1. Introduction
In addition to just reporting the facts even the simplest news text cannot avoid embodying values and beliefs. Thus the tabloid headline ‘Elvis lives’ not only reports this ‘fact’ but also implies, all other things being equal, that the author either values this information or believes that his or her audience will do so. My research seeks to linguistically examine and critically evaluate the influence of ideologically significant values and beliefs on the production, distribution and consumption of news and other forms of media discourse. This research is predicated on the axiom that all socially situated texts are, to a greater or lesser degree, ideological. However, for anyone interested in studying the influence of ideology on language there are a number of questions that need to be addressed. First and foremost comes the ontological question concerning the meaning of ‘ideology’ and the nature of the ‘influence’ that it exerts. Secondly there is the epistemological question of how such influence can be identified and described. And thirdly, there is what we might describe as the ‘critical’ question of how to interpret and evaluate such influence. Although the overall research project of which this paper constitutes just one small part is concerned with all three of these questions as they relate to the influence of ideology on media texts, in this paper particular attention will be given to the second of these in relation to a single and very short but authoritative media text concerning youth crime. This rather restricted focus on the epistemological question reflects my belief that fine-grained analysis of textual data is a necessary precondition for any substantive investigation of the language-ideology nexus. Such detailed analysis inevitably requires a great deal of space, even for very short texts such as the one under consideration here. As a consequence, in this paper the focus has had to be narrowed even further to an exploration of just one particularly salient aspect of the realisation of ideational meaning in texts. As will be explained below, ideational meanings are those to do with the representation of experience. The aspect of this to be discussed in this paper is the set of grammatical resources for encoding our experience of various
types of processes such as acting, speaking and even, as in the headline above, simply existing – or not, as the case may be.

2. Data, method and theory
The text selected for analysis here is an excerpt from a radio news bulletin broadcast by the BBC on its most authoritative national radio station, Radio 4, on Thursday, 23rd August 2007 (see Appendix). The bulletin itself was broadcast at 8 am on Today, the station’s ‘flagship’ news programme. The lead story in the bulletin concerned a particularly tragic youth crime incident in which an eleven-year-old boy was shot to death by a teenage gang member in Liverpool.3 It should be noted here that during 2007 the problem of youth crime had been very high on the political and media agendas in the UK, so much so in fact that the extensive and frequently sensationalistic media coverage given to youth crime showed all the hallmarks of a ‘moral panic’ (Cohen 1972). Accordingly, this research project was intended to look specifically at the influence of ideologies relating to youth and crime on the BBC’s radio news broadcasts.

The methodological framework for this investigation is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Although considerable variation exists within this rather diffuse set of approaches to the study of discourse (see Wodak & Meyer (2009) for a useful overview), two key features of CDA are, firstly, its focus on the relationship between language and power and, secondly, its commitment to critiquing and transforming the role of language and language use in the creation and maintenance of inequitable social relations. As such, CDA is a politically engaged form of investigation that seeks to transcend the scholarship-activism divide. The version of CDA that I have drawn on in this study is that of the so-called ‘Lancaster School’. This is the version that has been developed since the 1980s by Norman Fairclough and his colleagues at Lancaster University in England (Fairclough 2001). Reflecting its origins in Critical Linguistics (CL) (see Fowler et al. 1979), this version is distinguished by its emphasis on close textual analysis as being the sine qua non of ideological critique. In order to conduct such analysis CDA has drawn on a variety of different linguistic theories but without doubt the one which has been most extensively used is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) – sometimes also referred to as Hallidayan linguistics after the leading proponent of this theory, Michael Halliday.4

From an explicitly functionalist as opposed to the currently more
mainstream formalist perspective, SFL regards languages as constituting ‘social semiotic’ systems or ‘meaning potentials’ that have evolved to enable human beings to exchange three fundamental types of meaning: ideational meaning (the identification and description of people, things and events); interpersonal meaning (the expression of social roles and attitudes); and textual meaning (the coordination of texts both internally and with respect to their contexts of production and reception). As should be clear even from this very brief description, for the analysis of ideology in texts it is likely that interpersonal meaning will be of particular significance. Accordingly, in a previous paper (Haig 2010) I presented my discussion of this topic at clause level in relation to this news bulletin text. In this paper, as noted above, I extend my analysis of the bulletin by considering one aspects of the ideational meanings which it contains, again at the level of the clause only.⁵

In SFL theory, language is viewed as being divided into three hierarchically interrelated strata. Firstly, there is the expression stratum, which is the material surface of language, either as speech or writing. This is the physical ‘realisation’ of the second stratum, that of the lexicogrammar, which corresponds to the conceptual level of the simple sentence or clause. The lexicogrammatical stratum itself is the realisation of the third stratum, that of the discourse semantics, which corresponds to the patterning of larger-scale textual structures above the level of the clause. These three strata in turn are related to three hierarchically arranged strata of context: the context of situation (the immediate situation in which a particular text is produced or consumed); the context of culture (the wider institutional and societal context of the text); and ideology. This hierarchical model of the language-context relationship can be ‘read’ in either direction. From a top-down perspective, we may begin with an analysis of a particular ideological formation such as racism and observe how this becomes realised through the various strata to find expression in actual texts. From the opposite direction we may start with a concrete text and work upwards through the various strata to make inferences about the ideology which influenced its production. This paper will attempt to follow this latter trajectory. However, as noted above, in view of the complexity of the linguistic phenomena which it seeks to analyse, only the ideational meanings realised in the lexicogrammatical stratum via the system of transitivity will be considered, and within that my focus will be chiefly limited to an analysis of process type usage.⁶
3. The significance of transitivity

Transitivity is a fundamental semantic concept in SFL which has proved to be powerful tool for the analysis of representation in texts. It is a far more comprehensive and complex concept than the traditional grammatical distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. Rather, transitivity in SFL refers to the entire system of representational resources made available by a particular language at the level of the clause. More technically, the transitivity system is the component of the lexicogrammar which realises the Experiential metafunction (concerned with the representation of experience). This metafunction, together with the Logical metafunction (concerned with the ways in which clauses are linked into sentences and paragraphs), constitutes the Ideational metafunction of language. In short, the Ideational metafunction is the summation of all the linguistic resources through which our experience of reality (including also fictional and mental realities) is represented in language. The components of the transitivity system are the processes in a text and the types of participants and circumstances typically associated with them. For example, in the prototypical sentence John rode his bicycle through the park, the process is encoded by the verb rode, the participants by the nominal groups John and his bicycle and the circumstance by the prepositional phrase in the park.

A principal goal of the research project of which this paper forms a part is to provide a detailed description of the radio news bulletin text’s Ideational (both Experiential and Logical) metafunctional characteristics and to relate these critically to the ideologies which they help to realise. This paper represents one small step towards that goal. The next section of this paper presents the results of coding the text for transitivity. Subsequent sections then discuss one aspect of these results, namely the pattern of process type usage identified in the text.

4. Transitivity analysis: coding

For the analysis of transitivity the text has been annotated according to the key shown in Box 1 below. Note that the coding includes all aspects of transitivity, not just process types.
Box 1  **KEY for transitivity analysis**

**Process Types**

P = Process; Pb = behavioural; Pm = material; Pme = mental; Pv = verbal; Px = existential.

Relational processes:

 pca = circumstantial-attributive; pci = circumstantial-identifying;
 pia = intensive-attributive; pii = intensive-identifying;
 ppa = possessive-attributive; ppi = possessive-identifying;
 pcsa = causative-attributive; pcsi = causative-identifying.

**Participants**

A = Actor; G = Goal; B = Beneficiary; R = Range.

S = Senser; Ph = Phenomenon.

Sy = Sayer; Rv = Receiver; Vb = Verbiage.

X = Existent.

Cr = Carrier; At = Attribute; T = Token; V = Value;

At/C = conflation of Attribute with a circumstantial element;

V/C = conflation of Value with a circumstantial element.

Ag = Agent.

**Circumstances**

C = Circumstance; Ca = accompaniment; Cc = cause; Cl = location; Cm = manner;

Co = role; Ct = matter; Cx = extent.

Where participants and associated verbal elements have been ellipsed from a clause
they are shown in {single curly brackets}.†

† Regarding the question of filling in elements in this way, I have followed Martin and Rose who
concede that it is difficult to know exactly how much to fill in but argue that for the purpose of
analysis filling in provides a richer text to work with (2003: 177).
Edward Stourton (programme co-presenter)
1i It (T)’s (Pci) eight o’clock (V/C) on Thursday the twenty-third of August (Cl),
1ii the headlines.
2 An eleven-year-old (G) has been shot (Pm) dead (Cm) in Liverpool (Cl) { by a
teenage boy (A)}.
3i Police (Sy) are appealing (Pv) for information (Vb),
3ii {police (Sy) are} saying (Pv)
3iii this (Cr) is (Pia) no time for silence (At).
4i This year’s GCSE results (Cr) are (Pia) out (At) today (Cl),
4ii the pass rate (Cr) is likely to be (Pia) around ninety-nine percent (At).
5i MEPs (Sy) have expressed (Pv) support (Vb) for a Europe-wide register of sex-
offenders (Cl),
5ii and a new theory (A) has emerged (Pm) about the timetable of human evolution (Cl).
6 Today’s newsreader (V) is (Pii) Alice Arnold (T).

Alice Arnold (newsreader)
7i An eleven-year-old boy (A) has died (Pm)
7ii after (he (G) was) being shot (Pm) in Liverpool (Cl) {by a teenage boy (A)}.
8i Rhys Jones (A) was playing (Pm) football (R) with two friends (Ca) in a pub car
park (Cl) in Croxteth (Cl)
8ii when he (G) was attacked (Pm) {by a teenage boy (A)}.
9i Detectives (Sy) say (Pv)
9ii a {teenage} boy (A) rode (Pm) past (Cl) on a BMX bike (Cm)
9iii and {the teenage boy (A)} fired (Pm) three shots (R),
9iv one of which (A) hit (Pm) Rhys Jones (G) in the neck (Cl).
10 The Home Secretary Jacqui Smith (A) has sent (Pm) her condolences (G) to his
family (B).
11 Our correspondent Caroline Cheetham (Cr) is (Pca) at the scene (At/Cl).

Caroline Cheetham [On location. An unmodified repeat of the report by her that was
broadcast during the programme’s 7 am bulletin.]
12i The three boys (A) were playing (Pm) football (R) in the car park of the Fir Tree
pub (Cl) at about seven o’clock last night (Cl)
12ii when a teenage boy [[ {who (A) was} wearing (Pm) a hooded top (G)] (A) rode
up (Pm) on a BMX bike (Cm)
12iii and {the teenage boy (A)} opened fire (Pm).
13i He (A) fired (Pm) three shots (R),
13ii one of which (A) hit (Pm) one of the boys (G) in the head or neck (Cl).
14 He (A) later (Cl) died (Pm) at Alder Hey Children’s Hospital (Cl).
15i He (T) hasn’t yet been named (Pii) {by police (Ag)},
15ii but police (Sy) say (Pv)
15iii he (Ca) was (Pia) a local boy (At) from the private housing estate inCroxteth Park (Cl)
16i The pub and the nearby parade of shops (G) have been cordoned off (Pm) {by police (A)},
16ii as police (A) continue searching (Pm) the area (G).

17 Last night (Cl), police (Sy) appealed (Pv) for [[ /// people (S) to examine (Pb) their
consciences (Ph), // and {people (A) to} come forward (Pm) with information (Ca)]] (Vb).

Alice Arnold

18i Detectives (Sy) have said (Pv)

18ii that they (Cr) are (Pia) bewildered (At)

18iii as to why the boy (G) was targeted (Pm) {by the teenage boy (A)}.

19 Assistant Chief Constable Simon Byrne of Merseyside Police (Sy) spoke (Pv) of
his disgust at the attack (Vb).

Simon Byrne

[On location. An unmodified repeat of comments by him that were
broadcast on the programme’s 6 am bulletin and again at 7:09.]

20 It (Cr>) is (Pia) quite awful and quite senseless (At) [[ that ]]] (<Cr)

21i It (Cr>) ’s (Pia) just not right (At) [[ that an eleven-year-old boy (A) should lose (Pm)
his life (R) in these circumstances (Cm)]][<Cr]

21ii and again my appeal (T) really is (Pia) [[ // that – anyone [[ that (S) knows (Pme) [[
who (T) this killer (V) is (Pii)]] (Ph)]]] – this (Cr) is (Pia) not a time for silence (At), // {you
(A)} do (Pm) the right thing (R) // and {you (A)} turn (Pm>) them (G) in (<<Pm) ///][<V].

22 I (Sy) particularly appeal (Pv) to the criminal fraternity (Rv).

23i If you (S) know (Pme) [[ who (T) this killer (V) is (Pii) ]] (Ph),

23ii {you (A)} work (Pm) with us (Ca)

23iii to {let us (A)} catch (Pm) them (G) quickly (Cm)

23iv and {to let us (A)} take (Pm>) them (G) off (<<Pm) our streets (Cl).

Alice Arnold

24i A local councillor, Rose Bailey (Sy), << 24ii>> told (Pv) us (Rv)

24ii << who (A) ’s lived (Pm) in Croxteth (Cl) for twenty-six years (Cx) >>,

24iii that the area (A) had been experiencing (Pm) problems (R) with some of its
young people (Ca).

Rose Bailey

[Via telephone. An edited version of remarks made by her during an
interview that was broadcast on the programme at 7:10. Deletions from this
section made by programme producers shown in square brackets.]

25i We (Cr) ’ve got (Ppa) the largest private housing estate in Europe (At) with no
youth service er input whatsoever (Ca),

25ii so you (S) can imagine (Pme)

25iii how many thousands of children (X) there are (Px)
[deleted: they’re all family homes with three four five bedrooms with no activities
whatsoever in place to to cater for these young people]

25iv and the only area [[ /// where they (A) do congregate (Pm) // and and {they (A)}
cause (Pm) mayhem (R), if you like, //]] (T) is (Pci) in in and around the shops (V)
[deleted: erm].

26i I (A) tried to get (Pm) [[CCTV (G) put in (Pm) {by the city council (A)}]] (G)

26ii and ironically they (A) just approved (Pm) the programme (G).
5. Transitivity analysis: discussion

In the larger study from which the material for this paper is drawn (Haig 2009) the following four aspects of transitivity were discussed: process types; participants; passive voice and agent deletion; and circumstances. Unfortunately, for reasons of space only the first of these topics can be considered here. Note, however, that this arrangement of topics inevitably gives rise to some overlap since it is usually neither possible nor desirable to consider processes in isolation from the participants represented as engaged in them or indeed the circumstances in which they are represented as taking place. Therefore, in the following discussion mention will frequently be made of both participants and circumstances with the proviso that the main focus of attention will be on the ideological significance of patterns of process type usage identified in the text.

Table 1 presents the number of instances of each process type in all clauses (both ranking and embedded) in the text. Note that the very diverse category of Relational processes has been divided into a number of Attributive and Identifying subcategories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood class</th>
<th>ES</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>CC</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>RB</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive (Intensive)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying (Intensive)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive (Possessive)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identifying (Possessive)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive (Circumstantial)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying (Circumstantial)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive (Causative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying (Causative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total no. of processes</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The initials in the column headings are those of the five participants whose voices are heard during this part of the bulletin, listed from left to right in order of speaking.
5.1 Material processes
As Table 1 makes clear, Material processes were by far the most numerous type of process employed in this text. This indicates that the text is principally concerned with representing actions and events and the participants involved in them. This is consistent with the mood analysis that I made of this text which showed the preponderance of Full Declarative clauses which were used to impart information to the audience (see Haig 2009, 2010).

These actions and events are generally ones that have already occurred and so the verbs realising the processes are either simple preterite (e.g. a boy rode past) or – most characteristically of news – the present perfect (e.g. an eleven-year-old boy has died), which emphasises both the recentness of past actions and events and their relevance to the present time. In news bulletin texts such as this we can view most clauses centred on present perfect verbs as implying a (usually ellipsed) circumstantial time adjunct such as recently or just or, more specifically, an expression such as within the last twenty-four hours. For example, The Home Secretary has recently sent her condolences to the family. Of course, for expressing really ‘hot’ news the simple present could be employed, as in newspaper headlines (e.g. Home Secretary sends condolences to boy’s family). However, such patterns are not used in the ‘headlines’ of the Today programme bulletins. This reluctance shown by the authoritative and sober Today programme regarding the use of simple present tense clauses to ‘heat up’ the headlines suggests that such techniques may be regarded by the producers as being associated with the exaggeration and sensationalism (and also, of course, the written mode) of the tabloid press and thus not in keeping with the style of the programme or the tastes of its target audience. Certainly, such patterns of ‘telegraphese’ do not sit comfortably within the simulated formal spoken mode of the presenters’ scripts. Interestingly though, as Huddleston suggests (2002: 131), such usage may have developed as a metaphorical extension of the use of the present tense in situations such as live radio sport commentaries: Beckham aims, he shoots, he scores!

Material processes are most intensively used in Arnold’s first turn where she gives details of the shooting. Indeed the only two clauses in this turn that are not Material processes are [9i], which is a Verbal process with detectives as Sayer, and [11], in which Arnold cues the contribution from Cheetham with a Circumstantial Relational clause. Likewise, Cheetham’s turn is also composed largely of Material processes, particularly in the first half which serves here as a recapitulation of
the details given by Arnold. In both turns we also find past progressive Material processes used to set the scene for the event by representing what was happening at that time (e.g. The three boys were playing football). As the topic of Cheetham’s turn changes, at [15i], from giving details of the shooting to reporting the police’s reaction to the incident and their appeal for information, the Material processes become framed as projections of Verbal processes having the police as Sayer.

In marked contrast, Byrne only uses Material processes at the end of his turn when he issues his injunction to the criminal fraternity to work with the police and explains the purpose of that work as being to catch them quickly and take them off our streets. This illustrates the fact that Material processes may be represented at greater or lesser levels of abstraction. In this case, for example, ‘catching’ is a relatively concrete representation, although of course it comprises a number of sub-processes beyond the physical act of seizing hold of the killer. The expression work with us, however, appears far more abstract. Presumably it does not imply that members of the criminal fraternity are being invited to help the police patrol the streets or dust the scene for fingerprints. The nature of the ‘work’ envisaged would most probably involve giving evidence to the police and, at a later stage, repeating that evidence in court. As I noted in my analysis of interpersonal meaning in this text (Haig 2010), when viewing the clause from the interpersonal perspective, such work could be construed unsympathetically as ‘grassing’ – something that the fear of reprisals makes many people in such situations reluctant to do. Thus here we see how interpersonal and experiential functions overlap at the level of lexis, reflecting the systemicists’ view of lexis as ‘most delicate grammar’ (Hasan 1987) since choices of lexis can clearly realise both interpersonal and experiential meanings.

A similar overlapping is observed in the choice of lexis used to represent certain key Material processes in the text. In general, there is an avoidance of markedly emotive lexis to refer to the shooting. This is something which familiarity with the Radio 4 news bulletin genre specifically, and the BBC’s news presentation in general, may make difficult for regular listeners to notice. Yet such avoidance is but one option from amongst a range of possibilities, as a comparison with the wording of a tabloid newspaper makes clear. In the bulletin Rhys Jones is described as a boy who was shot by another (teenage) boy who fired three shots at him. By contrast, on the same day as this bulletin was broadcast The Sun newspaper’s front page headline, written in 45 mm tall capital letters, was BOY, 11, SHOT DEAD BY KID and the sub-headline immediately below it was ‘BMX yob blasted lad in neck’.
Although the headline itself is perhaps uncharacteristically restrained, the sub-headline employs more emotional lexis, using *yob* to describe the killer negatively and *lad* to emphasise the youth, familiarity and innocence of the victim. The use of *blasted* rather than *shot* also emphasises the violence of the action. We may regard the avoidance of such emotive lexis by the producers of the *Today* programme bulletin as reflecting the BBC’s journalistic ideology of impartiality and moderation.

5.2 Verbal processes

The second most frequently used process type in the text, apart from the various types of Relational processes, is the Verbal. This bears out the observation that much news is about what certain – generally, powerful or elite – people say about past, present and, increasingly it seems, future happenings in the world, rather than those happenings themselves. In this text, it is above all the police and, specifically, detectives whose words are reported. Verbal processes are used by the BBC-affiliated participants either to recount what the police have said about the crime or to introduce the words of the two non-affiliated external speakers. One distinctive feature of Verbal processes is that, unlike Material processes, they can project. In other words, they can form clause complexes in which one clause projects a second clause, either paratactically as a direct quotation or hypotactically as reported speech. In general terms, direct quotation allows listeners access to the (purportedly) original utterance, while in reported speech this has been grammatically modified (with a consequent attenuation of its immediacy and verifiability) to fit the requirements for tense agreement.

In this text, grammatically, there are no direct quotations. However, the fact that the voices of Byrne and Bailey are broadcast directly allows for even greater verisimilitude than if Stourton or Arnold had directly quoted their words. This editorial technique of combining the voices of studio-based presenters and newsreaders with those of external participants is something with which listeners today are very familiar. It was a not, however, a technique which was used in the earliest days of BBC radio, when only newsreaders’ voices were heard, but one which had to be evolved gradually as technology and the producers’ understanding of the medium developed (Scannell 1996). When such techniques are taken for granted, it is perhaps only under exceptional circumstances that their constructedness may be brought to audiences’ attention. Such a situation occurred in 1988 when the British government introduced a ban on the direct broadcasting
of representatives of Sinn Fein, with the aim, in Margaret Thatcher’s memorable phrase, of ‘cutting off the oxygen of publicity’ to organisations regarded by the government as supporting terrorism in Northern Ireland. In response to the ban, the BBC used actors to read transcripts of the politicians’ words. Ideologically, then, the BBC appears committed to presenting the voices of participants as realistically as possible, even where this conflicts with the government’s wishes and leads to a degree of artificiality. However, as my analysis of theme in this text shows (Haig 2009), there are limits to this – a fact which calls into question the balance struck between information and entertainment in even so formal a genre as the Radio 4 news bulletin.

Because the broadcasting of external participants’ voices is a technique which takes the place of direct quotation, the Verbal processes in the text are all either indirect quotations or (more or less accurate) paraphrases of their Verbiage. The Verbiage may be quite extensive, as in Cheetham’s account of the police’s appeal where the Verbiage is everything that is underlined in (1).

(1) Last night police appealed \textit{for people to examine their consciences, and come forward with information.} [CC17]

It can also be more compact, as used by Stourton (2):

(2) \textit{Police are appealing for information} [ES3i]

This illustrates the way in which the ‘just reporting the facts’ ideology of news journalism can never be a completely value-free activity because of the need for judgement concerning the level of generality or specificity with which to report the news. We may also note here how such judgement also relates to the representation of time since what I take to be Cheetham’s accurate and specific use of tense to refer to the appeal made at the police news conference has been generalised by Stourton into the representation of an ongoing activity (although in fact the police did continue to appeal over the following weeks and months as their investigations proceeded).

One further aspect of the use of Verbal processes concerns the positioning within the flow of the text of those processes that have \textit{police} (or cognate words) as Sayer in relation to the voices of the affiliated participants themselves. This is
made particularly clear by the rather unusual pattern of layered repetition and expansion of information in the text. Such patterning is unusual for normal speech but not for news bulletins such as this where the headlines spoken by the presenter are always followed by an expansion spoken by the newsreader. Subsequent further expansion by a reporter or correspondent is then not uncommon. If we consider the three turns of Stourton, Arnold and Cheetham in order, we find that in Stourton’s turn the outline of the case is presented as if in his own words (that is, without attribution to any Sayer, at least within this clause) as shown in (3):

(3)  *An eleven-year-old has been shot dead in Liverpool.*  [ES 2]

In contrast, the representation in Arnold’s turn is divided into two halves. Firstly, from [7i] to [8ii] the outline is presented in her own words, but then a paratactic clause complex with *Detectives* as Sayer in the projecting clause, [9i] to [9iv], is used to give further details (4):

(4)  *Rhys Jones was playing football with two friends in a pub car park in Croxteth when he was attacked. Detectives say a boy rode past on a BMX bike and fired three shots*  [AA 8i-9iii]

Finally, in Cheetham’s turn the incident, including this information, is presented in her own words without attribution (5):

(5)  *The three boys were playing football in the car park of the Fir Tree pub at about seven o’clock last night when a teenage boy wearing a hooded top rode up on a BMX bike and opened fire. He fired three shots, one of which hit one of the boys in the head or neck.*  [CC 12-14]

The point at issue here is the extent to which, in fact, all of the information concerning this incident may have been derived from the utterances of the police. I do not know how much on-the-spot newsgathering Cheetham or other journalists undertook in order to compile this report, but it is clear that the police news conference the previous evening was a key source of information: the fact that Cheetham did not mention the victim’s name (whereas it was known to, and reported by, other journalists such as those of *The Sun* newspaper) suggests that
she was cooperating with the police and complying with their embargo on releasing his name.

Given the likely role of the police as principal source of information about the incident, even where, as in Stourton’s turn, there is no attribution, the meaning of ‘According to police’ may be inferred. In this case the omission may be accounted for by the generic requirement for concision in headlines. The same inference may also be made with respect to Cheetham’s turn but in Arnold’s turn, since attribution is given, such inferencing would appear to be unnecessary. However, in this case the precise positioning of the attribution is of interest. Instead of placing the projecting clause Detectives say where she did, at [9i], she could have placed it earlier in her turn, either at the very beginning immediately before [7i] or just before [8i]. Although in the former position this may strike listeners as somewhat unnatural because it thematises detectives too strongly, in the latter position it seems quite appropriate. Thus it would appear that the way in which Verbal processes are used in the bulletin to attribute information to sources is governed by a number of considerations but that there is a degree of freedom in terms of detailed positioning. Therefore we may reasonably enquire as to the possible ideological effect that such positioning may have. I would suggest that one quite general and therefore important effect is that it leads to a certain ambiguity in the differentiation of sources and the role of external participants (specifically here, of the police) as providers of information. In other words, the distinction between ‘The BBC says’ and ‘The police say’ is not clear cut. This may encourage some uncritical listeners to unconsciously conflate the two sources so that these two Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), in Althusser’s terms (Althusser 1971), come to be heard as speaking with one voice.

On the other hand, where Verbal processes are used to introduce the voices of external participants, the distinction is clear. But as has been widely noted by CDA scholars and others, the power and ability of mass-mediated news producers to frame the news in this way can have important ideological effects (Altheide 1997; Barak 2007; Iyengar 1991; Peelo 2006). Such an effect may be produced by the way in which the Verbiage in Verbal processes is used, as it is by Arnold here, to frame subsequent contributions and prime the audience to hear or attend to them in a certain way. Firstly, in [19], she introduces Byrne’s contribution as follows (6):

(6) Assistant Chief Constable Simon Byrne of Merseyside Police spoke of his disgust at the attack  [AA 19]
Her mention of disgust sets up expectations that Byrne will indeed describe his feelings, and in just such a negative way. In fact, although it is possible that he may have done so at some stage during the news conference, he does not do so in the excerpt included here. Thus Arnold’s framing seems inaccurate. Rather, he first describes the killing as quite awful, quite senseless, which are descriptions of the attack itself rather than of his feelings (although, of course, the words are affectively loaded) and just not right, which is more of an ethical judgement than an affective one. Moreover, it seems clear that the main point of his utterance is not this assessment of the crime but rather his appeal to the ‘criminal fraternity’ for information.

We may contrast Arnold’s framing of Byrne’s words with that of John Humphrys, who introduced exactly the same extract on the programme one hour earlier with the following words (7):

(7) Mr Byrne made a direct appeal to Liverpool’s criminal fraternity

This is a more accurate and affectively less-charged framing of Byrne’s turn than Arnold’s version. To that extent it could be seen as conforming more closely to the BBC’s journalistic ideology of neutral and sober reporting. However, we may note even here that there is some obfuscation of the boundary between the two ISAs because, of course, the appeal was not actually a direct one but an indirect one, via the media organisations assembled at the news conference.

While there may be little difference in these two alternative framings of Byrne’s contribution, the way in which Arnold introduced the contribution of Rose Bailey is more questionable. This will be considered in the discussion of Relational processes in the following section.

Finally in this section, I would like to make an observation on how the use of Verbal processes in this text relates to a point frequently made by CDA scholars regarding nominalisation (Billig 2008). Namely, that one of the (potentially) ideologically-suspect aspects of nominalisation is that it reifies and generalises specific spatio-temporally located processes into timeless, agentless entities. Thus when a Material process clause like X shot Y becomes the shooting of Y both agent and time are elided. However, we may note here that simple present tense formulations such as Detectives say … are hardly less abstract since the actual
identity of the detectives is not specified and the tense connotes a habitual action not anchored in any specific time. To make sense of this information, listeners must actively make a number of inferences to fill in the gaps. The actual degree of inferencing may vary. Some listeners paying little attention to the bulletin may not infer anything at all. Those who do are likely to construe detectives as referring to those detectives from Merseyside Police who are in charge of this investigation, and say as meaning roughly ‘have said publicly at some particular time and place in the recent past’. Very few listeners will have sufficient interest or background knowledge (or ‘Members’ Resources’ in the terms of Fairclough’s earlier work (1989)) to make more precise inferences than this, such as the exact names of the detectives or the exact time and place of their utterance.

5.3 Relational processes

The broad category of Relational process types includes all those processes concerned with the expression of ‘being’. As the so-called ‘power house of semiosis’ (Butt et al 2000: 59) that enables text producers to construe relationships between any kind of form and function, their importance for CDA cannot be underestimated. Unfortunately the interpretation of Relational processes is seldom straightforward. As Halliday remarks, ‘More than any other process types, the Relationals have a rich potential for ambiguity’ (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 247). However, in the following discussion I have attempted to illustrate how ideology has been realised in this text through choices made by the participants in their use of Relational processes.

With respect to Relationals this text displays three particularly notable features. Firstly, within this category it is the Intensive group (including both Attributive and Identifying forms) which predominates. This group serves to describe (Attributive) or define (Identifying) entities. Therefore their relatively high frequency here is commensurate with the function of news texts like this that are intended to provide ‘facts’ about people, things and actions. Accordingly, with the exception of Rose Bailey we find them used by all speakers in this text.

Secondly, however, we may note that the most frequent user of Intensive Relational processes is not one of the journalists but an external non-affiliated participant, Simon Byrne. At the beginning of his comments Byrne uses Relational processes to describe the shooting and to define the nature of his appeal for information. He then uses three Identifying Intensive processes and one Attributive Intensive processes, all realised by is, in his appeal for information.
This concatenation of Intensive Relational processes is an unmarked realisation of Byrne's communicative aim, at this point, of assigning identities and properties to people (the killer) and things (his appeal). But when we look at how other speakers in this text make use of Intensive Relationals we find that in every case they are used by internal participants to report things that the police (either as a collective or individually) have (or have not) said. For example in (10) we find Cheetham using both Identifying and Attributive processes for this purpose:

(10) He hasn’t yet been named [Identifying], but police say he was [Attributive] a local boy [CC 15]

This pattern of usage is clearly related to the pattern of Verbal process usage noted above. The combination of a Verbal process clause having a police-related Sayer as Subject with a hypotactically projected Intensive Relational process clause affords the source of the utterance (in this case, the police) an opportunity to make assertions about the nature and existence of entities. These kinds of assertions by powerful and elite individuals and groups form the core of much news reporting (Corner & Pels 2003; Van Dijk 1998: Ch. 17). The basic format could be described schematically as: Powerful person or group A says B is C. Even the very absence of such assertions can be news, such as in this case with the counter-expectational delay (most probably a deliberate embargo) by the police in releasing the victim’s name. The high frequency of this type of clause combination in this text lends some support to the suggestion that it may be a general feature of this kind of crime news bulletin.

The third noticeable feature of Relational process usage in this text is the complete absence of Causative forms. The absence of logical relations between causes and effects here suggests that the text is structured more according to a logic of appearances than an explanatory logic. As one example of what is at stake here, we may consider the expression with which Alice Arnold introduces Rose Bailey’s contribution, repeated here as (11):

(11)
A local councillor, Rose Bailey, who’s lived in Croxteth for twenty-six years, told us that the area had been experiencing problems with some of its young people. [AA 24]

The remarkable feature of this sentence is that the young people who are the cause of the problems experienced by the area (though causal only in the proximate sense of being the ones engaging in crime and anti-social behaviour) are not realised as Participant at all but as the Circumstance of a Material Process clause. Specifically they are realised as a Circumstance of Accompaniment introduced by *with*. The semantics of *with* are complex (Pullum & Huddleston 2002b: 661; Ravin 1990) but clearly in this case the accompaniment is not of the prototypical kind associated with the shared participation in a Material process such as (12) but rather is analogous to patterns such as (13) in which *with* serves to specify the identity of the proximate cause of the hearing problem (though not the ultimate cause, the reason for the impairment).

(12) She had been experiencing the joys of nature *with* her friends.

(13) She had been experiencing problems *with* her hearing.

We can gain an understanding of the most probable explanation for Arnold’s choice here if we consider the principal alternative structure that she might have used, an Identifying Relational clause with a causative circumstantial verb, such as (14):

(14) The area had been experiencing problems *caused by* some of its young people.

In this case, although as is typical of Relational processes the verb expresses the meaning of *be*, here this is fused with the expression of cause to realise a Causative clause (Eggins 2004: 249-50). Had Arnold used such a structure, she would have committed herself to making a judgement of blame (albeit via the projecting Verbal clause with Bailey as Subject) and, as we have seen, such intrusion of speaker assessment in the text is something which seems to be strongly dispreferred in the Radio 4 newsreader script genre.

However, as was alluded to in the previous section, by adhering to the demands of the genre for neutrality, there is a danger of misrepresenting
(specifically, underplaying) the semantics of Bailey’s contribution. While Arnold’s framing represents Bailey’s turn as essentially about the problems caused by the young people, Bailey herself seems to be ascribing causal explanations for the problems, not in terms of the young people but of the total absence of youth services on the estate. In this regard, the deletion from this bulletin of a sentence which was originally uttered by Bailey during her earlier interview with John Humphrys is significant. The sentence is reproduced here as (15):

(15) they’re all family homes with three four five bedrooms with no activities whatsoever in place to cater for these young people  [following RB 25]

This sentence offers further evidence for Bailey’s opinion concerning the cause of the problems. The editorial motivation for this deletion may have been primarily driven by considerations of concision and the wish to avoid repetition (given the previous mention by Bailey in [25]). However, together with Arnold’s framing introduction, I feel that the effect is to weaken quite significantly the argumentative force of Bailey’s contribution.

To conclude this discussion of Relational processes we may note that, as Halliday remarks of the Token-Value structure of Relationals, it is ‘probably the most difficult to come to terms with in the entire transitivity system. It is also, arguably, the most important, in that it tends to dominate in certain highly valued registers … where the meanings being construed are inherently symbolic ones,’ (Halliday 1994: 126). I would suggest that the second part of this observation is equally true of the Carrier-Attribute structure of Attributive Relationals and of Relational processes generally. I would also suggest that the authoritative voice of the BBC’s broadcast news is one of the ‘highly valued registers’ in which Relational processes are used to construe symbolic meanings that may have considerable ideological significance.

6. Conclusion

Ideational (and specifically, Experiential) meaning is often the only sort to which ideology critique pays attention, particularly when such critique is not informed by linguistic analysis. CDA studies based firmly on an SFL view of discourse, by contrast, must give equal consideration, at least initially, to the ways in which all three metafunctional components may realise ideological meanings, both separately and in combination and at all strata of the language system.
Nevertheless, to the extent that ideology must be about something it is evident that when it is expressed in text an important part of its realisation will be the choice of processes, participants and circumstances that are included. In this paper I have described some of the patterns of such choices, specifically those pertaining to process types, made by the producers of this news bulletin and I have also related these wherever possible to ideology. In subsequent publications I intend to complete my discussion of the ideological nature of transitivity patterns found in this text by reporting on my analysis of the participants and circumstances in this text. However, to anticipate those papers slightly and, in so doing, to summarize the findings of the larger study from which this paper is drawn (Haig 2009), it seems evident that the ideologies most obviously realised experientially in this text are those of journalistic moderation, facticity and verisimilitude, combined with a focalisation on the victim of the crime and particularly the human interest element of the story. There is also a clear tendency to view the police as legitimate and proper agents for dealing with the aftermath of such crimes and an absolute preference for giving precedence to police accounts of the crimes over those of eyewitnesses.

In preparing to undertake my original study of youth crime reporting in BBC radio news my main objectives were to assess the potential of a close SFL-based CDA study for demonstrating whether the coverage was ideological and, if so, to consider whether it was such as would tend to perpetuate inequitable social relations in British society. To the extent that this application of SFL has been successful, the analysis has shown that the identifiable ideological aspects of the text’s transitivity process type patterns relate not so much to capitalist or even more generally political ideologies but to the professional journalistic ideology of the BBC as a public service broadcasting organisation. Such an ideology (perhaps more commonly and less contentiously described as an ‘ethic’) entails the adherence to a number of seemingly irrefutable values concerning the content (experiential metafunction) and style (interpersonal metafunction) dimensions of the genre. These values include objectivity, neutrality, dispassionateness, formality, clarity, a respect for facts, the avoidance of mixing reportage and commentary, and giving priority to the informative aspect over the entertainment aspect of news. From the perspective of a Critical Realist ‘explanatory critique’ (Bhaskar 1979, 1986; Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 59-66, Fairclough et al. 2004) of the kind that has been advocated by the Lancaster School of CDA, it would seem rather difficult to
argue against any of these values and in favour of alternative values which would help overcome the obstacles to a better society which they present. Indeed the findings of the process type usage analyses of the news bulletin text presented here have not shown that they present any such obstacles at all.

However, there is some suggestion in the data of a mutual reinforcement and indeed boundary-blurring between the media (in the shape of the BBC and its news text producers) and the forces of law and order (in the shape of the police investigating the shooting) via the Verbal processes and specifically the participant role of Sayer associated with them. So inasmuch as these two branches of the state can be said to function in contemporary Britain as Ideological State Apparatuses, it is reasonable to suppose that, other things being equal, their combined and coordinated action will tend to maintain and reproduce rather than transform existing social relations. If this is the case we may expect to find traces of such ideological functioning within the texts produced by the mass media such as the one being considered here. However, without further textual evidence this must remain for the time being just a supposition. With the aim of exploring this issue further I intend, in a later paper, to report on my attempts to apply the technology of SFL to this news bulletin text – still at the rank of clause – in order to investigate patterns of clause complexing. Although such patterns, which realise the other half of the Ideational metafunction, namely the Logical metafunction, are seldom discussed in CDA studies, they will be shown to play a significant role in the ideological function of media texts.

NOTES

1 Full details of the research project may be found in the author’s second doctoral thesis (Haig 2009). This paper constitutes a revised and condensed version of one part of Chapter 3 of that work. In Sections 1 and 2 it also reincorporates some material from Haig (2010).
2 It is anticipated that discussion of further aspects of ideational meaning in this text will be presented in future publications.
3 For an explanation of my reasons for choosing this particular text and a discussion of the social, political and media contexts in which it was produced see Haig (2009).
4 The SFL model of language is rich, complex and continually evolving. As such, it is not possible in this paper to provide more than the briefest of outlines. For an authoritative account of the latest version of the model as it has been developed for English see Halliday & Matthiessen (2004); for a thorough yet accessible introduction see Eggins 2004; and for a collection of studies exploring the synergy between CDA and SFL see Young & Harrison (2004).
For the complete analysis of all three types of meaning in this news bulletin text see Haig (2009).

In this paper I follow the Hallidayan convention of showing the names of grammatical systems such as TRANSITIVITY in small capitals.

For a full account of the TRANSITIVITY system, including a description of the various types of process, see Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, Ch. 5). For a shorter but very lucid introduction see Eggins (2004, Ch. 8).

Although not used in Material processes, the present tense is used in Relational processes such as in [ES 4i]: This year's GCSE results are out today. As Halliday observes, the simple present is the unmarked present form for Relationals, unlike for Material processes where the unmarked form is the present progressive (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 212). However, we may note the ambiguity here as to whether this is an expression of hot news or a present futurate expressing prediction though the use of likely to be in the next clause suggests the latter.

My interpretation of these two words is based on the free online sample version of the British National Corpus. This contains only 38 examples of yob none of which express a positive image, a typical example being: It is, of course, the loud-mouthed, oathmongering, lager-swilling, foreigner-baiting, Union-Jack-encrusted British football yob. The collocation with football here contrasts markedly with the media's portrayal of Rhys Jones as 'football-mad' and football itself as a wholesome activity compared to the activities of the gang members. The Corpus contains 1800 examples of lad, some of which express a positive or sympathetic sense (e.g. 'Poor little lad, only six-and-a-half years old!', said my companion.) but others link this sense to misbehaviour (e.g. The lad should have been put in the cells for a few hours to cool off.).

While saying this I recognize that in many situations speaking constitutes a form of doing, as speech act theorists have long pointed out (Austin 1975 [1962]; Searle 1969) and that the utterances of prominent individuals or groups, such as Byrne's news conference speech, do themselves constitute newsworthy happenings.

For the purpose of this analysis I have classified 'appeal' rather narrowly as a Verbal process even though it does not project since this category includes semiotic processes other than the strictly Verbal (Martin et al 1997: 108). I recognise, however, that appealing for information is a complex activity which includes numerous other, particularly Material, processes.

This contrast is rather surprising given that among all the programme's presenters and newsreaders it is Humphrys who, as the somewhat curmudgeonly doyen, generally has the most latitude to inject his own feelings into his utterances.

This is not the same as the expression of 'being' in Existential clauses, such as There is a killer, because in Relational clauses the 'being' always has two parts – something is described or defined in terms of something else.

In using 'semantics' here rather than 'pragmatics' I am following the normal usage of SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 12). For an alternative (which is to say, more conventional) view of the semantics – pragmatics relation see Pullum and Huddleston (2002a: 33-4).

This deletion is further considered in relation to the interpersonal function of Textual themes in Haig (2009).
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APPENDIX

Text of excerpt from the 8 am news bulletin of the BBC Radio 4 Today programme broadcast on 23 August 2007.

Edward Stourton (programme co-presenter)

1 It’s eight o’clock on Thursday the twenty-third of August, 1ii the headlines.
2 An eleven-year-old has been shot dead in Liverpool. 3i Police are appealing for information 3ii saying 3iii this is no time for silence. 4i This year’s GCSE results are out today, 4ii the pass rate is likely to be around ninety-nine percent. 5i MEPs have expressed support for a Europe-wide register of sex-offenders, 5ii and a new theory has emerged about the timetable of human evolution. 6 Today’s newsreader is Alice Arnold.

Alice Arnold (newsreader)

7i An eleven-year-old boy has died 7ii after being shot in Liverpool. 8 Rhys Jones was playing football with two friends in a pub car park in Croxteth 8i when he was attacked. 9i Detectives say 9ii a boy rode past on a BMX bike 9iii and fired three shots 9iv one of which hit Rhys Jones in the neck. 10 The Home Secretary Jacqui Smith has sent her condolences to his family. 11 Our correspondent Caroline Cheetham is at the scene.

Caroline Cheetham (correspondent)  [On location. An unmodified repeat of the report by her that was broadcast during the programme’s 7 am bulletin.]

12i The three boys were playing football in the car park of the Fir Tree pub at about seven o’clock last night 12ii when a teenage boy wearing a hooded top rode up on a BMX bike 12iii and opened fire. 13i He fired three shots, 13ii one of which hit one of the boys in the head or neck. 14 He later died at Alder Hey Children’s
Hospital. He hasn’t yet been named, but police say he was a local boy from the private housing estate in Croxteth Park. The pub and the nearby parade of shops have been cordoned off, as police continue searching the area. Last night, police appealed for people to examine their consciences, and come forward with information.

Alice Arnold

Detectives have said that they are bewildered as to why the boy was targeted. Assistant Chief Constable Simon Byrne of Merseyside police spoke of his disgust at the attack.

Simon Byrne [On location. An unmodified repeat of comments by him that were broadcast on the programme’s 6 am bulletin and again at 7:09.]

It is quite awful and quite senseless that It’s just not right that an eleven-year-old boy should lose his life in these circumstances and again my appeal really is that anyone that knows who this killer is, this is not a time for silence, do the right thing and turn them in. I particularly appeal to the criminal fraternity. If you know who this killer is, work with us to catch them quickly and take them off our streets.

Alice Arnold

A local councillor, Rose Bailey, who’s lived in Croxteth for twenty-six years – told us that the area had been experiencing problems with some of its young people. Rose Bailey [Via telephone. An edited version of remarks made by her during an interview that was broadcast on the programme at 7:10. Deletions from this section made by programme producers are shown in square brackets.]

We’ve got the largest private housing estate in Europe with no youth service input whatsoever, so you can imagine how many thousands of children there are [deleted <they’re all family homes with three four five bedrooms with no activities whatsoever in place to to cater for these young people>] and the only area where they do congregate and and cause mayhem if you like is in in and around the shops [deleted <erm>] I tried to get CCTV put in and ironically they just approved the programme.

An audio recording of this bulletin is available on the Today programme’s website at the following address: