shall attempt to illustrate the gap my study seeks to fill in the relevant literature.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA draws its origins from classical Rhetoric, Text Linguistics and Sociolinguistics, as well as from Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics (Wodak, 2002: 6), and it is actually considered to be the development of Critical Linguistics, which was started by a group of scholars working at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s (see Fowler/Kress/Hodge/Trew, 1979). As Threadgold (2003) informs us, the group was strongly influenced by Halliday's SFL, while they also used stylistic approaches borrowed from Chomskyan transformational linguistics in order “to uncover the linguistic structures of power in texts” and “to make the discipline of linguistics itself more accountable, more responsible, and more responsive to questions of social equity” (Kress, 1990: 88).

Nowadays, “in CDA a huge continuity exists with Critical Linguistics”, which according to Wodak (2002: 11), “is visible mostly in the claim that discourses are ideological and that there is no arbitrariness of signs”. Specifically, CDA shares the aims of discourse analysis, that is, it takes texts “to be the proper domain of linguistic theory and description (rather than focus on *constituents* of texts)” and it has an interest “in the understanding of extended text socially or at least contextually situated”. Therefore it aims to produce “accounts of texts that draw on features of the context to provide explanatory categories for the description of textual characteristics” (Kress, 1990: 84) (see also van Dijk, 1997a: 1-34).

However, what distinguishes CDA from mainstream discourse analysis lies in that CDA is “an openly political activity” and this is largely due to its concern to “provide a *critical dimension* in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts” (Kress, 1990: 84). Kress summarizes the political dimension of CDA as follows (ibid.: 85):

“Implicitly or explicitly, practitioners of CDA have the larger political aim of putting the forms of texts, the processes of production of texts, and the process of reading, together with the structures of power which have given rise to them, into crisis. By denaturalizing the discursive practices and the texts of a society, treated as a set of discursively linked communities, and by making visible and apparent that which may previously have been invisible and seemingly natural, they intend to show the imbrication of linguistic-discursive practices with the wider socio-political structures of power and domination. In as far as these structures act to the detriment of particular groups in a society, critical discourse analysts hope to bring about change not only to the discursive practices, but also to the socio-political practices and structures supporting the discursive practices”.

Hence, CDA takes a critical perspective on language in use, and aims at examining “the structure of texts in search of politically and ideologically salient features, which are constitutive of the (re)produced power relations without often being evident to participants” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 497).

Let us now focus on the main principles, concepts and notions which constitute the basic theoretical framework of CDA and which distinguish it clearly from other discourse analysis paradigms. CDA views discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258), thus drawing on the social constructionist theoretical premise that discourse does not neutrally reflect the world, identities and social relations but it plays an active role in creating and

changing them. Within this framework, Fairclough (1995a: 131-132) argues that discourse is both constitutive of and constituted by society in the sense that it shapes society while it is shaped by social practices and structures that characterize society, as well as by specific social institutions (see also Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). In fact, he distinguishes three broad domains of social life that may be discursively constituted: representations of the world, social relations between people, and people's social and personal identities (Fairclough, 1992b). Hence, there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and other social dimensions of social practice. This is precisely, as Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 273) stress, "the power of discourse" as it entails that "every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations".

Viewing discourse as social practice also entails that CDA is concerned with a simultaneous analysis of both the form and the content of texts. Specifically, "the form of a text is part of its content" and therefore "one cannot properly analyze content without simultaneously analyzing form, because contents are always necessarily realized in forms, and different contents entail different forms and vice versa" (Fairclough, 1995a: 188). Along the same lines, Kress (1990: 84) stresses that a "criterial characteristic of CDA", which actually "marks it off from other kinds of discourse analysis", is that it relies "always on quite precise analyses and descriptions of the materiality of language-on close linguistic description".

As already said, one of the most distinct features of CDA is its political commitment to the struggle for social change by means of uncovering the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of unequal power relations. In these terms, Fairclough (1995a: 1) describes CDA as “a resource for people who are struggling against domination and oppression in its linguistic forms”. This brings us to the notion of power, which is central in CDA, and which within the above framework is conceptualized “both in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in particular sociocultural contexts” (ibid.).

Equally important to the notion of power in CDA is the notion of ideology. As stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, ideology is viewed as essentially tied to power relations. It follows therefore that ideology is a central concept in CDA particularly since the latter is concerned with revealing power relations, and in fact as Wodak (2002: 10) notes, “one of the aims of CDA is to ‘demystify’ discourses by deciphering ideologies”. In the same line of thought, Fairclough (1995a: 27-28) makes a further point by arguing that a distinct feature of dominant ideological-discursive formations is their capacity to ‘naturalize’ ideologies. He actually claims that social interaction depends on taken-for-granted ‘background knowledge’, thus leading to ‘naturalized’ ideological representations, that is, representations which come to be seen as non-ideological ‘common sense’. In this context, the role of CDA is to ‘denaturalize’ reality representations in discourse. This brings us to Fairclough’s following statement,

which actually best reflects what this thesis understands as the basic aim of critical discourse analysis:

Adopting critical goals means aiming to elucidate such naturalizations, and more generally to make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants. These concerns are absent in currently predominant 'descriptive' work on discourse (ibid.).

It should be noted though at this point that, regarding the critical dimension of CDA, this thesis views CDA as a 'critique' in the sense of a positioned opening for discussion, which as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002: 205) explain "should make clear that the particular representation of reality it provides is just one among other possible representations, thus inviting further discussion". That is, CDA is intended to generate critical social research, which, in Fairclough's words (1995a: 231-232), can lead "to an exploration for alternatives' via "the building of emancipated forms of social life". Hence, CDA can promote a more egalitarian and liberal discourse and make people aware that discourse functions as a form of social practice which reflects unequal power relations.

In these terms, this study understands that the role of the critical analyst is to explore discourse not in order to discover what statements about the world are right or wrong but in order to identify the social consequences of different reality representations. To this end, the critical analyst has to be equipped with clear theoretical positions and critical language awareness so as to be able to distance herself/himself from the material she/he explores and its 'naturalized' ideological representations. In relation to the position of the critical analyst, Wodak (2002: 9)

points out that the notion ‘critical’ “is to be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research”. It then follows that critical language awareness should be inherent in a critical approach to text analysis. In fact, critical language awareness should be complementary to CDA, not only because it is a necessary tool for the analyst but also because it can provide text users with insights into the discursive practices involved in the production and consumption of texts, as well as into the social structures and power relations which shape discourse and are shaped by discourse.

Having discussed the basic principles and concepts which characterize CDA, we shall now make a brief reference to some CDA approaches which are of particular interest to the current study. As Threadgold (2003) informs us, Fairclough's work in Britain is among the first to actually use the label CDA and particularly his work on discourse and intertextuality was the first CDA work in the UK to actually attempt a linguistic description of the poststructuralist categories of intertextuality and discourse. Specifically, Fairclough proposes a three-dimensional model for CDA, which incorporates an analysis of the linguistic features of the text, an analysis of its discursive practices and an analysis of the wider social practice. In his analysis of the linguistic features of a text, Fairclough draws on SFL for a theory of language and for an analytical framework consistent with the needs of CDA. His analysis of the discursive practices of a text (i.e. intertextual analysis), which he actually views as “a necessary complement to linguistic analysis”, consists in investigating how specific texts draw on earlier

meaning formations and how they mix different discourses (see Fairclough, 1989, 1992b, and 1995a). As for the analysis of the wider social practice, Fairclough stresses the necessity to draw on other theories, for instance social and cultural theory, in order to shed light upon the ideological, political and social consequences of the particular discursive practices on the broader social practice.

On the other hand, van Dijk, driven by his interest in discourse types that encode prejudice (e.g. racist discourse), developed a socio-cognitive model for CDA, which views cognition as a mediator between “society” and “discourse” (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000). The methodology adopted by this model basically draws on “argumentation theory and semantic theories” (Wodak, 2002: 18). Wodak’s approach, also known as the Discourse Historical Approach, covers similar grounds, that is, the study of racist discrimination and anti-Semitism, yet it is also concerned with the construction of national identities. This approach, based on the argument that “all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 15-16), focuses on the necessity for a historical perspective in the explanation and interpretation of the data (see also Wodak *et al*, 1999; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000). Another influential CDA approach which is worth noting here is the one adopted by van Leeuwen (1996) in his social actor theory. Specifically, van Leeuwen, proposes a sociosemantic inventory of the many ways by which social actors can be represented in English discourse thus enabling the exploration of social issues, such as immigration and racism, in which van Leeuwen has taken particular interest.

Thus, over the last decades various approaches to CDA have developed, their differences basically lying in the use of grammatical theories and methodologies, consistent with their aims of research and with the nature of the data under investigation (Wodak, 2002: 14). However, as Wodak (2002: 16) points out, “whether analysts with a critical approach prefer to focus on micro-linguistic features, macro-linguistic features, textual, discursive or contextual features, and whether their perspective is primarily philosophical, sociological or historical, in most studies there is some reference to Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar”. Indeed, she goes as far as to argue that “an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday’s grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA” (ibid.).

Furthermore, Martin (2000b: 275-276) notes that “one of the real strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language in use” thus providing CDA “with a technical language for talking about language - to make it possible to look very closely at meaning, to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others, and to engage in quantitative analysis where this is appropriate”. Along the same lines, Fowler (1991: 68) stresses the appropriacy of the SFL model “for examining the connections between linguistic structure and social values”, while Young and Harrison (2004) argue that SFL is the linguistic theory that is closest to the aims

and perspectives of critical social research, and that CDA and SFL can be seen as complementary to each other (see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999)¹².

Specifically, as Fairclough (1995a: 210) maintains, the appropriacy of the SFL model for the purposes of CDA consists in the functional approach of the former to language and in its systematic orientation “to studying the relationship between the texture of texts and their social contexts”. Therefore, in his work he draws on SFL to point out that discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning. He also views the emphasis which the systemic model places on ‘choice’ as particularly significant and he argues that “systemic functional linguistics has a view of texts which is a potentially powerful basis not only for analysis for what is in texts, but also for analysis for what is absent or omitted from texts” (ibid.).

On the basis of the above, the contribution of the SFL theory and analytical tools to CDA lies in that SFL establishes the relationship between the grammatical structures of language and their context of use thus providing the appropriate grounds for the kind of linguistic analysis CDA is concerned with. In what follows I shall attempt a review of CDA works which have adopted to a greater or lesser degree one of the approaches presented in this section. Special attention will be drawn to CDA works which, in their search for the ways in which

¹² It should also be noted at this point that the SFL analytic tools have also been applied in studies which adopt a descriptive rather than a critical approach to discourse analysis. For instance, Lascaratou (2007) has combined the broader theoretical framework of Halliday’s SFL paradigm with a cognitive semantics approach in order to explore the construal of physical pain in Modern Greek.

ideologies are encoded in various types of texts and discourses, have used the SFL analytical tools and corpus linguistics techniques.

2.1.1 CDA works drawing on SFL

As I shall try to illustrate in this section, the main gap in the current literature this study hopes to fill, is the lack of an objective, accurate and systematic method of analysis for investigating the whole of the experiential and interpersonal meanings encoded in a corpus of texts of different types and discourses. The method of analysis proposed in this study fully exploits the SFL tools of transitivity, mood and modality analysis, and combines them with corpus linguistics techniques. Moreover, it incorporates elements from various approaches to CDA, such as those of Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak, especially as regards the analysis of syntactic transformations, the study of the use of pronouns, and the interpretation of the findings within a socio-cultural framework.

As we shall see in what follows, many CDA studies have used the SFL analytical tools, though rather selectively and usually as a complementary component of a macro-level analysis. On the other hand, few are the CDA studies in which more objective, quantitative corpus linguistics techniques are systematically used, thus providing more accurate findings and “guarding against over- or under-interpretation” of the study findings and conclusions (Wodak *et al*, 2008: 297). In addition, unlike the present study, which examines the reality representations in a corpus of a variety of text types and discourses, most CDA works seem to be

centered on a particular type of discourse (e.g. the discourse of the media or the discourse of education, the discourse of advertising, literary discourse, political discourse and so on) and to be exploring the representation of the particular aspects of reality they are concerned with. That is, they select a particular issue on which to focus and seek to reveal the ideologies with which this issue is invested in their research object, in contrast with the present study which examines representations of the social reality as a whole.

For example, racism, sexism, colonialism and environmentalism are some of the issues research in CDA has mostly been concerned with (e.g. van Dijk, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; Lemke, 1995; Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000; Dendrinos, 2007). Other works have centered on the discursive practices and the construction of identities in a particular domain (e.g. Wodak *et al*, 1999; Mitsikopoulou, 1999).

Yet, given the vast range of issues CDA works have dealt with, I shall begin the review of the relevant literature, based on the types of discourse most studies have focused on. The discourse of the media, in particular, has received much attention since the early days of Critical Linguistics. Among the most representative of these early works, which, as Simpson stresses (1993: 105), “has become in many respects a flagship for the critical linguistics approach”, is Trew’s analyses (see Fowler *et al*, 1979) of news-reporting styles, where, with specific reference to transitivity, he examines how the same events are treated differently in news reports, thus showing that different styles shape reality differently.

Similar works from the early days of Critical Linguistics are those of van Dijk (1987) and (1988), Kress and Threadgold (1988), van Birch and O'Toole (1988), Hodge and Kress (1993), yet none of them provides a complete, systematic model for the lexico-grammatical analysis of a corpus of texts whereby the construal of reality both in terms of experiential and interpersonal meanings could be explored. That is, the aforementioned works are either concerned with demonstrating how the transitivity system contributes to the representation of reality or how modality, syntactic transformations and various discursive practices can encode particular ideologies.

On the whole, CDA works exploring the relationship between language and ideology in media discourse can be categorized into two groups based on their topics (Kuo and Nakamura, 2005: 395-396). The first group focuses “on issues of prejudice and power dominance and the subtle role of news discourse in the maintenance and legitimation of injustice and inequality in society, with racism and sexism as the most widely discussed themes” (ibid.). Thus, many CDA scholars have investigated the representation of ethnic or minority groups by the press, among which are those of van Dijk (1985, 1991, and 1998), van Leeuwen (1996), Wodak and van Dijk (2000), Wodak *et al* (1999), while others have studied the representation of women in the press, such as Fowler (1991) and Coulthard- Caldas (1993). Some of the more recent CDA works falling into this group are those of Teo (2000), Flowerdew *et al* (2002), and Machin and Thornborrow (2003).

The second group focuses on the direct comparison of different media accounts of the same event, in order to demonstrate “how language is a vehicle of covert interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting” (Kuo and Nakamura, 2005: 395-396). Pioneering works in this field are those of Fowler (1991; 1996), and Fairclough (1989; 1995b), the former applying the SFL tools of transitivity and modality to explore ideological underpinnings in the language of the press and the latter providing a framework for analysing media language in order to demonstrate how changing practices of media discourse relate to wider processes of social and cultural change.

Among the most recent studies concerned with the analysis of ideology in the press is that of Stamou (2001), who has basically drawn upon the SFL tools of transitivity and ergativity in order to investigate the news representation of non-protesters in a corpus of news stories from a Greek English-language newspaper. Also, Kuo and Nakamura (2005) have explored the relationship between language and ideology in Taiwanese news discourse. Their study compares two news articles, translated from an identical English text, which appeared in two ideologically opposed newspapers. Their analysis basically draws on van Dijk’s and Fairclough’s analytic methods (i.e. deletion and addition, syntactic and lexical variations) yet it does not include a systematic lexico-grammatical analysis. Hernández (2008) has explored the discursive construction of national identity (i.e. the Gibraltar identity) by means of a linguistic analysis of the transitivity system in a corpus of editorials taken from the printed media. Mineshima (2009) investigates how two sample newspaper

articles draw on particular structural and lexico-grammatical resources in order to articulate their different evaluative positions on certain political figures. To this end various SFL analytical tools are applied, among which Theme analysis, Transitivity analysis, and analysis of Modality, by means of which experiential and interpersonal meanings associated with the representation of the particular actants the articles deal with (i.e. the political figures) are explored. On the other hand, Retzlaff (2010) has used the multidisciplinary resources of CDA and the concept of process types from SFL in order to examine and compare the discursive practices in various Canadian newspapers which promote and produce Euro-scepticism or Euro-friendliness on the basis of the various roles, and identities they ascribe to the EU. Similar studies have also been conducted by Lee and Craig (1992), Fang (1994 and 2001), Dendrinos (1999), Lee and Poynton (2000), Oberhuber *et al* (2005), Wodak and Wright (2006), Yaghoobi (2009), to mention but a few.

Slightly drifting from the methodological framework of the aforementioned works are studies in which interpersonal meanings apart from the systems of Mood and Modality are also explored in the system of Appraisal (see Eggins and Slade, 1997; Martin, 1997 and 2000a; Martin and Rose, 2003; Martin and White, 2005). Such studies have been conducted by Butt, Lukin, and Matthiessen (2004), Achugar (2007), Oteiza (2009), and Caffarel and Rechniewski (2009). In fact, as Oteiza argues (2009: 613-614), the Appraisal theory, which is “a reorientation of Halliday's work on mood and modality”, serves as “a tool for a more flexible and detailed analysis of linguistic (lexico-grammatical and discourse-semantics) and

key discursive strategies used by authors to build value judgments, including more metaphorical realizations of interpersonal meanings”.

Apart from the discourse of the media, political discourse has been the object of several critical studies. Fairclough has been concerned with the role of language in politics in his analysis of the discourse of Thatcherism (1989: 169-196), and later in his book *New Labour, New Language* (2000). In the latter, in particular, by drawing on the methodological tools of Conversational analysis and SFL, Fairclough analyzes a wide range of New Labour texts in order to point out how the language and the rhetoric of New Labour represents its logic, political values and ideas. Van Dijk (2006), also examining a speech by Tony Blair, provides a useful analytic method which, based on a “triangulated approach to manipulation as a form of social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction” (ibid.: 359), he applies to demonstrate how manipulation can be exercised through political discourse.

Similarly, Every and Augoustinos (2007), employing a methodology which draws on Fairclough’s and van Dijk’s approaches to CDA, examine a corpus of parliamentary speeches of Australian politicians and reveal the ways in which the government’s representation of asylum seekers is constructed as racist. On the other hand, Wang (2010) mainly by applying the SFL tools of transitivity and modality analyzes Barack Obama’s presidential speeches in order to explore how language is used to persuade the public to accept and support particular policies. Yet, though a systematic lexico-grammatical analysis is attempted and a wide

range of SFL tools is employed, the data have not been adequately explored and elaborated so as to provide substantial evidence for the interpretation of the findings as well as the necessary grounds to substantiate the analyst's claims. Similar studies have also been conducted by Boyd (2009), Cramer (2010), Fairclough and Fairclough (2011), Oddo (2011) and many more.

Advertising as well as literary discourse have also received much attention from various CDA scholars and practitioners. The discourse of advertising has become the object of several critical studies, such as Williamson, 1978; Fairclough, 1989, 1995a; Drossou, 1998; Coupland, 2002; Hansen, 2002; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Björkvall, 2007; Hansen and Machin, 2008. On the other hand, one of the most influential works on the analysis of literary texts with the aid of the SFL tools is Halliday's (1971) study of Golding's novel *The Inheritors*, in which he demonstrates how consistent selections from the transitivity system can suggest different world-views. Among other works undertaken in order to explore the ideology encoded in literary texts are those of Kennedy (1982), Burton (1982), Kies (1992), and Stephens (1992). More recently, Iwamoto (2007) has employed Halliday's analytic tool of transitivity to explore the ideology and power relations that underpin a narrative text.

2.1.2 CDA and corpus linguistics

A highly informative study on the extent to which methods normally associated with corpus linguistics can be effectively used in CDA, is the one Wodak *et al*

(2008) have based on the analysis of a large corpus of British newspaper articles about refugees and asylum seekers. Precisely, in their research, Wodak *et al* combine traditional corpus linguistics techniques, such as the analysis of key words, word frequencies, and concordances, with a discourse-historical approach to CDA in order to demonstrate that both CDA and corpus linguistics contribute “equally and distinctly to a methodological synergy” (ibid.: 274). In fact, as Wodak *et al* claim, “combining methods strengthens the theoretical basis” of both corpus linguistics and CDA. Thus, the former can be “positively influenced by exposure and familiarity with CDA analytical techniques”, while the latter can “benefit from incorporating more objective quantitative corpus linguistics approaches” and consequently gain “a quantitative dimension” which will make “the approximate quantification used in CDA studies” more specific (ibid.: 296).

Recently also, a symposium held on October 24, 2011 at the department of Linguistics and English Language of Lancaster University under the title “*Critique Meets Corpora: implications for research on contentious issues*”, has focused on the moral and ethical issues involved in research works combining corpus-based methods with CDA. Among the organizers and main speakers of this symposium were scholars such as Wodak, Baker and McEnery, who are actually among those who have carried out the aforementioned study.

However, though many are those who have pointed out the compatibility of corpus linguistics and CDA (e.g. Koller and Mautner, 2004; O’Halloran and Coffin, 2004; Baker 2006), relatively few are the practitioners who have applied

corpora and corpus linguistic techniques in CDA studies (e.g. Stubbs, 1994; Krishnamurthy, 1996; Galasinski and Marley, 1998; Baker and McEnery, 2005; Orpin, 2005). It should be mentioned though that the methodology most of the aforementioned works have followed, is largely based on Corpus Linguistic techniques and they do not adopt the SFL methodological tools for text analysis.

A study worth mentioning, as it combines corpus linguistics with transitivity analysis and therefore its methodology has common elements with that of the present study, is that of Andrew Goatly (2004), who investigates the representation of the meanings and ideologies in popular children's literature. Yet, unlike the present study, Goatly's research pre-selects which ideologies to explore in his data and focuses on the experiential meanings of the text he analyses. In fact, by using word frequency and concordance data, which he then analyses for transitivity, Goatly attempts to demonstrate the extent to which a 'critical corpus linguistics' approach, as he calls it, "gives a valid representation of the meanings and ideologies of a literary text" (ibid.: 115). However, he argues that such a methodology "cannot entirely succeed in accounting for how literature, in particular, is understood and interpreted, and how ideology works within it and behind it" (ibid.), and therefore he complements it by means of exploring the author's propositional attitude, thus drawing on insights from the field of pragmatics. He observes though, that propositional attitudes would not affect the validity of any conclusions about representation in texts other than literary and he concludes that the combination of critical linguistics, SFL, and the concordancing techniques of corpus linguistics, can be "especially useful in detecting latent

ideology, and more so for those texts where inference and complex propositional attitudes are less important for interpretation, such as news reports” (ibid.: 153).

2.1.3 CDA and education

CDA studies have been largely concerned with the study of power and power relationships as well as the construction of knowledge and identities in the language of education. In fact, many scholars have adopted a CDA approach in exploring power or power relationships in educational institutions (e.g. Kress, 1989; Christie, 1989; Fairclough, 1992a and 1992b; Hodge and Kress, 1993; Mumby and Clair, 1997; Mayes, 2010), or in exploring the ideologies encoded in the classroom language and the language of the textbooks used in school (e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Ribeiro, 1990; Dendrinos, 1992 and 2001; Lee, 1996; Adger, 2001; Christie, 2002 and 2004a; Kondyli and Maniou, 2007; Kondyli and Lykou, 2008, and the language of educational policy documents (e.g. Thomas, 2005; Kean-Wah and Siew Ming, 2010).

The aforementioned works have adopted various CDA approaches and actually some of them have drawn on the SFL theory of language and have incorporated, though not in a systematic way, some of the SFL tools for text analysis in their research. For example, Christie (2002), who actually acknowledges that the theory of language SFL provides, has “significantly enhanced theories of pedagogy and of language in education” (Christie, 2004b: 13), applies the methodological tools of SFL, namely analysis of transitivity and modality

patterns, as well as analysis of the use of pronouns in order to explore the experiential and interpersonal meanings encoded in the classroom language. Kondyli and Maniou (2007), on the other hand, employ the SFL tool of transitivity analysis in order to investigate how the world is represented in Greek primary school textbooks, while Kondyli and Lykou (2008), by adopting an SFL approach, analyse instances of classroom language used in Greek preschool educational settings. Also, more recently, Kean-Wah and Siew Ming (2010) have drawn on Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA, in order to explore the discourses of a policy document of the Ministry of Education of Malaysia for the implementation of the Malaysian Smart Schools.

In addition to the language of education, foreign language teaching has been the subject of several CDA studies. To name but a few, Shardakova and Pavlenko (2004) have investigated the construction of the implied reader in two textbooks, used for teaching Russian as a foreign language, while Hammond (2006) has focused on the awareness of racial discrimination in a Japanese EFL class, and Cots (2006) has been concerned with how CDA can be incorporated into foreign language teaching programmes.

Yet, as the present study examines the language of texts used in language certification exams, it particularly benefits from those of the aforementioned CDA works whose focus is on the ideology encoded in textbooks. According to Luke (1997), schools are institutions which "act as gatekeepers of mastery of discursive resources", among which texts in particular, the form and the shape of which is

neither random nor arbitrary, “attempt to ‘do things’ in social institutions with predictable ideational and material effects”. In the same line of thought, Dendrinos (1992: 20) in relation to the language used in pedagogical texts, points out that “choices with regard to what type of knowledge will be conveyed, when and how, or to what sort of skills will be developed and how, are ideologically bound and contribute to the making of different social beings”.

Luke (1997) stresses that CDA, which has actually been used as the basis for the teaching of ‘critical language awareness’ and ‘critical literacy’ to students in Australia and the UK (see also Fairclough, 1992a), when applied in educational texts “can document how the world is portrayed, how human, biological and political actions are represented, sanctioned and critiqued in the official texts of educational institutions”, as well as how educational texts “structure and stipulate social relations between human subjects” and position their readers “in ideological relations through various lexical and grammatical devices” (for an account of a critical literacy lesson¹³ on analysing textbook ideologies from a CDA perspective see also Luke, 2000).

On the basis of the above, Dendrinos’ work (1992) has particular significance for the present study, especially because of its focus on the ideology encoded in the EFL textbook, that is, the book used for the teaching of English as a foreign language. The EFL book is actually understood to have common characteristics with the corpus of my study, first because they both contain pedagogical texts,

¹³ This lesson is part of the critical literacy programs undertaken in Australian schools. In fact, the Australian work in critical literacy is largely influenced by SFL.

that is, texts which “are intentionally authored and/or selected to serve pedagogical ends” (ibid.: 150), and second because one of their distinct features is the variability of their discourse and text types (ibid.: 43). Another reason that this work has been particularly useful for my study is that, despite the fact that Dendrinos does not conduct a systematic lexico-grammatical analysis of the texts she is concerned with, nor does she use the SFL analytical tools, her work examines the social reality the texts in question construe as a whole rather than as pre-selected aspects of reality. Hence, it was both the strengths and the weaknesses of this work that have provided me with useful insights into shaping the methodological and interpretative framework of the present study.

Precisely, in her work, Dendrinos demonstrates how the content and form of instructional texts¹⁴ in the EFL textbook “show selections about social reality and representations of ideological meanings” (ibid.: 149). Her research, based on the examination of the selections of themes and situations, titles, text characters and narrative lines, as well as certain lexico-grammatical choices in the texts of various EFL textbooks, indicates that “there are variations revealing different ideological positions in different textbooks” (Dendrinos, 1992: 182) (see also Dendrinos, 2001b: 154-177). Therefore, she acknowledges the need for “more systematic research” and in fact she suggests “critically analyzing the language

¹⁴ Instructional texts are one of the two categories of the verbal texts of the EFL textbook, that is, the texts “whose main purpose is to present the language to be dealt with”. The other category is instrumental texts, “whose function is to provide the learner with information concerning the teaching/learning matter, and with instructions regarding what to do with it” (Dendrinos 1992: 43).

across one or more textbooks” in order to gain an accurate and complete picture of the reality the texts in question construct (ibid.).

2.2 Critical Testing

Critical testing, the aims and perspectives of which this study understands to be closely related to those of critical language awareness and critical discourse analysis, is a notion developed by Shohamy (2001) in order to point out “the need to develop critical strategies to examine the uses and consequences of tests, to monitor their power, minimize their detrimental force, reveal their misuses, and empower the test takers” (ibid.: 132).

According to Shohamy, in the process of implementation of a language policy, which she sees as “the primary mechanism in most political entities for organizing, managing and manipulating language behaviors” (Shohamy, 2006: 45), various policy mechanisms are employed. These mechanisms are used “often in covert and implicit ways” and “are strongly affecting de facto policies, given their direct effects and consequences on language practice” (ibid: 46). Hence, they promote the specific ideologies they are invested with, which are consistent with the ideologies lying behind the particular language policy they serve.

Two of these mechanisms are of particular significance in the present study, namely educational institutions and language tests. Language tests seen as “a

powerful device that is imposed by groups in power to affect language priorities, language practices and criteria of correctness often leading to inclusion and exclusions and to perpetuate ideologies” (Shohamy, 2006: 93) reflect “the values of test makers, test users and policy makers” (Shohamy, 2001: 18). That is, they reflect the values of the educational institutions by which they are administered. Thus, one of the features that Shohamy views as contributing to the power of tests is the fact that they are administered by powerful institutions.

In accordance with the above, the educational institutions which design and administer language certification examinations are understood to be powerful organizations which constitute “chief mechanisms for promoting language ideologies within a society in accordance with the interests of certain powerful groups” (Shohamy, 2006: 92). Educational institutions are thus in a position of power over test takers since they determine “the information and knowledge that will be tested” (Shohamy, 2001: 20). In fact, Shohamy goes as far as to claim that any testing organization “has total non-negotiable control over the knowledge input, and can provide a mechanism for continuous control over information and power” (ibid: 21). What is more, tests are viewed as effective tools for control and for redefining knowledge as “by including certain contents and topics on tests the tester can redefine and introduce specific knowledge according to his or her perceptions or perspective” (Shohamy, 2001: 38).

Another point raised by Shohamy, which is actually of particular interest to the current study, is the power of texts used in tests. According to Lemke (1995), as

cited by Shohamy (2001: 124), “language as exemplified through texts is powerful” (ibid.). Specifically, Shohamy draws on Fillmore’s observations on the type of texts used in tests to stress the enhancement of the symbolic power of tests through the discourse of the texts. According to these observations, texts used in tests are seen as very different from texts people read in non-testing situations while the behaviour of the test takers when confronted with these texts is described as “being subversive, whereby the test taker is making an effort to accommodate ‘the truth’ that is owned by the tester” (ibid.).

In view of all the above, the power of tests and of texts used in tests, in particular, is unquestionable. Therefore, an issue which has received much interest from several studies particularly in the field of foreign language testing is the effect tests have on teaching and learning, known as the ‘washback effect’. In the relevant literature much debate has centered around the precise nature of the relationship between washback and validity. A most influential theory on the conceptualization of washback in language testing is that of Alderson and Wall (1993), while relevant studies have also been conducted by Bailey (1996), and Messick (1996), Hamp-Lyons (1997 and 2000), Cheng and Watanabe (2004), and Tsagari (2009), to name but a few.

Shohamy (2001: 46) makes a useful distinction between educational and societal test effects, the former being concerned with the influence of tests on “areas such as the curriculum, teaching methods, learning strategies, materials assessment practices and knowledge tested”, and the latter “with the effects of tests on aspects

such as gate-keeping, ideology, ethicality, morality and fairness” (ibid.). This entails that much of the power of the tests “lies not only in their technical quality but in their use in social and political dimensions” (ibid.). Therefore attention should also be drawn on the “the values that testing promotes and those that it diminishes”, that is, on the ethicality, equity and fairness of the tests (Shohamy, 2001: 162).

Ethics in language testing is a relatively new ground in the field of testing, yet many are the scholars who have dealt with issues concerning the ethical aspect of tests¹⁵. For example, Davies (1997), Hamp-Lyons (1997), and Spolsky (1998), as Shohamy (2001: 144-147) informs us, have been concerned with the ethics and the morality of the language testers (i.e. all those who have made some contribution to the act of testing), that is, their professional and moral responsibilities in relation to various issues regarding the use of tests and their effects and consequences on society. Other scholars have focused on the position and the rights of the test-takers. For instance, Hanson (1993) explores the powerless role of the test taker against that of the tester, while Punch (1994) is concerned with the rights of the test takers to question the test results and methods.

¹⁵ It should also be mentioned here that the first Code of Ethics, which, in Shohamy’s words (2001: 163), is “a set of principles which draws upon moral philosophy and serves to guide good professional conduct”, was developed by the International Language Testing Association (ILTA) and adopted at the ILTA annual meeting in Vancouver in March 2000. For a full account of the code see Shohamy (2001: 163-169).

More recently, Tsagari (2007), presents a list of empirical research studies into washback of both language and general education high-stakes tests, along with their methods and findings. Among these studies, the ones of Alderson and Hamp-Lyons (1996) and of Wall and Horak (2006) are concerned with the TOEFL exam, their methods being based on teacher and student interviews and classroom observations. Also, Hawkey (2004) examines the washback effects the content of the CESOL-CPE test has on test preparation textbooks.

Yet, as most studies in the field have done, the aforementioned studies focus on the washback effects of tests on teaching and learning (i.e. teaching and learning curricula, teaching materials, teaching methods, classroom assessment, student learning) as well as on the feelings and attitudes of teachers and students. The washback effect of tests on textbooks, in particular, as Tsagari (2007: 20) points out, “has been addressed through a small number of empirical research studies”, which actually “discuss washback on materials in terms of their content, classroom use, and their effect on test performance”. Thus, studies in the relevant literature examine the content of the textbook in terms of the range of the skills it promotes, the task types and the topic areas it contains. However, what the relevant literature lacks is the investigation of the ideological implications of the content of texts used in tests and textbooks used for test preparation.

To sum up, though the washback effect on how students learn, that is, the type of learning skills they are required to develop through the use of particular teaching and testing material, has received much interest in the current literature, the

washback effect on the explicit and most importantly implicit socio-cultural knowledge the learners are exposed to through the particular teaching and testing materials, appears to have been neglected. In other words, the current research does not seem to examine the content of tests in terms of the system of the socio-cultural values which are promoted through the specific discursive and linguistic choices of the texts they use.

As Dendrinos (2001: 6) argues, the foreign language learner is provided with direct or indirect information “about the target culture, which constitutes the social context of the language being taught, and perhaps even about the how specific speech patterns express cultural norms, attitudes, etc.”. In addition, Dendrinos goes as far as to claim that “even if we do not accept that foreign language learners are actually re-aculturated, they are necessarily being socialized and re-socialized in specific ways”, one of which is “the uses of language which they are being exposed to” (ibid.). In these terms, the issue of the ideological underpinnings of the linguistic and discursive choices of texts and materials used particularly in foreign language tests is worth particular attention, and this is precisely the gap in the current literature the present study helps fill in.

CHAPTER 3

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodological framework from which the investigation of sociocultural meanings is approached in this study and to describe the analytical procedure which was followed to this end. The first section of the chapter presents an overview of the fundamental theoretical principles and concepts of SFL, which has provided the study with the basic analytical tools for text analysis as well as with the appropriate context within which to support the interpretation of the findings. The second section is concerned with the description of the corpus design and of the corpus itself, and the last section of the chapter presents a detailed description of the different analytical stages which were involved in the main body of the lexicogrammatical analysis as well as of those of the preliminary analysis which was conducted first.

3.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics

As already mentioned, the appropriacy of SFL for this study consists in that it combines theory and practice by providing “both a theory about language as social process and an analytical methodology which permits the detailed and systematic description of language patterns” (Eggins, 1994: 22-23). Precisely, systemic linguistics suggests a functional-semantic approach to language which provides the theoretical framework in order to explain how language is structured

for use as a semiotic system and the analytical tools with which to explore how people use language in different contexts. Martin *et al* (1997: 4) summarize the aims of SFL as follows:

Functional linguistics is centrally concerned with showing how the organization of language is related to its use. In SFL this concern is pursued by modelling both language and social context as semiotic systems in a relationship of realization with one another.

In view of the above aims, systemic linguistics holds four main principles, according to which language use is functional, semantic, contextual, and semiotic. Within this framework, the fundamental purpose of language is its semantic function, that is, to make meanings. Moreover, because meanings are influenced by the socio-cultural context in which they are exchanged, language is used to make meanings in context, and finally because meanings are made by choice, the process of using language is a semiotic one (Eggins, 1994: 2).

As it becomes obvious from the above, the relationship between language and context constitutes a focal point in the systemic functional approach. Halliday's language theory has drawn on works of researchers and theorists such as Malinowski (1935) and Firth (1957), who first pointed out the importance of cultural and situational context in language understanding. Yet, despite that fact that the work of many researchers in the field of sociolinguistics and ethnography of speaking approaches (e.g. Hymes, 1962; Gumperz, 1971) as well as register theorists (e.g. Gregory and Carroll, 1978 ; Ure and Ellis, 1977) has contributed significantly to the study of the relationship between meaning and context, the major contribution of Halliday's approach to context consists in his argument for

systematic correlations between the organization of language, namely the three types of meanings it encodes, and specific contextual features (Eggins, 1994: 52).

According to SFL, the context of any linguistic use is divided into 'register', that is, the context of situation, 'genre', that is, the context of culture, and ideology, which is the highest level of context. Halliday (1978: 111) views register as "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type" and he defines it as "the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context" (ibid.)¹⁶. He also maintains that there are three dimensions of any situation which have significant and predictable impacts on language use and these are the register variables of field, tenor and mode. Thus, as Eggins (1994: 52) explains, the 'field' refers to 'the topic of the situation', the 'tenor' to 'the role relationships between interactants', and the 'mode' refers to 'the role language plays in interaction'.

The register-language relationship represents a focal point in the SFL theory. Yet, the need to incorporate both register and genre into it has been indicated by Martin (1985) who first pointed out that any text, apart from being involved in a set of linguistic choices with respect to field, tenor and mode, is also an instance of a particular genre, where the genre choice is a condition of the context of culture. (See also Martin, 1992: 493-587; Eggins, 1994; Eggins and Martin, 1997:231-256; Eggins and Slade, 1997: 227-271; Christie and Martin, 1997; Halliday, 2000: 53-54). Martin *et al* (1997: 13) define genre as the representation

¹⁶ For an extensive discussion of this theory, see also Halliday and Hasan, 1989.

of “a system of staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives”. In the same line of thought, Bhatia (1993: 16) views genre as “an instance of a successful achievement of a specific communicative purpose using conventionalized knowledge of linguistic and discursal resources”. Thus, in the context of the two aforementioned definitions, this study perceives ‘genres’ as text types with relatively stable structural forms, the communicative purposes of which are recognized by a particular cultural community (see also Bakhtin, 1986 and Kress, 1989).

It is then understood that the significance of genres lies in that they “create an identifiable level of expectations that govern how a text will be understood and construed” (Montgomery *et al*, 2000: 204). In addition, identifying the generic type of a text entails identifying the generic conventions lying therein, in which case it can be viewed as a skill of critical reading, since as Montgomery *et al* hold (ibid.: 207), “such awareness of the role of genre in shaping and presenting what we often think of as textual content means recognizing that human creativity, and the particular meanings texts create, are not fully ‘original’ but are built by exploiting existing, conventional resources or templates”.

In view of the above, ‘genre’ describes the overall purpose or function of the text, while ‘register’ describes the immediate situational context in which a text is produced. However, as already said, in order to understand how language is used, both the context of the situation and the context of culture need to be identified. According to Halliday’s register theory, genres are realized through specific

registers, and as Eggins (1994: 34) explains, register mediates the realization of genre by “filling in the specifics relevant to a particular situation of use of that genre”. Yet, the most significant point in this perspective lies in the claim that both register and genre are realized through language, which brings us to the central question systemic linguistics is concerned with, that is, how language as a semiotic system is organized to represent the social context within which it is used.

According to the SFL model, language is a three-level semiotic system which consists of the level of content, comprising two further sub-levels, and the level of expression known as phonology or graphology. The level of content is divided into two meaning-making levels, the upper level of content, known as discourse-semantics, and the intermediate level of content, known as lexico-grammar. Language makes meanings by means of a successive realization of the higher levels through the lower levels. More accurately, the upper level of discourse-semantics (i.e. meanings) gets realized through the lexico-grammar (i.e. words and structures), which is in turn realized through the phonology or graphology (i.e. sounds and letters). In other words, meanings are realized through words and structures, which are in turn realized through sounds and letters. Hence meanings are encoded into the lexico-grammar, which entails the central role of lexico-grammar in text analysis according to the systemic model. In fact, as Eggins (1994: 22) explains, the three different types of meanings that “run through any text get ‘into’ the text largely through the clauses which make it up”, thus pointing out the significance of grammatical description in text analysis.

We have so far discussed the contextual and the semiotic aspect of language use. Turning now to the functional aspect of language use, Halliday (1978: 21-22) suggests that there are three functions, i.e. experiential or ideational, interpersonal and textual, which “language must fulfill in all human cultures, regardless of differences in the physical and material environment”, and what he also stresses is that language performs these three functions simultaneously. Moreover, the three aforementioned functions are built into the semantic system of language and serve as the functional components of the semantic system, or ‘metafunctions’, after Halliday’s term. In fact, Halliday defines metafunctions as “the modes of meaning that are present in every use of language in every social context”. Viewed in this light, a text is seen as the product of all three metafunctions while each metafunction or functional component “contributes a band of structure to the whole” (ibid.: 112).

In accordance with the above, experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings are encoded in the lexicogrammar of a text. Experiential meanings express the writer’s experience as a member of a culture and as Halliday (1978: 112) explains, “they express the phenomena of the environment: the things - creatures, objects, actions, events, qualities, states and relations - of the world and of our own consciousness”. Interpersonal meanings express the writer’s meaning potential as an intruder, which means that through them the writer expresses his/her own comments, attitudes and judgements, seeks to influence the attitudes and behaviours of others and he/she establishes the relationship between himself/herself and the reader. Finally, textual meanings are concerned with the

organization of information in order to form a text. In fact, textual meanings enable the expression of experiential and interpersonal meanings by providing the texture of the text.

As already mentioned, both register and genre are realized in the three levels of language and the three register variables (i.e. field, tenor and mode) have an impact on language use. However, the core of Halliday's register theory lies in the following two premises: a) that each register variable has a predictable and systematic relationship with lexico-grammatical patterns and b) that field, tenor and mode are the three types of meaning (i.e. experiential, interpersonal and textual) language is structured to make. The latter implies that experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings have got a predictable and systematic relationship with lexico-grammar. In addition, Halliday managed to identify the specific parts of the grammatical system through which each register variable is realized. His claim is that field is realized through the Transitivity patterns in language, tenor is realized through patterns of Mood and mode is realized through the system of Theme. In accordance with the above, Eggins (1994: 78) summarizes the relationships between meanings, context and lexico-grammar as follows:

- The field of a text can be associated with the realization of experiential meanings which are realized through the Transitivity patterns of the grammar.

- The tenor of a text can be associated with the realization of interpersonal meanings, which are realized through the Mood patterns of the grammar.
- The mode of a text can be associated with the realization of textual meanings, which are realized through the Theme patterns of the grammar.

On the basis of the above relationships, the analysis of specific grammatical patterns can reveal the meanings they represent. For instance, by examining the Transitivity patterns in a text we can reveal the experiential meanings encoded therein and thus explain how the field of the situation is constructed. By the same token, by examining the Mood patterns in the same text interpersonal meanings can be revealed which will in turn explain how the tenor of the text is constructed and the same applies in the case of textual meanings.

Consequently, the SFL model allows for the selection of the appropriate type of analysis given the focus of a particular investigation. In fact, this dimension of the SFL model for text analysis is considered of great significance for critical linguistics, since, as Fowler (1991: 67-70) notes, “critical linguistics is particularly concerned with the ordering of experience and with the mediation of social relationships and values” and SFL predicts “by theory that certain areas of language are particularly implicated in coding social values”. In particular, “the transitivity model provides one means of investigating how a reader’s or listener’s perception of the meaning of a text is pushed in a particular direction and how the

linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a ‘world-view’” (Simpson, 1993: 104). In other words, the Transitivity system explains how “language provides structures for the representation of speakers’ experience”, while the systems of Mood and Modality add to this representation “the personal contribution of the speaker to the act of communication: their indication of an individual point of view, their performance of some action by speaking, their assessment of and adjustment to the hearer and to the context of utterance” (Fowler, 1996: 77).

Thus, following the SFL model for text analysis, Transitivity and Mood analysis are the two types of analysis I have selected to conduct for the purposes of my study. In what follows, after the description of my research corpus I shall proceed to present the different stages of the analytical procedure I followed in this study, including that of the preliminary analysis, as well as the basic theoretical concepts associated with them.

3.2 Corpus description

With respect to the creation of a reliable research corpus that would best serve the purposes of my study, it was my primary concern that each exam battery be equally represented therein. To this end, I collected an equal number of texts, aimed at assessing the reading comprehension competence at the same level (i.e. B2 level), from each exam battery. I also ensured that the texts came from the same chronological period and from official sources, which meant that I had to

use texts either from original past exam papers or, whenever that was not possible, from official publications aimed at the candidates' preparation for the exams.

These being the criteria for the creation of my research corpus, KPG, being the newest among the three exam batteries, determined the number of the texts of the corpus of my study, as well as the chronological period they came from. Specifically, since the KPG exam in English was first administered in November 2003, the texts that comprise the corpus of my study, basically cover a period of four and a half years, namely from November 2003 to November 2007. Thus, all these considered, the corpus of my study comprises 93 texts and is divided into three sub-corpora, one for each examination battery, each consisting of 31 texts.

However, it should be noted that the three sub-corpora differ in terms of size as there is considerable variation in the total number of words each sub-corpus contains. According to the statistical data I was able to collect by means of the Wordsmith software tools, CESOL is the lengthiest sub-corpus as it contains 19.247 words, whereas KPG counts 10.509 words and ELIUM counts 13.070 words.

Another point I should mention here is that the reading texts of KPG and CESOL are the original texts used in past examination periods, while the texts of ELIUM are mainly practice reading texts from official publications aimed at the candidates' preparation for the exams, as the Michigan exams battery does not

generally make past exams available to the public. Precisely, the 31 texts of KPG and CESOL are the original reading texts which have been used for the B2 level KPG exams over nine examination periods (i.e. from November 2003 to November 2007), and for the FCE exams in Greece over eight examination periods (i.e. from December 2003 to June 2007), respectively. As regards the 31 ELIUM texts, 21 are practice reading texts for the Michigan-ECCE exams, which come from official Hellenic American Union Publications¹⁷, while 11 are original reading texts from past examination periods, available in the latest Hellenic American Union publication including the complete ECCE test of the year 2000 among other past papers of unspecified periods.

Turning now to the preparation of my corpus for the various analytical stages which were to follow, two further steps were judged essential: a) the coding of the texts, and b) the processing of the texts so that they could be saved in electronic form. The former step engaged me in devising a functional coding system, which apart from identifying each text would also reflect some basic information about it, such as the exam battery it belongs to, the exam period it has been used in, and so on. In this respect, each text has a code, in which KPG, CESOL and ELIUM are encoded as 'B', 'F', and 'E', respectively, while dates are encoded as numbers (e.g. November 2003 is encoded as '1103'), and the individual texts of each examination period as the first letters of the alphabet (i.e. a, b, c, or d). For

¹⁷ The reading texts selected for ECCE come from BOOK 1 and BOOK 3, Practice Examinations (Hellenic American Union Publications, editions 2007 and 2005 respectively).

instance, the first KPG text used in November 2005 bears the code number 'B1105a', the second text bears the code number 'B1105b', and so on.¹⁸

Finally, the printed texts were electronically scanned since my method of analysis involved the use of the Wordsmith software tools and therefore they had to be saved in electronic form.

3.3 Mode of analysis

As earlier said, Transitivity and Mood analysis were the two types of analysis I selected in order to explore the experiential and interpersonal meanings in the texts of the three examination batteries. Yet, before embarking on the detailed lexicogrammatical analysis of the texts, I considered it essential to conduct a preliminary analysis on the yet unexplored corpus of my study, in order to gain an initial understanding of the potential of my research material. In addition, a preliminary analysis would investigate certain linguistic and discursive features of the texts (i.e. their generic types and thematic choices, their types of narration and modes of address, and the use of certain pronouns and possessives) which the SFL analytical tools, I used for the main body of the analysis, do not investigate, yet they were considered significant for the purposes of this study. Hence, this preliminary analysis served both as preparatory and complementary to the actual lexicogrammatical analysis of the texts.

¹⁸ For a complete list of the corpus coded texts, see Table 1 of the Appendix.

Specifically, in the first part of the preliminary analysis I focused on identifying the text types and the thematic choices used in each sub-corpus and on studying their frequency distributions. In the second part I explored the types of narration and modes of address each sub-corpus tends to select, as I view them both indicative of certain interpersonal meanings, namely the subject positions the texts construe for their implied writer and reader. Finally in the third part, I studied the frequency distributions of the pronouns *you* and *we* in the three sub-corpora, as their frequent use is understood to signify various relational values (see Fairclough, 1989: 127-128). To this end, I used the Wordsmith software in order to compile a separate word frequency list for each sub-corpus, which enabled me to obtain the frequency counts of the pronouns and possessives each sub-corpus contains.

Once the first level of analysis was completed and conclusions from the findings were drawn, each of the three sub-corpora was separately analysed for Transitivity and Mood. Yet, before I begin to describe the analytical steps of Transitivity and Mood analysis, I should mention that the initial steps of the model of analysis I have developed for the purposes of my study have been largely influenced by the model Eggins suggests in order to demonstrate how SFL can be applied in contrastive text analysis (Eggins, 2004: 310-320). Precisely, what I found particularly useful for my analysis in Eggins' model was: 1) the sequence of the main analytical stages, 2) the way the quantitative parts of the analyses are handled (i.e. the ordering, the tabulation and the aggregation of the data) and 3) the interpretation of the results of the quantitative parts of the

analyses in relation to the socio-cultural meanings they construe. However, I should also stress that, as we shall see in the remainder of this section, in my analysis there are analytical stages Eggins' model does not include, as the latter is just an exemplary model of analysis, which, due to the particular aims of my study, I had to modify and expand in many ways. Moreover, in my model of analysis, since it was aimed at a corpus of texts rather than individual texts, as in the case of Eggins' model, and as I was concerned with the frequency of certain features, in the quantitative parts of the main analytical stages these are discussed in terms of percentages rather than raw numbers.

Let us now begin to present the different parts of Transitivity analysis, the quantitative part of which consisted in studying the distribution of the verb types (hereafter process types according to the SFL terminology) found in each sub-corpus. This procedure involved the identification and categorization of all processes occurring in each sub-corpus under the set of functional labels the SFL paradigm suggests, as well as the tabulation and aggregation of the findings so as to study the distribution of the main process types across the three sub-corpora.

In order to proceed with the qualitative part of Transitivity analysis, two more analytical steps were judged essential: a) to refine the findings from the previous analytical stage by sub-categorizing the most frequent main process types and b) to identify and categorize the actants of the processes. Moreover, though the quantitative part of Transitivity analysis, described above, was all done by hand, in this analytical stage I also applied corpus linguistics techniques, namely word

frequencies and concordancing. Specifically, by using the wordlists of the Wordsmith software, I obtained the frequencies of all occurring processes in each of the main process categories. Then, drawing on Halliday and Matthiessen's perspectives (2004) on the sub-categorization of the main process types, I sub-categorized the most frequent process types. Finally, with the aid of the Wordsmith software tool of concordancing, I studied the concordance lines for all occurring processes in each process type and sub-type in order to calculate the number of texts they occur in. In this way, I was enabled to examine and compare the distribution of the sub-categorized processes in each sub-corpus as well as across the three sub-corpora. Thus, the results of this procedure provided me with a meaningful framework on which to base the interpretation of the findings from the main body of the analysis.

As regards the categorization of the actants, it should be noted that this has not been based on an existing methodology, given that the methodological tools of SFL do not serve to this purpose, and also that the relevant literature does not provide a systematic model for such categorization. Specifically, this analytical step involved me in tracing and recording by hand the actants (i.e. the verb subjects and objects) of all processes occurring in each analyzed text. Two main actant categories evolved from this procedure, namely human actants and non-human actants, each of which was then sub-categorized. Thus adopting a socio-cultural approach in the sub-categorization of the two basic actant categories, I listed the individual actant occurrences in sets of categories, each set bearing a characteristic label representing a particular social domain and consequently

featuring those actants associated with the specific domain. It should also be noted at this point that for the categorization of the actants I have drawn useful insights both from Fowler's media discourse analysis (1991) (see section 6.1). Hence, this analytical step provided me with a map of the actants occurring in each sub-corpus and was concluded with studying the distribution of each actant category in each sub-corpus so as to identify the dominant actant categories therein.

Having sub-categorized the main process types and the actants, I proceeded with the main body of Transitivity analysis, that is, its actual qualitative part, which enabled me to see how the different transitivity patterns of the texts of each sub-corpus construe different world experiences. To this end, I used the Wordsmith software tool of concordancing, by means of which I accessed concordance lines for the individual occurrences of those process types and sub-types the sub-categorization of the processes had indicated as most prominent. This procedure allowed me to determine which particular actant categories are associated with the dominant process types and sub-types.

Consequently, by revealing the social actions associated with each actant category as well as the particular participant roles the dominant actant categories tend to occupy in the different types of social action, this analytical stage provided an extensive account of the experiential meanings encoded in the lexicogrammatical choices of each sub-corpus. Thus, the categorization of the actants and the sub-categorization of the dominant process types played a key-role in this analytical

phase as they provided the necessary socio-cultural context within which to interpret the association of the dominant process types and sub-types with the actant categories.

Yet, given the critical aims of my analysis and in order to refine the pictures of reality my findings had provided so far, a further step had to be taken in order to investigate how and to what extent two types of syntactic transformations, namely passivization and nominalization, which are understood to be closely associated with the construal of implicit experiential meanings (see Fairclough, 1989: 123-125), are used in the three sub-corpora. The significance of a passive transformation lies in that it is ideologically differentiated from its active equivalent as it reverses the roles of the participants, that is, participants with object positions are placed in subject positions. This implies the reorientation of discourse towards the foregrounding of an action and the backgrounding of its agent. What is more, as passive constructions allow for the deletion of the agent, the use of agentless passives was taken into serious account in my analysis, given that they can be an effective means of concealing the responsibility of the agent and creating “an impression of objectivity through the impersonality of the language” (Kress and Hodge, 1993: 134). The same is true for nominalized processes, that is, “sentences or parts of sentences, descriptions of actions and the participants involved in them, turned into nouns, or nominals” (ibid.: 20).

Thus, the analytical step that concluded Transitivity analysis involved me in studying the distribution of passivization, agentless passives and nominalization

in the three sub-corpora. The qualitative part of this analytical stage consisted in examining which processes are more frequently passivized or nominalized thus backgrounding their agents, as well as which actant categories are systematically effaced from the surface of the texts through the use of agentless passives.

We shall now turn to the description of the model I followed for Mood analysis. As I said earlier (see 3.1), Mood¹⁹ patterns are related to the expression of the tenor of the situation, which is realized in the interpersonal meanings encoded in the lexicogrammar of the texts. Eggins (1994: 196) points out that the systems of Mood and Modality are “the keys to understanding the interpersonal relationships between interactants” and she notes that “by looking at the grammatical choices speakers make, the role they play in discourse, we have a way of uncovering and studying the social creation and maintenance of hierarchic, gender and idiosyncratic social roles”. Thus, the analysis of Mood classes and the analysis of Modality were the two main analytical stages of Mood analysis in my study.

The analysis of Mood classes consisted in identifying the clause types (i.e. Mood classes) of all ranking clauses²⁰ occurring in each sub-corpus and in studying their distribution across the three sub-corpora. The qualitative part of this analytical

¹⁹ The term ‘Mood’ here refers to the system of Mood, which Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 113) view as “the primary interpersonal system of the clause” and not to the MOOD component of the clause (i.e. the Subject and the Finite).

²⁰ Ranking clauses are associated to relations of parataxis and hypotaxis and are thus distinguished from embedded clauses, which “come to function as a constituent within the structure of a group, which itself is a constituent of a clause” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 426)

stage involved me in identifying the dominant mood classes in each sub-corpus and in explaining the contribution of their function to the construction of the relationship established between the writer and the reader of the texts. In fact, my interpretation was not limited to the typical choices of Mood structures, but I also attempted to interpret non-typical (i.e. marked) choices, as according to Eggins (1994: 196) “the choice of marked Mood structures typically functions to express tenor dimensions such as unequal power, deference or low contact and involvement”.

The analysis of Modality was a two-part process. Specifically, I first investigated the frequency with which the two sub-systems of modality, that is, modalization and modulation are expressed through verbal constituents of the clause. I then focused on the expressions of Modality through the use of modal adjuncts. This procedure consisted in identifying the various types of modal adjuncts and examining their frequencies in each sub-corpus with the aid of the Wordsmith software wordlists. The qualitative part of the analysis of Modality involved me in using the Wordsmith software concordancing tools in order to explore and record the most prominent patterns of modalization and modulation as well as the types and the function of the most frequently used modal adjuncts in each sub-corpus so as to gain an understanding of the ways in which the implied writer interferes in the texts and the ways in which the texts position their implied reader.

Upon the completion of the analysis of Modality, Mood analysis was concluded by consolidating the findings of the preceding analytical stages thus providing an

extensive account of the most prominent interpersonal meanings in each sub-corpus as well as the linguistic patterns through which they are expressed. At this point I should also mention that throughout the qualitative part of Mood analysis, I integrated the findings Transitivity analysis had already yielded, in order to have a more accurate interpretation of the mood and modality patterns. Specifically, in interpreting findings from Mood analysis the types of participants associated with the particular mood classes and patterns of modality, as well as the types of processes frequently modalized or modulated were taken into account.

Another point that should be noted here is that, although my study was aimed at describing rather than proving the ways in which reality is represented in the three sub-corpora, in order to reduce the probability that the results of the quantitative parts of the main analytical stages were due to random chance, it was decided to conduct statistical tests of significance. Precisely, Pearson Chi- Square tests were conducted on the results of the two focal points of the quantitative analysis, namely the distribution of the main process types and the distribution of Mood classes.

Finally, the results from Transitivity and Mood analysis were consolidated in order to draw the final conclusions of the study. Hence, the consolidation of the most prominent experiential and interpersonal meanings the texts of each sub-corpus encode, along with the particular linguistic and discursive choices by means of which they are realized, provided a clear picture of the reality each sub-

corpus represents as well as of the linguistic means employed to its construal, thus accomplishing the main aim of this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS: INITIAL FINDINGS

This chapter is concerned with the results of the preliminary analysis I conducted on my research corpus, that is, an initial exploration of the texts each sub-corpus comprises, before proceeding with their detailed lexicogrammatical analysis. As earlier mentioned, this first level of analysis was aimed at exploring various aspects of the three sub-corpora which the actual lexico-grammatical analysis is not concerned with. Therefore it enabled me to gain an initial understanding of the potential of my research corpus and also to complement and refine my findings in later analytical stages.

In the following sections I shall present and discuss findings from the different parts of this analytical stage, starting with the distribution of the different text types and thematic choices found in each sub-corpus. In the next two sections of the chapter, I shall discuss the types of narration and the modes of address most frequently selected in each sub-corpus, as well as the frequency distributions of certain types of pronouns and possessives therein, the use of which I considered significant for the purposes of my study. The last section of the chapter consolidates the findings from the different stages of this preliminary analysis²¹.

²¹ Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 of the Appendix summarize the results of this pre-analytical stage by presenting some detailed information about the texts each sub-corpus comprises.

4.1 Text types

As stated in the previous chapter, each text, defined as the linguistic product of social interaction in a given socio-cultural context, realizes the genre which is culturally appropriate in respect of its overall purpose. Adopting these perspectives, we understand that by the term ‘genre’ we can refer to specific text categories or better still, text types (Mitsikopoulou, 2000), and that identifying a particular text type implies an understanding of the particular cultural conventions associated with it. In these respects, in identifying the particular text types comprising my research corpus, I employed the conventionalized knowledge my cultural context provided me with, however not without taking into account three parameters suggested by Montgomery *et al* to this purpose (2000: 200-201), namely, the formal properties of texts, the text topic, and the mode of address, that is, the way a text addresses its readers²².

Interestingly, the distribution of text types across the three sub-corpora indicated that KPG contains the greatest variety of text types, whereas the range of text types used by ELIUM and CESOL turned out to be relatively limited. As table 4.1 shows, in KPG 9 different text types were identified (i.e. articles, information leaflets, book extracts, advertisements, biographical notes, e-mail messages, interviews, personal statements, job advertisements). In ELIUM, on the other hand, 4 different text types were identified (i.e. articles, advertisements, information leaflets, and information articles), whereas in CESOL three text

²² For a more recent study on the description of text types see also Kondyli and Lykou (2009)

types, namely the article, the novel extract, and the book review were observed to occur.

Table 4.1 Text types across the three sub-corpora

TYPE	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
article	10	26	11
information leaflet etc	9		6
advertisement	3		10
novel extract		4	
book extract	3		
information article			4
biographical note	2		
e-mail message	1		
interview	1		
personal statement	1		
job advertisement	1		
book review		1	
Total number of texts	31	31	31

However, before I proceed to further discuss the above findings, I should mention certain observations regarding the procedure of identifying the text types in my research corpus. Thus, although I did not have particular difficulty in identifying the text types occurring in KPG and CESOL, the type of certain ELIUM texts was often ambiguous and therefore not always easy to specify. This turned out to be due to the fact that ELIUM texts tend to lack certain distinct features which allow the recognition of a text type (i.e. basic or defining elements of their schematic

structure, such as titles etc), but is also due to the consistent absence of reference to the genre of these texts or of some key information about it (i.e. the source of the text) in the task instructions accompanying the texts. For instance, the majority of ELIUM texts identified as articles consistently appear without a title and are usually referred to as ‘passages’ in the task instructions (i.e. texts E1a, E2a, E3a, E4a, E5a, E7a, E8a, E10a, E11a), whereas seldom are such texts referred to as articles therein (i.e. texts E6a, E9a, E12a). It should also be noted that three particular texts (i.e. texts E6c, E7c, E9c) were identified as information articles due to the fact that although they have the schematic structure of an article, bear a title, and their task instructions inform the reader that they “are looking at a magazine page”, their communicative purpose in association with their mode of address did not allow me to classify them either as articles or as information leaflets.

Another observation is that in ELIUM almost invariably little is the difference between information leaflets or articles and advertising brochures. Specifically, many ELIUM texts referred to as information in their task instructions and therefore identified as information leaflets or articles (i.e. texts E5b, E6c, E7c, E9c and E10c) appear to have the same schematic structure and serve the same communicative purposes as texts referred to as advertising brochures (i.e. E1c, E2b, and E8c) do. Thus, the particular type of information texts and articles used by ELIUM, although separately classified in the relevant tables, are basically viewed as advertising texts, given that their basic purpose lies in informing the

reader, or better still, the potential client, about particular goods and services, which are obviously not provided for free.

Another point worth clarifying is the fact that there is considerable variation regarding the type of articles observed in the three sub-corpora. Specifically, in CESOL there is a distinct tendency for narratives of personal experience produced within magazine articles, which is rarely observed in B2 and never in ELIUM. Although I understand that many types of articles have the general characteristics of the narrative genre (i.e. they are narrated in the first or third person, are actor-oriented, and have a plot), the type of article particularly favoured by CESOL bears these characteristics almost invariably, and what is more, it has the typical generic structure of narratives of personal experience, namely abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result, and coda (Coulthard, 1996: 256). Another feature which almost all CESOL articles share is that “each text is voiced by a supposedly real person who, prior to the recounting act, has undergone some kind of personal experience” (ibid.), which is typical of personal experience narratives.

So far and in view of the above observations, we have seen that of the three sub-corpora, KPG is the one which through the use of a wide range of clearly indicated text types, shows by far the greatest concern for the use of texts in socially purposeful ways in a variety of social contexts. Moreover, the wide range of text types observed therein suggests that the text participants are involved in a wider spectrum of social interaction. On the other hand, the limited range of text

types observed in CESOL and particularly the consistent use of articles may suggest a rather limited view of social interaction. However, the distinct presence of personal experience narratives produced within articles possibly indicates an attempt to use texts which represent the reality in the most attractive and vivid way. Finally, in ELIUM texts the contribution of genre to a socially meaningful interaction also turned out to be rather limited, as the texts of ELIUM tend to lack typical generic features and, what is more, in certain ELIUM texts there is a mixture of text types (i.e. information texts, information articles, and advertisements) which blurs our understanding of the communicative purpose of the texts.

Let us now examine which are the text types that occur most frequently in each of the three sub-corpora. Starting with KPG, we observe that articles and information leaflets, which also include 2 web pages, are by far the most frequent genres, as they occur in 10 and 9 out of the 31 texts, respectively. The rest of the text types used in KPG are much less frequent than the two aforementioned ones, and they present roughly equal proportions, as they occur in one, two or three texts. Hence, despite the wide range of text types they use, KPG texts show a distinct preference for articles and information leaflets. In CESOL, on the other hand, the article dominates, as it occurs in 26 out of the 31 texts, while we cannot overlook the 4 occurrences of the novel extract, which is a text type that does not occur in the other two sub-corpora. Finally, in ELIUM the two dominant text types appear to be those of the article and the advertisement, which present roughly equal proportions (i.e. 12 and 10 texts, respectively). Yet, considering the

proportion of information leaflets and information articles, which as earlier said have common characteristics with advertising texts and therefore are to be viewed as such, the dominant text type by far in ELIUM is the advertising text.

Summing up, the distribution of text types across the three sub-corpora has shown that the article is the most frequently used in all three of them, which is not surprising, given that the article is a fairly popular genre indeed. Yet, it is quite revealing that across the three sub-corpora CESOL has the highest frequency of articles by far. This is then understood to imply that the reader of the CESOL texts is expected to be familiar with magazine and newspaper articles thus suggesting the central role of the press in the world represented therein. However, one should not overlook the limited but distinct occurrence of literary texts (i.e. novel extracts etc), which perhaps implies the significance of reading literature in the CESOL world.

As regards KPG, the almost equal proportion of information leaflets and articles it contains and also the fact that KPG has the greatest proportion of information leaflets across the three sub-corpora is to be considered an indication of the significance of information in the KPG world. ELIUM, on the other hand, has the greatest proportion of advertisements across the three sub-corpora. This is actually further boosted by the considerable number of information articles and leaflets which, as already pointed out, serve as advertisements, thus suggesting the central role of advertising in the ELIUM world.

4.2 Thematic choices

Table 4.2 below presents all the thematic fields the texts in my research corpus were found to select their topics from, as well as the number of texts each thematic field occurs in across the three sub-corpora.

Table 4.2 Thematic fields across the three sub-corpora

Type	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
the environment	6		
culture & arts	5		2
tourism & travelling	4	5	8
social issues	4		1
health, diet & fitness	4		
everyday life	3	5	1
science & technology	1	1	8
history & tradition			2
education	2		3
work		10	
work & travel		4	
sports	2	3	
leisure			5
human relationships		2	
life stories		1	
animals			1
Total number of texts	31	31	31

As the table shows, apart from three thematic fields which can be observed in all three sub-corpora, namely *tourism and travelling*, *everyday life*, and *science and technology*, three thematic fields, namely *social issues*, *culture and arts*, and *education*, which only occur in KPG and ELIUM, as well as *sports* which is only found in KPG and CESOL, there is considerable variation as regards the thematic choices observed in the three sub-corpora. For instance, KPG frequently appears to select text topics from two thematic fields, namely *the environment* and *health, diet and fitness*, which never occur in the other two sub-corpora. By the same token, thematic fields such as *history and tradition*, *leisure* and *animals* were only found in ELIUM, whereas *work*, *work and travel*, *human relationships* and *life stories* are thematic fields which only CESOL appears to select its text topics from.

Hence, all the three sub-corpora deal with tourism and travelling, science and technology, and everyday life. Yet, considering the above initial observations, KPG is the only sub-corpus that is concerned with environmental and health issues, CESOL is the only sub-corpus which shows its preference for work and travel issues as well as human relationships, while ELIUM is the only sub-corpus which shows an interest for leisure, history and tradition.

These being the first conclusive remarks regarding the distribution of thematic fields across the three sub-corpora, we shall now proceed to examine each sub-corpus separately in order to understand which are the thematic fields most frequently used by each one of them. Thus, in KPG *the environment* turns out to

be the most frequently selected thematic field. On the other hand, *culture and arts* appears to be the second most frequent thematic field therein, while *tourism and travelling*, *social issues* and *health, diet and fitness* share the third position among the most frequent thematic fields KPG selects from.

In CESOL, *work* is by far the most prominent thematic field the text topics are selected from, followed by *everyday life* as well as *travelling and tourism* both of which present an equal number of occurrences. Notably also, the next most frequent thematic field in CESOL is that of *work and travel*, the 4 occurrences of which seem to further boost the high frequency of *work*, which is the dominant thematic field in CESOL. Moreover, it should be noted that regarding the thematic fields of *travelling* or *work and travel* in CESOL, travelling and particularly when combined with work appears to be exclusively associated with distant destinations. In fact, 8 texts are concerned with travelling to different parts of the world (i.e. Africa, Asia, or Europe), whereas in just one text (i.e. F1204d) travelling is limited within the borders of Great Britain.

As regards ELIUM, two thematic fields appear to be the most prominent, namely *tourism and travelling* and *science and technology*, each counting 8 occurrences. In addition, *leisure* appears to be the next most frequent thematic field, as it numbers 5 occurrences. However, I observed that in ELIUM the thematic field of *leisure* shares common ground with the thematic field of *tourism and travelling* and the same is true for certain cases of the thematic field of *culture and arts* (i.e. in texts E7b and E7c, both visiting a museum and watching a Broadway play may

also be regarded as leisure time activities). Thus, certain occurrences of the fields of *tourism and travelling* and *culture and arts* are understood to boost the frequency of the thematic field of *leisure*.

As the above findings indicate, there are particular thematic choices which appear systematically in each sub-corpus. These choices are then understood to suggest the particular fields of experience the world represented in each sub-corpus is mainly concerned with. Hence, KPG texts show an almost equally distributed interest for environmental issues, culture and arts, social issues, health issues, as well as tourism and travelling. ELIUM texts appear to focus on leisure time activities, tourism and travelling. They also show the greatest concern for science and technology across the three sub-corpora. Finally, CESOL texts are mainly concerned with the participants' working and travelling experiences as well as with incidents from their everyday life.

4.3 Types of narration and modes of address

In the previous two sections the thematic and generic choices observed in the three sub-corpora provided us with an initial understanding of the fields of experience each sub-corpus tends to represent and of the type of texts selected to this purpose. Yet, the present study, apart from the field of experience construed by the texts in question, is also concerned with exploring the tenor of the texts, that is, the role relationships the texts construe for their participants. Therefore

identifying the types of narration used in the texts and the ways in which they address their readers was another step which was considered essential at this preliminary analytical phase, so as to arrive at an initial understanding of the position the texts construe for their implied writers and readers.

The type of narration used in a text indicates the attitude of the narrator towards what s/he narrates and also establishes a relationship between the narrator and the text reader. Thus, there are basically two types of narration, namely the first and the third person narration. The choice of a first person narration, especially when the narrator is one of the central text participants, is generally understood to produce a personal relationship with the implied reader, as “it projects the reader clearly inside the consciousness of someone in the story giving us the events from a defined observer’s position” (Montgomery *et al*, 2000: 235).

The third person narration, on the other hand, is generally considered an impersonal but objective way of presenting the story to the reader, given that the narrator occupies the role of a distant observer. More specifically, as Leech and Short point out (1981: 266), the fact that this type of narration is “presented to the reader directly and without an intermediary”, allows for the implied author and the narrator to become merged, which entails that most third person narrators become omniscient since “because they stand in the place of the implied author they take on his absolute knowledge”. In the same line of thought, Talbot (1995: 30), who actually uses the term ‘omniscient’ instead of ‘third person’ narration, argues that “omniscient narration, since it has a way of effacing the narrating

process, tends to construct the reader as recipient of common knowledge”. Hence, third person narration implies an asymmetrical relationship between the implied writer and the implied reader of the text.

Another aspect of texts that is closely associated with the positioning of the reader is the way the texts address their readers. Thus, we distinguish between two basic modes of address, namely direct (hereafter RDA) and indirect address. Readers may be directly addressed through the use of the personal pronoun ‘you’, but also through the use of questions or commands, which is actually a common feature of ‘public’ discourse, like advertisements, information leaflets and the like. RDA narrows the distance between the writer and the reader and despite the fact that they are practically strangers, it creates an impression of familiarity between them. This practice is actually what Fairclough (1989: 62) refers to as ‘synthetic personalization’ and defines as “a compensatory tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people ‘handled’ *en masse* as an individual”. Thus, RDA, given that it positions the writer “as an authority on another person’s actions” (Kress and Hodge, 1993: 92) is to be understood as a technique the writer uses in order to simulate solidarity and common ground with the reader.

The use of indirect address, on the other hand, is understood to distance the writer from the reader and to create an asymmetrical relation between them. Texts, which choose implicit ways to address their readers, acquire an impersonal force that allows them to control the reader’s response to certain attitudes and ideas, often without the reader being aware of it. In fact, as Montgomery *et al* (2000:

273) claim, “an important aspect of the use of indirect address is the invocation of background knowledge and assumptions”. Hence, given that in any text “some degree of shared knowledge” is assumed between its reader and writer, “sometimes, these knowledges or ideas are presented as if the reader is bound to agree with them, or are based upon implicit assumptions which prove difficult to object to” (ibid.).

Taking the above into account, during this stage of preliminary analysis I focused on two basic points: first, on exploring whether the texts use first or third person narration and second, on exploring whether the implied reader is directly addressed. In fact, the use of indirect address was not to concern me at this early analytical stage, due to the fact that, as already said, the use of indirect address is in a way taken for granted in all texts, and also because it is actually associated with implicit meanings, which are to be thoroughly explored in the main body of my analysis.

In Table 4.3 below we can see the number of texts in which first and third person narration, as well as RDA, are used across the three sub-corpora. As the table shows, third person narration is the most frequently used type overall, while first person narration is quite prominent in CESOL, rather rare in KPG and never used in ELIUM. Hence, third person narration dominates in all three sub-corpora, and particularly in ELIUM as it is invariably used in all the 31 texts, whereas in KPG it is by far the most frequently chosen type, as it is used in 25 out of the 31 texts,

while first person narration is only used in 6 texts. In contrast, in CESOL we can observe an almost equal distribution between third and first person narration.

Table 4.3 Types of narration and RDA across the three sub-corpora

Type	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
	Number of texts	Number of texts	Number of texts
1st person narration	6	15	-
3rd person narration	25	16	31
RDA	16	4	19
Total number of texts	31	31	31

However, a closer examination of my findings indicated that in CESOL third person narration almost invariably shifts into first person narration through the use of quoted speech. Specifically, quoted speech occurs in 19 out of the 31 CESOL texts, in 6 of which, either first or third person narrations, its use appears to serve to present pieces of dialogue between text participants, obviously for the sake of dramatic effect that is particularly associated with narratives. Therefore, it is not surprising that half of these 6 texts in which the use of quoted speech is observed to serve this purpose are novel extracts. Below are some characteristic examples:

- (1) ['Hello,' said the girl with 'Nessa' printed on her T-shirt. 'Did you see that toffee-nosed girl going out? I can't stand that kind, I can't stand them.' 'What did she do?' asked Jo. 'Do? She didn't have to do anything. She just poked around and pulled a face and sort of giggled and then said, "Is this all there is to it? Oh dear, oh dear," in a posh accent. We wouldn't have her in here, would we, Pauline?'] (F1204b)
- (2) [The man said, 'Would you by any chance be travelling to Philadelphia?' 'Well, northbound, yes,' she said. 'But to Philadelphia?' 'No, New York,

but I'll be...' 'Thanks, anyway,' he said, and he moved toward the next bench.] (F605b)

Yet, the remaining 13 of the 19 aforementioned texts are all third person narrations, where the use of quoted speech does not appear to serve to present pieces of dialogue but to shift the narration to a first person account of personal experience. It is also worth noting that in a considerable number of these initially classified as third person narration texts (i.e. F1203b, F1203d, F604c, F605a, F1205b, F606b, F606c, and F607c), third person narration is consistently interspersed with long turns and even entire paragraphs of quoted speech, which shift back to third person narration and vice versa. In this way the reader of the texts is left with the impression that s/he has been confronted with a first person narration, as the following extracts illustrate:

- (3) [A typical day for Matt begins at 9.00 a.m. 'I start by reading all the papers and thinking of a topical subject for a cartoon...My first reaction when I see a funny cartoon by one of my rivals is jealousy...To get started, I write down all the really terrible ideas just to get them out of my system; then, as I keep thinking, the better ideas come.' Work finishes around 7.30 p.m. when he ends up showing around six or seven finished cartoons to the night editor...] (F1203b)
- (4) [Before going out to Kenya as a volunteer, Carol worked as an ecology officer with the Groundwork Trust. 'My job was mainly office work, writing management plans. I enjoyed it, but my mind was really in Africa. I wanted to experience working and living in a different culture.'] (F605a)
- (5) [The joys of employing staff were something else they learned by experience. 'Over the years we've gone through about 40 people,' says Julie. 'It's taken experience to find the right individuals. People don't realise quite how hard the work is. We've even had some who've gone home in tears.'] (F607c)

We then understand that the excessive use of quoted speech in CESOL increases the effect of first person narration and can actually be interpreted as a particular strategy the CESOL texts employ to this purpose. Another observation which can provide further grounding to this interpretation is that quoted speech does not seem to be particularly favoured either by KPG or by ELIUM. In fact, quoted speech is never observed in ELIUM and it only occurs in 2 out of the 31 KPG texts, in which it actually appears to serve to present dialogic exchanges between text participants.

Hence, CESOL texts show a strong tendency for first person narration, which is further reinforced by the constant use of quoted speech. This indicates the great concern of CESOL for an attractive and vivid presentation of first-hand experience as well as the creation of an intimate relation with the implied reader. Unlike CESOL, KPG and ELIUM texts tend to present reality in an impersonal but objective way and to distance the implied writer from the reader, as suggested by the consistent use of third person narration. Yet, as I said earlier, the selection of this type of narration implies the omniscience of the narrator, which automatically positions the reader as recipient of common knowledge, the writer is in the powerful position to control.

Turning now to the second objective of this analytical stage, that is, to explore the use of RDA in the three sub-corpora, I observed that while RDA is quite frequent in KPG and ELIUM, the opposite is true for CESOL. Specifically, RDA is used in 19 out of the 31 ELIUM texts, while it occurs in 16 out of the 31 KPG texts and in

just 4 out of the 31 CESOL texts. As earlier said, directly addressing the reader through the use of the personal pronoun 'you', questions, and imperatives is understood to be a common feature of advertisements, information leaflets and the like, which actually justifies the frequent use of RDA in ELIUM and KPG, since, as we have already seen, they both contain a considerable proportion of such text types.

However, considering the type of texts where the use of RDA appears to be most prominent in KPG and ELIUM, there is distinct variation. Specifically, regarding KPG, RDA turns out to be mainly used in information leaflets, as it occurs in almost all of them (i.e. in 8 out of a total of 9 texts). For example:

- (6) [By participating in it (the Way to Clean Air campaign), you will also enjoy home comfort, lower energy bills and reduced driving stress. It provides you with a daily planner, a practical step-by-step guide to help reduce your home energy use and vehicle use by 20%.] (B604c)
- (7) [Thirty minutes of moderate physical activity every day, even divided into two periods, are sufficient to improve your health and protect you against sickness.] (B1105b)
- (8) [Doing regular exercise is probably the single most important thing you can do to maintain and improve your physical and mental health.] (B507b)

The use of RDA in KPG can then be interpreted as a typical feature of information leaflets, through the use of which an impression of familiarity is created, thus allowing the implied writer to have easier access to the implied reader.

In ELIUM, on the other hand, RDA appears to be equally distributed between advertisements (i.e. occurring in 9 out of a total of 10) and information

leaflets/articles (i.e. occurring in 9 out of a total of 9). Yet, in ELIUM, as already pointed out (see section 3.1), information leaflets and information articles do not vary significantly from advertisements in terms of their communicative purpose. In (1), (2), and (3) below we can see how ELIUM texts use RDA in advertisements, information leaflets and information articles, respectively.

- (9) [Have fun in Miami while you study English at summer camp!] (E12b)
- (10) [You can order one by phone at (212) 971-0492 if you have a VISA or Master Card, or by mail if you send a certified bank check, traveler's checks in US dollars, or money order to: Greyhound International Travel, 625 8th Ave.] (E3b)
- (11) [Show your college ID and receive an adult ticket for \$18.00. Show your military ID and receive an adult ticket for \$16.50.] (E7c)

Therefore RDA in ELIUM is understood to be mainly functioning as a typical feature of advertising texts. Its use is then to be further interpreted as a common feature of the so-called 'synthetic personalization' strategy in advertising, which indicates "an attempt to remedy increasing impersonality" in mass communication, where the identity of the many actual and potential addressees is unknown to the addresser (Fairclough, 1989: 128).

4.4 The use of pronouns and possessives

Pronouns are understood to signify various relational values and to be closely associated with power and ideological meanings. As Fowler (1991: 35) points out, "power and solidarity are the ideological constructs which give meaning to the

pronoun usages” and therefore “the pronoun systems are a representation of social relations, and they are part of the mechanisms for reproducing the orders of power”.

Specifically, the use of the pronouns *you* and *we* is understood to be particularly associated with the positioning of the writer and reader. Thus, the pronoun *you* can be used either to address the reader directly, or as an indefinite pronoun referring to ‘people in general’. The use of the pronoun *you* in order to directly address the reader has been extensively discussed in the previous section, therefore in this section I shall focus on its use as an indefinite pronoun. In fact, the relational value of *you* as such “is partly to do with the significance of choosing it rather than the indefinite pronoun *one*” (Fairclough, 1989: 180), and consequently its use implies a relationship of solidarity between the implied writer and people in general. It is then understood to enable the implied writer “to pass off her practices, perceptions and precepts as those of ‘the people’ in general, and by implication claim for herself the status of one of ‘the people’ (ibid.).

By the same token, the pronoun *we* can be used either to refer to the reader and the writer together, the so-called ‘inclusive’ *we*, or to refer to the writer “plus one or more others, but does not include the addressee(s)” (Fairclough, 1989: 127), the so-called ‘exclusive’ *we* or often understood as ‘institutional’ *we*. Thus, while the use of ‘exclusive’ *we* practically excludes the implied reader and is understood to refer to the institution the implied writer represents (i.e. a political party, a company, an educational organization and so on), the inclusive use of *we*

represents the implied writer, the implied reader, and possibly ‘the people’ in general, as if they were all “like-minded people” (Talbot, 1995: 68). In fact, Talbot (ibid.) suggests the term ‘common humanity’ to refer to the shared subject position the inclusive use of *we* signifies for the implied writer, the implied reader and ‘the people’ in general. The inclusive use of *we* is then understood as a technique, by means of which the implied writer claims common ground with the implied reader. In addition, by using *we* in this way the implied writer is understood to be “making an implicit authority claim that it s/he has the authority to speak for others” (Fairclough, 1989: 127).

In view of the above perspectives and also given that the positioning of the writer and reader were among the main aims of my study, the two types of pronouns and their corresponding possessives on which I focused during this preliminary analytical stage, are the second person singular or plural (i.e. you, your etc) and the first person plural (i.e. we, our etc). However, in order to gain a clear understanding of the possible tendencies the use of the aforementioned pronouns might indicate, their frequency counts had to be compared against the overall use of pronouns and possessives in each sub-corpus and therefore the frequency counts of all the types of pronouns and possessives occurring in each sub-corpus had to be obtained. Yet, in the remainder of this section the frequency counts of pronouns and possessives other than the two aforementioned types will not be discussed any further, as their use has no relevance as regards the purposes of my study.

Table 4.4 Types of pronouns and possessives across the three sub-corpora

Types	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	Occurr ences	%	Occurr ences	%	Occurr ences	%
I/me/myself/ my /mine	127	21,38	683	35,50	6	1,31
you /yourself/your	164	27,61	158	8,21	154	33,62
he/him/ himself/his	59	9,93	270	14,03	16	3,49
she/herself/her	50	8,42	188	9,77	26	5,68
it /itself/its	80	13,47	301	15,64	62	13,54
we/us/ ourselves/ our	43	7,24	113	5,87	96	20,96
they/them/ their/						
themselves	71	11,95	211	10,97	98	21,40
Total pronouns	594	100.00	1924	100,00	458	100,00

As the table shows, *you* is the most frequently used pronoun type in KPG (i.e. 27, 61%) and ELIUM (i.e. 33, 62%). In CESOL, on the other hand *you* is of the least frequently used pronoun type (i.e. 8, 21%). In fact, the most frequently used pronoun type in CESOL turned out to be the first person singular (i.e. 35, 50%), which is actually justified by the prominent use of first person narration discussed earlier. As regards the first person plural, it is the second most frequently used pronoun in ELIUM (i.e. 20, 96%), whereas in KPG and CESOL it turned out to be at the bottom of the list, accounting for 7, 24 % and 5, 87% respectively. Hence, ELIUM makes by far the most frequent use of *we* across the three sub-corpora, yet the dominant pronoun type in ELIUM as well as in KPG is *you*. In CESOL, on the other hand, the two pronoun types in question appear at the

bottom of the list, which also appears to be the case with KPG as regards the use of *we*.

Let us now look at the particular ways in which *you* is used in each sub-corpus. As earlier said, this section focuses on the use of *you* as an indefinite pronoun, also known as ‘generalized *you*’ (Eggins 1994: 267). A closer examination of my findings indicated that the high frequency of *you* in KPG and ELIUM was due to the already observed frequent use of RDA therein, whereas in CESOL *you* turned out to be mainly used as an indefinite pronoun, which was rarely the case regarding KPG and ELIUM. Precisely, ‘generalized *you*’ was found to occur in 16 CESOL texts, 5 KPG texts and 2 ELIUM texts. Hence, this finding suggests a tendency of CESOL texts to make implicit generalizations through the use of ‘generalized *you*’. In fact, this is understood as a technique which enables the implied writer to validate her/his ideas, perceptions, opinions and so on and to establish solidarity with the implied reader. The following are some typical examples:

- (12) [‘Having a hobby **you** enjoy, particularly something that bears no relation to **your** job, is vital,’ she says] (F1203a)
- (13) [That was hard, but **you**’ve got to make sacrifices in any sport; **you**’ ve got to be serious and professional] (F605d)
- (14) [Distance frees **your** mind from the everyday problems of life...] (F606a)

Turning now to the ways in which the first person plural is used in ELIUM, a closer examination of my findings indicated that its high frequency was due to its exclusive rather than its inclusive use. Specifically, the exclusive use of the first

person plural was found to occur in 11 out of the 31 texts, whereas their inclusive use was observed in just 4 texts. What is more, the aforementioned 11 texts are basically advertising texts, in which *we*, *us* and *our* represent the advertiser, that is, a company or organization which advertises particular goods and/or services, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (15) [**We** cycle mostly along rural back roads, passing many points of scenic, cultural, and historic interest] (E5b)
- (16) [**Our** fast and comfortable GO trains can take you to a large number of destinations...] (E11c)
- (17) [**We** offer a wide variety of academic and athletic programs...] [For more information, please call **our** Admissions Office at ...or contact **us** as at <http://www.m-academy.edu> The Maine Academy Hebron, Maine 04238, USA] (E12b)

Hence, the use of *we*, *us* and *our* in ELIUM advertising texts functions so as to enhance the prestige of the provider of the advertised services, and consequently the prestige of the advertised services themselves. This is then understood as a typical feature of advertising discourse, which is actually associated with one of the strategies of manipulation often employed in advertisements, namely the identification of the speaker, Drossou points out in her work on advertising discourse. In fact, she distinguishes four different types of speaker involvement by speaker identification, two of which were actually identified in my findings.

Thus, as shown in the above examples, by means of speaker identification through the use of *we*, *us* and *our*, information related to the advertised commodity is presented and also the advertiser identifies himself/herself with the advertised services (i.e. particularly through the use of *our*). This, as Drossou (1998: 248)

claims, “could be considered manipulative of the addressees, in the sense that it is assumed that the prestige attributed to the agency offering the advertised commodity, to which the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ refers, is transferred to the advertised commodity. The addressees are thus led to believe that the advertised commodity is itself prestigious and therefore its users as well will gain prestige”.

4.5 Conclusions from Preliminary analysis

The preliminary analysis I conducted on my research corpus indicated that, as regards the distribution of text types and thematic choices, KPG contains the greatest variety of clearly indicated text types, the thematic concerns of which have a distinct socio-political orientation. This is understood to suggest that KPG exams take into account the social conditions of the target language use. It actually implies the “transparency regarding the language theory behind KPG testing” (Dendrinos, 2008a), that is, a view of language as a semiotic system in which meanings are construed in discourse and genre, materialized as text.

Thus, the implied reader of KPG texts needs to be aware of “how the target language works to produce socially purposeful meanings” (Dendrinos, 2005). In other words, s/he needs to be aware of the particular socio-cultural conventions associated with the language use in a variety of social contexts and written information sources. Specifically, we have seen that KPG is mainly characterized

by newspaper or magazine articles and information leaflets or web pages concerning environmental issues, culture and arts, social issues, tourism and travelling, as well as health issues. We then understand that the world represented by KPG texts is concerned with these issues, and what is more, the great proportion of information leaflets indicates the significance of information in the KPG world.

In CESOL, on the other hand, the range of text types is limited, as it mainly comprises narratives of personal experience in the form of magazine articles and less often in the form of novel extracts, which indicates that CESOL texts are aimed at a reader who is familiar with magazine and book reading. This also suggests the central role of the press and the significance of reading books in the CESOL world. Yet, the exclusive selection of magazine articles of the particular type and novel extracts cannot but indicate a rather one-sided representation of social interaction. CESOL texts are about personal experiences, and particularly about working and travelling experiences, which suggests that in the world represented therein personal experiences, work and travelling are of major significance. Moreover, the prominence of personal experience narratives produced within magazine articles indicates a distinct preference for texts which represent the reality in an attractive and vivid way.

Finally, ELIUM uses a limited range of text types, and what is more, its texts tend to lack typical generic features, which entails that the genre of certain ELIUM texts is often unidentifiable and ambiguous, thus implying the little concern

ELIUM texts show for the role of genre in socially meaningful interaction. ELIUM mainly comprises scientific articles and advertising texts about leisure activities, organized tours, visits and travelling being the most prominent among them. Hence, ELIUM texts expect their reader to be familiar with scientific and advertising texts, while it is also implied that scientific issues and leisure time activities are particularly significant in this world. In addition, the high proportion of advertisements, which is further boosted by the considerable number of information articles and leaflets that serve as advertisements, suggests the central role of advertising in the ELIUM world.

As regards the types of narration and modes of address most frequently selected by the three sub-corpora, the prominent use of first person narration in CESOL texts, which is further boosted by the excessive use of quoted speech, implies their concern for an attractive and vivid representation of the implied writer/narrator's personal experiences and for the establishment of a personal, intimate relationship with their implied reader.

On the other hand, the distinct tendency of KPG texts for third person narration suggests concern for an objective presentation of reality, yet it creates a distance between the implied writer and reader and sets up the implied writer in a position of power, given the omniscience of the narrator this type of narration implies. However, the frequent use of RDA in KPG serves as a typical feature of information leaflets, by means of which the distance between the implied writer and reader is reduced.

In ELIUM texts the exclusive use of third person narration points to their preference for an objective, yet impersonal way in which they choose to address their readers, and positions the implied reader as a recipient of common knowledge, which the implied writer has the power to control. On the other hand, the frequent use of RDA in ELIUM advertising texts serves as a typical feature of the so-called ‘synthetic personalization’ strategy, through which advertising texts attempt to lessen the distance with their implied readers and establish solidarity with them.

Finally, regarding the use of pronouns and possessives in the three sub-corpora, it turned out that while ELIUM and KPG texts use the pronoun *you* quite frequently in order to address the reader directly, CESOL texts tend to use *you* in order to make implicit generalizations, which is understood as a technique by means of which the implied writer claims common ground with the reader and people in general, thus establishing solidarity with the implied reader. On the other hand, the frequent use of exclusive *we* in ELIUM texts turned out to serve as a typical feature of advertising discourse, which indicates the implied reader’s/advertiser’s attempt to set up the agency providing the advertised goods and services as a prestigious institution, its prestige thus being implicitly transferred to the advertised goods and services.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS: EXPLORING THE PROCESSES

This chapter is concerned with the first stage of Transitivity analysis, which, as earlier stated (see 3.3), focuses on the exploration of the process types realized in the texts of my research corpus. This analytical stage actually sets the scene for the main body of Transitivity analysis as it provides the appropriate interpretative framework within which to integrate the findings from the different analytical stages which are to follow.

In the following two sections I shall discuss findings from the two parts of the first stage of Transitivity analysis: the quantitative part, which provided me with an initial understanding of the distribution of the major process types in the three sub-corpora, and the qualitative part, that is, the refinement of my quantitative findings. Precisely, the first section begins with a description of the quantitative part of the analysis and then it presents the results and discusses the distribution of the main process types across the three sub-corpora. The second section of the chapter explains the sub-categorization of the main process types into further types and sub-types and discusses their distribution in each sub-corpus and across the three sub-corpora.

5.1 The distribution of processes across the three sub-corpora

In order to study the distribution of processes in each of the three sub-corpora, all processes occurring in all ranking and embedded clauses were categorized under the set of functional labels, the SFL paradigm suggests (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 170-175) as follows:

1. Material (i.e. processes of doing and happening)
2. Mental (i.e. processes of sensing)
3. Verbal (i.e. processes of saying)
4. Behavioural (i.e. processes of physiological and psychological behaviour)
5. Existential (i.e. processes concerned with existence)
6. Relational (i.e. processes of being and having)
 - a. Intensive/Attributive (i.e. processes of classifying)
 - b. Intensive/Identifying (i.e. processes of defining)
 - c. Possessive (i.e. encoding meanings of ownership and possession)
 - d. Circumstantial (i.e. encoding meanings about the circumstantial elements of the clause)
7. Causative (i.e. material and relational processes encoding a feature of causation)

It should be noted at this point that throughout my analysis relational processes are to be examined as separate sub-categories and not as a whole, since the aspects of experience each relational process sub-category construes are considered significant for the purposes of my study.

Thus, following the categorization of the processes into the above types, their frequency counts allowed me to get a first impression of the kind of experience each of the three sub-corpora is concerned with²³. In addition, the Pearson Chi-Square tests which were conducted on my data (see Table 5.1 below) indicated certain significant differences in the distribution of the main process types across the three sub-corpora.

As we can see in Table 5.1 below, out of the ten process types into which the transitivity system construes the world of experience, three process types namely material, relational attributive and mental, are the most frequent in all three sub-corpora, and what is more, they appear in the same order of frequency. Specifically, material processes invariably hold the first position, while relational attributive and mental processes hold the second and third position respectively. The three sub-corpora are then understood to have the same priorities in terms of the three most frequent process types, which is not surprising, given that material, mental and relational processes on the whole are the three main process types in the English transitivity system. In fact, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 248) point out, they are the three principal types of process in the English clause in that “they are the cornerstones of the grammar in its guise as a theory of experience, they present three distinct kinds of structural configuration, and they account for the majority of all clauses in a text”.

²³ For a detailed presentation of the distribution of each process type in each text of each sub-corpus see Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 of the Appendix

Table 5.1 The distribution of process types across the three sub-corpora²⁴

Process Type	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	Occur	%	Occur	%	Occur	%
	rences		rences		rences	
Material	625	45,09 _a	1192	40,74 _b	664	48,05 _a
Mental	186	13,42 _a	489	16,71 _b	150	10,85 _a
Verbal	57	4,11 _a	203	6,94 _b	57	4,12 _a
Behavioural	21	1,52 _a	90	3,08 _b	20	1,45 _a
Existential	31	2,24 _a	69	2,36 _a	43	3,11 _a
Relational: attributive	245	17,68 _{a,b}	601	20,54 _a	234	16,93 _b
Relational: identifying	98	7,07 _a	121	4,14 _b	61	4,41 _b
Relational: possessive	58	4,18 _a	79	2,70 _b	80	5,79 _a
Relational: circumstantial	26	1,88 _{a,b}	46	1,57 _a	41	2,97 _b
Causative	39	2,81 _a	36	1,23 _b	32	2,32 _a
Total no. of processes	1386	100,00	2926	100,00	1382	100,00
Statistical Test	Value		Degrees of		Significance	
			freedom		level	
Pearson Chi-square	148,221		18		p<0,001	

Interestingly however, the pattern described above appears to change from the fourth position down as relational identifying processes turned out to be the fourth most frequent type in KPG, whereas verbal processes and relational possessives

²⁴ Pearson Chi- Square test indicated that differences across the three sub-corpora are highly possible. To determine if the differences in the observed percentages are statistically significant, column proportions z-tests have been run, using the Bonferroni correction, and it turned out that values in the same row and subtable not sharing the same subscript are significantly different at 0.05 level.

appear as the fourth most frequent process type in CESOL and ELIUM, respectively. In addition, the proportion of mental, verbal, and behavioural processes in CESOL appears to be significantly higher than in KPG and ELIUM, whereas the proportion of identifying processes in KPG differs significantly from that in CESOL and ELIUM. These findings are then understood to indicate different tendencies within each sub-corpus, which along with the frequencies of the three dominant processes I intend to discuss more thoroughly in the remainder of this section. Yet, the low frequencies of existential, relational circumstantial, and causative processes, observed in all three sub-corpora, despite the significant differences they may present, were not considered a finding worth exploiting any further.

As already said, material processes, that is, processes of doing and happening, have the highest frequency counts in all the three sub-corpora. Yet, we cannot help observing that although their proportion in KPG and ELIUM is roughly equal, in CESOL it is significantly lower. We then understand that although the three sub-corpora appear to be centrally concerned with actions and events, in CESOL such aspects of experience are not as prominent as they are in the other two sub-corpora.

Relational attributive processes, that is, processes of classifying, are the second most frequent process type in all three sub-corpora. Therefore, despite the significant difference the analysis indicated between CESOL and ELIUM, we understand that the high proportion of these processes in all the three sub-corpora

indicates that they are all quite concerned with classifying or, put more simply, describing and characterizing the world construed by their texts.

On the other hand, mental processes, that is, processes of sensing, are the third most frequent process type in all three sub-corpora, with a significantly higher frequency in CESOL. This cannot but suggest that CESOL is greatly concerned with the participants' inner experience or, put differently, with the participants' perceptions, cognitions, feelings and emotions. In fact, the great concern CESOL shows for inner experience could be further grounded by the significantly lower proportion of material processes it contains, which was earlier interpreted as an indication of the least concern for the world of outer experience compared to the other two sub-corpora.

Relational identifying processes, which as earlier said, are the fourth most frequent process type in KPG, are also observed to have a significantly higher proportion therein compared to the other two sub-corpora, which suggests that KPG is more concerned with defining the world its texts construe. Yet, an interesting observation I should mention at this point is that relational attributive dominate over relational identifying processes in all three sub-corpora, which I understand to indicate that the three sub-corpora are concerned with describing rather than defining the worlds construed by their texts.

Verbal processes, that is, processes of saying, to which we now turn, occupy the fourth position in CESOL. What is more, their frequency is significantly higher in

CESOL, thus suggesting that CESOL is more interested in verbal actions compared to KPG and ELIUM, both of which show almost equal, yet limited concern for such actions. The same is also true for processes of physiological and psychological behaviour, namely behavioural processes, which indicates that CESOL displays more interest for such aspects of experience compared to the other two sub-corpora, in both of which behavioural processes occur almost marginally.

Finally, as regards relational possessives, that is, processes of having, despite the fact that they are the fourth most frequent process type in ELIUM, their proportion in ELIUM is not significantly different from that of KPG. Therefore we understand that both these sub-corpora are almost equally concerned with what the text participants own and possess, which is not true for CESOL, as indicated by the significantly lower proportion of possessive processes it contains.

To sum up, the distribution of the main process types has so far revealed the process types which are most frequently used by each sub-corpus thus providing us with the first indications of the particular aspects of experience each sub-corpus focuses on. Hence, the predominance of material processes indicated that all three sub-corpora are mainly concerned with actions and events, yet this tendency turned out to be less salient in CESOL. In addition, all three sub-corpora show great concern for describing and characterizing the world construed by their texts, as indicated by the high frequencies of relational attributive processes. On the other hand, the high frequency of mental processes in CESOL indicated its

great concern for its participants' inner experience, while the significantly high proportion of verbal and behavioural processes therein is understood to suggest concern for what the participants say as well as their physiological and psychological behaviour. Moreover, the considerable proportion of relational identifying processes in KPG suggests its preference for defining and explaining the world its texts represent. Finally, ELIUM and KPG turned out to be equally concerned with what the text participants possess, while CESOL seems to be less interested in such aspects of experience, as suggested by the frequencies of relational possessives.

5.2 The sub-categorization of the main process types

In order to be able to reveal how reality is represented in the texts of the three sub-corpora, it is not sufficient to simply study the frequency distributions of each major process type and provide an interpretation of the general tendencies they indicate. Put differently, it is not sufficient to understand that the three sub-corpora focus on a particular type of experience, such as outer experience, inner experience and so on. It is necessary to refine these findings by investigating which particular aspects of outer or inner experience each sub-corpus chooses to focus on. This motivated my decision to categorize the particular instances of the main process types which my analysis has so far indicated to be the most frequent in each sub-corpus into further types and sub-types so as to provide the necessary

context, within which to integrate all the processes occurring in each sub-corpus and examine the distribution of their different types and sub-types therein.

This procedure consisted in listing all processes occurring in each sub-corpus under a set of functional labels, representing the different types and sub-types of each main process type. In addition, the total frequencies of each process type and sub-type were obtained for each sub-corpus. It should be noted though that the limited number of certain processes, which were observed to occur only once in a sub-corpus and which could not be semantically associated with any of the types and sub-types that emerged, were ignored from this point on, as their categorization would not serve any of the purposes of my study.

Another point that should be clarified here is that the frequency counts obtained at this stage were determined by the number of texts in which each process occurs and not by the total number of occurrences each process counts within a sub-corpus. This was simply due to the fact that it is the systematic use of lexicogrammatical patterns in a number of texts of the same sub-corpus that is pertinent to the critical aims of my study and not their frequent use in a single text, which is justifiable by the selection of a particular thematic choice. In other words, by counting occurrences and not texts I would end up with misleading findings, as for instance would be the case of a process which might count ten occurrences in one text, yet it might not count a single occurrence in the rest of the texts of the same sub-corpus.

The different types and sub-types of the main processes I adopted for the purposes of this analytical stage are in line with Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004: 170-259) relevant perspectives. However, the individual instances of certain material and relational attributive processes were particularly difficult to categorize due to the fact that material clauses represent a vast range of outer experience (i.e. events, actions and activities), whereas relational attributive processes "have a rich potential of ambiguity" (ibid.: 247) as they are basically realized by verbs of 'being', which are 'typically non-salient' (ibid.: 214). Therefore the more delicate sub-types of material and relational processes as well as their labeling had to be differentiated so as to provide a meaningful context in which to interpret my data. Yet, this will be further explained in the following section.

5.2.1 Material processes

The differentiation of the various sub-types of material clauses, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 184-189) is based on the nature of the outcome of the process, which is understood to affect the participants of the clause (i.e. nouns in subject or object positions). This being the general criterion for the sub-categorization of material clauses, two main types emerge, namely the creative type and the transformative type. More specifically, creative processes are realized by verbs such as *develop, create, build, make etc*²⁵, and construe their outcome as the coming of a participant into existence. Transformative processes,

²⁵ The examples of the processes used in this chapter are drawn from the research corpus of my study

on the other hand, which cover a wider range of material experience than the creative type, are realized by verbs such as *change, protect, use, buy, give, achieve, meet, go* and so on and construe their outcome as a change of an already existing participant.

Moreover, creative processes are further categorized into two sub-types, namely creative general and creative specific, the differentiation of which basically rests on whether they represent a happening or a doing. Put more simply, creative general processes represent what in traditional grammar terminology would be called intransitive, whereas creative specific processes represent what in traditional grammar terminology would be called transitive. In addition, material transformative processes, on the basis of the type of transformation they construe, are further categorized into four main sub-types, namely elaborating, extending possession, extending accompaniment and enhancing motion. These are in turn categorized into more delicate sub-types of material processes.

As I said earlier, certain material process sub-types suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 187-189) had to be differentiated both in terms of their labeling and their features. In fact, this was the case with the sub-categorization of transformative/elaborating and transformative/extending possession processes as a considerable number of material processes in my research corpus was observed to fall into these two particular sub-types, for the distribution of which the more delicate sub-types suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen did not provide the necessary socio-cultural context for the interpretation of the findings. These being

the perspectives that determined the sub-categorization of material processes in my study, their types and sub-types along with some representative examples from my data are as follows:

1. Creative

- a. General (i.e. *develop, grow, occur etc*)
- b. Specific (i.e. *create, build, make, write, paint, organize, set up etc*)

2. Transformative/elaborating

- a. General (i.e. *work, play, teach, study etc*)
- b. Implying change (i.e. *improve, change, transform etc*)
- c. Implying care (i.e. *save, look after, protect etc*)
- d. Implying control and/or restrictions (i.e. *control, reduce, limit, stop etc*)
- e. Implying damage and/or failure and accident (i.e. *harm, hurt, injure, destroy, spoil etc*)

3. Transformative/extending possession

- a. Implying use (i.e. *use, consume, eat, drink, spend etc*)
- b. Implying money transactions (i.e. *buy, pay, sell, charge etc*)
- c. Implying benefit (i.e. *offer, give, serve, get, take, accept etc*)
- d. Implying effort and/or achievement and success (i.e. *struggle, succeed, win etc*)

4. Transformative/extending accompaniment (i.e. *meet, join, collect etc*)

5. Transformative/enhancing motion (i.e. *come, go, visit, travel, ride, drive etc*)

Let us now move on to see which of the above material process types and sub-types appear to be most frequent within each sub-corpus and across the three sub-corpora. Table 5.2 in the following page displays their frequencies across the three sub-corpora, in terms of the number of texts in which each one was observed to occur.

Table 5.2 Material processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Subtypes	Number of texts they occur in		
		KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Creative	General	12	16	18
	Specific	18	22	22
Transformative: elaborating	General	9	22	12
	Implying change	8	10	6
	Implying care	11	5	8
	Implying control and/or restrictions	13	11	9
	Implying damage and/or failure and accident	5	9	7
Transformative: extending	Implying use	16	17	15
	Implying money transactions	10	14	12
possession	Implying benefit	18	27	24
	Implying effort and/or achievement and success	7	16	7
Transformative: extending accompaniment		9	13	19
Transformative: enhancing motion		23	27	22
Total no of texts		31	31	31

Yet, before I proceed to discuss the process types which appear to be more prominent in each sub-corpus I would like to clarify that the criteria which determined my understanding of a prominent process type or sub-type throughout my study are the following:

- a) The frequency count and the frequency position of a process type or sub-type within the same sub-corpus as well as across the three sub-corpora (Table 5.2)
- b) The particular instances (i.e. occurrences) of processes which fall into each sub-type in a certain sub-corpus²⁶
- c) The association of a process type or sub-type with findings from previous or later analytical stages, which I understand as an indication of a significant tendency

Therefore, in the remainder of this section I shall be concerned with the distribution of the process types and sub-types which fulfill the above three criteria.

As table 5.2 shows, of the thirteen material process sub-types, three appear to share the highest frequencies in all three sub-corpora, namely transformative/ implying benefit, transformative/enhancing motion and creative/specific. This suggests that events and actions associated with the exchange of possessions, motion, and creative activities are foregrounded in all three sub-corpora. Yet, from the third position down we observe that different aspects of experience are

²⁶ For all instances of the different material process types and sub-types occurring in each sub-corpus see Appendix, Tables 4.1.1, 4.2.1, and 4.3.1

foregrounded by each sub-corpus as each tends to use certain process types more than others.

Hence, the world represented by KPG texts, apart from actions associated with motion (e.g. go, travel, visit, arrive, cycle, swim, drive) creative activities (e.g. make, produce, construct) and the exchange of possessions (e.g. offer, provide, take, gain, get), is also concerned with actions which involve the use of possessions as well as actions which imply care and control. This is suggested by the high frequencies of processes of the transformative/extending possession type/implies use (e.g. use, spend, consume, eat, drink), which actually rank quite high as they occur in more than half of the texts (i.e. 16), processes of the transformative/elaborating types, implying control (e.g. control, check, avoid, save, reduce) , which are observed in 13 out of the 31 texts, and processes of the transformative/elaborating type implying care, such as 'save', 'protect', 'preserve' etc, which are observed in almost one third of the texts (i.e. 11). Another interesting observation that provided further evidence to support the foregrounding of the aforementioned material process sub-types in KPG texts is that they rank much higher therein than in the other two sub-corpora. Finally, as my analysis in later stages indicated the significance of change in the KPG world, I understand that the frequency of processes of the transformative/elaborating type, implying change (e.g. improve, change, modify etc), despite the fact that they appear to rank quite low (i.e. 8 texts), is an indication of the role of change in the world construed by KPG texts. In fact, this interpretation is to be further supported by findings which I intend to discuss in a later chapter of this thesis.

As regards CESOL, the world represented by its texts, apart from the exchange of possessions (i.e. actions of giving and taking), motion and creativity, seems to be also concerned with working experiences as well as with experiences associated with effort, achievement and success. This is suggested by the prominent use of processes of the transformative/elaborating/general type (e.g. work, do) the transformative/extending possession type/implies use (e.g. use, wear, eat, drink), and the transformative/extending possessions type/implies effort and/or achievement and success (e.g. succeed, win, compete, achieve). In fact, in CESOL the transformative/elaborating/general type ranks quite high compared to the other two sub-corpora, and it actually occurs in two thirds of the texts (i.e. 22), while in KPG and ELIUM we observe it in 9 and 12 texts, respectively. This suggests that CESOL texts, unlike the texts of the other two sub-corpora, are greatly concerned with actions construed by this process type, and particularly with ‘working’, an understanding which is to be further grounded by more findings in CESOL. Significantly also, processes of the transformative/extending possessions type/implies effort and/or achievement and success, appear to be quite prominent in CESOL as they occur in almost half of the texts (i.e. 16), whereas in the other two sub-corpora they only occur in 7 texts in each one of them. This is then understood to indicate a strong tendency of CESOL texts to foreground actions associated with effort, achievement, and success, and in fact this understanding gains further support by more findings, which will be discussed in a later chapter of this thesis.

Finally, in the world represented by ELIUM, apart from happenings and events centered around actions of giving and taking (e.g. offer, give, serve, provide, accept, receive, take) and actions which involve motion (e.g. arrive, come, go, send, visit, travel) and creativity (e.g. make, create, build, repair, produce, publish), participation in group activities appears to be also foregrounded. This is indicated by the prominence of processes of the transformative/extending accompaniment type, such as ‘participate’, ‘enter’, ‘meet’, ‘contact’, ‘join’ and so on. Precisely, the transformative/extending accompaniment type ranks quite highly in ELIUM, as it occurs in 19 texts and consequently appears to be the fourth most frequent material process type therein, unlike KPG and CESOL where it occupies the ninth and tenth position respectively. We then understand that ELIUM tends to show a strong preference for the type of experience these material processes construe.

One last observation I should mention before I move on to discuss the categorization of relational attributive processes is that although the roughly equal frequencies of the transformative/extending possession type/implying money transactions (e.g. buy, sell, pay, earn, charge, fine) in all three sub-corpora does not appear to indicate any significant tendency in anyone of them, I consider it a finding worth further investigation in one of the following analytical stages as I believe that the particular purposes money serves in the worlds represented by the texts of each sub-corpus would reveal an interesting aspect of the reality construed therein.

5.2.2 Relational Attributive processes

Relational attributive processes characterize or classify things, by construing them as elements in relationships of being. However, due to the fact that the verb ‘to be’ is the main verb such processes are realized by, their categorization could not be exclusively based on the verb constituent of the clauses. Therefore and in order to gain some meaningful understanding of the type of experience construed by the relational attributive clauses occurring in my research corpus I had to base their categorization on clause constituents other than the verb, namely the type of characterization attributed (i.e. the type of Attribute²⁷), and the type of experience construed (i.e. outer or inner experience).

More specifically, drawing on the relevant criteria provided by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 219-226), my categorization of relational attributive processes distinguishes between entity and quality attribution, put more simply, between two kinds of Attributes, their difference basically lying on whether they are realized by a nominal group (i.e. entity attribution), or an adjective (i.e. quality attribution). In my analysis I also make a distinction between attributive processes construing outer and inner experience. More explicitly, outer experience is construed by Attributes denoting objective properties²⁸ (i.e. *rich, young, common, available, necessary, tired etc*), whereas inner experience is mainly construed by

²⁷ The Attribute is the technical term SFL uses to label the class or quality attributed to someone or something. See also 6.4.

²⁸ It should be noted here that in my study participles such as *not allowed, required etc* have been analysed as Attributes in relational attributive clauses, as they are understood to be semantically equivalent to Attributes such as *not possible, necessary, due* and so on.

Attributes denoting subjective sensations (i.e. *great, beautiful, important, true, surprising, excited, happy* etc). Thus, these being my criteria, relational attributive processes realized mainly by the verb ‘to be’, yet also by other verbs such as *feel, become, get, remain, sound* and so on, are sub-categorized into the following types:

1. Entity attribution
2. Quality attribution/outer experience
3. Quality attribution/inner experience

Table 5.3 presents the number of texts in which each of the three aforementioned relational attributive process types occurs across the three sub-corpora²⁹.

Table 5.3 Relational attributive processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Number of texts they occur in		
	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Entity attribution	19	29	17
Quality attribution-outer experience	27	31	26
Quality attribution-inner experience	15	30	22
Total no of texts	31	31	31

As the table shows, in KPG quality attribution of the outer experience is the most frequently used type by far as it occurs in 27 out of the 31 texts, which indicates

²⁹ For all instances of the relational attributive process types occurring in each sub-corpus see Appendix, Tables 4.1.2, 4.2.2, and 4.3.2

that KPG texts are mainly concerned with objective and material characterizations. For example:

- (1) [...cards valid for one day, one month or one year...**are cheaper** in the long run] (B1103b)
- (2) [If the person **feels nauseated** do not give anything to eat or drink] (B1105c)

In fact this understanding is further grounded by the fact that the lowest proportion of quality attribution of the inner experience type is observed in KPG not only within its sub-corpus but also across the three sub-corpora (i.e. 15 texts compared to 30 texts in CESOL and 22 texts in ELIUM) thus suggesting its quite limited concern for subjective qualities.

In CESOL, on the other hand, though the three types are almost equally distributed, the quality attribution type construing inner experience is the most frequent by far across the three sub-corpora. We then understand that CESOL is particularly concerned with subjective qualities of sensing. The following are some typical examples:

- (3) [...when I saw my first cartoon published in the magazine New Lights, **I was hooked**] (F1203b)
- (4) [So **I was amazed** when they offered me this placement] (F605a)

Thus, this finding is understood as another indication of the foregrounding of the world of consciousness, a strong tendency already observed in CESOL texts. In fact, this interpretation gains further support by the fact that the attribute of an intensive attributive clause denoting a quality of sensing often becomes a

metaphorical expression of a mental clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 226), an issue which is to be thoroughly discussed in a later chapter of this thesis.

Finally, ELIUM appears to show a preference for characterizing things by reference to their qualities, as indicated by its tendency to select quality rather than entity attribution. In (5) and (6) below we can see some typical examples of quality attribution of the outer and inner experience types, respectively, as they are used by the ELIUM texts:

- (5) [Our expert staff **is available** to provide guidance in all areas of art] (E2b)
- (6) [To **be sure** of getting the discount, seniors should get...] (E4b)

5.2.3 Mental processes

Mental processes, which as already stated, represent the world of consciousness, are sub-categorized by SFL in four distinct types, as follows:

1. Perceptive (i.e. *feel, experience, see etc*)
2. Cognitive (i.e. *think, learn, know etc*)
3. Desiderative (i.e. *want, decide, choose etc*)
4. Emotive (i.e. *like, dislike, enjoy, attract, inspire, please etc*)

Table 4.4 presents the distribution of mental processes across the three sub-corpora, in terms of the number of texts each type occurs in³⁰.

³⁰For all instances of the different mental process types occurring in each sub-corpus see Appendix, Tables 4.1.3, 4.2.3, and 4.3.3

Table 5.4 Mental processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Number of texts they occur in		
	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Perceptive	14	29	15
Cognitive	22	31	24
Desiderative	19	27	14
Emotive	17	24	11
Total no of texts	31	31	31

As the table shows, the high frequencies of the different types of mental processes observed in CESOL, both within its sub-corpus and across the three sub-corpora, strongly reconfirm its strong tendency to foreground the world of consciousness (i.e. cognition, perception, feelings and emotions), which has already been indicated by the high proportion of mental processes CESOL contains on the whole (see section 5.1). Yet, although the proportion of all the different mental process types is quite high in CESOL, we observe that cognitive processes are the dominant type therein as they occur in every single text, thus indicating that CESOL is primarily concerned with its participants' cognition, that is, what they think, know, understand and so on.

However, both perceptive and desiderative processes have considerable frequencies, occurring in 29 and 27 texts, respectively, which suggests almost equal concern for the participants' perception and desires, that is, what they experience, sense, want, hope for and so on. Also, despite the fact that processes of the emotive type have the lowest frequency among the CESOL mental process

types (i.e. 24 texts), their proportion is still considered high and therefore we do not interpret it as an indication that the world of feelings and emotions is backgrounded against other aspects of consciousness. On the contrary, we understand that feelings and emotions are consistently foregrounded in CESOL, and in fact this is to be grounded by more findings which will be presented in the following chapters of this thesis.

In KPG texts, on the other hand, we do not observe particularly high frequencies in the different types of mental processes overall, particularly when compared to those observed in CESOL. Yet, we cannot help noticing the prominence of cognitive and desiderative processes, as they occur in 22 and 19 texts respectively, thus suggesting that KPG texts tend to focus on the participants' cognition and desires rather than their perceptions, feelings and emotions.

As regards the distribution of mental process types in ELIUM, despite their lower frequencies compared to those observed in CESOL, the cognitive type appears to be dominant therein as well. In fact, the frequency of cognitive processes within ELIUM is by far the highest (i.e. 24 texts) compared to the low frequencies of the other types observed therein. This suggests that the relatively limited concern ELIUM shows for inner experience, which has already been indicated by the overall low proportion of mental processes we observed in the previous analytical stage (see section 5.1), focuses on the participants' cognition, much less on their perceptions and desires and least of all on their feelings and emotions, given that emotive processes in ELIUM turned out to be at the lower end of the scale.

5.2.4 Relational Identifying processes

Relational identifying processes identify or, better still, define things by construing them as elements in relationships of ‘being’. Thus, based on Halliday and Matthiessen’s perspectives (2004: 234-238), my categorization of relational identifying processes is as follows:

1. Neutral (i.e. *be, seem, become etc*)
2. Naming (i.e. *be, call, name etc*)
3. Equivalence (i.e. *make up, total, account for etc*)
4. Role (i.e. *play, serve as etc*)
5. Definition (i.e. *be, define etc*)
6. Significance/Symbolization (i.e. *mean, represent, symbolize etc*)
7. Exemplification (i.e. *be, illustrate*)

In examining the distribution of the above sub-types within each sub-corpus and across the three sub-corpora³¹, as shown in Table 5.5 in the following page, I was not surprised to observe that the neutral type dominates in all three of them, since this type denotes a general sense of identifying. Yet, examining the figures the table shows for the rest of the types, we observe that KPG, which has already shown the strongest tendency towards identifying things across the three sub-corpora in the previous analytical stage (see section 5.1), apart from the neutral type also tends to use the significance/symbolization type quite frequently as it

³¹ For all instances of the different relational identifying process types occurring in each sub-corpus see Appendix, Tables 4.1.4, 4.2.4, and 4.3.4

occurs in 13, that is, in more than one third of the texts, while in CESOL and ELIUM this particular type appears in 8 and 6 texts, respectively. The following are some characteristic examples from KPG:

- (7) [Divert water directly to the garden **-this means** whenever you shower or wash clothes, your garden is watered] (B507c)
- (8) [...the Greeks for whom the ideally developed human being **was symbolised** by the equilateral triangle] (B604a)

Table 5.5 Relational Identifying processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Number of texts they occur in		
	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Neutral	22	30	17
Naming	5	9	4
Equivalence	3	-	1
Role	4	4	4
Definition	6	2	-
Significance/ Symbolization	13	8	6
Exemplification	7	6	7
Total no of texts	31	31	31

We also observe that the definition type occurs in 6 KPG texts, while it has a nearly marginal frequency in CESOL (i.e. 2 texts) and it is totally absent from ELIUM. For instance:

- (9) [In Greece, heat wave conditions **are defined** by at least three consecutive days of temperatures over 37°C] (B1105c)

The above observations are then understood to suggest that KPG is particularly concerned with the interpretation of meanings, symbols and evidence, as well as with establishing definitions.

As regards CESOL, identifying processes of the neutral type are by far the dominant type, as they occur in almost all texts (i.e. 30 texts). However, we also observe considerable frequencies of the naming type (i.e. 9 texts) and the significance/symbolization type (i.e. 8 texts). The following examples illustrate the use of the aforementioned types respectively:

- (10) [My favourite place in England **is** the Trough of Bowland, a landscape of wide-open moorland...] (F1204d)
- (11) [Having to take this approach **meant** that she couldn't let her concentration slip at anytime] (F606c)

Hence, CESOL may basically be concerned with identifying things in general, yet it often appears to be doing so by means of specifying either their name or their significance. I then suggest this should be interpreted as an indication of particular concern for the establishment of uniqueness and the accuracy of meanings, which is actually to be associated with findings from a later analytical stage.

Finally, ELIUM appears to be the least interested in most of the aspects of knowledge construed by relational identifying processes, least of all in establishing definitions, as the complete absence of the definition type indicates. In fact, the exemplification type turned out to be an exception, as it is the second most frequent type therein and has almost the same frequency in the three sub-

corpora (i.e. 7 texts), thus suggesting that the concern ELIUM shows for explaining things is equal to that shown by the other two sub-corpora. Yet, this is not considered to be a significant finding for any of the three sub-corpora and therefore I do not intend to explore it any further.

5.2.5 Verbal processes

Verbal processes, that is, processes of saying, are sub-categorized by SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 255) into two distinct types, namely the activity type and the semiosis type, which in turn are sub-categorized as follows:

1. Activity

- a. Talking (i.e. *speak, talk, discuss etc*)
- b. Targeting (i.e. *judge, praise, condemn etc*)

2. Semiosis

- a. Neutral (i.e. *say, tell, ask, answer etc*)
- b. Indicating (i.e. *announce, report, argue etc*)
- c. Imperating (i.e. *demand, suggest, require etc*)

Table 5.6 on the following page presents the distribution of the above verbal process types and sub-types across the three sub-corpora³². The figures in the table are understood to reconfirm that CESOL is more than the other two sub-

³² All instances of the different verbal process types and sub-types occurring in each sub-corpus are shown in Tables 4.1.5, 4.2.5, and 4.3.5 of the Appendix

corpora concerned with verbal actions, as already indicated by the highest overall proportion of verbal processes it contains (see section 5.2).

Table 5.6 Verbal processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Subtypes	Number of texts they occur in		
		KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Activity	Talking	5	11	2
	Targeting	1	7	1
Semiosis	Neutral	10	28	6
	Indicating	9	18	14
	Imperating	9	9	17
Total no of texts		31	31	31

Examining the frequencies of the different verbal process types and sub-types in CESOL we observe the prominence of verbal actions of the semiosis-neutral type, the semiosis/indicating type, and the activity/talking type. Specifically, the semiosis-neutral type is by far the dominant verbal process type, as it occurs in 28 texts. I then suggest that the numerous occurrences of the verb ‘say’, which is actually the main representative of this sub-type, indicate a strong tendency of the CESOL texts towards creating an impression of dialogue.

In fact, this interpretation gains further support by the observation that the second most frequent verbal processes in CESOL are those of the semiosis/indicating type, which are processes which usually serve to present dialogic parts, such as ‘insist’, ‘explain’, ‘add’, ‘admit’ and so on. What is more, the frequency of the

activity/talking type (e.g. speak, talk, discuss), although it occurs in just one third of the CESOL texts (i.e. 11 texts), turns out to be the highest across the three sub-corpora, is understood as a further indication of the foregrounding of verbal actions in the CESOL texts. Yet, the fact that processes of the semiosis/imperating type, such as 'suggest', 'demand', 'recommend' and so on, in CESOL rank rather low, suggests that in CESOL verbal actions are construed as a means of interactive communication rather than a means of imposing ideas and opinions.

Regarding the distribution of the different verbal process types and subtypes in KPG and ELIUM, we do not observe any considerable frequencies in either of them. Yet, two interesting observations are to be taken into account, the first consisting in that the semiosis/imperating type (i.e. suggest, recommend, demand, require) ranks relatively high in KPG, as it occurs in 9 texts, thus sharing the second position with the semiosis/indicating type. This could then be interpreted as a slight tendency for imposing ideas and opinions, yet this finding is to be interpreted in association with findings from a later analytical stage. The second observation is that ELIUM contains the highest proportion by far of verbal processes of the semiosis/imperating type across the three sub-corpora, and what is more, it is the dominant verbal process type within ELIUM, as it appears in 17 texts. The following is a typical example:

(12) [Reservations...**recommended** for other meals] (E1b)

I then suggest that this finding should be further investigated in a later analytical stage as it could be interpreted as an indication of concern for imposing ideas and opinions.

5.2.6 Relational Possessive processes

Relational possessive processes construe things as elements in relationships of ‘having’. However, relationships of ‘having’ are understood to embody the notion of possession both in a narrow and a broader sense, and in fact, as Halliday and Matthiessen explain (2004: 246), “in addition to possession in the usual sense of ‘owning’, this category includes abstract relationships of containment, involvement, and the like”. Thus, in line with these perspectives, and also due to the fact that my research corpus was observed to contain a considerable frequency of possessive processes denoting possession in a broader sense, that is, possession of abstractions, relational possessives are sub-categorized into the following types:

1. Neutral
 - a. Possession in a narrower sense (i.e. *have, belong to*)
 - b. Possession of abstractions (i.e. *have, belong to*)
2. Ownership (i.e. *own, need, require etc*)
3. Feature (i.e. *feature, star, hold etc*)
4. Containment (i.e. *include, contain, consist of, list etc*)

Table 5.7 on the next page presents the distribution of the above types across the three sub-corpora³³. As we can see, the neutral type as a whole has considerable frequencies in all three sub-corpora.

³³ All instances of relational possessive process types and sub-types occurring in each sub-corpus are shown in Tables 4.1.6, 4.2.6, and 4.3.6 of the Appendix

Table 5.7 Relational Possessive processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Subtypes	Number of texts they occur in		
		KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Neutral	Total neutral	19	21	20
	Possession in a narrower sense	7	10	12
	Possession of abstractions	15	13	11
Ownership		5	8	4
Feature		2	-	5
Containment		14	9	19
Total no of texts		31	31	31

Yet, as CESOL contains the lowest proportion of relational possessives (see section 5.2) and as we do not observe any interesting variation regarding the distribution of their types and subtypes therein, we shall focus on some interesting observations concerning KPG and ELIUM. Thus, in KPG the two sub-types of the neutral type appear to have the greatest variation across the three sub-corpora, which could be interpreted as a tendency towards the possession of abstractions rather than towards the possession of material things. Yet, this is a finding worth further refinement and therefore we shall examine it more thoroughly in a later analytical stage (see 7.4.1).

In ELIUM, on the other hand, we observe that processes of the ‘containment’ type, as shown in (15) below, are quite prominent and they are actually the second most frequent type therein as they occur in 19 out of the 31 texts.

- (15) [The program **includes**: Anatomy and Physical Fitness -Nutrition - Sports through the Ages - Team Sports- Hiking and rock climbing] (E12b)

We then understand that ELIUM is quite concerned with the notion of inclusion, which is to be interpreted as a typical feature of advertising discourse. In fact, this appears to be justified by the considerable number of advertisements ELIUM contains.

5.2.7 Behavioural processes

Behavioural processes, that is, processes of physiological and psychological behaviour, have been sub-categorized according to the model suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 251), into the following types:

- a. Near mental (i.e. *look, watch, stare etc*)
- b. Near verbal (i.e. *chat, shout, murmur etc*)
- c. Physiological (i.e. *laugh, gesture, breathe etc*)
- d. Near material (i.e. *sit, lie, relax etc*)

In Table 5.8, which presents the distribution of the above types across the three sub-corpora³⁴, we can see that the frequencies of behavioural processes on the whole are almost marginal in KPG and ELIUM (see chapter 5.2). What is more, the distribution of their different types therein does not indicate any findings worth discussing.

³⁴ For all instances of the behavioural process types occurring in each sub-corpus see Tables 4.1.7, 4.2.7, and 4.3.7 of the Appendix

Table 5.8 Behavioural processes across the three sub-corpora

Types	Number of texts they occur in		
	KPG	CESOL	ELIUM
Near mental	6	11	3
Near verbal	3	8	-
Physiological	3	15	4
Near material (bodily postures and pastimes)	1	17	4
Total no of texts	31	31	31

Yet, in CESOL, where we have already observed a significantly higher proportion of behavioural processes, the near material and the physiological type appear to be the most frequent, as they occur in 17 and 15 texts, respectively. This indicates that neither bodily nor physiological behaviour are overlooked in CESOL. Yet, we could not help observing the considerable frequency (i.e. 9 texts) of physiological processes manifesting states of consciousness (i.e. *laugh, frown, nod etc*), as well as the fact that processes of the near mental type (i.e. *look, listen etc*), which are closely related to mental processes, occur in 11 texts. We then suggest that these findings should be interpreted as a further indication of the foregrounding of the world of consciousness, which has already been identified as a strong tendency in CESOL.

At this point, the exploration of the processes in my research corpus has been completed. We have so far obtained a picture of the tendencies each sub-corpus presents towards certain types of processes. In other words, we have been able to

specify the actions, happenings or relationships which construe the experiential reality in the world each sub-corpus represents. Yet in order to be able to explore the transitivity patterns through the use of which reality is construed in each sub-corpus, it is also necessary to obtain a clear picture of the actants representing the participants of the processes, which is actually what the following chapter focuses on.

CHAPTER 6

TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS: EXPLORING THE ACTANTS

In this chapter we shall be concerned with the second stage of Transitivity analysis, which was aimed at exploring the entities involved in the processes discussed in the previous analytical stage, that is, the actants of the processes. Thus, throughout this chapter the term ‘actant’ will be used in order to denote the nominal groups which in traditional grammar terms occupy subject or object positions. My understanding of the term ‘actant’, which is associated with A. J. Greimas, the Lithuanian linguist and semiotician, who borrowed it from the French linguist L. Tesnière, is best expressed in Tesnière’s definition of actants as “beings or things which in some capacity and in whatsoever manner, even in the capacity of mere onlookers and in the most passive manner participate in a process” (Tesnière, 1959: 102).

As I have already said, in order to analyse the transitivity patterns in the texts of my research corpus it is not sufficient to describe the differences between the process types. It is also necessary to describe the associated differences in the functional participant roles (Eggins, 1994: 229). Yet, before I proceeded with this step it was judged important to gain a clear picture of the actants in my study corpus so as to be provided with a meaningful interpretative framework within which to integrate the participants of the processes in the main body of my analysis. To this end I listed and categorized all the actants of the processes, the previous analytical stage had yielded and studied their distribution.

In the following sections after a brief reference to the perspectives which determined the categorization of the actants in my research corpus, I shall present the two major categories (i.e. human actants and non-human actants) that emerged and discuss their distribution within each sub-corpus and across the three sub-corpora.

6.1 The categorization of the actants

Upon listing the actants found in my research corpus, I observed the dominant presence of human actants in all three sub-corpora. On the other hand, I could not help noticing a considerable proportion of non-human actants, such as other living beings, concrete objects, abstract entities and so on. This motivated my decision to categorize human actants and non-human actants separately.

To this end, I adopted a socio-cultural approach and I employed insights from Fowler's categorization of people in the discourse of the press, which he considers particularly meaningful in terms of its ideological significance. As Fowler (1991: 92) claims, the world represented in the popular press is "a culturally organized set of categories rather than a collection of unique individuals". He even argues that:

We manage the world, make sense of it, by categorizing phenomena, including people. Having established a person as an example of a type, our relationship with that person is simplified: we think about the person in terms of the qualities which we attribute to the category already present in our minds. (ibid.)

In the light of these perspectives and given the absence of a systematic model for the categorization of actants in the relevant literature, the actant categories which emerged were labelled after the particular social domain with which the actants falling into each category were associated. Thus, the labeling of the categories in this study functions as a *sociosemantic inventory*³⁵, which serves as a map of the actants, viewed from a socio-cultural standpoint. For instance, the category labelled ‘everyday people’ includes actants such as family members, consumers, citizens, sports fans, tourists, travellers and so on. It should also be mentioned at this point that for the individual labeling of the actants of each category (i.e. school leavers, city cyclists, householders, young sports stars, parents etc), the exact wording of the texts has been followed whenever this was possible, otherwise (i.e. in the cases of implied participants) an appropriate label has been selected.

Once the categorization of human actants was completed, I followed a similar procedure for the categorization of the non-human actants occurring in my research corpus. Hence, two major actant categories emerged, namely ‘human actants’ and ‘non-human actants’, each containing further sub-categories. Then, the study of their distribution in the three sub-corpora would enable me to reveal the possible tendencies their frequencies might indicate.

One final point that should be made before I proceed to present the two major actant categories and discuss the distribution of their sub-categories in my

³⁵ The term is borrowed from van Leeuwen (1996)

research corpus is that the frequency counts obtained throughout this analytical stage were determined by the number of texts in which each actant group or category was found to occur and not by the number of individual occurrences each actant group counts in each sub-corpus, as this was understood to best serve the aims of my study. In fact, the reasons which motivated this decision were the same that determined the study of the distribution of the main process types and sub-types in the previous analytical stage (see 5.2). Hence, in my study a particular actant group or category that occurs at least once in one text is equally valued to another actant group or category that may occur in the same text several times.

6.2 Human actants

All human actants found in my research corpus have been categorized into nine major groups under the following labels:

1. Everyday people (e.g. *family members, friends, citizens, residents, householders, consumers, customers, travellers, sports fans, readers* etc)
2. Working people (e.g. *employers, employees, office workers, animal breeders, farmers, builders, photographers, tourist guides* etc)
3. Young people (e.g. *little children, teenagers, school leavers, university students, pop group members, sports fans, friends* etc)
4. The commercial world (e.g. *industries, companies, businesses, tourist businesses, the media, the press, private schools, publishers* etc)

5. Educated people and specialists (e.g. *teachers, university professors, scientists, researchers, experts* etc)
6. Activists (e.g. *environmental groups, volunteer workers, conservation organizations, protesters' groups* etc)
7. The authorities (e.g. *the UN, the Pope, governments, city and local authorities, the police, the traffic police* etc)
8. Artists and celebrities (e.g. *writers, actors and actresses, musicians, film directors, sports stars* etc)
9. Human collectives³⁶ and people in general (e.g. *the world*, national, ethnic and religious groups such as *the Greeks, the British people, the Mediterranean people, the Amish, the Hopi Indians* and so on, massive groups of conscious beings sharing common characteristics such as *left-handers, the theatre public, young people, the average tourist, people* in general and its equivalents such as *humans, the general public* etc)

Let us now proceed to examine the distribution of the above categories across the three sub-corpora, as illustrated in Table 6.1 below. We observe that ‘everyday people’ dominate in all three sub-corpora, with roughly equal frequencies, as they occur in nearly two thirds of the texts of each sub-corpus. There is considerable variation though as regards the distribution of the rest of the categories. Precisely, we observe that ‘human collectives and people in general’ are almost as frequent as ‘everyday people’ in KPG and CESOL, while in ELIUM they seem to occur in nearly half of the texts. Interestingly also, the distribution of the remaining 7

³⁶ The term has been borrowed from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 202)

categories points to the foregrounding of different types of actants in each sub-corpus.

Table 6.1 Human actants across the three sub-corpora

Category	Number of texts it occurs in KPG	Number of texts it occurs in CESOL	Number of texts it occurs in ELIUM
Everyday people	21	23	23
Working people	8	17	7
Young people	4	18	14
The commercial world	8	17	22
Educated people and specialists	8	13	11
Activists	5	3	0
The authorities	8	3	7
Artists & celebrities	4	16	6
Human collectives & people in general	21	22	15
Total no of texts	31	31	31

Thus, ‘young people’, ‘working people’, and ‘artists and celebrities’ appear to be particularly foregrounded in CESOL. On the other hand, ‘the commercial world’ is quite prominent in ELIUM, while ‘activists’ make their presence distinct in KPG especially when compared to their low ranking in CESOL and their total absence in ELIUM. Moreover, ‘the authorities’ appear to have a distinct presence both in KPG and ELIUM, while ‘educated people and specialists’ seem to be more foregrounded in CESOL and ELIUM.

A final observation worth noting at this point is that while in CESOL and ELIUM there is significant variation in the distribution of human actant categories, in KPG apart from ‘everyday people’ and ‘human collectives and people in general’, which as already mentioned are the dominant categories therein, the rest of the categories appear to be almost equally distributed. In fact, this is a finding I consider significant and will be further elaborated in the next section of this chapter.

The above observations provided an outline of the population of the world represented by each of the three sub-corpora. They also provided an initial understanding of the protagonists of these three worlds, as indicated by the foregrounding of certain categories against others. Thus, based on these initial indications, in what follows I shall proceed to describe the actant categories which are foregrounded within each sub-corpus so as to obtain a more accurate description of the protagonists of the world each sub-corpus represents. I shall also attempt to explain how the selection of particular types of actants in each sub-corpus contributes to the construal of a different reality. Throughout this discussion I shall be using representative examples drawn from the corpus of my study.

6.2.1 Human actants in KPG

In exploring the individual occurrences of the different actants that fall into each of the 9 human actant categories in KPG³⁷, as well as the different sub-groups each category comprises, the following observations were considered meaningful:

- a) ‘Everyday people’, are mainly represented by family members, tourists, and citizens as the groups of ‘family members’ and ‘tourists and visitors’ are the most prominent, whereas ‘citizens’ make the third most frequent group therein. In fact, the significant role of citizens in the KPG world is further boosted by the marginal frequencies the relevant group shows in the other two sub-corpora.
- b) The type of tourists KPG appears to be mainly concerned with is that of ‘eco-tourists’, given that the group of ‘tourists’ therein consists mainly of actants who are involved in alternative tourist activities (e.g. *urban eco-tours, marine safaris, a visit to a traditional bee-keeping unit*), whether they belong to an organized group or travel independently.
- c) The type of citizens KPG appears to be mainly concerned with is that of the ‘world citizen’, as, in KPG, citizens from different parts of the world are equally present (e.g. *Greek citizens, Canadian citizens, citizens of Brussels*) while European citizens are basically implied when the citizens’ nationality is not specified (e.g. *householders, sick people*).

³⁷ For a detailed presentation of the individual occurrences of human actants which fall into these 9 categories along with their frequency counts in each sub-corpus see Tables 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3 of the Appendix.

- d) The group of ‘human collectives’, which actually displays the highest frequency by far across the three sub-corpora (i.e. 12 texts), apart from *the world, the modern world* and social groups worldwide (e.g. *the world poor and rich*) includes a considerable number of national and international groups, which often extend beyond local boundaries (e.g. *the Greek people, Greece, Athenians*) and range from national European groups (e.g. *the German people, the Icelanders, Iceland*) to wider regional groups (e.g. *the Mediterranean people*) and countries all over the world (e.g. *countries hosting the Olympic games, world countries*).
- e) There is a balanced co-existence of ‘working people’, ‘the commercial world’, ‘educated people and specialists’ and ‘the authorities’, as the four respective categories are equally distributed (i.e. each occurs in 8 texts). What is more, the particular groups each category comprises (e.g. *manual and office-workers, big industries and small businesses, university professors and teachers*) appear to be equally distributed within each respective category.
- f) ‘The commercial world’ is represented by big industries and companies in various parts of the world (e.g. *industries in the US, big multinational companies in Europe, leaders of the tourist industry in Iceland* etc) as well as by smaller tourist businesses in Greece and elsewhere (e.g. *a Greek tourist business, a travel agency, a safari park* etc).
- g) In the category labelled ‘the authorities’, powerful authority representatives (e.g. *the Law, the UN, a European commission, governments, state authorities* etc) appear to be more prominent than less

powerful ones (e.g. *city authorities, a citizens' advisory committee*), as the former occur in twice as many texts (i.e. they respectively occur in 6 and 3 texts).

- h) 'Educated people and specialists' are mainly represented by *university professors* and *teachers* as well as experts on environmental and health matters (e.g. *environmental experts, food specialists*).
- i) Activists, despite their low frequency (i.e. 5 texts), are quite foregrounded when compared to the other two sub-corpora as they never occur in ELIUM and their three occurrences in CESOL are not considered significant, particularly given that they occupy the last position therein. Moreover, its individual actants cover a wide spectrum of socio-political activity (e.g. *environmental groups, conservation organizations, protesters, animal right campaigners* and so on).

Hence, in view of the above observations, we understand that in the KPG world 'world citizens', national and international groups, family members, eco-tourists, activists, working people, business people, university professors and teachers, experts on environmental and health matters and powerful authority representatives make up the core of the texts' population.

Significantly however, the distinct presence of 'world citizens', activists and national, international and major social groups indicates that KPG has a socio-political character. Also, the fact that in KPG we observe actants from various parts of the world as well as from Greece, suggests that KPG texts are concerned with what is happening in various parts of the world and not just in Greece, which

also entails that Greece is viewed as an integral part of the world. We can then claim that KPG is characterized by a global perspective which encompasses a distinct local element. Moreover, the presence of eco-tourists, who combine travelling with caring for the environment, and of experts on environmental and health matters, suggests concern for the respective issues, while the presence of activists indicates the significance of the role of people who actively express their concern for socio-political issues.

On the other hand, the dominance of powerful authority representatives over less powerful ones indicates the particular role of powerful authorities in the KPG world. Surprisingly though, the KPG world turned out to be basically a world of adults, since the young generation makes up a small part of its population, which, given the rare presence of little children, basically consists of secondary and higher education students.

Finally, the almost equal distribution of the actant categories KPG is mainly concerned with, and of the particular groups each category comprises indicates a balanced co-existence of the respective social and professional groups in the world its texts represent. In fact, this becomes obvious even in the representation of less significant actant categories, such as ‘artists and celebrities’, who may have a rather limited presence in KPG, yet the evenly distributed aspects of artistic expression (i.e. literature, theatre, cinema) they represent is another indication of the balanced co-existence of individual actant groups within each category.

6.2.2 Human actants in CESOL

As earlier pointed out, apart from ‘everyday people’ and ‘human collectives and people in general’, four more categories namely, ‘young people’, ‘working people’, ‘the commercial world’, and ‘artists and celebrities’, are quite prominent in CESOL. A closer examination of the types of actants that fall into the CESOL human actant categories provided the following interesting information:

- a) CESOL is almost exclusively concerned with British actants
- b) ‘Everyday people’ are mainly represented by family members and travellers, as their respective groups turned out to be the most frequent therein.
- c) The type of ‘travellers’ CESOL is mainly concerned with is travellers who are characterized by a spirit of independence and by a tendency for adventure. In other words, in the CESOL world, ‘adventure travellers’ are foregrounded, that is, independent and even lonely travellers, who choose to visit far-away and often difficult destinations.
- d) The category of ‘human collectives and people in general’ is mainly represented by ‘people in general’ rather than the world as a whole, or as national and international groups, given that *people* and its equivalents (e.g. *human beings*, *man*, *all the children*, *women* etc) dominate over human collectives. In addition, the frequency of ‘people in general’ is much higher in CESOL (i.e. 23 texts) than in the other two sub-corpora.
- e) Young people appear to play a central part in the CESOL world as indicated by the high frequency of the respective category and also by the

fact that CESOL contains the highest proportion of young actants across the three sub-corpora. In addition, there is a distinct preference for teenagers, given the frequent occurrences of *teenagers, school leavers, university or college students, their friends, their flatmates, sports enthusiasts, sports stars, young women athletes, pop group members* and so on.

- f) Working people are quite foregrounded, as indicated by the high frequency of the respective category therein and by the fact that CESOL has the greatest proportion of ‘working people’ across the three sub-corpora. Moreover, among the wide range of jobs the CESOL actants appear to be associated with, there is a distinct preference for jobs of a higher rank (e.g. *business executives, RAF officers, astronauts*), and most significantly, with jobs which are associated with some kind of glamour, that is, artistic and media jobs (e.g. *reporters, newspaper cartoonists, DJs, photographers, professional skaters* and so on).
- g) In the ‘commercial world’ of CESOL, actants representing the publishing world (e.g. *publishing companies, book publishers and editors*) and the media world (e.g. *newspapers, editors, magazines, a TV channel* etc) have an equal share with representatives of big and small businesses and companies. In fact, the distinct presence of the publishing world and the media world is further reinforced by their marginal occurrences in the other two sub-corpora. What is more, the distinct presence of *reporters* in the category of ‘working people’ provides further evidence to support the foregrounding of the media world in CESOL.

- h) The ‘commercial world’ is characterized by success gained through hard work as it appears to be mostly represented by business people who have worked hard their way to success and who are personally involved in their business progress, rather than by impersonal and powerful businesses which focus on the pursuit of profit. Therefore we can claim that the CESOL representatives of the ‘commercial world’ and the ‘working people’ share common characteristics, in the sense that work rather than profit appears as a salient feature of their identities.
- i) The category of ‘artists and celebrities’, which is quite prominent, is dominated by artists (e.g. *actors and actresses, professional skaters, pop musicians, a pianist, painters* etc). What is more, writers of various types (e.g. *book authors, travel writers, cookery book writers* and so on) make their presence distinct in a considerable number of texts (i.e. 6).
- j) In the category of ‘educated people and specialists’ *scholars* and particularly *teachers* appear to make the dominant group.

Thus, according to the above observations we understand that the CESOL world is mainly British and populated by young people, working people, artists and celebrities. Also, adventure travellers, family members, business people, and teachers make up a substantial part of the CESOL population. Significantly, young people of all ages and particularly teenagers are among the actants most frequently enjoying the attention of CESOL texts, which suggests that the young generation has a central role in the world they construe. Closely related to the great concern CESOL texts show for the young generation is also the relatively limited yet distinct presence of teachers as education representatives.

Moreover, the prominence of working people and the fact that the commercial world appears to be closely related to the rest of the working people, as it is mainly represented by successful business people characterized by hard work rather than profit-making, suggests the significance of work as a social value in the CESOL world. In addition, the prominence of celebrities and particularly the emphasis placed on the role of artists and writers indicates that creativity, fame and success constitute central values therein. In fact, this is further highlighted by the distinct preference working people show for jobs associated with some kind of glamour as well as by the prominence of the publishing world and the media in the CESOL 'commercial world'. Interestingly also, the distinct presence of adventure travellers, who choose far-away and often difficult destinations and travel alone rather than participating in package holidays and organized trips, suggests the significance of independence and adventurous travelling experiences.

Finally, the frequent presence of 'people in general' is understood to be serving the same purpose the use of 'generalized you' does in generic statements³⁸ and consequently it is to be interpreted as part of a strategy employed in order to validate interested aspects of reality by means of generic statements. This interpretation draws on both Fowler's and van Leeuwen's perspectives on the ideological significance of such strategies. Specifically, Fowler (1991: 211) points out that "generic statements are inevitably authoritarian, claiming total and definitive knowledge of some topic", while, in the same line of thought, van

³⁸ Generic statements are defined as descriptive propositions which are supposedly true of any instance of the entities to which they refer (Fowler 1991: 211)

Leeuwen (1996: 46) views the choice between generic and specific reference as an important factor in the representation of social actors.

6.2.3 Human actants in ELIUM

In examining the types of actants that fall into the ELIUM human actant categories as well as their particular instances in each category we observe that:

- a) ELIUM is almost exclusively concerned with American actants.
- b) The predominant human actant category of ‘everyday people’ is mainly represented by tour participants and parents, as their respective groups (e.g. *tourists and travellers* and *family members*) are the most frequent therein. What is more, ELIUM has the highest proportion of *tourists and travellers* across the three sub-corpora.
- c) The type of tourist/traveller ELIUM appears to be almost exclusively concerned with is that of the ‘tour participant’, as indicated by the frequent occurrence of actants such as *tourists, visitors, travellers* and *passengers*, who appear to participate in well-organized tourist activities (e.g. *a National park tour, a museum tour*, and so on).
- d) In the category of ‘human collectives and people in general’, the group of ‘human collectives’ is characterized by the distinct presence, direct or indirect, of certain groups with a salient cultural or historical identity (e.g. *the Christian world, the 16th century French people, Europeans of the past, the Amish, the Hopi Indians, native Americans*).

- e) The ‘commercial world’ appears to rank quite high, particularly when compared to the other two sub-corpora. In addition, it covers a wide range of business activity (e.g. *a multinational car industry, USA coach companies, a toy-store chain, taxi companies, bike rentals, fitness clubs* and so on). However, tourist businesses (e.g. *tour operators, hotels, restaurants, National Parks, children’s camps* etc) figure as the main representatives of the commercial world as they occur in almost one third of the texts (i.e. 10). Interestingly also, *private museums, private schools, publishing companies* and *research labs*, despite their association with science and education, appear as part of the ELIUM commercial world.
- f) The young generation is quite foregrounded and it is almost equally represented by *children* and *teenagers* (e.g. *college students, English language students* etc).
- g) A wide range of scientists (e.g. *anthropologists, biochemists, linguists, psychologists* etc) and researchers dominate the category of ‘educated people and specialists’. In fact, the proportion of scientists in ELIUM is the highest across the three sub-corpora.
- h) The category of ‘the authorities’ is represented by a wide range of actants (e.g. *Pope Gregory, the British Prime Minister, state governments, transportation and tourist authorities, the Hopi Indian administration, the police, the traffic police* and so on)
- i) Despite its low frequency, the category of ‘artists and celebrities’ appears to be exclusively represented by artists from the world of music, cinema or

theatre, half of whom are famous old stars and performers (e.g. *old American film stars, legendary performers, the Beatles* etc).

Thus, the population of the ELIUM world is basically American and comprises a very prominent commercial world, specialized scientists and researchers, authority representatives, as well as young people of all ages, tour participants, and parents. Yet, famous old stars and performers as well as social groups with a distinct cultural or historical identity make up a smaller part of this population.

The prominence of the commercial world, mainly represented by tour operators whose enterprising activities cover a wide range of fields, including those of science and education, suggests the central role of the commercial world in many aspects of social life in the ELIUM world. Closely related to the prevalence of tour operators in the commercial world is also the frequent presence of tour participants, which suggests the significance of outdoor group activities. Also, the fact that young people of all ages, and particularly children and students make up a considerable proportion of the population of ELIUM texts indicates concern for the young generation. In fact, this is further highlighted by the foregrounding of parenthood, which is suggested by the distinct presence of parents in the ELIUM texts.

In addition, the high proportion of specialized scientists and researchers indicates great concern for science and scientific research, while the considerable frequency of authority representatives suggests the significant position authorities occupy in

the ELIUM world. Finally, the limited yet noticeable presence of famous old stars and performers indicates the significance of classic values, which is actually understood to be closely related to the particular concern this world shows for history and culture, as implied by the considerable presence of actants with a distinct cultural or historical identity in the group of ‘human collectives’.

6.3 Non-human actants

Non-human actants are divided into 11 categories, each one labelled after the thematic field the listed actants are associated with. Yet, the different types of non-human actants each sub-corpus comprises did not always allow for the use of common labels across the three sub-corpora. Therefore the category labels selected for the non-humans actants are differentiated across the three sub-corpora.

However, in order to create a common interpretative framework for the three sub-corpora and for the sake of consistency in the labeling of associated categories across them, the closest possible equivalent has always been selected. For instance, in the case of the category labelled ‘political issues’ in KPG and ELIUM, its closest equivalent in FCE turned out to be the one labelled ‘the press’, given the absence of non-human actants more closely associated with political issues in CESOL on the one hand, and the absence of non-human actants more closely associated with the press in KPG and ELIUM, on the other (see below).

Hence, the 11 categories, into which the non-human actants of my study corpus fall, along with some representative examples from the corpus, correspond as follows across the three sub-corpora:

1. 'Ecological issues' in KPG (e.g. *air pollution, voluntary work, environmental campaigns* etc) correspond to 'the natural world' in CESOL and ELIUM (e.g. *nature, park habitats, the beach, hills, the sky, the sun, the weather, storms, winds, wildlife* etc).
2. 'Political issues' in KPG and ELIUM (e.g. *economic policy, campaigns, demonstrations, the rise of the Labor Party* etc) correspond to 'the press' in CESOL (e.g. *newspapers, a newspaper article* etc).
3. 'Social issues' in KPG and ELIUM (e.g. *human development, famine, accent discrimination* etc) correspond to 'work issues' in CESOL (e.g. *work, work duties, projects, high-powered jobs, working abroad* and so on).
4. 'Cultural issues' in KPG (e.g. *the ancient Greek culture, traditional methods of bee-keeping, the Olympic Games* etc) correspond to 'Arts & Culture' in CESOL (e.g. *music, literature, acting, drawings, plays, books* etc) and to 'History & Culture' in ELIUM (e.g. *history, culture, religion, the Amish wedding traditions, classic American films* etc)
5. 'Financial issues' (e.g. *a tax allowance, savings, bills, charges, rates, fares, fees* and so on) appear as such in all three sub-corpora.
6. 'Education' (e.g. *education, school(s), a course, universities, books, school programs* and so on) appears as such in all three sub-corpora.
7. 'Science' in KPG (e.g. *the brain, research, animal testing* etc) corresponds to 'Science & technology' in CESOL and ELIUM (e.g. *research, theories, Moon*

areas, an asteroid, volcanic activity, carbon dioxide levels, dinosaurs, computer technology etc).

8. 'Health, fitness & diet' in KPG (e.g. *health problems, symptoms, organic foods, physical activity* etc) corresponds to 'Sports & games' in CESOL (e.g. *skiing, mountain biking, board games, racing* etc) and to 'Sports & fitness' in ELIUM (e.g. *surfing, sports clubs, aerobics, physical fitness* etc).
9. 'Tourism' in KPG (e.g. *urban eco-tours, whale watching* etc) corresponds to 'Travelling' in CESOL (e.g. *a cycling trip, holiday places, an isolated island, hotels* etc) and to 'Tours, visits and holidays' in ELIUM (e.g. *a cave tour, a national park, a mountain bike holiday, museum exhibits, travel information centers, hotels, restaurants* etc).
10. 'Transport' in KPG (e.g. *daily cards, boats, bicycle* etc) corresponds to 'Transport & travelling' in ELIUM (e.g. *cars, trains, buses, traffic delays, parking and transport facilities, passes, tickets* etc), while there is no such category in CESOL.
11. 'Abstractions'³⁹ appear as such in all three sub-corpora (e.g. *power, success, ideas, experience, obsession, jealousy, an attitude, a belief, knowledge, problems, reasons* etc)

As it becomes obvious, the differentiated labeling of the above categories serves as an initial indication of the particular tendencies each sub-corpus presents. However, in order to gain a clearer picture of the aspects of reality the prominence of certain categories might indicate, we shall now proceed to examine

³⁹ The term has been borrowed from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 198 and 203) and the particular category includes abstract entities, such as qualities, feelings, ideas and so on, as well as facts and nominalized processes which were not found to be semantically associated with any of the preceding categories.

how the 11 non-human actant categories are distributed across the three sub-corpora as well as within each sub-corpus.

Table 6.2 Non-human actants across the three sub-corpora

KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
Category	No of texts it occurs in	Category	No of texts it occurs in	Category	No of texts it occurs in
Ecological issues	10	The natural world	13	The natural world	7
Political issues	5	The press	4	Political issues	2
Social issues	2	Work issues	9	Social issues	1
Cultural issues	8	Arts & culture	9	History & culture	9
Financial matters	3	Financial matters	2	Financial matters	10
Education	2	Education	2	Education	5
Science	3	Science & technology	4	Science & technology	12
Health, fitness & diet	10	Sports & games	7	Sports & fitness	2
Tourism	4	Travelling	6	Tours, visits and holidays	9
Transport	4	-	-	Transport & travelling	6
Abstractions	10	Abstractions	29	Abstractions	11
Total no of texts	31	Total no of texts	31	Total no of texts	31

As the table illustrates, in KPG the categories of ecological, health and political issues are quite frequent compared to the other two sub-corpora. On the other hand, the categories labeled ‘abstractions’, ‘the natural world’, and ‘work issues’ have their highest frequencies in CESOL, whereas the categories labelled ‘science and technology’, ‘financial matters’, and ‘tours, visits and holidays’ appear to be most prominent in ELIUM.

Moreover, the category labelled ‘abstractions’ ranks quite high in all three sub-corpora, yet this is not surprising given the wide range of actants it comprises (see note 39). However, we cannot help noticing its occurrence in almost all the CESOL texts, and therefore we shall discuss it more thoroughly in the section (see 6.3.2 below) concerning the distribution of the non-human actant categories in CESOL. In what follows we shall proceed to examine each of the three sub-corpora separately in order to see what the type of non-human actants they tend to select reveals about the aspects of reality they are mainly concerned with.

6.3.1 Non-human actants in KPG

In exploring the individual occurrences of the different actants that fall into each of the above 11 categories in KPG⁴⁰, as well as the different sub-groups which comprise each category, apart from the prominence of the categories ‘ecological issues’ and ‘health, fitness and diet’ we observe the following:

⁴⁰ For a detailed list of the individual occurrences of non-human actants which fall into these 11 categories in each sub-corpus see Tables 5.2.1, 5.2.2, and 5.2.3 of the Appendix.

- a) The natural world appears to be faced with ecological threats as it is mainly represented by actants such as *climate change, the smog, the sea waters, plants, environmentally sensitive areas* and so on, which actually justifies its presence in the category of ‘ecological issues’.
- b) A distinct feature of the category labelled ‘cultural issues’ is the foregrounding of the Greek cultural element, as a considerable number of the actants it includes are *the ancient Greek culture, the Olympic Games, traditional methods of bee-keeping* etc.
- c) The category of ‘political issues’ is closely associated with that of ‘social issues’, and therefore their merged frequencies (i.e. 7 texts) are considered a significant indication for the concern KPG shows for socio-political issues on the whole. This understanding is actually further boosted by the fact that in ELIUM both these categories count 3 occurrences, while in CESOL such categories do not exist.

Hence, KPG appears to be particularly concerned with ecological, health and socio-political issues as indicated by the high proportion of actants from the categories of ‘ecological issues’ and ‘health, fitness & diet’, as well as by the prominent presence of the merged category of ‘socio-political issues’. We also understand that cultural issues are of significance in the KPG world and that KPG texts tend to foreground the Greek element as suggested by the considerable frequency of the category of ‘cultural issues’ and the particular type of actants it comprises.

6.3.2 Non-human actants in CESOL

In studying the distribution of the non-human actant categories in CESOL, along with the particular types of actants that fall into each category we observe that:

- a) In the category labelled ‘abstractions’, abstract entities denoting cognitions, perceptions, and feelings (e.g. *ideas, experience, thoughts, dreams* etc) are quite prominent as they occur in 18 texts.
- b) The natural world appears quite frequently either as a pleasant or as an interesting scenery given that it is mainly represented by natural surroundings (e.g. *nature, the landscape, the beach, trees* etc.), natural elements (e.g. *the sky, the sun, the water* etc), other living creatures (e.g. *wildlife, lions, fish* etc) as well as weather phenomena such as *rainfall, storms, winds* etc.
- c) The category labelled ‘work issues’ ranks quite highly and corresponds with the category of ‘social issues’ in the other two sub-corpora.
- d) The category of ‘arts & culture’ is mainly represented by various forms of art (e.g. *music, literature, acting, theatre*), as well as artistic creations such as *pictures, drawings, plays, shows*. In addition *books*, by occurring in 4 out of the 9 texts, make their presence distinct in this CESOL category.
- e) ‘Sports & games’ and ‘travelling’ have considerable frequencies.
- f) The category labelled ‘the press’ appears exclusively in CESOL and includes participants such as *newspapers* and *magazines* that the texts construe as inanimate objects. It is then viewed as the ‘inanimate’ equivalent of the ‘media’, one of the most prominent representatives of the

CESOL ‘commercial world’, and therefore its low frequency (i.e. 4 texts) is considered significant.

Based on the above observations, we understand that nature is a distinct part of the CESOL world and also that the arts and particularly the art of writing appear to be highly valued therein. What is more, work appears to be the central social issue the CESOL texts are concerned with. In addition, the distinct though limited presence of ‘the press’ is understood as a further indication of the central role of the media. Moreover, sports and particularly travelling appear to be foregrounded in the CESOL world and, in fact, the significance of travelling is understood to be further boosted by the high frequency the group of ‘travellers’ has in the CESOL category of ‘everyday people’. Finally, the distinct prominence of abstractions denoting cognitions, perceptions, and feelings provides further evidence to claim that CESOL is particularly concerned with the world of consciousness.

6.3.3 Non-human actants in ELIUM

As already said, ‘science and technology’, ‘financial matters’, and ‘tours, visits and holidays’ are quite foregrounded in ELIUM compared to the other two sub-corpora. A closer examination of the distribution of the non-human actant categories within ELIUM indicated the following:

- a) ‘Science & technology’ is the predominant non-human actant category and it is mainly represented by actants denoting science in general (e.g. *theories, surveys, research* etc), technology (e.g. *PCs, computer*

technology, the internet) and objects of scientific study related to various scientific fields (e.g. *an asteroid, microfossils, volcanic activity, carbon dioxide levels* etc).

- b) The category of ‘financial matters’ is the most frequent by far across the three sub-corpora as it occurs in almost one third of the ELIUM texts (i.e. 10). It also includes actants clearly associated with the ‘commercial world’ such as *charges, rates, fares, fees, tickets, prices, reductions* and the like.
- c) The category labelled ‘tours, visits and holidays’ includes actants representing a wide range of tourist attractions and destinations (e.g. *tours, national parks, museum exhibits* etc), tourist facilities and services (e.g. *travel information centers, lost and found services, hotels, restaurants* etc), tour and visit details (e.g. *daily distances, participation, a cave temperature* etc) and the like.
- d) The category ‘transport and travelling’ appears to be closely associated with that of ‘tours, visits and holidays’ and it is represented by a wide range of transport facilities and services (e.g. *cars, trains, buses, parking and transport facilities, bike routes, service hours, tickets* etc) .
- e) ELIUM is the only sub-corpus where the presence of history is distinct, as indicated by the labeling of the category ‘history and culture’, and contains actants mainly associated with the American history and culture (e.g. *Hopi pueblo culture and religion, the Amish wedding traditions, classic American films, Broadway plays* etc).

- f) The ‘natural world’ appears as an opportunity for exploration as indicated by the association of the type of actants it includes (e.g. *caverns, trails, park habitats, the climate* etc) with tours and visits.

In the light of the above observations we understand that ELIUM is concerned with science to a great extent as well as with a wide spectrum of objects of scientific study. In addition, money appears to play a central role in the ELIUM world as indicated by the prominence of ‘financial matters’. On the other hand, ELIUM shows a distinct preference for organized activities such as tours, visits and holidays, a finding which is actually further boosted by the considerable frequency of the category of ‘transport and travelling’, whose actants are actually understood as facilitators of tours, visits and holidays. Finally, ELIUM texts show a distinct preference for American history and culture as suggested by the fact that arts are construed as history and culture representatives rather than as independent forms of artistic expression.

CHAPTER 7

TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS: EXPLORING EXPERIENTIAL MEANINGS

This chapter is concerned with the main body of Transitivity analysis, which, based on the findings of the previous two analytical stages, aims at providing an accurate description of the world of experience each sub-corpus represents by exploring the dominant processes and their associated participants. Specifically, by examining which particular actant categories are associated with the dominant process types and sub-types and what particular participant roles these mainly appear to occupy, I shall attempt to reveal how the different transitivity patterns of the texts of each sub-corpus construe a different reality.

In the first four sections of the chapter we shall explore the particular experiential meanings realized by the transitivity patterns involving each process type and its associated participants in terms of the following four broader aspects of reality: the material world, to which material processes are related, the world of consciousness, with which mental processes are mainly concerned⁴¹, the communicative world, represented through the use of verbal processes, and the world of abstract relations, with which existential, relational attributive, relational identifying, and relational possessive processes are concerned. In the fifth section,

⁴¹ Behavioural processes in this study are viewed as part of the world of consciousness since the two types which turned out to be of interest are the near-mental and the physiological. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 171), behavioural processes fall on the borderline between material and mental processes and they represent the outer manifestations of inner workings, that is, the acting out of processes of consciousness, and physiological states. Though physiological processes may not be as clearly associated with the world of consciousness as near-mental processes, their particular instances in the corpus of this study are understood as manifestations of the psychological state of the participants.

we shall examine the patterns of passivization and nominalization in the three sub-corpora and discuss the effects of their use. We shall finally conclude the chapter with a consolidation of the most prominent experiential meanings Transitivity analysis has revealed in each sub-corpus along with the linguistic patterns through which they are realized.

7.1 Exploring the material world

According to the SFL paradigm, both the concepts of ‘process’ and ‘participant’ are understood as ‘semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of our experience of the world are construed as linguistic structures’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 178). Yet, in order to acquire an accurate description of reality by means of analysing the transitivity structure of a clause, we need to specify the particular participant functions the selection of a particular process type entails. Hence, each process type is systematically associated with particular kinds of participant roles. The main functional participant roles which are associated with material processes are those of the Actor (i.e. the doer of the action) and the Goal (i.e. the one to whom the action is extended).

One more participant role associated with material processes, which I consider significant for the interpretation of my findings, is that of the Beneficiary, which represents the one who benefits from the performance of the process. SFL

distinguishes between two types of Beneficiary, namely the Recipient and the Client, of which the former represents the one to whom something is given and the latter the one for whom something is done. In other words, the Recipient is associated with ‘goods’, whereas the Client is associated with ‘services’. Specifically, the Recipient is to be observed in material processes of the Transformative/extending possession type, and particularly with processes that, as Halliday and Matthiessen explain (2004: 191), “denote a transfer of the possession of goods”, while “the Goal represents the ‘goods’ being transferred. On the other hand, the Client may be observed in a wider range of material processes, such as the creative/specific type, the transformative/elaborating type and so on, in which ‘services’ are represented by the Goal.

Let us now proceed to examine each sub-corpus separately in order to see how the dominant material processes and their associated participants construe a different material world.

7.1.1 The KPG material world

In exploring the particular patterns of those material process types, the previous analytical stages had already indicated as most prominent, we found that in KPG the use of a considerable number of processes contributes to the construal of citizens and people worldwide, as well as activists and even scientists to be consistently involved in practices which imply increased concern for ecological, socio-political and public health issues. Precisely, through the frequent use of the

transformative/implying benefit processes, KPG texts construe ‘citizens’ and ‘human collectives’ as the main participants involved in processes of ‘taking’ and ‘giving’, either in the role of the Recipient or in the role of the Actor, the Goals or Actors of which are non-human actants mainly chosen from the categories of ‘ecological issues’ and ‘health, fitness and diet’. Thus, as shown in (1) and (2) below, citizens and people in various parts of the world may appear to be benefited by environmental campaigns or physical exercise, which are then understood as basic benefit-gaining activities, their benefits implying the significance of living in a healthy environment and maintaining a good physical condition. Yet, citizens and people worldwide are not just passive receivers of what the aforementioned ‘benefit providers’ (i.e. environmental campaigns and exercise) offer, but also active participants, that is, initiators of benefit gaining processes aimed at promoting the public health or conserving the environment, as illustrated in (3) and (4) below:

- (1) **[The Way to Clean Air campaign is designed to provide you (citizens) with resources to help reduce smog and lessen climate change]** (B604c)
- (2) **[...exercise benefits well-being...]** (B506c)
- (3) **[It is also necessary (citizens) to give (heat stricken people) plenty of liquids...]** (B1105c)
- (4) **[...and yet each one of us has the power to contribute to stop global warming]** (B1107c)

An interesting observation closely related to the above finding is that five more material process types with considerable frequencies, namely the transformative/extending possession type implying use, the

transformative/elaborating types implying control, care and change, and the transformative/extending accompaniment type appear to be mainly associated with ‘citizens’, ‘human collectives’, and ‘activists’. Specifically, in 6 texts ‘citizens’ and ‘human collectives’ appear as Actors of the process ‘use’, the Goals of which are directly or indirectly related to ecological issues (i.e. energy, greywater, environment-friendly products, means of transport, farming methods etc). The following are some typical examples:

- (5) [(Householders/Citizens) Using **greywater** from your shower or laundry...] (B507c)
- (6) [... (European citizens) consider **using public transport**] [Otherwise, **use a fan** to keep cool] (B1107c)

By the same token, ‘citizens’ and ‘human collectives’ occur in 3 texts as Actors in processes such as ‘control’, ‘avoid’, ‘stop’, ‘limit’ and so on, the Goals of which represent environmental threats (i.e. smog, climate change, global warming etc) or practices which have a negative impact on the environment. For example:

- (7) [...to provide **you (Canadian citizens)** with resources to help **reduce smog and lessen climate change**] [...to **limit the impact of your activities that increase smog**] (B604c)
- (8) [How can **you (European citizens)** **control climate change?**][...**each one of us** has the power to contribute **to stop global warming**] (B1107c)

Moreover, in 4 texts ‘activists’, ‘citizens’ and ‘human collectives’ occur as Actors in processes of the transformative/elaborating/implying care type (i.e. protect, preserve, save etc), the Goals of which are selected either from the category of ‘everyday people’ (i.e. fellow citizens, yourself) or from the category of ‘ecological issues’ (i.e. the environment, the forests etc). For instance:

- (9) [**The natural environment must be preserved (by Canadian city cyclists)** for future generations] (B604b)
- (10) [... **a campaign to save the forests** of Dadia from development] (B506a)

In 4 different texts the same type of processes (i.e. maintain, protect, save etc) is associated with ‘citizens’ and ‘human collectives’ as well as non-human actants from the category of ‘health, fitness and diet’, which occur either as their Actors or as their Goals. For example:

- (11) [... (**Westerners**) to **maintain** your **physical and mental health**] (B507b)
- (12) [Thirty minutes of moderate **physical activity** every day...are sufficient to ...**protect you (a city cyclist)** against sickness] (B1105b)

What is more, ‘citizens’, ‘human collectives’, and ‘activists’ occur in 6 texts as Actors in processes such as ‘change’, ‘improve’ and the like, the Goals of which are non human actants, selected from the categories of ‘ecological issues’, ‘health, fitness and diet’ and ‘socio-political issues’. For example:

- (13) [... (**Westerners**) **improve** your physical and mental health] (B507b)
- (14) [...**they (local environmental groups)** had little effect on **changing** either **public awareness, or government policy**] (B506a)

Finally, in 4 texts ‘activists’, ‘scientists’, and ‘citizens’ occur as Actors in processes of the transformative/extending accompaniment type (i.e. join, participate etc.), the Goals of which tend to represent pressure group practices.

The following are some characteristic examples:

- (15) [By (**Canadian citizens**) **participating in it (the Way to Clean Air Campaign)**...] (B604c)

- (16) [...**Tipu Aziz**, who is **professor**...at Oxford University, **has joined Pro-Test marches**] (B507a)

However, we also observed that the use of processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type (i.e. buy) may also contribute to the construal of similar experiential meanings, as in 4 texts ‘consumers’ appear to be the Actors of such processes, the Goals of which represent commodities that imply the participants’ concern for a healthy life and environment. For example:

- (17) [...when (**consumers**) **buying** fresh **fruit and vegetables**?] (B405b)
- (18) [...when (**householders/citizens**) **buying** these products (**biodegradable products for house cleaning**)...] (B507c)

Another interesting observation is that the ‘commercial world’ and even the ‘authorities’ appear to be involved in money transactions (i.e. pay fines or allowances), which imply their acceptance of responsibility for practices that have a negative impact on the environment, as shown below:

- (19) [In Brussels **employers** can **pay an allowance** per kilometre to employees who cycle...] (B1105b)
- (20) [After years of not caring about the environment, **the government** risks **paying big fines**...] (B506a)

Thus, all the above patterns construe a picture of reality where participants use environment friendly products and methods, care for the environment and for the public health, control actions that have a negative impact on the environment, show a tendency towards changing wrong practices, and often join forces with their fellow citizens in order to influence the attitudes or activities of those in

power. We can then claim that the KPG texts are particularly concerned with active world citizens, whose actions are aimed at improving their quality of living by limiting the harmful repercussions modern civilization has inflicted upon the environment, their health and their social status.

Yet, apart from patterns of the aforementioned material process types and subtypes, patterns of the transformative/enhancing motion type and the creative/specific type appear to complement the picture of material reality the KPG texts construe. We have already pointed out (see 5.2) that KPG is particularly concerned with activities involving motion as indicated by the predominance of material processes of the transformative/enhancing motion type. A closer examination of their individual occurrences and their associated participants indicated that ‘everyday people’ and ‘human collectives’ are the participant categories most frequently associated with them. However, three more categories, namely ‘working people’, ‘young people’ and ‘celebrities’ may also appear as Actors in such processes. Precisely, in 9 texts ‘everyday people’ (i.e. tourists and citizens) appear as Actors in processes such as ‘visit’, ‘come’, ‘get’, ‘ride’ and the like, the Goals of which, are mainly chosen, where necessary, from the category of ‘transport’, while in 4 texts ‘human collectives’ (i.e. European citizens, world countries, rich people etc) appear as Actors in processes such as ‘travel’, ‘get’, ‘cycle’ etc. Below are some typical examples:

(21) [Tens of thousands of **visitors come** to Iceland ...] (B1106a)

(22) [(**Canadian city cyclists**) **Ride** only on paved roads....] (B604b)

- (23) [Using the car is not the only way of (**European citizens**) **getting to work**] (B1107c)

We then understand that the KPG texts construe primarily tourists, and also citizens, working people, celebrities and young people, to be particularly active in terms of travelling to various places and moving about in their cities.

Patterns of creative/specific processes, on the other hand did not indicate any particular tendencies, and therefore we understand that in KPG the almost even distribution of such processes we observed across all actant categories implies an equal share in creativity for all actants. Yet, we could not help noticing a slight prominence of ‘activists’ and ‘celebrities’ (i.e. conservation organizations, protesters, authors, film directors etc), as Actors in processes such as ‘set up’, ‘carry out’, ‘write’ and the like, the Goals of which are selected from the categories of ‘ecological issues’ ‘socio-political issues’ and ‘cultural issues’. For example:

- (24) [An intensive Public Awareness Programme **is carried out (by a conservation organization)** at all nesting sites...] (B506b)
- (25) [... (**a protester**) to **set up** a campaign in favour of scientific research and free speech] (B507a)
- (26) [She (**an author**) **has written** two collections of prose] [...**has also written** several collections of poetry...] (B1104a)

Hence, creative processes in the world construed by the KPG texts are evenly distributed among all members of society, with a slight foregrounding of intellectuals and activists, who are construed to extend their creativity to matters concerning ecological, socio-political and cultural issues.

7.1.2 *The CESOL material world*

Unlike in KPG, the patterns of creative/specific processes in CESOL provided some interesting findings. Specifically, we observed the prominence of processes in which creativity is related to some sort of artistic and intellectual activity, namely ‘write’, ‘read’, and ‘draw’ or ‘paint’, as they were found to occur in 8, 6, and 3 texts respectively. Among the participants of the aforementioned processes, ‘artists and celebrities’ and ‘everyday people’ appear to be their most frequent Actors. Precisely, ‘artists’ (i.e. musicians, writers, painters etc) as well as ‘everyday people’ (i.e. newspaper, magazine, and book readers, aspiring writers, and even railway passengers) occur as the most frequent Actors in processes such as ‘write’, ‘read’, ‘draw’ and ‘paint’, the Goals of which represent non-human participants of the category of ‘arts & culture’ (i.e. books, letters, stories, novels, songs, pictures, cartoons etc). For example:

- (27) [...the quality of the songs **I** (musician)’**d written** became acknowledged]
(F604d)
- (28) [I look back at the first book **I** (writer) **wrote** and realize ...] (F1205b)
- (29) ['Please!' he said to **a woman** (railway passenger) **reading** a book]
(F605b)

Hence, the CESOL texts are understood to construe a world where people are involved to a great extent in creative activities of an artistic and intellectual nature. In fact, this interpretation gains support from the prominence of artists and writers in the CESOL world, as well as from the significant role of arts and

particularly of the art of writing, which appears to be quite foregrounded in the CESOL texts (see 5.1.2).

Another material process type which, as earlier pointed out, is frequently chosen by CESOL is that of the transformative/enhancing motion type. Thus three participant categories, namely celebrities', 'everyday people' and 'young people', appear to be mainly associated with them. Specifically, travellers, from the category of 'everyday people', make the most prominent group among them by occurring in 5 texts as Actors in processes such as 'travel' and the like. Similarly, school leavers and students stand out in the category of 'young people' as Actors in processes such as 'go', 'leave' and the like. Yet, 'celebrities' turned out to be the most frequent Actors in such processes since their representatives (i.e. actors and actresses, painters, musicians, sports stars, authors and so on) appear in 6 texts as Actors in processes such as 'go', 'get', 'travel' and the like. For example:

- (30) [...**we** (adventure travellers) **travelled** 275 kilometres through the Anti-Atlas range...] (F1206c)
- (31) [So, on **leaving** school, **he** (school leaver) **went** to stay with family friends in Kenya...] (F604c)
- (32) [**I** train at home all winter and then (**sports star**) **go** away for three weeks, usually to Florida, before the season starts] (F605d)

Hence, in CESOL, travelling is construed as a distinct feature in the life of 'celebrities', 'everyday people', and 'young people', and in fact travelling to unusual and adventure-promising destinations, preferably abroad, is constantly highlighted.

As regards material processes of the transformative/implying benefit type, we did not observe a clear distinction between actants exclusively associated with processes of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’. Nor did we observe any significant differentiation between the frequencies of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’ processes. We can then claim that in CESOL there is an almost even distribution of such processes across all actant categories. Yet, an interesting observation lies in the fact that abstractions consistently occur as Goals in processes of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’, the benefited parties being selected from various actant categories, with ‘working people’, ‘young people’, and ‘celebrities’ being the most frequent Actors or Recipients among them.

Specifically, in 10 texts students, young professionals, and writers appear mainly as Actors, and occasionally as Recipients, in processes of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’, the Goals or Actors of which are abstractions associated either with the world of conscience (i.e. feelings, ideas, challenges, experiences), or with the notion of ‘opportunity’ (i.e. chances, opportunities) . For example:

- (33) [...to experience something new and different, and it's **a challenge** - one **you (British school students)** should **grab**] (F604a)
- (34) [...a local writers' group which will help **you (an aspiring writer)** to **gain ideas and confidence** from mixing with other aspiring writers] (F1204c)
- (35) [**The experience gave Jo one of her first chances** of doing something on her own...] (F1203d)

Hence, the CESOL texts construe a world which, rather than being concerned with the exchange of material goods and services, turns out to be concerned with the exchange of feelings, ideas, experiences, and most significantly, of challenges

and opportunities. Notably also, experience is construed as a provider of opportunities, thus highlighting its significance as a value. On the whole, the above finding provide further evidence for the significance of the world of conscience in CESOL, a tendency already revealed by earlier findings.

However, as CESOL had earlier been observed to contain a considerable proportion of material processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type, we further explored the patterns of these processes in order to understand what kind of ‘goods’ and ‘services’ the CESOL actants appear to spend their money on. We then observed that, on the one hand, there is an equal distribution between ‘buying’ and ‘selling’ processes, while on the other, actants from different categories appear as Actors in both types. What is more, the Goals of processes of ‘buying’ mostly, yet also of those of ‘selling’, are almost consistently selected from the category of ‘arts and culture’ (i.e. paintings, cartoons, stories, tickets for theatrical performances etc). For example:

(36) [**He** (an artist) also began to paint and **sell** pictures] (F604c)

(37) [...and **as a student** in London **I** regularly **bought** cheap standing tickets for West End productions] (F606c)

We then understand that in CESOL money is construed as a means to acquire commodities mainly associated with the participants’ artistic interests.

We now turn to material processes of the transformative/elaborating/general type, which is among the most frequent types in CESOL. Hence, it turns out that its

high frequency is mainly due to the many instances of the process of ‘working’ (see also 4.2), which was found to occur in 15 texts, thus being the most frequent process of this type by far. In addition, ‘teach’ and ‘study’ appear to be the second and third most frequent processes of this type, as they occur in 5 and 7 texts respectively. Surprisingly though, the Actors of ‘working’ processes are most frequently selected from the categories of ‘young people’ and ‘celebrities’, while they are only twice selected from the category of ‘working people’. The following are some characteristic examples:

- (38) [**16-year-old Eve Williams** spent part of her school summer holiday **working** in Germany] (F604a)
- (39) [The first thing **he (a school leaver)** **worked** on was a conservation project in a centre for African wildlife] (F1203d)
- (40) [I couldn't spend as much time as I would have liked with Rupert when he was very tiny, as **I (an actress)** had **to work**] (F604b)

It is then understood that ‘work’ in the world of CESOL is construed as a central activity, with which young people and celebrities are particularly concerned. However, another interesting observation consists in the fact that ‘working’ is often associated with travelling abroad, as we can see in (38) and (39) above. In addition, the foregrounding of ‘teaching’ and ‘studying’ suggests that they are both significant activities in the CESOL world.

Finally, patterns of material processes of the transformative/extending possessions type implying effort and/or achievement and success have also provided some interesting findings. Specifically, human participants from various categories were observed to occur as Actors in processes such as ‘achieve’, ‘succeed’, ‘win’

and the like, the Goals of which, where necessary, appear to be directly associated with the fields of action implied by the identities of the participants involved. For example:

- (41) [...without that kind of dedication **I (young sports star)** might not **have won** the National Championships last year] (F605d)
- (42) [Don't forget that **every successful writer** will have had many rejections before **succeeding**] (F1204c)
- (43) [**Athletes** who **compete** at the highest level in their sport have **to work hard to achieve** the ideal physical condition] (F1205d)

Interestingly, as all the above examples show, success and achievement are understood to be gained the hard way, and appear to be closely associated with hard effort, or better still hard work, as clearly stated in (43) above. Hence, we understand that success is a central value in the world construed by CESOL. In addition, work is construed as the basic means to success, an understanding which should provide further grounding for the interpretation of the great significance work appears to have in CESOL. What I actually suggest here is that success appears to be the basic motive that drives the CESOL actants to work hard, which also gains support from the prominence of ‘celebrities’, that is, successful people, as Actors in processes of ‘working’, we earlier discussed.

7.1.3 The ELIUM material world

As processes of the transformative/implying benefit type turned out to be the dominant material process type in ELIUM, we shall begin our present discussion with findings concerning the field of experience such processes construe. Thus,

the first interesting observation was the distinct predominance of the ‘commercial world’ and ‘everyday people’, in the role of the Actor, the former in processes of ‘giving’ (i.e. offer, provide, give etc), and the latter in processes of ‘taking’ (i.e. get, receive etc). Precisely, various representatives of the commercial world (i.e. hotels, restaurants, tour operators, private schools and so on) were found to occur as Actors in 14 texts, whereas ‘everyday people’, mainly represented by visitors and tour participants, occur as such in 7 texts.

In addition, the Goals of ‘giving’ and of most of the ‘taking’ processes appear to represent various attractions in terms of goods, services and facilities, which are understood as commodities and are mainly selected from the category of ‘tours, visits and holidays’. Hence, the striking predominance of the ‘commercial world’ in the role of the ‘giver’, or better still the role of ‘the provider’, as well as the fact that ‘giving’ actions dominate over ‘taking’ actions suggest that the ELIUM texts construe a world of consumers centered around various sorts of commodities, the business world being their exclusive provider.

Another interesting observation consists in that the Recipients of the aforementioned Goals in processes of ‘giving’ are almost invariably omitted, though easily recoverable. We then understand the omission of the Recipient to be part of a strategy employed in order to boost the significance of the role of the business world as a ‘provider’ of goods and services, which are meant for everyone. Below are some typical examples:

- (44) [**The Green Tortoise company offers** long leisurely trips throughout the US...] (E3b)
- (45) [**We** (tour operators) also **provide** customized tours throughout the Southwest...] (E8c)
- (46) [**Camp Mission Point offers** a one-week (horse-riding) program...] (E2b)

On the other hand, the fact that ‘everyday people’ appear mostly as Actors in *taking* processes rather than Recipients in ‘giving’ processes, is understood to be part of a strategy, this time aimed at foregrounding the role of the customers by eliminating the role of the business world as a ‘provider’. Interestingly, this second strategy was observed in ‘taking’ processes, the Goals of which imply either some source of authority or some sort of money transaction (i.e. a discount, traffic tickets, tickets, permission etc). For example:

- (47) [To be sure of (**senior citizens**) **getting** the discount, **seniors** should **get** an HTA Senior Identification Card at the HTA Transit Center] (E4b)
- (48) [**Violators** (cyclists/tour participants)...may **receive** traffic tickets] (E5b)
- (49) [...**visitors** are required **to obtain** permission before entering the Hopi] (E8c)

As it becomes obvious from the above examples, ‘taking’ processes allow the omission of the participants who are in the powerful position to give traffic tickets, permission or discounts, whereas participants in the weak position of getting them are foregrounded by being construed as Actors. In other words, the selection of a ‘taking’ process in ‘visitors obtain permission’ discreetly leaves out the authority figure which grants permission, whereas its equivalent ‘giving’ process in ‘we give visitors permission’ would bluntly expose the authority figure.

Hence, the selection of a ‘taking’ process instead of its equivalent ‘giving’ process allows for the concealment of participants who occupy rather ‘unpleasant’ or ‘awkward’ roles.

In fact, this understanding gains further support by the fact that the business world is rarely present as a salient Actor in ‘giving’ processes, when their Goals are associated with money and power. Hence, what I actually suggest here is that the ELIUM texts tend to eliminate the participants who have a powerful role in processes that imply money transactions and authority control. This should also be associated with findings related to passive transformations and the use of agentless passives, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Let us now proceed with findings concerning processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type, which actually complement the findings related to the transformative/implying benefit type, discussed above. Significantly, ‘everyday people’ were observed to occur in 9 ELIUM texts as Actors in processes of ‘buying’, ‘purchasing’ and the like, the Goals of which represent various types of commodities (i.e. tickets, passes, souvenirs, meals etc.). The following are some typical examples:

(50) [**Visitors** can **buy** souvenirs from our shop] (E6c)

(51) [**Cafe Groups** (museum visitors) can **purchase** lunch from the Café...] (E7c)

By the same token, various representatives of the ‘commercial world’ occur in 4 texts as Actors in processes such as ‘sell’, ‘charge’ and the like, their Goals

representing commodities (i.e. cars, tickets etc), as illustrated in the examples below:

- (52) [**Greyhound USA Bus Lines sells** both one way and round trip tickets (E3b)]
- (53) [So far, **GM has sold** only 288 of these electric cars] (E4a)]

Hence, my earlier interpretation that ‘everyday people’ are construed as customers while the ‘commercial world’ is construed as the basic provider of commodities gains further support by the above findings as they indicate that the exchange of goods and services, or put differently the ‘giving’ and ‘taking’ relation construed between the ‘commercial world’ and ‘everyday people’, is consistently characterized by money transactions. It is also worth noting that among the processes of the extending possession/implying money transactions type, the ‘buying’ type dominates over the ‘selling’ type, thus foregrounding the customers this time, unlike processes of ‘giving’ in which the ‘commercial world’ is foregrounded. In fact, this is understood to be a further indication of the same strategy we discussed earlier, according to which the money receiver tends to be backgrounded.

Turning now to patterns of material possesses of the creative/specific type, we observed that ‘everyday people’, ‘young people’, and ‘the commercial world’ are their most prominent Actors. Specifically, ‘everyday people’ (i.e. travellers, passengers, tourists, visitors, parents etc) appear in 6 texts as Actors in processes such as ‘book’, ‘reserve’, ‘arrange’, ‘schedule’ or ‘cancel’, the Goals of which are

mainly selected from the categories of ‘tours, visits and holidays’ or ‘transport and travelling’. The following are some characteristic examples:

- (54) [**You** (travellers) can **make** reservations by calling Green Tortoise buslines...] (E3b)
- (55) [We can even help (**tourists**) find and **book** a room at all major Metro Toronto hotels] (E11c)

We then understand that the creativity of everyday people in the ELIUM texts consists in organizing their lives, basically in terms of free-time activities.

Unlike ‘everyday people’ though, young people in ELIUM are construed to be particularly creative and so is the business world. Precisely, ‘young people’ (i.e. kids, teenagers, students, and language learners), occur in 6 texts as Actors in various creative processes, such as ‘make’, ‘design’, ‘read’, ‘create’ etc, the Goals of which are selected from different categories, which do not indicate a significant tendency. For example:

- (56) [**Students** then **design** a project that interests them] (E9c)

On the other hand, various representatives of ‘the commercial world’ (i.e. tour operators, transport companies, car industries, publishing companies, etc) occur in 10 texts as Actors in processes such as ‘make’, ‘produce’, ‘design’ and so on, the Goals of which are selected from the categories of ‘financial matters’, ‘history and culture’, ‘education’, ‘tours, visits and holidays’ or ‘transport and travelling’.

For example:

- (57) [California...has ordered **carmakers to make** some zero-pollution cars] [**GM** does not think **it will make** enough money by selling electric cars to pay for the cost of developing the car] (E4a)

- (58) [**Alouette Publishing has been producing** coursebooks and supplementary books for more than forty years] (E11b)

We then understand that the ELIUM texts construe a business world which expresses its creativity through a wide spectrum of activities, naturally aimed at money-making and ranging from car making to organising visits and tours, and from film making to book publishing and the designing of educational programs.

Patterns of material processes of the transformative/enhancing motion type, to which we now turn, indicated that such processes are mainly associated with ‘everyday people’ and ‘young people’. Precisely, tourists and visitors figure as the most prominent group among ‘everyday people’, associated with such processes, since in 10 texts they occur as Actors in processes such as ‘visit’, ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘travel’, ‘bring’ and so on, the Goals of which are exclusively chosen, where necessary, from the categories of ‘tours, visits and holidays’ or ‘transport and travelling’, thus mainly representing tourist attractions and destinations (i.e. Hopi cultural sites, Oregon Caves National Park etc), means of transport (i.e. cars, buses, taxis etc.) or travelling equipment (i.e. cameras, tents, suitcases etc). Here are some typical examples:

- (59) [(**Park visitors**) **Come** to Oregon Caves National Park...] (E1c)

- (60) [(**Tour participants**) **Visit** the Hopi Cultural Center...] (E8c)

Moreover, in 6 texts the Actors of such processes are selected from the category of ‘young people’. Hence, young people of all ages appear to be involved in processes such as ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘travel’, ‘explore’ and the like, their Goals, where

necessary, representing tourist attractions and destinations, as the following examples illustrate:

- (61) [**Your children**, boys and girls ages 8-18, will delight in the opportunity **to explore** the true wilderness setting...] (E2b)
- (62) [...supervised **groups of students travel** abroad...] (E9c)

Hence, all these findings indicate a strong tendency, already spotted in ELIUM (see 6.2.3), to construe a world of visitors and tour participants, the young generation being a distinct group among them, who are mainly concerned with exploring their country.

Closely related to the above findings appear to be those provided by a close examination of patterns of material processes of the transformative/extending accompaniment type. Specifically, ‘everyday people’ (i.e. visitors, tour participants, sports and fitness fans etc) as well as ‘young people’ occur in 7 texts as Actors in processes of ‘participating’, ‘joining’, ‘registering’ and the like, the Goals of which, where necessary, represent various organized activities. For example:

- (63) [**Groups** of 10 or more (park visitors) must **register** at least 2 weeks in advance] (E1c)
- (64) [**Children** can **participate in the Junior Ranger program** during the summer (E6c)

Interestingly also, the same participants frequently occur as Actors in processes such as ‘call’ and ‘contact’, the Goals of which represent the commercial world (i.e. information services, or administration offices), as shown in (65) and (66) below:

- (65) [...please (**tour participants**) **contact village administration** at the Office of Cultural Preservation] [**Call Hopi Reservation Information...**] (E8c)
- (66) [... (**students**) please **call our Admissions Office** at ...or **contact us** at...] (E12b)

Hence, we understand that the ELIUM texts tend to construe a world where everyday people, including the young generation, are involved in a wide range of organized activities, which are run and controlled by the commercial world.

7.2 Exploring the world of consciousness

As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the world of consciousness explored at this analytical stage apart from transitivity patterns of mental processes is also to include patterns of two types of behavioural processes (i.e. the near-mental and the physiological) the particular instances of which in the corpus of my study are understood as manifestations of the psychological state of the participants.

SFL distinguishes between two functional participant roles associated with mental processes: the *Senser* and the *Phenomenon*. The *Senser* of a mental clause is the participant who ‘senses’, that is, feels, thinks, wants or perceives. Therefore, the significant feature of the *Senser* is that of being endowed with consciousness. The *Phenomenon* is the participant that represents what is felt, thought, wanted or perceived (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 201, 203). On the other hand, in the majority of behavioural clauses the *Behaver* is the only participant, that is, the one

who is ‘behaving’ and is typically represented by a conscious being, like the Senser of a mental clause (ibid.: 250). However, behavioural clauses can contain a second participant, labelled the Behaviour, which, like the Range⁴², that is, the less independent equivalent of the Goal in material processes, is actually a restatement of the process. If there is another participant which is not a restatement of the process, it is labelled as Phenomenon, like in mental clauses (Eggins, 1994: 250)⁴³.

7.2.1 The KPG world of consciousness

The analysis has so far revealed that in KPG processes of the cognitive and desiderative type are the most prominent mental process types. Thus, starting with cognitive processes, a closer examination of their patterns indicated that ‘everyday people’ and ‘human collectives’ appear to be the most frequent Sensers in cognitive processes such as ‘discover’, ‘learn’, ‘know’, ‘consider’ and ‘remember’. An interesting observation though consists in that 6 texts select participants representing the ‘world citizen’ (i.e. Canadian citizens, a black woman, modern people etc) as Sensers of Phenomena associated with ecological and socio-political issues. For example:

- (67) [(**Canadian citizens**) **Consider** ways to modify your day (e.g., limit car use, work from home)] (B604c)

⁴² The relationship between a material process and the Range or Scope is closer than the one between the process and the Goal. An example that Eggins (1994:235) uses to illustrate their difference is that in “shoot a gun” the ‘gun’ is a Range while in “shoot a kangaroo” the ‘kangaroo’ is a Goal. For an extensive discussion of the distinction between the Goal and the Range or Scope, see Eggins (1994: 232-235) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 190-195).

⁴³ As Eggins (1994: 250) explains, in “he smiled a broad smile”, ‘smile’ is the Behaviour of the behavioural process ‘smiling’, while in “George sniffed the soup”, the ‘soup’ is the Phenomenon of the behavioural process ‘sniffing’.

- (68) [(**EU citizens**) **Remember** that a TV set uses power even if there's no picture] (B1107c)

Interestingly also, 'educated people' appear as Sensors of educational and socio-political issues, as shown in the examples below:

- (69) [It is therefore important for us (**contemporary teachers**) **to remember** that the purpose of education is not merely to provide young people with new knowledge] (B604a)
- (70) [He (**a university professor**) **believes** that the laboratory should be built and that scientists should be free to carry out their work openly and without fear] (B507a)

Hence, the 'world citizens' are understood to be particularly concerned with ecological as well as socio-political issues. In fact the frequent association of the processes 'remember' and 'know' with ecological and socio-political issues indicates that, in KPG, the 'world citizens' are construed as thinking people with an increased ecological and socio-political awareness. Notably also, scholars are among those concerned with socio-political issues.

In addition to mental processes of the cognitive type, 'everyday people', 'activists' and 'human collectives' occur also as Sensors in mental processes of the desiderative type (i.e. choose, look for, aim at, and decide), the Phenomena of which appear to be associated with ecological and socio-political issues. More explicitly, various representatives of the three aforementioned categories, which point to the 'world citizen', are construed to be choosing and looking for environment friendly commodities, to be aiming at the protection of endangered species, and to be making decisions about political action. For example:

- (71) [(**householders**) **Choose** garden-friendly detergents and cleaners-low-salt, low-phosphorous and biodegradable] (B507c)
- (72) [He (a protesters' group leader) **decided** to set up a campaign in favour of scientific research and free speech] (B507a)

Another interesting observation which should be associated with the above findings is that 4 KPG texts construe the 'world citizen' as a Senser in emotive processes (i.e. care, enjoy, respect), the Phenomena of which represent concern for the environment, as shown below:

- (73) [By participating in it (Clean Air campaign), you (**Canadian citizens**) will also **enjoy** home comfort, lower energy bills and reduced driving stress] (B604c)
- (74) [(**city cyclists**) **Respect** the environment] (B604b)

All the above findings are then understood to provide further grounding in order to complement the description of the 'world citizen' the KPG texts construe, who then appears to be characterized by a strong ecological and socio-political awareness which permeates his/her cognition, as well as by an obvious concern for ecological mainly issues which appears to dominate his/her desires and emotions.

7.2.2 The CESOL world of consciousness

As already stated, CESOL has the highest proportion of mental processes of the cognitive type across the three sub-corpora, and what is more, cognitive processes were found to occur in every single CESOL text. In examining their patterns, we found that CESOL appears to be primarily concerned with what the participants

think and know, as ‘think’, by occurring in 23 texts, turned out to be the most frequently used cognitive processes by far, while ‘know’ is the second most frequent cognitive process, occurring in 16 texts. The next most frequent cognitive processes are ‘learn’ and ‘realize’, appearing in 11 and 10 texts respectively. The Phenomena of these processes were found to represent mainly abstractions (i.e. ideas, opinions, reasons etc), as well as acts and facts associated with various types of life experiences.

As regards the type of participants associated with cognitive processes in CESOL, it appears that their most frequent Sensors are chosen from the categories of ‘everyday people’, ‘human collectives’, ‘young people’ and ‘celebrities’. Specifically, participants from the aforementioned categories appear as Sensors in cognitive processes such as ‘think’, ‘know’, ‘realize’ and so on, the Phenomena of which indicate various types of experience associated with the Sensors’ particular identities (i.e. family issues, travelling issues, work issues, scientific issues etc). For example:

- (75) [...it was not in the least the energetic and exhausting experience **I (adventure traveller) thought** it would be] (F607a)
- (76) [The more you do, the more **you (school leavers) realize** you can do] (F1203d)

Interestingly, ‘celebrities’ are mainly construed to be possessing hard gained knowledge and experience, e.g. (77), while ‘educated people and specialists’ are mainly construed as opinion holders, e.g. (78). On the other hand, representatives of the ‘commercial world’ appear to have good knowledge and stable opinions

associated with their business activities, yet these are to be based on experience, as we can see in examples (79) and (80):

- (77) [It took me (**pop musician**) eight years **to learn** the ropes...] (F604d)
- (78) [He (**a lunar researcher**) **thinks** that people are more intelligent and useful] (F1205c)
- (79) [Cousins (**a show business executive**) **knows** what he's talking about ...] (F1206b)
- (80) [The joys of employing staff were something else **they (small business owners) learned** by experience] (F607c)

Finally, young people appear to be primarily concerned with realizing, understanding and learning various things, which apart from foreign languages, history and sports also include facts and things about themselves and life in general. Young people in CESOL are then understood to be learning new things mainly from life experience, or put differently, to be mainly involved in experiential learning. Rarely however do they appear to have an opinion and they often appear not to know, believe, or understand certain facts. For example:

- (81) [...I (**school leaver**) **didn't think** I was really **learning** anything, but then **I realized** how much we got out of just interacting with each other] (F1203d)
- (82) [...I (student) should **learn** more about the region's history...] [But we quickly **understood** we had to stop fighting because **we realized** that fighting was about self-defence, not aggression] (F1206d)

As it becomes obvious from all the above examples, the CESOL text participants often appear to be learning things by experience, which implies that knowledge in the CESOL texts is construed to be closely associated with experience. Therefore we suggest that experience has a central part in this world, the participants of

which, as earlier stated, are concerned with experiential rather than academic learning. This understanding can also be highlighted by the frequent association of participants with the process ‘realize’ rather than the process ‘understand’, since ‘realize’ is understood to be shading into the perceptive processes thus implying the involvement of both intellect and senses.

In analysing patterns of perceptive processes, I found the distinct presence of the processes ‘feel’ and ‘sense’ in 10 texts, with Sensors selected from the categories of ‘everyday people’, ‘young people’ and ‘celebrities’ and Phenomena representing various facts and abstractions, e.g. (83). Another observation worth noting is the significant association of the process ‘experience’ in 3 texts with Phenomena indicating a clear preference for exciting experiences and particularly for the experience of working and living in a different culture, as shown in (84) below:

- (83) [Being the only girl, I (**pop musician**) **feel the need** to prove myself ...] (F604d)
- (84) [I (**voluntary worker**) wanted **to experience working and living in a different culture**] (F605a)

As regards desiderative processes, the ones most frequently chosen turned out to be ‘want’, ‘would like’, ‘wish’ and the like as they occur in 20 texts. Their Sensors are mainly selected from the categories of ‘everyday people’, ‘young people’, and ‘celebrities’, while their Phenomena represent a wide range of personal needs, construed as plans, desires and wishes or as experiences and ambitions. For example:

(85) [After leaving school, James Farrell (**school leaver**) **wanted** to take time out **to do something constructive**] (F1203d)

(86) [...**some people would like something more exciting**] (F605a)

On the other hand, the particular type of emotive processes observed in CESOL, are understood to construe participants who are basically dominated by positive emotions deriving from their personal experiences. More explicitly, participants from various categories, and mostly from ‘everyday people’, ‘young people’ and ‘celebrities’ are construed as Sensors in emotive processes such as ‘like’, ‘enjoy’, ‘fascinate’, ‘attract’, ‘please’ and so on, the Phenomena of which represent particular personal experiences, tastes, and preferences. Below are some representative examples:

(87) [I (**a young girl**) always **enjoyed acting** in plays when I was young...] (F606c)

(88) [**Another aspect of the experience that** really **pleased her** (**a school leaver**) was the trust that people put in her judgement] (F1203d)

It then becomes obvious from all the above findings that the CESOL texts construe a world where ideas, feelings, desires and emotions abound. Significantly also, in this world the participants’ thoughts and ideas but also their perceptions, desires, ambitions and emotions revolve around their experiences. In other words, participants in this world are greatly concerned with their experiences, as they think about them and learn from them, while they search for exciting and unique experiences, which they feel, enjoy and gain personal satisfaction from.

Interestingly also, the patterns of behavioural processes observed in CESOL appear to contribute to the construal of the picture of reality mental processes do. Thus, our analysis indicated that participants mainly selected from the category of ‘everyday people’ occur as Behavers in processes such as ‘look’, ‘stare’, ‘watch’ and the like, the Phenomena of which represent various objects that appear to attract their attention. For example:

- (89) [...a woman in a tiny train carriage (**a railway passenger**), **looking** into other people's homes] (F1204d)

As we can see in the above example, the particular behavioural processes of the near-mental type occurring in CESOL are closely related to mental processes of the perceptive type, and in fact the process ‘look’ is viewed as the synonym of the mental process ‘see’ (Eggins, 1994: 250).

Moreover, in patterns of physiological processes manifesting states of consciousness, the CESOL participants appear as Behavers mainly in processes such as ‘laugh’, ‘frown’, ‘sigh’ etc. It is also noteworthy that physiological behaviour is quite frequently observed to accompany the participants’ words or thoughts, as shown in the example below:

- (90) [She (**a college girl**) just poked around and **pulled a face** and sort of **giggled** and then said...] (F1204b)

We then understand that the particular behavioural process types occurring in CESOL construe participants as conscious beings whose mental states are also manifested in their physiological behaviour. We can then claim that mental processes are not the only process type responsible for the foregrounding of the

world of consciousness in CESOL, but that the participants' feelings and states of consciousness are also implied by their physiological behaviour, as our findings concerning behavioural processes indicate. Hence, these findings provide further evidence for the great concern CESOL appears to show for the participants' world of inner experience.

7.2.3 The ELIUM world of consciousness

The patterns of mental processes of the cognitive type, which was earlier observed to be the dominant mental process type by far in ELIUM, indicated that processes such as 'learn', 'find', 'think', 'believe' and 'understand' are the most prominent, their Sensors being mainly selected from the categories of 'everyday people', 'young people', 'educated people and specialists' and 'the commercial world'. Interestingly, 'learning' was found to be almost exclusively associated with young people, while 'thinking', 'believing', 'finding' and 'understanding' appear to be mainly associated with scientists.

More specifically, 'young people' were found to occur as Sensors of the process 'learn' in 6 out of a total of 7 texts. Thus 'learning' appears to be by far the dominant cognitive process young people are associated with. Therefore learning is understood to be extremely significant for young people who are mainly construed as learners of foreign languages and various other skills, as shown in the examples below:

- (91) [**Campers** can **learn** to weave cloth, make candles, paint, or **learn** to draw cartoons] (E2b)
- (92) [The Garner School specializes in helping **students** from outside the United States **learn** English...] (E12b)

On the other hand, ‘educated people’ and particularly scientists appear to be involved in a wide range of processes other than ‘learn’ (i.e. think, believe, find and understand) in 4 texts, e.g. (93), while non human participants representing scientific issues (i.e. a survey, research), which are understood as the equivalent of scientists here, occur in two more texts as Sensors in similar processes, as shown in (94) below:

- (93) [...**scientists** in their search **to understand** the greenhouse effect] [Since 1980 **most scientists believe** the "wipe theory" explains the extinction of the dinosaurs] (E7a)
- (94) [**Research has found** that through signs, parent-infant communication could begin at 8 months...] (E6a)

Hence, in ELIUM scientists appear to be the participants almost exclusively associated with cognition. In other words, scientists are construed as the main opinion holders and knowledge administrators, thus monopolizing the field of cognition in the world construed by these texts, an understanding which provides further evidence for the great significance scientific knowledge has in the ELIUM world.

Another mental process type, which has provided some interesting findings concerning the world of consciousness the ELIUM texts construe, is that of the perceptive processes. Precisely, perceptive processes such as ‘experience’ and

‘explore’ were found to appear in 8 out of the 15 texts, the Sensors of which are mainly selected from the categories of ‘young people’, ‘everyday people’ and ‘people in general’. Thus, children appear to be experiencing and exploring Phenomena associated with tourist attractions, as well as book attractions, while tour participants and visitors appear to be ‘experiencing’ and ‘exploring’ Phenomena associated with history and culture, as shown in the following examples, respectively:

- (95) [... (**children campers**) **experience** everything that this beautiful camp on Lake Michigan has to offer] [**Your children**, boys and girls ages 8-18, will delight in the opportunity **to explore** the true wilderness setting...] (E2b)
- (96) [This is a unique venue for (**tour participants**) **experiencing** Hopi ancestral lands and culture] (E8c)

As the above findings indicate apart from learning things, experiencing and exploring things is also significant for the young people in the ELIUM world. What is more, the ELIUM participants are concerned with exploring the history and culture of their country, an understanding which is actually further grounded by findings from previous analytical stages (see 6.2.3, 6.3.3, and 7.1.3).

7.3 Exploring the communicative world

Verbal processes involve three types of participants, namely the Sayer, the Receiver, and the Verbiage. The Sayer is the participant responsible for the verbal process and is typically represented by a conscious being, yet it may also be

represented by “anything capable of putting out a signal” (Eggins, 1994: 251-252). The Receiver is the one to whom the verbal process is directed, while the Verbiage represents what is being said and is realized by a nominalized statement of the verbal process (ibid.). Also, in verbal processes of the semiosis/targeting type a further participant is involved, namely the Target, which represents “the entity that is targeted by the process of saying” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 256). It should also be noted that verbal processes do not always occur with a Verbiage but what is said is often represented by a projected clause either by quoting or by reporting. What is also important is that the projected clause may be either a proposition (i.e. exchange of information) or a proposal (i.e. exchange of goods and services), since these represent two different aspects of interaction, verbal processes are by nature associated with.

7.3.1 The KPG communicative world

In KPG, despite the low proportion of verbal processes on the whole, we observed some interesting patterns regarding three types of verbal processes, namely the semiosis-neutral, the semiosis-indicating, and the semiosis-imperating type, our analysis has already indicated as the most prominent verbal process types in KPG (see 5.2.5). Specifically, in 6 texts mainly ‘activists’ yet also participants representing the ‘world citizen’ (i.e. citizens, Indian immigrants in London) appear as Sayers in verbal processes of the first two aforementioned types (i.e. say, warn, insist, complain, argue etc), all of which project clauses representing propositions associated with ecological and socio-political issues. For example:

- (97) [...**animal rights campaigners** who **say** that no animal testing should be allowed] (B507a)
- (98) [**Your neighbours** have the right **to complain** to your local council if it (greywater) does (run off your property onto the street or your neighbours' property)] (B507c)

What is more, activists were observed to occur in 2 texts as Sayers of verbal processes of the semiosis/imperating type (i.e. demand, tell etc), which project clauses representing proposals associated with ecological and socio-political issues, as shown in the example below:

- (99) [... **outsiders (conservationists) telling them (Icelanders)** what they can and can't do] (B1106a)

Hence, in all the above examples 'world citizens', here almost exclusively represented by 'activists', are construed as Sayers in verbal actions in which they either simply or forcefully state an opinion on various ecological and socio-political issues. They even appear to try to impose their opinion and influence the behaviour of others, as indicated by their involvement in imperating processes. We then understand that, given the limited proportion of verbal actions in KPG, activists are one of the few speaking participant groups in the KPG world, which may also imply that what they say is of significance. In fact, this understanding provides further evidence that, in the KPG world, participants are construed as active and outspoken people who are greatly concerned with ecological and socio-political issues.

7.3.2 *The CESOL communicative world*

As has already been observed in our discussion of the types of narration used in the texts of the three sub-corpora (see 4.3), quoted speech is quite frequent in CESOL. This justifies the frequent use of processes of the semiosis/neutral and the semiosis/indicating type, our analysis of the process types and sub-types earlier revealed.

In exploring the patterns of the aforementioned verbal process types we observed that participants from all categories occur mainly as Sayers but also as Receivers in processes such as ‘say’, ‘ask’ and the like. Significantly though, these processes occur with a Verbiage (i.e. a question, a story etc) in just 7 out of the 28 texts, while a projected clause represents what is said, asked and so on in the rest of the texts. What is more, projected clauses invariably represent propositions.

The above observations suggest that in CESOL verbal interaction among participants is significant and in fact the type of verbal interaction foregrounded in the CESOL world is based on the exchange of information and not on the exchange of ‘goods and services’. It is also worth noting that the content of the innumerable propositions, which represent the type of information exchanged in the CESOL texts, is associated with the particular fields of interest and domains of social action which earlier findings have revealed to be of significance in the CESOL world. For instance, ‘working people’ or ‘celebrities’ may say things

related to their work experiences, as illustrated in the following examples, respectively:

- (100) ['I find it almost impossible to cut with right-handed scissors...', **says Croft**] (F1204a)
- (101) ['I use photographs to record the shape of something,' **he (landscape artist David Shepherd) explains**] (F604c)

7.3.3 *The ELIUM communicative world*

As ELIUM has shown a significant preference for verbal processes of the semiosis/imperating type (see 5.2.5), a closer examination of their individual patterns indicated that their Sayers are basically selected from the categories of 'everyday people' and 'the commercial world'. More specifically, in 8 texts participants selected from the category of 'everyday people' occur as Sayers in processes such as 'order', 'request' and the like, while representatives of 'the commercial world' occur in 5 texts as Sayers in processes such as 'require', 'recommend', 'advise' and the like. What is more, the Verbiages or the projected clauses, representing the content of the verbal actions, appear to be associated with the exchange of goods and services, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (102) [Tickets can **be ordered (by passengers)** by phone only if you have a valid credit card] (E10c)
- (103) [...visitors **are asked (by tour operators)** to respect all regulations] [A number of guide books incorrectly state that visitors **are required** to obtain permission before entering the Hopi] (E8c)

As it becomes obvious from (102) above, the selected verbal process construes its Sayer as a customer, while in (103) the Sayer is construed as the providers of

goods and services who also appears to be in a more powerful position, given the role of adviser s/he clearly adopts.

Another interesting observation concerning patterns of verbal processes of the semiosis-neutral type (i.e. ‘say’ and ‘tell’) and the semiosis-indicating type (i.e. ‘announce’, ‘report’, ‘argue’ and ‘explain’) in ELIUM, is that their most prominent Sayers are selected from the categories of ‘the commercial world’ and ‘educated people and specialists’ (see examples (104) and (105), respectively). What is more, the functional role of Sayer for ‘educated people and specialists’ appears to be boosted by the constant construal of non-human participants representing scientific issues (i.e. exhibits, theories etc) as Sayers of such verbal processes , e.g. (106).

- (104) [**The education department at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum** is proud **to announce** that we offer classes for grades Kindergarten-12] (E7c)
- (105) [**Another research group** from Harvard **has argued** that people who are unattractive to mosquitoes might just lack the attracting chemicals] (E8a)
- (106) [**This theory claims** that an asteroid 10 to 14 kilometers wide crashed into present-day Mexico 65 million years ago] (E7a)

Hence, scientists and business people are the main participants involved in verbal processes other than the semiosis/imperating type in the ELIUM texts. In fact, the former are construed to support and explain their scientific opinions whereas the latter are construed to advertise their products and services. This is then understood as a further indication of the central role these participant categories play in the ELIUM world.

7.4 Exploring the world of abstract relations

Before we begin to discuss the results of this analytical stage, we shall briefly present the functional participant roles associated with the relational process subtypes we shall be concerned with in this section, namely relational attributives, relational identifying and relational possessives. Thus, according to SFL, the participant roles associated with relational attributive processes are the Carrier and the Attribute. The Carrier represents a human or non-human participant realized by a noun or nominal group, to which the Attribute (i.e. a quality, classification or descriptive epithet) is assigned (Eggins, 1994: 256). As regards relational possessives, the two functional participant roles involved in them are the Possessor and the Possessed (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 245).

In relational identifying clauses, on the other hand, the meaning of which is that “one entity is used to identify another”, the entity which is to be identified is labeled as the Identifier, while the entity which serves as identity is labeled as Identifier. Yet, despite the fact that “in any identifying clause the two halves refer to the same thing” there is a distinct difference between the Identified and the Identifier. This difference can be characterized in terms of the labels of Token and Value, either of which can be used to identify the other (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 227). Thus, the Token and the Value are the two participant functional roles involved in relational identifying processes, which are semantically distinct in that they are not at the same level of abstraction, the Token representing the element that is of the lower order of abstraction and the

Value the element of a higher abstraction level (ibid.: 236). Put more simply, the Token can be “a sign, name, form, holder or occupant of a Value, which gives the meaning, referent, function, status or role of the Token” (Eggins, 1994: 259-260). Moreover, given that either the Token or the Value can be used to identify the other, an identifying clause may be an encoding or a decoding one. Thus, when the Token is identified by the Value, the clause is a decoding one, whereas when the Value is identified by the Token, the clause is an encoding one. In other words, as Halliday and Matthiessen put it (2004: 230), “the identity either decodes the Token by reference to the Value, or it encodes the Value by reference to the Token”.

7.4.1 The KPG world of abstract relations

The analysis has already revealed (see 5.2.2) that in KPG quality attribution of the outer experience is the most frequent attributive process sub-type. A closer examination of our data indicated that attributive processes in KPG basically contribute to the description of the different aspects of the various environmental, health and socio-political issues it is concerned with. Specifically, in 14 texts mainly non-human but also human participants selected from or associated with the categories of environmental and health issues are assigned qualities which denote their positive or negative effect on public health or the environment. The following are some typical examples:

(107) [In addition, **a bicycle ...is environment-friendly**] (B1105b)

(108) [**Heat stroke is life threatening**] (B1105c)

Interestingly also, in 7 texts various human and non-human participants are attributed quality characterizations which appear to carry some sort of socio-political undertones. This can be clearly seen in the examples below:

- (109) [...in the 1990s **the world's poor became poorer**] [...**the world became even more divided**] (B1103a)
- (110) [...**scientists should be free** to carry out their work openly and without fear] (B507a)

Closely related to the above findings also appear to be those associated with those provided by a closer examination of the patterns of entity attribution. What is more, we also observed that in KPG the use of entity attribution contributes to the precision of intended meanings, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (111) [They **were** immigrants...] (B405d)
- (112) [Climate change **is a global problem**] [Air conditioners **are real energy gobblers**] (B1107c)

Let us now turn to some interesting findings concerning patterns of relational identifying processes, for which KPG shows a particular preference, as it contains their highest proportion across the three sub-corpora (see 5.1). Thus, we observed that the KPG texts tend to use identifying clauses of the encoding type, since in approximately 15 texts relational identifying processes of the neutral type were observed to construe abstractions of a higher level as identified Values, e.g. (113), while in approximately 10 texts abstractions of a lower level are construed as identified Tokens, e.g. (114). In other words, the Value appears to be more frequently identified by reference to the Token than the Token by reference to the Value.

- (113) [...**the purpose of education is not** merely **to provide** young people with new knowledge] (B604a)
- (114) [**Cars and trucks are the biggest source** of air pollutants in the city] (B604c)

It is also worth noting that abstractions of a higher level may represent general notions (i.e. the purpose, the reality, the general idea, the good news, the aim, the point etc) or notions associated with socio-political and cultural issues (i.e. life expectancy, government policy, the Olympic motto). On the other hand, non-human participants associated with those issues the KPG texts focus on (i.e. ecological, health issues and so on) were found to represent abstractions of a lower level which are construed as Tokens identified or rather specified by Values denoting their uniqueness. In fact, this effect is mainly due to the use of the superlative or the definite article in the nominal groups that realize the Value, as can be clearly seen in (114) above.

Hence, KPG tends to use identifying processes of the neutral type in order to define elements of a higher level of abstraction rather than simply establish the uniqueness of elements of a lower abstraction level. We then understand that KPG is particularly concerned with specifying the gist of the construed meanings, providing accurate information and securing their clear understanding.

Another indication of the aforementioned tendency is the fact that KPG contains the highest proportion of processes of the definition type, which were observed to construe notions associated with ecological, health or social issues as identified

Values. In other words, we have the same pattern observed in instances of the neutral type above, namely the encoding of the Value by reference to the Token. In fact, this is what happens when we define things: we explain notions of a higher abstraction by reference to notions of a lower abstraction, as shown in the example below:

- (115) [What **is smog**? A mixture of pollutants in the air affecting your health throughout the year] (B604c)

In addition, identifying processes of the exemplification type appear to serve the same purpose, that is, to provide an accurate and clear understanding of the issues KPG is concerned with. For example:

- (116) [**Symptoms of heat stroke are:** confusion, abnormal behaviour, low blood pressure, vomiting, difficulty in breathing or loss of consciousness] (B1105c)

Last but not least, patterns of identifying processes of the significance/symbolization type in KPG provide further support to the interpretation of the aforementioned findings. Specifically, I observed the frequent use of this identifying process type to be serving the interpretation of meanings and evidence, including the translation of words, as illustrated below:

- (117) [**The five rings ...represent the five inhabited continents**, although **no particular ring** is meant **to represent any specific continent**] (B1106c)
- (118) [**...tzami and çami signify mosque** in Greek and Turkish respectively] (B1105a)

Hence, consolidating the findings from the analysis of the four identifying process types we discussed above, it becomes clear that KPG shows a distinct tendency to use identifying processes in order to define, explain, and exemplify things,

thereby construing a field of knowledge and awareness. In fact, my understanding of the contribution of the use of identifying processes in KPG is best captured in Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004: 227) observations that identifying clauses are used in "the construction of knowledge" and that they are "important because they represent a strategy for expanding the naming resources of language, in both everyday discourse and technical or scientific discourse".

A final interesting observation in relation to the experiential meanings which construe the world of abstract relations in KPG concerns patterns of possessive processes of the 'possession of abstractions' type. Specifically, in 7 texts human participants from the category of 'everyday people' mostly representing the world citizen (i.e. European citizens, householders, Canadian citizens, activists etc) were observed to be construed as Possessors of abstractions denoting their active roles in several aspects of the socio-political life, people's health seen as one of them (i.e. the right, the power, an effect, consequences etc). The following are some characteristic examples:

(119) [**Your neighbours have the right** to complain to your local council if it does (greywater runs off onto their property)] (B507c)

(120) [...**each one of us (European citizens) has the power** to contribute to stop global warming] (B1107c)

It then becomes obvious that the frequent occurrence of the possession of abstractions type in KPG functions so as to construe active world citizens, who have the rights and the power to act in such a way so as to affect the aspects of socio-political life which are important to them (i.e. the environment, public health etc).

7.4.2 *The CESOL world of abstract relations*

As already observed, CESOL shows a distinct preference for attributive processes of quality attribution of the inner experience type, as it contains their highest proportion across the three sub-corpora (see 5.2.2). A closer examination of the individual patterns of this attributive process type indicated that either human or non-human participants occur in a considerable number of the CESOL texts (i.e. 23 and 27 texts, respectively) as Carriers of Attributes, which denote various subjective sensations. Specifically, human participants from all categories are assigned Attributes which denote a quality of sensing almost invariably equivalent to a mental process of the emotive type. In fact, this is not unusual since, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 223) point out, an Attribute “may be formed as a participle from a mental process verb”. The following are some typical examples:

(121) [If **visitors** dropped by they **were** often **fascinated...**] (F605c)

(122) [...**he (a husband) became more and more obsessed** with finding a job that would launch their lives into a higher social level] (F606b)

By the same token, non-human participants, quite often realized by ‘fact’ clauses, which represent various types of personal experience, are assigned Attributes, which are also understood as the metaphorical expressions of mental processes of the emotive type. For example:

(123) [**It's great** to do something that uses another creative, more spiritual, part of your brain] (F1203a)

(124) [When Rupert arrived **it was much more magical and exciting** than I ever thought it would be] (F604b)

The above examples are only few of the many instances in which the CESOL texts construe life experiences as Carriers and sensing as their Attributes. Yet, we cannot help observing that the majority of adjectives and participles which serve as Attributes denote the participants' positive feelings and emotions, which quite frequently appear to be verging on their stronger and rather passionate and exaggerated expressions (i.e. thrilled, excited, great, fantastic, exciting, perfect, extraordinary and so forth). We can then claim that the strong feeling that mainly characterizes the CESOL participants and their experiences is excitement. Hence, processes of the quality attribution construe a world dominated by exciting personal experiences and their associated feelings.

Moreover, this understanding is further grounded by a similar pattern we observed in processes of entity attribution, as they also appear to be used in order to foreground feelings and personal experiences. More explicitly, in 12 texts experiences are construed mainly as Carriers which are assigned Attributes representing strong feelings and emotions, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (125) [**This (taking part in a cycling trip) had been pure unforgettable adventure**] (F1206c)
- (126) [...it seemed like **it (taking part in a pop concert tour) had all been a dream...**] (F604d)

What is more, in a considerable number of texts experience associated with work (i.e. working abroad, environmental projects, a job etc) appears as the Carrier of Attributes which construe work as a significant source of experience (i.e. change,

challenge, opportunity) or as the basic means to success, unusual achievements, and the fulfillment of personal ambitions. Here are some typical examples:

- (127) [**It's (working abroad) an opportunity** to experience something new and different and **it's a challenge...**] (F604a)
- (128) [**Her appointment was** therefore **something of a dream come true** for her] (F606c)

We then understand that the CESOL texts construe a world where human actants experience strong, positive feelings and emotions, basically due to their exciting and unusual life and work experiences. Therefore we suggest that these findings should be integrated with those related to mental processes of the emotional type, as they are understood to further boost their already high frequencies and consequently complement their significance. In addition, they provide firmer grounding to support our earlier understanding of the foregrounding of feelings, emotions, and life experience in the world construed by the CESOL texts.

Yet, feelings and life experiences appear to be also foregrounded by the CESOL texts through the use of relational identifying and relational possessive processes. Precisely, in 11 texts we observed patterns of identifying processes of the neutral type in which nominal groups such as *my first race*, *my first reaction*, *the first thing* and so on appear as Values which are identified by reference to Tokens, that is, nominal groups of a lower level of abstraction representing different aspects of personal experiences, e.g. (129). In other words, identifying processes here serve to specify personal experiences. Moreover, in 7 texts we observed patterns of identifying processes of the neutral type, in which nominalized mental processes

(i.e. theory, ambition etc) are construed as identified Values, e.g. (131). This indicates that identifying processes are also used in order to add specificity to the participants' opinions, feelings, desires and intentions, that is, the participants' world of consciousness.

(129) [**My first race was a cross-country race** in 1995] (F1203c)

(130) [**My theory is that** you take those things that people want to see and you give it to them...] (F1206b)

Interestingly also, the analysis of the individual instances of relational possessive clauses revealed that the world of consciousness is also foregrounded through the use of processes of the 'possession of abstractions' type. Precisely, in 5 texts we observed patterns in which human participants selected from various categories function as Possessors of feelings, ideas, or intentions. For example:

(131) [But **I had no fear** about leaving him with Peter...] (F604b)

(132) [**Brian Earle had a love** of teaching and of his subject] (F1206d)

Another finding closely related to those discussed above is that, by means of identifying structures such as *that is why*, *that's because*, *that is the reason why* and the like, 7 texts appear to construe a field of reasons and explanations in order to justify the human participants' life experiences, e.g. (133). What is more, the same appears to be the effect of the use of identifying processes of the significance type and the exemplification type in 7 more texts, e.g. (134).

(133) [The thing is, tennis players have to travel quite a lot, and in the end **that's why** we split up...] (F605d)

(134) [...**one of the reasons** I haven't left the band **is** to encourage other girls to do what I have] (F604d)

Hence, the fact that CESOL texts are concerned with providing reasons and explanations in order to justify the significance of personal experiences provides further evidence to support that personal experiences are a central value in the world they construe.

7.4.3 The ELIUM world of abstract relations

Our analysis has already revealed (see 5.2.2) that in ELIUM quality attribution of the outer experience is the most frequently used relational attributive process type. A closer observation of our data indicated that the use of this attributive process type mainly contributes to the construal of a market-oriented world, thus complementing the picture already provided by previous findings. More accurately, we observed that non-human participants representing various ‘goods’ and ‘services’ occur in 13 texts as Carriers assigned the qualitative Attribute *available*, e.g. (135). What is more, in 6 texts qualitative Attributes associated with money matters (i.e. cheap, expensive, reasonable, free etc) are assigned to Carriers representing the cost of the ‘goods’ and ‘services’ available (i.e. tickets, fares etc), e.g. (136):

(135) [**Park information and souvenirs are available**] (E6c)

(136) [**Tickets are cheaper** when bought in advance] [These **passes...are non refundable**] (E3b)

Hence, by means of quality attribution of the outer experience type the ELIUM texts construe a world where goods and services are abundant and accessible to the potential consumers as long as their price is paid. Yet, we could not help

noticing that the selection of an impersonal relational attributive clause allows for the omission of both the consumers and the commodity suppliers. In this way, as we can clearly see in the above examples, commodities are construed as available rather than sold and neither the commodity suppliers nor the consumers are directly associated with money matters and transactions. This is then understood to be part of a strategy employed to obscure the supplier-customer relationship and particularly its profit-gaining aspect, a tendency which has been spotted quite often in ELIUM.

Another interesting observation regarding patterns of attributive processes of the quality attribution of the inner experience type is that quality Attributes implying power and authority (i.e. required, not allowed, permitted, due, necessary etc) are assigned in 6 texts to non-human Carriers mainly representing services, facilities and money matters. In fact, this type of Attributes are understood as metaphorical expressions of obligation and necessity and therefore the particular patterns are understood to realize rules and regulations imposed by the authorities and the commercial world, which citizens and consumers are expected to comply with. Below are some characteristic examples:

- (137) [**Final payment is due** fifteen days prior to arrival] (E7c)
- (138) [In order to park in a special handicap space, **a special handicap sticker is required**] [In the central business district, **parking is not allowed** along the streets...] (E4b)

Notably also, the selection of attributive processes such as those illustrated in the above examples, allows for the omission of human participants, which as earlier

stated is viewed as part of a strategy, intended to keep anonymous both parties involved in power relations, with which money exchange in particular appears to be closely associated.

Turning now to patterns of relational possessive processes, an interesting observation is that the prominence of the containment type, our analysis had earlier revealed (see 5.2.6), appears to be basically due to the numerous occurrences of the process ‘include’. Specifically, non-human participants representing a wide range of commodities (i.e. hotel accommodation, restaurant menus, tours, school programs, camp programs, book series, toys and so on) were observed to occur in 15 texts as Possessors in the process ‘include’, the Possessed of which represents specific attractive features of the Possessors. For example:

(139) [**The hotel includes** a coffee shop and dining room] (E1c)

(140) [...a schedule of ranger-led **activities** (June - October) **that include** talks, walks, hikes, boat cruises, and evening programs] (E6c)

Hence, we understand the above pattern as a typical feature of advertising discourse, its purpose lying in that it clearly construes value for money opportunities, which the ‘commercial world’ generously provides to its potential customers. In fact, this becomes more straightforward in instances such as the following:

(141) [**Campsite costs are included** in the tour fees] [**Food is not included** in the price of the tour] (E5b)

Yet, we also observed that the use of possessive processes of the neutral type indicating a narrow sense of possession appears to serve the same purpose. Precisely, by means of the process 'have' representatives of the 'commercial world' are construed as Possessors of commodities, e.g. (142), thus stressing the abundance of commodities the commercial world can provide. By the same token, consumers are construed as Possessors of the necessary financial means in order to buy the various commodities provided, e.g. (143).

(142) [You name the sport, **we (a summer camp) have** it] (E2b)

(143) [Tickets can be ordered by phone only if **you have a valid credit card**] (E10c)

In other words, the use of possessive processes in ELIUM is understood to serve the purpose of advertising the commodities the commercial world offers.

7.5 Exploring patterns of passivization and nominalization

As already stated (see 3.3), in order to refine the experiential meanings so far provided by Transitivity analysis, it was judged appropriate to explore the patterns of passivization and nominalization in the three sub-corpora. Thus, in this section we shall discuss findings from this last analytical stage and attempt to interpret the particular tendencies they may indicate. However, before embarking on the detailed presentation of these last findings, I should provide a description of the theoretical perspectives which determined the necessity as well as the focal points of this additional analytical stage.

Passivization and nominalization are two syntactic transformations which are closely associated with the encoding of ideological meanings. Syntactic transformations, as explained by Toolan (1992: 233), are “the exploiting of the possibilities of reformulating sentences syntactically so that semantic alteration is effected”, and as pointed out by Fowler (1991: 77), “wherever in language alternative variants are permitted, different values come to be associated with the different variants”. This entails that syntactic transformations can serve the encoding of ideological meanings, which is actually in accordance with Knowles and Malmkjær’s (1996: 41-80) perspectives, who, following Thompson (1990: 59-67), identify passivization and nominalization as two of the macro-linguistic strategies which realize reification, one of the modes in which ideology operates.

Thus, as Knowles & Malmkjær (1996: 59) maintain, through reification “relations of domination which are in effect transitory, historical states are presented as though they were timeless, natural and permanent”. In the same line of thought, Kress and Hodge (1993: 10) distance themselves from the ‘innocent’ meaning the term ‘transformation’ is associated with in Chomsky’s transformational theory by defining transformations as “a set of operations on basic forms, deleting, substituting, combining, or reordering a syntagm or its elements”, which “serve two functions, economy and distortion, often so inextricably mixed that even the speaker cannot separate them”.

In fact, according to Kress and Hodge (1993: 19) “understanding any process, causality is of crucial importance. If the causal steps are clearly indicated –those

who started the action are specified, the effects are shown, and those affected are mentioned— then our judgements can be made on reasonably secure grounds”. For instance, in the case of a syntactic transformation (i.e. a passive structure), the reader has to try to recover the initial, that is, the underlying structure of the clause (i.e. the active structure) in order to understand the provided information, something which is not required in the case of an active structure, since it provides all the necessary data (i.e. the Actor, the verbal process, and the Goal). Therefore, syntactic transformations are viewed as radically transformed versions of the originally chosen linguistic forms which “work to obscure the originally chosen models” and “act to alter the way in which a reader meets the material and tend to structure his interpretations in specific ways” (ibid. : 28).

Thus, the main effect of passivization is the reorientation of discourse, as by reversing the participant roles (i.e. the Goal occupies the syntactic subject position) the Agent is detached from the process. Consequently, the focus of the clause is transferred to the Goal of the process and/or to the process itself. In addition, by means of a passive structure we can foreground a process and/or its effect on the affected participants but we may as well background the Agents, that is, the participants that initiated the process, and consequently conceal their implied responsibility. Hence, the use of passivization can be ideologically motivated. Yet, we also realize that passivization may also contribute to the creation of an impression of objectivity, or put differently, the establishment of a formal, impersonal tone, as is the case with scientific, academic or legal discourse.

By the same token, nominalization is regarded as endemic in formal modes of discourse, thus serving as “a vital means of textual condensation” (Toolan 1992: 235) and contributing to the creation of an impression of objectivity. Yet, nominalization is also viewed as “a radical syntactic transformation of a clause, which has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities” (Fowler 1991: 80). Precisely, Fowler ascribes the ideological potential of nominalization to ‘mystification’ and ‘reification’ and he points to the mystificatory potential of nominalization by describing it as “inherently, potentially mystificatory” and allowing “habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power-relations and writers’ attitudes” (ibid.), while its potential for reification lies in that “processes and qualities assume the status of *things*: impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions” (ibid.).

In the same line of thought, Fairclough (2000: 26) points out that nominalization involves no specification of agents, backgrounds processes and foregrounds their effect, thus backgrounding questions of agency and causality. What is more, nominalizations entail the absence of modality, thus excluding the personal judgement of the writer. Therefore, nominalizations are understood to have similar effects to passive structures in discourse, and in fact, there is an interesting parallel between them in that “in the passive the process becomes an attribute of the affected participant” while “in nominalizations of actionals, the process caused by the actor becomes a possession of the actor” (Kress and Hodge, 1993: 132).

Moreover, an interesting feature passivization and nominalization share is the deletion of the agent. Trew explains (1979: 99) that “with the deletion of the agent there is no longer any direct reference to who did the action and there is a separation of the action from whoever did it”. As a result, meanings about the causality of the processes are left unspecified, which may be understood as a typical feature of academic and scientific discourse, yet, in other types of discourse this fact is considered to be of great ideological significance. Therefore, agentless passives were taken into particular account in my exploration of passive structures.

In the light of the above perspectives, let us now begin to discuss the particular patterns of passivization and nominalization found in the corpus of my study.

Table 7.1 Passivization & nominalization across the three sub-corpora

Type	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	No. of		No. of		No. of	
	occurrenc	%	occurrenc	%	occurrenc	%
Passivization	103	10,62	118	5,36	163	13,80
Agentless	81	8,35	98	4,45	146	12,36
Passives						
Nominalization	69	7,11	28	1,27	82	6,94
Total ranking						
clauses	970	100,00	2200	100,00	1181	100,00

Table 7.1 presents both in raw numbers and percentages the proportion of passivization and nominalization in the three sub-corpora⁴⁴. The proportion of agentless passives is also shown on a separate row. According to the table, passivization is more frequent than nominalization across the three sub-corpora. However, the majority of passive structures turned out to be agentless passives in all three of them. What is more, while ELIUM contains the highest proportion of passive constructions and agentless passives, CESOL contains the lowest proportion of them both and KPG falls in between. As regards nominalization, KPG and ELIUM have approximately the same proportion of nominalized processes, whereas their proportion in CESOL is almost marginal.

Hence, KPG and particularly ELIUM appear to be quite concerned with passivized and nominalized structures, while the opposite is true for CESOL. This being the general picture concerning the use of passivization and nominalization in the three sub-corpora, let us now examine each sub-corpus separately in order to identify the particular patterns which were observed to indicate some interesting tendencies.

7.5.1 Passivization and nominalization in KPG

In KPG, the selection of passive structures instead of their active equivalents appears to basically serve to foreground either the process of the clause or the

⁴⁴ For their detailed distribution in the texts of each sub-corpus see Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 of the Appendix

affected participants. Specifically, in 9 texts material processes of the most prominent types (see 7.1.1) occur in agentless passive forms, while their missing participants are implied as representatives of various categories our analysis has already revealed to be prominent in KPG (e.g. activists, citizens, people in general etc).

However, taking into account the fact that the same participants occur quite frequently as Actors in active structures of the same processes, their omission does not appear to serve any other purpose than the foregrounding of the actions they are involved in as well as their associated goals. Also, given that ‘people in general’ are implied quite often as the missing participants of the passivized material processes in question, we understand that the KPG texts use passive structures in order to stress that in particular courses of action everyone is to be involved and therefore the action and its effects are of greater significance than their initiators. The following examples illustrate how passivization in KPG serves to foreground certain actions associated with socio-political and ecological issues:

- (144) [**The natural environment must be preserved** for future generations] (B604b)
- (145) [In his view, **all experiments on animals** are wrong, cruel and must **be stopped**] (B507a)

As regards the use of nominalization in KPG, a closer examination of our findings did not indicate the systematic use of any particular patterns. Therefore, nominalization in KPG is understood to basically contribute to the rhetorical

organization of the texts, thus allowing for a higher lexical density through the use of a higher proportion of content-carrying words. Thus, as meanings get condensed and the personal element is significantly reduced, an impression of objectivity is created and the texts acquire a formal and serious tone. For example:

(146) [**The creation** of new trails has led to **the destruction** of native plant communities] (B604b)

(147) [**The appeal** of English is **its ability** to provide a kind of quick verbal punch...] (B405a)

7.5.2 Passivization and nominalization in CESOL

A closer examination of the relatively limited occurrences of passives and the almost marginal occurrences of nominalizations CESOL contains did not provide any substantial findings which to interpret as indications of specific tendencies. Thus, the fact that the CESOL texts do not often resort to the use of passivizations and nominalizations to either obscure meanings or create an impression of objectivity suggests that they select more direct and transparent ways in which to express the meanings they construe.

However, I could not help noticing a quite distinct pattern of passivization that I consider worth mentioning. Thus, in 8 texts I observed 16 instances of passivization of mental and verbal processes implying some sort of social recognition (e.g. select, recognize, pick, praise etc), the affected participants of which are selected from various categories, mainly representing people from various walks of life who narrate their personal experiences. Notably also, the

agent is almost invariably deleted but it is easily recoverable, if not implied as ‘people in general’. The following are some typical examples:

- (148) [Learning to do something well and **getting praised** for it can make you feel ridiculously proud] (F1203a)
- (149) [Last season, **I was selected** to represent Great Britain at both the European and World Championships] (F1203c)

I then suggest that this finding indicates the significance of social recognition in the world represented by the CESOL texts, since through the passivization of the aforementioned processes the affected participants are foregrounded, agents are backgrounded, and the processes are construed as prominent qualities of the affected participants.

7.5.3 Passivization and nominalization in ELIUM

In ELIUM we observed that passivization is used in a quite systematic way, as there are two distinct patterns which appear to characterize its use, namely the frequent passivization of certain types of processes, and, given that agentless passives are almost always the norm, the deletion of agents representing particular actant categories when associated with certain processes.

Let us then proceed to see which particular process types and actant categories fall into these patterns. Thus, in 16 out of the 31 texts four types of material processes (i.e. creative/specific, and transformative/extending possession implying use, money transactions and benefit) are involved in 45 out of the 163 overall instances of passivization, the deleted agents of which appear to be either

representatives of the ‘commercial world’ (i.e. tour operators, private schools, restaurants, bus companies etc) or human actants representing various types of consumers. In fact, the former count 21 occurrences in 11 texts as missing agents of transformative material processes implying benefit or money transactions such as ‘serve’, ‘provide’, ‘give’, ‘receive’, ‘return’ ‘accept’ and the like, e.g. (150) and (151), while the latter count 15 occurrences in 8 texts as missing agents in creative/specific processes such as ‘make’, ‘reserve’, ‘cancel’, as well as in processes implying use and money transactions, e.g. (152).

(150) [All major **credit cards accepted**] [**Reservations accepted** for large groups only] (E1b)

(151) [**Refunds will be given** if a ticket has been canceled...] (E10c)

(152) [**Pottery, rugs and katchina dolls can be purchased** throughout the Hopi Reservation in shops and galleries] (E8c)

As it becomes obvious from the above examples, the ELIUM texts tend to select the passive rather than the active form of processes which suggest a customer-supplier relationship, that is a relationship characterized by financial transactions and profit-making, between the two most prominent actant categories therein, namely the ‘consumers’ and the ‘commercial world’. Another distinct feature of this tendency is that the deletion of the agent occurs mainly when the commercial world is the implied Actor of the underlying structures of the processes in question. However, since the same pattern is also observed in cases where the deletion of the agent appears to distance the ‘consumers’ from processes construing them as such, I understand that the particular tendency suggests a strategy which aims at backgrounding and consequently obscuring the profit-

making aspect of the relationship between the advertiser and the consumer. In fact, this understanding gains further support by earlier findings which indicate the concealment of the agency especially when the involvement of the ‘commercial world’ in profit-making processes is implied.

Contributing to a similar effect appears to be the passivization of processes implying power and authority, the missing agent of which is the ‘commercial world’. Specifically, 7 texts were found to contain 25 instances of passive constructions involving verbal processes of the semiosis/ imperating type (i.e. require, recommend, ask, advise etc), attributive clauses involving Attributes implying power and/or authority (i.e. is required, is not allowed, is permitted etc) and material processes of the transformative/ elaborating type implying control (i.e. check, limit, remove etc), the deleted agents of which are implied to be mainly representatives of the ‘commercial world’. For example:

- (153) [Although advance reservations are not mandatory, **you are** strongly **advised** to book well in advance] (E10c)
- (154) [...**tripods are not allowed**] (E1c)
- (155) [**Violators will be removed** from the tour...] (E5b)

As we can see in the above examples, the effect of the passivization of the particular processes on the one hand and of the deletion of their agents on the other is basically to eliminate the ‘commercial world’ from the surface of the texts, thus obscuring its responsibility for the ‘unpleasant tasks’ the processes in question imply, that is, the imposition of penalties, restrictions, limitations and the like.

On the other hand, a closer examination of the patterns of nominalization in ELIUM revealed that 22 of the 82 overall nominalization instances are associated with scientific issues in 10 texts, whereas the remaining 60 instances occur in 17 texts and are mainly associated with the advertising or promotion of commodities. As earlier said, nominalization is a typical feature of scientific discourse, and therefore it is not surprising to find a proportion of nominalization therein. In fact, nominalization in the aforementioned 10 texts is understood to serve purposes of text economy as well as the creation of an impression of objectivity, which also entails the establishment of a rather formal tenor in which the texts in question address their readers.

Significantly however, the frequent use of nominalization made by the 17 advertising texts appears to have a similar effect, that is the creation of a rather formal tone in which consumers are informed of the various commodities provided by the ‘commercial world’. It should also be noted that a considerable proportion of nominalized processes in such texts represent money transactions (i.e. payment, purchase, refund, charge etc) or rules and regulations (i.e. changes, cancellations, reservations etc), as illustrated in the examples below:

- (156) [**Failure to** wear a helmet could result in **your removal** from the tour]
[All **refunds** will be made alter the tour] (E5b)
- (157) [**Final payment** is due fifteen days prior to arrival] [**For cancellations**, there is **a full refund** with **written notice of the cancellation** (with **receipt of confirmation**) at least ten days prior to your group's reservation date] (E7c)

From the above examples it becomes clear that nominalization allows a density of information which is justifiable in advertising discourse. Yet, its use allows for the deletion of the actors of the nominalized processes (i.e. participate, fail, pay, refund, cancel etc) and in fact it appears to systematically obscure meanings associated with the profit-making aspect of advertising as well as meanings signaling the power of the commercial world to impose rules. In addition, a significant effect of the nominalization patterns used in the ELIUM texts is the creation of a rather formal and authoritative tenor in which the implied readers are addressed.

7.6 Conclusions from Transitivity analysis

As our findings from the different stages of Transitivity analysis revealed, the three sub-corpora present distinct tendencies regarding the type of experiential meanings they encode. In what follows the results of Transitivity analysis are consolidated separately for each sub-corpus so as to show the most prominent experiential meanings in each sub-corpus as well as the lexico-grammatical patterns through the use of which these meanings are realized.

7.6.1 Experiential meanings in KPG

Starting with the material aspect of reality represented by patterns realized through the use of material processes, the protagonists of the KPG world appear

to be mainly involved in activities which revolve around three major areas of concern: the environment, health and well-being, and socio-political conditions. The most prominent among the KPG world protagonists associated with such activities is a particularly active 'world citizen', represented mainly by citizens and various regional, national, social, and even pressure groups in Greece and other parts of the world. Interestingly, educated people such as scholars and intellectuals are often represented as 'world citizens'.

Thus, the 'world citizen' is construed as a user of environment friendly products and methods, and as an initiator of actions aimed at conserving the environment and promoting the public health through patterns in which s/he functions as an Actor in processes of two transformative/extending possession types, namely those implying use and benefit. By the same token, processes of the transformative/elaborating types implying control, care, and change and the transformative/extending accompaniment type, construe the 'world citizen' as a person who cares for the environment and for the public health, controls actions that have a negative impact on the environment, changes wrong practices, and often joins forces with her/his fellow citizens in order to influence the attitudes or activities of those in power. Also, through patterns of creative/specific processes the KPG texts associate creativity with activities promoting ecological, socio-political and cultural matters.

Moreover, the commodities consumers buy in the KPG world imply concern for a healthy life and environment, as indicated by patterns involving processes of the

transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type. Significantly also, the authorities, however powerful, have their share of responsibility regarding the conservation of the environment and they even face the consequences of their wrong actions, as suggested by their role as Actors in processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type.

On the other hand, the world of inner experience the KPG texts represent focuses on the cognition and desires rather than the emotions and feelings of actants representing the ‘world citizen’, we earlier identified as the main protagonists in the field of action. Specifically, through patterns of cognitive and desiderative processes, and also through the less frequent patterns of emotive processes, participants representing the ‘world citizen’ function as Sensors of Phenomena associated with ecological and socio-political issues. Thus, the world citizens are construed as thinking people with increased ecological and socio-political awareness and concern, which determine their desires, decisions, and feelings, yet the latter to a lesser extent.

The analysis also revealed that in the KPG world ‘activists’, either alone or as the main representatives of the ‘world citizens’, are the most prominent among the few actants whose voices are heard, given the low proportion of verbal processes KPG contains on the whole. Thus, activists are construed to either simply or forcefully state their opinion on various ecological and socio-political issues by processes of the semiosis-neutral and the semiosis-indicating type, while their

association with processes of the semiosis/imperating type indicates that they also try to impose their opinion and influence the behaviour of others. Significantly, the only other actants whose verbal actions, however limited, are aimed at influencing the behaviour of others in KPG are health and diet specialists, as indicated by their involvement in processes of the semiosis/imperating type.

Hence, the foregrounding of the activists in the functional role of the Sayer in a world where few actants are involved in verbal actions suggests the significance both of their role as active and outspoken people and of their proposals concerning ecological and socio-political issues. Yet, the KPG texts do not only construe active individuals in terms of verbal action; they also construe active world citizens who 'have' the power and the right to affect the socio-political life of their surroundings through their actions, as indicated by the patterns of possessive processes of the 'possession of abstractions' type they tend to use.

In addition, the fact that KPG is greatly concerned with environmental, health and socio-political issues is also indicated by the use of relational attributive and identifying processes. Specifically, the use of quality attribution of the outer experience type turned out to basically serve the description of the different aspects of various environmental, health and socio-political issues. Significantly also, the KPG texts tend to use quality characterizations which carry socio-political undertones.

On the other hand, identifying processes of the neutral, the definition, the exemplification, and the significance/symbolization type turned out to serve the definition of notions associated with ecological, health, socio-political or cultural issues. Precisely, by means of processes of the neutral type the KPG texts identify abstractions of a higher content such as general notions or notions associated with socio-political and cultural issues, by reference to notions of a lower level of abstraction. By the same token, through the use of identifying processes of the definition and the exemplification type the KPG texts define and explain notions associated with ecological, health, or social issues.

Yet, the KPG texts was also found to be greatly concerned with specifying the gist of the construed meanings and with providing an accurate and clear understanding of the issues they touch upon, as indicated by patterns of identifying processes of the neutral and the significance/symbolization type. This is actually understood to imply concern for the establishment of knowledge and awareness, which entails that knowledge and awareness are significant values in the KPG world.

Finally, in KPG the deletion of human Actors representing the world citizens in prominent material processes, by means of agentless passive structures, was found to contribute to further boost the significance of actions with a positive effect on matters of a socio-political or ecological nature, thus suggesting everyone's involvement in them. Moreover, the use of agentless passives involving mental or relational attributive processes expressing opinions, the deleted agents of which

are implied to be ‘people in general’, turned out to serve the validation of expressed opinions as they distance the implied writer from the truth of her/his statements. In addition, the patterns of nominalization in the KPG texts indicated their contribution to the creation of an impression of objectivity as well as a less personal, rather formal and serious tone in which they address their readers.

7.6.2 Experiential meanings in CESOL

In the CESOL world, creative activities of an artistic and intellectual nature, work, travelling and the pursuit of achievement and success are at the centre of the field of action. Specifically, through the use of creative/specific processes, artists are construed to be involved in various forms of artistic creation, painting and book writing being its most foregrounded aspects. What is more, everyday people are also involved in such activities, and particularly in reading.

On the other hand, patterns of processes of the transformative/enhancing motion type suggest that the CESOL actants and mainly school students, school leavers and celebrities travel a lot, particularly abroad, and are actually construed as adventure travellers. In addition, through patterns involving processes of the transformative/elaborating/general type work is construed as a central activity in the CESOL world, particularly for young people and celebrities, and what is more, they often combine travelling abroad with work.

Moreover, through the use of processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying benefit type work and travelling are construed as sources of valuable experience. Specifically, work is construed as a challenge and as an opportunity for valuable material and mental experiences, which suggests its great significance in the CESOL world. However, through processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying money transactions type, work is also construed as the source of money by means of which the CESOL participants acquire property and material possessions, the most prominent among which are art-related commodities. Yet, the basic motive which appears to drive the CESOL world protagonists to create, work and travel is the pursuit of achievement and success, as indicated by patterns in which processes of the transformative/extending possessions type implying effort and/or achievement and success construe hard effort and work in particular as the basic means to success.

However, the most striking finding of Transitivity analysis in the CESOL texts is that they construe a world of rich inner experience, that is, a world which abounds with ideas, feelings, desires and emotions. To this mainly contribute the various patterns of the four mental process types, yet also the patterns of two types of relational attributive processes, namely quality attribution of inner experience and entity attribution, the patterns of two behavioural process types (i.e. the near-mental type and the physiological manifesting states of consciousness type), the patterns of possessive processes of the ‘possession of abstractions’ type, and even patterns of material processes of the transformative/extending

possession/implying benefit type, through the use of which all actants and particularly 'everyday people', 'young people', and 'celebrities' are construed as Sensors.

More accurately, the world of cognition in CESOL revolves around the participants' life experiences, and therefore their knowledge is understood to be closely associated with their experiences, as indicated by patterns of cognitive processes involving them as their Sensors. Thus, celebrities are construed to possess hard gained knowledge and experience, educated people to be opinion holders, business people to have good knowledge and stable opinions on matters relevant to their work experience, and young people to learn new things mainly through life experience.

Yet, not only what the actants think, know, realize and learn but also what they sense, wish, and feel is determined by their life experiences, as patterns of perceptive, desiderative and emotive processes suggest. Precisely, perceptive as well as behavioural processes of the near-mental type point to the significance of senses, feelings and experiences, and in fact through such patterns exciting experiences and the experience of working and living in a different culture are construed as particularly valued. Moreover, desiderative and emotive processes construe the same actants to have plans, desires, wishes and ambitions, and also to enjoy and to be pleased with their experiences.

Contributing to the same effect are also patterns of relational possessive processes of the ‘possession of abstractions’ type, by means of which various actants are construed as Possessors of feelings, ideas and intentions. Notably also, feelings, ideas, and even opportunities, and challenges are foregrounded by means of material processes of the transformative/extending possession/implying benefit which construe them as Goals of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’ processes, thus suggesting the preference of the CESOL world for the exchange of feelings, ideas and so on rather than the exchange of material goods and services.

On the other hand, the use of relational attributive processes in CESOL turned out to almost exclusively serve the same purpose emotive processes serve by definition, namely the foregrounding of feelings and emotions. Precisely, in attributive processes of the quality attribution of the inner experience type various actants are assigned qualities of sensing, realized by metaphorical expressions of mental processes of the emotive type, thus construing a world where people are characterized by strong feelings and emotions. By the same token, a world of exciting and unusual life experiences is construed by means of attributing qualities of sensing, equivalent to mental processes of the emotive type to non-human actants representing various experiences. Moreover, various life experiences are characterized by the feelings and emotions they are associated with, as indicated by patterns of entity attribution.

Thus, the CESOL actants’ feelings and emotions are determined by their experiences, and what is more, their experiences are exciting and consequently

they generate strong feelings and emotions. Significantly also, emphasis is placed on experiences associated with work, as indicated by patterns through which work is attributed qualities denoting its significance either as a source of experience or as the basic means to success, unusual achievements, and the fulfillment of personal ambitions. Hence, the CESOL texts construe a world where human actants experience strong feelings and emotions, basically due to their exciting and unusual life and work experiences, both of which they appear to highly value.

Contributing to the construal of the same type of experiential meanings in CESOL, that is, the construal of a world particularly concerned with feelings and personal experiences, turned out to be also the use of relational identifying processes. Specifically, the CESOL texts tend to explain and specify the participants' thoughts, ideas, feelings, intentions and ambitions by means of identifying processes of the neutral type in which nominalized mental processes, representing the participants' world of consciousness function as identified Values. On the other hand, by means of identifying processes of the neutral type the CESOL texts appear to specify different aspects of personal experiences, while identifying processes of the neutral type, of the significance, and of the exemplification type construe a field of reasons and explanations, through which the CESOL texts justify the significance of the actants' experiences.

Yet, the rich inner world of the CESOL actants is further highlighted by patterns of behavioural processes of the physiological manifesting states of consciousness type, through which the actants are construed as lively individuals whose strong

feelings do not leave their physiological behaviour unaffected. What is more, the liveliness of the CESOL actants is also suggested by the rich verbal interaction observed in the CESOL world. To this contributes the high proportion of verbal processes, and particularly of those of the semiosis/neutral and the semiosis/indicating type, by means of which actants from all categories are involved in exchanging information on various subjects which are of importance to them.

Finally, in the CESOL texts, the limited use of passivization and nominalization indicated their preference for more transparent and straightforward ways in which to express the meanings they construe. In fact, this is understood to contribute to the establishment of a more personal relationship with their readers, an issue which is to be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter. Yet, the passivization of mental and verbal processes which imply some sort of social recognition contributes to their construal as qualities of the associated actants, thus providing further evidence to support that the CESOL world is particularly concerned with the social recognition of the actants' merits, that is, their professional status, virtues, success and achievements.

7.6.3 Experiential meanings in ELIUM

In the ELIUM world, among the most active actants are tourists, visitors and tour participants, who are involved in various organized activities, by means of which they basically explore their country's natural beauties, history, and culture.

Precisely, they schedule and join organized visits, tours, and holidays, as indicated by their association with processes of the creative/specific and the transformative/extending accompaniment type. Young people, and particularly children, are often among the aforementioned participants, yet they also appear to practice various arts and crafts in their free time, something no other actant type ever appears to do.

However, apart from organized activities, everyday people are also involved in acquiring various goods and services, as indicated by their construal as potential customers or clients by processes of the transformative/extending possession types implying benefit and implying money transactions, in which they function either as Actors or as Recipients of various commodities. In addition, the two aforementioned processes as well as processes of the creative/specific type construe a business world which is involved in a wide range of creative, yet exclusively profit-making activities, which range from car making to organizing visits and tours, and from film making to book publishing and the designing of educational programs, the products of which are aimed at the aforementioned clients and customers.

Hence, a great deal of what is actually happening in the ELIUM material world revolves around the customer-supplier relationship between the commercial world and everyday people. Significantly though, the profit-gaining aspect of this relationship as well as the powerful position this entails for the commercial world are consistently obscured, either by placing the consumers in the role of the Actor

in processes of ‘taking’, or by the rare presence of the business world as a salient Actor in processes of ‘giving’. We could then claim that the ELIUM texts construe a market-oriented world, in which the supplier’s role as a profit maker is tactfully backgrounded.

On the other hand, ELIUM shows rather limited concern for the actants’ world of consciousness. This actually revolves around the association of scientists and young people with mental processes of the cognitive type and less often with processes of the perceptive type. Thus, scientists are the actants who almost monopolize the field of cognition in the ELIUM world, as indicated by patterns of cognitive and perceptive processes through which they are construed as opinion holders, as well as knowledge discoverers and administrators. In addition, young people of all ages are the ELIUM participants almost exclusively associated with learning, yet also with experiencing and exploring things, as indicated by their functional role as Sensors in cognitive and perceptive processes. Interestingly, the few yet significant instances of perceptive processes associated with the group of tour participants and visitors construe them as explorers of the history and culture of their country.

ELIUM shows little concern for verbal actions as well, the limited occurrences of which were found to mainly contribute to the construal of a market-oriented world where scientific opinions are highly valued. Precisely, through patterns involving processes of the semiosis-neutral type and the semiosis-indicating type scientists and representatives of the commercial world are construed as the most prominent

Sayers in the ELIUM world and consequently as participants holding key roles therein, the former supporting and explaining their scientific opinions, and the latter advertising their products and services. What is more, through processes of the semiosis/imperating type everyday people are construed to request or order goods and services, while representatives of the commercial world set requirements, or give them recommendations and advice. In fact, given the power the role of the adviser entails, an asymmetrical customer-supplier relationship is established between everyday people and the commercial world, an issue which is to be more thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

Further evidence to support that the ELIUM texts construe a market-oriented world is also provided by patterns of relational possessive processes as they basically point to typical strategies of advertising discourse, by means of which the commercial world attempts to persuade its potential customers to use the advertised commodities. Precisely, the systematic use of the process of 'including' in patterns of possessive processes of the containment type in which a wide range of commodities function as Possessors of specific attractive features, indicated the construal of the particular commodities as attractive value for money opportunities the 'commercial world' provides to its potential customers.

Moreover, processes of the neutral type indicating a narrow sense of possession clearly construe representatives of the 'commercial world' as Possessors of a wide variety of commodities, thus foregrounding the abundance of commodities they can provide. Significantly also, patterns of possessive processes of the neutral

type in which the possession of commodities is clearly associated with financial matters construe money as a necessary condition in the acquisition of commodities.

The use of relational attributive processes was also found to contribute to the construal of a market-oriented world in which advertising has a central role. This becomes apparent in patterns of quality attribution of the outer experience type in which through the prominent use of the adjective *available* or adjectives denoting money matters the ELIUM texts construe a world where commodities abound. Notably also, in the ELIUM world there are also rules and regulations citizens and consumers are expected to comply with as suggested by patterns of attributive processes of the quality attribution of the inner experience type in which Attributes functioning as metaphorical expressions of obligation and necessity are associated with services, facilities and money matters.

However, the two aforementioned patterns are also understood to serve the omission of human actants involved in relationships of power, that is, the one between citizens and authorities and the one between consumers and the commercial world. Therefore, these two prominent patterns of relational attributive processes in ELIUM are viewed as strong indications of a strategy, the purpose of which is to obscure the profit-gaining aspect of the supplier-customer relationship on the one hand and the power of the authorities and the commercial world on the other.

The aforementioned strategy also becomes apparent in the frequent use of agentless passives. Specifically, the backgrounding of the profit-making aspect of the customer-supplier relationship is either realized through the use of agentless passive constructions in which the ‘commercial world’ is implied as the missing agent of material processes implying benefit and money transactions, or by means of agentless passive constructions involving creative/specific processes and processes implying use and money transactions, various consumers being implied as their missing agents.

On the other hand, the concealment of the fact that the commercial world has the power and the authority to set the rules which run the customer-supplier relationship is indicated by patterns of agentless passive constructions involving verbal processes of the semiosis/imperating type, attributive clauses involving Attributes implying power and/or authority and material processes of the transformative/elaborating type implying control, the deleted agents of which are implied to be mainly representatives of the ‘commercial world’.

Hence, the frequent use of passivization in ELIUM basically contributes to obscure the profit-making aspect of the customer-supplier relationship between the consumers and the commercial world and also to temper the authoritative tenor the selection of processes implying power construe by means of creating an impersonal and rather formal context within which the commercial world implicitly declares its power to impose rules and regulations which the consumers are expected to comply with.

The same purpose is also served by nominalized processes implying money transactions or rules and regulations, by means of which their implied agents, that is, meanings associated with the profit-making aspect of advertising as well as meanings signaling the power of the commercial world to impose rules, are effaced from the surface of the texts.

However, nominalization patterns in ELIUM were also found to simply serve as typical features of scientific or advertising discourse. Thus, in the case of the former they were found to contribute to the creation of an impression of objectivity and the establishment of a rather formal tenor. In the case of the latter, they were basically found to contribute to the density of information, yet they also serve to create a formal and rather authoritative tenor in which the commercial world addresses its potential customers.

CHAPTER 8

MOOD ANALYSIS: EXPLORING INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS

In this chapter we shall be concerned with findings from the different stages of Mood analysis, that is, the second type of analysis undertaken in order to trace the interpersonal meanings encoded in the corpus of this study. SFL distinguishes among three functions of the clause, namely clause as message, as exchange, and as representation, which correspond to the three different types of meanings that are embodied in its structure. In the previous analytical stages, we focused on the function of the clause as representation in order to reveal the experiential meanings, realized through the transitivity patterns of the clause. In this analytical stage we shall focus on the function of the clause as exchange, that is, as “an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 106), in order to explore the interpersonal meanings encoded in the Mood patterns of the clause.

Thus, while the key system involved in experiential meanings, namely the Transitivity system of the clause, explains how language is structured to represent our experience of reality, the key system which explains how the language is organized to exchange meanings is the system of Mood choice. As Halliday and Matthiessen explain (2004: 113), the Mood system is “the grammaticalization of the semantic system of speech function”.

Speech functions are expressed through the selection of different clause types (i.e. Mood classes), given their correlation with the grammatical structures which typically encode them. Moreover, language allows us to temper our linguistic exchanges through the two systems of Modality (i.e. modalization and modulation), which are actually dependent on the system of Mood choice (Eggins, 1994:192, 228). Thus, analysing the Mood structure of the clause involves the description of both the selection of Mood classes and patterns of Modality. In fact, the selection of Mood classes and patterns of Modality are the two areas of investigation on which the Mood analysis I conducted on the corpus of my study is focused.

In the following sections I shall first present and discuss the results from the analysis of Mood classes and then I shall proceed with the presentation and discussion of findings from the analysis of Modality. In the last section, all findings are consolidated and conclusions from Mood analysis are drawn.

8.1 The analysis of Mood classes

Before we begin to discuss the results from this analytical stage, let us present a brief overview of the theoretical perspectives which are associated with the Mood structure of the clause and which determined the steps of our analytical procedure. According to the SFL paradigm, there are four distinct speech functions, namely *offer*, *command*, *statement* and *question*, which, as

earlier mentioned, are encoded in particular grammatical structures that correspond to the different types of clauses, referred to as Mood classes. In other words, Mood classes represent what Eggins explains as “a correlation between the semantic choice of speech function and the grammatical structure which is typically chosen to encode it” (Eggins, 1994: 152). Specifically, an imperative clause typically encodes a command, a declarative clause typically encodes a statement, an interrogative clause typically encodes a question, whereas a modulated interrogative typically encodes an offer.

Yet, the above typical correlations are understood to represent the unmarked choices of clause structures, since marked choices are also possible. For instance, a command may not always be made through an imperative structure as it may as well be realized through the marked choice of a modulated interrogative or even a declarative. Therefore marked structures are of particular significance to the critical aims of this study, since they represent untypical choices for the encoding of speech functions.

Another point worth noting is that the aforementioned speech functions are determined by two types of variants, namely ‘speech roles’ and ‘commodities’, which are directly involved in an interactive exchange. Specifically, each speech function involves one of the two basic types of speech role (i.e. ‘giving’ or ‘demanding’), as well as one of the two types of commodity being exchanged (i.e. ‘information’ and ‘goods and services’). In this respect, the clauses structured to exchange ‘information’ (i.e.

declaratives, interrogatives, exclamatives) are referred to as ‘propositions’, whereas the clauses structured to exchange ‘goods and services’ (i.e. imperatives, modulated interrogatives) are referred to as ‘proposals’.

We can now turn to the first step of our analytical procedure. As already stated (see 3.3), the quantitative part of my analysis of Mood classes consisted in identifying the different types of all ranking clauses (i.e. mood classes) occurring in each sub-corpus and in obtaining their frequency counts. To this end, I adopted the relevant categorization and labeling the SFL paradigm suggests, according to which the clause types which were found to occur in my data fall into the following categories:

1. Full Declaratives
2. Elliptical Declaratives
3. Full Polar Interrogatives
4. Elliptical Polar Interrogatives
5. Full Wh-Interrogatives
6. Elliptical Wh-Interrogatives
7. Imperatives
8. Exclamatives
9. Minor
10. Incomplete

Regarding the above categorization, certain points should be clarified. As it becomes obvious, there is a basic distinction between full and elliptical types in declarative and interrogative clauses. This distinction consists in that major clauses, that is, clauses which have a selected MOOD component (i.e. a subject

and a finite⁴⁵) are differentiated from major clauses in which the MOOD component is ellipsed. Moreover, major elliptical clauses are differentiated from minor clauses⁴⁶, in which the MOOD component is missing, however, this not being due to ellipsis. In fact, the basic difference between major elliptical clauses and minor clauses is that in the case of the former the ellipsed MOOD component can be easily retrieved, whereas in the case of minor clauses this is not possible. For instance, “Nothing too difficult” is an elliptical declarative clause, in which we can easily retrieve the ellipsed ‘is’, whereas this cannot be done in minor clauses such as “Oh dear, oh dear”, “Hello”, or “Oh”⁴⁷.

8.1.1 The distribution of Mood classes across the three sub-corpora

Let us now begin to examine how the aforementioned Mood classes are distributed in the corpus of my study. Table 8.1 summarizes the results of the analysis of Mood class, showing both in raw numbers and percentages the number of ranking clauses each mood class occurs in, across the three sub-corpora⁴⁸. It should also be noted at this point that for the purposes of the significance test which was conducted on the results of Mood analysis, in the table that follows the four types of interrogative clauses, given their marginal occurrences in the three sub-corpora, are all subsumed under the general label ‘interrogative’. By the same

⁴⁵ The Subject and the Finite are the two functional constituents of the MOOD element of the clause. The Subject corresponds to the ‘syntactic subject’ in terms of traditional grammar terminology, whereas “the Finite element is one of a small numbers of verbal operators expressing tense (e.g. *is*, *has*) or modality (e.g. *can*, *must*)” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 111).

⁴⁶ Minor clauses typically realize speech functions such as exclamations, calls, greetings and alarms.

⁴⁷ Examples come from the CESOL sub-corpus, texts F605b and F1204b.

⁴⁸ For a detailed presentation of the distribution of each Mood class in each text of each sub-corpus see Tables 7.1.1, 7.1.2 and 7.1.3 of the Appendix

token, minor and incomplete clauses are merged into the same category. In fact incomplete clauses are almost inexistent as they count only one occurrence in CESOL. However, in the detailed tables of the Appendix (see note 48) we can see the occurrences of the particular clause types separately.

Table 8.1 Mood across the three sub-corpora⁴⁹

Mood class	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	No. of		No. of		No. of	
	ranking		ranking		ranking	
		%		%		%
	clauses it occurs in		clauses it occurs in		clauses it occurs in	
Full declarative	820	84,54 _a	2084	94,73 _b	900	76,21 _c
Elliptical declarative	46	4,74 _a	42	1,91 _b	180	15,24 _c
Interrogative	24	2,47 _a	34	1,55 _a	7	0,59 _b
Imperative	77	7,94 _a	24	1,09 _b	67	5,67 _a
Minor / Incomplete	2	0,21 _a	13	0,59 _a	27	2,29 _b
Exclamative	1	0,10 _a	3	0,14 _a	0	0,00 _a
Total ranking clauses	970	100,00	2200	100,00	1181	100,00
Statistical Test	Value		Degrees of freedom		Significance level	
Pearson Chi-square	397,305		10		p<0,001	

⁴⁹ Pearson Chi- Square test indicated that differences across the three sub-corpora are highly possible. To determine if the differences in the observed percentages are statistically significant, column proportions z-tests have been run, using the Bonferroni correction, and it turned out that values in the same row and subtable not sharing the same subscript are significantly different at 0.05 level.

According to the table, the full declarative is the dominant clause type by far in all three sub-corpora. Elliptical declaratives and imperatives are the next most frequent clause types the three sub-corpora appear to select from, whereas less frequently interrogatives and minor or incomplete clauses are chosen. Finally, exclamative clauses show marginal frequencies.

We also observe significant variations as regards the frequency counts of the different clause types across the three sub-corpora. Specifically, CESOL contains the highest proportion of full declarative clauses and the lowest proportion of imperatives. ELIUM, on the other hand, has the highest proportion of elliptical and minor clauses and the lowest proportion of full declaratives and interrogatives. Finally, KPG appears to fall in between as regards the proportion of full declaratives and elliptical declaratives it contains, while the use of imperatives in KPG and ELIUM does not vary significantly and the same is true for the use of interrogatives in KPG and CESOL.

The above observations are then understood to imply the different tendencies each sub-corpus presents in terms of the particular interpersonal meanings the selection of each clause type encodes. In particular, the selection of full declaratives, which, as earlier mentioned, realize the speech function of statement, implies concern for factual information. Imperative clauses, which, as earlier said, typically realize the speech function of commands, are intrinsically associated with power, and therefore the use of imperatives indicates an asymmetrical relationship between interactants. On the other hand, the use of elliptical declaratives and minor or

incomplete clauses contributes to the creation of an informal tenor, while interrogatives are the clauses which basically allow a text to appear more interactive, as questions contribute to creating an impression of a dialogue between the implied writer and reader of a text.

Taking the above considerations into account, we shall now proceed to examine each sub-corpus separately in order to see what tendencies may be indicated by the particular clause types which turned out to be selected most frequently. Yet, as we observed the predominance of full declaratives in all three sub-corpora, an initial claim to be made at this point is that the three sub-corpora are mainly concerned with giving factual information. This entails that the implied text writers are construed as providers of information which the reader cannot argue, given that interaction in written speech is not possible between the writer and the reader of the texts.

8.1.1.1 Mood classes in KPG

We earlier observed that KPG uses the imperative mood quite often. A closer examination of the individual instances of imperatives in B2 indicated that they are addressed by the implied writer to the implied reader. As already said, the use of imperatives contributes to the establishment of an asymmetrical power relationship between the implied writer and reader of the texts. Therefore, we understand that in the KPG texts the implied reader, though directly involved in the interaction, is in a powerless position against the implied writer, who

occupies the role of the ‘commander’, that is, the one who has the power to suggest, advise, warn and so on.

Specifically, imperatives in KPG, which are basically addressed to the ‘world citizen’, are understood to function as advice. In other words, the implied writer of the KPG texts is construed as ‘adviser’, while the implied reader, that is, the ‘world citizen’, is automatically placed in the position of the one who is in need of the ‘expert-writer’s’ advice. The following are some characteristic examples:

- (1) [**Respect** the environment] [Always **wear** a helmet] (B604b)
- (2) [**Listen** for smog conditions on the news] [**Avoid** the use of oil-based paints, pesticides, gas-powered engines and barbecues] (B604c)
- (3) [**Turn down** the heat] [**Do not leave** appliances on standby] (B1107c)

As it becomes obvious from the above examples, the implied writer of the KPG texts is actually strongly urging the ‘world citizens’ to take some sort of action, rather than simply advising them to do so. Precisely, the ‘world citizen’ is urged to become aware of ecological and other social problems and adopt an active role towards their solution. Consequently, the implied writer is set up as an expert who knows all about what has to be done for the sake of both a better environment and a better society, thus turning her/his knowledge into the power which entitles her/him to demand the reader’s change of attitude and/or behaviour. Hence, in the light of Eggins’ (1994: 314) understanding that the writer’s positioning as ‘adviser’ has “the potential to create boundaries rather than solidarity” between interactants, we can claim that the imperatives used in the KPG texts contribute to

the establishment of a rather asymmetrical power relationship between the implied writer and reader of the texts.

Yet, KPG texts appear to temper the impact of imperatives through the use of elliptical declaratives and interrogatives, as both these mood classes contribute to the creation of an informal, conversational tone, thereby limiting the distance between their implied writer and reader. Specifically, in examining the individual instances of elliptical declaratives we observed that they appear in a variety of text types (i.e. information or advertising leaflets, narratives, interviews and so on) in which they generally contribute to the creation of an informal style. However, depending on the different text types, this informality of style appears to have different effects.

For instance, in the case of a narrative, it appears to create a personal conversational way in which the writer/narrator shares a personal experience with the reader, e.g. (4). In the case of an information leaflet, the repetition of the subject element (i.e. the smog) is avoided, thus foregrounding the gist of the given information, e.g. (5). Finally in the case of an advertising leaflet, the telegraphic way in which the useful information, concerning the advertised goods and services, is provided, is understood to be a typical feature of advertising discourse, e.g. (6).

(4) [Keeps you cool in summer, warm in winter] (B1104c)

(5) [Worsens heart problems, asthma, bronchitis and other lung diseases]
(B604c)

(6) [Longleat House open, daily from 1st Jan to 31st Dec] (B506d)

On the other hand, the majority of questions in KPG, like in the case of imperatives, was observed to be addressed to the implied reader of the texts, something which is often combined with the use of RDA. In other words, the implied reader of the KPG texts is often asked questions by being directly addressed through the use of the pronoun 'you'. For example:

(7) [...what, in a democracy, can you really do about it?] (B405a)

(8) [How can you control climate change?](B1107c)

We can then claim that the use of questions in the KPG texts contributes to the creation of an impression of dialogue, thereby reducing the distance between the implied writer and reader.

Hence, the KPG texts do not simply give information. The frequent use of imperatives indicated that they also tend to strongly advise their implied readers to develop awareness and change their attitude in relation to ecological and social issues, which automatically positions their implied writer as an adviser and as an expert. On the other hand, the informal, conversational tone created by the use of elliptical declaratives and interrogatives appears to temper the effect of imperatives, while elliptical declaratives, in particular, also seem to contribute to the foregrounding of the gist of the provided information .

8.1.1.2 *Mood classes in CESOL*

As the quantitative analysis of our data earlier indicated, CESOL has the highest proportion of full declaratives across the three sub-corpora, while the frequencies of the rest of the clause types it contains are marginal. This brings us to claim that CESOL is the sub-corpus almost exclusively concerned with offering factual information about personal experiences.

However, despite the low frequencies of the rest of the mood classes, there are two interesting observations concerning the use of elliptical declaratives and interrogatives, worth noting. Thus, a closer examination of the particular instances of elliptical declaratives in CESOL indicated their contribution to the creation of an informal narrative style, what we could call a friendly or better still chatty style, the effect of which is to bring the narrator/implicit writer closer to the reader of the text, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (9) [Up around 6 a.m., arrive at nursery school at 7.50 a.m. and leave with Julia at 12.50 p.m.] (F604a)
- (10) [She was thirtyish, maybe thirty-five - older than I was, anyhow. A school-teacher sort.] (F605b)

The second observation is that questions indirectly addressed to the implied reader, such as those illustrated in (11) and (12) below appear to contribute to the creation of the impression of dialogue between their implied writer and reader.

- (11) [What do top solicitors, bankers and stockbrokers do to unwind in their lunch hours these days?] (F1203a)

- (12) [And why are so many people prepared to spend their lives travelling round Europe in caravans in order to appear in it?] (F1206b)

Hence, the analysis of Mood classes revealed that although the CESOL texts almost exclusively select the full declarative mood in order to offer factual information associated with personal experiences, they also use elliptical declaratives and interrogatives in order to create a conversational, interactive context in which to address their implied readers.

8.1.1.3 Mood classes in ELIUM

Elliptical declaratives, imperatives and minor clauses are the clause types which, apart from full declaratives, the ELIUM texts turned out to select quite frequently. A thorough examination of our data indicated that the use of the aforementioned clause types in ELIUM is associated with various strategies employed in advertising.

Precisely, a closer examination of the particular instances of elliptical declaratives and minor clauses in ELIUM revealed their consistent presence in advertising texts. Advertising texts are known to make frequent use of elliptical clauses, and in fact “with the use of elliptic structures, messages are conveyed quickly, within the minimum advertising space” (Drossou, 1998: 134). We then understand that elliptical structures in ELIUM serve as a typical feature of advertising discourse, e.g. (13) and (14). Yet, the same purpose appears to be served by minor clauses,

e.g. (15) and (16), the proportion of which in ELIUM is actually the highest across the three sub-corpora.

- (13) [Wide selection of desserts] [Cash only] (E1b)
- (14) [Spacious rooms with 12TV channels] [Tea/Coffee facilities in bedrooms] (E6b)
- (15) [Restoration of this Hitchcock film, extra scenes, movie trailer] [Free shipping] (E8b)
- (16) [2 to 6 players] [Ages 12 to 17] (E9b)

Closely related to the purposes of advertising also appears to be the use of imperatives in ELIUM, as all their occurrences were observed in advertising texts. Specifically, imperatives were found to either function as suggestions to the implied reader to buy or use the advertised goods and services, e.g. (17), or as suggestions to the implied reader to acquire extra information about the advertised goods and services by directly contacting their providers, e.g. (18).

- (17) [**Come** to Camp Mission Point and **experience** everything that this beautiful camp on Lake Michigan has to offer] (E2b)
- (18) [For further information **contact**: New Hope School ESL Program PO Box 435...] (E12b)

Another interesting observation in relation to the particular function of imperatives in ELIUM is that a considerable number of the suggested actions appears to be associated with money matters, as shown in the examples below:

- (19) [**Send** a check or money order] (E2b)
- (20) [**Check** with individual companies for their specific rates] (E4b)

In fact, what the addresser suggests in these patterns appears to be directly or indirectly implying that the relationship between the two interactants is based on

the exchange of money, by means of which the addressee is explicitly benefited by the advertised goods and services whereas the addresser is implicitly benefited by the financial profit. It then becomes obvious that the implied reader is construed as a potential client/customer. Therefore I suggest that this finding should be interpreted as an indication of the ‘speaker/addressee involvement’ strategy employed in advertising discourse, namely ‘speaker suggestion’, by means of which, as Drossou (1998: 240) points out “an attempt is made to directly or indirectly involve the prospective consumers of the advertised commodity by inducing them to take some sort of action related to it”.

Hence, we can claim that in ELIUM elliptical declaratives, minor clauses, and imperatives serve as typical features of advertising discourse. In particular, we understand that the use of imperatives is part of several strategies exclusively associated with advertising discourse, aiming at persuading the implied reader, consequently positioned in the role of a potential client/customer, to use the provided goods and services.

8.2 The analysis of Modality

Modality is a “complex area of English grammar which has to do with the different ways in which a language user can intrude on her/his message, expressing attitudes and judgements of various kinds” (Eggins, 1994: 179). In fact, it is through the two sub-systems of Modality, namely modalization and

modulation, that “language allows us to temper the exchange of meanings by expressing degrees of either probability/usuality or obligation/inclination” (ibid.: 192).

The meanings made through modalization and modulation are realized in the clause basically through the choice of a modal operator. In the case of modalization modal operators (i.e. might, will etc) are used to express different degrees of certainty or usuality, whereas in the case of modulation modal operators (i.e. should, can etc) express different degrees of obligation or inclination.

However, clauses may also be modalized through a combination of modal operators and modal adjuncts, or through the use of modal adjuncts alone, the basic distinction among them being that between mood adjuncts, which are closely associated with the modality system, and comment adjuncts. Modulation on the other hand, may also be expressed by means of passive constructions (i.e. be required to, be supposed to etc). Hence, modalization is associated with propositions and modulation with proposals. It is then through modalization that a text writer tempers the certainty, likelihood, or frequency expressed by her/his statements, whereas through modulation the writer tempers her/his commands or offers.

In accordance with the above, Modality is associated with the authority of the writer. Actually, this understanding is further highlighted by Fairclough’s relevant

perspectives (1989: 126-127), according to which what determines the different function of the two dimensions of Modality (i.e. modalization and modulation) is the direction of the orientation of this authority. Specifically, Fairclough views modalization as ‘expressive modality’ and modulation as ‘relational modality’, the former characterized as “the modality of the writer’s evaluation of the truth” and therefore associated with “the writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality”, whereas the latter is associated with “the authority of one participant in relation to others”. In this respect, I consider both modalization and modulation to be playing a particularly significant role in the positioning of the implied writer and reader of the texts which constitute the corpus of my study.

Adopting the above perspectives, a key principle of SFL, which determined the procedure I followed for the analysis of Modality, is the fact that there is not always a single grammatical unit that realizes a particular semantic domain. This is actually what Halliday identifies as ‘grammatical metaphor’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 592). Hence, “the semantic domain of Modality is construed in more than one place in the grammar” (ibid.).

As earlier mentioned, Modality is typically realized through the use of verbal groups with finite modal operators or modal adjuncts. Yet, it may also be realized through a wide range of clause complexes (i.e. pseudo-clauses) which may not encode a modal element but function as expressions of modality (i.e. I think, it is

possible, it is available⁵⁰, I'm sure etc). Hence, such expressions are understood as metaphorical realizations of modality, that is, a type of grammatical metaphor, the general effect of which, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 626) point out, is that "it construes additional layers of meaning and wording" thus leading to an expansion of the meaning potential of the clause.

In addition to metaphorical expressions of Modality, what was also taken into account in analysing the patterns of Modality in my research corpus, are two variables, namely the orientation and the values of modality which, according to Halliday (2004: 619-623), determine how modality is realized. Precisely, in terms of orientation, modality when realized through verbal elements of the clause (i.e. I think, will, must etc) is identified as subjective, whereas when realized through adverbial elements or metaphorical expressions of modality (i.e. probably, it's possible etc) is to be identified as objective. In this respect, adverbial forms (i.e. probably, certainly etc), as Halliday explains, are "a way of objectifying the speaker's evaluation", whereas verbal forms (i.e. modal operators) carry a subjective loading, in which case, "it is the speaker's own judgement on which the validity of the proposition is made to rest" (ibid.: 149-150). A further distinction, again in terms of orientation, is the one between explicit modality (i.e. I think, probably etc), which indicates that the speaker is clearly stating an opinion or a demand, and implicit modality (i.e. will, it's possible), indicating that the speaker is distancing her/himself from the proposition or proposal s/he makes.

⁵⁰ The expression 'it is available' is understood as a metaphorical expression of modality, as its meaning, namely that something 'is possible to get/obtain/use/have etc' can also be expressed through the use of a modal operator, e.g. 'you may/can get/obtain/use/have etc'.

Finally, in terms of value, modality is identified as high (i.e. must, need etc), median (i.e. will, should etc) and low (i.e. can, may etc).

At this point I should also make a brief reference to the perspectives which I adopted so as to distinguish between the two different interpretations of the modal operator ‘can’, as it is generally ambiguous in whether it indicates permission or possibility. Modal auxiliaries, as Kress and Hodge (1993: 122) point out, “contain a systematic ambiguity about the nature of authority-whether it is primarily based on knowledge or power”. For instance, the ambiguity of ‘can’ in the clause *she can talk* lies in that it may either mean that *she is able to talk* (representing the speaker’s knowledge about her capacities) or that *she is allowed to talk* (indicating the speaker’s permission). Thus, based on the context of each clause I was enabled to interpret whether *can* indicates permission or possibility, put more simply, whether *can* modalizes or modulates.

Having presented the perspectives which determined the analysis of Modality in my study, let us now proceed to examine the results from this analytical stage, starting with modality patterns expressed through verbal constituents of the clause.

8.2.1 Modality patterns realized through verbal elements

In this analytical stage we shall see how the two dimensions of modality, namely modalization and modulation, are expressed through the use of modal operators

and metaphorical expressions of modality in the three sub-corpora. Table 8.2 presents in raw numbers and percentages the frequency with which modalization and modulation occur in all ranking and embedded clauses across the three sub-corpora⁵¹.

Table 8.2 Modality across the three sub-corpora

Type	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	No. of		No. of		No. of	
	occurrenc	%	occurrenc	%	occurrenc	%
	es		es		es	
Modalization	108	11, 13	231	10,50	135	11,43
Modulation	48	4,95	94	4,27	125	10,58
Total ranking clauses	970	100,00	2200	100,00	1181	100,00

As we can see in the table, the frequency distributions of modalization across the three sub-corpora do not present considerable differences. Yet, regarding the frequency distributions of modulation, we observe that ELIUM has the highest use of modulation by far, whereas in the other two sub-corpora the proportion of modulation appears to be approximately the same. We also observe that while in KPG and CESOL the dominance of modalization over modulation is distinct, in ELIUM the ratio of modalization to modulation is almost equal.

⁵¹ For the detailed distribution of modalization and modulation in the texts of each sub-corpus see Tables 7.2.1, 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 of the Appendix

We can then claim that the ELIUM texts tend to provide information about modulated actions more than the other two sub-corpora, a selection which implies unequal power relations between interactants and therefore contributes to the creation of a more authoritative tenor. On the other hand, the distinct dominance of modalization over modulation in KPG and CESOL suggests a tendency for the expression of the implicit judgement of the text writer, which may appear to create a less authoritative tenor, yet it implies that the writer/speaker is in the advantageous and consequently powerful position to state her/his opinion.

However, in order to get a more accurate picture of the particular tendencies the above findings indicate in the three sub-corpora, in the sub-sections that follow we shall discuss the patterns of modulation and modalization most frequently used by each sub-corpus.

8.2.1.1 Modalization and modulation in KPG

In exploring the patterns of modalization in KPG, we found the prominence of low modalization of the subjective, implicit type. Precisely, in 60 out of the 108 modalized clauses low modalization was observed to be expressed mainly by the modal operator ‘can’. This implies that the KPG texts tend to construe propositions of low probability, or put differently, the implied writer tends to express low certainty opinions. The following are some characteristic examples:

(21) [This is a most severe medical emergency which **can be** fatal] (B1105c)

- (22) [Even small changes in our daily behaviour **can help** prevent gas emissions without affecting our quality of life] (B1107c)

We also observed median modalization of the subjective, implicit type in 39 out of the 108 modalized clauses, which is mainly expressed through the use of the modal operator 'will'. This indicates that the KPG texts tend, however less frequently, to construe propositions as probable. In other words, the writer often appears to express opinions of median certainty. For example:

- (23) [By participating in it, **you will** also **enjoy** home comfort, lower energy bills and reduced driving stress] (B604c)
- (24) [But now the government is getting involved and that **will help** a great deal] (B506a)

Hence, both the aforementioned types of modalization observed in KPG express the writer's low or median certainty about the truth of her/his propositions. However, as already stated, modalization, just like modulation, is associated with power relations. In other words, the exchanged information, when modalized, becomes more tentative, which implies that the speaker acknowledges an unequal power relationship with the recipient of the information, who may be either someone s/he respects or someone s/he does not know very well. In fact, as Kress and Hodge (1993: 127-128) maintain, "the speaker translates uncertainty about status in the power situation into uncertainty about the status of his utterances", which also entails that "a speaker uses modalities to protect his utterances from criticism".

As regards modulation in KPG, we observed the distinct, almost equal distribution of high and median modulation of a subjective, implicit type, whereas

low modulation did not show a considerable frequency. Specifically, in 22 out of the 48 modulated clauses high modulation was found to be expressed mainly through the use of the modal operator ‘must’, e.g. (25), whereas in 19 out of the 48 modulated clauses median modulation was found to be expressed invariably by the modal operator ‘should’, e.g. (26). In addition, in the majority of the observed instances of both modulation types the implied writer, who represents some sort of authority or specialist (i.e. city councils, committees etc), is construed as the addresser whereas the implied reader, who appears to be represented mostly by citizens of various types (i.e. city cyclists, householders, citizens etc), is construed as the addressee of the modulated proposals.

(25) [The natural environment **must be preserved** for future generations]
(B604b)

(26) [Cycling and health Physical activity...**should be** an integral part of your everyday life] (B1105b)

The above findings appear to suggest that the KPG texts are strongly advising their readers towards a certain course of action, thus setting the implied writer up as an expert and therefore establishing an unequal power relationship between the implied writer and the implied reader. Also, if we embody an experiential dimension in the above interpretation, we understand that the KPG texts construe a reality in which the authorities, positioned in the role of the citizens’ advisor, strongly urge citizens to show their active concern for ecological, health and other relevant issues. This is then understood to create a rather authoritative tenor, something which was also indicated by the high use of imperatives in KPG, earlier discussed. However, through the use of median modulation, where the

implied writer is construed as an advisor, the KPG texts appear to temper the authoritative tenor created by the use of higher modulation. Therefore I suggest that the co-existence of these two types of modulation in the KPG texts should be interpreted as a way of tempering the effect of the authoritative tenor high modulation implies.

Yet, it is to be pointed out that the above pattern does not seem to be consistent especially in the cases of high modulation. Precisely, not all high modulation instances appeared to construe the implied writer (i.e. the authorities) and the implied reader (i.e. citizens) as their addresser and addressee. In fact, I observed certain instances in which the implied writer (i.e. an article writer) appears to strongly urge text participants other than the implied reader to take some sort of action. A closer examination of such findings indicated that the participants, positioned explicitly or implicitly as addressees in such cases, may also represent some source of authority (i.e. countries, scientists etc), as illustrated in the examples below:

(27) [...all experiments on animals are wrong, cruel and **must be stopped**] (B507a)

(28) [...Greece now **has to follow** EU regulations] (B506a)

I then suggest that the KPG texts through the use of modulation do not just demand the citizens' (i.e. implied readers) change of attitude but they also demand the change of the attitude of certain powerful participants of the world they represent. Taking a further step to the interpretation of this finding I could claim that in the KPG texts there is an attempt to treat their implied readers (i.e.

citizens) and authority representatives equally. Power is then understood to be fairly distributed across the text participants, the implied reader being among them, which suggests that the proposals the KPG texts appear to be concerned with are invested with a political undertone, on the basis that equal rights and obligations are implied for both citizens and authorities.

Hence, the analysis revealed that in KPG the particular types of modalization (i.e. low and median) it tends to select, seems to contribute to the creation of a suggestive tenor, by means of which the implied writer appears to be cautious and balanced and to show respect and consideration for the implied reader's opinion. Also, the co-existence of high and median modulation appears to construe a suggestive rather than authoritative tone in which intended meanings are expressed as advice rather than rules. Yet, as already said, the positioning of the implied writer in the role of the adviser cannot but imply an asymmetrical power relationship with the implied reader.

8.2.1.2 Modalization and modulation in CESOL

In examining the patterns of modalization in the CESOL texts, we observed equal concern for median and low modalization of the implicit, subjective type. Specifically, median modalization was found to occur in 96 out of the 231 modalized clauses, mostly expressed through the use of the modal operator 'would', yet also by the modal operator 'will', though less frequently. A closer examination of the particular instances of modalization in CESOL indicated the

presence of two distinct tendencies, the most prominent one being the use of ‘would’ in order to express usuality. Yet, this being understood as a common feature of narratives and given that the majority of the CESOL texts are almost invariably concerned with narrations of personal experience, this finding was not surprising. Below are some typical examples:

- (29) [When I was eight, I went away to school in England and on Saturdays **I would cycle** to the village of Lastingham...] (F1204d)
- (30) [**He would come** to our house once a week to teach me...] (F1206d)

However, ‘will’ and ‘would’ were also observed to express probability, and quite often pseudo-clauses such as ‘I think’ were found to function as metaphorical expressions of median modality. For example:

- (31) [...they need to train just as hard for downhill racing as **they would do** for cross-country] [A reasonable beginner's downhill, bike **will cost** you around £400...] (F1203c)
- (32) [...**I think I'd go on** drawing them for fun] (F1205b)

As these findings illustrate, the use of median modalization in CESOL texts also serves to express the implied writer/narrator’s opinion in a tentative way.

Yet, the same appears to be the effect of the use of low modalization, which, as already said, is as frequent as median modalization in CESOL. Precisely, the use of low modalization, mainly expressed through the modal operators ‘could’, ‘can’, or ‘might’, as well as expressions such as ‘tend to’, ‘seem to’ and ‘be used to’, in 100 out of the 231 low modalized clauses, appears to temper the implied writer/narrator’s opinion, thereby creating a friendly tenor. For example:

- (33) [Learning to do something well and getting praised for it **can make** you feel ridiculously proud] (F1203a)
- (34) [This **can be** a painful experience] (F1203b)

Thus, the use of both median and low modalization in CESOL seems to have the same effect. It is however worth noting that in both cases the implied writer appears to be cautious about her/his opinions, despite the fact that an opinion based on personal experience is normally considered to be non-arguable. Therefore, this could be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the implied writer to become more likeable to the implied reader so as to establish a friendly relationship with her/him.

Turning now to modulation patterns in CESOL, high modulation was observed to be by far the most frequent modulation type. Precisely, in 67 out of the 94 modulated clauses high modulation of a subjective, implicit type was found to be mainly expressed through the use of the modal operator ‘have to’. Interestingly, the authority behind these modulated proposals is undeclared and cannot be retrieved. Yet, this is understood to be mainly due to the fact that the majority of the CESOL texts are first person narrations of personal experience, and consequently modulated actions appear to concern the speaker/narrator rather than the text reader.

Specifically, I observed three distinct patterns through which text participants, the implied writer/narrator being the most prominent among them, are construed as interactants in the modulated actions in question. The first pattern is that the

speaker/narrator may be construed as the actor of modulated proposals, the authority behind which is obscured, e.g. (35). The second pattern is that generalized ‘you’ may appear as the implied addressee of modulated proposals, in which the speaker/narrator is construed as the implied addresser, however not as the authority behind the modulated proposal but rather as someone personally involved in the modulated action who has assumed the role of an advisor speaking from personal experience, e.g. (36). And the third pattern consists in the construal of participants, other than the narrator and generalized ‘you’, as actors of modulated proposals, e.g. (37).

(35) [As one of the youngest members of the group **I had to learn** how to lead people older than myself] (F1203d)

(36) [...**you have to push** yourself and try new skills to improve] (F1203c)

(37) [Top form Athletes...**have to work** hard to achieve the ideal physical condition] (F1205d)

The above findings confirm that the modulation patterns the CESOL texts select from do not allow for the identification of an authority source which would take responsibility for imposing the types of obligation interactants are expected to comply with. Moreover, due to the fact that the modal operator ‘have to’, the impact of which is not as coercive and forceful as that of ‘must’, is consistently selected, we understand that in CESOL modulated actions are construed as the participants’ duties and responsibilities, rather than orders, rules and obligations and that the undeclared source of authority behind them may be the society itself. Hence, we could claim that the CESOL participants are construed as people who have, either consciously or unconsciously, developed an increased sense of their socially imposed duties and responsibilities.

It should also be noted that the use of generalized 'you' in modulated proposals, such as the one illustrated in (36) above, is understood to function as a strategy employed by the implied writer/narrator, in order to establish a relationship of solidarity with the implied reader. Therefore I suggest that the particular strategy functions so as to establish a friendly relationship between the implied writer and reader, which through a confession-like style allows the narrator to offer her/his personal experience to the implied reader as though it were friendly advice.

Hence, modalization and, most significantly, high modulation in the CESOL texts appear to basically contribute to the establishment of a friendly relationship between their implied writer and reader. We have already seen how the prominent use of low and median modalization serves to create a personal and cautious tone in which the CESOL texts address their implied readers. In addition, we have observed how through patterns of high modulation the CESOL texts construe intended meanings as duties and responsibilities of the addressers of the modulated proposals, that is, the implied writer/narrator. Therefore, modulation in CESOL does not seem to imply the speaker's attempt to affect the behaviour of the implied reader. What is more, since the implied writer appears to speak for her/himself, the tone in which intended meanings are expressed appears to be confession-like rather than authoritative or suggestive, which obviously results in limiting the distance between the implied writer and reader.

8.2.1.3 Modalization and modulation in ELIUM

A closer examination of the patterns of modalization in the ELIUM texts indicated that they tend to use low modalization of the subjective, implicit type. Precisely, in 82 out of the 135 modalized clauses low modalization was found to be expressed mainly through the use of the modal operator ‘can’. We could then suggest that the use of modalization here serves to construe propositions of low probability, thus implying the low certainty of the speaker. However, this does not seem to be an adequate interpretation, as a closer examination of my findings indicated certain distinct tendencies, the most prominent amongst which consists in that quite frequently the modalized actions are construed as information representing various possibilities or better still options concerning the implied reader/consumer in instances of advertising discourse. For example:

- (38) [...**you can travel** anywhere in the country for \$98 one way...] (E3b)
- (39) [After visiting Hopi cultural sites each day, **you can relax** with multi-media presentations of Hopi history and culture] [**You can** also **attend** our lectures, discussions, and craft demonstrations...] (E8c)

As we can see in the above examples, the use of ‘can’ in modalized actions expresses possibility, which is understood to contribute to the construal of the actions in question as a range of options available to their potential participants. I then suggest that the particular tendency observed in ELIUM, that is, to modalize information in advertising discourse through the use of ‘can’, should be interpreted as a typical feature of advertising discourse, which represents a strategy employed to tentatively claim the variety of options offered to the potential customer.

Another tendency regarding the use of low modalization, however less frequent than the previous one, observed in the ELIUM texts is the use of modal operators such as ‘can’, ‘may’, or ‘might’ in order to express scientific theories. For example:

- (40) [The Princeton team believes that the extinction **can be tied** to an intensive period of volcanic activity...] (E7a)
- (41) [Another research group from Harvard has argued that people who are unattractive to mosquitoes **might** just **lack** the attracting chemicals] (E8a)

This could be interpreted as an indication of the fact that in the ELIUM texts scientists express cautious and balanced opinion on scientific issues.

However, apart from low modalization, median modalization of the subjective, implicit type turned out to be quite frequent in ELIUM. Specifically, out of the 135 modalized clauses 49 were found to be modalized mainly through the use of the modal operator ‘will’. A closer examination of our findings indicated the frequent use of ‘will’ in advertising texts in order to express the speakers’ (i.e. representatives of the commercial world) promises to potential customers. Below are some characteristic examples:

- (42) [Your children, boys and girls ages 8-18, **will delight** in the opportunity to explore the true wilderness setting...] (E2b)
- (43) [...your small group of up to four people **will have** a special view hosted by the president] (E7c)

Interestingly also, a less frequent but distinct tendency is the use of ‘will’ almost invariably combined with agentless passives, as shown in the following examples:

- (44) [Cars without these special stickers **will be heavily fined** if they are parked in one of these handicap spaces] (E4b)

(45) [Violators **will be removed** from the tour] (E5b)

In fact, this tendency appears to suggest an alternative, more tentative way which the ELIUM texts select in order to express rules and regulations, so as to limit the use of imperatives, we have already discussed, and high modulation, as we shall see in the remaining part of the analysis.

As regards the use of modulation in ELIUM, our analysis revealed the predominance of subjective, mainly implicit modulation of the type of obligation. Precisely, in 50 out of a total of 125 modulated clauses the ELIUM texts turned out to select high modulation, mainly expressed through the use of the modal operator ‘must’ and quite frequently by the metaphorical expression of modality ‘be required’. What is more, the majority of these clauses appear to be addressed by the implied writer, who represents either the commercial world or some kind of authority, to the implied reader, who is actually represented by consumers, that is, potential customers or clients and less often by citizens. For example:

(42) [**Men must wear** jacket & tie] (E1b)

(43) [**You must include** a copy of your passport to verify you are an international student and eligible for the discount] (E3b)

(44) [In Harbortown, **bicycle owners must register** their bicycles] (E4b)

The above findings demonstrate that the implied writer implicitly demands from the reader to take some sort of action, which could have also been expressed through the use of an imperative. Therefore, modulation of the high obligation type is to be understood as closely associated with imperative clauses and in fact, as Halliday and Matthiessen point out (2004: 627), “this is why modulation is

characterized as the ‘imperative type’ of Modality”. What is more, a command expressed implicitly through the use of ‘must’, when the addressee appears to be a third interactant (i.e. other than ‘you’), as illustrated by (42) and (44) above, is understood as a depersonalized command, which as Hodge and Kress (1993: 124) note, is “given an impersonal authority which is not specified and therefore is more difficult to challenge”. Hence, in the ELIUM texts mainly the commercial world and less frequently various forms of authority appear to implicitly demand certain forms of action from consumers or citizens.

Another interesting observation related to the above issue is that a considerable number of modulated clauses of the high obligation type in ELIUM appear to combine modulation of the high obligation type with passive structures. For instance:

(45) [Reservations for brunch **required**...] (E1b)

(46) [All backpacks and large bags **must be checked** in at coat check or taken back to your vehicle] (E7c)

As shown above, the agentless passives seem to serve the concealment of the identity of those who are imposing rules and regulations. This finding is then understood to provide further evidence that the ELIUM texts tend to temper the impact of the frequent use of imperative types of modality, such as those illustrated in all the above examples, by depersonalizing them mainly through strategies which aim at the deletion of the agent.

On the other hand, in 49 out of the 125 modulated clauses low modulation of both the subjective and the objective type was observed, the former mainly expressed through the use of the modal operators ‘can’ and ‘may’, and the latter expressed by a considerable number of metaphorical expressions, with ‘be available’ turning out to be the most frequent among them. The following are some typical examples:

- (47) [You **can** also **bring** along your pet] (E6b)
- (48) [Educational programs **are also available** for teachers and students during the school year (E6c)]

My findings also indicated that a considerable number of low modulated proposals construe the implied reader (i.e. the consumer) as their addressee and the implied writer (i.e. a representative of the commercial world) as their addresser, which was also observed to be the case in the use of high modulation. However, in cases of low modulation such as those illustrated above, the addresser does not appear to demand something from the addressee. In fact s/he rather appears to give her/him permission, put differently, allow her/him to do something.

Hence, both types of modulation, which turn out to permeate the ELIUM texts, appear to create an authoritative tenor and contribute to the establishment of an unequal power relationship between the implied writer (i.e. the commercial world and the authorities) and the implied reader (i.e. consumers and citizens), thus construing the former as the one who has the power to set the rules and regulations the latter is expected to comply with. Moreover, drawing on Eggins’

understanding of the use of objective modality, I suggest that the frequent occurrence of the objective type of low modulation (as shown in example (48) above) as well as the use of impersonal expressions mainly realized through passivization (as shown in (45) and (46) above) should be interpreted as “faceless expressions of power” which when used by the implied writer are understood as “a covert attempt to get people to do things without having to take responsibility for issuing the command” (Eggins, 1994: 195).

To conclude, in the ELIUM texts the frequent use of high and low modulation appears to contribute to the creation of a rather authoritative tenor, thereby establishing an unequal power relationship between the implied writer and reader. Yet, by means of median modalization expressed through the modal operator ‘will’ this effect seems to be tempered, though not so frequently. On the other hand, the frequent use of low and median modalization appears to be mainly associated with patterns representing typical features of advertising discourse, and also, though not so often, to serve the expression of cautious scientific opinions.

8.2.2 Modality patterns realized through modal adjuncts

In this section we shall complement the picture of Modality the analysis of its verbal realizations has so far provided, by examining how and to what extent modality is expressed in the three sub-corpora through the use of modal adjuncts. As already mentioned, interpersonal meanings can also be expressed by means of adverbial or prepositional elements of the clause. These elements are what SFL

identifies as adjuncts and are defined as the elements of the clause which have not got “the potential of being Subject” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 123) and which, as Eggins (1994: 165) notes, “contribute some additional (but non-essential) information to the clause”.

SFL distinguishes among three main categories of adjuncts (i.e. circumstantial, modal, and textual), each corresponding to the type of meanings they contribute to express. Thus circumstantial and textual adjuncts, which do not concern the aims of the present study, add experiential content to the clause and express textual meanings, respectively, while modal adjuncts, with which this analytical stage is concerned, add interpersonal meanings to the clause.

For the purposes of my analysis, I adopted the classes and sub-classes of modal adjuncts Halliday and Matthiessen suggest (2004: 126-129), as follows:

1. Mood adjuncts:

- a. Temporality (e.g. soon, just, already etc)
- b. Modality: a. Probability (e.g. certainly, probably, perhaps etc)
b. Usuality (e.g. always, never, sometimes etc)
- c. Intensity (e.g. completely, quite, even, really etc)

2. Comment adjuncts (e.g. frankly, amazingly etc)

3. Vocative adjuncts (e.g. the name of the addressee etc)

4. Polarity adjuncts (e.g. yes, no)

Mood adjuncts as well as polarity adjuncts are closely associated with meanings the mood system construes, that is, they are directly related to the MOOD constituent of the clause. It should also be mentioned at this point that for a more accurate description of my findings, in my analysis I explored the two sub-classes of usuality and probability separately, and not as a single category under the more general label 'modality adjuncts'. Thus, usuality adjuncts express the speaker's judgement about the frequency of something happening (e.g. always, never etc), whereas probability adjuncts express the speaker's judgement about the certainty of a proposition (e.g. certainly, probably etc).

Moreover, in the analysis I distinguish between two sub-types of intensity adjuncts, as suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 127-128). Precisely, the first type (e.g. totally, quite, scarcely etc) signals the degree of expectation involved in a proposition, that is total, high, or low, while the second type (e.g. even, just etc) signals that something is considered to be more or less than what expected, that is, adjuncts which either 'limit' or 'exceed' the expectation involved in a proposition.

Another point which was taken into account during this analytical stage concerns polarity adjuncts and their double function as modal and textual adjuncts. Thus, words such as *yes* or *no* are to be identified as modal adjuncts when they express a speech function, that is, when they function as statements, and not when they function as continuatives, in which case they are to be identified as conjunctive adjuncts (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 144).

Comment and vocative adjuncts, on the other hand, unlike mood and polarity adjuncts, affect the clause as a whole and not just its MOOD constituent. A significant observation however regarding the identification of comment adjuncts is that sometimes they may overlap semantically with the mood adjuncts of probability and usuality. Thus, what was taken into account in such cases was the fact that comment adjuncts are not closely related to the MOOD constituent of the clause, and also that they are basically restricted to propositions and “express the speaker’s attitude either to a proposition as a whole or to the particular speech function” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 129-130). As regards vocative adjuncts, these are to be identified as names which serve to directly address the person named, and they are understood as dialogic features (ibid.: 134).

Comment adjuncts are generally understood to express the speaker’s comment or personal angle in relation to the information provided. However, taking into account their sub-types, as suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 130), I was enabled to get a more detailed picture of the type of interpersonal meanings they express in the three sub-corpora. Precisely, SFL distinguishes between two main types of comment adjuncts, namely propositional, and speech-functional. The former is categorized into further sub-types, such as the asseverative type (e.g. naturally, obviously, of course etc) and the qualificative type (e.g. surprisingly, unfortunately, hopefully etc). The latter is further categorized into four sub-types: the persuasive type (e.g. honestly, admittedly etc), the factual type (e.g. actually, really, in fact etc), the validity type (e.g. generally, on the whole etc), and the personal engagement type (e.g. frankly, personally etc).

These being the general criteria which determined my analysis of modal adjuncts, I shall now begin to explore the distribution of each modal adjunct class across the three sub-corpora. Table 8.3 below, summarizes the results of this analytical stage⁵². It also shows the total use of modal adjuncts in a separate row. However, it should be noted that in this table the percentages represent the ratio of modal adjuncts to the ranking clauses, as there is no one-to-one correspondence between modal adjuncts and ranking clauses. That is, a ranking clause may contain more than one type of modal adjuncts.

Table 8.3 Modal adjuncts across the three sub-corpora

Type	KPG		CESOL		ELIUM	
	ranking clauses	%	ranking clauses	%	ranking clauses	%
Mood-temporality	8	0,82	42	1,91	15	1,27
Mood-usuality	42	4,33	89	4,05	18	1,52
Mood-probability	7	0,72	23	1,05	3	0,25
Mood-intensity	84	8,66	232	10,55	105	8,89
Comment	27	2,78	78	3,55	13	1,10
Vocative	6	0,62	5	0,23	-	0,00
Polarity	3	0,31	8	0,36	-	0,00
Total Modal Adjuncts	177	18,25	477	21,70	154	13,03
Total ranking clauses	970	100,00	2200	100,00	1181	100,00

⁵² For the detailed distribution of modal adjuncts in the texts of each sub-corpus see Tables 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 of the Appendix

According to the figures the table shows, of the three sub-corpora CESOL has the highest ratio of modal adjuncts to ranking clauses on the whole, whereas the lowest ratio of modal adjuncts is observed in ELIUM and KPG falls in between. As earlier stated (see 8.2.1), objective modality, which is realized through modal adjuncts, serves to make the writer's evaluation more objective. Moreover, the use of explicit modality, which is also realized by modal adjuncts, indicates that the speaker is clearly stating an opinion. Hence, the fact that the CESOL texts in particular, yet the KPG texts as well, make frequent use of modal adjuncts seems to indicate their concern for the expression of objective and explicit opinions.

However, this is an understanding of the overall use of modal adjuncts. When we examine the individual instances of their different types we observe that the type all three sub-corpora seem to select most frequently is that of intensity. Moreover, adjuncts expressing usuality appear to be quite frequent in KPG and CESOL and so are comment adjuncts. In contrast, ELIUM, apart from a distinct preference it shows for the use of intensity adjuncts, does not seem to be particularly concerned with the expression of interpersonal meanings by means of adjuncts, as indicated by the total absence of the vocative and polarity type, and mostly, by the low ratios of the rest of the types.

Hence, we have so far provided a general description of the distribution of modal adjuncts across the three sub-corpora. In what follows, the distribution of the most prominent types will be further explored separately for each sub-corpus so as to gain a clearer picture of the interpersonal meanings expressed through their use.

8.2.2.1 *Modal adjuncts in KPG*

By examining the distribution of intensity adjuncts in KPG I observed that adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ and the ‘exceeding’ type are the most frequently used. Precisely, out of the 84 intensity adjunct instances, 38 are of the ‘limiting’ type and 17 are of the ‘exceeding’ type. Among the adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ type, ‘only’ and ‘just’ are the most prominent, and what is more, the use of ‘only’ appears to mainly serve to the precision of intended meanings and also to reinforce meanings associated with ecological and socio-political issues. For example:

- (49) [Refuel your vehicle **only** during non-sunlight hours] (B604c)
- (50) [By contrast, **only** four countries suffered falling human development in the 1980s] (B1103a)

Contributing to a similar effect also appears to be the use of intensity adjuncts of the ‘exceeding’ type, among which ‘even’ is the most prominent. Precisely, we observed that ‘even’ serves to enhance meanings associated with ecological and health issues, as shown in the example below:

- (51) [...the city's infrastructure and concentration of asphalt and concrete can be responsible for trapping heat and pollution, leading to **even** more severe conditions] (B1105c)

Hence, the main effect of the use of intensity adjuncts in the KPG texts appears to be the enhancement of the particular type of the experiential meanings the texts are mostly concerned with.

Interestingly however, in KPG the frequent use of adjuncts of usuality seems to have a similar effect to that of intensity adjuncts. Precisely, adjuncts of a high degree of usuality, such as ‘always’ and ‘never’, appear to serve to emphasize intended meanings rather than merely qualify them in terms of a high frequency. For example:

- (52) [...you will discover certain urban elements, for example parts of the city's heritage that you have **never** noticed before] (B1105b)
- (53) [**Always** use the on/off function on the machine itself] (B1107c)

By the same token, adjuncts of a median degree of usuality, such as ‘often’ and ‘usually’ appear to basically contribute to the validation of these meanings, as illustrated in the example below:

- (54) [...the body is **often** unable to maintain its temperature at normal levels] (B1105c)
- (55) [Greywater from the kitchen sink or dishwasher is **often** contaminated by fats and solids...] (B507c)

Van Dijk (2000: 71-72) notes that by generalizing concrete events or actions through the use of expressions of time and frequency, such as *always*, *constantly* etc., the claim becomes broader, while more generally applicable”. In this light, we can interpret both the aforementioned findings as indications of a strategy by means of which the implied writer implicitly claims the validity of the information s/he provides.

Turning now to comment adjuncts, which actually occur in half of the KPG texts (i.e. 15 texts), their majority turned out to be of the speech-functional type, that is,

expressing the implied writer's angle, rather than the propositional type, which expresses the speaker's comment on the provided information. Specifically, adjuncts expressing the implied writer's attempt to either confirm (i.e. in general, overall etc) or emphasize (i.e. in fact, actually etc) the truth of her/his propositions count 13 out of the 27 overall comment adjunct occurrences in KPG. For example:

(56) [**In fact**, these countries went backwards in terms of income, life expectancy and literacy] (B1103a)

(57) [And, it seems that English is hipper and quicker **in general**] (B405a)

It then becomes apparent that the use of comment adjuncts by the KPG texts mainly serves to emphasize or confirm the truth of the provided information. Therefore, the implied writer's presence is not particularly enhanced, as it would be if qualificative, asseverative or adjuncts implying a more personal involvement on the part of the implied writer were more prominent. Thus, in KPG the tendency to select the particular type of comment adjuncts, despite the fact that they generally contribute to the creation of a conversational and rather casual tone, seems to make the implied writer's presence quite discreet and as a result the relationship between the implied writer and reader appears to remain rather distant.

Hence, in KPG the frequent use of intensity, usuality and comment adjuncts appears to mainly contribute to emphasize and even validate the most prominent experiential meanings, our analysis has so far revealed, and to also enable the precision of their expression.

8.2.2.2 *Modal adjuncts in CESOL*

In examining the individual occurrences of intensity adjuncts in CESOL we observed the prominence of adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ type. Precisely, 75 out of the 232 intensity adjuncts were found to express the writer/narrator’s attempt to foreground a personal experience by ‘limiting’ it mainly through the use of the adjuncts, ‘just’ and ‘only’, e.g. (58). However, I also observed 55 occurrences of adjuncts expressing the writer/narrator’s attempt to foreground a personal experience by ‘exceeding’ the strength of a proposition, ‘even’ and ‘really’ being the most frequently used among them, e.g. (59). What is more, 64 instances of adjuncts expressing a high degree of expectation were found, among which ‘very’ and ‘quite’ turned out to be the most frequently used, as shown in (60) below.

(58) [It was great **just** to sit outside having a laugh with friends over an ice cream or drink] (F604a)

(59) [**Even** the plays I didn't like always had some redeeming qualities] (F606c)

(60) [It was **very** successful] [We had a **very** friendly relationship...] (F1206d)

As shown in the above examples, the frequent use of intensity adjuncts suggests the text writer/narrator’s attempt to enhance intended meanings, which are associated with personal experiences, by either limiting or exceeding their strength, or by investing them with a high degree of expectation. This is then understood to contribute to the foregrounding of the personal element, thus expressing the implied writer/narrator’s personal evaluation of the information s/he provides. Put more simply, the implied writer/narrator in CESOL appears to

constantly reinforce the meanings s/he expresses by adding a personal touch. In fact this tendency seems to indicate a strategy which aims at making the implied writer/narrator more real, more natural and consequently more personal, thereby creating a casual and more conversational tone and establishing a friendly relationship between the implied reader and writer.

Moving on to the distribution of usuality adjuncts, we observed that adjuncts of a high degree of usuality, such as ‘always’ and ‘never’, are the most frequently used by far. However, a detailed examination of their individual instances indicated that they appear to basically contribute to stress the intended meanings rather than simply qualify them in terms of frequency, e.g. (61). In addition, an observation worth noting is that ‘always’, in particular, tends to collocate with mental processes and most frequently with those of the emotive type, e.g. (62).

(61) [She had **never** been separated from her parents before] (F1203d)

(62) [...I had **always** been fascinated by African wildlife...] (F605a)

Hence, the frequent use of adjuncts of a high degree of usuality in the CESOL texts and the prominence of ‘never’ and ‘always’, in particular, is understood to have a similar effect to that earlier observed in KPG (see 8.2.2.1), that is, to enhance meanings and particularly feelings associated with personal experiences.

As regards comment adjuncts, which were actually observed to occur in 27 out of the 31 CESOL texts, we found that adjuncts of the asseverative type (i.e. obviously, of course, undoubtedly etc) are the most prominent. A closer examination of their individual instances indicated that they seem to express the

writer/narrator's attempt to confirm the truth of her/his statements, e.g. (63). Moreover, adjuncts of the qualificative type expressing the speaker's surprise (i.e. surprisingly, amazingly etc), e.g. (64) and the speaker's desire (i.e. luckily, unfortunately etc), e.g. (65), were also found to be frequently selected. In fact, I consider this finding quite interesting, as the particular adjunct types express the writer's feelings, and consequently their distinct presence is understood as further evidence of the strong tendency, already observed in the CESOL texts, to foreground feelings, emotions and personal desires. Interestingly also, several instances of comment adjuncts which are understood to clearly signal the speaker's personal engagement (i.e. to be honest, personally etc) were observed, as shown in (66) below.

(63) [And **of course** the sacrifices are worth it in the long run...] (F605d)

(64) [We all got on **incredibly** well] (F604a)

(65) [**Unfortunately**, the waves and currents leave behind objects thrown from passing ships...] (F1205a)

(66) [I **personally** think new writing should be encouraged] (F606c)

We can then claim that the use of comment adjuncts by CESOL serves to enhance the writer/narrator's presence in the texts, and to make the narration itself more realistic and attractive to the reader. In addition, by creating an impression of dialogue the texts seem to establish a friendly relationship between the implied writer and reader.

Hence, as indicated by our findings, through the use of intensity, usuality and comment adjuncts the CESOL texts seem to foreground meanings associated with

the implied writer/narrator's feelings and personal experiences, thus creating a friendly, conversational tone by means of which the narrated experience becomes more vivid and the implied reader gets the impression of being included in the implied writer's world.

8.2.2.3 *Modal adjuncts in ELIUM*

In ELIUM, our analysis indicated that the most prominent intensity adjuncts are those of the 'limiting' type, as they count 50 of the 105 overall intensity adjunct occurrences therein. A closer examination of our data revealed that 'only' and 'at least' are the most prominent adjuncts of this type, which actually appear to serve to emphasize certain limitations and restrictions associated with the type of information the ELIUM texts are concerned with, that is, information on advertised goods and services. The following are some typical examples:

- (67) [Tickets can be ordered by phone **only** if you have a valid credit card] (E10c)
- (68) [These passes must be purchased **at least** 7 days in advance and are non refundable] (E3b)

As these examples illustrate, the selection of the particular type of adjuncts seems to contribute to the creation of a serious, almost authoritative tone in which potential clients and customers are addressed. Therefore, we understand that the main effect of the use of intensity adjuncts in ELIUM is the same as the main effect of the use of verbal modality, already discussed, that is, the establishment of an asymmetrical power relationship between the implied writer and reader.

The above understanding appears to be further grounded also by the fact that in ELIUM the rather limited use of comment adjuncts turned out to be distributed in just 10 texts, which suggests that only in one third of the ELIUM texts the implied writer comments on the provided information either as a whole or on its parts. Hence, in ELIUM there seems to be little attempt on the part of the implied writer to limit the distance with the implied reader.

To conclude, the analysis indicated that the little concern ELIUM shows for the expression of modality through the use of modal adjuncts basically lies in the frequent use of intensity adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ type. These were understood to contribute to the creation of a rather authoritative tenor, which along with the limited use of comment adjuncts suggests little effort to lessen the distance between the implied writer and reader of the texts.

8.3 Conclusions from Mood analysis

According to our findings from the two stages of Mood analysis (i.e. the analysis of Mood classes and the analysis of Modality) the three sub-corpora present distinct tendencies regarding the type of linguistic choices by means of which they encode different interpersonal meanings. In what follows, the most prominent interpersonal meanings Mood analysis has revealed are consolidated separately for each sub-corpus, along with the linguistic choices through which they are expressed.

8.3.1 Interpersonal meanings in KPG

In KPG, the dominant interpersonal meaning Mood analysis has revealed is the positioning of the implied writer as an expert and adviser. This is mainly due to the fact that several linguistic choices were understood to contribute to the creation of a suggestive and at times rather authoritative tenor in which the implied writer addresses the implied reader, thereby establishing an asymmetrical power relationship with her/him. Precisely, the implied reader of the KPG texts, mainly construed as a world citizen who consistently appears to be either informed or strongly advised on various ecological, health, and socio-political matters, is set up as someone in need of information, guidance and advice. Yet certain attempts to lessen the distance with the reader seem to indicate concern for a more balanced distribution of power. Another, however less distinct, interpersonal meaning our findings suggest is the particular concern the KPG texts appear to show for the truth of the information they provide and the precision of intended meanings.

Let us now turn to the linguistic choices which we understand to contribute to the expression of the interpersonal meanings stated above. Thus, a distance between the implied writer and the reader is established through the frequent use of imperative clauses by means of which the implied readers are strongly urged to take some sort of action regarding the aforementioned issues of significance. Also, the use of ‘must’ and ‘should’ in order to express high and median modulated actions seems to have the same effect. In addition, despite the fact that

the high proportion of modal adjuncts generally suggests an attempt to limit the distance between writer and reader, the effect of their use in the KPG texts curiously appears to be rather the opposite. This is mainly due to the fact that the type of modal adjuncts most frequently occurring in the KPG texts (i.e. intensity and usuality adjuncts) appears to basically serve the enhancement and precision of meanings associated with socio-political, health and ecological issues rather than the enhancement of the writer's presence in the texts. What is more, the fact that the most frequently selected comment adjuncts in the KPG texts are those of the speech-functional type provides further evidence to claim that there is a tendency to avoid expressing the writer's personal comment on the information s/he provides, thus making her/his presence discreet and consequently keeping a distance from the reader.

However, there are indications of certain strategies which the KPG texts appear to employ in order to temper the power and the distance the writer's role as expert and adviser implies. Precisely, the almost equal distribution of high and median modulation in KPG appears to indicate concern for tempering the effect of the authoritative tenor to which the use of high modulation contributes. Also, the use of elliptical and interrogative clauses seems to serve the same purpose, as both types contribute to the creation of an informal tenor, questions in particular creating an impression of dialogue between reader and writer. Moreover, the patterns of modalization observed in KPG and particularly the fact that low modalization realized mainly through the use of 'can' is the most frequently used type, have been interpreted as an attempt to express the writer's opinion in a more

tentative way, thereby creating a suggestive rather than authoritative tenor, in which the implied writer advises the reader in a cautious manner, and which may also suggest respect for the opinion of the reader. Another way in which power seems to be tempered in KPG is the use of high modulation in order to strongly urge powerful text participants, other than the implied reader, to take action in relation to matters of significance. This creates the impression that all text participants are treated equally, authority representatives not being exempt. It also implies concern for a fairer distribution of power among text participants, thus attaching a political undertone to the construed proposals.

Finally, the concern of KPG for the truth of the provided information and the precision of intended meanings is expressed through the use of elliptical declaratives and modal adjuncts. Precisely, the effect of the use of elliptical declaratives in particular text types (i.e. information leaflets) seems to be the foregrounding of the gist of the information provided. On the other hand, the frequent use of comment adjuncts of the speech-functional type (i.e. in general, overall, in fact, actually) appears to express the writer's attempt to either confirm or emphasize the truth of her/his propositions, while the frequent use of median usuality adjuncts (i.e. often, usually) was understood to validate intended meanings rather than simply qualify them in terms of frequency.

8.3.2 *Interpersonal meanings in CESOL*

In CESOL, the positioning of the writer and the reader as close friends is understood to be the most prominent interpersonal meaning. Thus, several linguistic choices appear to contribute to the creation of a friendly, conversational tone, by means of which the writer attempts to minimize the distance between her/himself and the reader, thereby establishing a friendly relationship with her/him.

Specifically, despite the fact that in terms of mood class choices CESOL makes the greatest use of full declarative clauses, which is actually justified by the generic type of the texts (i.e. personal experience narratives), the use of elliptical declaratives and interrogatives seems to mainly contribute to the creation of an informal conversational tone. Questions in particular, in which the implied reader is indirectly addressed, frequently appear to create an impression of dialogue between the writer and reader/s of the texts.

Yet, in CESOL the establishment of a friendly relationship with the reader seems to be mainly attempted through the use of median and low modalization of the implicit, subjective type, thereby suggesting equal concern for a subjective however balanced and cautious tone in which intended meanings are expressed. Precisely, with the use of modal operators ‘will’, ‘would’, ‘could’, ‘can’, or ‘might’ the implied writer/narrator appears to express her/his opinion on matters s/he has personal experience in a tentative way. Thus, taking into account that an

opinion based on personal experience is normally considered to be non-arguable, the implied writer of the CESOL texts becomes more likeable to the reader and speaks as a friend.

The creation of a friendly, conversational tone in the CESOL texts is also understood to be achieved through the frequent use of modal adjuncts. Specifically, intensity adjuncts as well as usuality and comment adjuncts appear to serve the above purpose, since by creating an impression of dialogue, the distance between the writer and reader is further reduced and the narrated experience becomes more vivid and attractive to the reader. Moreover, the narrator's presence in the texts gets enhanced and the reader gets the feeling that s/he is part of the writer's world.

Another linguistic pattern which seems to contribute to the establishment of a friendly relationship with the reader is the limited use of imperatives and high modulation. As earlier said, these two linguistic choices are mainly responsible for the creation of an authoritative tenor. Hence, the fact that imperatives have a very low frequency in CESOL, as well as the fact that the few patterns of high modulation occurring therein construe the implied writer/narrator and not the implied reader as their addressee, and therefore intended meanings are construed as the writer/narrator's duties and responsibilities rather than as rules or advice addressed to the implied reader, provides further evidence to support that the CESOL texts show a strong preference for a friendly, intimate tenor rather than an authoritative or suggestive one.

In CESOL the writer also appears to attempt to establish a relation of closeness with the reader by claiming common ground. The findings from the mood analysis of the CESOL texts revealed that personal experiences and feelings are consistently foregrounded. This, considering the strong tendency of the CESOL texts to set up their writer and reader as friends and consequently as like-minded people, is regarded as a strong indication that personal experiences and feelings are implied as common ground between them.

Thus, the dominance of full declaratives and the high use of intensity adjuncts are understood as two different ways in which personal experiences are foregrounded, whereas the foregrounding of feelings appears to be expressed through the use of adjuncts of a high degree of usuality and the distinct use of comment adjuncts of the qualificative type. Specifically, the dominance of full declaratives in CESOL was found to be closely associated with the construal of the implied writer as provider of factual information based on her/his personal experiences. Also, the high frequency of intensity adjuncts seems to contribute to the enhancement of meanings associated with personal experiences. On the other hand, the use of certain adjuncts signaling a high degree of usuality (e.g. always, never) appears to basically serve to intensify meanings and particularly feelings associated with personal experiences, while the distinct presence of comment adjuncts of the qualificative type seems to serve to foreground the writer's feelings, emotions and personal desires.

8.3.3 *Interpersonal meanings in ELIUM*

In ELIUM, the most salient interpersonal meanings the Mood analysis revealed are: the establishment of an asymmetrical power relationship with the implied reader, which results from a rather authoritative tenor in which the texts address her/him, an attempt to temper the impact of authoritative expressions and/or conceal the identity of those responsible for them, and the construal of the implied reader as a potential customer. These interpersonal features appear to mainly characterize the relationship between consumers and the commercial world and the relationship between citizens and authority representatives, as suggested by the many instances in which the addressers of the ELIUM texts are the commercial world and various authority representatives, yet the latter less often, while potential consumers and citizens are their addressees.

The particular linguistic choices which were understood to contribute to the establishment of the asymmetrical power relationship of the ELIUM texts with their implied reader are: the prominent use of imperative clauses, the frequent use of high and low modulation of the implicit type, the preference for intensity adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ type and the rare use of comment adjuncts. Specifically, although the use of imperatives in ELIUM turned out to be basically associated with various strategies typically employed in advertising discourse, we could not overlook the fact that imperatives are by definition associated with power and consequently their presence alone in a considerable number of ELIUM texts cannot but indicate an unequal power relationship.

Another pattern which is understood to signify the distinct tendency of the ELIUM texts for an authoritative tenor and which is closely associated with the use of the imperative, is the high proportion of modulation of the type of obligation observed therein, realized particularly through the use of the modal operator 'must' and the metaphorical expression of modality 'be required', by means of which the commercial world and, less frequently, various forms of authority implicitly demand certain forms of action from consumers or citizens. Hence, the commercial world and the authority representatives appear to have the power to set rules the consumers and citizens are expected to comply with.

A similar though not so strong effect seems to result from the use of low modulated clauses, as they appear to limit the addresser's authority in just giving permission rather than demanding the addressee's compliance with rules. In addition, the use of intensity adjuncts and particularly the prominence of certain adjuncts of the 'limiting' type (i.e. only, at least), which were found to emphasize a number of limitations and restrictions concerning advertised goods and services, is another linguistic pattern which appears to be conducive to the authoritative tone in which the ELIUM texts tend to address their readers. Finally, the limited use of comment adjuncts is understood as a further indication that the ELIUM texts make little effort to lessen the distance with their implied reader.

Yet, despite the fact that so many different linguistic patterns in the ELIUM texts appear to point to their strong tendency to select an authoritative tenor when the commercial world or the authorities address consumers or citizens, we could not

help observing a discreet yet significant tendency to temper the impact of expressions of power and/or conceal the identity of those responsible for them. Precisely, the presence of depersonalized commands, realized either through the use of 'must' or through the combined use of high modulation and agentless passives, seems to temper the impact of the frequent use of imperative types of modality, as by concealing the identity of those imposing rules and regulations the authority behind them remains unspecified.

A similar effect is also understood to result from the frequent use of the objective type of low modulation and of impersonal expressions mainly realized through passivization, interpreted as the writer's covert attempt to avoid assuming responsibility for expressions of power. Another pattern that serves to temper the authoritative impact of imperatives and modulated clauses is the presence of median modalized clauses, in which 'will' is combined with agentless passives. This seems to serve as a tentative, yet not so frequent, way in which the ELIUM texts express rules and regulations. Significantly however, the use of low modalization realized through modal operators such as 'can', 'may', or 'might', by means of which scientists express their opinion on scientific issues, may suggest that scientists, unlike representatives of the commercial world and the authorities, express cautious and balanced opinions.

In ELIUM a considerable number of patterns were also found to serve as typical features of advertising discourse. Thus, the frequent presence of imperatives, elliptical and minor clauses in advertising texts indicates various strategies

associated with advertising discourse. Precisely, imperatives function as suggestions to the implied reader either to buy or use the advertised goods and services or to acquire extra information about them, while elliptical and minor clauses basically serve the economy of advertising space. In addition, the analysis of modality indicated that the frequent use of 'can' in modalized actions associated with advertised products and services contributes to their construal as a range of options available to the potential customer, thus expressing the advertiser's attempt to implicitly claim the variety of options offered. Also the use of 'will' in median modalized actions was understood to express the advertiser's promises to potential customers.

All the above patterns point to different sub-strategies of speaker/addressee involvement which are employed in advertising discourse in order to persuade the addressee to use the advertised goods and services. In this respect, and given that in the above patterns the implied reader is addressed by the implied reader, it can be concluded that a considerable number of ELIUM texts construe their implied writer as a representative of the commercial world and the implied reader as a potential customer.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

9.1 Conclusions of the study

In this study, the detailed and systematic lexicogrammatical analysis conducted on a corpus of reading comprehension texts used by three different English language examination batteries has revealed the different world representations of each battery. The findings from the analysis have provided linguistic evidence for the different socio-cultural realities the texts of each battery sub-corpus construe, thus confirming the initial assumption of the study, namely that the texts of each exam battery are invested with different ideologies.

On the whole, the experiential meanings the texts of each battery construe are totally different from those of the other two. That is, the texts of each exam battery express different world-views, different values and beliefs. As regards the interpersonal meanings encoded in the texts, it is interesting to note that the reader of CESOL texts is positioned differently when compared to the reader of KPG and ELIUM texts. In fact, while CESOL texts position their readers as friends, the relationship established between the writer and reader of KPG and ELIUM texts is one of unequal power.

Specifically, in KPG texts the predominant ideological meanings are: a) their glocal socio-political character, b) their concern for the establishment of awareness, and c) the positioning of the implied writer as an expert and adviser. In CESOL texts the prevalent ideological meanings are: a) their vivid, introspective character, b) their concern for exciting and challenging life experiences, c) the construal of fame and success as central values closely associated with personal achievement and creativity, and d) the positioning of the implied writer and reader as friends. The dominant ideological meanings in ELIUM texts are: a) the construal of American history and culture as significant values, b) the great concern they show for scientific research and development, c) the construal of a market-oriented world, where advertising occupies a central role, d) the power of the commercial world and the authorities and a systematic tendency to temper or conceal it, and e) the establishment of unequal power relations between the implied writer and reader.

In what follows we shall proceed into an interpretation of the findings of the thesis and we shall see how the systematic discursive and linguistic choices of the texts of each battery sub-corpus contribute to the construal of the particular socio-cultural meanings that turned out to characterize each exam battery.

9.1.1 World representations in KPG

The analysis indicated that the particular ideological meanings which point to the glocal socio-political character of KPG texts are: a global perspective which

incorporates a local element, the special concern they express for ecological, health and socio-political issues, and a tendency towards a balanced distribution of power among text participants. In particular, the ‘glocal’ character of KPG texts becomes apparent in the selection of human actants from different parts of the world, among whom Greeks have a distinct presence, and in patterns of material, mental, verbal, and possessive processes, in which the ‘world citizen’ functions as the main Actor, Senser, Sayer, and Possessor, respectively, thus construed as the protagonist of what is happening in the world the texts represent.

The socio-political character of KPG texts is primarily shown in the thematic choices of the texts, and the selection of human as well as non-human actants. The analysis indicated that the text topics most frequently selected are related to the thematic fields of ecological, health and socio-political issues. It also revealed that in KPG texts there is a high proportion of non-human actants from the categories of ‘ecological issues’, ‘socio-political issues’, and ‘health, fitness & diet’. In addition, the prominence of human actants such as citizens, activists, eco-tourists, experts on environmental and health matters, powerful authorities (i.e. the UN, a European Commission, state governments etc), as well as national, international and major social groups provides further evidence for the great concern KPG texts show for ecological, health and socio-political issues.

Moreover, through the use of material, mental and verbal processes KPG texts construe the protagonists of the world they represent, namely the ‘world citizens’ (i.e. a broader actant category made up from the aforementioned prominent

groups, characterized by the international identity of their participants and by their socio-political role as citizens) to be primarily involved in activities which point to three major areas of concern: the environment, health and well-being, and socio-political conditions.

Specifically, in patterns of material processes we see that the commodities consumers buy in the world construed by KPG texts clearly imply concern for a healthy life and environment, while the creativity of the KPG world participants seems to be almost exclusively focused on the promotion of ecological and socio-political matters. What is more, the ‘world citizen’ often appearing in the role of the Actor in certain types of material processes is construed as a person who cares for the environment and for the public health, controls her/his actions that have a negative impact on the environment, changes wrong practices, and often joins forces with her/his fellow citizens in order to influence the attitudes or activities of those in power.

In addition, ‘world citizens’ often appearing as the Sensors of Phenomena associated with ecological and socio-political issues in certain types of mental processes are construed as thinking people, whose desires and decisions are determined by their increased ecological and socio-political awareness. Also, in patterns of verbal processes activists are construed to either simply or forcefully state their opinion on various ecological and socio-political issues. Finally, in patterns of possessive processes ‘world citizens’ are often construed as Possessors

of abstractions, that is, as active people who have the power and the right to affect the socio-political life of their surroundings.

As it becomes obvious from all the above findings, in the KPG world it seems to be important that its participants, as long as they are citizens of the world, regardless of their particular occupation, education or nationality, be involved in actions which have a positive impact on matters of socio-political or ecological nature. This understanding gains further support by the frequent occurrence of agentless passive transformations of prominent material processes, by means of which the human participants are deleted and the particular actions are foregrounded, thus appearing as the outcome of collective rather than individual effort.

The particular concern KPG texts express for ecological, health and socio-political issues also becomes apparent in the use of relational attributive and identifying processes as well as in the use of modal adjuncts. Specifically, the use of relational attributive processes of the quality attribution type often serves the description of the different aspects of various environmental, health and socio-political issues, while there is frequent selection of quality characterizations which carry socio-political undertones. On the other hand, relational identifying processes of various types mainly serve to identify, define and explain notions associated with ecological, health, or social issues. Finally, the most frequently used modal adjuncts in KPG texts, that is, the intensity adjuncts ‘only’ and ‘even’,

were found to basically contribute to the enhancement of meanings associated with socio-political, health and ecological issues.

Another indication of the political character of KPG texts is a tendency towards a balanced distribution of power among their text participants, thus creating the impression that all text participants are treated equally. This becomes apparent in the more or less equal distribution of actants across and within the most prominent human actant categories and of the particular actant groups and sub-groups each category comprises. It also becomes apparent in certain transitivity and modality patterns, namely in patterns of material processes in which powerful actants are construed to have equal rights and responsibilities with less powerful ones and in the use of high modulation, which often appears to serve to strongly urge powerful text participants to take action in relation to matters of significance.

We shall now turn to the next ideological meaning the analysis revealed in KPG texts, that is, the special concern they show for the establishment of awareness. Contributing to this understanding is the foregrounding of cognition and a distinct tendency to focus on the truth and validity of the provided information as well as on the accuracy and precision of the intended meanings. Precisely, the significance of cognition is understood to be primarily shown in the distribution of mental processes in KPG texts, which indicated the dominance of the cognitive type. Moreover, through patterns of cognitive processes in which ‘world citizens’ function as Sensors of Phenomena associated with ecological and socio-political

issues, the texts focus their attention on what the ‘world citizens’ know, think, understand and so forth.

The tendency of KPG texts to focus on the truth and validity of the provided information becomes apparent in the foregrounding of valid and objective information and in its construal as a significant value. Among the lexicogrammatical and discursive choices which point to this conclusion are the great proportion of information leaflets in KPG texts and the distinct preference they show for third person narration, the latter actually indicating concern for an objective presentation of reality.

The concern of KPG texts for objective characterizations, which are based on facts rather than subjective quality characterizations, is also shown in the high ratio of relational attributive processes of the quality attribution of the outer experience type to those of quality attribution of the inner experience type. Finally, the frequent use of comment adjuncts of the speech-functional type (i.e. in general, overall, in fact, actually) is understood to express the writer’s attempt to either confirm or emphasize the truth of her/his propositions, whereas the frequent use of median usuality adjuncts (i.e. often, usually) appears to serve to validate intended meanings rather than simply qualify them in terms of frequency.

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The tendency of KPG texts to focus on the accuracy and precision of intended meanings is primarily shown in the use of relational identifying processes. KPG texts have the highest proportion of relational identifying processes, which

suggests that they are greatly concerned with defining and explaining the world they represent. The analysis indicated that the overall use of relational identifying processes in KPG texts serves to either specify the gist of the construed meanings or to provide an accurate and clear understanding of the issues the texts touch upon, thus implying the significance of knowledge and awareness. It is also interesting to note that the significance of establishing definitions is further reinforced by the fact that they make frequent use of relational identifying processes of the definition type, whereas in the other two sub-corpora this type either occurs marginally or is totally absent. What is more, the special concern KPG texts show for the accuracy and precision of intended meanings becomes also apparent in the frequent use of certain modal adjuncts (i.e. the intensity adjuncts 'only' and 'even') and the use of elliptical declaratives in certain text types (i.e. information leaflets), which actually serve the foregrounding of the gist of the provided information.

Let us now turn to the most prominent interpersonal meaning the analysis revealed in KPG texts, that is, the positioning of the implied writer as an expert and adviser. We have seen that the implied writer of KPG texts is almost invariably represented by some sort of expert or authority representative, whereas the 'world citizen', already pointed out as the main protagonist of the KPG world, is positioned as the texts' implied reader. Hence, KPG texts are addressed to the 'world citizen', which entails that their implied readers, that is, the KPG exam candidates, are positioned as 'world citizens', bearing all these characteristics KPG texts construe for their 'world citizens'.

Thus, given the powerful role of the implied writer, which her/his particular social identity as well as her/his position as an expert and adviser entails, and the serious, alternating between suggestive and authoritative, tenor in which the implied readers are addressed, KPG texts are understood to establish a rather asymmetrical relationship between their implied writer and reader. Among the several linguistic and discursive choices of KPG texts which point to the power of the implied writer and which contribute to the establishment of distance between the implied writer and reader are their preference for third person narration, the use of nominalization, as well as the type of modal adjuncts KPG texts tend to select. In relation to the latter in particular, the preference for comment adjuncts of the speech-functional type is understood to imply the implied writer's attempt to avoid expressing her/his personal comment on the information s/he provides.

Yet, the greatest contribution to this effect comes from the high use of imperatives and the use of the modal operators *must* and *should* in high and median modulated actions. Precisely, through the use of the former the implied reader appears to be strongly urged to take some sort of action regarding ecological, health and other significant issues, while the use of the latter is understood to position the implied writer in the role of the advisor, thus strongly urging 'world citizens' to show their active concern for ecological, health and other relevant issues.

It is also interesting to note that KPG texts often attempt to lessen the distance between the implied writer and reader, thus creating a more suggestive tone by means of which intended meanings are expressed as advice. The linguistic

selections which appear to contribute to this effect are the frequent use of RDA, particularly in information leaflets, the use of elliptical and interrogative clauses, the almost equal distribution of median and high modulation, as well as certain patterns of low modalization (i.e. mainly through the use of the modal operator *can*). The last two, in particular, are understood to temper the impact of imperatives and high modulation and to enable the implied writer to express her/his opinion in a more tentative way, respectively.

Taking into account the interpretation of the linguistic and textual choices of KPG texts we have discussed so far, we are led to see the social reality the texts construe. Hence, the ideology encoded in the KPG texts is that the KPG exam candidates are viewed as socially active ‘world citizens’ who are interested in environmentally friendly practices, public hygiene, health and diet, and matters of greater social interest, or knowledgeable, creative social subjects, aware of what is going on around them.

As regards the interpersonal meanings the analysis revealed, KPG texts set up their implied writer as an expert and adviser, who adopts a suggestive and at times rather authoritative tone in which to either inform or strongly urge the implied reader to take some sort of action or change a wrong attitude. Given that test texts actually address candidates, it is interesting that the text writer is construed as someone who has better access to the truth and consequently good knowledge of what has to be done. The reader, on the other hand, appears to be in need of valid

information, advice and guidance – which obviously an educational institution is supposed to be able to provide.

9.1.2 World representations in CESOL

A distinct feature of the CESOL texts is their introspective character, which is understood to be mainly due to the strong tendency they show to foreground the world of consciousness of their participants, that is, their cognition, perceptions, feelings and emotions. That is, we have seen that the CESOL participants are constantly construed to report and examine their inner thoughts, feelings and desires, or to look within themselves and identify their own character traits and flaws.

The introspective character of CESOL is largely due to the prominent use of mental processes, as it is the sub-corpus with the highest frequencies of mental processes on the whole, as well as of their different types. In addition, the several patterns of cognitive, perceptive, desiderative and emotive processes, in which the most prominent CESOL participants function as Sensors, suggests that the CESOL world abounds with ideas, feelings, desires, and emotions.

However, there are several other ways in which CESOL texts encode the great significance of the world of inner experience. Specifically, patterns of certain types of material processes, patterns of behavioural, relational attributive, and possessive processes, as well as the overall use of relational identifying processes

serve the foregrounding of the participants' feelings and emotions. As regards the latter, it is interesting to note that one of the basic purposes that the overall use of identifying processes was found to serve in CESOL texts is to explain and specify the participants' world of inner experience. In fact, this becomes particularly apparent in patterns, in which the participants' thoughts, ideas, feelings, intentions and ambitions are explained and specified by means of nominalized mental processes.

Interestingly also, considering the type of relational attributive processes CESOL texts tend to select from, we have seen that the most frequently used patterns function as metaphorical expressions of mental clauses, through the use of which participants are understood to be characterized by strong feelings and emotions. By the same token, through patterns of possessive processes of the 'possession of abstractions' type various participants are construed as Possessors of abstractions denoting feelings, ideas and intentions.

One more indication of this tendency in CESOL texts is that in the category of non-human actants labelled 'abstractions' there is a prominence of actants denoting cognitions, perceptions, and feelings. Further evidence for the great significance of feelings and emotions in the CESOL world is also provided by the use of mood adjuncts signaling a high degree of usuality (i.e. always, never) and the distinct use of comment adjuncts of the qualificative type, by means of both of which feelings, emotions and personal desires are either intensified or foregrounded.

Let us now turn to another distinct feature of CESOL texts, namely their special concern for the personal life experiences of their British participants. A strong initial indication of the significance of personal life experiences are the generic and thematic choices of the texts. Precisely, the personal experience narrative, produced within magazine articles is the most frequently chosen text type, while very few are the texts which are not concerned with some sort of personal experience. In addition, the thematic choices of the texts point to their distinct preference for the British participants' working and travelling experiences, as they tend to almost exclusively select experiences from the fields of work and travelling. In fact, a combination of the two is quite often selected.

Hence, work and travelling, as well as working and living in a different culture, are understood to be significant values in the CESOL world, their value primarily consisting in that they are construed as sources of valuable experience. The findings also indicated a preference for exciting and challenging working and travelling experiences, as the CESOL participants from a young age whether working or travelling appear to choose the hard way, that is, they tend to pursue the new, the unusual, the difficult, and the adventurous.

Several lexico-grammatical choices point to the significance of challenging and exciting working and/or travelling experiences in the CESOL world, such as the distinct presence of working people and adventure travellers among the human actants of the CESOL texts as well as the frequent selection of non-human actants from the categories of 'work issues' and 'travelling'. The fact that working and

travelling are central activities in the CESOL world also becomes apparent in the frequent selection of particular material processes, in patterns of which, young people, artists and celebrities are construed to mainly travel abroad and to often combine travelling abroad with their work. In addition, working and living in a different culture is construed as a significant experience through the use of mental processes of the perceptive type, relational attributive processes, and relational identifying processes of the neutral type. It is actually interesting that by means of relational attributive processes, personal experiences are often attributed qualities of sensing, which are equivalent to mental processes of the emotive type, thus construing a world of exciting and unusual life experiences. Further evidence for the significance of personal experiences in the CESOL world is also provided by the frequent use of intensity adjuncts, which appears to constantly serve the enhancement of meanings associated with personal experiences.

Hence, in the CESOL world the participants' experiences, whether concerning their inner or outer world, are of significant value. However, apart from foregrounding the participants' world of inner and outer experience, CESOL texts also tend to foreground the close relationship between them. Specifically, in CESOL texts personal experiences are constantly construed to generate feelings, emotions and so on, whereas feelings, desires, and the like appear to generate new experiences. We can then claim that what is actually the focus of attention in the CESOL texts is the continuous feedback between the world of consciousness and the world of personal experiences. Put differently, the interdependence of the two worlds is what the CESOL texts appear to be mainly concerned with.

The close relation between the CESOL text participants' inner world and their life experiences becomes particularly apparent in patterns of mental processes of all types, in which the most prominent human actants appear as their Sensors, thus suggesting that what they think, know, realize and learn but also what they sense, wish, and feel is determined by their life experiences. In fact, through such patterns young people, in particular, are construed to be learning new things mainly through life experiences. Interestingly also, the overall use of relational attributive processes was found to serve the construal of a world where human participants' strong feelings and emotions are basically due to their exciting and unusual life and work experiences.

Another ideological meaning encoded in CESOL texts is that fame and success are central values, closely associated with personal achievement, creativity, and hard effort. This is what is indicated through the constant foregrounding of famous and successful participants and their achievements, as well as through the participants' persistent attempts to prove themselves, achieve personal goals and fulfill their ambitions through hard work and the use of their creative skills.

Among the lexico-grammatical choices which point to this conclusion are the prominence of celebrities and the distinct preference the CESOL participants show for jobs associated with some kind of glamour (i.e. jobs of a higher rank, artistic jobs, and jobs in the media world). It is also interesting that through the use of certain material processes money is mainly construed as a means to acquire commodities associated with the participants' artistic interests. Moreover, in

several patterns of certain material processes we see that creative activities of an artistic and intellectual nature and the pursuit of achievement and success are at the centre of the field of action in the CESOL world. This becomes also apparent in the use of relational attributive processes and in the use of particular material processes, the former serving to attribute work qualities which denote its role as a basic means to success, unusual achievements, and the fulfillment of personal ambitions, and the latter serving the construal of the pursuit of achievement and success as the basic motive that drives the CESOL participants to create, work and travel.

Work and travelling, in particular, are often construed as opportunities for the participants to gain social recognition, fame, and success, which further highlights the significance of these values in the CESOL world. It is worth noting that certain material processes construe the CESOL 'commercial world', which is mainly represented by successful business people, to be characterized by hard work rather than profit-making, thus construing hard work as a means to success. Interestingly also, CESOL texts seem to encode the significance of social recognition, which is understood to be closely related to fame and success, by means of the passivization of certain mental and verbal processes, thus construing the processes in question as qualities of the associated participants.

As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the prevalent interpersonal meanings the analysis revealed in CESOL texts are their vivid character and the positioning of the implied writer and reader as friends. These meanings are

basically realized through the use of particular discursive and linguistic choices which contribute to the creation of a friendly, conversational tone, by means of which the texts lessen the distance with their implied readers and establish a friendly relationship with them. In addition, the conversational tone of CESOL texts serves the construal of a particularly vivid and attractive reality.

Thus, the prominent use of first person narration, the effect of which is actually further reinforced by the extensive use of quoted speech, is one of the strongest indications that CESOL texts create a friendly, conversational tone. Another indication is the fact that CESOL is the sub-corpus with the highest proportion of verbal processes, which suggests that there is rich verbal interaction in the world the texts it contains represent. What is more, the type of verbal processes CESOL texts tend to select from, points to their preference for verbal actions that serve to exchange rather than impose ideas and opinions.

Other lexico-grammatical choices, which are understood to contribute to the same effect, are the use of elliptical declaratives and interrogatives, in which the implied reader is indirectly addressed, the use of median and low modalization of the implicit, subjective type, the frequent use of modal adjuncts and their particular types the texts tend to select, as well as the limited use of imperatives, high modulation, passivization and nominalization. In fact, the limited use of passivization and nominalization in CESOL texts is understood to express their preference for more transparent and straightforward ways in which to express

intended meanings, thus implying concern for the establishment of a relationship of trust with their readers.

Apart from the creation of a friendly, conversational tone, another way in which CESOL texts are understood to attempt to position their implied writer and reader as friends is by setting them up as like-minded people, which is mainly achieved by claiming common ground with their implied reader. The analysis indicated that CESOL texts seek to establish a friendly relationship with their readers by means of construing the participants' inner and outer experiences as common ground with their readers. That is, CESOL texts attempt to build a synthetic friendship with their readers on the assumption that their readers are equally concerned with the particular experiences the texts focus on. Therefore, we can claim that the foregrounding of personal experiences, feelings and so on in CESOL texts, implies their construal as 'common ground' with the reader.

Among the lexico-grammatical choices which point to the foregrounding of feelings and personal experiences and to their construal as common ground are the dominance of full declaratives and the use of modal adjuncts. Interestingly also, we have seen that the frequent presence of 'people in general' in the CESOL population as well as the frequent use of 'generalized *you*' serve to generalize intended meanings, thus contributing to their construal as common ground between the texts' writer and reader.

To sum up, the world CESOL texts represent is full of interesting and intense experiences, by means of which its British participants are offered ample opportunities to live and feel their uniqueness and individuality and to advance their social and professional status. Moreover, the participants of this world are creative, artistic, and adventurous, they highly value their working and travelling experiences and they pursue fame and success.

In addition, the great concern for the vivid representation of this world as well as the friendly, conversational tenor, by means of which CESOL texts, unlike KPG and ELIUM texts, establish a friendly relationship with their readers, implies a warm invitation to the reader of the texts, that is, the CESOL exam candidate, to participate in this world.

9.1.3 World representations in ELIUM

The world construed by ELIUM texts, unlike the world of KPG and CESOL texts, is inhabited by American people who are largely involved in organized leisure-time activities, which combine entertainment with the exploration of the history and culture of their own country, including the ‘classical’ American values put forth by famous American old stars and performers. Thus, American history and culture are significant values in the ELIUM world. Among the lexicogrammatical choices which point to this conclusion are the frequent selection of non-human actants from the category of ‘history and culture’, the presence of ethnic and cultural minorities in the human actant categories, and the limited yet

distinct presence of famous American old stars and performers. In addition, there is systematic use of patterns of certain material and mental process types, by means of which tour participants and visitors are construed as explorers of the history and culture of their country.

Moreover, the world these texts create is particularly concerned with scientific research and developments. This becomes apparent in the distribution of generic types and thematic choices, in the selection of human and non-human actants, and in certain patterns of dominant mental processes. That is, apart from the fact that ELIUM is the sub-corpus which comprises the highest proportion of scientific texts, the significance of science in the ELIUM world is also apparent in the frequent selection of a wide range of specialized scientists and researchers in the category of 'educated people and specialists' as well as of non-human actants from the category of 'science & technology'.

That the ELIUM world of consciousness is basically centered on scientific knowledge is also indicated through the distinct dominance of mental processes of the cognitive type and by the fact that through patterns of the cognitive type, scientists are construed as the participants who almost exclusively monopolize the field of cognition in the ELIUM world. What is more, the relatively limited use of verbal processes basically serves the expression of scientific opinions, thus construing scientists as the most prominent Sayers, that is, the participants whose voices are mostly heard in the world construed by ELIUM texts.

However, a strong feature of the ELIUM world is its market-orientation –a world in which advertising has a central role. Besides the frequent choice of advertisement as the source text for questions, there is consistent use of several linguistic patterns which serve as typical features of advertising discourse, by means of which the implied reader is positioned as a potential consumer. Specifically, there is frequent use of the pronoun *you* in order to directly address the reader, and of the exclusive *we*, by means of which the agency providing the advertised goods and services is construed as a prestigious institution. Moreover, there is frequent use of imperatives, of elliptical declaratives, of minor clauses, as well as of patterns of low and median modalization. Finally, there are several patterns of verbal and possessive processes which actually point to typical strategies of advertising discourse, by means of which the commercial world attempts to persuade its potential customers to use the advertised commodities.

Apart from the patterns clearly associated with advertising discourse, the analysis also revealed several lexico-grammatical choices which contribute to the construal of a market-oriented world, where the implied writer is the supplier of various goods and services, and the implied reader is a potential customer. The same purpose also appears to be served by patterns through which the supplier-customer relationship between the implied writer and reader is foregrounded, as well as the key-role of money in this relationship. Besides the distinct prominence of the commercial world among the ELIUM human actants and the frequent selection of non-human actants from the category of ‘financial matters’, there are certain lexico-grammatical choices which contribute to this construal. That is,

through patterns of certain material processes ‘everyday people’ are construed as potential customers and various goods and services are construed as commodities, while through patterns of certain verbal processes everyday people are construed to either request or order goods and services. Moreover, there are patterns of possessive processes in which the possession of commodities is clearly associated with financial matters. Finally, it is interesting to note that the consistent use of the adjective *available* in patterns of relational attributive processes serves the construal of the commercial world as the supplier of a wide range of commodities.

The powerful position of the authorities and the commercial world is another ideological meaning the ELIUM texts encode. The commercial world is powerful economically, as indicated by its role as the supplier of commodities and consequently as a money-maker. However, the analysis indicated that the power of the ELIUM commercial world consists also in that, apart from the authorities, it is the only other participant category that has the power to impose rules and regulations and there is linguistic evidence showing that, in this world, citizens and potential customers are expected to comply with them.

Specifically, besides the prominence of the human actant categories of ‘the commercial world’ and the ‘authorities’ in the ELIUM texts, we have seen that certain material processes construe a business world which is involved in a wide range of creative, yet exclusively profit-making activities. In addition, certain verbal processes construe representatives of the commercial world to set requirements and to give recommendations or advice to potential customers.

Interestingly also, in patterns of relational attributive processes of the inner experience type, Attributes functioning as metaphorical expressions of obligation and necessity are associated with services, facilities and money matters.

Yet, the power of the commercial world and the authorities becomes most obvious in the serious, rather authoritative tenor in which ELIUM texts address their implied reader. According to the findings that Mood analysis mainly indicated, the text writer is positioned as a representative either of the commercial world or of the authorities, who has an authoritative tone when addressing the reader –often positioned as a potential customer. Hence, the relationship between writer and reader is unequal, as it is in the KPG world, but for a different reason.

Among the several linguistic and discursive choices which contribute to the creation of a serious, rather authoritative tenor, in which ELIUM texts address their readers, are the consistent use of third person narration, of verbal processes of the semiosis/ imperating type, of nominalization patterns, as well as the ample use of imperatives and high modulation of the implicit type (i.e. modulation of the type of obligation realized particularly through the use of the modal operator *must* and the metaphorical expression of modality *be required*). Moreover, the frequent use of low modulation of the implicit type, and of intensity adjuncts of the ‘limiting’ type (i.e. only, at least), which actually serve to emphasize a number of limitations and restrictions concerning advertised goods and services, are further indications of the unequal power distribution between the writer and reader of ELIUM texts. Last but not least, the limited use of comment adjuncts in ELIUM

texts is understood to indicate their little attempt to establish a friendly relationship with the reader.

The tendency of ELIUM texts to temper or conceal the power of power-holders is primarily shown in their systematic attempts to either temper the impact of authoritative expressions or conceal the identity of those responsible for them. That is, there are several linguistic choices which contribute to the systematic obfuscation of the profit-gaining aspect of the customer-supplier relationship and of meanings signaling the power to impose rules, opinions, and regulations.

One of the strongest indications of this tendency is the consistent use of agentless passives in ELIUM texts. Specifically, through the use of agentless passive constructions involving various types of material processes, in which either the ‘commercial world’ or the consumers are implied as their missing agents, the profit-making aspect of the customer-supplier relationship is backgrounded. On the other hand, the fact that the commercial world has the power and the authority to set the rules and regulations, which the consumers are expected to follow, is concealed through patterns of agentless passive constructions involving verbal processes of the semiosis/imperating type and attributive clauses involving Attributes implying power and/or authority, the deleted agents of which are implied to mainly represent the ‘commercial world’.

The backgrounding of the commercial world as a profit-maker is also indicated through the consistent use of the adjective *available* and adjectives denoting

money matters in patterns of quality attribution of the outer experience type. The same effect appears to be also achieved through patterns of *taking* processes, in which the consumers function as Actors, and patterns of *giving* processes, in which the commercial world rarely occurs as a salient Actor. Also, through the use of nominalized processes implying money transactions or rules and regulations, their implied agents are effaced from the surface of the texts and meanings associated with the profit-making aspect of advertising as well as meanings signaling the power of the commercial world to set rules become obscured.

The omission of powerful participants who set rules and regulations is also served by patterns of quality attribution of the inner experience type, in which Attributes functioning as metaphorical expressions of obligation and necessity are associated with services, facilities and money matters. By the same token, depersonalized commands, realized through the use of high modulation, which is often combined with agentless passives, serve to temper the impact of the frequent use of imperative types of modality, yet also to conceal the identity of those imposing rules and regulations. Finally, the frequent use of the objective type of low modulation and of impersonal expressions mainly realized through passivization indicates the writer's attempt to avoid assuming responsibility for expressions of power.

Hence, the values, needs and tastes of the modern American world ELIUM texts represent, are determined by its strong dependence on its scientific, cultural, and

most significantly, market-oriented profile. That is, the ideology embodied in ELIUM texts is that the American participants of this world, who highly value their history and culture as well as scientific opinions, enjoy the abundance of commodities this world provides and the benefits of its scientific progress.

However, the participants of this world are expected to comply with the rules and regulations, set by the commercial world and the authorities, which implies an unequal relationship between the commercial world and the authorities on the one hand, and the potential customers and/or citizens on the other. Interestingly, given that ELIUM texts are actually addressed to the ELIUM exam candidate, this unequal power distribution, which is actually systematically concealed and therefore not readily obvious, is automatically transferred to the relationship between their implied writer and the ELIUM exam candidate.

9.2 Usefulness of the study and suggestions for further research

The study has examined an interesting yet rather neglected aspect of texts used in language certification exams, that is, the ideologies these texts are invested with. The originality of this study lies in that an ideological content analysis has not yet been conducted on texts used in tests, despite the fact that several studies have been concerned with the investigation of ideologies into various types of texts and discourses, among which many have explored the ideologies encoded in the language of textbooks used in schools and of the EFL textbook in particular.

Moreover, the present study provides a systematic method of analysis, which fully exploits the SFL tools of transitivity, mood and modality analysis and combines them with objective quantitative corpus linguistics techniques, for investigating the whole range of experiential and interpersonal meanings (i.e. social reality as a whole rather than a particular aspect of social reality) encoded in a corpus of texts of different types and discourses. In addition, this method of analysis incorporates elements from various approaches to CDA and explores certain aspects of the texts which are associated with the aforementioned types of meanings (i.e. types of narration, modes of address, the use of specific pronouns, and the use of passivization and nominalization), and which the SFL analytical tools do not investigate.

One of the most powerful aspects of the methodology of the study is the development of a socio-semantic inventory for the categorization of actants and the sub-categorization of processes, which the SFL tools do not include and neither does the relevant literature. In fact, this inventory would prove particularly useful in the qualitative analysis of findings in similar future research projects with critical aims. Moreover, the categories suggested in this study could be further refined and organized into hierarchical structures (i.e. ontologies), by employing strict, ontologically based criteria.

The usefulness of the study also consists in that it can serve as a starting point from which to pursue further research. Specifically, the findings of this thesis could be further enriched if apart from the Transitivity, Mood and Modality

patterns of the texts in question, a future research project explored the conjunctive relations of the texts, that is, the ways in which logical relations between the parts of the texts are created and expressed by means of subordinate clauses and by the use of logical connectors. This could reveal the presupposed ideas and meanings the texts encode and provide a clearer understanding of the type of experiential meanings the texts construe as 'taken for granted'.

On the other hand, given that what presuppositions assume has the character of 'common sense in the service of power' (Fairclough, 1989: 154) and consequently serve to establish 'common ground' with the 'ideal' text reader, by determining the types of logical relations used in the texts and by examining whether such relations are expressed explicitly or implicitly, our understanding of the particular identities and subject positions the texts construe for their readers could be further reinforced. It would also be illuminating to explore the ideological content of the task questions which accompany the reading texts, as they are directly addressed to the exam candidate and therefore their investigation could provide a clearer understanding of the particular subject positions and identities the texts set up for the exam candidates.

In addition, given that the corpus of this study consists of texts used to assess the candidates' reading comprehension skills at the B2 level of competence, it would be interesting to investigate the reality representations in the reading texts the three batteries have used during the same chronological period for other levels of competence, and compare the findings with these of the present study in order to

see whether the ideological positions of each examination system are consistent across the different levels of competence each system examines.

However, it should be stressed at this point that the ideological meanings the present study revealed are understood to be indicative of the social, political, and cultural trends and tendencies in a given chronological period, that is, the period in which the texts the corpus of the study comprises were used (i.e. from 2000 to 2007). This implies that the ideological tendencies and meanings these texts encode cannot be considered as permanent features of the ideological positions of the institutions which design and administer the particular exams. Neither can the particular institutions be expected to always remain attached to the same values and perspectives. Thus, an investigation of the reading texts of an earlier or a later period might not give the same results and therefore it would be interesting to examine how reality is represented in texts the three batteries used in the past or will use in the future, in order to see how their ideologies might differ over different chronological periods.

The aforementioned suggestion for further research becomes even more tempting since in September 2010, actually a few months before the first draft of this thesis was completed, the University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations and the University of Michigan English Language Institute Testing and Certification Division announced their collaboration and the emergence of a new entity in the field of English language testing, that is, Cambridge-Michigan Language Assessments (CAMLA). What changes will this collaboration bring to the

institutional discourse of the two examination systems, and how will this affect the ideologies that the present study has revealed to be permeating the discourse of the texts of these two batteries? Such assumptions could actually motivate an interesting future research project, which would investigate the ideological meanings in the reading texts used after the collaboration of the two examination systems and compare its findings to those of the present study.

Research can also extend to English language exam batteries other than the ones the present study has focused on, in order to reveal the type of reality these construe and their ideological similarities and differences with the three batteries under consideration in this thesis. By the same token, research can extend from English to other language examination systems. In fact, as KPG is a state examination system which is aimed at evaluating proficiency in different European languages, it would be particularly enlightening to investigate the reality representations construed by texts used in other language exams (i.e. German, Italian, French, Spanish etc) and compare them with those the present study revealed for the English language exams. For instance, it would be important to know how the same examination system (i.e. KPG) positions the candidates of the different languages it examines and how the different language exams of the same system vary in terms of the ideological positions their linguistic and discursive selections signify.

The above constitute but a few suggestions for future research projects in which the findings and methodology of the present study could prove useful. Yet, I

believe that the most important contribution of this study on the whole is the development of critical awareness on the part of all those involved in language learning and testing. Precisely, they become encouraged to develop awareness that texts used for pedagogical purposes, such as these aimed at learning the language or testing reading comprehension competence, are indeed ideologically loaded. Ultimately, by acknowledging the significant role of language both as “an instrument of control” and as “a means for the transformation of ideologies” (Dendrinos 2001b: 177), they will be able to control the ideologies which either consciously or unconsciously permeate the texts they use.