A CONJUNCTION OF GRAMMATICAL COHESION IN BBC NEWS ABOUT TAYLOR SWIFT IS TIME's 2023 PERSON OF THE YEAR

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An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics

Patrick Griffiths

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participants, persons and other entities: *she, her, hers, he, him, his, they, it, this, that*
discourse itself: *this* sentence, the *next* paragraph, *that* was what they told me, I want you to remember *this* ...

Our semantic knowledge of the meanings of deictic expressions guides us on how, pragmatically, to interpret them in context. Thus we have *yesterday* 'the day before the day of utterance', *this* 'the obvious-in-context thing near the speaker or coming soon', *she* 'the female individual' and so on. As always in pragmatics, the interpretations will be guesses rather than certainties: when you infer that the speaker is using the word *this* to refer to the water jug he seems to be pointing at, you could be wrong; perhaps he is showing you the ring on his index finger.

Deixis features in the account of metaphor presented in Chapter 5. Tense (for instance, past tense *told*, in contrast to *tell*) is deictic too and forms one of the two topics in Chapter 6. More will be said about reference in most chapters, but especially in Chapter 9.

1.3 Semantics

Semantics, the study of word meaning and sentence meaning, abstracted away from contexts of use, is a descriptive subject. It is an attempt to describe and understand the nature of the knowledge about meaning in their language that people have from knowing the language. It is not a prescriptive enterprise with an interest in advising or pressuring speakers or writers into abandoning some meanings and adopting others (though pedants can certainly benefit from studying the semantics of a language they want to lay down rules about, to become clear on what aspects of conventional meaning they dislike and which they favour). A related point is that one can know a language perfectly well without knowing its history. While it is fascinating to find out about the historical currents and changes that explain why there are similarities in the pronunciations or spellings of words that share similarities in meaning – for example: *arms*$_{\text{body parts}}$, *arms*$_{\text{weapons}}$, *army*, *armada* and *armadillo* – this kind of knowledge is not essential for using present-day English, so it is not covered in this book. Historical linguists investigating language change over time sometimes concern themselves with semantic (and pragmatic) matters. They are then doing historical (linguistic) semantics (and/or pragmatics).

Semantic description of language knowledge is different from the encyclopedia maker's task of cataloguing general knowledge. The words *tangerine* and *clementine* illustrate distinctions that are not part of our

LINGUISTIC SEMANTICS

An Introduction

JOHN LYONS

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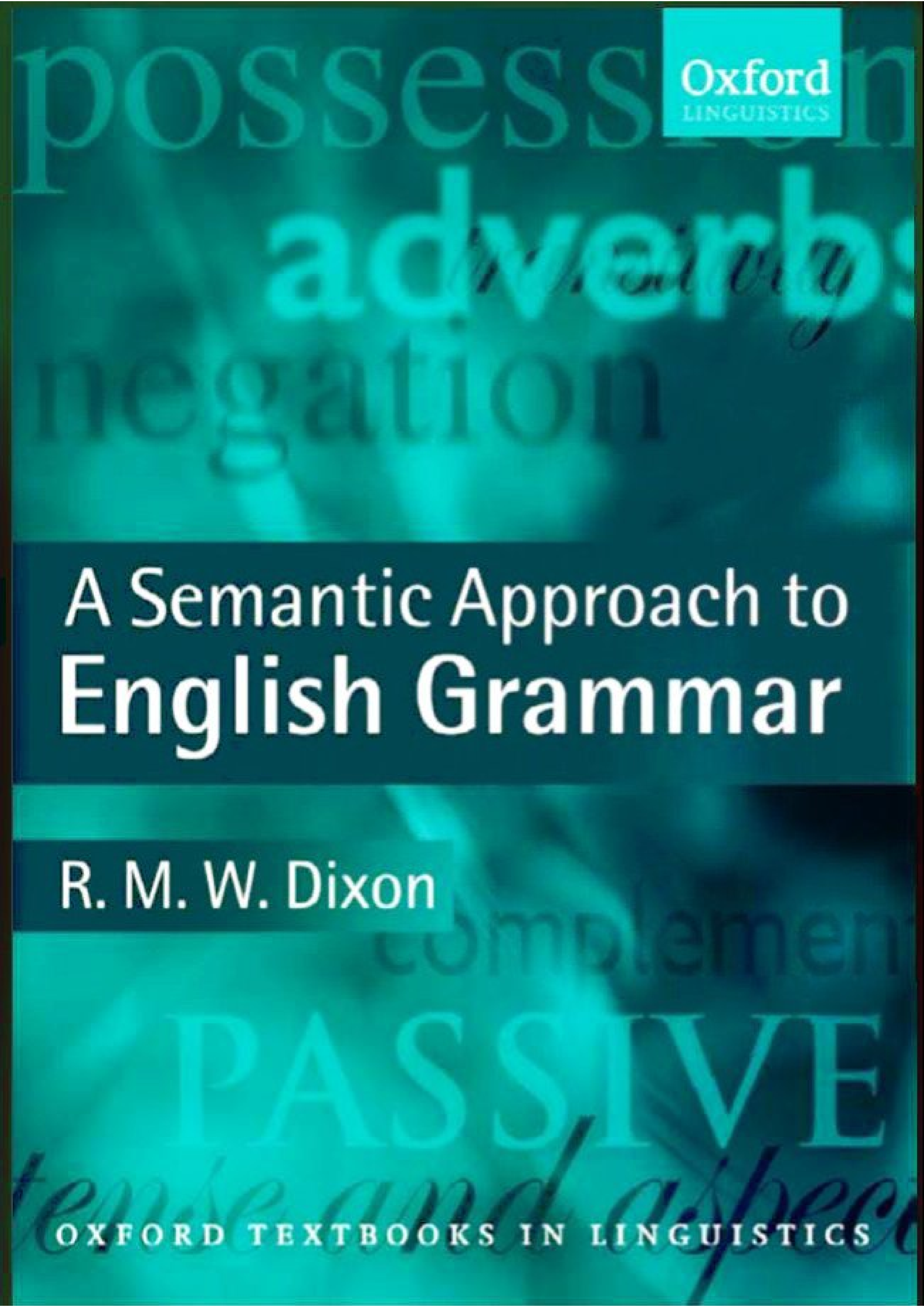
respect of the word 'meaning', linguistics reserves the right to redefine for its own purposes everyday words such as 'language' and does not necessarily employ them in the way in which they are employed, whether technically or non-technically, outside linguistics. Moreover, as we shall see in the following section, the English word 'language' is ambiguous, so that the phrase 'the study of meaning in language' is open to two quite different interpretations. There are therefore, in principle, not just two, but three, ways in which the term 'linguistic semantics' can be interpreted. And the same is true of the phrase 'linguistic meaning' (for the same reason). This point also will be developed in the following section. Meanwhile, I will continue to employ the everyday English word 'language' without specialized restriction or re-definition.

Of all the disciplines with an interest in meaning, linguistics is perhaps the one to which it is of greatest concern. Meaningfulness, or **semanticity**, is generally taken to be one of the defining properties of language; and there is no reason to challenge this view. It is also generally taken for granted by linguists that natural languages are, of their essence, communicative: i.e., that they have developed or evolved – that they have been, as it were, designed – for the purpose of communication and interaction and that their so-called **design-properties** – and, more particularly, their grammatical and semantic structure – fit them for this purpose and are otherwise mysterious and inexplicable. This view has been challenged recently within linguistics and philosophy. For the purposes of this book we can remain neutral on this issue. I will continue to assume, as most linguists do, that natural languages are properly described as **communication-systems**. I must emphasize however that nothing of consequence turns on this assumption. Although many kinds of behaviour can be described as meaningful, the range, diversity and complexity of meaning expressed in language is unmatched in any other kind of human or non-human communicative behaviour. Part of the difference between communication by means of language and other kinds of communicative behaviour derives from the properties of intentionality and conventio ality, referred to in section 1.1.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A sentence may consist of just one clause (it is then called a simple sentence) or it can be a complex sentence, involving several clauses. There may be a main clause and a subordinate clause, joined to it by a conjunction, which can indicate reason (*The old lion was sleeping because he was exhausted*) or temporal sequence (*The old lion was sleeping after eating the hunter*) and so on.

Underlying both words and grammar there is **semantics**, the organisation of meaning. A word can have two sorts of meaning. First, it may have 'reference' to the world: *red* describes the colour of blood; *chair* refers to a piece of furniture, with legs and a back, on which a human being may comfortably sit. Secondly, a word has 'sense', which determines its semantic relation to other words, e.g. *narrow* is the opposite (more specifically: the antonym) of *wide*, and *crimson* refers to a colour that is a special sort of red (we say that *crimson* is a hyponym of *red*).

Every morpheme has a meaning. The ending *-er*, added to a verb, may derive a noun which refers either to the agent (e.g. *baker*) or else to an instrument intended for the activity (e.g. *mower*). Some morphemes have different meanings with different kinds of word: *un-* indicates an opposite quality with an adjective (e.g. *kind*, *unkind*), but a reverse action with a verb (*tie*, *untie*).

Meaning is also associated with the way in which words are combined to make phrases, clauses and sentences. Compare *The dog bit the postman* and *The postman bit the dog*, which involve the same word meanings but quite different sentence meanings because of the different syntactic arrangements.

As language is used, meaning is both the beginning and the end point. A speaker has some message in mind, and then chooses words with suitable meanings and puts them together in appropriate grammatical constructions; all these have established phonetic forms, which motivate how one speaks. A listener will receive the sound waves, decode them, and—if the act of communication is successful—understand the speaker's message.

The study of language must surely pay close attention to meaning. We consider the meanings of words, and their grammatical properties, and see how these interrelate. When a speaker of a language encounters a new word they may first of all learn its meaning, and will then have a fair idea of the morphological and syntactic possibilities. Or they may first of all learn something of how to use the word grammatically, and this will help them to work out its meaning.

Discourse Analysis

Second Edition

Barbara Johnstone

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Calling what we do "*discourse* analysis" rather than "language analysis" underscores the fact that we are not centrally focused on language as an abstract system. We tend instead to be interested in what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, knowledge based on their memories of things they have said, heard, seen, or written before, to do things in the world: exchange information, express feelings, make things happen, create beauty, entertain themselves and others, and so on. This knowledge – a set of generalizations, which can sometimes be stated as rules, about what words generally mean, about what goes where in a sentence, and so on – is what is often referred to as "language," when language is thought of as an abstract system of rules or structural relationships. Discourse is both the source of this knowledge (people's generalizations about language are made on the basis of the discourse they participate in) and the result of it (people apply what they already know in creating and interpreting new discourse).

2ND EDITION

'Still absolutely the best text for teaching and learning about discourse analysis.'
Miriam Meyerhoff

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Brian Paltridge

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be understood differently by different language users as well as understood differently in different contexts (van Dijk 2011).

Van Dijk provides two book length accounts of the notion of context. He argues that context is a subjective construct that accounts not only for the uniqueness of each text but also for the common ground and shared representations that language users draw on to communicate with each other (van Dijk 2008). Van Dijk (2009) argues, further, that the link between society and discourse is often indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the genre or communicative event in which they engaged. Thus, in his words, '[i]t is not the social situation that influences (or is influenced by) discourse, but the way the participants *define* (original emphasis)' the situation in which the discourse occurs (van Dijk 2008: x). In his view, contexts are not objective conditions but rather (inter)subjective constructs that are constantly updated by participants in their interactions with each other as members of groups or communities.

The relationship between language and context is fundamental to the work of J. R. Firth (1935, 1957a, 1957b), Michael Halliday (1971, 1989a) and John Sinclair (2004), each of whom has made important contributions to the area of discourse analysis. Firth draws on the anthropologist Malinowski's (1923, 1935) notions of *context of situation* and *context of culture* to discuss this relationship, arguing that in order to understand the meaning of what a person says or writes we need to know something about the situational and cultural context in which it is located. That is, if you don't know what the people involved in a text are doing and don't understand their culture 'then you can't make sense of their text' (Martin 2001: 151).

Halliday (1971) takes the discussion further by linking context of situation with actual texts and context of culture with potential texts and the range of possibilities that are open to language users for the creation of texts. The actual choices a person makes from the options that are available to them within the particular context of culture, thus, take place within a particular context of situation, both of which influence the use of language in the text (see Hasan 2009, Halliday 2009a, van Dijk 2011 for further discussion of the relationship between language and context). The work of J. R. Firth has been similarly influential in the area of discourse analysis. This is reflected in the concern by discourse analysts to study language within authentic instances of use (as opposed to made-up examples) – a concern with the inseparability of meaning and form and a focus on a contextual theory of meaning (Stubbs 1996). Sinclair also argues that language should be studied in naturally occurring contexts and that the analysis of meaning should be its key focus (Carter 2004).

Discourse analysis, then, is interested in 'what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language . . . to do things in the world' (Johnstone 2002: 3). It is, thus, the analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis considers the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used and is concerned with the description and analysis of both spoken and written interactions. Its primary purpose, as Chimombo and Roseberry (1998) argue, is to provide a deeper understanding and appreciation of texts and how they become meaningful to their users.

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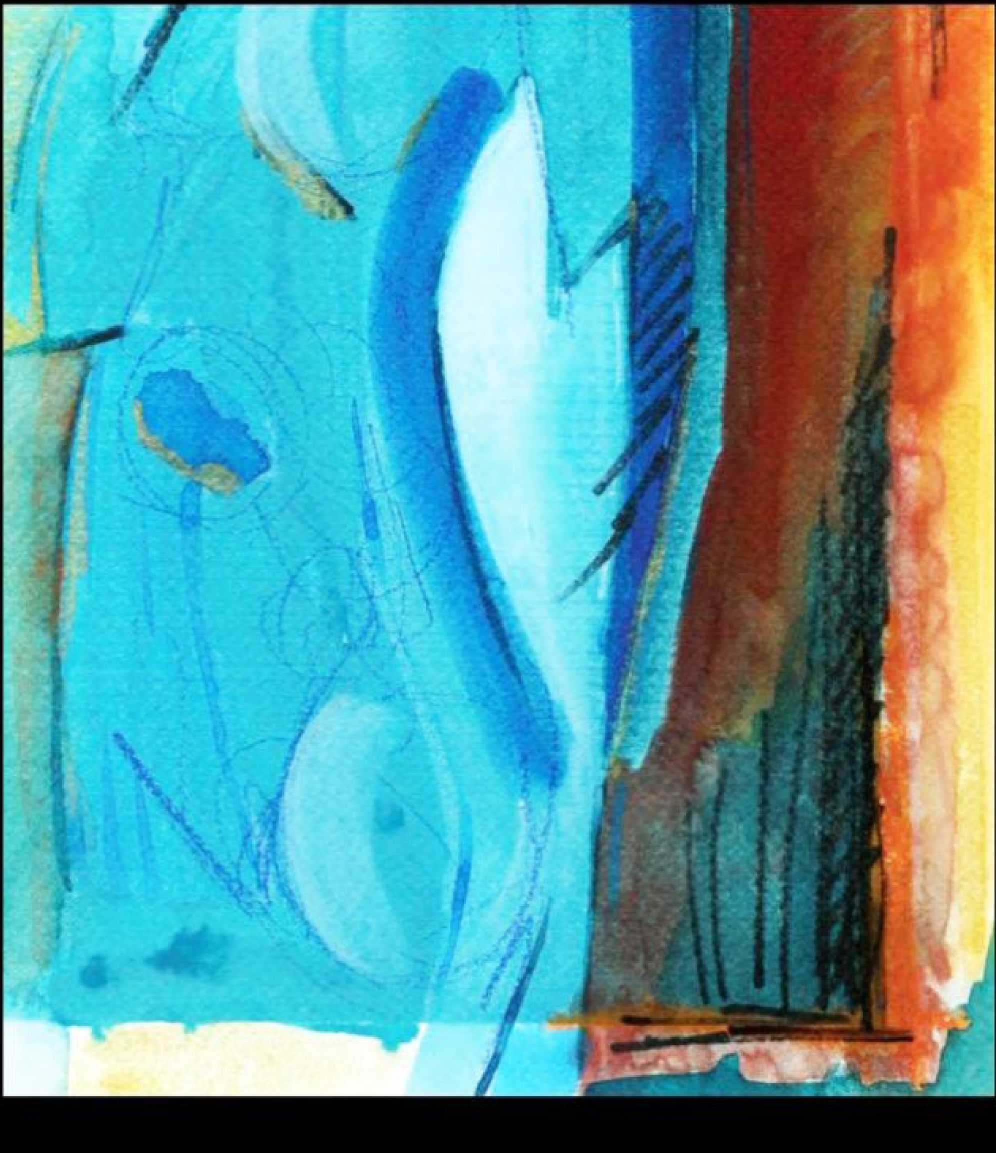

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As described by Tannen (Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton 2001: 2–3), the last quarter of the twentieth century saw a blossoming of the status of the field of discourse analysis. Symposia devoted to discourse analysis began to spring up, first at Georgetown University and then elsewhere, as did journals such as *Discourse & Society*, *Discourse Studies*, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *Multilingua*, *Narrative Inquiry*, *Pragmatics*, *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, and *Text*. In certain quarters, work on grammar began to include consideration of the discourse context and the cognitive factors behind discourse structure. Among the important figures leading this were Chafe (1976, 1980, 1987, 1994) and Givón (1979, 1983, 1990; Givón and Gernsbacher 1994). (Both of these authors have continued to produce pioneering work.) All discourse analysis work shares a focus on extended bodies of speech in its communicative context. It is generally strongly empirically based. But it is not a monolithic endeavor characterized by a single set of questions, a single focus of inquiry, a single methodology, or a single theory. The variety of interests and approaches that characterize the field is richly exemplified in this volume.

For those interested in language structure, it is now generally recognized that discourse is more than an autonomous level beyond the sentence. Grammar provides speakers with tools for packaging information. And how information is packaged depends on the larger discourse context, the flow of thought through time, the communicative and social goals of the speaker, the presumed knowledge state of the audience, and more. Many of the grammatical choices speakers make at all levels – morphology, simple clause structure, and complex sentence structure – can be detected and understood only with respect to the discourse situation. At the same time, a full understanding of the discourse structures of a language depends on the recognition of the grammatical devices that signal them. Discourse structure is indicated by markers at all levels. It is more than the simple manipulation of sentences.

The relationship between discourse and grammar goes deeper. Recurring patterns of expression play a major role in the development of grammatical structures through time. What speakers choose to say the most often in the course of their daily interactions can become crystallized in grammar. In some cultures, for example, acceptable patterns of speech include specification of the source of information. With use, an expression such as 'they say' can become routinized, processed as a single unit. Over time, the expression may lose its internal compositionality and erode phonologically, until it is just a particle, a clitic, or an affix. It may even become obligatory. As Ariel puts it, "discourse depends on grammar, which in turn depends on discourse" (2009: 5).

A central aspect of the study of grammar is discovering what features all languages share and the ways they can differ. But, as long as our vision stops at the sentence, we will miss too much. The study of speech in its full discourse contexts can reveal cross-linguistic differences at all levels that may not be obvious when grammatical analyses focus on one level of structure at a time, each in isolation from the others. This chapter illustrates the kinds of intimate relations that hold between discourse and grammar in a language that is typologically quite different from more familiar major world languages. This is Mohawk, an Iroquoian language of northeastern North America, spoken primarily in Quebec, Ontario, and New York State. Much of the essence of the language could go unnoticed without examination of spontaneous, interactive speech in its discourse context.

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Discourse

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does to people, groups, and societies, and of *how* this impact comes about. The deepest effect of power everywhere is *inequality*, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes. An analysis of such effects is also an analysis of the conditions for power – of what it takes to organise power regimes in societies. The focus will be on how language is an ingredient of power processes resulting in, and sustained by, forms of inequality, and how discourse can be or become a justifiable object of analysis, crucial to an understanding of wider aspects of power relations. I situate my argument in a particular environment: that of the present world system, that of so-called 'globalisation'. A critical analysis of discourse, I shall argue, necessarily needs to provide insights in the dynamics of societies-in-the-world.

In order to substantiate this, three central notions require clarification. The first one is the concept of *discourse*, our object of analysis; the second is the *social nature* of discourse; and the third is the *object of critique* in a critical analysis of discourse.

Discourse

In this book, discourse will be treated as a general mode of semiosis, i.e. meaningful symbolic behaviour. Discourse is language-in-action, and investigating it requires attention both to language and to action (Hanks 1996). There is a long tradition of treating discourse in linguistic terms, either as a complex of linguistic forms larger than the single sentence (a 'text') or as 'language-in-use', i.e. linguistic structures actually used by people – 'real language' (Brown and Yule 1983; and de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). This conception of discourse, broadly speaking, underlies the development of contemporary linguistic pragmatics. It has informed numerous studies in which, little by little, old and well-established concepts and viewpoints from linguistics were traded for more dynamic, flexible, and activity-centred concepts and viewpoints (Verschueren 1995, 1998; Verschueren *et al.* 1995; Mey 1998). This development was fuelled, on the one hand, by developments within linguistic theory itself, which called for more activity-centred approaches to analysis, the recognition of language-in-use as a legitimate object of analysis, and the discovery of grammatical and structural features of language operating at levels higher than the single sentence – coherence and cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Tannen 1984). On the other hand, it was fuelled by intensified interdisciplinary contacts between linguists and scholars working in fields such as literary analysis, semiotics, philosophy, anthropology, and sociology, where conceptions of language were used that derived from Boas, Sapir, Bakhtin, Saussure, and Jakobson (Hymes 1983). It was

James Paul Gee

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There are many different approaches to discourse, none of them, including this one, uniquely "right." Different approaches often fit different issues and questions better or worse than others. And, too, different approaches sometimes reach similar conclusions though using somewhat different tools and terminologies connected to different "microcommunities" of researchers.

Furthermore, the approach to discourse analysis in this book is not "mine." No set of research tools and no theory belongs to a single person, no matter how much academic style and our own egos sometimes force (or tempt) us to write that way. I have freely begged, borrowed, and patched together. If there is any quality in my work, it is primarily in the "taste" with which I have raided others' stores and in the way I have adapted and mixed together the ingredients and, thereby, made the soup. Some will, of course, not recognize the ingredient they have contributed, or, at least, not want to admit they do after they taste my soup. If there are occasional "inventions," their only chance for a "full life" is that someone else will borrow them and mix them into new soup.

A note on the soup: the approach to discourse analysis in this book seeks to balance talk about the mind, talk about interaction and activities, and talk about society and institutions more than is the case in some other approaches. So, some may think my approach too "cognitive," others may think it too "social."

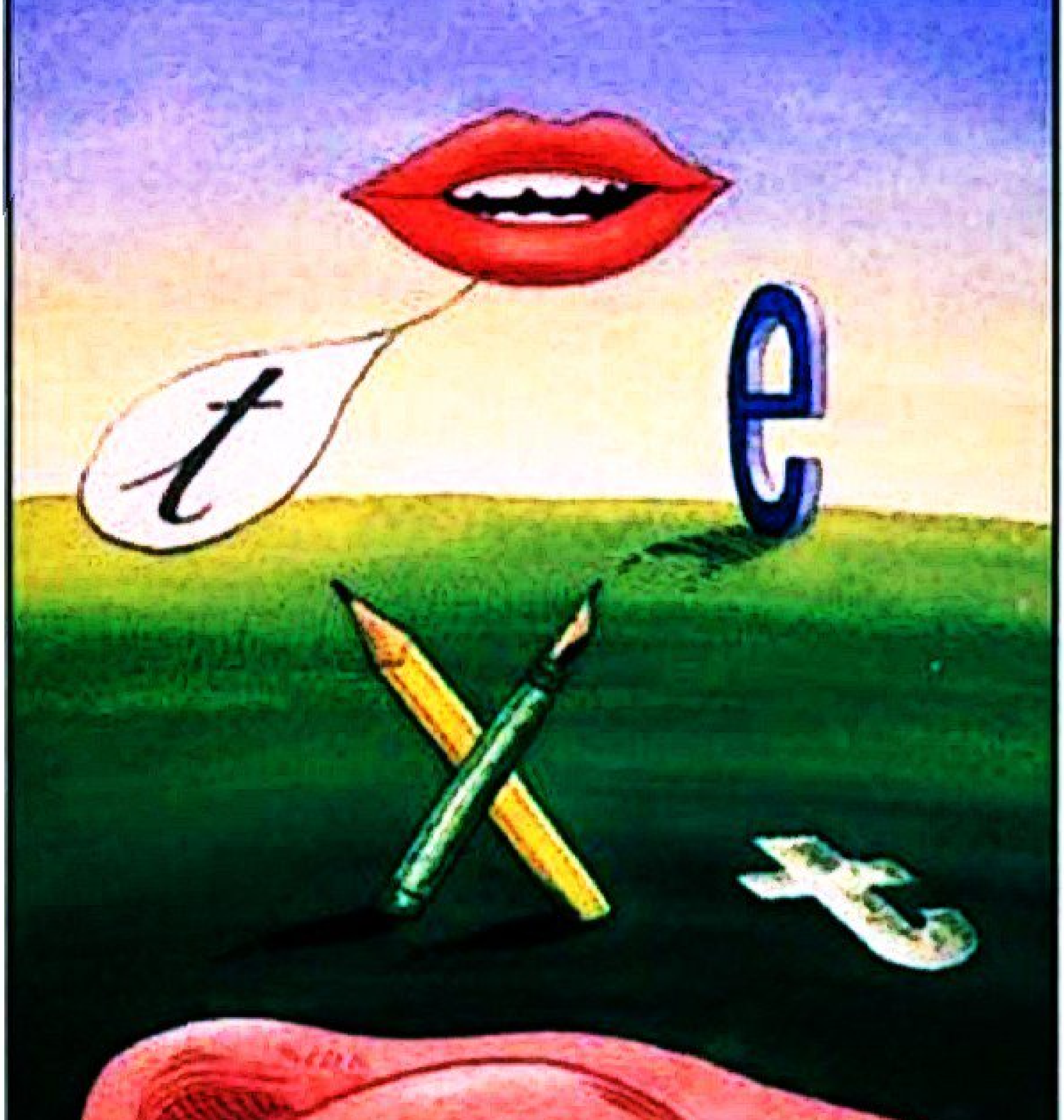
However, I believe we have to get minds, bodies, interactions, social groups, and institutions all in the soup together. Of course, there are other ways than mine to do this, and, in fact, this is currently a "cutting-edge" topic and an important one for the future. Whatever approach we take, it holds out the hope that various microcommunities of researchers working in diverse fields can begin to come together, seeing that, using somewhat different, but related, tools, terminologies, and theories, we are all contributing to a "big picture."

This book is partly about a "method" of research. However, I hasten to point out that the whole issue of research methods is, as far as I am concerned, badly confused. First of all, any method always goes with a *theory*. Method and theory cannot be separated, despite the fact that methods are often taught as if they could stand alone. Any method of research is a way to investigate some particular domain. In this case, the domain is language-in-use. There can be no sensible method to study a domain, unless one also has a theory of what the domain is. Thus, this book offers, as it must, a theory about the nature of language-in-use.

People with different theories about a domain will use different methods for their research. The reason this is so is because a research method is made up essentially of various "tools of inquiry" and strategies for applying them. Tools of inquiry are designed to describe and explain what the researcher takes to exist and to be important in a domain. Thus, when theories about a domain differ – for instance, a theory

COHESION IN ENGLISH

M. A. K. Halliday & Ruqaiya Hasan



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found just as well within a sentence as between sentences. They attract less notice within a sentence, because of the cohesive strength of grammatical structure; since the sentence hangs together already, the cohesion is not needed in order to make it hang together. But the cohesive relations are there all the same. For example

[1:10] If you happen to meet the admiral, don't tell him his ship's gone down.

Here the *him* and *his* in the second half have to be decoded by reference to *the admiral*, just as they would have had to be if there had been a sentence boundary in between. Similarly:

[1:11] Mary promised to send a picture of the children, but she hasn't done.

Here *done* equals *sent a picture of the children*, and it is quite irrelevant to this whether the two are in the same sentence or not.

Cohesive relations have in principle nothing to do with sentence boundaries. Cohesion is a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other element that is crucial to the interpretation of it. This other element is also to be found in the text (*cf* 1.2.4 below); but its location in the text is in no way determined by the grammatical structure. The two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, may be structurally related to each other, or they may not; it makes no difference to the meaning of the cohesive relation.

However, there is a sense in which the sentence is a significant unit for cohesion precisely because it is the highest unit of grammatical structure: it tends to determine the way in which cohesion is EXPRESSED. For example, if the same entity is referred to twice within the same sentence, there are rules governing the form of its realization. These are the rules of pronominalization. It is the sentence structure which determines, within limits, whether at the second mention the entity will be named again or will be referred to by a pronoun. For example, we cannot say

[1:12] John took John's hat off and hung John's hat on a peg.

Assuming that there is only one 'John' here, and only one 'hat', then this identity of reference must be expressed by the use of pronominal forms: *John took his hat off and hung it on a peg.*

This sort of thing can be accounted for by reference to sentence structure; the relation between an item and another one that presupposes it could be explained as a structural relation. In the preceding sentence, for example, Theme and New in English (Davies 1989, 1992; Halliday 1994; Martin and Doran 2015a). Cohesion will be reconsidered in relation to texture in Section 2.

Texture is one aspect of the study of *coherence*, which can be thought of as the process whereby a reading position is naturalized by texts for listeners and readers. Alongside texture, this process involves understandings and expectations about the social context a text dynamically construes. In SFL, social context is modeled through register and genre theory (Christie and Martin 1997; Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Martin 2012a, 2012b; Martin and Doran 2015b; Martin and Rose 2008). Texture will be reconsidered in relation to social context in Section 3.

All three variables, cohesion, texture, and coherence, will be illustrated using examples from the children's story *Piggybook* by Anthony Browne (1989). Section 1 looks at traditional approaches to cohesion as non-structural resources for textual organization. Then in Section 2 a more semantic perspective on cohesion in relation to texture is presented. Subsequently, in Section 3, the social motivation of texture is considered.

1 Cohesion

Early work on cohesion was designed to move beyond the structural resources of grammar and consider discourse relations that transcend grammatical structure. Halliday (e.g., 1973: 141) modeled cohesion as involving non-structural relations above the sentence, within what he refers to as the "textual metafunction" (as opposed to ideational and interpersonal meaning). In Halliday and Hasan (1976) the inventory of cohesive resources was organized as:

- reference
- ellipsis
- substitution
- conjunction
- lexical cohesion.

Gutwinski (1976: 57) developed a closely related framework including these resources (and in addition grammatical parallelism).

Reference refers to resources for referring to a participant or circumstantial element whose identity is recoverable. In English the relevant resources include demonstratives, the definite article, pronouns, comparatives, and the phoric adverbs *here*, *there*, *now*, and *then*. *Ellipsis* refers to resources for omitting a clause, or some part of a clause or group, in contexts where the content can be assumed. In English conversation, rejoinders are often made dependent through omissions of this kind: *Did they win? – Yes, they did.* Some languages, including English, have in addition a set of place holders that can be used to signal the omission – for example, *so* and *not* for clauses, *do* for verbal groups, and *one* for nominal groups in English conversation. This resource of place holders is referred to as *substitution*.[3] Reference, ellipsis, and substitution involve small closed classes of items or gaps, and have accordingly been referred to as *grammatical cohesion* (e.g., Gutwinski 1976; Hasan 1968).

Also included as grammatical cohesion is the typically much larger inventory of connectors that link clauses in discourse, referred to as *conjunction*. For Halliday and Hasan

The Handbook of Discourse Analysis

Edited by

Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen,
and Heidi E. Hamilton

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2 Cohesion and Texture

J. R. MARTIN

0 Beyond the Clause

In this chapter I will outline a modular perspective on text organization, which places cohesion analysis within a broader framework for analyzing discourse. Cohesion is one part of the study of texture, which considers the interaction of cohesion with other aspects of text organization. Texture, in turn, is one aspect of the study of coherence, which takes the social context of texture into consideration. The goal of discourse analysis in this tradition is to build a model that places texts in their social contexts and looks comprehensively at the resources which both integrate and situate them.

Cohesion can be defined as the set of resources for constructing relations in discourse which transcend grammatical structure (Halliday 1994: 309). The term is generally associated with research inspired by Halliday (1964) and Hasan (1968) in systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL) and by Gleason (1968) in Hartford-based stratificational linguistics.[1] Halliday and Hasan (1976) is the canonical study in the former tradition, Gutwinski (1976) in the latter. Gutwinski draws on work by Halliday and by Hasan, and later SFL work by Martin (1992) was influenced by Gleason – so there has been a fruitful exchange of ideas across theories in this field. In section 1 below I will review the early work on cohesion analysis; then, in section 2, I will consider the next generation of research in this area, from the perspective of Australian SFL (for a complementary line of development see Winter 1982; Hoey 1983, 1991a; Jordan 1984).

Cohesion is one aspect of the study of **texture**, which can be defined as the process whereby meaning is channeled into a digestible current of discourse "instead of spilling out formlessly in every possible direction" (Halliday 1994: 311). Alongside cohesion, this process involves the text-forming resources of grammar and phonology[2] – for example, Theme and New in English (Davies 1989, 1992; Halliday 1994). Cohesion will be reconsidered in relation to texture in section 2.

Texture is one aspect of the study of **coherence**, which can be thought of as the process whereby a reading position is naturalized by texts for listener/readers. Alongside texture, this process involves understandings and expectations about the social context a text dynamically construes. In SFL, social context is modeled through register and genre theory (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Martin 1992; Christie and Martin 1997). Texture will be reconsidered in relation to social context in section 3.

All three variables – cohesion, texture, and coherence – will be illustrated from the children's story *Piggybook* by A. Brown. Section 1 looks at traditional approaches to cohesion as nonstructural resources for textual organization. Then in section 2, a more semantic perspective on cohesion in relation to texture is presented. Subsequently, in section 3, the social motivation of texture is considered.

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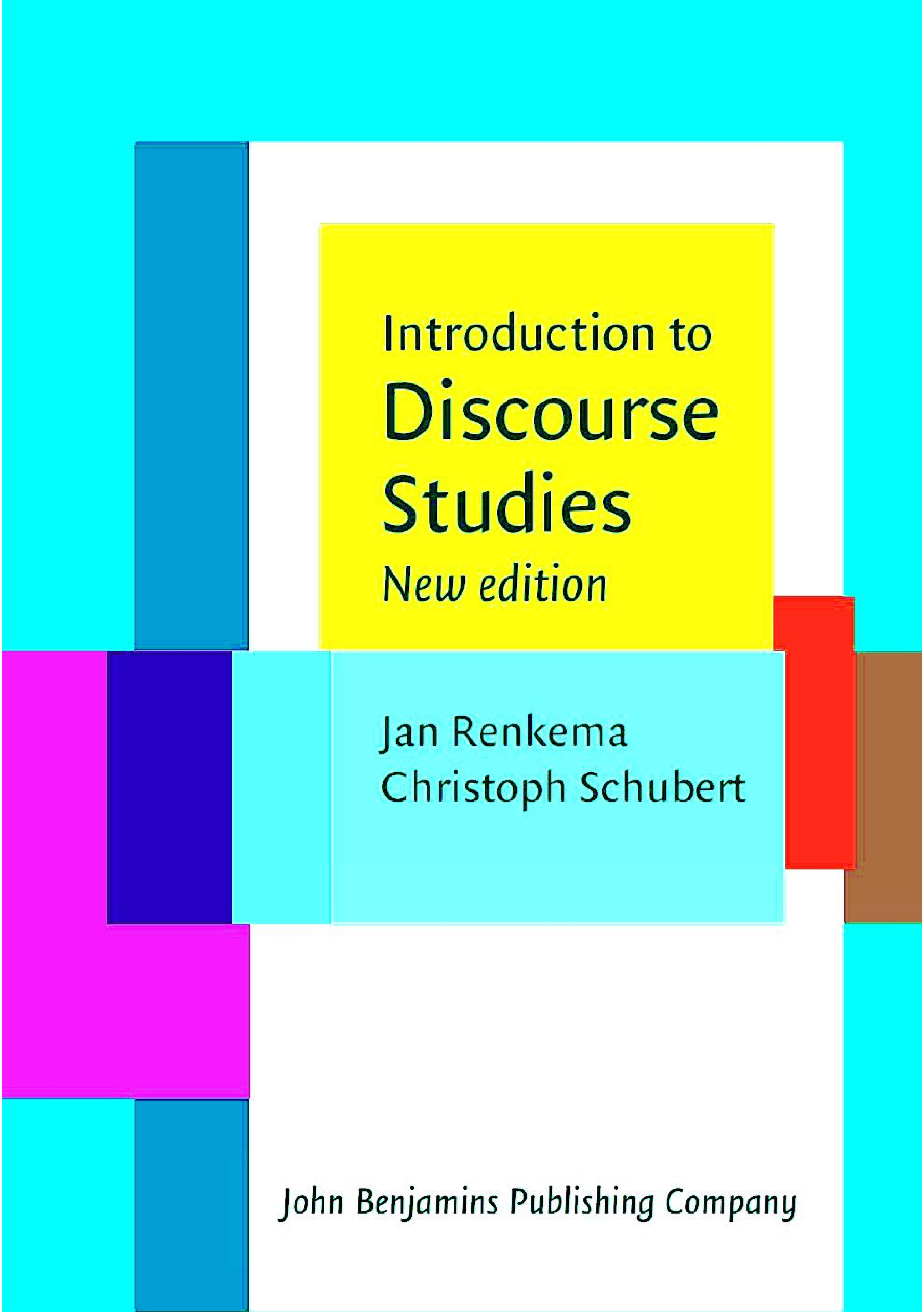
Also included as grammatical cohesion is the typically much larger inventory of connectors which link clauses in discourse, referred to as **conjunction**. For Halliday and Hasan (1976) this resource comprises linkers which connect sentences to each other, but excludes paratactic and hypotactic (coordinating and subordinating) linkers within sentences, which are considered structural by Halliday. Gutwinski, however, includes all connectors, whether or not they link clauses within or between sentences. This difference reflects in part a territorial dispute over how much work the grammar is expected to do in discourse analysis (see also Schiffrin, this volume).



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New edition

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6.2.1 Types of cohesive ties

Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1976), who were already introduced in Section 3.6 within the framework of systemic functional linguistics, were the first to analyze cohesion. They distinguished between five types of cohesive ties, which constitute texture above the level of individual syntactic units.

a. *Substitution*

Substitution is the replacement of a word(group) or sentence segment by a "dummy" word. The reader or hearer can fill in the correct element based on the preceding clause(s). Three frequently occurring types are nominal (1), verbal (2) and clausal (3) substitution, depending on the grammatical unit that is replaced.

(1) These biscuits are stale. Get some fresh *ones*.

(2) A: Have you called the doctor?
B: I haven't *done* yet, but I will *do*.
A: Well, I think you should *do*.

(3) A: Are they still arguing in there?
B: No, it just seems *so*.

b. *Ellipsis*

Ellipsis is the omission of a word or part of a sentence which can be recovered from a neighboring clause. Ellipsis is closely related to substitution and can be described as "substitution by zero". The division that is normally used is nominal (4), verbal (5) and clausal ellipsis (6).

(4) These biscuits are stale. Those are fresh.

(5) He participated in the debate, but you didn't.

(6) Who wants to go shopping? You?

c. *Reference*

Reference concerns the relation between a discourse element and a preceding or following element (see Section 6.2.2). Reference deals with a semantic relationship, whereas substitution and ellipsis deal with the relationship between grammatical units: words, sentence parts and clauses. In the case of reference, the meaning of a dummy word can be determined by what is imparted before or after the occurrence of the dummy word. In general, the dummy word is a pronoun.

(7) I see John is here. *He* hasn't changed a bit.

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labels are given to the subcategories, where it is felt that these would be helpful; and the classification of each type is repeated in the form of a list at the end of the section in which it is discussed.

5.4 Additive

We have already discussed (in 5.2) the 'and' relation as it is embodied in the form of coordination, and suggested that the cohesive relation expressed by *And* at the beginning of a new sentence – the ADDITIVE relation – is somewhat different from coordination proper, although it is no doubt derivable from it.

It is not being claimed, of course, that every time a writer puts a full stop before *and* he is thereby at once using the word in a different sense. The distinction is neither as clearcut nor as consistent as this; and in any case the claim would be meaningless for spoken English, for which it would be necessary to adopt and adhere to a particular explicit definition of the sentence. But equally the notion of sentence, vague though it is, is not invalid; we can define the sentence for spoken English if we want to. Probably the simplest definition is that a sentence equals a clause complex: that is, any set of clauses that are hypotactically and/or paratactically related, with the simple clause as the limiting case. Moreover there is a difference in principle between structural relations, which hold within a sentence, and cohesive relations, which hold (within or) between sentences.

When we are considering cohesive relations, we can group together under the heading of additive both of the two types that appear structurally in the form of coordination, the 'and' type and the 'or' type. The distinction between these two is not of primary significance for purposes of textual cohesion; and in any case it is not the same distinction as that which is found between them in coordination. The words *and, or* and *nor* are all used cohesively, as conjunctions; and all of them are classified here as additive. The correlative pairs *both . . . and, either . . . or* and *neither . . . nor* do not in general occur with cohesive function; they are restricted to structural coordination within the sentence. This is because a coordinate

pair functions as a single unit, in some higher structure, and so can be delineated as a constituent; whereas a cohesive 'pair' is not a pair at all, but a succession of two independent elements the second of which happens to be tied on to the first (*cf* the discussion on example [5:6] above).

All three, *and, or* and *nor*, may express either the EXTERNAL or the INTERNAL type of conjunctive relation (as these were described in 5.3 above). In the additive context, in fact, there may be no very clear difference between the two; but when *and* is used alone as a cohesive item, as distinct from *and then*, etc, it often seems to have the sense of 'there is something more to be said', which is clearly internal in our terms, a kind of seam in the discourse. For example in [5:17a and b] the *and* has this sense:

[5:17] a. '. . . I was very nearly opening the window, and putting you out into the snow! And you'd have deserved it . . .'.
b. 'I said you looked like an egg, sir,' Alice gently explained. 'And some eggs are very pretty, you know,' she added . . .

Much of the discussion of *and* in 5.2 above illustrates the same point; examples [5:8–10] show different kinds of internal *and* – linking a series of questions, like [5:18]:

[5:18] Was she in a shop? And was that really – was it really a *sheep* that was sitting on the other side of the counter?

> [5:20] I couldn't send all the horses, you know, because two of them are wanted in the game. And I haven't sent the two Messengers either.

It is likely that the expanded forms with *either* have an additional element of explicitness in them, a sense of 'and what is more'. This, in our terms, would be an element of internal meaning, since it is an expression of the speaker's attitude to or evaluation of what he is saying. Example [5:20] would in this sense perhaps be a combination of both external and internal conjunction. There are parallel forms of the positive 'and' relation, namely *and also*, *and . . . too:*

> [5:21] 'To be able to see Nobody! And at that distance, too!'

There are specifically EMPHATIC forms of the 'and' relation occurring only in an internal sense, that of 'there is yet another point to be taken in conjunction with the previous one'. This in fact is essentially the meaning that is taken on by the 'and' relation when it is a form of internal conjunction. There are a large number of conjunctive expressions which have just this meaning, *eg: further, furthermore, again, also, moreover, what is more, besides, additionally, in addition, in addition to this, not only that but.* These give a definite rhetorical flavour, as in

> [5:22] My client says he does not know this witness. Further, he denies ever having seen her or spoken to her.

The speaker wants the two sentences to be as it were added together and reacted to in their totality.

With the 'or' relation, the distinction between the external and the internal planes is perhaps more clearcut. The basic meaning of the conjunctive 'or' relation is ALTERNATIVE. In its external sense, the offering of a range of objective alternatives, *or*, together with its expansion *or else*, is largely confined to questions, requests, permissions and predictions (realized in the grammar as interrogative, imperative and modalized clauses). Even here, the alternative could often be regarded as comprising a single sentence, as in

> [5:23] 'Shall we try another figure of the Lobster Quadrille?', the Gryphon went on. 'Or would you like the Mock Turtle to sing you a song?'

If it is associated with statements, *or* takes on the internal sense of 'an alternative interpretation', 'another possible opinion, explanation, etc in place of the one just given':

Finally there is a small set of items such as *incidentally*, *by the way*, which combine the sense of additive with that of AFTERTHOUGHT. They are perhaps on the borderline of cohesion; they may often hardly presuppose any preceding discourse, although in principle one sentence can be incidental only by reference to a previous one.

> [5:29] 'You'll see me there,' said the Cat, and vanished . . . While she was looking at the place where it had been, it suddenly appeared again. 'By-the-bye, what became of the baby?' said the Cat, 'I'd nearly forgotten to ask.'

This sort of afterthought is really a kind of DE-EMPHASIS, reducing the weight accorded to the presupposing sentence and to its connection with what went before; it thus contrasts with the emphatic type described earlier, expressed by *furthermore* and similar forms.

The structural analogue of the additive relation – that is, its equivalent in the form of a relation within the sentence – is parataxis, including both coordination and apposition. To the SIMPLE ADDITIVE (including negative and alternative) forms correspond structures using the same words *and*, *or* and *nor*, as well as their correlative pairs *both* . . . *and*, etc. To the APPOSITIONAL type corresponds structural apposition, which may be expressed by means of markers such as *namely*, *or*, *that is*, or simply by juxtaposition; in spoken English there must also be tonal concord – a pair of items in apposition always have the same intonation pattern. On the other hand, the COMPARATIVE and the various COMPLEX relations that we have grouped under the heading of ADDITIVE have no equivalent as structural relations within the sentence.

Here is a summary of the conjunctive relations of the ADDITIVE type, with examples of each:

Simple additive relations (external and internal)	
Additive:	*and; and also, and . . . too*
Negative:	*nor; and . . . not, not . . . either, neither*
Alternative:	*or; or else*
Complex additive relations (internal): emphatic	
Additive:	*further(more), moreover, additionally, besides that, add to this, in addition, and another thing*
Alternative:	*alternatively*
Complex additive relations (internal): de-emphatic	
Afterthought:	*incidentally, by the way*

[5:24] Perhaps she missed her train. Or else she's changed her mind and isn't coming.

The form (*or*) *alternatively* is perhaps an emphatic variant of the 'or' relation, whereby the speaker stresses the alternativeness, in the same way that by using (*and*) *additionally* he emphasizes the additionalness in the 'and' relation.

Under the heading ADDITIVE we may include a related pattern, that of semantic SIMILARITY, in which the source of cohesion is the comparison of what is being said with what has gone before. Forms such as *similarly, likewise, in the same way* are used by the speaker to assert that a point is being reinforced or a new one added to the same effect; the relevance of the presupposing sentence is its similarity of import to the presupposed one. There may be a likeness in the event; the cohesive use of comparison does not exclude the presence of an external component, as in [5:25a]. But essentially it is the similarity in the context of the communication process that is being used with cohesive effect. [5:25b] brings out this internal aspect.

[5:25] a. Treating people as responsible citizens brings out the best in them; they behave as such. In the same way if you treat them as criminals they will soon begin to act like criminals.

b. Your directors are planning for steady growth over a considerable period of time. Similarly our intentions in adopting this new investment policy are focused on the long-term prospects of the company.

Corresponding to 'similarly' is the negative comparison where the meaning is DISSIMILARITY: 'in contradistinction'. This is frequently expressed by the phrase *on the other hand*; there are other forms such as *by contrast, as opposed to this*, and so on.

[5:26] Our garden didn't do very well this year. By contrast, the orchard is looking very healthy.

The phrase *on the other hand* is unusual among conjunctions in having a correlative form, *on the one hand*; note however that when the two are used together the sense of 'dissimilarity' tends to be weakened, and the effect is little more than a simple additive:

[5:27] Why aren't you going in for a swim? – On the one hand, the air's too cold; I like to be warm when I come out. On the other hand, the current's too strong; I like to be sure I SHALL come out.

Note the similarity between comparison as a conjunctive relation especially in its external sense, expressed by conjunctive Adjuncts of one kind and another, and comparison as a form of reference, expressed by Deictics, Epithets and Submodifiers (see 2.2 and 2.5).

With negative comparison, we are approaching the ADVERSATIVE type of conjunctive relation, where it has the sense of 'not . . . but . . .'; that is, where the first term in the comparison is denied in order to make room for the second one. Here we find expressions such as *instead, rather, on the contrary*. These will be brought up in the next section. Meanwhile there are two other types of relation which can be thought of as subcategories of the additive. Both of these are really relations on the internal plane – though, as always, they may have external implications.

The first is that of EXPOSITION or EXEMPLIFICATION. This corresponds, structurally, not to coordination but to APPOSITION. Among the items which occur frequently in this function are, in the expository sense, *I mean, that is, that is to say,* (*or*) *in other words,* (*or*) *to put it another way*; in the exemplificatory sense, *for instance, for example, thus*. Note that the word *or* also occurs alone as a marker of structural apposition, the sense being 'by another (alternative) name'. Other items, such as *namely* and the abbreviations *ie, viz, eg,* are likewise usually used as structural markers within the sentence, although they may occasionally be found linking two sentences. Examples:

[5:28] a. I wonder whether that statement can be backed up by adequate evidence. – In other words, you don't believe me.

b. 'What sort of things do *you* remember best?' Alice ventured to ask. 'Oh, things that happened the week after next,' the Queen replied in a careless tone. 'For instance, now,' she went on . . . 'there's the King's Messenger. He's in prison now, being punished: and the trial doesn't even begin till next Wednesday: and of course the crime comes last of all.'

c. In the Index of Railroad Stations the names of many railroads are followed by small numerals. These are time-table numbers indicating the table in which a given station is shown in the railroad's representation. For example, under Danbury, Ct., is shown "N.Y. New Hav. and H., 12." This means Danbury is found on the time-table No. 12 of that railroad.*

Of these, (a) is expository, (b) exemplifying, while (c) contains an example of each: *this means*, and *for example*.

---

* *Official Guide to the American Railroads*, September 1967.

Comparative relations (internal)	
Similar:	*likewise, similarly, in the same way, in (just) this way*
Dissimilar:	*on the other hand, by contrast, conversely*
Appositive relations (internal)	
Expository:	*that is, I mean, in other words, to put it another way*
Exemplificatory:	*for instance, for example, thus*

5.5 Adversative

The basic meaning of the ADVERSATIVE relation is 'contrary to expectation'. The expectation may be derived from the content of what is being said, or from the communication process, the speaker–hearer situation, so that here too, as in the additive, we find cohesion on both the external and the internal planes.

An EXTERNAL adversative relation is expressed in its simple form by the word *yet* occurring initially in the sentence:

> [5:30] All the figures were correct; they'd been checked. Yet the total came out wrong.

Very similar to *yet* in this function are *but*, *however*, and *though*. It was suggested earlier (5.2) that *but* differs from *yet* in that *but* contains the element 'and' as one of its meaning components, whereas *yet* does not; for this reason, we regularly find sentences beginning *and yet*, but never *and but*.

The word *however* is different again. Unlike *yet* and *but*, *however* can occur non-initially in the sentence (in which case it can co-occur with initial *and* or *but*, but not with *yet*); and it regularly occurs as a separate tone group – separate, that is, from what follows – and so is associated with intonational prominence, whereas *yet* and *but* are normally spoken as 'reduced' syllables and become tonal only for purposes of contrast. Finally *though* as a conjunctive is always phonologically reduced; it may occur initially (in which case it is indistinguishable in speech from the subordinating *though* (= *although*) and would be treated as cohesive only if occurring in writing after a full stop), but its normal position is as a tailpiece at the end of the clause. Some examples:

> [5:31] a. All this time Tweedledee was trying his best to fold up the umbrella, with himself in it . . . But he couldn't quite succeed,

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WORKING WITH DISCOURSE

Meaning Beyond the Clause

J. R. Martin and David Rose

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clause in English (although cohesive conjunctions can be positioned more flexibly). But continuatives primarily occur within a clause, rather than at the start. And their options for logical relations are far more restricted. Two that we have come across so far are *even* and *also*:

> We **even** spoke about marriage.
> It is **also** not true that the granting of amnesty encourages impunity.

To put *even* at the start of this clause completely changes its meaning – rather than *spoke about marriage* being unexpected, it is *we* that becomes unexpected. Also, placing *also* at the start of a clause is a marked option, as it more typically occurs within the clause.

4.2 External conjunction

External conjunction is concerned with logically organizing a field as sequences of activities. For each general type of external conjunction – addition, comparison, time, consequence – there are two or more sub-types, summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Basic options for external conjunctions

addition	addition	*and, besides, in addition*
	alternation	*or, if not – then, alternatively*
comparison	similarity	*like, as if, similarly*
	contrast	*but, whereas, on the other hand*
time	successive	*then, after, subsequently; before, previously*
	simultaneous	*while, meanwhile, at the same time*
consequence	cause	*so, because, since, therefore*
	means	*by, thus, by this means*
	purpose	*so as, in order to; lest, for fear of*
	condition	*if, provided that; unless*

Each type is illustrated below for paratactic, hypotactic and cohesive relations.

External addition

We have seen that *and* can function to add clauses together in a paratactic sequence, one after another:

> ... white people became dissatisfied with the best
> **and** still wanted better
> **and** got it

As well as adding clauses together they can also be subtracted, with *neither* and *nor*:

> ...white people were **neither** dissatisfied with the best
> **nor** wanted better
> **nor** got it

In sum, options for external addition include **adding, subtracting** and **alternation**, set out in Figure 4.1.

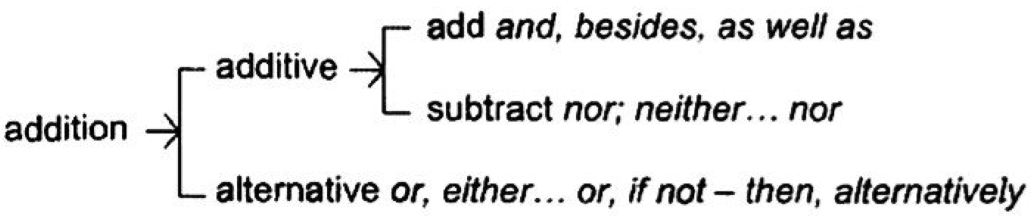
add *and, besides, as well as*
additive
subtract *nor; neither... nor*
addition
alternative *or, either... or, if not – then, alternatively*

Figure 4.1 External addition

External comparison

The basic options for comparison are similarity versus difference. Perhaps the most common kind of comparison is to contrast two clauses as different, using *but*:

> This is not a frivolous question,
> **but** a very serious issue.

Here Tutu contrasts two abstract things, a *question* and an *issue*. There is a lexical contrast between their qualities – *frivolous* versus *very serious* – and this contrast is made explicit with *but*. The particular type of difference here is opposition: *frivolous* and *serious* realize **opposite** experiential meanings. *But* is used in paratactic relations, and opposition can also be realized in hypotactic relations with *whereas, while*:

> **Whereas** this is a simple question,
> it is a very serious issue.

As with lexical contrasts, there is more than one kind of logical difference. First, one meaning can be **replaced** by another using *instead of, in place of, rather than*. These are all used in hypotactic relations:

> **Instead** of resting at night,
> he would wander from window to window.

A third kind of difference is to make an **exception**, using *except that, other than, apart from*, which are again hypotactic:

> He wanted to rest at night
> **except that** he kept having nightmares.
>
> He used to rest at night
> **other than** when he had nightmares.

Conjunctions like *instead* and *rather* can also be used as cohesive:

> He should have slept at night.
> **Instead** he would wander from window to window.

Of course the flipside of contrast is **similarity**, using *like, as if*:

> The criminal and civil liability of the perpetrator are expunged
> **as if** the offence had never happened.

Here Tutu uses *as if* to suggest that *liability expunged* is in some way similar to *the offence never happened.* A cohesive conjunction that can express external similarity is *similarly*:

> Helena's first love worked in a top security structure.
> **Similarly** her second love worked for the special forces.

Similarity can also be expressed by the continuative *so*, with Subject-Finite inversion:

> I was torn to pieces.
> **So** was he.

In sum, options for external comparison include **similarity** or **difference: opposite, replacing** or **excepting**, set out in Figure 4.2.

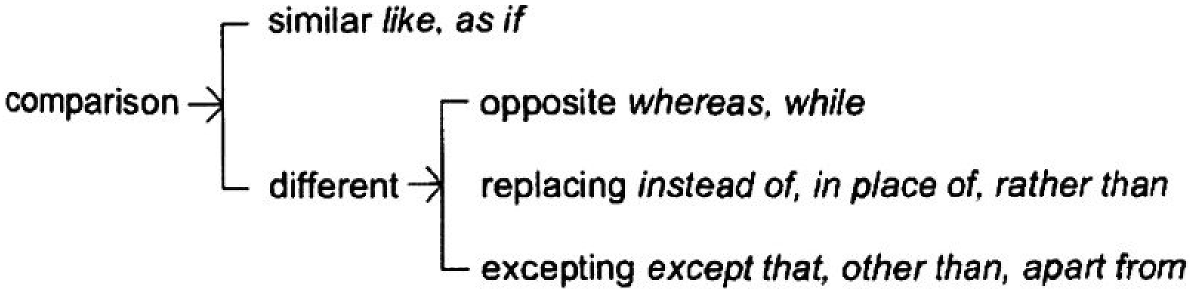
similar *like, as if*
comparison
opposite *whereas, while*
different
replacing *instead of, in place of, rather than*
excepting *except that, other than, apart from*

Figure 4.2 External comparison

External time

As we saw for Helena's story and Leonard Veenendal's testimony, time conjunctions like *then* tell us that events follow each other:

> It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship.
> We even spoke about marriage.
> **Then** one day he said he was going on a 'trip'.
>
> I was told to shut up, sit in a chair,
> **then** I was questioned.

This kind of time relation is **successive** – events happen one after another. Successive conjunctions used in hypotactic relations include *when, after, since, now that*:

> **when** I answered the questions
> I was told that I was lying

In these examples, succession in time is running forward – from the first events to the last. But conjunctions such as *before, prior to* allow us to run the succession backwards:

> **before** I was questioned
> I was slapped around

In none of these examples is it clear how much time has elapsed between the two events, they just happen **sometime** before or after. Other successive conjunctions indicate that an event happens **immediately** before or after, including *once, as soon as; until*:

> **as soon as** I answered
> I was slapped again
>
> I was slapped around
> **until** I started fighting back

Cohesive successive conjunctions include *subsequently, previously, at once*:

> I answered the questions.
> **Subsequently** I was told that I was lying.
>
> He said he was going on a 'trip'.
> **Previously** it had been a beautiful relationship.
>
> I started fighting back.
> **At once** four, maybe five policemen viciously knocked me down.

One example of *previously* in Tutu's exposition shows that cohesive conjunctions can be positioned relatively freely in a clause:

> ...there is the penalty of public exposure and humiliation for the perpetrator.
> Many of those in the security forces who have come forward had **previously** been regarded as respectable members of their communities.

As well as succeeding each other, events can happen at the same time. **Simultaneous** time is realized by *as, while, when*:

> My murderer let me and the old White South Africa sleep peacefully,
> **while** 'those at the top' were again targeting the next 'permanent removal from society'.

Cohesive simultaneous conjunctions include *meanwhile, simultaneously*:

> cohesive
> The old White South Africa slept peacefully.
> **Meanwhile** 'those at the top' were again targeting the next 'permanent removal from society'.

So options for external time include **successive: sometime** or **immediate** and **simultaneous**, set out in Figure 4.3.

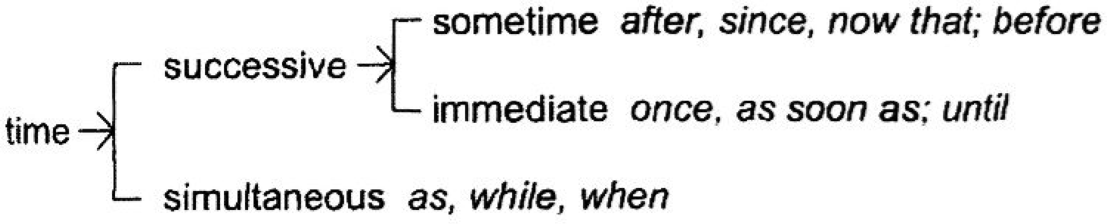
time
successive
sometime *after, since, now that; before*
immediate *once, as soon as; until*
simultaneous *as, while, when*

Figure 4.3 External time

External consequence

There are four general types of external consequence: cause, means, condition, purpose. Some basic options are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Basic external consequence

cause	*because, so, therefore*
means	*by, thus*
condition	*if...then*
purpose	*so that, in order to*

clause in English (although cohesive conjunctions can be positioned more flexibly). But continuatives primarily occur within a clause, rather than at the start. And their options for logical relations are far more restricted. Two that we have come across so far are *even* and *also*:

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Each type is illustrated below for paratactic, hypotactic and cohesive relations.

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NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM

The Daily News
House Passes Trade Bill
DFL - GOP Runners Face Off in National Televised Debate

Journalism Studies:
Key Texts

PETER COLE & TONY HARCUP

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So writes David Randall in his book *The Universal Journalist*, the much reprinted, all over the world, and excellent 'insider' book on journalism and what it takes to be a journalist. Randall loves journalism and newspapers, and unlike many manages to remain upbeat about both. He recognises the criticisms of both, and is intolerant of journalism that fails to meet his high standards, but he maintains that there is more good journalism than bad, and that there are more honest journalists than twisters of the truth. And he believes that journalism and newspapers can, and should, be an influential force for good, and often are. The authors of this book share that view, but also recognise that it isn't the whole story. A newspaper's role is fundamentally that put succinctly by Randall; and he enlarges on it:

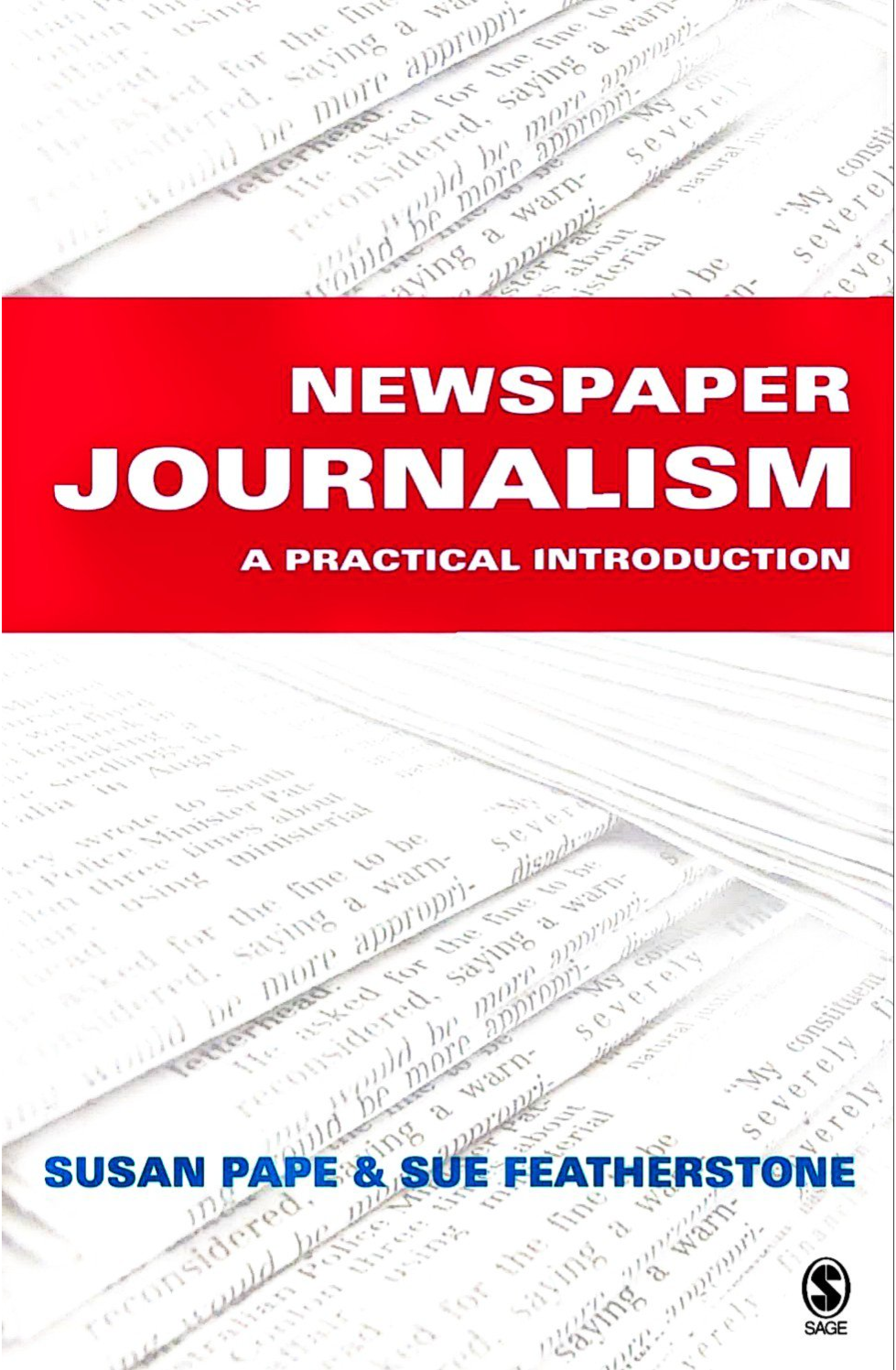
> It [a newspaper] may do lots of other things, like telling them [readers] what it thinks about the latest movies, how to plant potatoes, what kind of day Taureans might have or why the government should resign. But without fresh information it will be merely a commentary on things already known. Interesting, perhaps, stimulating even; but comment is not news. Information is. (2007: 25)

But beneath that lies a complex web of debates and issues surrounding and influencing that simple purpose. They involve the content of newspapers, how that content is selected and how it has changed over time; the economics of newspapers, who owns them and determines their policies, editorial and commercial; the threats to newspapers from competing media, even their survival; the extent to which society wishes to regulate or control newspapers, the freedom of a free press; the responsibility of newspapers with regard to matters

such as privacy, taste and decency, the age-old contest between public interest and what interests the public. There are other issues currently being debated about the effects of the press we have (and deserve?) on public attitudes to politics and politicians, on the susceptibility of newspapers to the influence of an increasingly sophisticated public-relations industry, on whether newspapers are coping with declining sales by 'dumbing down', trivialising, or whether changes in the news agenda are simply a response to changes in society and its interests. An understanding of current preoccupations is informed by an awareness of how the press has developed over the centuries, a historical context. All this and more will be discussed in this book.

Newspapers not dead – shock

A newspaper has been described as a portable reading device with serendipity. You can take it anywhere and read it anywhere. You do not have to plug it in or recharge it. Newspapers remain fairly cheap; even the *Sunday Times*, Britain's first £2 newspaper, costs no more than a pint of beer in most places, rather less than in some, and less indeed than the DVD that will inevitably be provided free in the polybag that holds all the sections together. For that £2, if you were as interested in property as cars, sport as fashion and style, culture as business, you would get as much reading as you could accommodate in a week of Sundays. At the beginning of 2009 the most expensive dailies (excluding the specialist *Financial Times* at £1.80) were the *Independent* at £1 and the *Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian* and *Times* at 90p (Monday to Friday), with the mass-circulation redtops half the price or less. The serendipity comes in the surprise. You can turn the pages and come across something you find interesting. You weren't looking for it, because you didn't know it was there and you didn't know you would find it interesting.



NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM

A PRACTICAL INTRODUCTION

SUSAN PAPE & SUE FEATHERSTONE

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2

WHAT IS NEWS?

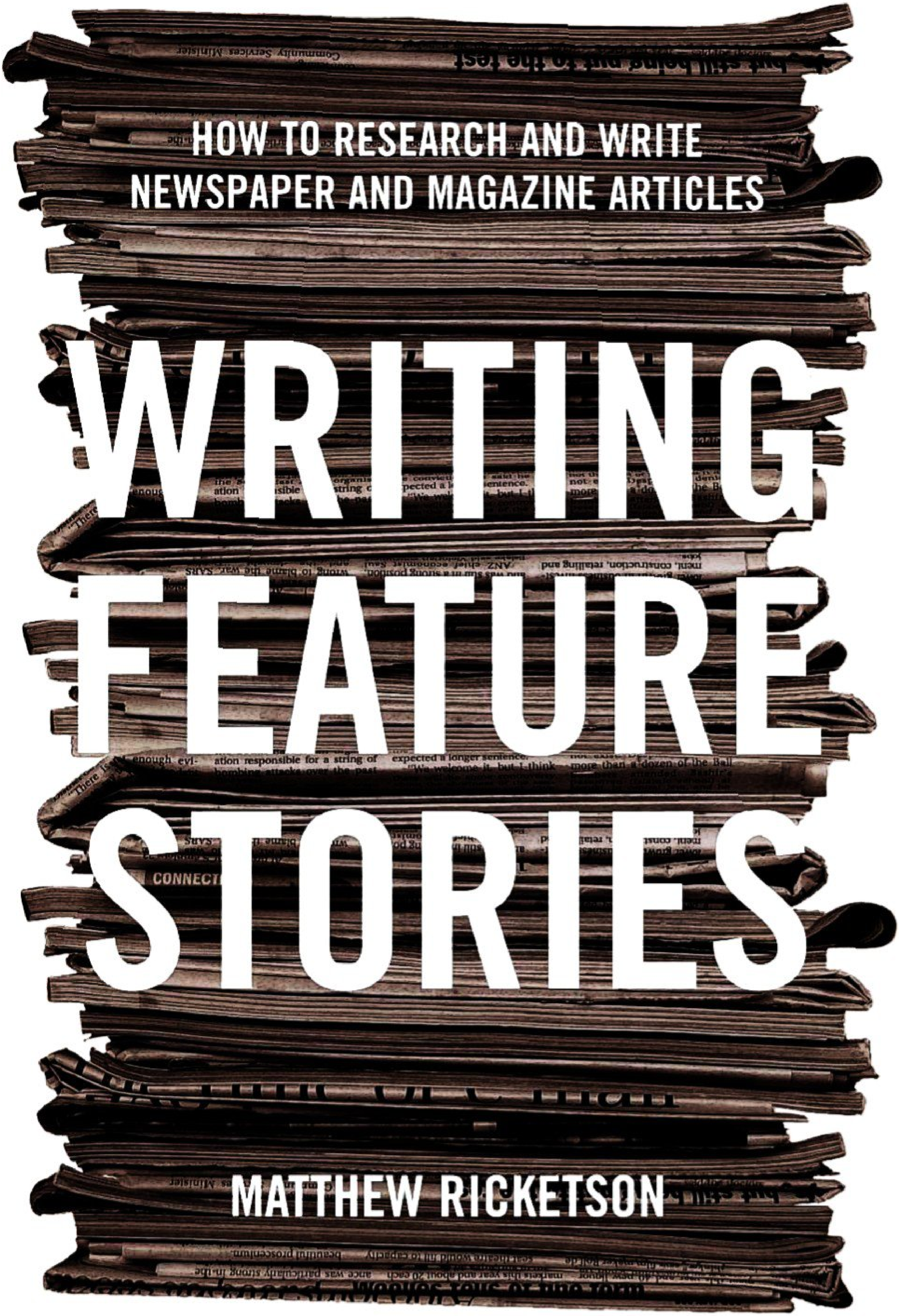
> News is what a chap who doesn't care much about anything wants to read. And it's only news until he's read it. After that it's dead.
>
> E. Waugh, *Scoop* (1982)

This chapter:

- examines the definitions of news
- asks what makes something newsworthy
- looks at different types of news stories
- questions who decides what is newsworthy
- looks at how journalists identify stories.

Various attempts have been made to answer the question 'What is news?' It is a tricky one. Lynette Sheridan Burns (2000: 50), for instance, in *Understanding Journalism* defines news as something that binds 'people together in a sense of community'. Certainly, freelance journalist Carole Richardson buys into the notion of community – at least in the sense that news is something that individuals want to share with one another. 'News is something you *have* to tell a friend before the credits on your mobile phone run out,' she says – a definition that suggests an element of urgency, which is an element that is somewhat lacking from the universally accepted assertion, usually credited to former editor of *The Sunday Times*, Harold Evans, that news is people.

On one level, it is hard to argue with any of these descriptions, yet none of them tells the whole story. Indeed, although most journalists would



HOW TO RESEARCH AND WRITE
NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES

WRITING FEATURE STORIES

MATTHEW RICKETSON

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Feature stories are defined as articles containing emotion and analysis as well as information, compared to hard news stories that are first and foremost about information. Feature stories are asserted to be an essential part of Australian newspapers and magazines. Their development is briefly charted. The relationship between news and features is explained by analysing which news values apply to features and in what circumstances.

One simple definition of feature stories is 'everything in the newspaper that is not news', but that is of little help. Not only is it better to define something by saying what it is rather than what it isn't, the definition above would include cartoons, reviews, gardening columns and everything in between. It would also exclude magazines, most of which run more features than news. If you find the relationship between news and features confusing, don't worry. Many working journalists use the term loosely, and know little about the history of what they do, but a brief backward glance can help you understand not only the relationship between news and features but the value of both.

The modern media's unceasing production of words and images swamps the reader's sense of history, of the way things change. Look at any newspaper in Australia today and news is written to the inverted pyramid formula, with the most significant piece of information first followed by data in descending order of importance. It looks logical and it is easy to think news has always been presented this way. It isn't and it hasn't. For instance, think of the familiar phrase 'Dr Livingstone, I presume'. Livingstone was a renowned Scottish explorer who in 1871 had been missing in Africa for at least two years. Henry Stanley, a fellow explorer and journalist, was sent by *The New York Herald* to track down Livingstone. Stanley's dispatch about his mission's success dawdled to the news:

REVISED AND UPDATED

BILL KOVACH
& TOM ROSENSTIEL

THE ELEMENTS OF JOURNALISM

What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect

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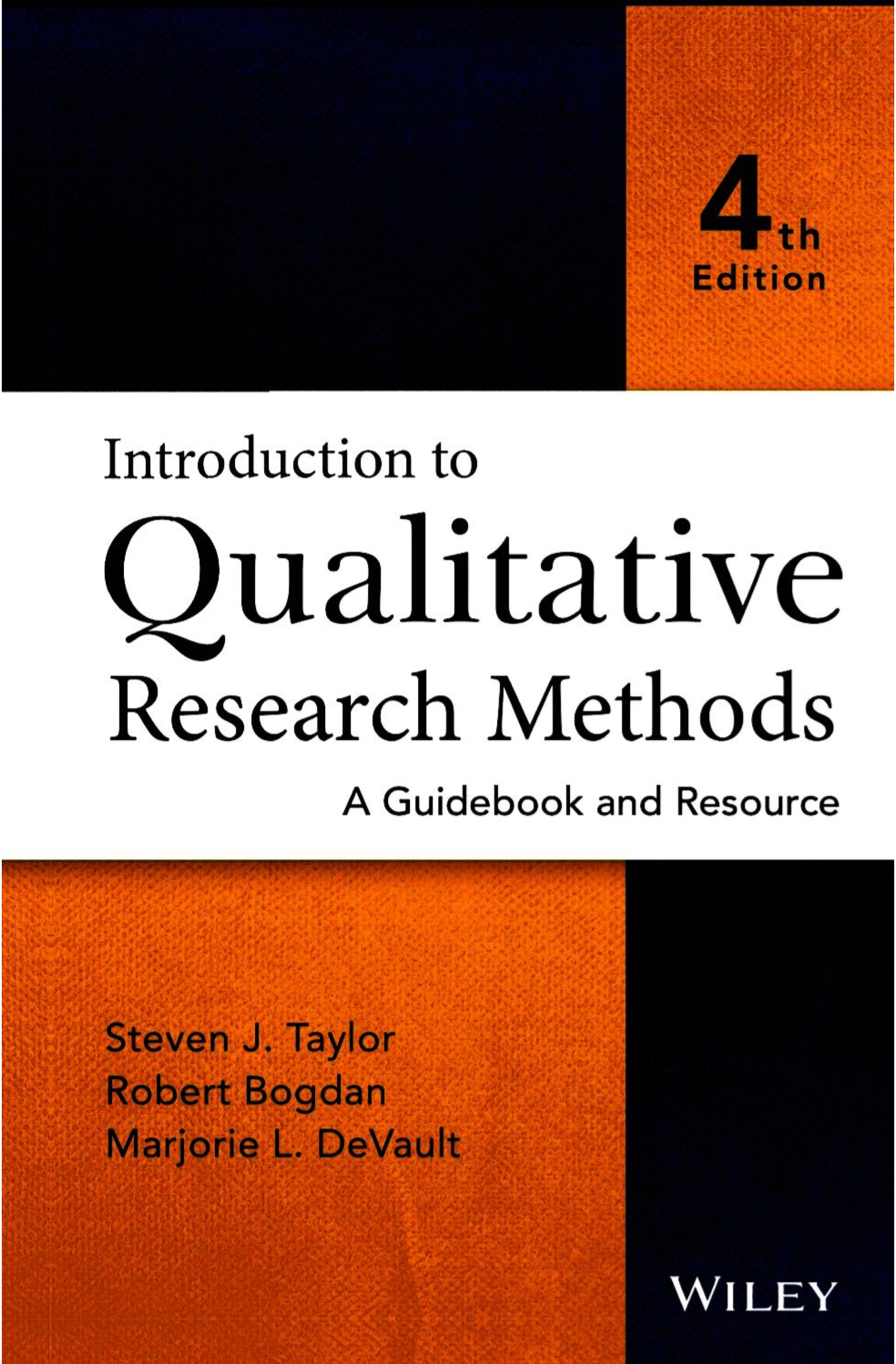
converging to weaken journalists' pursuit of truthfulness, despite the continuing allegiance most journalists professed to it. With the advent of the continuous 24-7 news cycle, which began with cable and grew with the Web, the news became more piecemeal; what were once the raw ingredients of journalism began to be passed on to the public directly. As the number of outlets for news proliferated, the sources who talked to the press, and wanted to influence the public, gained more relative power over the journalists who covered them; more outlets, in effect, made it more of a seller's market for information. As audiences fragmented, different news outlets began to adapt differing standards of journalism. In the continuous news culture, news channels trying to shovel out the latest information had less time to check things out. Amid growing competition and speed, there emerged what we called a new Journalism of Assertion that was overwhelming the more traditional Journalism of Verification, which had moved more slowly and put a higher premium on getting things right first.

That process was well under way before the arrival of the Internet as a force in our news culture. In the first years of the Web, as the audience further fragmented and a proliferating number of news outlets competed to get the attention of that audience, we saw the rapid rise of a third model of media—a Journalism of Affirmation, epitomized by talk show hosts like Rush Limbaugh and Rachel Maddow, who attracted audiences through reassurance, or the affirming of preconceptions. (We will talk more about these different models in later chapters.)

In short, what had been a fairly homogeneous notion of journalism that was grounded in reporting, even if it had somewhat differing styles in alternative weeklies versus daily newspapers or nightly local TV, was giving way to different models built on speed and convenience in one model and reassurance in another. The changes were subtle. Even some of the journalists who worked in these new media barely recognized the values shift occurring. Cable TV journalists did not readily acknowledge that they put less of a premium on verification. They just imagined they did it differently. The shift in the core appeal to the audience represented, however subtly, a shift in ethics. And that shift was predicated on more choice and more competition for the one thing that could not grow—the amount of time in the day. More outlets were competing for what was a finite level of audience attention.



4th
Edition

Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods

A Guidebook and Resource

Steven J. Taylor
Robert Bogdan
Marjorie L. DeVault

WILEY

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experiencing reality as they experience it (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Qualitative researchers empathize and identify with the people they study in order to understand how those people see things. Herbert Blumer (1969) explained it this way:

> To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called "objective" observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism—the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his[2] own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it. (p. 86)

As suggested by Blumer's quote, qualitative researchers must attempt to suspend, or set aside, their own perspectives and taken-for-granted views of the world. Bruyn (1966) advised the qualitative researcher to view things as though they were happening for the first time. Nothing is taken for granted. Psathas (1973) wrote:

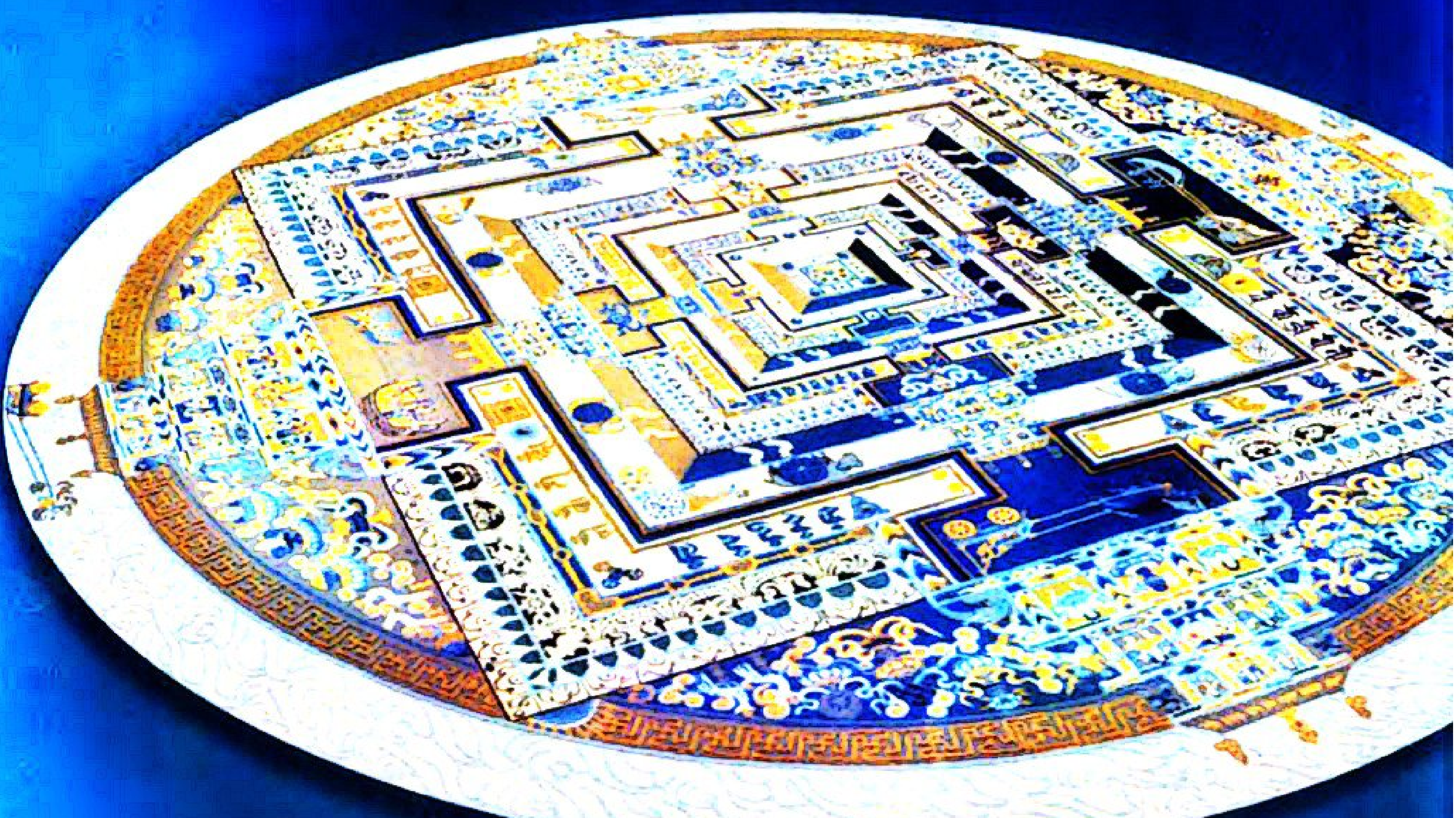
> For the sociologist, a phenomenological approach to observing the social world requires that he break out of the natural attitude and examine the very assumptions that structure the experience of actors in the world of everyday life. A method that provides assistance in this is "bracketing" the assumptions of everyday life. This does not involve denying the existence of the world or even doubting it (it is not the same as Cartesian doubt). Bracketing changes my attitude toward the world, allowing me to see with clearer vision. I set aside preconceptions and presuppositions, what I already "know" about the social world, in order to discover it with clarity of vision. (pp. 14–15)

2. *Qualitative research is inductive.* Qualitative researchers develop concepts, insights, and understandings from patterns in the data rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses, or theories. Glaser and Strauss (1967) coined the phrase "grounded theory" to refer to the inductive theorizing process involved in qualitative research that has the goal of building theory. A theory may be said to be grounded to the extent that it is derived from and based on the data themselves. Lofland (1995) described this type of theorizing as "emergent analysis" and pointed out that the process is creative and intuitive as opposed to mechanical.

In qualitative studies, researchers follow a flexible research design (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). We begin our studies with only vaguely formulated research questions. However we begin, we do not know for sure what to look for or what specific questions to ask until we have spent some time in a setting. As we learn about a setting and how participants view their experiences, we can make decisions regarding additional data to collect on the basis of what we have already learned.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches



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CHAPTER NINE

Qualitative Procedures

Qualitative procedures demonstrate a different approach to scholarly inquiry than methods of quantitative research. Qualitative inquiry employs different philosophical assumptions; strategies of inquiry; and methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Although the processes are similar, qualitative procedures rely on text and image data, have unique steps in data analysis, and draw on diverse strategies of inquiry.

In fact, the strategies of inquiry chosen in a qualitative project have a dramatic influence on the procedures, which, even within strategies, are anything but uniform. Looking over the landscape of qualitative procedures shows diverse perspectives ranging from social justice thinking (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), to ideological perspectives (Lather, 1991), to philosophical stances (Schwandt, 2000), to systematic procedural guidelines (Creswell, 2007; Corbin & Strauss, 2007). All perspectives vie for center stage in this unfolding model of inquiry called qualitative research.

This chapter attempts to combine many perspectives, provide general procedures, and use examples liberally to illustrate variations in strategies. This discussion draws on thoughts provided by several authors writing about qualitative proposal design (e.g., see Berg, 2001; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Maxwell, 2005; Rossman & Rallis, 1998). The topics in a proposal section on procedures are characteristics of qualitative research, the research strategy, the role of the researcher, steps in data collection and analysis, strategies for validity, the accuracy of findings, and narrative structure. Table 9.1 shows a checklist of questions for designing qualitative procedures.

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:

in a study or proposal, special care must be given to writing it. The introduction needs to create reader interest in the topic, establish the problem that leads to the study, place the study within the larger context of the scholarly literature, and reach out to a specific audience. All of this is achieved in a concise section of a few pages. Because of the messages they must convey and the limited space allowed, introductions are challenging to write and understand.

A **research problem** is the problem or issue that leads to the need for a study. It can originate from many potential sources. It might spring from an experience researchers have had in their personal lives or workplaces. It may come from an extensive debate that has appeared in the literature. It might develop from policy debates in government or among top executives. The sources of research problems are often multiple. Identifying and stating the research problem that underlies a study is not easy: For example, to identify the issue of teenage pregnancy is to point to a problem for women and for society at large. Unfortunately, too many authors of do not clearly identify the research problem, leaving the reader to decide the importance of the issue. When the problem is not clear, it is difficult to understand the significance of the research. Furthermore, the research problem is often confused with the research questions—those questions that the investigator would like answered in order to understand or explain the problem.

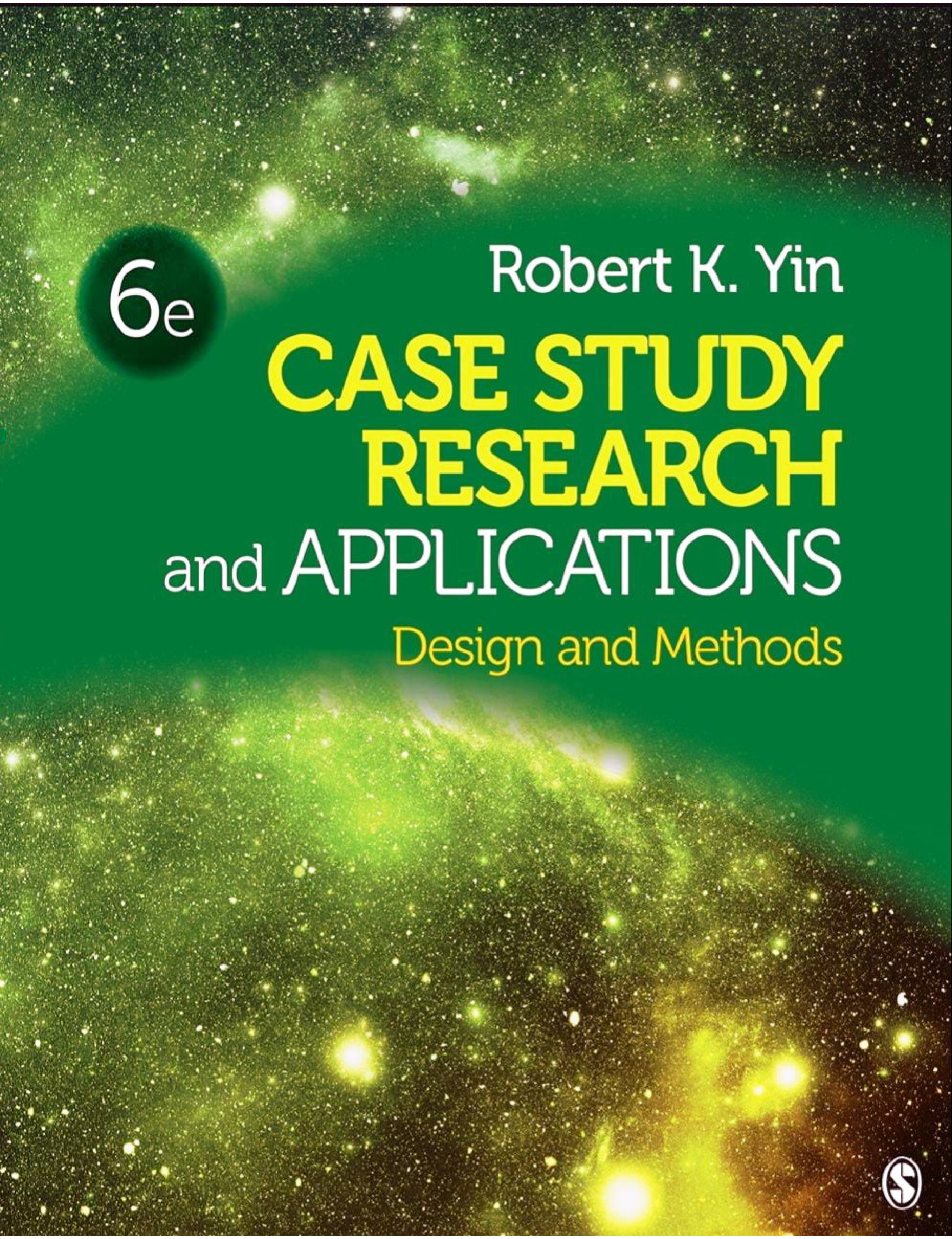
To this complexity is added the need for introductions to carry the weight of encouraging the reader to read farther and to see significance in the study.

Fortunately, there is a model for writing a good, scholarly social science introduction. Before introducing this model, it is necessary to distinguish subtle differences between introductions for qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods studies.

QUALITATIVE, QUANTITATIVE, AND MIXED METHODS INTRODUCTIONS

A general review of all introductions shows that they follow a similar pattern: The authors announce a problem and they justify why it needs to be studied. The type of problem presented in an introduction will vary depending on the approach (see Chapter 1). In a *qualitative* project, the author will describe a research problem that can best be understood by exploring a concept or phenomenon. I have suggested that qualitative research is exploratory, and researchers use it to explore a topic when the variables and theory base are unknown. For example, Morse (1991) says this:

> Characteristics of a qualitative research problem are: (a) the concept is "immature" due to a conspicuous lack of theory and previous



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Robert K. Yin

CASE STUDY RESEARCH and APPLICATIONS

Design and Methods

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than a single source of evidence?

Six Sources Of Evidence

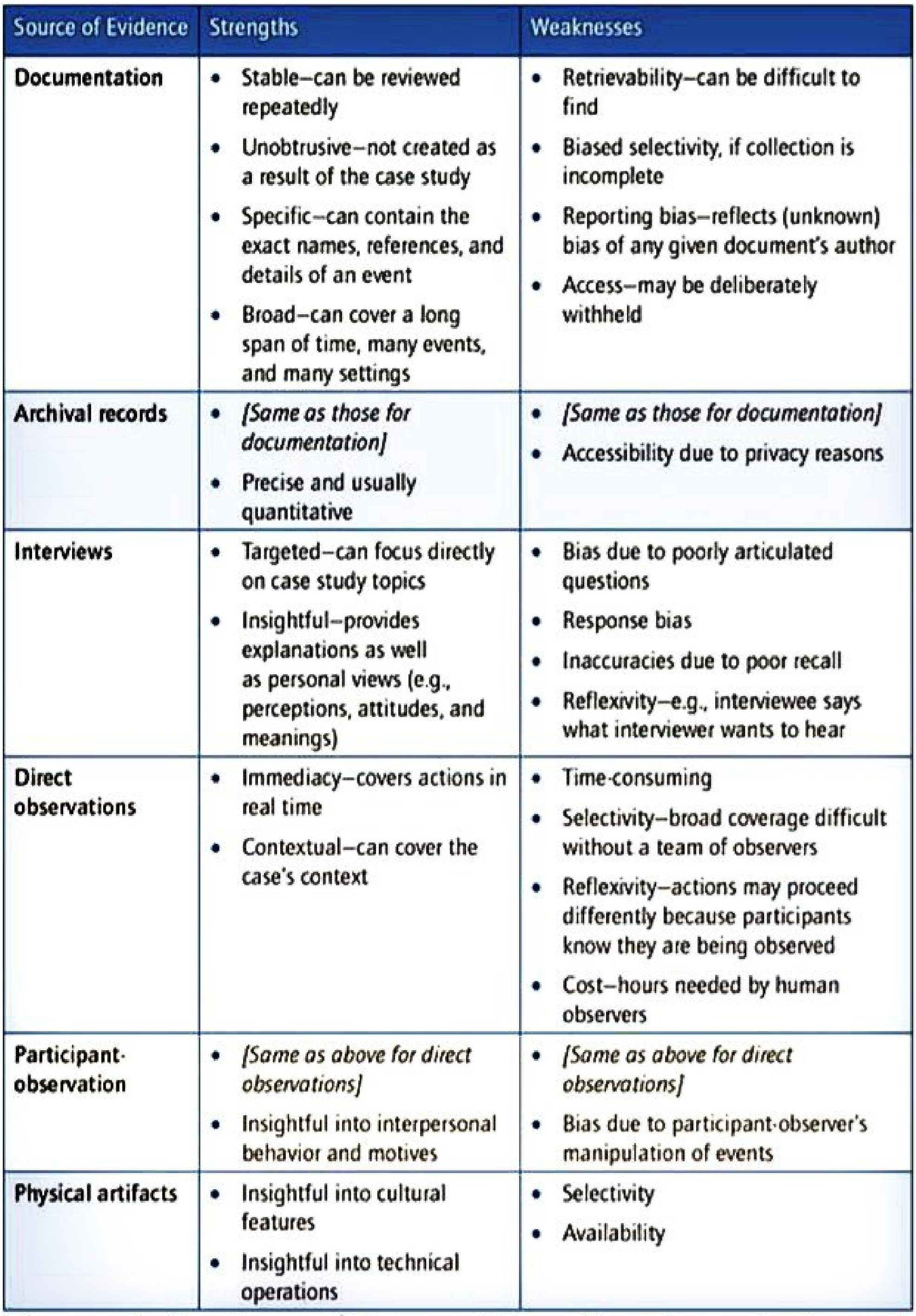
All six sources discussed here are commonly found in case study research: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. However, you should be aware that a complete list of sources can be quite extensive—including films, photographs, and videotapes; projective techniques and psychological tests; proxemics; kinesics; "street" ethnography; and life histories (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). A useful overview of the six major sources considers their comparative strengths and weaknesses (see Figure 4.1). You should immediately note that no single source has a complete advantage over all the others. In fact, the various sources are highly complementary, and a good case study will therefore want to rely on as many sources as possible (see the later discussion in this chapter on "multiple sources of evidence").

Documentation

Our record-keeping society means that documentary information (whether paper or electronic) is likely to be relevant to every case study topic.[1] This type of information should be the object of explicit data collection plans. For instance, consider the following variety of documentation:

- Emails, memoranda, letters, and other personal documents, such as diaries, calendars, and notes;
- Agendas, announcements and minutes of meetings, and other reports of events;
- Administrative documents, such as proposals, progress reports, and other internal records;
- Formal studies or evaluations related to the case that you are studying; and
- News clippings and other articles appearing in the mass media or in community newspapers.

Figure 4.1 Six Sources of Evidence: Strengths and Weaknesses



Source of Evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses
Documentation	• Stable–can be reviewed repeatedly • Unobtrusive–not created as a result of the case study • Specific–can contain the exact names, references, and details of an event • Broad–can cover a long span of time, many events, and many settings	• Retrievability–can be difficult to find • Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete • Reporting bias–reflects (unknown) bias of any given document's author • Access–may be deliberately withheld
Archival records	• *[Same as those for documentation]* • Precise and usually quantitative	• *[Same as those for documentation]* • Accessibility due to privacy reasons
Interviews	• Targeted–can focus directly on case study topics • Insightful–provides explanations as well as personal views (e.g., perceptions, attitudes, and meanings)	• Bias due to poorly articulated questions • Response bias • Inaccuracies due to poor recall • Reflexivity–e.g., interviewee says what interviewer wants to hear
Direct observations	• Immediacy–covers actions in real time • Contextual–can cover the case's context	• Time-consuming • Selectivity–broad coverage difficult without a team of observers • Reflexivity–actions may proceed differently because participants know they are being observed • Cost–hours needed by human observers
Participant-observation	• *[Same as above for direct observations]* • Insightful into interpersonal behavior and motives	• *[Same as above for direct observations]* • Bias due to participant-observer's manipulation of events
Physical artifacts	• Insightful into cultural features • Insightful into technical operations	• Selectivity • Availability

These and other types of documentation all are increasingly available through Internet searches.

The documentation is useful even though it is not always accurate and may not be lacking in bias. In fact, documents must be carefully used and should not be accepted as literal recordings of events that have taken place. Few people realize, for instance, that even the "verbatim" transcripts of official U.S. congressional hearings have been deliberately edited—by the congressional staff and those who may have testified—before being printed in final form. In another field, historians working with primary documents also must be concerned with the validity of a document.

For case study research, the most important use of documentation is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. First, documents are helpful in verifying the correct spellings and titles or names of people and organizations that might have been mentioned in an interview. Second, documents can provide specific details to corroborate information from other sources. If the documentary evidence is contradictory rather than corroboratory, you need to pursue the problem by inquiring further into the topic. Third, you can make inferences from documents. For example, by observing the distribution list for a specific document, you may find new questions about communications and networking within an organization. However, you should treat any inferences only as clues worthy of further investigation rather than as definitive findings, because the inferences could later turn out to be false leads.

Because of its overall value, documentation can play a prominent role in any data collection in doing case study research. Systematic searches for relevant documents are important in any data collection plan. For example, prior to doing fieldwork, an Internet search can produce invaluable preparatory and orienting information. During fieldwork, you should arrange access to examine the files of any organizations being studied, including a review of documents that may have been put into "cold storage" by an organization. The scheduling of such retrieval activities is usually a flexible matter, independent of other data collection activities, and the search can usually be conducted at your convenience. For this reason, there is little excuse for omitting a thorough review of documentary evidence. Among such evidence, news accounts are excellent sources for covering certain topics, such as the two in BOXES 17 and 18.

BOX 17 Combining Personal Participation With Extensive News Articles

Improving educational conditions—especially for urban schools in the United States—has become one of the biggest challenges for the 21st century. How the Houston, Texas, system dealt with constrained fiscal resources, diverse student populations, and local political constituencies is the topic of an exciting and riveting case study by Donald McAdams (2000). McAdams benefited from having been a member of the system's school board for three elected, 4-year terms.

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CHAPTER 8

Analyzing and Interpreting Qualitative Data

Analyzing qualitative data requires understanding how to make sense of text and images so that you can form answers to your research questions. In this chapter, you will learn about the six steps involved in analyzing and interpreting qualitative data: preparing and organizing the data, exploring and coding the database, describing findings and forming themes, representing and reporting findings, interpreting the meaning of the findings, and validating the accuracy of the findings.

By the end of this chapter, you should be able to:

- Identify the six steps in the process of analyzing and interpreting qualitative data.
- Describe how to prepare and organize the data for analysis.
- Describe how to explore and code the data.
- Use codes to build description and themes.
- Construct a representation and reporting of qualitative findings.
- Make an interpretation of the qualitative findings.
- Advance validation for the accuracy of your findings.

After completing her first interview with a student, Maria starts the process of analyzing her qualitative data. She first transcribes the audiotapes from the interview. She ends up with a 20-page transcript. As she reads the transcript, she writes some notes in the margins. These notes record her first impressions, such as "students need to protect themselves with weapons" or "everyone carries weapons." Reading the transcript again, Maria asks herself, *What are the students saying that answers my research questions?* She learns that they are describing places in the school in which students likely carry weapons. Also, she learns that certain themes or patterns emerge in their responses. She groups the student responses into five themes about the experiences of students carrying weapons in school: self-protection, common practice, hiding places, fear of being caught, and sanctions if caught. She develops a table that summarizes these themes, and she writes

- It is inductive in form, going from the particular or the detailed data (e.g., transcriptions or typed notes from interviews) to the general codes and themes. Keeping this in mind helps you understand how qualitative researchers produce broad themes or categories from diverse detailed databases. Although the initial analysis consists of subdividing the data (later we will discuss *coding* the data), the final goal is to generate a larger, consolidated picture (Tesch, 1990).
- It involves a simultaneous process of analyzing while you are also collecting data. In qualitative research, the data collection and analysis (and perhaps the report writing) are simultaneous activities. When you are collecting data, you may also be analyzing other information previously collected, looking for major ideas. This procedure differs from traditional approaches in *quantitative* research, in which data collection occurs first, followed by data analysis.
- The phases are also iterative, meaning you cycle back and forth between data collection and analysis. In qualitative research, you might collect stories from individuals and return for more information to fill in gaps in their stories as your analysis of their stories proceeds.
- Qualitative researchers analyze their data by reading it several times and conducting an analysis each time. Each time you read your database, you develop a deeper understanding about the information supplied by your participants.
- There is no single, accepted approach to analyzing qualitative data, although several guidelines exist for this process (see Dey, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994). It is an eclectic process.
- Qualitative research is "interpretive" research, in which you make a personal assessment as to a description that fits the situation or themes that capture the major categories of information. The interpretation that you make of a transcript, for example, differs from the interpretation that someone else makes. This does not mean that your interpretation is better or more accurate; it simply means that you bring your own perspective to your interpretation.

HOW DO YOU PREPARE AND ORGANIZE THE DATA FOR ANALYSIS?

Initial preparation of the data for analysis requires organizing the vast amount of information, transferring it from spoken or written words to a typed file and making decisions about whether to analyze the data by hand or by computer.

Organize Data

At an early stage in qualitative analysis, you organize data into file folders or computer files. Organization of data is critical in qualitative research because of the large amount of information gathered during a study. The extensive data that an interview yields often surprises new researchers. For example, a 30-minute interview will often result in about 20 pages of single-spaced transcription. With this sizable amount of data, the transcribing and organizing of information requires a system of organization, which could take several forms, such as:

- Developing a matrix or a table of sources that can be used to help organize the material
- Organizing the materials by type: all interviews, all observations, all documents, and all photographs or other visual materials; as an alternative, you might consider

TABLE 8.1

A Sample Comparison Table Used to Represent Information in a Qualitative Study

Female Statements About "Professionalism"	Male Statements About "Professionalism"
• Helping fellow teachers is part of my day.	• Being concerned about following the coordinator's advice about curriculum shows a high level of professionalism.
• When another teacher asks for advice, I am generally a good listener.	• It is important to be in charge in the classroom and to be aware of student off-task behavior.
• It is important, once I achieve a certain level of experience, that I become a mentor to other teachers, especially new ones.	• I set standards for myself, and try to achieve these goals each year.
• Caring about how other teachers employ high standards in their classroom is a sign of my own professionalism.	• It is necessary that each teacher "pull" his or her weight in this school—a sure sign of professionalism.

men teachers in a school. Statements from these teachers, shown in Table 8.1, are included in a comparison table to show that females and males can differ in their approaches to professionalism.

- *Develop a hierarchical tree diagram.* This diagram visually represents themes and their interconnections so that the themes are presented in order from the broad themes to the narrow themes.
- *Present figures.* Figures with boxes show the connections among themes (see again Figure 8.9 from the grounded theory study by Creswell & Brown, 1992).
- *Draw a map.* Depict the physical layout of the setting. As shown in Figure 8.10, Miller, Creswell, and Olander (1998) displayed the physical setting of a soup kitchen in their study. The authors provided this diagram so that readers could visualize where different activities happened.
- *Develop a demographic table.* Describe personal or demographic information for each person or site in the research. In a study of the types of technology used by instructors in college classrooms, the researcher described each instructor and his or her primary delivery style in a demographic table, shown in Table 8.2. The six individuals studied in this qualitative study displayed different personal characteristics as well as diverse approaches to using technology. This table provides readers with various demographic information for each instructor, such as number of years teaching, gender, class level of instruction, instructional approach used in the class, and his or her primary form of technology use.

Reporting Findings

The primary form for representing and reporting findings in qualitative research is a narrative discussion. A **narrative discussion** is a written passage in a qualitative study in which authors summarize, in detail, the findings from their data analysis. There is no set form for this narrative, which can vary widely from one study to another. However, it is helpful to identify some frequently used forms, as shown in Table 8.3. Several of these forms have already been discussed, such as developing description, themes, or interconnecting themes. Others are important, too, especially in advocacy and participatory forms of qualitative inquiry, such as raising questions, challenging assumptions based on evidence supplied by participants, or reflecting on how participants changed (e.g., became