DISCOURSE MARKERS IN NEWS ARTICLES OF THE JAKARTA POST

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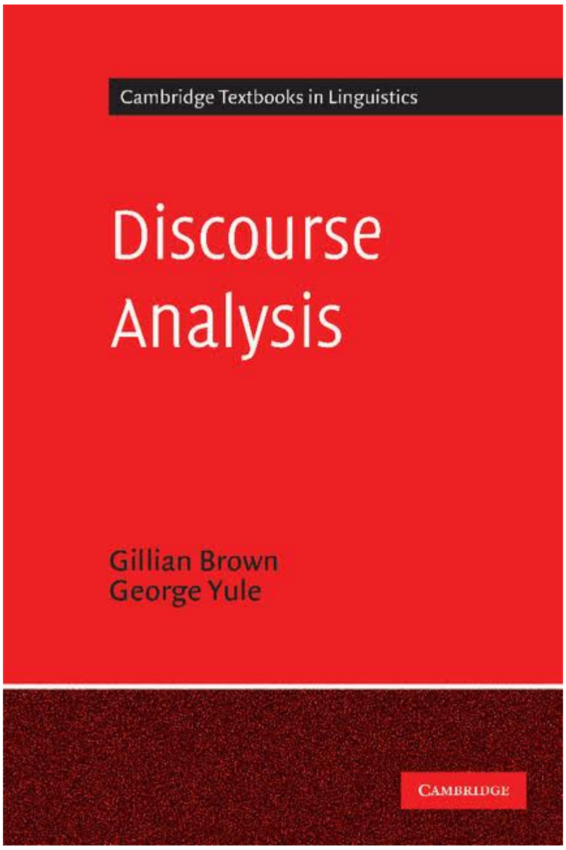

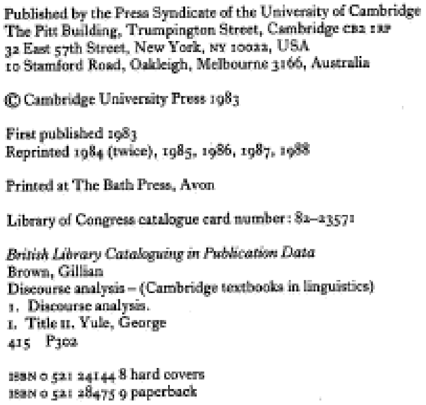
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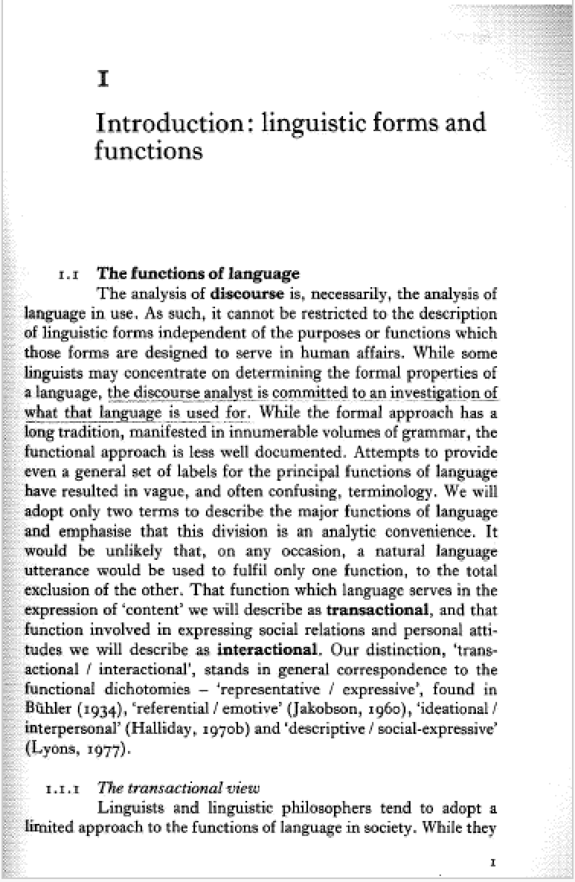

1

Introduction: linguistic forms and functions

1.1 The functions of language

The analysis of **discourse** is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. While some linguists may concentrate on determining the formal properties of a language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for. While the formal approach has a long tradition, manifested in innumerable volumes of grammar, the functional approach is less well documented. Attempts to provide even a general set of labels for the principal functions of language have resulted in vague, and often confusing, terminology. We will adopt only two terms to describe the major functions of language and emphasise that this division is an analytic convenience. It would be unlikely that, on any occasion, a natural language utterance would be used to fulfil only one function, to the total exclusion of the other. That function which language serves in the expression of 'content' we will describe as **transactional**, and that function involved in expressing social relations and personal attitudes we will describe as **interactional**. Our distinction, 'transactional / interactional', stands in general correspondence to the functional dichotomies – 'representative / expressive', found in Bühler (1934), 'referential / emotive' (Jakobson, 1960), 'ideational / interpersonal' (Halliday, 1970b) and 'descriptive / social-expressive' (Lyons, 1977).

1.1.1 *The transactional view*

Linguists and linguistic philosophers tend to adopt a limited approach to the functions of language in society. While they

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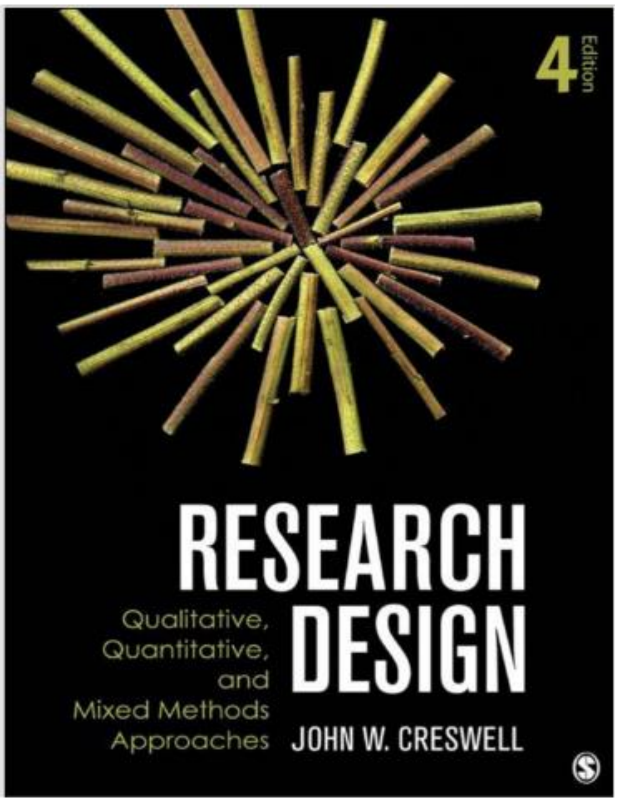
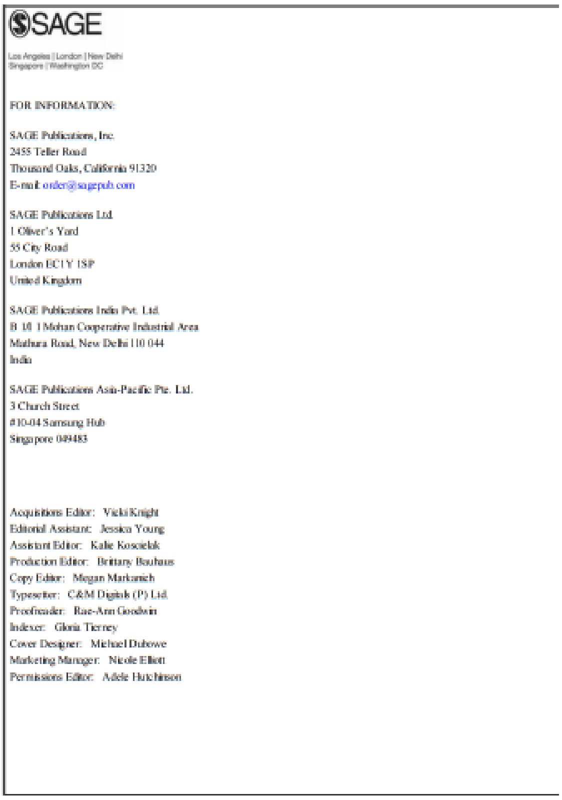


4 Edition

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches

JOHN W. CREWELL



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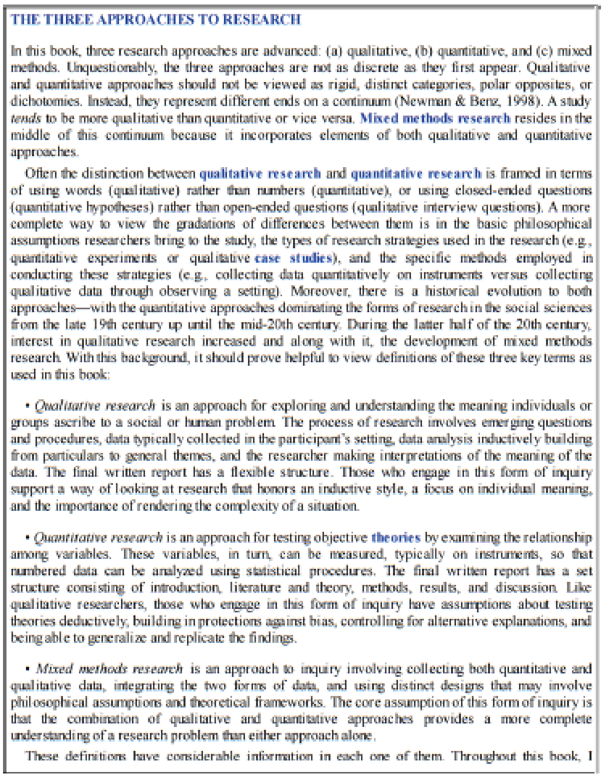


THE THREE APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

In this book, three research approaches are advanced: (a) qualitative, (b) quantitative, and (c) mixed methods. Unquestionably, the three approaches are not as discrete as they first appear. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman & Benz, 1998). A study *tends* to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. **Mixed methods research** resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

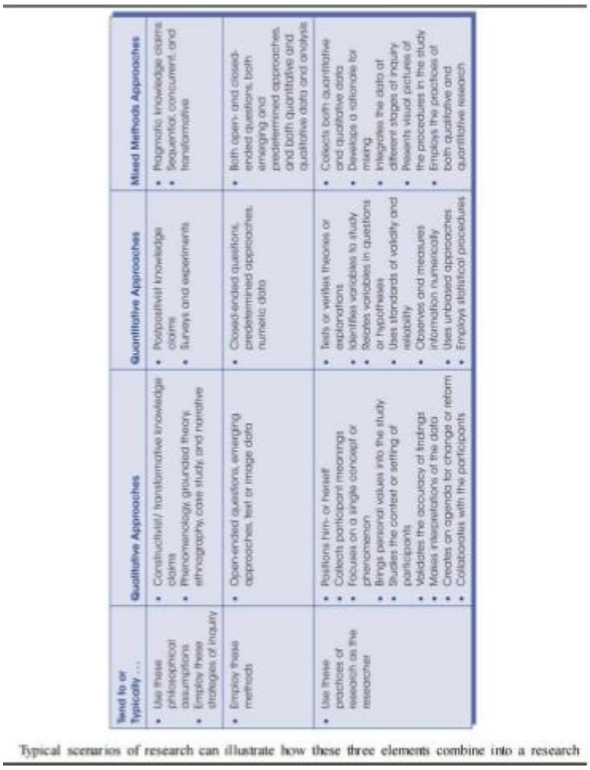
Often the distinction between **qualitative research** and **quantitative research** is framed in terms of using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative), or using closed-ended questions (quantitative hypotheses) rather than open-ended questions (qualitative interview questions). A more complete way to view the gradations of differences between them is in the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to the study, the types of research strategies used in the research (e.g., quantitative experiments or qualitative **case studies**), and the specific methods employed in conducting these strategies (e.g., collecting data quantitatively on instruments versus collecting qualitative data through observing a setting). Moreover, there is a historical evolution to both approaches—with the quantitative approaches dominating the forms of research in the social sciences from the late 19th century up until the mid-20th century. During the latter half of the 20th century, interest in qualitative research increased and along with it, the development of mixed methods research. With this background, it should prove helpful to view definitions of these three key terms as used in this book:

- *Qualitative research* is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

- *Quantitative research* is an approach for testing objective **theories** by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction, literature and theory, methods, results, and discussion. Like qualitative researchers, those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings.

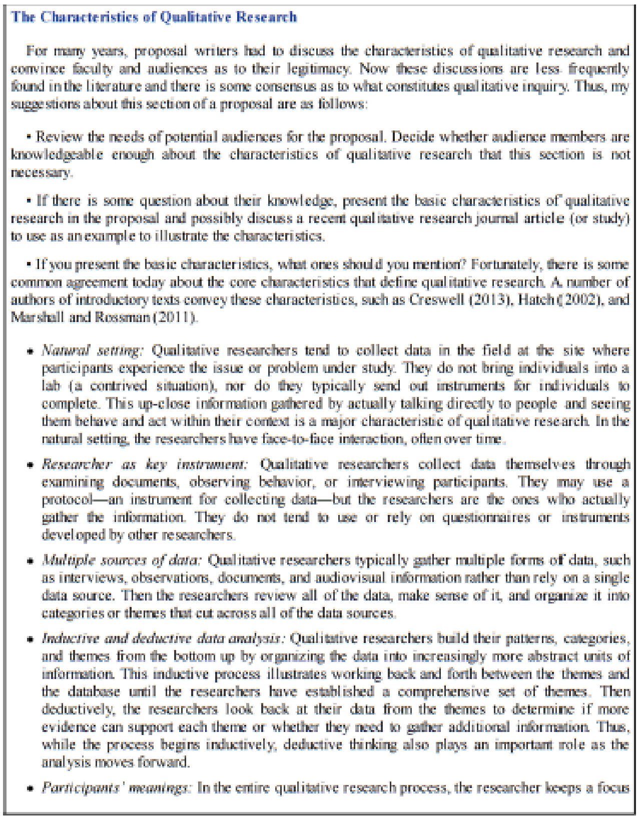
- *Mixed methods research* is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone.

These definitions have considerable information in each one of them. Throughout this book, I



Tend to or Typically …	Qualitative Approaches	Quantitative Approaches	Mixed Methods Approaches
• Use these philosophical assumptions • Employ these strategies of inquiry	• Constructivist/ transformative knowledge claims • Phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, case study, and narrative	• Postpositivist knowledge claims • Surveys and experiments	• Pragmatic knowledge claims • Sequential, concurrent, and transformative
• Employ these methods	• Open-ended questions, emerging approaches, text or image data	• Closed-ended questions, predetermined approaches, numeric data	• Both open- and closed-ended questions, both emerging and predetermined approaches, and both quantitative and qualitative data and analysis
• Use these practices of research as the researcher	• Positions him- or herself • Collects participant meanings • Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon • Brings personal values into the study • Studies the context or setting of participants • Validates the accuracy of findings • Makes interpretations of the data • Creates an agenda for change or reform • Collaborates with the participants	• Tests or verifies theories or explanations • Identifies variables to study • Relates variables in questions or hypotheses • Uses standards of validity and reliability • Observes and measures information numerically • Uses unbiased approaches • Employs statistical procedures	• Collects both quantitative and qualitative data • Develops a rationale for mixing • Integrates the data at different stages of inquiry • Presents visual pictures of the procedures in the study • Employs the practices of both qualitative and quantitative research

Typical scenarios of research can illustrate how these three elements combine into a research



The Characteristics of Qualitative Research

For many years, proposal writers had to discuss the characteristics of qualitative research and convince faculty and audiences as to their legitimacy. Now these discussions are less frequently found in the literature and there is some consensus as to what constitutes qualitative inquiry. Thus, my suggestions about this section of a proposal are as follows:

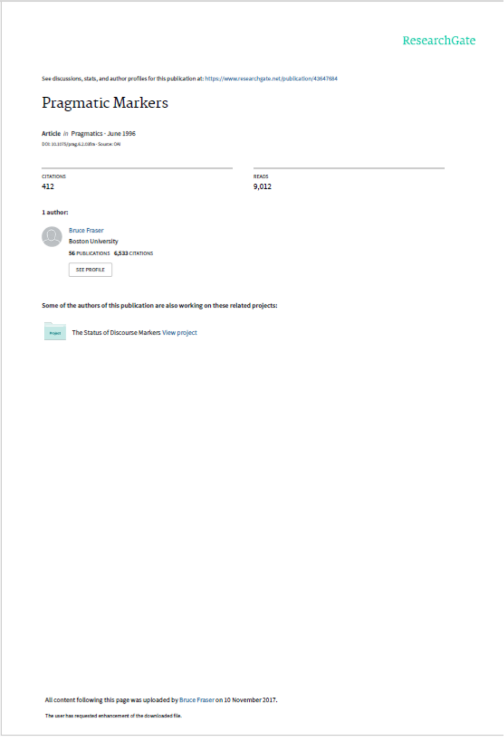
- Review the needs of potential audiences for the proposal. Decide whether audience members are knowledgeable enough about the characteristics of qualitative research that this section is not necessary.

- If there is some question about their knowledge, present the basic characteristics of qualitative research in the proposal and possibly discuss a recent qualitative research journal article (or study) to use as an example to illustrate the characteristics.

- If you present the basic characteristics, what ones should you mention? Fortunately, there is some common agreement today about the core characteristics that define qualitative research. A number of authors of introductory texts convey these characteristics, such as Creswell (2013), Hatch (2002), and Marshall and Rossman (2011).

- *Natural setting:* Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. This up-close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research. In the natural setting, the researchers have face-to-face interaction, often over time.
- *Researcher as key instrument:* Qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, or interviewing participants. They may use a protocol—an instrument for collecting data—but the researchers are the ones who actually gather the information. They do not tend to use or rely on questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers.
- *Multiple sources of data:* Qualitative researchers typically gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual information rather than rely on a single data source. Then the researchers review all of the data, make sense of it, and organize it into categories or themes that cut across all of the data sources.
- *Inductive and deductive data analysis:* Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process illustrates working back and forth between the themes and the database until the researchers have established a comprehensive set of themes. Then deductively, the researchers look back at their data from the themes to determine if more evidence can support each theme or whether they need to gather additional information. Thus, while the process begins inductively, deductive thinking also plays an important role as the analysis moves forward.
- *Participants' meanings:* In the entire qualitative research process, the researcher keeps a focus

Fraser, B. 1996. Pragmatic Markers (Vol. 6).



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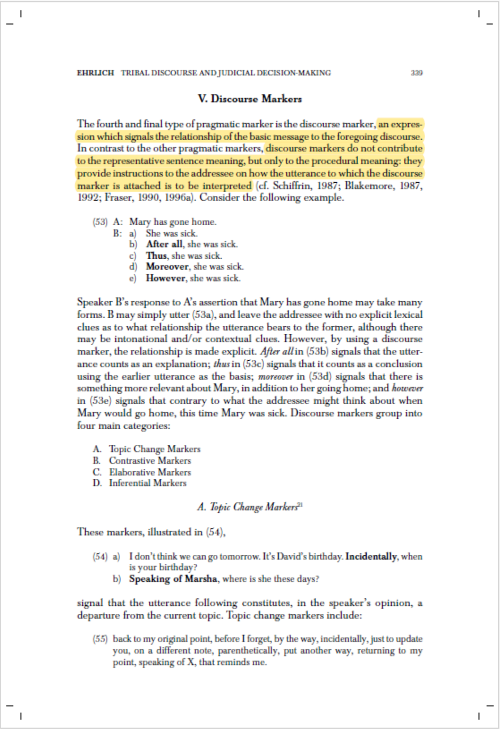


EHRLICH TRIBAL DISCOURSE AND JUDICIAL DECISION-MAKING 339

V. Discourse Markers

The fourth and final type of pragmatic marker is the discourse marker, an expression which signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse. In contrast to the other pragmatic markers, discourse markers do not contribute to the representative sentence meaning, but only to the procedural meaning: they provide instructions to the addressee on how the utterance to which the discourse marker is attached is to be interpreted (cf. Schiffrin, 1987; Blakemore, 1987, 1992; Fraser, 1990, 1996a). Consider the following example.

(53) A: Mary has gone home.
B: a) She was sick.
b) **After all**, she was sick.
c) **Thus**, she was sick.
d) **Moreover**, she was sick.
e) **However**, she was sick.

Speaker B's response to A's assertion that Mary has gone home may take many forms. B may simply utter (53a), and leave the addressee with no explicit lexical clues as to what relationship the utterance bears to the former, although there may be intonational and/or contextual clues. However, by using a discourse marker, the relationship is made explicit. *After all* in (53b) signals that the utterance counts as an explanation; *thus* in (53c) signals that it counts as a conclusion using the earlier utterance as the basis; *moreover* in (53d) signals that there is something more relevant about Mary, in addition to her going home; and *however* in (53e) signals that contrary to what the addressee might think about when Mary would go home, this time Mary was sick. Discourse markers group into four main categories:

A. Topic Change Markers
B. Contrastive Markers
C. Elaborative Markers
D. Inferential Markers

A. Topic Change Markers[21]

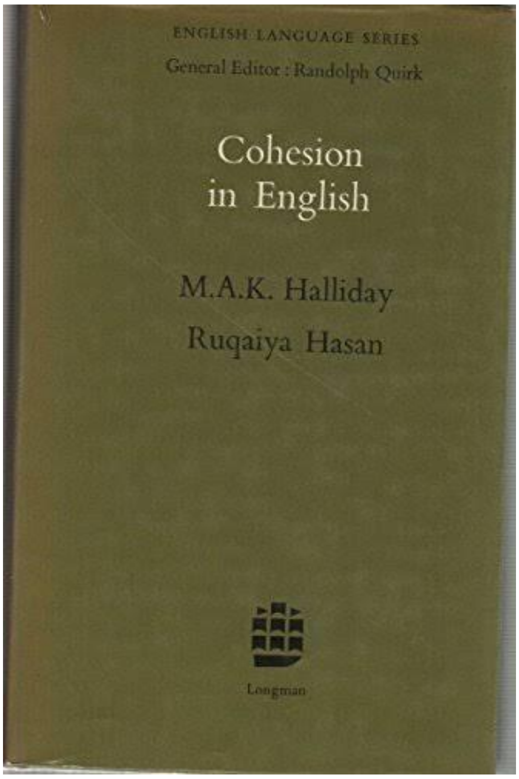
These markers, illustrated in (54),

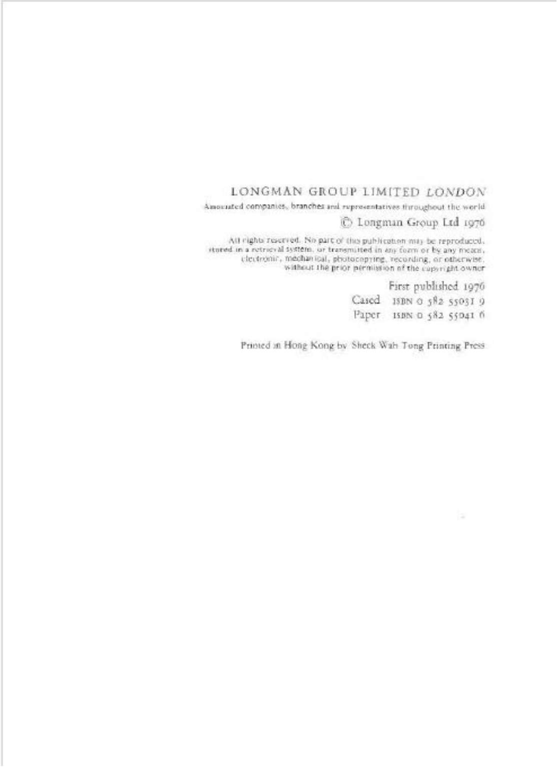
(54) a) I don't think we can go tomorrow. It's David's birthday. **Incidentally**, when is your birthday?
b) **Speaking of Marsha**, where is she these days?

signal that the utterance following constitutes, in the speaker's opinion, a departure from the current topic. Topic change markers include:

(55) back to my original point, before I forget, by the way, incidentally, just to update you, on a different note, parenthetically, put another way, returning to my point, speaking of X, that reminds me.

Halliday, M. A.K., & Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. Longman Group.

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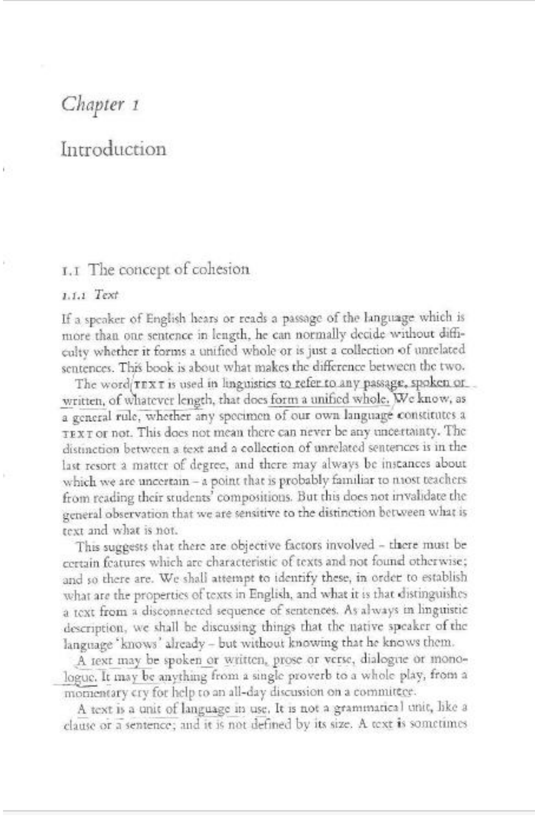


Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The concept of cohesion

1.1.1 Text

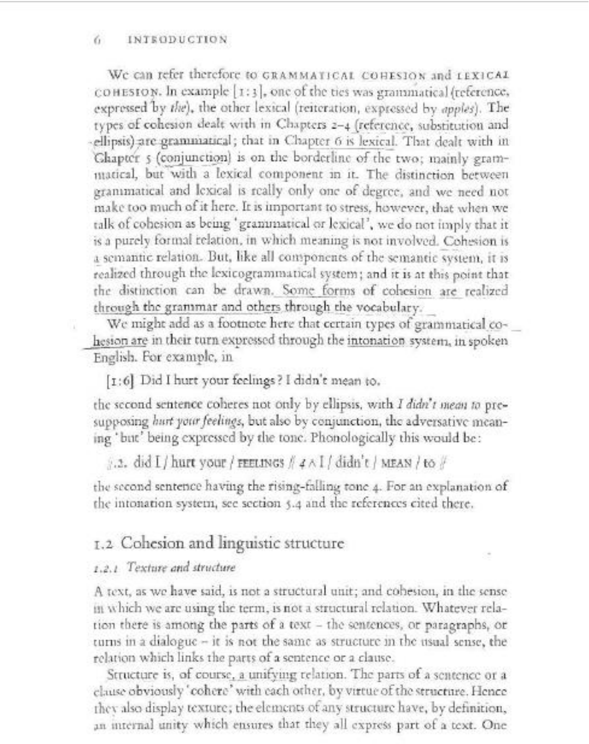
If a speaker of English hears or reads a passage of the language which is more than one sentence in length, he can normally decide without difficulty whether it forms a unified whole or is just a collection of unrelated sentences. This book is about what makes the difference between the two.

The word TEXT is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole. We know, as a general rule, whether any specimen of our own language constitutes a TEXT or not. This does not mean there can never be any uncertainty. The distinction between a text and a collection of unrelated sentences is in the last resort a matter of degree, and there may always be instances about which we are uncertain – a point that is probably familiar to most teachers from reading their students' compositions. But this does not invalidate the general observation that we are sensitive to the distinction between what is text and what is not.

This suggests that there are objective factors involved – there must be certain features which are characteristic of texts and not found otherwise; and so there are. We shall attempt to identify these, in order to establish what are the properties of texts in English, and what it is that distinguishes a text from a disconnected sequence of sentences. As always in linguistic description, we shall be discussing things that the native speaker of the language 'knows' already – but without knowing that he knows them.

A text may be spoken or written, prose or verse, dialogue or monologue. It may be anything from a single proverb to a whole play, from a momentary cry for help to an all-day discussion on a committee.

A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence; and it is not defined by its size. A text is sometimes



6 INTRODUCTION

We can refer therefore to GRAMMATICAL COHESION and LEXICAL COHESION. In example [1:3], one of the ties was grammatical (reference, expressed by *the*), the other lexical (reiteration, expressed by *apples*). The types of cohesion dealt with in Chapters 2–4 (reference, substitution and ellipsis) are grammatical; that in Chapter 6 is lexical. That dealt with in Chapter 5 (conjunction) is on the borderline of the two; mainly grammatical, but with a lexical component in it. The distinction between grammatical and lexical is really only one of degree, and we need not make too much of it here. It is important to stress, however, that when we talk of cohesion as being 'grammatical or lexical', we do not imply that it is a purely formal relation, in which meaning is not involved. Cohesion is a semantic relation. But, like all components of the semantic system, it is realized through the lexicogrammatical system; and it is at this point that the distinction can be drawn. Some forms of cohesion are realized through the grammar and others through the vocabulary.

We might add as a footnote here that certain types of grammatical cohesion are in their turn expressed through the intonation system, in spoken English. For example, in

[1:6] Did I hurt your feelings? I didn't mean to.

the second sentence coheres not only by ellipsis, with *I didn't mean to* presupposing *hurt your feelings*, but also by conjunction, the adversative meaning 'but' being expressed by the tone. Phonologically this would be:

//.2. did I / hurt your / FEELINGS // 4 ∧ I / didn't / MEAN / to //

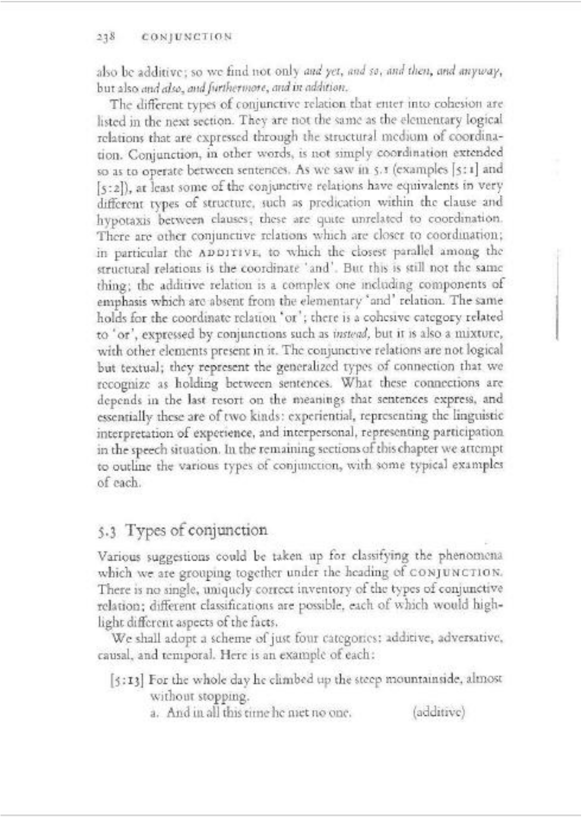
the second sentence having the rising-falling tone 4. For an explanation of the intonation system, see section 5.4 and the references cited there.

1.2 Cohesion and linguistic structure

1.2.1 Texture and structure

A text, as we have said, is not a structural unit; and cohesion, in the sense in which we are using the term, is not a structural relation. Whatever relation there is among the parts of a text – the sentences, or paragraphs, or turns in a dialogue – it is not the same as structure in the usual sense, the relation which links the parts of a sentence or a clause.

Structure is, of course, a unifying relation. The parts of a sentence or a clause obviously 'cohere' with each other, by virtue of the structure. Hence they also display texture; the elements of any structure have, by definition, an internal unity which ensures that they all express part of a text. One



238 CONJUNCTION

also be additive; so we find not only *and yet, and so, and then, and anyway,* but also *and also, and furthermore, and in addition.*

The different types of conjunctive relation that enter into cohesion are listed in the next section. They are not the same as the elementary logical relations that are expressed through the structural medium of coordination. Conjunction, in other words, is not simply coordination extended so as to operate between sentences. As we saw in 5.1 (examples [5:1] and [5:2]), at least some of the conjunctive relations have equivalents in very different types of structure, such as predication within the clause and hypotaxis between clauses; these are quite unrelated to coordination. There are other conjunctive relations which are closer to coordination; in particular the ADDITIVE, to which the closest parallel among the structural relations is the coordinate 'and'. But this is still not the same thing; the additive relation is a complex one including components of emphasis which are absent from the elementary 'and' relation. The same holds for the coordinate relation 'or'; there is a cohesive category related to 'or', expressed by conjunctions such as *instead,* but it is also a mixture, with other elements present in it. The conjunctive relations are not logical but textual; they represent the generalized types of connection that we recognize as holding between sentences. What these connections are depends in the last resort on the meanings that sentences express, and essentially these are of two kinds: experiential, representing the linguistic interpretation of experience, and interpersonal, representing participation in the speech situation. In the remaining sections of this chapter we attempt to outline the various types of conjunction, with some typical examples of each.

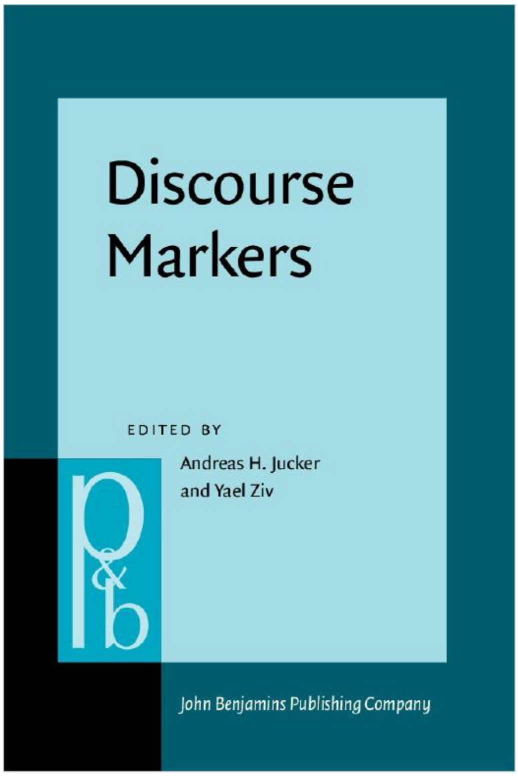
5.3 Types of conjunction

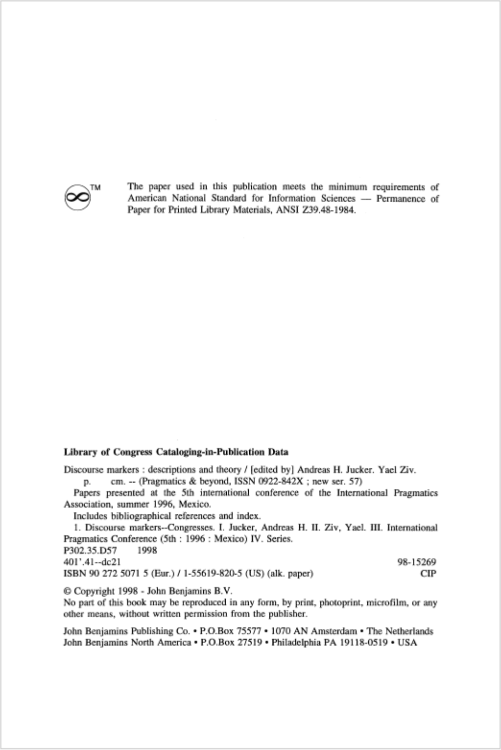
Various suggestions could be taken up for classifying the phenomena which we are grouping together under the heading of CONJUNCTION. There is no single, uniquely correct inventory of the types of conjunctive relation; different classifications are possible, each of which would highlight different aspects of the facts.

We shall adopt a scheme of just four categories: additive, adversative, causal, and temporal. Here is an example of each:

[5:13] For the whole day he climbed up the steep mountainside, almost without stopping.
a. And in all this time he met no one. (additive)

Jucker, A. H., & Ziv, Y. 1998. *Dicourse Marker. Description and theory*. Library of Congress Cataloging.





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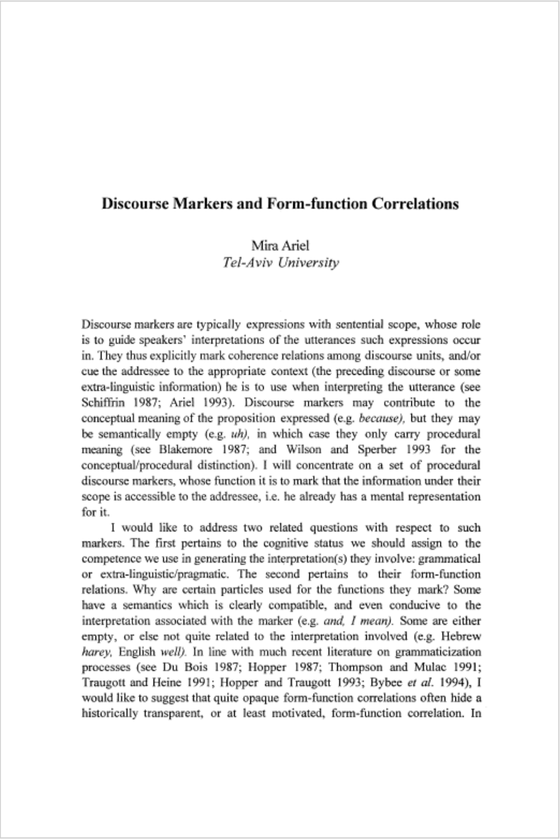

Discourse Markers and Form-function Correlations

Mira Ariel
Tel-Aviv University

Discourse markers are typically expressions with sentential scope, whose role is to guide speakers' interpretations of the utterances such expressions occur in. They thus explicitly mark coherence relations among discourse units, and/or cue the addressee to the appropriate context (the preceding discourse or some extra-linguistic information) he is to use when interpreting the utterance (see Schiffrin 1987; Ariel 1993). Discourse markers may contribute to the conceptual meaning of the proposition expressed (e.g. *because),* but they may be semantically empty (e.g. *uh),* in which case they only carry procedural meaning (see Blakemore 1987; and Wilson and Sperber 1993 for the conceptual/procedural distinction). I will concentrate on a set of procedural discourse markers, whose function it is to mark that the information under their scope is accessible to the addressee, i.e. he already has a mental representation for it.

I would like to address two related questions with respect to such markers. The first pertains to the cognitive status we should assign to the competence we use in generating the interpretation(s) they involve: grammatical or extra-linguistic/pragmatic. The second pertains to their form-function relations. Why are certain particles used for the functions they mark? Some have a semantics which is clearly compatible, and even conducive to the interpretation associated with the marker (e.g. *and, I mean).* Some are either empty, or else not quite related to the interpretation involved (e.g. Hebrew *harey,* English *well).* In line with much recent literature on grammaticization processes (see Du Bois 1987; Hopper 1987; Thompson and Mulac 1991; Traugott and Heine 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Bybee *et al.* 1994), I would like to suggest that quite opaque form-function correlations often hide a historically transparent, or at least motivated, form-function correlation. In

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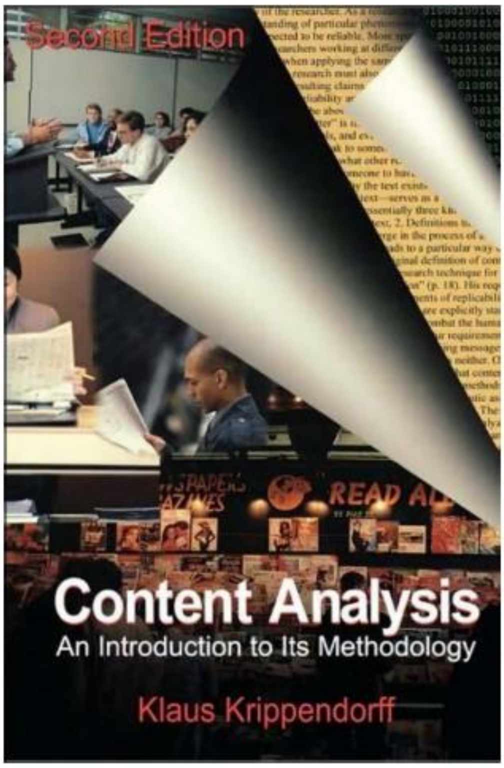

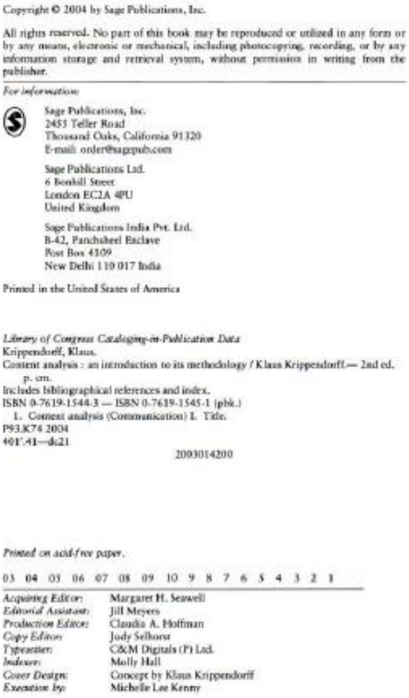

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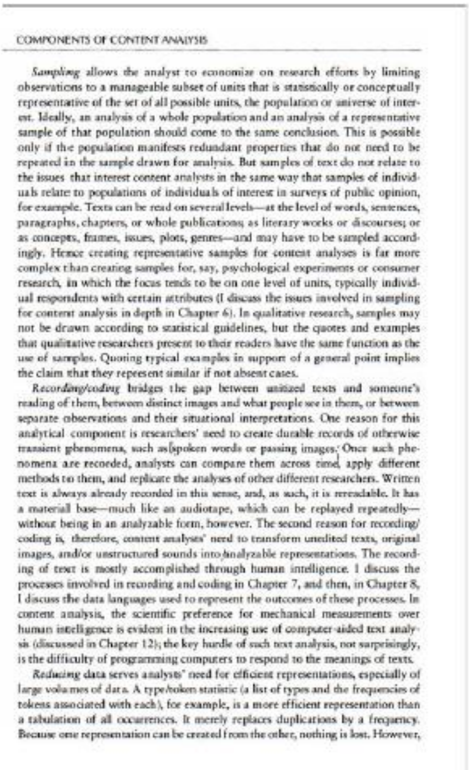


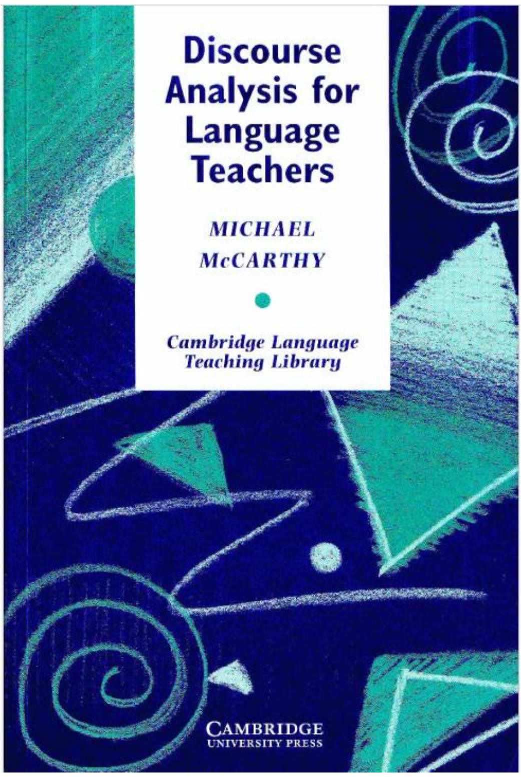
COMPONENTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

Sampling allows the analyst to economize on research efforts by limiting observations to a manageable subset of units that is statistically or conceptually representative of the set of all possible units, the population or universe of interest. Ideally, an analysis of a whole population and an analysis of a representative sample of that population should come to the same conclusion. This is possible only if the population manifests redundant properties that do not need to be repeated in the sample drawn for analysis. But samples of text do not relate to the issues that interest content analysts in the same way that samples of individuals relate to populations of individuals of interest in surveys of public opinion, for example. Texts can be read on several levels—at the level of words, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, or whole publications; as literary works or discourses; or as concepts, frames, issues, plots, genres—and may have to be sampled accordingly. Hence creating representative samples for content analyses is far more complex than creating samples for, say, psychological experiments or consumer research, in which the focus tends to be on one level of units, typically individual respondents with certain attributes (I discuss the issues involved in sampling for content analysis in depth in Chapter 6). In qualitative research, samples may not be drawn according to statistical guidelines, but the quotes and examples that qualitative researchers present to their readers have the same function as the use of samples. Quoting typical examples in support of a general point implies the claim that they represent similar if not absent cases.

Recording/coding bridges the gap between unitized texts and someone's reading of them, between distinct images and what people see in them, or between separate observations and their situational interpretations. One reason for this analytical component is researchers' need to create durable records of otherwise transient phenomena, such as spoken words or passing images. Once such phenomena are recorded, analysts can compare them across time, apply different methods to them, and replicate the analyses of other different researchers. Written text is always already recorded in this sense, and, as such, it is rereadable. It has a material base—much like an audiotape, which can be replayed repeatedly—without being in an analyzable form, however. The second reason for recording/coding is, therefore, content analysts' need to transform unedited texts, original images, and/or unstructured sounds into analyzable representations. The recording of text is mostly accomplished through human intelligence. I discuss the processes involved in recording and coding in Chapter 7, and then, in Chapter 8, I discuss the data languages used to represent the outcomes of these processes. In content analysis, the scientific preference for mechanical measurements over human intelligence is evident in the increasing use of computer-aided text analysis (discussed in Chapter 12); the key hurdle of such text analysis, not surprisingly, is the difficulty of programming computers to respond to the meanings of texts.

Reducing data serves analysts' need for efficient representations, especially of large volumes of data. A type/token statistic (a list of types and the frequencies of tokens associated with each), for example, is a more efficient representation than a tabulation of all occurrences. It merely replaces duplications by a frequency. Because one representation can be created from the other, nothing is lost. However,

McCarthy, M. 1991. Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers. The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.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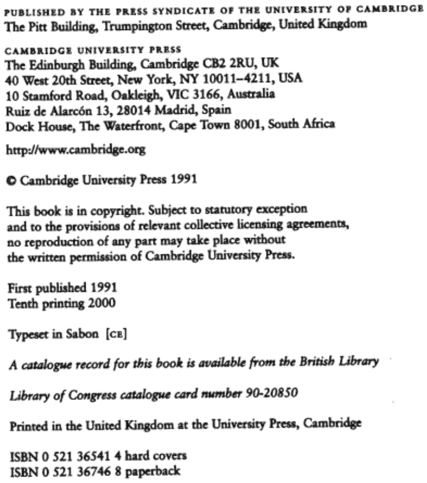

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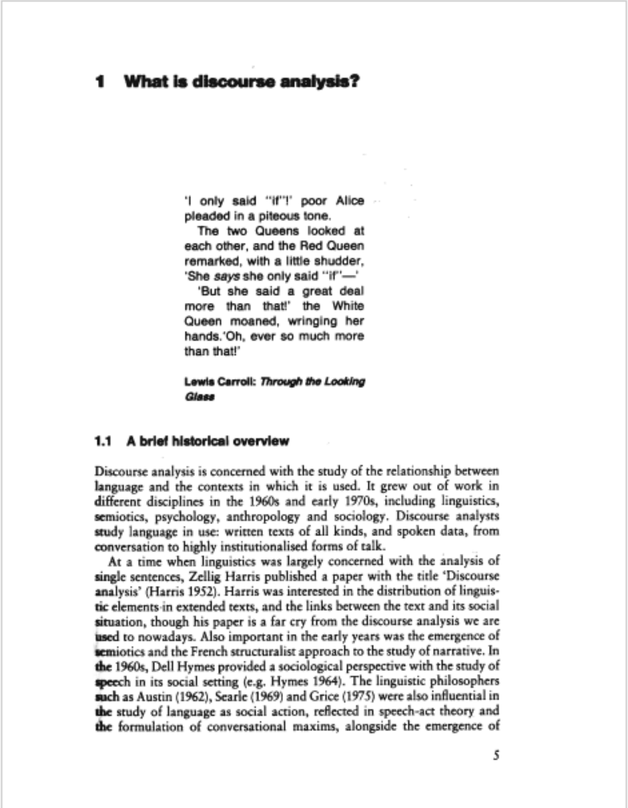


1 What is discourse analysis?

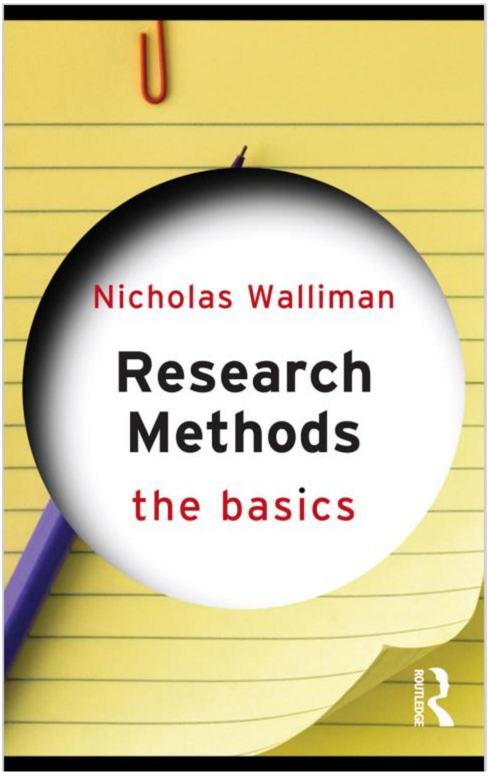
> 'I only said "if"!' poor Alice pleaded in a piteous tone.
> The two Queens looked at each other, and the Red Queen remarked, with a little shudder, 'She *says* she only said "if"—'
> 'But she said a great deal more than that!' the White Queen moaned, wringing her hands.'Oh, ever so much more than that!'
>
> **Lewis Carroll: *Through the Looking Glass***

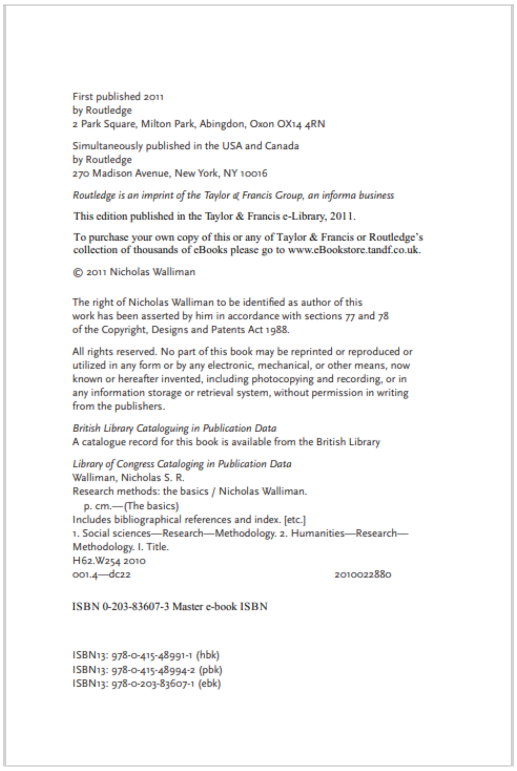
1.1 A brief historical overview

Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. It grew out of work in different disciplines in the 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology. Discourse analysts study language in use: written texts of all kinds, and spoken data, from conversation to highly institutionalised forms of talk.

At a time when linguistics was largely concerned with the analysis of single sentences, Zellig Harris published a paper with the title 'Discourse analysis' (Harris 1952). Harris was interested in the distribution of linguistic elements in extended texts, and the links between the text and its social situation, though his paper is a far cry from the discourse analysis we are used to nowadays. Also important in the early years was the emergence of semiotics and the French structuralist approach to the study of narrative. In the 1960s, Dell Hymes provided a sociological perspective with the study of speech in its social setting (e.g. Hymes 1964). The linguistic philosophers such as Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1975) were also influential in the study of language as social action, reflected in speech-act theory and the formulation of conversational maxims, alongside the emergence of

Nicholas, W. 2011. Research Methods. Routledge.





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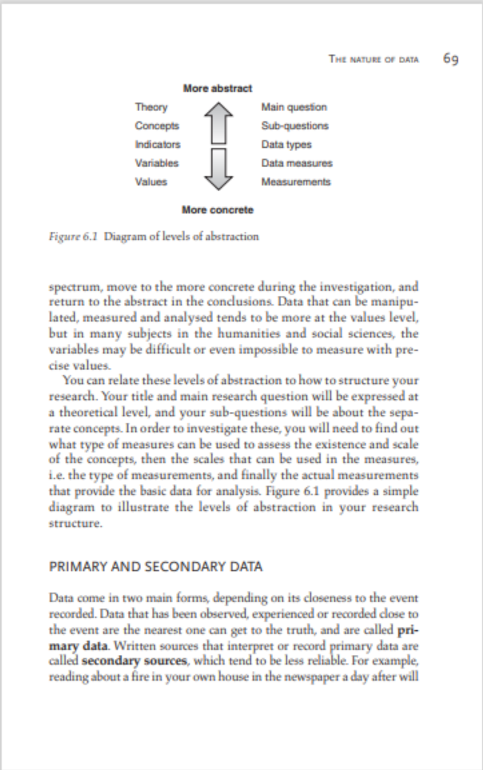


More abstract

Theory	Main question
Concepts	Sub-questions
Indicators	Data types
Variables	Data measures
Values	Measurements

More concrete

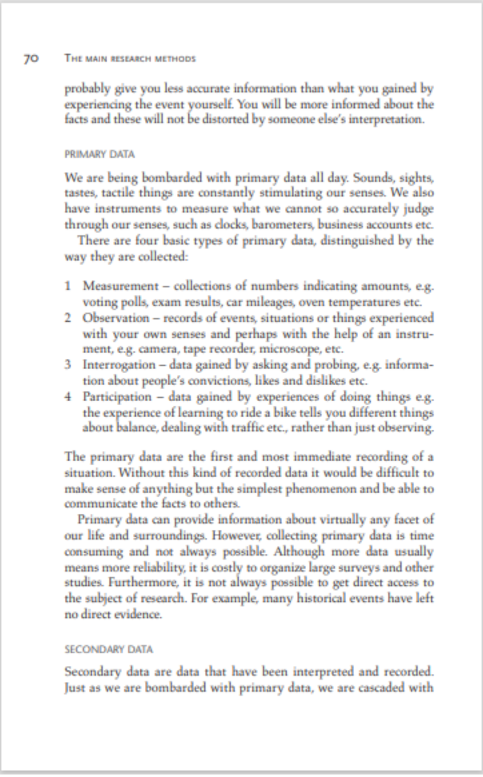
Figure 6.1 Diagram of levels of abstraction

spectrum, move to the more concrete during the investigation, and return to the abstract in the conclusions. Data that can be manipulated, measured and analysed tends to be more at the values level, but in many subjects in the humanities and social sciences, the variables may be difficult or even impossible to measure with precise values.

You can relate these levels of abstraction to how to structure your research. Your title and main research question will be expressed at a theoretical level, and your sub-questions will be about the separate concepts. In order to investigate these, you will need to find out what type of measures can be used to assess the existence and scale of the concepts, then the scales that can be used in the measures, i.e. the type of measurements, and finally the actual measurements that provide the basic data for analysis. Figure 6.1 provides a simple diagram to illustrate the levels of abstraction in your research structure.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA

Data come in two main forms, depending on its closeness to the event recorded. Data that has been observed, experienced or recorded close to the event are the nearest one can get to the truth, and are called **primary data**. Written sources that interpret or record primary data are called **secondary sources**, which tend to be less reliable. For example, reading about a fire in your own house in the newspaper a day after will



probably give you less accurate information than what you gained by experiencing the event yourself. You will be more informed about the facts and these will not be distorted by someone else's interpretation.

PRIMARY DATA

We are being bombarded with primary data all day. Sounds, sights, tastes, tactile things are constantly stimulating our senses. We also have instruments to measure what we cannot so accurately judge through our senses, such as clocks, barometers, business accounts etc.

There are four basic types of primary data, distinguished by the way they are collected:

1 Measurement – collections of numbers indicating amounts, e.g. voting polls, exam results, car mileages, oven temperatures etc.
2 Observation – records of events, situations or things experienced with your own senses and perhaps with the help of an instrument, e.g. camera, tape recorder, microscope, etc.
3 Interrogation – data gained by asking and probing, e.g. information about people's convictions, likes and dislikes etc.
4 Participation – data gained by experiences of doing things e.g. the experience of learning to ride a bike tells you different things about balance, dealing with traffic etc., rather than just observing.

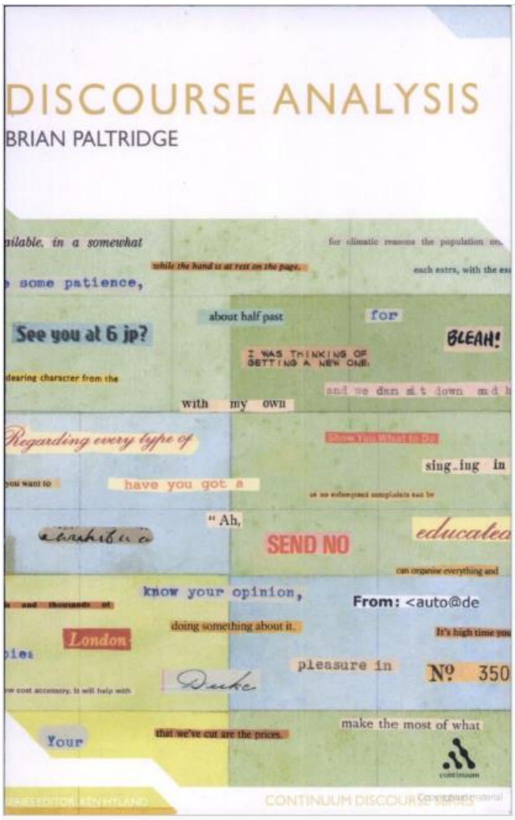
The primary data are the first and most immediate recording of a situation. Without this kind of recorded data it would be difficult to make sense of anything but the simplest phenomenon and be able to communicate the facts to others.

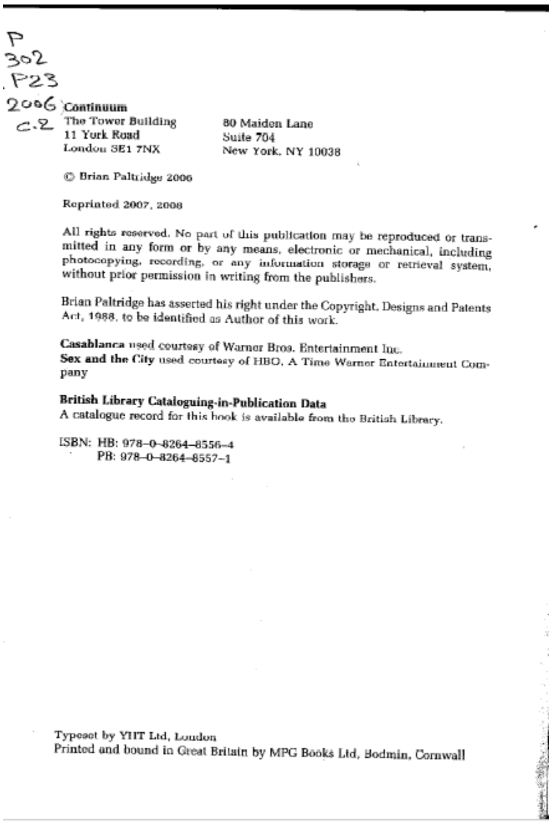
Primary data can provide information about virtually any facet of our life and surroundings. However, collecting primary data is time consuming and not always possible. Although more data usually means more reliability, it is costly to organize large surveys and other studies. Furthermore, it is not always possible to get direct access to the subject of research. For example, many historical events have left no direct evidence.

SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data are data that have been interpreted and recorded. Just as we are bombarded with primary data, we are cascaded with

Paltridge, Brian. 2006. Discourse Analysis. New York.





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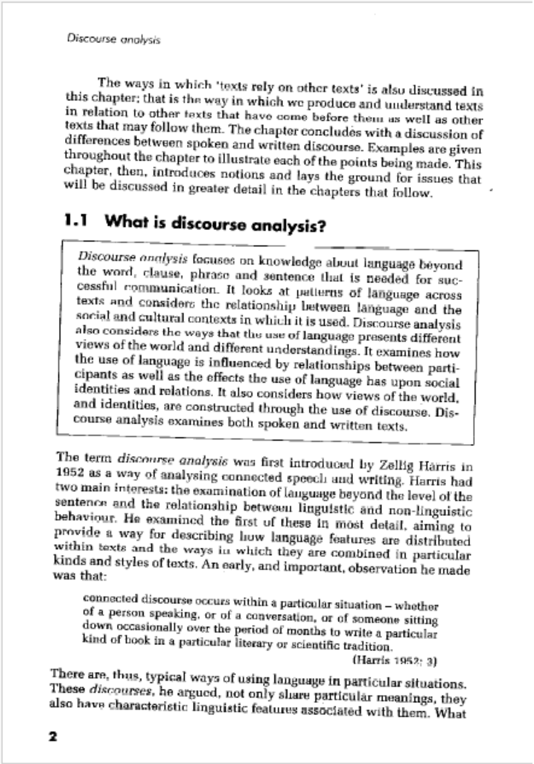

Discourse analysis

The ways in which 'texts rely on other texts' is also discussed in this chapter; that is the way in which we produce and understand texts in relation to other texts that have come before them as well as other texts that may follow them. The chapter concludes with a discussion of differences between spoken and written discourse. Examples are given throughout the chapter to illustrate each of the points being made. This chapter, then, introduces notions and lays the ground for issues that will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

1.1 What is discourse analysis?

Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse. Discourse analysis examines both spoken and written texts.

The term *discourse analysis* was first introduced by Zellig Harris in 1952 as a way of analysing connected speech and writing. Harris had two main interests: the examination of language beyond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. He examined the first of these in most detail, aiming to provide a way for describing how language features are distributed within texts and the ways in which they are combined in particular kinds and styles of texts. An early, and important, observation he made was that:

> connected discourse occurs within a particular situation – whether of a person speaking, or of a conversation, or of someone sitting down occasionally over the period of months to write a particular kind of book in a particular literary or scientific tradition.
>
> (Harris 1952: 3)

There are, thus, typical ways of using language in particular situations. These *discourses*, he argued, not only share particular meanings, they also have characteristic linguistic features associated with them. What

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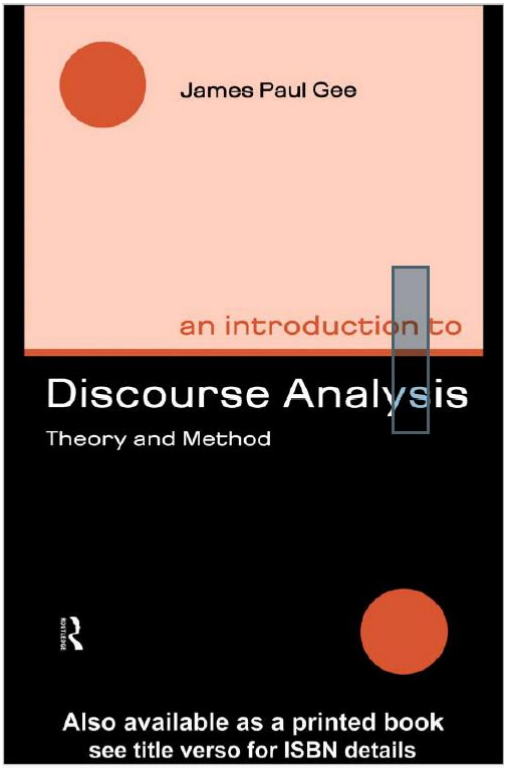

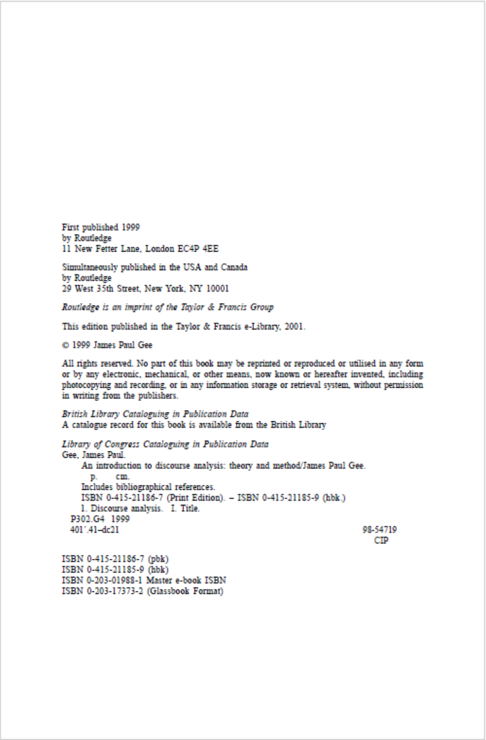

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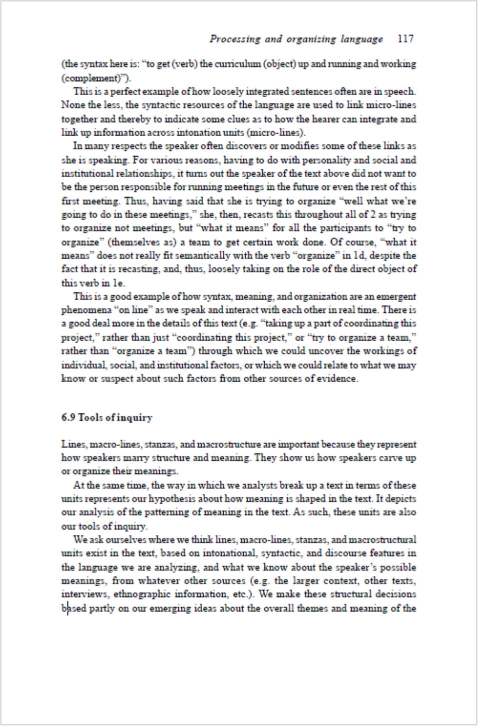

Processing and organizing language 117

(the syntax here is: “to get (verb) the curriculum (object) up and running and working (complement)”).

This is a perfect example of how loosely integrated sentences often are in speech. None the less, the syntactic resources of the language are used to link micro-lines together and thereby to indicate some clues as to how the hearer can integrate and link up information across intonation units (micro-lines).

In many respects the speaker often discovers or modifies some of these links as she is speaking. For various reasons, having to do with personality and social and institutional relationships, it turns out the speaker of the text above did not want to be the person responsible for running meetings in the future or even the rest of this first meeting. Thus, having said that she is trying to organize “well what we’re going to do in these meetings,” she, then, recasts this throughout all of 2 as trying to organize not meetings, but “what it means” for all the participants to “try to organize” (themselves as) a team to get certain work done. Of course, “what it means” does not really fit semantically with the verb “organize” in 1d, despite the fact that it is recasting, and, thus, loosely taking on the role of the direct object of this verb in 1e.

This is a good example of how syntax, meaning, and organization are an emergent phenomena “on line” as we speak and interact with each other in real time. There is a good deal more in the details of this text (e.g. “taking up a part of coordinating this project,” rather than just “coordinating this project,” or “try to organize a team,” rather than “organize a team”) through which we could uncover the workings of individual, social, and institutional factors, or which we could relate to what we may know or suspect about such factors from other sources of evidence.

6.9 Tools of inquiry

Lines, macro-lines, stanzas, and macrostructure are important because they represent how speakers marry structure and meaning. They show us how speakers carve up or organize their meanings.

At the same time, the way in which we analysts break up a text in terms of these units represents our hypothesis about how meaning is shaped in the text. It depicts our analysis of the patterning of meaning in the text. As such, these units are also our tools of inquiry.

We ask ourselves where we think lines, macro-lines, stanzas, and macrostructural units exist in the text, based on intonational, syntactic, and discourse features in the language we are analyzing, and what we know about the speaker’s possible meanings, from whatever other sources (e.g. the larger context, other texts, interviews, ethnographic information, etc.). We make these structural decisions based partly on our emerging ideas about the overall themes and meaning of the

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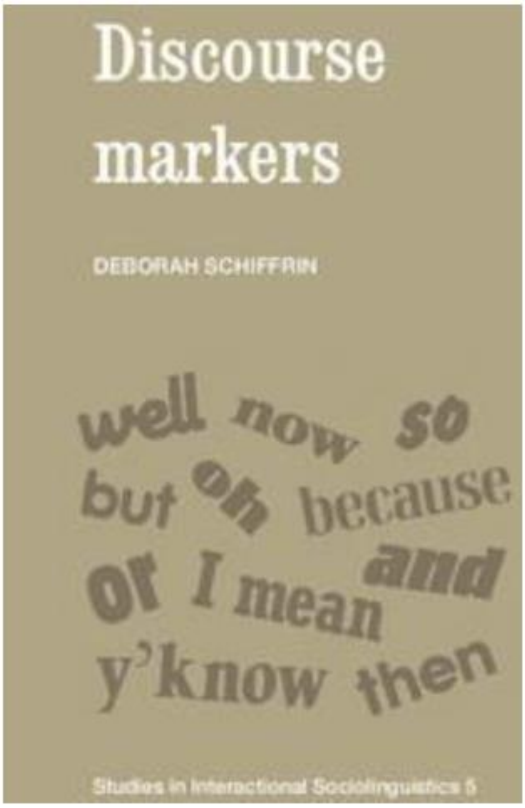

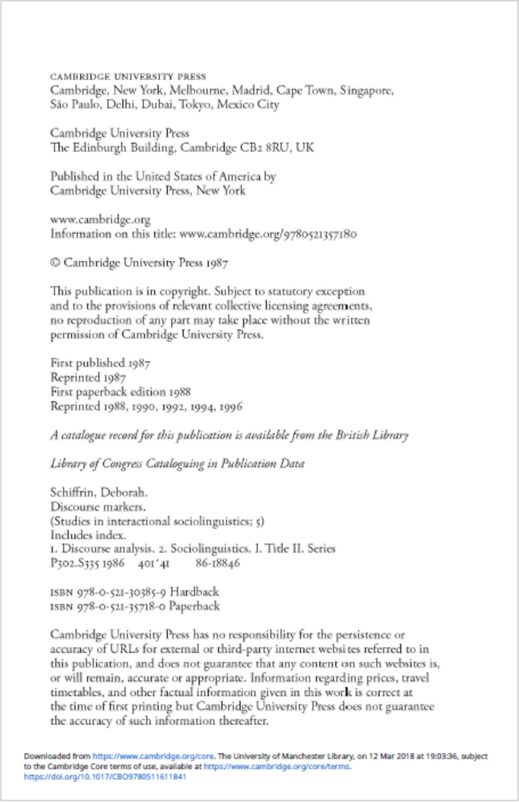

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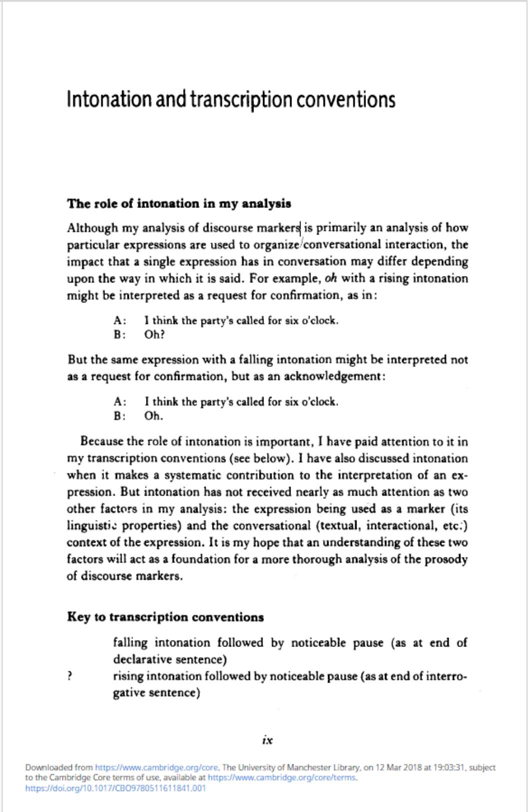

Intonation and transcription conventions

The role of intonation in my analysis

Although my analysis of discourse markers is primarily an analysis of how particular expressions are used to organize conversational interaction, the impact that a single expression has in conversation may differ depending upon the way in which it is said. For example, *oh* with a rising intonation might be interpreted as a request for confirmation, as in:

A: I think the party's called for six o'clock.
B: Oh?

But the same expression with a falling intonation might be interpreted not as a request for confirmation, but as an acknowledgement:

A: I think the party's called for six o'clock.
B: Oh.

Because the role of intonation is important, I have paid attention to it in my transcription conventions (see below). I have also discussed intonation when it makes a systematic contribution to the interpretation of an expression. But intonation has not received nearly as much attention as two other factors in my analysis: the expression being used as a marker (its linguistic properties) and the conversational (textual, interactional, etc.) context of the expression. It is my hope that an understanding of these two factors will act as a foundation for a more thorough analysis of the prosody of discourse markers.

Key to transcription conventions

	falling intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at end of declarative sentence)
?	rising intonation followed by noticeable pause (as at end of interrogative sentence)

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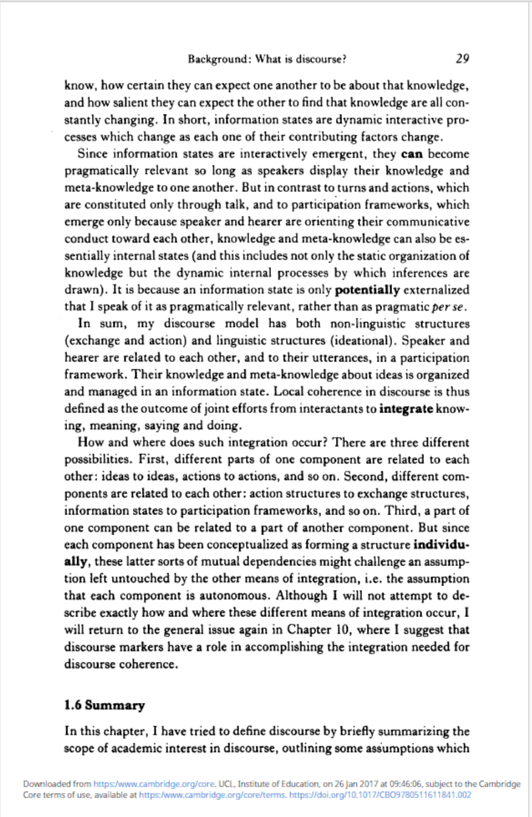

know, how certain they can expect one another to be about that knowledge, and how salient they can expect the other to find that knowledge are all constantly changing. In short, information states are dynamic interactive processes which change as each one of their contributing factors change.

Since information states are interactively emergent, they **can** become pragmatically relevant so long as speakers display their knowledge and meta-knowledge to one another. But in contrast to turns and actions, which are constituted only through talk, and to participation frameworks, which emerge only because speaker and hearer are orienting their communicative conduct toward each other, knowledge and meta-knowledge can also be essentially internal states (and this includes not only the static organization of knowledge but the dynamic internal processes by which inferences are drawn). It is because an information state is only **potentially** externalized that I speak of it as pragmatically relevant, rather than as pragmatic *per se*.

In sum, my discourse model has both non-linguistic structures (exchange and action) and linguistic structures (ideational). Speaker and hearer are related to each other, and to their utterances, in a participation framework. Their knowledge and meta-knowledge about ideas is organized and managed in an information state. Local coherence in discourse is thus defined as the outcome of joint efforts from interactants to **integrate** knowing, meaning, saying and doing.

How and where does such integration occur? There are three different possibilities. First, different parts of one component are related to each other: ideas to ideas, actions to actions, and so on. Second, different components are related to each other: action structures to exchange structures, information states to participation frameworks, and so on. Third, a part of one component can be related to a part of another component. But since each component has been conceptualized as forming a structure **individually**, these latter sorts of mutual dependencies might challenge an assumption left untouched by the other means of integration, i.e. the assumption that each component is autonomous. Although I will not attempt to describe exactly how and where these different means of integration occur, I will return to the general issue again in Chapter 10, where I suggest that discourse markers have a role in accomplishing the integration needed for discourse coherence.

1.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have tried to define discourse by briefly summarizing the scope of academic interest in discourse, outlining some assumptions which

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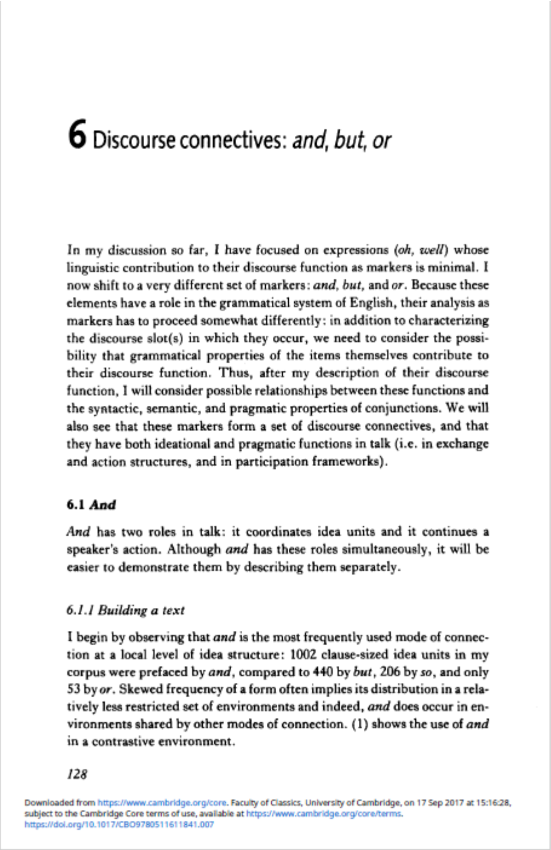

6 Discourse connectives: *and, but, or*

In my discussion so far, I have focused on expressions (*oh, well*) whose linguistic contribution to their discourse function as markers is minimal. I now shift to a very different set of markers: *and, but,* and *or*. Because these elements have a role in the grammatical system of English, their analysis as markers has to proceed somewhat differently: in addition to characterizing the discourse slot(s) in which they occur, we need to consider the possibility that grammatical properties of the items themselves contribute to their discourse function. Thus, after my description of their discourse function, I will consider possible relationships between these functions and the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of conjunctions. We will also see that these markers form a set of discourse connectives, and that they have both ideational and pragmatic functions in talk (i.e. in exchange and action structures, and in participation frameworks).

6.1 *And*

And has two roles in talk: it coordinates idea units and it continues a speaker's action. Although *and* has these roles simultaneously, it will be easier to demonstrate them by describing them separately.

6.1.1 Building a text

I begin by observing that *and* is the most frequently used mode of connection at a local level of idea structure: 1002 clause-sized idea units in my corpus were prefaced by *and*, compared to 440 by *but*, 206 by *so*, and only 53 by *or*. Skewed frequency of a form often implies its distribution in a relatively less restricted set of environments and indeed, *and* does occur in environments shared by other modes of connection. (1) shows the use of *and* in a contrastive environment.

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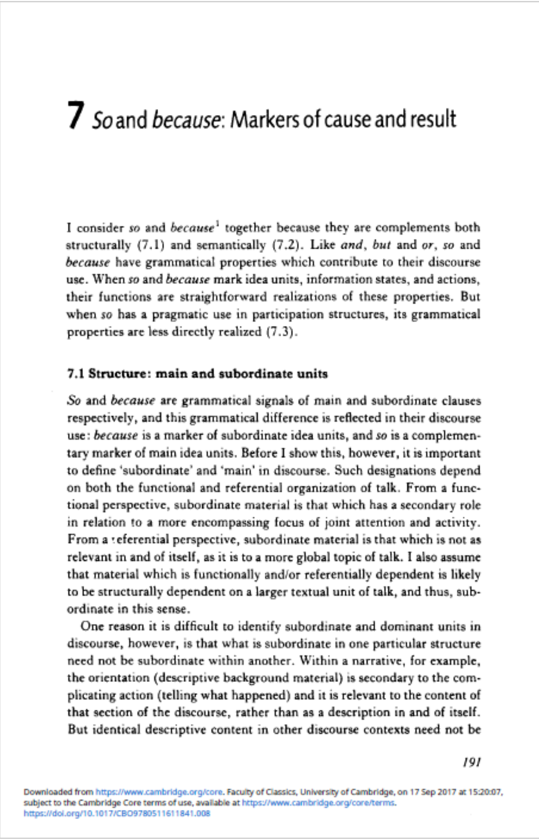

7 *So* and *because*: Markers of cause and result

I consider *so* and *because*[1] together because they are complements both structurally (7.1) and semantically (7.2). Like *and*, *but* and *or*, *so* and *because* have grammatical properties which contribute to their discourse use. When *so* and *because* mark idea units, information states, and actions, their functions are straightforward realizations of these properties. But when *so* has a pragmatic use in participation structures, its grammatical properties are less directly realized (7.3).

7.1 Structure: main and subordinate units

So and *because* are grammatical signals of main and subordinate clauses respectively, and this grammatical difference is reflected in their discourse use: *because* is a marker of subordinate idea units, and *so* is a complementary marker of main idea units. Before I show this, however, it is important to define 'subordinate' and 'main' in discourse. Such designations depend on both the functional and referential organization of talk. From a functional perspective, subordinate material is that which has a secondary role in relation to a more encompassing focus of joint attention and activity. From a referential perspective, subordinate material is that which is not as relevant in and of itself, as it is to a more global topic of talk. I also assume that material which is functionally and/or referentially dependent is likely to be structurally dependent on a larger textual unit of talk, and thus, subordinate in this sense.

One reason it is difficult to identify subordinate and dominant units in discourse, however, is that what is subordinate in one particular structure need not be subordinate within another. Within a narrative, for example, the orientation (descriptive background material) is secondary to the complicating action (telling what happened) and it is relevant to the content of that section of the discourse, rather than as a description in and of itself. But identical descriptive content in other discourse contexts need not be

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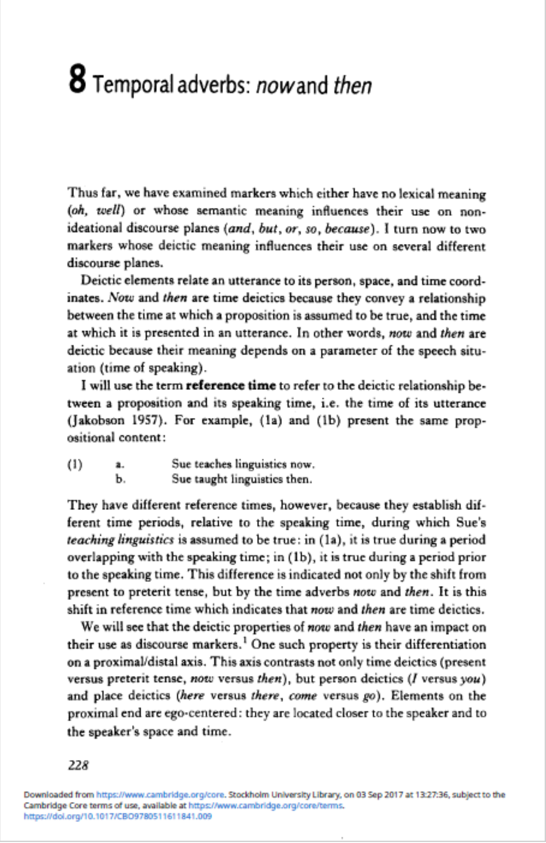

8 Temporal adverbs: *now* and *then*

Thus far, we have examined markers which either have no lexical meaning (*oh, well*) or whose semantic meaning influences their use on non-ideational discourse planes (*and*, *but*, *or*, *so*, *because*). I turn now to two markers whose deictic meaning influences their use on several different discourse planes.

Deictic elements relate an utterance to its person, space, and time coordinates. *Now* and *then* are time deictics because they convey a relationship between the time at which a proposition is assumed to be true, and the time at which it is presented in an utterance. In other words, *now* and *then* are deictic because their meaning depends on a parameter of the speech situation (time of speaking).

I will use the term **reference time** to refer to the deictic relationship between a proposition and its speaking time, i.e. the time of its utterance (Jakobson 1957). For example, (1a) and (1b) present the same propositional content:

(1) a. Sue teaches linguistics now.
b. Sue taught linguistics then.

They have different reference times, however, because they establish different time periods, relative to the speaking time, during which Sue's *teaching linguistics* is assumed to be true: in (1a), it is true during a period overlapping with the speaking time; in (1b), it is true during a period prior to the speaking time. This difference is indicated not only by the shift from present to preterit tense, but by the time adverbs *now* and *then*. It is this shift in reference time which indicates that *now* and *then* are time deictics.

We will see that the deictic properties of *now* and *then* have an impact on their use as discourse markers.[1] One such property is their differentiation on a proximal/distal axis. This axis contrasts not only time deictics (present versus preterit tense, *now* versus *then*), but person deictics (*I* versus *you*) and place deictics (*here* versus *there*, *come* versus *go*). Elements on the proximal end are ego-centered: they are located closer to the speaker and to the speaker's space and time.

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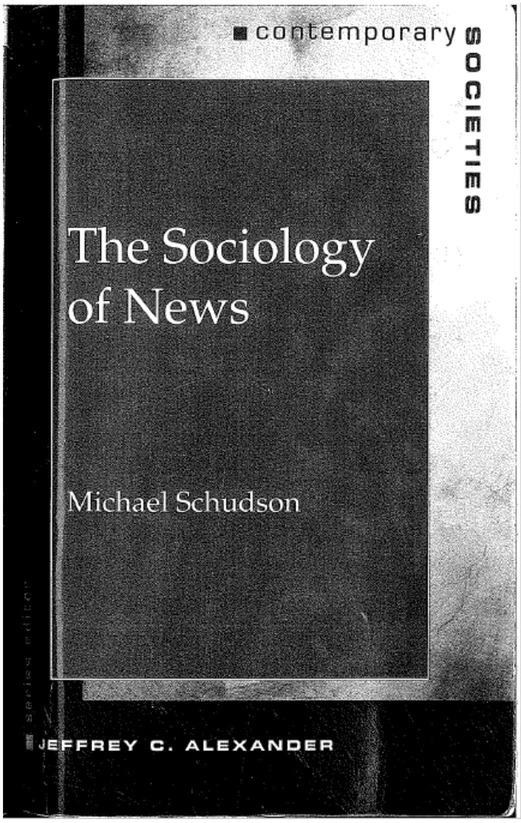

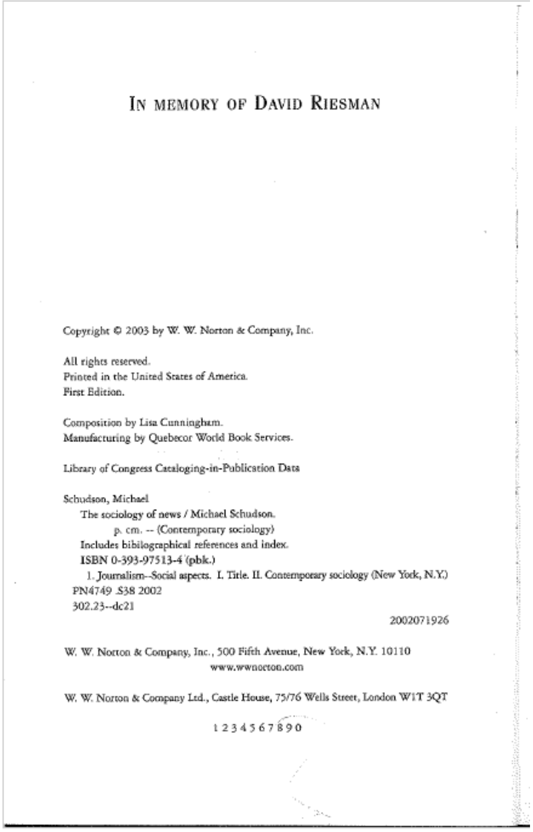

IN MEMORY OF DAVID RIESMAN

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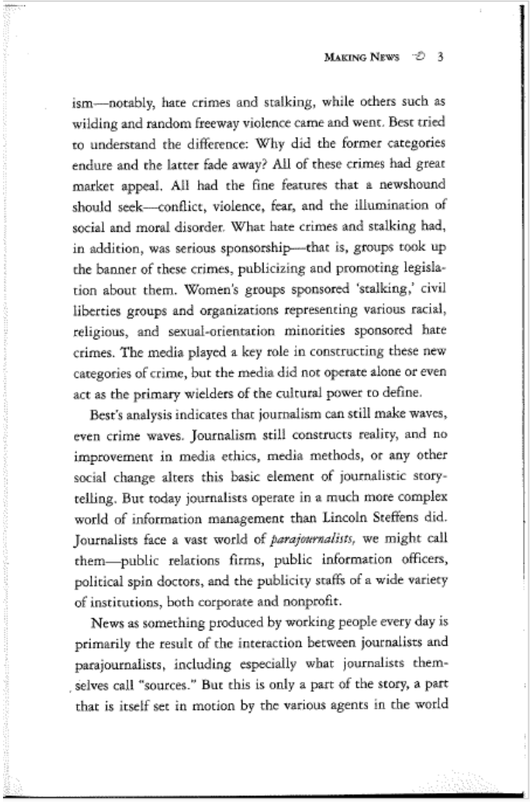


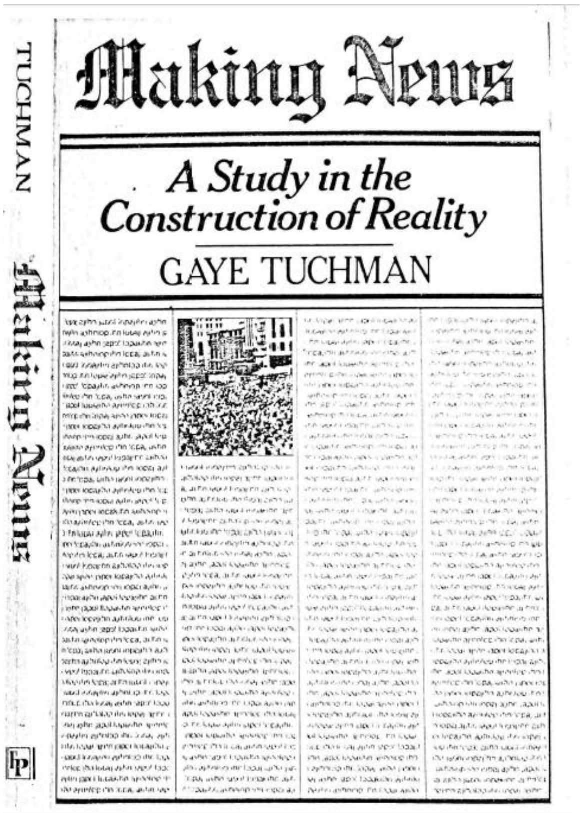
MAKING NEWS 3

ism—notably, hate crimes and stalking, while others such as wilding and random freeway violence came and went. Best tried to understand the difference: Why did the former categories endure and the latter fade away? All of these crimes had great market appeal. All had the fine features that a newshound should seek—conflict, violence, fear, and the illumination of social and moral disorder. What hate crimes and stalking had, in addition, was serious sponsorship—that is, groups took up the banner of these crimes, publicizing and promoting legislation about them. Women's groups sponsored 'stalking,' civil liberties groups and organizations representing various racial, religious, and sexual-orientation minorities sponsored hate crimes. The media played a key role in constructing these new categories of crime, but the media did not operate alone or even act as the primary wielders of the cultural power to define.

Best's analysis indicates that journalism can still make waves, even crime waves. Journalism still constructs reality, and no improvement in media ethics, media methods, or any other social change alters this basic element of journalistic storytelling. But today journalists operate in a much more complex world of information management than Lincoln Steffens did. Journalists face a vast world of *parajournalists,* we might call them—public relations firms, public information officers, political spin doctors, and the publicity staffs of a wide variety of institutions, both corporate and nonprofit.

News as something produced by working people every day is primarily the result of the interaction between journalists and parajournalists, including especially what journalists themselves call "sources." But this is only a part of the story, a part that is itself set in motion by the various agents in the world

Tuchman, G. 1978. Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality.The Free Press.



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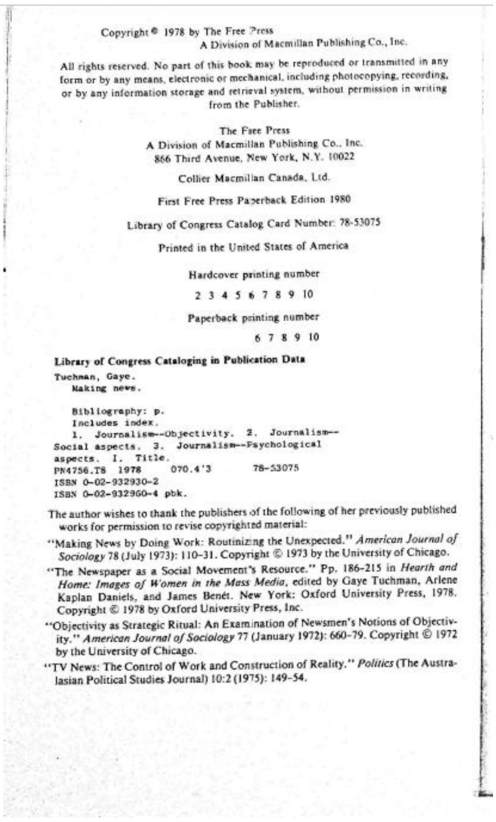

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CHAPTER ONE

News as Frame

News is a window on the world. Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their own institutions, leaders, and life styles, and those of other nations and their peoples. The urbanized and urbanizing nation's replacement for the town crier ("Ten o'clock and Mrs. Smith had a baby daughter"), the news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know.

But, like any frame that delineates a world, the news frame may be considered problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near, craning one's neck to the side, or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased.

This book looks at news as a frame, examining how that frame is constituted—how the organizations of newswork and of newsworkers are put together. It concentrates upon newspapers and television stations as complex organizations subject to certain inevitable processes, and upon newsworkers as professionals with professional concerns. It does not consider newsworkers as individuals with personal concerns and biases, topics better left to the psychologist and social psychologist. Rather, it emphasizes the ways in which professionalism and decisions flowing from professionalism are a result of organizational needs. It explores the processes by which news is socially constructed, how occurrences in the everyday world are rendered into stories occupying time and space in the world called news. This theoretical tack makes this book not only an empirical study in the sociologies of mass communication, organizations, and occupations and professions, but also an applied study in the sociology of knowledge.

By seeking to disseminate information that people want, need, and should know, news organizations both circulate and shape knowledge. As studies (e.g., McCombs and Shaw, 1972) have indicated, the news media play an important role in the news consumers' setting of a political agenda. Those topics given the most coverage by the news media are likely to be the topics audiences identify as the most pressing issues of the day. This research on agenda setting tentatively indicates that the priorities in the media's ranked attention to topics may prompt the rankings given those same topics by news consumers.[1] Additionally, the news media have the power to shape news consumers' opinions on topics about which they are ignorant. For example, when a rash of pockmarks in automobile windshields occurred mysteriously in Seattle, possible explanations offered by the media were grasped as an exhaustive list of "causes" by Seattle residents.[2] Studies (e.g., Halloran, Elliott, and Murdock, 1970) have also indicated that the news' explanations of events may serve as the context in which news consumers debate the meaning of events, even if participants in the event have diametrically opposed understandings of the same occurrence. Today, discussions of the antiwar movement still reflect the media's language. For instance, young men who refused to serve in Vietnam are commonly referred to as draft "evaders" (the media's term), rather than draft "resisters," as they prefer to be called. The words "evaders" and "resisters" imply different political orientations to these men and their relationship to their country and the war.

[1] This research has not established a causal connection.

[2] Larsen (1964) provides a report of this study. For a somewhat contradictory account of reactions to explanations of the unknown, see Shibutani's (1966) description of Japanese reactions to explanations of the destruction at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.