

# Ideological Aspects of Cohesive Conjunction in a Radio News Bulletin about Youth Crime

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## **1. Introduction**

“Man bites dog” is a familiar journalistic aphorism which has long been used to make the point that rare or unusual events are deemed more newsworthy than more mundane ones. Such is the ideology of professional news journalists. However, the headline can also be used to think about the media at a deeper ideological level. Consider what impression would be conveyed to readers if the headline were “Dog bitten by man”. I would argue that this alternative grammatical formulation focuses the readers’ attention and concern on the question of what happened to the dog rather than what the man did – a less anthropocentric and more cynocentric perspective. This illustrates a less commonly acknowledged truth of journalism, namely that it is not possible to simply ‘report the facts’ as journalists frequently claim to be doing. This is because the grammatical rules of language oblige us to make choices at every moment in the production of text and these choices inevitably lead us to present the facts from a particular angle. It is at the point where these choices intersect with values, attitudes and beliefs that ideology enters the text. Thus, when considering the ideological relationship between media and society the importance of paying close attention to language cannot be overstated. For many years one aim of my research has been to do just this by linguistically examining and critically evaluating the influence of ideologically significant values and beliefs on the production, distribution and consumption of news and other forms of media discourse. Specifically, I have been attempting to provide as comprehensive and detailed an account as possible of one particular media text, a short radio news report about youth crime. The overall research project<sup>1</sup> of which this paper reports just one small part is concerned with uncovering all aspects of the influence of ideology on this text down to the smallest details of vocabulary and grammar within individual clauses. However, in this paper I shall be focussing not on clause-level phenomena but rather on some of the ways in which ideology influences the composition and structure of the text as a whole.

## **2. Method, Theory and Data**

The underlying methodological framework for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Notwithstanding the considerable variation that exists within this rather diverse group of approaches to the study of discourse (see Wodak & Meyer (2009) for a helpful overview), two key aspects of CDA are, firstly, its focus on the relationship between power and language and,

secondly, its commitment to critically interrogating – with the aim of, ultimately, transforming – the role of language and language use in the creation and maintenance of unjust or otherwise objectionable social relations. As such, CDA is a politically engaged form of research that seeks to transcend the scholarship-activism divide. The version of CDA that my research draws on 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). Congruent with its origins in Critical Linguistics (CL) (see Fowler *et al.* 1979), this version is characterized by its emphasis on close textual analysis as being the essential methodological foundation for ideological critique. In order to conduct such analysis CDA has drawn on a variety of different linguistic theories but 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.<sup>2</sup>

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, also referred to as metafunctions: the ideational metafunction (the representation and identification of people, things and events), which is further subdivided into the experiential (intra-clausal) and logical (inter-clausal) metafunctions; the interpersonal metafunction (the expression of social roles and attitudes); and the textual metafunction (the coordination of texts both internally and with respect to their contexts of production and reception). As should be clear even from this very rudimentary description, for a complete analysis of ideology in texts all three types of meaning need to be carefully considered, and this is what I set out to accomplish in my original study (Haig 2009).

SFL theory views language 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. Although in my original study I analysed the text in terms of all three metafunctions and all six strata, in this paper only the findings relating to the ideational meanings realised in the discourse semantic stratum via the system of CONJUNCTION<sup>3</sup> will be presented, and within that my focus will be chiefly limited to the analysis of the resources of COHESIVE CONJUNCTION.

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.

### 3. Discourse Semantics

As clearly suggested by the name, the stratum of discourse semantics is an important topic of textual analysis when this is utilized as a component of discourse analysis. The reason for this is that a clause-by-clause analysis of a text cannot fully account for the particular quality of 'texture' (IFG3: 579-585) that the text displays. In other words, it cannot show how the text 'hangs together' (Hasan 1984: 181). This hanging together is a matter of its *cohesion* and here the difference between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics is clear. Within the clause, elements are related to each other grammatically (or 'structurally', as it is also termed in SFL). But grammatical relations do not extend beyond the clause. So whereas the unit of analysis for studying the lexicogrammar is the clause, when we study the discourse semantics the unit of analysis becomes the text as a whole (or sections thereof). However, as was evident from the brief description of the stratified relational model of language given above with which we are approaching the analysis of this news bulletin text, the levels of lexicogrammar and discourse semantics are intimately connected. For when we analyse the lexicogrammar of the clause we are at the same time describing the meanings being made in the text. Thus, as discourse analysts we can regard the lexicogrammatical analysis of *clauses* as the first step towards the discourse semantic analysis of the *text*. We might express this by saying that lexicogrammatical analysis foregrounds the semantic half of the discourse semantics by looking 'downwards' into the clause. The second step is then to relate the meanings construed at clause level 'upwards' towards the discourse by following the realisational links to the contextual variables of Field, Tenor and Mode.<sup>5</sup> Functionally, whereas the clause is a grammatical unit, the text is a semantic unit. Of course, a text consists of clauses and clause complexes, but the resources used to relate them to each other are not those of grammar but of cohesion. Therefore, this paper will analyse the non-grammatical (or non-structural) cohesion between the sentences in the news

bulletin text. Of the three sub-systems of cohesion – conjunctive cohesion, reference and lexical cohesion – only the first shall be considered here.

My analysis of the lexicogrammar and clause complexes in this text (Haig 2009) was based on the overall approach to SFL outlined in the latest (2nd) edition of Suzanne Eggins' *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2004). However, for the analysis of cohesion I have chosen to follow the approach presented in the original (1994) edition of that work. This is because while both approaches are closely based on the seminal account of cohesion in English given by Halliday and Hasan (1976), in the original edition Eggins framed her account in terms of the 'ideological' version of SFL presented by J.R. Martin (1989, 1992) whereas in the second edition she returned to the more orthodox Hallidayan model.

It must be said that to date Martin's model has not (unfortunately, in my view) been very widely adopted. Indeed it has met with criticism from a number of quarters, which may have accounted for Eggins' decision. From what Pennycook (2002: 27) terms a 'feminist postlinguistic' perspective, Threadgold has criticised the model on a number of grounds, including what she sees as its masculinist technicality and its simplistic treatment of ideology (Threadgold 1991). From within the SFL community the model has been criticised, roundly and at length, for its treatment of context and cohesion by Hasan (1995) who concludes that it is 'neither necessary nor viable' and 'inconsistent with the systemic functional model' (185). Needless to say, while I am sympathetic to some aspects of these criticisms I do not regard them as sufficient reason to reject the model, given what I see as its advantages for CDA.<sup>6</sup>

In the standard Hallidayan model (in which the stratum of the content plane above the lexicogrammar is labelled 'semantics') all types of cohesion are considered as resources realising the Textual metafunction. In contrast, Martin's version (wherein the stratum above the lexicogrammar is referred to as 'discourse semantics') radically reconceptualises cohesion as a set of discourse systems each with their own metafunctional organisation. In Martin's ground breaking *English Text* (1992), these systems are divided into four basic categories termed IDENTIFICATION, CONJUNCTION, IDEATION and NEGOTIATION. These are seen as realising, respectively, the Textual, Logical, Experiential and Interpersonal metafunctions. In this version, Martin's treatment of each of the four types of resource builds on the earlier categories of Halliday and Hasan but extends them as indicated into a fully multi-metafunctional model. In addition, what is of particular value for CDA is that the model explicitly includes ideology as an additional layer of context above those of Register and Genre.

In this model, IDENTIFICATION, which subsumes the Hallidayan category of REFERENCE, refers to the ways in which participants are introduced and tracked through a text. CONJUNCTION, which is realised through CONJUNCTIVE COHESION, is concerned with how meanings beyond the

sentence level in texts are linked. IDEATION, realised through LEXICAL COHESION, refers to the ways in which lexical patterning is deployed to construe ideational meanings and organise the field of discourse. And NEGOTIATION, which is realised through speech function and exchange structure, is concerned with how interlocutors exchange information and goods and services in dialogue.

In this paper, due to limitations of space, only CONJUNCTION will be considered. For the complete analysis of discourse semantics readers are referred to the original study (Haig 2009). A diagrammatic summary of the key terms and relations between metafunctions, register variables, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar as conceived in Martin's model, together with an indication of the nature of the reality which the various systems serve to construe, is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1 Metafunctional organisation of discourse semantics**

'Reality construal'	Register	Metafunction	Discourse semantics	
			System	Sub-system
Social reality	Tenor	Interpersonal	NEGOTIATION	SPEECH FUNCTION EXCHANGE STRUCTURE
'Naturalized' reality	Field	Experiential	IDEATION	LEXICAL COHESION
		Logical	CONJUNCTION	CONJUNCTIVE COHESION
Semiotic reality	Mode	Textual	IDENTIFICATION	REFERENCE

- In addition to NEGOTIATION, resources for the discourse semantic realisation of the Interpersonal metafunction also include the systems of APPRAISAL and INVOLVEMENT.
- Labels for 'reality construal' types are taken from (Martin 2001: 45).

#### 4. Conjunctive cohesion

Conjunctive cohesion offers a useful bridge between the clause level analysis of clause complexes and the other elements of cohesion. As Martin writes, 'From the perspective of text in context then, CONJUNCTION can be interpreted as the gate-way to the discourse semantics ... it is thus a useful place to start whenever the structure of whole texts is under consideration and an interpretation of their relationship to ideology, genre and register is what is required,' (Martin 1992: 269). Conjunctive cohesion contributes to the texture of text through the creation of logical relations between different sentences. That the relations are of a logical nature reflects the fact that conjunctive cohesion is related to the logico-semantic system that operates at clause level and is manifest in patterns of clause complexing. And indeed the same logico-

semantic resources of Expansion (that is, Elaboration, Extension and Enhancement<sup>7</sup>) that are used in clause complexing are also used in conjunctive cohesion. However, although the textual resources used are very similar (so much so that frequently the same words and phrases are used to realise both systems), the crucial difference is that whereas in clause complexing Expansion is used structurally (that is, grammatically) to link clauses, in conjunctive cohesion it is used non-structurally (that is, cohesively) to create linkages between sentences.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the structural / non-structural distinction, there is one other important difference between the co-patterning of Expansion with other systems in clause complexing and conjunctive cohesion. In the case of clause complexing, Expansion functions alongside the system of Projection.<sup>9</sup> In conjunctive cohesion, however, it is patterned together with a distinction between 'internal' and 'external' textual organisation. Internal organisation refers to the way in which a text is rhetorically organised by the author and is a characteristic feature of argumentative or procedural genres. By contrast, external organisation refers to real (or fictional) world logical relations and is a characteristic feature of narrative genres. By far the most common types of Expansion relation involved in internal conjunctive cohesion are Elaboration (e.g. *for example, in other words, to be more precise*) and (temporal) Enhancement (e.g. *firstly, secondly, next*). In external conjunctive cohesion all types of Expansion are used. I have found it useful to coin the superordinate term 'ternality' to refer to this aspect of conjunctive cohesion.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the news bulletin text, one further point needs to be stressed concerning *implicit* conjunctive cohesion. Although logical relations can be expressed explicitly in text, they can also be expressed implicitly. The former makes less cognitive demand on the reader or listener than the latter because the logical link between one sentence and another (or others) is clearly stated. But in the case of implicit conjunction the link between sentences is not marked in the text other than by simple juxtaposition. In such cases listeners must supply the semantic tie themselves. In a narrative, for example, it is not necessary for the speaker to say *And then* at the start of every new sentence since the temporal ordering of events is an assumed feature of the genre. The problem for analysts is in knowing how much implicit conjunctive cohesion to include in the analysis. Halliday advises analysts to be cautious about reading too much implicit conjunctive cohesion into a text since 'the presence or absence of explicit conjunction is one of the principal variables in English discourse,' (IFG3: 549). On the other hand, particularly in texts that display little explicit conjunctive cohesion, it can provide very useful insights into how readers or listeners are being positioned by the text. With Halliday's caution in mind, then, I have filled-in the implicit conjunctions in the coding below but distinguished them by showing them in parentheses. In the following discussion I shall use

the superordinate term ‘plicity’ to refer to this aspect of conjunctive cohesion.

#### 4.1 Coding

The text has been analysed for conjunctive cohesion according to the key shown in Box 1. The format for this coding is based on the ‘conjunctive reticulum’ of Martin (1992). This is, as far as I am aware, the least confusing means of displaying this form of cohesion hitherto devised. However, I have replaced the rather intricate system of arrows which he uses to indicate semantic ties with what is, I hope, a simpler system showing the linked-to sentences in square brackets. The categories for coding and analysis are a simplification of the very detailed categories of Expansion presented by Halliday in IFG2 (323-30). The analysis is presented in Table 2. In the following discussion the text will be referred to by sentence numbers only and not by clause numbers.

##### **Box 1 KEY for Conjunctive cohesion analysis**

The number of the sentence or sentences linked to by the conjunctive element is shown within [ square brackets ] preceded by an arrow (↑) indicating the direction (always anaphoric) of the cohesive tie.

Explicit conjunctions are shown in **bold**. Implicit conjunctions are lexicalised (in parentheses).

The second column shows the initials of the speaker (refer to Appendix).

= = Elaboration; **C** = Clarification; **R** = Restatement.

+ = Extension; **A** = Addition; **V** = Variation.

**x** = Enhancement; **Ca** = Causal; **Cm** = Comparative; **Cn** = Concessive; **T** = Temporal.

Table 2 Conjunctive cohesion

Internal		Sentence	External
	E S	1. It's eight o'clock on Thursday the twenty-third of August, the headlines.	
↑ [1] = C (first and foremost)		2. An eleven-year-old has been shot dead in Liverpool.	
		3. Police are appealing for information saying this is no time for silence.	↑ [2] x Ca (consequently)
↑ [1] = C (secondly)		4. This year's GCSE results are out today, the pass rate is likely to be around ninety-nine percent.	
↑ [1] = C (third, and finally)		5. MEPs have expressed support for a Europe-wide register of sex-offenders, and a new theory has emerged about the timetable of human evolution.	
		6. Today's newsreader is Alice Arnold.	
↑ [2] = R (in other words)	A A	7. An eleven-year-old boy has died after being shot in Liverpool.	
↑ [7] = C (to be more precise)		8. Rhys Jones was playing football with two friends in a pub car park in Croxteth when he was attacked.	
↑ [8] = C (to be more precise)		9. Detectives say a boy rode past on a BMX bike and fired three shots one of which hit Rhys Jones in the neck.	
		10. The Home Secretary Jacqui Smith has sent her condolences to his family.	↑ [7-9] x Ca (for that reason)
		11. Our correspondent Caroline Cheetham is at the scene.	↑ [7-9] x Ca (for that reason)
↑ [8] = C (to be more precise)		C C	12. 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.
	13. He fired three shots, one of which hit one of the boys in the head or neck.		↑ [12] x T (then)
	14. He later died at Alder Hey Children's Hospital.		↑ [13] x T <b>later</b>
	15. He hasn't yet been named, but police say he was a local boy from the private housing estate in Croxteth Park.		↑ [14] x T <b>yet</b>
	16. The pub and the nearby parade of shops have been cordoned off, as police continue searching the area.		↑ [13] x T (since then)
	17. Last night, police appealed for people to examine their consciences, and come forward with information.		↑ [12-16] x T <b>Last night</b>
	A A		18. Detectives have said that they are bewildered as to why the boy was targeted.
↑ [18] + A (moreover)		19. Assistant Chief Constable Simon Byrne of Merseyside Police spoke of his disgust at the attack.	
↑ [19] = C (to be more precise)	S B	20. It is quite awful and quite senseless that	

↑ [20] = R (in other words)		21. 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.	
↑ [21] = C <b>particularly</b>		22. I particularly appeal to the criminal fraternity.	
↑ [22] = C (I mean to say)		23. If you know who this killer is, work with us to catch them quickly and take them off our streets.	
	A A	24. A local councillor, Rose Bailey, – who's lived in Croxtheth for twenty-six years – told us that the area had been experiencing problems with some of its young people.	
↑ [24] = C (to be more precise)	R B	25. We've got the largest private housing estate in Europe with no youth service er input whatsoever, so you can imagine how many thousands of children there are and the only area where they do congregate and and cause mayhem if you like is in in and around the shops.	
		26. I tried to get CCTV put in and ironically they just approved the programme.	↑ [25] x Ca (for that reason)

#### 4.2 Analysis

The results of the coding are summarised in Table 3 below. In this section these results will be discussed with respect to the following three categories:

- Plicity
- Ternality
- Expansion

**Table 3 Summary of conjunctive cohesion**

Type of Conjunction		ES	AA	CC	AA	SB	AA	RB	Total
Elaboration	clarification	3	2	1		3		1	10
	restatement		1			1			2
Extension	addition				1				1
	variation								0
Enhancement	causal	1	2		1			1	5
	comparative								0
	concessive								0
	temporal			5					5
Plicity	implicit	4	5	3	2	3	0	2	19
	explicit	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	4
Ternality	internal	3	3	1	1	4	0	1	13
	external	1	2	5	1	0	0	1	10

The three categories of cohesion to be discussed here are all interrelated. That is, every instance of conjunctive cohesion must select for plicity, ternality and expansion. As a consequence there will inevitably be a certain degree of overlap in the following discussion.

#### 4.2.1 Plicity

The clearest tendency demonstrated by the results for the coding summarised in the above table is that most of the conjunctive cohesion in the text is implicit. That is to say, the links between sentences are not explicitly marked by lexicalised conjunctions but are implied simply by the juxtaposition of one sentence with another. For example, the link between Edward Stourton's sentences [1] and [2] is an implied Elaboration relation of clarification (which I have filled in as 'first and foremost') in which the second sentence clarifies the most important referent of the phrase *the headlines* in the first.

As with all types of conjunctive cohesion, the two sentences forming a semantic tie do not need to be adjacent. This is shown by Stourton's [4] and [5], which continue the clarification of *the headlines* in [1] following the interruption of the third sentence. Neither are the ties confined to linking sentences within a particular turn. Thus Alice Arnold's first sentence [7] is a restatement Elaboration of Stourton's sentence [2].

Of the four explicit conjunctions used in the text, three occur in Caroline Cheetham's turn, where they are used to temporally sequence the events she describes. Such usage is characteristic of the narration of event sequences although, as noted above, they need not be used in every case. Thus for example in [16] Cheetham could have included a temporal Enhancement such as *since* or *now* to link the police's cordoning off of the pub and shops with [13] but this is strongly implied by the choice of tense (*have been*) and therefore the explicit marking of cohesion is not necessary.

The fact that most of the conjunction in this text is implicit suggests two things. Firstly, that the logical organisation of the text is being achieved by means other than non-structural conjunction. In fact, this is achieved particularly by means of clause complexing (see Haig 2009, Ch. 4), but also by the cueing function of Arnold's turns and simply the sequencing of the turns themselves. More importantly, it suggests that the text producers assumed that listeners would be able to make sense of the text by supplying many of the implied conjunctive relations themselves. This in turn reflects the highly stable character of the Radio 4 news bulletin genre, with whose logical structure regular listeners will indeed by very, if not consciously, familiar. Therefore I would argue that the very absence of explicit conjunctive relations is an important aspect of the ideological nature of such texts because they rely so heavily on the compliant cooperation of the audience to, as it were, co-produce the meanings construed by the news bulletin. And in co-

producing the meanings of the bulletin the audience are also, in a sense, ‘producing’ themselves as particular kinds of listening subjects. Such subjects, to the extent that they successfully activate the necessary logical cohesion within their own discourse, may then see and understand the world in ways that are aligned with (and by) the ideology of the bulletin and its makers.

The way in which readers, viewers and listeners are positioned by media texts is related to the question of media literacy (Potter 2005). In relation to this point a distinction is often made between active and passive listening, where active listening refers to listening for a purpose (such as listening for gist) whilst passive listening refers to merely hearing without paying particular attention. For a variety of reasons (including commercial, cultural and ideological) radio producers have historically been concerned to design their programmes in ways which encourage active listening (Tolson 2005: 9). Nevertheless, radio is often characterised as a ‘secondary’ medium in that people can listen to it to with less-than-full attention while they are engaged in other activities. As such it might be regarded as a passive-listening-oriented medium that makes little demand on its audience in terms of attention or cognitive processing. On one level this must certainly be the case, otherwise one would expect it to be illegal for people to listen to the radio while driving their cars (cf. the current illegality, at least in the UK, of watching television while driving). However, the high degree of implicit conjunctive cohesion required to make sense of this text suggests that at least at some level the audience must be more actively involved than they would need to be were all the conjunctions to be made explicitly by the speakers. I would suggest that the level of consciousness at which this involvement occurs must be quite deeply embedded in the cognitive faculties of most listeners since they do not need to make any overt mental effort to construct the cohesive ties. This would contrast with the effort required to understand the logical connections in the text by, for example, many non-native speakers of English (Pretorius 2006). The professionally constructed nature of this text, as an example of the news bulletin genre, is reflected in the ease with which listeners can make these conjunctive connections. We might sum up these relations between producers and consumers by saying that plicity entails complicity.

#### **4.2.2 Ternality**

In terms of internal versus external cohesion, there is a more even split between the two kinds than in the case of plicity, both throughout the text and within individual turns. Only Caroline Cheetham and Simon Byrne show a marked tendency towards using one or the other type. In Cheetham’s case, after internally linking her turn to the key topical sentence of Arnold [AA 8] in her first sentence, all the other conjunctive ties are made externally. As noted in the previous section, these are all of the temporal Enhancement type. The choice of temporal ties indicates that the main function of Cheetham’s turn is to provide a chronological account of the incident

and its aftermath. The preponderance of external ties shows that this is being construed as new information for the audience. If Cheetham had relied on implicit cohesion here, it is likely that the audience would have had some difficulty in supplying the missing ties.

In contrast, Byrne's use of conjunctives is entirely internal. This is because rather than linking real-world events into a sequence he is concerned with assigning identities to people and things and stating, clarifying and emphasising his message. Hence the pattern of ternality in his turn reinforces his use of Relational processes as described in my original study (Haig 2009, Ch. 3). This illustrates the importance for discourse analysis of analysing a text thoroughly in terms strata and systems. In this case, I would argue that the total meaning created through the two systems in combination (i.e. TRANSITIVITY realising the Experiential metafunction in the lexicogrammatical stratum and CONJUNCTIVE COHESION realising the Logical metafunction in the discourse semantic stratum) is greater than the sum of its two parts. In other words, a study based solely on an analysis of TRANSITIVITY would be likely to underestimate the contribution that it makes to the overall meaning of the text. Theoretically, of course, this need not always be the case: two systems may function in opposing directions resulting in a weakening of the realisational force of one or other of the systems which, looked at in isolation, might appear stronger than it actually is.

However, at this point in our discussion of ternality we encounter a difficulty regarding the SFL interpretation of the contribution of conjunctive cohesion to the realisation of the various metafunctions. As stated above, I am basing my account of conjunctive cohesion on Martin's framework in which conjunctive cohesion serves to realise the Logical metafunction. However, in his discussion of temporal Enhancement in IFG2, Halliday makes the following comment:

Many temporal conjunctives have an 'internal' as well as an 'external' interpretation; that is, the time they refer to is the temporal unfolding of the discourse itself, not the temporal sequence of the processes referred to. In terms of the functional components of semantics, it is *interpersonal* not *experiential* time. (IFG2: 325, emphasis added)

In short, it seems that while for analytical purposes we may well seek to assign particular textual systems to the realisation of one or other of the metafunctions, such attempts are very likely to be frustrated by the complex reality of semiotic particularity. Based on the analysis of the news bulletin text, I would suggest that in addition to viewing the internal temporality as contributing to both logical and interpersonal meaning it actually makes a contribution to textual meaning as well.

Stourton's opening turn may be used to illustrate this point. Sentences [2] to [5] are clarificational Elaborations of [1]. The real-world chronological relation of the four headlines does not correspond to the order in which Stourton presents them.<sup>10</sup> Rather, they reflect the hierarchical news-values of the programme-makers and, more generally, the culture as a whole.

There is certainly an interpersonal aspect to the ordering of the headlines in as much as these news-values are being communicated to the listeners along with the ideational content of the stories themselves. In this way audiences are being tacitly invited to share these values with the journalists. However, I would suggest that the ordering also serves a text-internal textual organisation function, as indicated by the implicit conjunctive ties shown in parentheses in the coding analysis. Given that, as a whole, the resources of cohesion combine to create texture, that is, to realise the Textual metafunction, this conclusion seems unremarkable. However, I think that it is a point which the approaches of both Martin and Halliday tend to underemphasise. To signal the textual role of cohesive conjunction, therefore, the expression 'textual time' might be a more suitable one than Halliday's 'interpersonal time' as used in the quotation above.<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.2.3 Expansion**

Of the three main types of Expansion, both Elaboration and Enhancement are used relatively often in this text but Extension is used only once. Elaboration is only used to form internal ties. This points to the essentially rhetorical (and hence text-internal) nature of Elaboration. As such, high levels of Elaboration are usually an indication of the kind of pre-planning associated with the written mode. In this case though the connection is rendered somewhat weaker by the fact that all but one of the ties is implicit. In saying this I am assuming that, all things being equal, an explicit tie is more semantically powerful than an implicit tie. From the perspective of ideology, however, this is not as straightforward a matter as it seems. For inasmuch as implicit conjunction requires the complicity of the audience to establish the semantic link it could be seen as being more powerful than openly stating the link. Moreover, explicit ties can be challenged whereas text producers can always deny the existence of (and the intentionality behind) ties which are only implicit. Risqué jokes are an example of this as is, more seriously, the infamous political strategy known as 'plausible denial' (Campbell & Brenner 2002).

Where Elaboration is used it is mostly in the form of clarification. This suggests that in those parts of the text where it is used the logic underlying the expansion of meaning being effected by Elaboration is based on clarification of previously given information rather than on an explanatory logic.

In marked contrast to the pattern shown by Elaboration, all of the Enhancement in this text occurs in external ties. Only two types are used and they occur quite separately from each other. Firstly there are the temporal Enhancements already noted in the previous section which are used by Cheetham, mostly explicitly, to structure her account of the shooting. This is a highly congruent use of this type of cohesion in the kind of narrative that she is developing in this section.

Secondly there are the implicit causal Enhancements that are used mainly by the text-internal participants, Stourton and Arnold, to account for the inclusion of certain items of

information, such as the fact that the police are appealing for information [ES 3] or that the Home Secretary has sent her condolences to Rhys' family [AA 10]. This latter pattern, although again it must be regarded as less clear than it would have been had the ties been made explicitly, offers an interesting contrast to the picture that emerged in my analysis of the lexicogrammatical features of the text (Haig 2009) of the text as being principally organised according to the logic of appearances rather than an explanatory logic (Fairclough 2003: 94-98). It appears that to some extent there *is* an explanatory logic at work here, but because it is implicit it does not get picked up in an analysis of the words themselves. Here again we have further evidence, if such were still required, of the value of conducting a fully multifunctional and multistratal analysis of texts. The importance of unlexicalised implicit conjunction also points to a major difficulty for corpus studies concerned with the investigation of this phenomenon. Such as it is, however, the explanatory logic steers well clear of advancing any explanation for the shooting itself and in fact at one point is specifically used to highlight its very inexplicability [CC 18].

## 5. Conclusion

It appears from the preceding discussion that the patterns of conjunctive cohesion shown by the text are most clear in the plicity dimension. The paucity of explicit conjunctions indicates that, with the notable exception of Cheetham's turn, the conjunctive aspect of cohesion (that is, that aspect which realises the Logical metafunction) is not a major factor in the creation of texture in this particular text, probably because this function is being performed by other resources such as clause complexing in the lexicogrammar, the repetition of information in successive turns and the turn-allocating role of Arnold. Nevertheless, by 'filling-in' the implicit conjunctions it has been possible to show that all three of the main dimensions discussed here do make some limited contribution to the texture.

In terms of the text's overall cohesion, the most frequently linked-to sentence is Arnold's second [AA 8]. This is linked-to twice individually (by [9] and [12]) and twice as part of a group of sentences (by [10] and [11]). In all four cases the link is implicit. This relatively high degree of linkage to this one sentence is an indication of its importance to the creation of texture in the text as a whole. Part of this importance simply derives from its position near the beginning of the text: since all conjunctive cohesion is by definition anaphoric, for those sentences occurring nearer to the beginning of the text there are more following sentences which may link to them. However, if prior position were the only criterion then we would expect one of Stourton's sentences to have the most links to it, but this is not the case. The more semantically plausible explanation for why Arnold's sentence is important is that it includes the synoptic description of the shooting incident encapsulated in the word *attacked*. This makes it possible for it to serve as an anchor for references to the incident as a whole in a way which sentences that give particular details of the incident cannot.

In this paper I have sought to exemplify the assertion made in the introduction regarding the fundamentally ideological nature of media discourse and the need for CDA scholars to pay close attention to language, illustrating this with a consideration of conjunctive cohesion in a short radio news bulletin. If books of poetry may be counted as a form of media text, then the poet Oliver Goldsmith may furnish us with an appropriate though cautionary coda to this study. In a richly ironic poem of 1766 about a mad dog that bites a man, the man may be interpreted as representing what Goldsmith saw as the hypocrisy of British society and the dog as the spirit of revolution. However, the man's neighbours' common sense expectations as to the outcome of this encounter are confounded: 'And while they swore the dog was mad / They swore the man would die' whereas, as the final couplet of the poem informs us, 'The man recovered from the bite / the dog it was that died'.<sup>12</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 For comprehensive details of the research project see the author's second doctoral thesis (Haig 2009). This paper constitutes a revised and condensed version of one part of Chapter 5 of that work. In Sections 1 and 2 it also reincorporates some material from Haig (2011) and Haig (2012).
- 2 The model of language proposed by SFL is rich, complex and continually developing. 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, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd ed. (2004). Note that this is referred through in the text as IFG3. Likewise, the second edition of the same work is referred to as IFG2. 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).
- 3 In this paper I follow the Hallidayan convention of showing the names of grammatical systems such as COHESION in small capitals.
- 4 An explanation of my reasons for selecting this particular text and a discussion of the social, political and media contexts in which it was produced is provided in Haig (2009).
- 5 Field refers to the topic of a text, Tenor refers to the role relationships of the interactants involved in the text and Mode refers to role played by language itself in the interaction. For definitions of these terms see Matthiessen *et al.* (2010).
- 6 For a discussion of these advantages see Haig (2009) Chapters 1 and 12.
- 7 Expansion refers to the relationship between clauses in a clause complex or sentences within a text wherein a secondary clause or sentence expands the meaning of the primary clause or sentence by elaborating, extending or enhancing it. See the definitions and comprehensive accounts of these in IFG3 (379-441).
- 8 Although I am basing the account in this paper on Martin's stratificational version of SFL, I have chosen to retain Halliday's distinction between structural and non-structural systems specifically because it provides a useful way of disambiguating the inter- and intra-sentential operation of logico-semantic relations. I am aware that this choice is not consistent with Martin's version but feel that the two models are not as dissimilar on this point as Martin or his critics suggest.
- 9 Projection concerns the way in which speech and thought (rather than direct experience) are represented within clause complexes, such as through direct or indirect quotation. For a concise discussion of this topic see Bloor & Bloor (1995, Ch.10).
- 10 The research on human evolution was published in the journal *Nature* on the day of the news bulletin (Suwa *et al.*, 2007). The survey of MEPs was conducted between 19 July and 2 August 2007 on behalf of the campaign to find the missing schoolgirl Madeleine McCann. The earliest media report I have been able to find about it was from the BBC News website at 00:37 on 23 August 2007. This suggests that it may have been embargoed until midnight of the previous day. Thus the chronological order of events was: first, the Rhys Jones shooting; second, (the lifting of the embargo on reporting) the sex-offender register survey and the publication of the human evolution story; third, the announcement of the GCSE results.
- 11 For further discussion of the difference between the kinds of internal and external conjunctive relations which I am referring to as ternality here see Halliday and Hasan (1976), Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2003).
- 12 Oliver Goldsmith, *An Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog*, 1766.

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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)

1i 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. 8i Rhys Jones was playing football with two friends in a pub car park in Croxteth 8ii 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. 15i He hasn't yet been named, 15ii but police say 15iii he was a local boy from the private housing estate in Croxteth Park. 16i The pub and the nearby parade of shops have been cordoned off, 16ii as police continue searching the area. 17 Last night, police appealed for people to examine their consciences, and come forward with information.

**Alice Arnold**

18i Detectives have said 18ii that they are bewildered 18iii as to why the boy was targeted. 19 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.*]

20 It is quite awful and quite senseless that 21i It's just not right that an eleven-year-old boy should lose his life in these circumstances 21ii 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. 22 I

particularly appeal to the criminal fraternity. 23i If you know who this killer is, 23ii work with us 23iii to catch them quickly 23iv and take them off our streets.

**Alice Arnold**

24i A local councillor, Rose Bailey, – 24ii who's lived in Croxteth for twenty-six years – told us 24iii 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.*]

25i We've got the largest private housing estate in Europe with no youth service er input whatsoever, 25ii so you can imagine 25iii 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>*] 25iv and the only area where they do congregate and and cause mayhem if you like is in in and around the shops [*deleted <erm>*] 26i I tried to get CCTV put in 26ii 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:*

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/listenagain/listenagain\\_20070823.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/listenagain/listenagain_20070823.shtml) (accessed 9/10/2012)