

# **A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors**

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“Language is a cracked kettle on which we beat our tunes for bears to dance to while all the time we long to move the stars to pity,, Gustav Flaubert

## **Abstract**

Systemics is a theory of language that seeks to highlight the relationship between language function and social context. It examines the choices formal linguistic features provide speakers and writers and the effects these choices have on the interpretation of meaning in text. This paper based on the principles of systemic linguistics looks at how two different ‘hard’ news articles position social actors and how through the ‘three main functions of language’ (experiential meaning, interpersonal meaning, and textual meaning) evaluative and subjective stances are created.

## **1.0 Introduction**

The two texts analysed in this paper are unified not only by a similar subject matter but also by a similar social purpose, meaning that they both present events and opinions that argue for the truth of the writers’ proposals and the value of their suggestions.

However, a close systemic analysis will show how the texts differ, particularly

in the ways which they structure their evaluative positions and their attempts to persuade readers of their adoptive stances.

This paper will examine the field, tenor, and mode of the texts, as well as the experiential, interpersonal, and textual modes of meaning in order to reveal these differences and the effects they create.

## **2.0 Definition of field, tenor, mode**

Systemics believes that the relationship between formal linguistic features and social situations is a key factor in the exploration and understanding of the nature of communication.

*Field, tenor, and mode*, also known as ‘the context of situation’ are vital components of the social situation and have a direct influence in the types of meanings realized in texts (White 2000).

Thompson (2004: 40) defines *field* as ‘what is being talked about’; *tenor* as ‘the people involved in the communication and the relationships between them’; and *mode* as ‘how the language is functioning in the interaction’. In other words *field* is the subject matter of the text, *tenor* is the relationship between the writer (speaker) and the audience, and *mode* is the way in which the act of communication is taking place (written or spoken).

## **2.1 Description of texts: Context of situation**

The two texts analyzed in this paper are news articles. One article is from The Guardian (TG), and the second text from New Statesman (NS).

**Figure 1: Summary of field, tenor, and mode**

<b>Field</b>	The texts are examples of serious news as opposed to tabloid news. TG and NS are well-known left-wing British publications. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), TG has a net circulation of over 300,000 while NS's net circulation is around 30,000 (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2007). The articles confront the issue of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's possible extradition. Both texts use Pinochet's extradition issue as a departure point, and proceed to consider other controversial political participants in comparison to the Chilean dictator. TG includes Apon Ocalan, the founding member of the Kurdish militant group <i>Kurdistan Workers Party</i> (PKK), the <i>Palestine Liberation Organization</i> (PLO), and the Italian government as principal participants. NS includes Fidel Castro and the Cuban government as main participants.
<b>Tenor</b>	The texts adopt the 'expert' voice found in serious news discourse. The audience is anonymous however we can assume that the readers are politically inclined.
<b>Mode</b>	Both texts are written as informative news articles and function as typical examples of written media discourse.

Systemic linguistics contends that the three aspects of 'context of situation' coincide with the three functions of language (The three metafunctions of meaning). A text's *field* is reflected in the experiential meanings, *tenor* is reflected in the interpersonal meanings, and *mode* is reflected in the textual meaning. This co-dependent relationship means that when we use language we not only reflect a social situation but at the same time shape and transform it (White 2000).

Although both TG and NS share a similar social context, differences exist between the ways the texts convey their messages and position their audience.

TG presents a more subjective interpretation of events and participants which takes it into the genre of Opinion Piece or Exposition. It makes frequent use of what Iedema et al (1994A) refer to as the Writer Voice. NS, on the other hand, attempts to create a more traditional objective report, typical of a News Story. It employs what is termed the Reporter Voice.

The following sections will provide a closer analysis and elaboration of the formal linguistic features found in the texts and will demonstrate how the differences in the three modes of meaning (experiential, interpersonal, and textual) are a result of the writers' attempt to influence the evaluation of a particular social context.

### 3.0 Modes of meaning: experiential, interpersonal, textual

The following figure is a brief description of what systemics calls the three main functions of language: the experiential, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions.

**Figure 2: Three modes of meaning**

<b>Experiential Meaning</b>	Experiential meaning uses language to encode our experience of the world (Butt et al 2003: 46). This means that language is used to communicate an impression of the reality around us.
<b>Interpersonal Meaning</b>	Interpersonal meaning uses language to encode interaction (Butt et al 86). This means that language is used to exchange information, as well as to adopt specific attitudes and project certain judgements. It deals with the interaction between writer/speaker and audience.
<b>Textual Meaning</b>	Textual meaning uses language to organize and connect the experiential and interpersonal meanings into a coherent whole (Butt et al 2003: 134). This means that language is used to bring together the two meanings into an intelligible text allowing the audience to understand and predict the exchange.

## 4.0 Analysis of experiential meanings

I will begin the analysis with an examination of the experiential meanings, focusing on relational, and verbal processes, as well as representation of participants.

### 4.1 Relational processes

Relational processes identify states of 'being' or 'having'. Examples of these verbal groups include: 'is', 'have', 'sound', 'show', 'prove', and 'demonstrate'. They are standard in news discourse as writers attempt to present their interpretations of events and reality as objective truths. Halliday (1985) believes that these verbal groups imply facts and how things are transformed into facts. The following table highlights the relational verbal groups found in two texts.

**Table 1: Description of relational verbal groups**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Number of verbal groups</b>	<b>Number of relational verbal groups</b>	<b>% of relational verbal groups</b>
<b>TG</b>	69	32	46
<b>NS</b>	75	33	44

The percentages show that both writers use a large number of relational verbs. This creates and maintains a structure typical of factual reporting commonly referred to as 'hard news'. A hard news report, according to Iedema et al (1994A) is impartial, impersonal, and objective. It is the guiding principle of most journalism, meaning that it is the kind of reporting that journalists see as ideal. In a hard news text most of the verbal processes are relational. Relational verbs are also used to position readers into accepting the ideas and opinions presented. Since the presence of a relational verb makes a sentence difficult to contest, it is a very powerful and persuasive tool. Sentence 8 in NS offers a good example of how writers can manipulate relational

verbs to turn evaluations into facts. The writer states:

‘...there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba...’

This ‘clear link’ is presented to the audience as fact, yet there is no elaboration of this statement, no evidence to support this ‘link’, and it is not being directly quoted or referenced. This statement is the author’s opinion reading like truth because of the relational verb ‘is’.

The higher percentage of relational verbs in TG does not necessarily mean that it is more factual. What is actually happening is that the writer is using relational verbs more frequently to create an objective impression while presenting subjective ideological positions. One example of how TG does this is in sentence 3, when the writer begins his description of Ocalan and explains how Ocalan:

‘...has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey.’

This is the writer’s interpretation of events and his appraisal of a principle participant, being presented as truth. It illustrates how relational verbs in TG help keep the writer’s opinions from being challenged and how it keeps him from isolating the audience by making explicit comments appear factual.

The analysis below will show that TG is actually structured as a more subjective text, which is evident through its frequent use of the Writer Voice. According to Iedema et al (1994: 6), the Writer Voice is the personalized, subjective voice of journalistic commentary which employs language resources that signal interpretation,

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

certainty/doubt, and the presence of the author. It contrasts directly with the Reporter Voice which is the impersonal, objective voice of news reporting, and the main voice found in NS.

The next section is an analysis of the verbal processes, or 'projecting' processes (White 2001) found in the texts.

#### 4.1.1 Projecting processes

**Table 2: Summary of projecting processes**

Process	Text: New Statesman (NS)	Text: The Guardian (TG)
Verbal	<p><b>S3:</b> shouldn't there, <b>asks</b> the right, also be a case against Fidel Castro</p> <p><b>S7:</b> Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, <b>has written</b> that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are Fidel Castro's personal province"</p> <p><b>S10:</b> the revolutionaries <b>described</b> this as the "cleansing" of the defeated army</p> <p><b>S12:</b> Castro <b>declared</b> that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction"</p> <p><b>S13:</b> he <b>ordered</b> the firing squads to stop</p> <p><b>S17:</b> Castro himself <b>admitted</b> to 25,000 political prisoners</p>	<p><b>S4:</b> Of course, he <b>claims</b> the usual indulgence for terrorism</p> <p><b>S6:</b> and <b>requested</b> political asylum</p> <p><b>S9:</b> An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, <b>berated</b> them</p> <p><b>S17:</b> The PKK <b>claims</b> to speak for "the Kurds"</p> <p><b>S19:</b> Selim Curukkaya, <b>wrote</b> his" memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan)</p> <p><b>S21:</b> You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, <b>says</b> Selim Curukkaya</p> <p><b>S26:</b> she <b>asked</b> to be killed as well</p> <p><b>S31:</b> Even nationalist Turks sometimes <b>say</b> that there should be a Turkish - Kurdish state</p>

<b>Verbal</b>	<p><b>S24:</b> Castro <b>said</b> it was an accident</p> <p><b>S25:</b> Amnesty International <b>said</b> the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated</p> <p><b>S29:</b> Without once <b>mentioning</b> Pinochet by name</p>	<p><b>S31:</b> a federation of the kind <b>suggested</b> by the late Turgut Ozal</p> <p><b>S32:</b> Others <b>say</b> that the answer must be decentralization</p>
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Analysis of the verbal processes found in the two texts shows that NS uses verbal groups typical of objective, Reporter Voice discourse (Iedema et al 1994). This means that the verbal processes present in NS tend to signal factuality. They assist the writer in constructing a text where the absence of any overt authorial interference is perceivable. The verbal processes in TG for the most part are also quite typical of impartial news reporting with the obvious and noteworthy exceptions of sentences 4 and 17. Here the writer chooses to introduce the verb ‘claim’ which carries connotations of doubt and dubiousness. Both instances occur when the author refers to participants he deems morally unacceptable and contemptible. Sentence 4 refers to Ocalan, who the writer later calls ‘a murderer’ (sentence 37), and sentence 17 is concerned with the PKK, which the author says is a ‘terroristic organization’ (sentence 27). The instances of the verb “claim” in TG are examples of the writer’s assessment and opinion. They represent a marked difference from conventional reporting verbs such as “say” or “state” commonly found in factual new reports. It is also an example of obvious authorial interference.

## 4.2 Participants

Next, I will explore the different ways which the texts present participants. I will focus on the texts construction of agent-patient relations and agent deletion through nominalization.

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

Agent-Patient analysis explores the depiction of persons initiating processes or being the recipients of processes. The depiction of certain agents initiating actions, exerting power, or having responsibility will create an ideological 'slant' that influences reader perceptions (Huckin 1997: 92).

Agent deletion often occurs through nominalization and the use of the passive structure. It allows writers to present events without assigning roles to any particular persons. Another function of agent deletion is the possibility of the writer's 'retreat into individual invisibility' (Kress 1995). This 'invisibility' is key to the creation of the authority and neutrality found in news reporting.

**Table 3: Summary of nominalization**

Text	Example of negative nominalization
NS	<p><b>S6:</b> independent human rights monitors have found that <b>violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law</b> are consistent and systematic in Cuba</p> <p><b>S8:</b> there is a <b>clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent</b> in Cuba</p> <p><b>S10:</b> <b>the executions of former soldiers</b> from the Batista regime</p> <p><b>S12:</b> American <b>accusations of a bloodbath</b></p> <p><b>S19:</b> <b>Torture was institutionalized</b></p> <p><b>S20:</b> It included <b>electric shocks the incarceration of prisoners</b> in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings</p> <p><b>S23:</b> <b>the drowning of 41 people</b> in July 1994</p> <p><b>S27:</b> investigated <b>Pinochet's rule</b></p> <p><b>S31:</b> there <b>were other deaths and disappearances</b> yet to be as firmly established</p>

<b>TG</b>	<p><b>S2: Pinochet faces extradition</b></p> <p><b>S16: there is in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim</b></p> <p><b>S20: and he runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trial</b></p> <p><b>S27: its aim is the creation of a Maoist state in areas of Turkey and Iraq</b></p> <p><b>S36: for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony</b></p>
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**Table 4: Summary of main agents associated with negative events**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Agent</b>	<b>Example of agent associated with negative processes</b>
<b>NS</b>	<b>Castro and followers</b>	<p><b>S4: are - Latin American dictators</b></p> <p><b>S16: were on the lookout</b> for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary</p> <p><b>S19: did not fight shy</b> of the malevolent ingenuity that is the trademark of its practitioners</p>
<b>TG</b>	<b>Ocalan and the PKK</b>	<p><b>S3: has led the Kurdish PKK</b> since its foundation 20 years ago,</p> <p><b>S3: has waged a terroristic war</b> in south eastern Turkey</p> <p><b>S4: has been personally charged</b> with murder</p> <p><b>S5: is wanted</b> on a red Interpol list</p> <p><b>S16: is hugely complicating</b> a difficult enough situation</p> <p><b>S20: is a Communist</b>, complete with hammer and sickle</p> <p><b>S20: runs the PKK in Stalinist style</b>, complete with executions and purge trials</p> <p><b>S23: broke a ceasefire</b></p> <p><b>S23: killed</b> 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus</p> <p><b>S26: but she asked to be killed as well</b>, and the PKK <b>obliged</b></p> <p><b>S27: is a terroristic organisation</b> with links to gangland</p>

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

NS favours nominalization over direct agency illustrating the writer's attempt to create an official sounding account of events by maintaining authorial distance. There are nine instances of nominalization in NS compared with five in TG. Thompson (2004) explains how nominalization is characteristic of objective, formal register. An example of this formal effect is found in sentence 19:

'Torture was institutionalized.'

This statement shows how nominalization assists the writer to present negative events with an objective slant. The statement could have read "Castro institutionalized torture" and it would have communicated a more condemning portrait of Castro and his government. It would also serve as an example of explicit judgement by the writer. This impersonal distance enhances the feeling of unbiased reporting as well as making the assumptions presented by the writer difficult to contest.

TG approaches the agents and events differently. Rather than use nominalization, it positions people as agents and initiators of processes. The principle participants, Ocalan and the PKK, are systematically foregrounded as negative agents by being consistently involved in violent, criminal activities. According to TG, they have "waged a terroristic war" (sentence 3), broken a ceasefire and "killed 20 unarmed young conscripts" (sentence 23), and are "a terroristic organization" (sentence 27). This type of agent foregrounding produces an evaluative effect that reads more like an Exposition or Argumentative text than a factual report. In TG there are 11 examples of Ocalan and the PKK as agents associated with negative connotations, compared to 3 examples of Castro and his government as agents in negative contexts.

## 5.0 Analysis of interpersonal meaning

This section focuses on the interpersonal meanings found in the texts.

### 5.1 Modality

Modality in text is one of the most obvious ways of examining writers' commitment to the validity of what he/she is saying (Thompson 2004). This means that modality can demonstrate to the audience how certain or uncertain a writer is in regards to the message it is presenting. It is also one of the most obvious ways of introducing subjectivity into a text, allowing writers to comment and express opinions. The following table is a summary of modality found in the two texts.

**Table 5: Summary of modality in TG and NS**

Text	Example of Modality
NS	<p><b>S1: can</b> we look forward to the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators?</p> <p><b>S3: shouldn't</b> there, asks the right, also be a case against Fidel Castro?</p> <p><b>S8:</b> charges similar to those made against Pinochet <b>would have to (be)</b> based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction</p> <p><b>S9:</b> The evidence against Castro <b>might</b> fall into three broad categories</p> <p><b>S10:</b> One <b>would be</b> the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime</p> <p><b>S23:</b> The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law <b>might be</b> found in specific incidents</p>
TG	<p><b>S13: it seems,</b> the Italian state is at it again.</p> <p><b>S14:</b> It <b>will not</b> extradite Ocalan to Turkey</p> <p><b>S21:</b> it <b>might be</b> taken fore (sic) a sign of disrespect</p> <p><b>S28:</b> Such movements <b>can talk</b> the language of "national liberation"</p>

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

<b>TG</b>	<p><b>S31:</b> there <b>should be</b> a Turkish-Kurdish state</p> <p><b>S32:</b> Others say that the answer <b>must be</b> decentralization</p> <p><b>S33:</b> just think that assimilation <b>should go</b> ahead</p> <p><b>S33:</b> and <b>will do</b> so</p> <p><b>S34:</b> this is not a situation where you <b>can</b> automatically apply minority statutes.</p>
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TG adopts modality for two purposes.

First, it uses modality to present a negative appraisal of the Italian government's extradition policy regarding Ocalan and to contrast it with the English government's policy regarding Pinochet. Sentences 13 and 14 illustrate the writer's negative judgements regarding the Italian government. The writer states: "Now, it seems, the Italian government is at it again" (sentence 13). By using the impersonal 'it' the writer is indicating a modal of probability (White 2001) arguing explicitly that the Italian government is once again exhibiting its 'soft spot for murderers' (sentence 17) because 'it will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey' (sentence 14) which 'is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet' (sentence 15). Interestingly, the writer does not elaborate this point and does not mention Pinochet or the British government again.

Second, the writer uses modality to frame his opinion of the Kurdish problem and to convince the audience of his logic and conclusions. Of the nine instances containing modality in TG, five of them are used in reported speech. In particular, sentences 31, 32, and 33 are set up as possible solutions to the 'Kurdish problem' proposed by 'nationalist Turks', 'Others', and 'Many observers'. The author claims to have no solution or answer to this problem stating, "What the answer to the Kurdish problem is, I don't know" (Sentence 30). But if we look at sentences 32,

when the author says that decentralization ‘is not senseless’, and sentence 34, when he says ‘Whatever the answer, this is not a situation where you can automatically apply minority statutes’, it is clear that he does have an opinion on what should and should not happen. The writer is using modality to place his opinion of the ‘Kurdish problem’ in comparison to other opinions, and to show the strength of his proposition.

In NS, the writer uses modals to present an opinion on the circumstances that would have to be in place for Castro to face charges similar to Pinochet’s, rather than to make explicit judgements regarding any of the participants. The use of modals seems to be in response to ‘the right’s’ question (sentence 3) regarding the possibility of a legal case against Castro. The writer believes that if a legal case were brought against Castro the charges would have to resemble those made against Pinochet and “would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes” (sentence 8). He then proceeds to explain how the evidence ‘might fall into three broad categories’ (sentence 9). The first category ‘would be the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime’ and the third category ‘might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people’ (sentence 23). The second category, the incarceration of political prisoners (sentence 17-18) and accusations of ‘institutionalized torture’ (sentence 19) was not presented using modals.

In NS, modals are used to present opinions through a hypothetical situation but in a much less subjective and sensational manner. Unlike, TG, NS does not use modals to assert explicit judgements towards Castro or Pinochet. Although the differences between Castro’s crimes and Pinochet’s crimes are examined and compared, they are done with greater objectivity. Framing the propositions through a theoretical

situation, the modals in NS act to present to the readers the situation that would need to be in place for a case against Castro to be warranted.

## **6.0 Analysis of textual meaning**

Next, I will present an analysis of the textual meanings found in TG and NS. I will concentrate on how the ideas of Theme and New, as well as Thesis and Conclusion, structure both texts as expositions in order to advance arguments and communicate positions, rather than simply reporting information.

Halliday (1994: 38) defines Theme as 'what the message is concerned with: the point of departure for what the speaker is going to say'. Butt (2003: 142) says that Rheme is where 'the bit of the message that the writer considers interesting or important' is placed. An alternative way to label Rheme, when dealing with textual navigation is New. Theme and New is the labeling system adopted by Iedema et al (1994) in their textual analysis of genres of journalistic discourse and it is the system I have used here.

Factual expositions begin with a Thesis section where writers communicate their principle argument (Iedema et al 1994B).

In the NS text, the Thesis section is five sentences long, the equivalent of the first paragraph. Here the writer frames his main argument, the idea of a legal case being brought against Castro (Sentence 1, 3, 4). In TG, the Thesis section is much longer, from sentence 1-15, also the length of the text's first paragraph. Occasionally, the Thesis section includes some arguments that preview the text's proceeding position (Iedema 1994: 4). The inclusion of these 'previewing arguments' is the

reason TG's Thesis is much longer than NS's. In TG's Thesis, the writer presents a comparison between Pinochet's possible extradition and Ocalan's (Sentence 1-2). It also compares the behaviour of the British government with the Italian government in regards to Pinochet and Ocalan (Sentence 2, 6, 14, 15). The other sentences in the Thesis (Sentence 3, 4, 5) present a negative portrayal of Ocalan, and the Italian government's 'soft' history with 'murderers'.

Iedema et al (1994) explain how unlike the News Story, which recycles information, Media exposition focuses on developing, elaborating and extending ideas. Expositions have a predictable interplay between New and Theme, which allows the writers to present and enhance their beliefs and arguments. In both texts we can see how this elaboration is accomplished as the New gets picked up in the proceeding Theme and once introduced, it becomes 'known'.

In NS, we can see an example of this progression by analyzing the Thesis section. In sentence 1, Ocalan is introduced in the New. Starting at sentence 3 and moving to sentence 6, Ocalan is presumed known and is therefore transformed into the Theme. Sentence 6 introduces the Italian government (Rome) into the New. In sentences 7, 11, and 37, the closing sentence, Italy becomes the Theme.

In TG, we can also see this pattern of New to Theme. Starting at sentence 9 paragraph 3, the writer introduces into the New, the '3 broad categories' that evidence against Castro might fall into. These '3 broad categories' give rise to 3 elided Themes, which follow in sentence 10 paragraph 3, then in sentence 17 paragraph 5, and finally in sentence 23 paragraph 6.

## A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

As we can see from these examples, once the writers introduce information in the New it becomes known and can be picked as the Theme. This pattern, common in journalistic exposition, allows writers to add important support and elaboration necessary to their assertions and to their positioning of readers.

Finally, a key component of media exposition is the presence of a clear conclusion. Iedema et al (1994) explains how all media expositions incorporate summaries of their opinions to add 'closure' to the argument.

The conclusion in TG is an obvious subjective appraisal of the Italian government and Ocalan stating, "By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly (sentence 37). The Conclusion works as a final reiteration of the Thesis and is essential to the overall effectiveness of the text (Iedema et al 1994) TG uses the media exposition format to communicate an attack on Ocalan and the Italian government, and to show how the British government's policy regarding Pinochet is not as condemnable. It seems to be an attempt to pull attention away from Britain and redirect it to what the writer believes are more despicable sources.

In NS, we see no evidence of a conclusion. The text abruptly stops which is what is expected from a News Story. The last sentence says, "It was acknowledged at the time that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established" (sentence 31). This lack of closure is what Iedema et al (1994: 9) refer to as 'an abrupt and unexpected' end. It is a marked difference between NS and TG and their construction of textual progression. It could be an attempt to maintain the level of objectivity the writer has worked to forge throughout the text. By not making any

summarizing remarks the writer is leaving the issue open and his presence remains in the background.

An exploration of the thematic progression and structure of the two texts shows that they closely conform to the framework of News Exposition. This means they adopt the same textual patterns to present their personal political opinions. The biggest difference in the textual analysis of the two texts is in the lack of conclusion in NS. Otherwise, the two texts realize very similar textual meanings and a similar socio-political agenda.

## **8.0 Conclusion**

Although both texts exhibit a comparable context of situation, belonging to the same field, tenor, and mode, significant differences exist in how they communicate their evaluative positions.

The subjective elements throughout the three metafunctions of meaning in TG coincide with the outline of the Writer Voice and the summary of Exposition or Commentary found in Iedma et al (1994). TG uses relational verbs and projecting verbs to communicate a negative appraisal of Ocalan, the PKK, and the Italian government. It systematically positions Ocalan and the PKK as initiators of negative events and it uses modals to criticize the Italian government, and to put forth an opinion on the 'Kurdish problem'. The text's attack on Italy seems to be an attempt to deflect criticism of the British government's refusal to extradite Pinochet. Textually, TG contains a thesis and interplay between New and Theme, along with a clear conclusion. This structure and thematic progression is representative of (media) Exposition (Iedema et al 1994: 8).

## A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

NS adopts a more objective tone, placing it within the field of Hard News reporting. It adopts the Reporter Voice, using neutral verbs and presents actors and events through nominalization. The writer is not overtly present, making ideas and conclusions more difficult to question. It also enhances the texts authoritative quality. The textual structure and progression presents a marked contrast from the Reporter Voice used throughout the text. NS, like TG, contains a clear thesis and the same interplay between New and Theme. The interplay between New and Theme is where the writer outlines and elaborates arguments. This structure helps distinguish NS from News Story and shows it more as an Exposition. The absence of a clear conclusion raises a problem because conclusions are essential components of Expositions (Iedema et al 1994: 8). The NS text ends suddenly and without a clear summary of the issues it presents. This marked deviation is a reinforcement of the analysis that NS exhibits a tendency to present an impersonal and impartial report of events by using linguistic resources representative of the Reporter Voice.

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## **Appendix 1: The Guardian**

The Other Extradition:

- 1: An interesting question: compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade “Apon Ocalan”, aged 48.
- 2: Pinochet faces extradition.
- 3: Ocalan, who has led the Kurdish PKK since its foundation 20 years ago, has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey.
- 4: Of course, he claims the usual indulgence for terrorism, but he has been personally charged with murder, in Germany, where four defectors from his organisation were killed.

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

- 5: He is wanted on a red Interpol list, at the behest of the German government.
- 6: He flew to Italy, and requested political asylum, and has not been made to face justice there - instead there he sits, in a comfortable house near Rome.
- 7: Has the Italian state got a soft spot for murderers?
- 8: In 1985, PLO men hijacked a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*.
- 9: An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them.
- 10: He was shot, and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all.
- 11: The four killers were later arrested in Italy.
- 12: They "escaped" while "on leave" from prison.
- 13: Now, it seems, the Italian state is at it again.
- 14: It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey.
- 15: This is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet.
- 16: The problem is that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation.
- 17: The PKK claims to speak for "the Kurds", and there is in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim.
- 18: But most of his victims have been Kurds.
- 19: One of his onetime lieutenants, Selim Curukkaya, wrote his" memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan).
- 20: Ocalan is a Communist, complete with hammer and sickle, and he runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trials.
- 21: You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, says Selim Curukkaya, as it might be taken fore (sic) a sign of disrespect; he himself was imprisoned by Ocalan, and managed, with great difficulty, to get away, through Beirut.
- 22: Other defectors have not been so lucky, most of them Kurdish innocents.
- 23: In 1993, Ocalan broke a ceasefire, and killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus.

- 24: A particularly horrible case involved two young primary school teachers, who had gone to the south east out of idealism- bring education to the backward east.
- 25: They were killed.
- 26: The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared but she asked to be killed as well, and the PKK obliged.
- 27: The PKK is a terroristic organisation with links to gangland and its aim is the creation of a Maoist state in areas of Turkey and Iraq.
- 28: Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", and gain credibility in serious circles.
- 29: But there is not A Kurdish Question: there are several.
- 30: What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, I do not know.
- 31: Even nationalist Turks sometimes say that there should be a Turkish - Kurdish state, a federation of the kind suggested by the late Turgut Ozal at the time of the Gulf war, as an alternative to the survival of Saddam Hussein.
- 32: Others say that the answer must be decentralisation which again, is not senseless.
- 33: Many observers, in view of the complications, just think that assimilation should go ahead and will do so.
- 34: Whatever the answer, this it not a situation where you can automatically apply minority statutes.
- 35: The Turkish Republic has done, overall, a pretty remarkable job of "modernisation"; in some ways, it has been the only successful Third World country, with free media, respectable economic growth, and social circumstances that are way above those of any of her neighbours, except Greece.
- 36: Not many Kurds wish to throw this away for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony.
- 37: By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved

contemptibly.

(Norman Stone The Guardian, Saturday 28/11/98)

## **Appendix 2: New Statesman**

Will Castro be next in the dock?

- 1: If Pinochet gets away with it, can we look forward to the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators?
- 2: If nothing else, the Law Lords have set a legal precedent.
- 3: And if there is a case against Pinochet, shouldn't there, asks the right, also be a case against Fidel Castro?
- 4: Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American dictators, in countries of similar size.
- 5: In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; the population of Chile, 9.7 million.
- 6: Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found that violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba.
- 7: Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, has written that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are Fidel Castro's personal province."
- 8: But although there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba, charges similar to those made against Pinochet would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.
- 9: The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories.
- 10: One would be the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime carried out immediately after the revolution in Cuba, the revolutionaries described this as

the "cleansing" of the defeated army.

11: Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.

12: In response to American accusations of a bloodbath, Castro declared that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction".

13: But within a few months, after acknowledging that 550 people had been executed, he ordered the firing squads to stop.

14: At the time, the revolution was widely popular and many of those executed had a reputation for brutality.

15: As the revolution was consolidated, people left Cuba in droves.

16: State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary.

17: In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners.

18: Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000.

19: Torture was institutionalised and several accounts leave little doubt that the Cuban version - despite the rhetoric about the "new man" - did not fight shy of the malevolent ingenuity that is the trademark of its practitioners.

20: It included electric shocks the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions.

21: Thousands of political prisoners were released in the 1970s.

22: The Cuban Committee for Human Rights, established more than 20 years ago, estimated that in 1991 there were 3,000 political prisoners; some observers believe the number may now have dropped to 500.

23: The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people in July 1994, when a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was rammed off the Cuban coast.

A Systemic Analysis of Two Different Media Texts' Positioning of Social Actors and the Effects of Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual Meaning in Their Evaluation and Presentation of Bespoke Actors

24: Castro said it was an accident.

25: Amnesty International said the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated when they tried to commemorate the incident.

26: One reason why it has been possible to bring a case against Pinochet is because contrary to many assertions - Chile's reckoning with its past has been exemplary.

27: In 1990, after an imperfect democracy was re-established, a commission, including some who had been at least sympathetic to the dictator, investigated Pinochet's rule.

28: It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991.

29: Without once mentioning Pinochet by name, it concluded that 1,158 people had died at the hands of agents of the state or others operating from political motives and that 957 had disappeared.

30: The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation.

31: It was acknowledged at the time that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.