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Exploring the textual metafunction in  
Japanese: case study of selected written  
texts

Elizabeth Anne Thompson  
University of Wollongong

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Exploring the Textual  
Metafunction in Japanese:  
A case study of selected written  
texts

Volume One

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

from

University of Wollongong

by

**Elizabeth Anne Thomson,**  
**BA Macq, MA (TESOL) Syd**

Faculty of Education

December, 2001

Dedicated to the memory of my two Dads,  
Jim and Tom  
who nurtured my curiosity and encouraged me  
to study.

# Certification

I, Elizabeth A. Thomson, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualification at any other academic institution.

Elizabeth A. Thomson  
December 7, 2001

# Acknowledgements

Writing a thesis is a bit like running a marathon. There is the race start, the middle race, the end race and crossing the line. At each stage throughout the race, there are support people offering a hand and urging you on. I had more than my fair share of support people during my thesis marathon and I would like to use this space to thank them.

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So having come to the end of this process, this marathon, I can look back and say that it has been a formative, testing process of both my intellect and stamina. It feels good to be finished. Now, I need to recover and re-hydrate.

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# Key to Notations

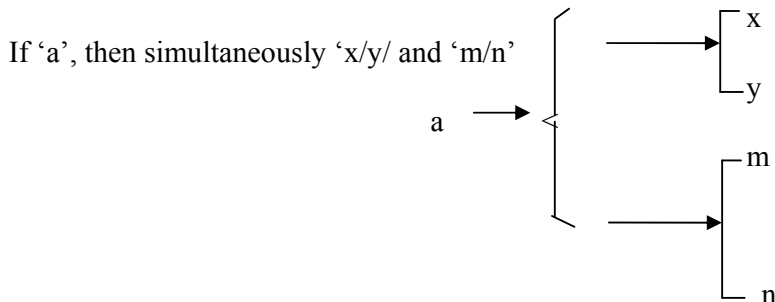
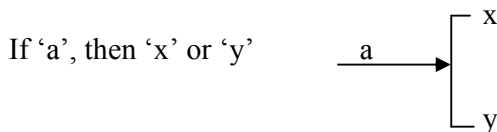
## 1. Colours used in the tables and figures

	represents generic stages		Paragraph
	Theme		Section
	Headline		

## 2. Various systemic markers

x	enhancement	$\alpha$	hypotactic dominant
=	elaboration	$\beta$	hypotactic dependent
+	extension	1,2,..	parataxis
[[ ]]	rank shifted clause	^	ordering, “followed by..”
<< >>	included clause		clause boundary marker
”	locution	,	idea

## 3. system network conventions



## 4. Parsing

T-U	T-unit
i, ii, iii	Clauses within a clause complex.

## 5. Transcription Conventions

The romanisation convention, *romaji* used in this study is a modified version of the Hepburn system as described in Mizutani and Mizutani (1988:xii). The full set of *romaji* is tabled below. The reason for choosing this romanisation convention relates to the use of double vowels instead of the **macron**, or bar above single vowels to indicate vowel lengthening. This is because a symbol which would serve as the macron in the word processing application was not available.





# Abstract

This study sets out to explore the relationship between the grammar of the textual metafunction within Systemic Functional Grammar and the organisation of a set of Japanese selected written texts into discrete text types or genres. The study is motivated by the need for grammatical descriptions of Japanese discourse for teaching Japanese as a Second/Foreign Language. Descriptions of how Japanese organises textually, as a coherent message, are limited, with most work centred on clause level descriptions. This study looks at the resources of textual organisation above the clause.

This study investigates the proposition that in Japanese, the clause is patterned in a motivated manner in its discourse environment and that this patterning correlates with the organisation of discourse.

The theoretical resources of the Systemic Functional model of language are used to investigate these patterns above clause rank. In order to capture the organisational patterns above the clause, the study utilizes the T-unit or Theme-unit (Fries 1995c), the use of which can account for the operation of co-referential ellipsis and clause chaining in Japanese.

The corpus of this study consists of eight instances of five separate genres. The five genres are 1) the factual news commentary, 2) the hard news story, 3) the soft news story, 4) the nursery tale and 5) the narrative. Each instance is segmented into T-units. The order of the constituents within the T-units in each text is quantified. The quantitative results indicate that the choice of what is selected as first in the T-unit is significant and equates with Theme. The system of THEME as it appears in the corpus is thus described. Following the description of the system of THEME, each text in the corpus is examined for patterns which demonstrate that the choice of Theme keys into the method of development of a text and that certain configurations of Theme serve to realise the function of each of the generic stages in each text.

The description of each text begins with an examination of the generic stages. This is followed by an examination of the selection of Themes within each stage and how these collectively work to produce a particular method of development. The generic stages are then described logically in relation to each other and consideration is given to the distribution of given and new information and how these configurations

also key into the method of development. The picture of each text as an instance of a particular genre is built up.

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# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## 1.0 Motivation for the present study

The motivation for this study is twofold. In the first instance, as a teacher of Japanese as a Second and Foreign language, I need effective, functional descriptions of the grammar of Japanese particularly in under-described areas of the grammar such as the systems of textual meaning. Grammatical descriptions at clause level in Japanese within a range of linguistic paradigms are abundant, however, the landscape above the clause is rather barren. Descriptions of how Japanese is organised textually, as a coherent message, are limited with most of the work relating to the functions of *-wa* and *-ga*.

As a teacher of Japanese, I have to teach students how to read and how to write texts in Japanese. However, without a clear understanding of how Japanese texts are organised as discourse, it is difficult to teach how to read and write appropriately. Also, as a non-native speaker of Japanese, I have had to rely on the grammatical descriptions of the systems of meaning-making in Japanese in the same manner as a student of Japanese as a Second/Foreign Language. Being unable to find adequate descriptions for teaching purposes, I began the process of description myself. This study represents the culmination of my investigation into how texts are organised and my efforts to improve my own teaching practice.

The second motivation for this study arises from the inadequate treatment of the particle *-wa*. This particle is considered to function textually in Japanese, and has, for a long time, been the object of study within Japanese linguistic descriptions without, in my view, adequate descriptive explanation. It has been described as the topic marker (Martin 1988; Maynard 1990), the theme marker (Mikami 1960; Kuno 1973) and as a marker of given information (Chafe 1976; Martin 1988), all of which relate to some kind of textual function. In short, it is an enigmatic grammatical feature which confounds linguists of Japanese. It is considered a uniquely Japanese grammatical phenomenon and is often held up as an example of how the Japanese language is unique and cannot be understood

fully without “the application of Japan-specific conceptual yardsticks” (Sugimoto 1997:28). In other words, there is a discourse known as *nihonjinron* which “tries to highlight the presumably unique aspects of Japan and the Japanese” (Sugimoto 1997:28) using various characteristics of the language and the culture as evidence of its uniqueness. I find this argument, that *-wa* is unique and is difficult to understand by non-Japanese, to be weak and prefer to view the existing descriptions of *-wa* as not particularly adequate. A useful description of *-wa* needs to be systemic and functional, grounded in a theory of language which allows for the description of a language in its own terms. The grammatical definitions need to be relational to each other within the framework of the language in question. In the process of my investigation into how texts are organised, I intend to provide such a description of the textual particle, *-wa*.

However, the process of describing the function of *-wa* is not straightforward. There are a number of steps involved. Firstly, if *-wa* participates in textual meaning, then the first step is to look at the nature of the linguistic landscape above the clause where one would expect textual meanings to operate. If a text consists of more than one clause, then it is reasonable to expect that there are textual patterns between and above the clauses, in clause complexes, paragraphs and whole texts. In other words, it is necessary to look at how clauses are patterned and organised above the clause, before looking at what *-wa* is doing in and around the clause. Thus, this study is the first step in the process of describing the function of *-wa*. In a sense, it is an environmental study. It does **not** describe *-wa*, rather it sets the scene, as it were, for understanding the environment in which *-wa* operates in preparation for a later description. This environment is expected to be one in which clausal patterns correlate with textual meanings. This will be a first step in the longer process of describing the function of *-wa*. At the end of this study, I will make some comments in relation to what I can predict about the function of *-wa*. The natural direction of my continued research will then be to complete the process and turn my attention to *-wa* in particular.

## **1.1 Central Aims of the study**

This study sets out to explore the relationship between the ‘enabling’ (Matthiessen 1995b) grammar of the textual metafunction and the organisation of selected written texts into discrete text types or genres. In order to explore this relationship, the Systemic Functional (SF) model of language is utilised.

This study investigates the proposition that in Japanese, the clause in its discourse environment is patterned in a motivated manner and that this patterning correlates with the organisation of discourse.

The study demonstrates that the lexicogrammar used to realise textual metafunctional meanings correlates with the organisation of discourse in the texts of the corpus of this study and that it is possible to draw a number of generalisations from the exercise. These include 1) that THEME in Japanese is realised in first position in the T-unit, and 2) that the choice of THEME and the method of development arising out of the thematic choices serves to organise the stages of the texts which in turn are organised into genres.

## **1.2 Locating the present study**

The following section contextualises this study in relation to other work on Japanese linguistic descriptions. As a way of locating this study efficiently in the bigger picture of Japanese linguistics, I have drawn up the following taxonomy. Descriptive work on the Japanese language can be classified as follows in Figure 1.1 below.

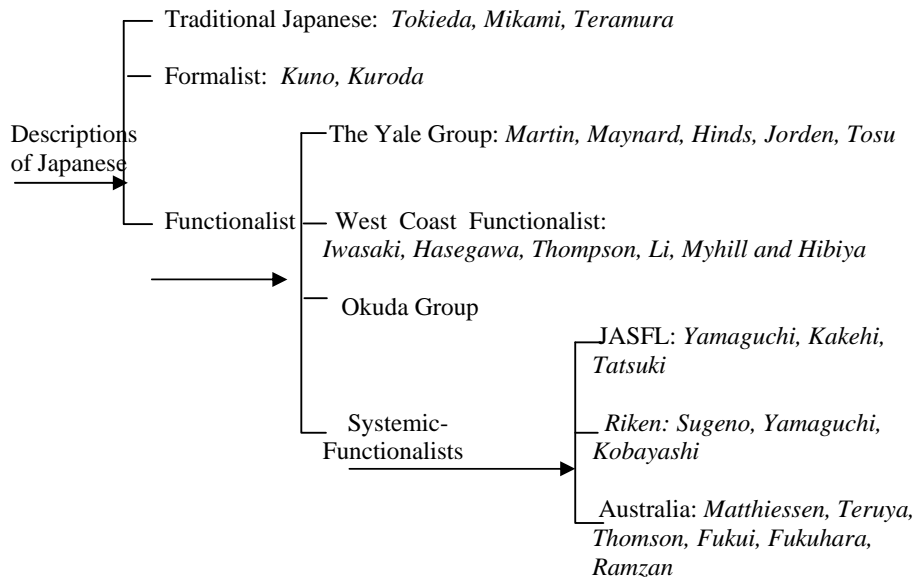


Figure 1.1  
A taxonomy of Japanese linguistic descriptions

In the first instance, Japanese descriptions can be traditional in orientation in the sense that they originate from native traditional linguistic theory; or they can be formalist or functionalist in orientation.

The formalist tradition is one inspired by the work of Bloomfield and Chomsky, while a functionalist one is more eclectic, with groups clustered around the world including in America, Australia and Japan. American functionalist groups include the Yale Group, and the West Coast Functionalists. Australian functionalist groups include the Systemic-Functionalists, while the traditional Japanese functionalists includes the Okuda group known as the *Gengogaku Kenkyuukai* (Society for the Study of Language).

One of the significant early traditional accounts of Japanese is that which Tokieda produced in 1941. His account of Japanese in *Kokugogaku Genron* (The Study of Japanese Linguistic Theory) (Tokieda 1941) includes descriptions of Japanese phonology, syntax and semantics. His work is situated in linguistic theory informed by the work of the French linguists and specifically, the work of Saussure. Tokieda's work is considered to be one of the fundamental descriptions of Japanese and his citations have appeared in much of the subsequent work on Japanese from a range of



linguistic paradigms ever since. Another significant body of work is that produced by Mikami in the early sixties. He is most noted for his discussion on the function of the particle *-wa* (Mikami 1960) and for his work on the syntax of Japanese (Mikami 1963). And finally, another frequently cited traditional Japanese description is that produced by Teramura during the 1980s. His volume of work (1982, 1984 & 1991) centers around the relationship between syntax and meaning. Each of these scholars wrote in Japanese about Japanese for a Japanese academic readership.

Within the formalist tradition of Japanese linguistic descriptions, it is the works of Kuroda (1965) and Kuno (1973) that are most significant. Their work is centrally located in the transformational generative tradition, with emphasis on syntax and universal grammar. Both linguists were trained in the United States and wrote about Japanese in English for a Western and Japanese audience. Their work has been cited frequently within the formalist tradition which originates from Chomsky, but within the American functionalist tradition as well.

Within the functionalist tradition, the work of groups of linguists on both the East and West coasts of the States have been the most prolific. The East Coast group (which I am calling the Yale group) has developed around the work of Martin (1988). Martin produced a mammoth reference grammar of Japanese based on authentic samples of sentences taken mostly from magazines, novels, radio and television. He produced a very detailed grammatical description of Japanese clause and phrase structure based around an emergent functional framework, but he did not attempt to account for Japanese discourse structure. However, he inspired the work of his colleagues and students in this direction. Scholars such as Hinds (1976), Tosu (1985) and Maynard (1998) have produced descriptions of Japanese grammar based on function and meaning.

Similarly, on the other side of the country, the West Coast functionalists were also producing descriptions which presented functional motivations behind various grammatical forms. Work by Myhill and Hibiya (1988) looked at the discourse function of clause chaining, while Iwasaki (1987) considered, amongst other topics, the function and form of expository texts and Hasegawa (1996) considered the range of functions of

the suspensive *-te* form. Martin (1992) has noted that the work of the West Coast functionalists “present[s] a radical challenge to certain hegemonic tenets [arising out of the Chomskyan tradition] such as the claim that syntax and discourse are arbitrarily related” (Martin 1992:583). Scholars both in and outside of Japan have cited the research of the Yale group and the West Coast group, thereby demonstrating the value of the contribution of their respective work.

The Okuda group of linguists working in Japan have developed a functional theory of Japanese based around the notion of *rengo* (collocation) and *ketegorikaru na imi* (categorical meanings). Teruya (1998) has termed the theory, *Rengotics* for the English speaking world. The development of the Okudyan grammar is motivated primarily by educational concerns. A significant number of group members are Japanese teachers looking for a relevant theory of language to assist in the teaching of their mother tongue. The work of the Okuda group has not had a voice in the West until recently. Fortunately, the work of Teruya (1998) has introduced Okudyan theory to the Systemic-Functional community. Okudyan theory systemises grammatical categories according to meaning in a manner similar to that of the SF community of scholars.

While the work of Systemic-Functionalists has primarily been in relation to descriptions of English, descriptions of other languages are emerging. Descriptive work has been done on a number of languages other than English: French (Caffarel 2000), Finnish (Shore 1992), German (Steiner 1995), Chinese (McDonald 1998), Tagalog (Martin 1995; Martin 1996), the Papuan Language Weri (Boxwell 1995), the African Language, Akan (Matthiessen 1995a), Pitjintjatjara (Rose 1998) and Gooniyandi (McGregor 1992) to name a few. In recent times descriptions of Japanese have also begun to emerge (Hori 1995; Teruya 1998; Thomson 1998; Thomson 2000). The Japan Association of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (JASFL) is fostering the introduction of the model into the linguistic community through the translation of Halliday’s *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Yamaguchi and Kakehi 2001). Also, research by members includes descriptions in the areas of MOOD (Hori 1995), Cohesion

(Tsukada 1999), THEME (Tatsuki 2000; Thomson 2000), Semantics (Ito and Kobayashi 2000), and translation (Naganuma 2000) amongst others.

Further, the SF model is being utilized by the *RIKEN* (The Institute of Physical and Chemical Research) Brain Science Institute, in their Laboratory for Language-Based Intelligent Systems Project which is a Japanese government sponsored initiative aimed at developing a language-based operating system for computers of the future. This is an ambitious project headed by Professor Sugeno and brings together engineers, computational experts and linguists in an attempt to produce a new generation of intelligent technology. “Our research aims to realise brain-style intelligent systems containing the system of language. We incorporate results from brain science, knowledge of linguistics, and various information technologies in our research” (Sugeno 1997).

Within Australia too, a significant amount of SF descriptive work is underway. Matthiessen and Bateman (1991) conducted some early work on Japanese SF descriptions in conjunction with computational modelling. Since then, Matthiessen has been at the center of descriptive work in Australia. In addition, work by his students and colleagues have progressed. In particular, work by Teruya (1998) has centred around descriptions of the experiential meta-function; work by Fukui (1998) describes the system of MOOD; work by Fukuhara (2000) centres around the operation of ellipsis; while my work looks specifically at the system of THEME (Thomson 1996, 1998 & 2000) and related grammatical phenomena such as the structure of the nominal group (Thomson 2000).

Having sketched the lay of the ‘linguist’ land, as it were, in relation to descriptions of Japanese grammar, I now want to turn to specific work which is either related or parallel to the study of this thesis. In summary, work by Maynard (1998) and Tosu (1985) from the Yale Group investigates the nature of the Japanese narratives and folktales which are central concerns of my study, while the work of Naganuma (2000) and Teruya (1998) within the SF framework look at the realisation of Theme in Japanese. Since the realisation of Theme in Japanese is a central concern of this study and so, a discussion of the similarities and differences between the abovementioned research and my study is required.

Maynard presents descriptions of Japanese discourse using a functional approach. Her work centres around traditional text notions such as *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu*<sup>1</sup>, *bunmyaku*<sup>2</sup> and *danraku*<sup>3</sup> as well as the traditional three part (Maynard 1998:24) and five part organisation (Maynard 1998:27) of discourse. She demonstrates how particular grammatical choices realise particular stages within a particular text type. Her descriptive framework is a mixture of traditional Japanese rhetorical structures and grammatical categories such as the use of connectives, topic markers, and the logical flow of ideas. Her work is very accessible to students of the Japanese language and has been significant in its adoption in Japanese second and foreign language teaching. However, her work is outside the framework of Systemic-Functional linguistics. From my point of view, I am interested in knowing to what extent an SF description of discourse would complement, confirm or contradict her findings.

The work of Tosu is related to this study however, the grammatical descriptions within Tosu's work are clearly taken from a formalist tradition. He considers the notion of parallelism between the features of the language and the features of products of the culture such as folktales. He examines the nature of certain grammatical structures in relation to the structure of the folktale in Japanese. Tosu concludes that folktales in Japan follow a cyclical structure: lack ^ lack liquidated ^ lack (Tosu 1985) which culminates in a return to an 'original' state. He concludes that patterns evident at clause level are also evident at discourse level in Japanese folktales. The fact that action processes focus on the process not the consequence leads to a lack of agency. This lack of agency is further supported by the lack of plural and singular forms. Without overt singular forms, an individual entity or agent is difficult to construe. At discourse level, the low use of reference, the abundant use of ellipsis, and the use of

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<sup>1</sup> *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu* is a traditional model of Japanese rhetorical structure. It refers to four stages of the text: *ki* is the presentation of topic; *shoo* is the topic development; *ten* is a turn in the development, for example, either an indirectly relevant or connected topic; and *ketsu* is the conclusion (Maynard 1998:33).

<sup>2</sup> *bunmyaku* refers to the 'thread of discourse', that is, "discourse is connected in terms of identifiable processes or stages of linear progression" (Maynard 1998:54)

<sup>3</sup> *danraku* is a semantic unit of discourse which may conflate with a simple sentence, or map across two or more sentences and could be thought of as a paragraph, although not necessarily having the same function as a paragraph in English (Maynard 1998:81).

exophoric personal pronouns leads to ambiguity and difficulty knowing who is responsible for the action processes. These features serve to contribute to the characteristics of the folktales which have a cyclical structure. If a story starts happily it will end happily; if one starts unhappily, it will end unhappily. This cycle will employ ellipsis of the predictable beginning of a tale. Further, often nothing is achieved in the tale, in the sense that the hero or heroine does not find a solution. They are not agents of change. Rather, the main protagonists are “sentients rather than agents of action” (Tosu 1985:182). Tosu’s work provokes serious consideration and I will return to a discussion of his work in relation to my descriptions of the nursery tales in Chapter 7.

The work of Teruya is centrally situated within the SF framework and is the most comprehensive description of Japanese to date. While the bulk of his thesis is on the experiential metafunction, he also presents a sketch of both the interpersonal and textual metafunction. Within his discussion on the textual metafunction, he hypothesises that “the clause initial position is textually significant, and what has been widely investigated as a theme/topic marker, that is, *-wa*, is taken as a realisational criterion of themehood. In a range of registers that I have examined, the *-wa* element is typically realised clause-initially” (Teruya 1998:98). Teruya makes two claims: that first position in the clause is significant and that *-wa* marks the thematised element. This duality concerns me in the same way as Mathesius’ definition of Theme worried Halliday and Fries (1983) (refer to Chapter 2 for a brief discussion). Mathesius enshrined Theme as ‘given’ information thereby conflating two separate systems of meaning within the textual metafunction, that of the system of INFORMATION STATUS and that of the system of THEME. I believe the duality inherent in Teruya’s definition may be accorded the same kind of enshrinement and needs closer consideration. This study is an attempt to decouple first position and the particle *-wa* as Theme marker by looking at just one of these two criteria, namely, first position. If first position alone is responsible for the realisation of Theme, then the function(s) of *-wa* will need to be considered outside of the system of THEME and may form part of the system of INFORMATION STATUS within the clause. This study is limited to

investigating the functionality of first position, however a brief discussion on the function of *-wa* will be provided at the end of the study in Chapter 9.

Finally, the work of Naganuma (2000) is also relevant to this study in the sense that her work addressed the notion of Theme in Japanese and Theme in English. However, her aim was to highlight the difficulties of translation equivalence between Japanese and English using Theme as an example. In the process of demonstrating problems of translation equivalence, Naganuma looks at the method of development of three texts from the family of factual genres. She uses Teruya's definition of Theme, that is, taking everything in first position up to and including constituent + *wa* as Theme. This results in Themes which comprise of more than one constituent, "in Japanese the boundary between Theme and Rheme is marked by postpositions which are allowed to mark more than one ideational element in the clause" (Naganuma 2000:7). In her analysis she identifies 'double subject' structures which are marked by *-wa* (Naganuma 2000:6), prompting, in her view, a multiple Theme consisting of two ideational elements: one being a circumstance, the other being a participant. She illustrates this with the following example, *Taiheiyogawa dewa, natsu wa mushiatsuku*. (On the Pacific side, the summers are hot and humid). In her analysis, both 'on the Pacific side' and 'the summers' are Theme. This analysis is problematic in my view for the same reasons as Teruya's work, but also for another reason. The fact that there is a comma between the first two constituents is ignored. This may in fact be important because it could suggest a break or a boundary of some description between the two constituents. It thus seems to me, that it is sensible to study first position and the assignment of *-wa* separately. It may be that first position is not relevant for the realisation of Theme in Japanese; however, the fact that Teruya and Naganuma select first position elements, even ones unmarked by *-wa* suggests that first position is indeed relevant.

Thus, the motivation for this study arises, in the first instance, out of my need for descriptions of Japanese grammar which are applicable in a teaching context, but also out of a need to decouple this notion that Theme is realised both by first position and by elements marked by *-wa*. This duality of realisation is considered as recognition criteria by Teruya,

Naganuma and others such as Maynard, whose work is outside the SF framework. While these linguists are comfortable with this recognition criteria, I am not. Being a non-native speaker of Japanese and therefore not having native-speaker intuitions in relation to the language, the recognition criteria does not explain when a first position constituent should or should not be marked by *-wa*. Instead, I need to rely on descriptions of the grammar to construct meaning in Japanese and so this study will look at the relevance of first position in the construction of textual meanings which will be followed in the future by a study on the function(s) of *-wa*.

### 1.3 The Corpus

The corpus consists of written examples which fall into three common text type categories: news articles, narratives and nursery tales. The examples are from a cross-section of newspapers or are well known either in a literary or a contemporary popular sense. This selection serves as representative of written text types found in Japanese and thus is useful to demonstrate possible generalisations in operation within the semantic systems of the language. The analytical tool used to investigate the corpus is Systemic Functional theory. The corpus is as follows:

#### Newspapers Articles

1. *Ginkoo ni Tanjuu Gootoo: Sampatsu Hassha: 200 man-en ubatte toosoo* (Armed Bank Robbery: 3 shots fired, robbers stole 2 million yen and fled), *Mainichi Shimbun* (The Mainichi Newspaper), 1 August, 1980
2. *Samusa Yurunde Setsubun* (The Cold Eases and it is the Bean-Throwing Festival), *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (The Japan Economic Newspaper), 3 February, 1979

Articles 1 & 2 above are to be found in Mizutani, O & Mizutani, N (1981) *An Introduction to Newspaper Japanese*, Tokyo: The Japan Times.

3. *Keizai Kishoodai – Keisanki kara Zunoo e* (Economic Forecast – From the Calculator to the Brain) *Asahi Shimbun* (The Asahi Newspaper), Evening Edition, 2 November, 1988. In Association for Japanese-Language Teaching (1991) *Reading Japanese Financial Newspapers*, Tokyo: Kodansha International

#### Narratives

4. Atoda Takashi. (1982) *Taberareta Otoko (The Man who was Eaten)* in *Taberareta Otoko Japan*: Koodansha. pp. 249-256

5. Murakami Haruki (1991), *Noruwei no Mori (Jò)* (Norwegian Wood), Tokyo: Kodansha. pp 7-12
6. Miyazawa, Kenji (1970). *Donguri to Yamaneko* (The Acorns and the Mountain Cat), in *Chuumon no Ooi Ryoori-ten* (The restaurant of many orders) Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko pp.10-22

### Nursery tales

7. Tsubota, Joojo.(1975) *Momotaroo* (The Peach Boy<sup>4</sup>), in Nihon Mukashi Banashi Shuu (A Collection of Folktales of Japan) , Japan: Shincho Bunko. pp 24-38
8. Tsubota, Joojo.(1975) *Urihimeko* (The Melon Princess<sup>5</sup>), in Nihon Mukashi Banashi Shuu (A Collection of Folktales of Japan), Tokyo: Shincho Bunko. pp 18-23

Of these eight texts, analyses of seven of them appear in the results chapters 6, 7 and 8. The text, *Donguri to Yamaneko* (The Acorns and the Mountain Cat) is the third text in the narrative group and is not described in detail. The reason for this is simply related to the length of the thesis. Having described two of the narratives, it became clear that a description of a third text was going to increase the length of the thesis considerably without necessarily adding substantial new insights. The description would only have further confirmed the existence of the narrative patterns described in the first two texts. However, as I originally intended to include this text in the study, it forms part of the quantitative analysis of Chapters 4 and 5, and is also used to give illustrations of various grammatical features of Japanese. The Theme analysis of *Donguri to Yamaneko* appears in the Appendices but is not described in detail in Chapter 8.

The Appendices have been produced as a second volume to enable ease of movement between the analysis and the description in the body of the thesis. The corpus appears in the Appendices volume in two forms. Appendix 1 reproduces each text in the original unanalysed form, while Appendix 2 presents the first position analysis or Theme/Rheme analysis of each text in tabulated form. The classification of the experiential constituents appearing in first position in each T-unit is an ergative one

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<sup>4</sup> *Momotaroo* translates literally as Peach-taroo, - *Taroo* being a common boy's name in Japan. The story title is more commonly translated as The Peach Boy and thus I am using the common translation rather than the literal translation in this study.

<sup>5</sup> I have chosen to translate *Uri* as 'melon' rather than as gourd or cucumber, both of which are acceptable translations of *uri* (Kenkyusha 1974:1925). Melon, for me was the aesthetic option – Melon Princess being a much nicer image, to my mind, than either Gourd or Cucumber Princess.



(Halliday 1994:161). This is complemented by a transitivity analysis which is presented in each of the results chapters, 6, 7 and 8. Each text in Appendix 2 is presented in a *kana/kanji* version, a romanised version, and as an English translation. The English translation attempts to be a reasonably literal translation so that the order and structure of the original Japanese is retained, however I have not provided a detailed gloss of the clause constituents as my interest is not so much in clause constituency but rather in textual organisation.

The quantitative statistical counts in this study were manually calculated. This was by no means a non-trivial task; however, it is very likely that inaccuracies exist. If inaccuracies exist, it is not a significant issue, as the quantitative trends in the results are so distinct that minor inaccuracies would not affect the overall statistical trends found in the data.

Finally, each text is reproduced in tables in the body of the thesis in translation. My reason for this decision relates in part to equity. A Japanese speaking reader has the full text reproduced in unanalysed form in Appendix 1 for quick reading, while an English speaker reader does not have access to an unanalysed English version. For this reason, each text is reproduced in translation in the results chapters 6, 7 and 8 to provide an English reader with a version of an almost unanalysed text. However, the transitivity roles present in each of these tables refer to the Japanese transitivity role not the transitivity role in English translation.

## **1.4 The Design of the Study**

The study in the thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the Systemic-Functional model of language and offers a description of the architecture of the model with specific attention to the description of the systems of textual meaning relevant to this study.

Chapter 3 argues for the utilisation of, what Fries (1995c) has called, the T-unit (Theme-unit). I have extended the span of the unit somewhat to account for a number of grammatical features of Japanese. This is a unit of language structure which sits beside the clause and over which textual meanings are mapped. This chapters justifies the use of the T-unit due to the grammatical features of co-referential ellipsis and clause chaining in

Japanese. In the process of developing the arguments for the T-unit, I present recognition criteria for complexing at group and clause rank in Japanese, recognition criteria for the logico-semantic range of meanings realised by the tactic *-te* form in Japanese and a clause typology which is used to segment the texts into clauses which are then segmented into T-units.

Chapter 4 consists of a quantitative study of first position constituents of the T-units in the texts. Single constituents are classified according to participant and circumstance types, while clauses in initial position are classified according to their tactic and logico-semantic nature. Following a discussion on the kinds of first position constituents and the notion of markedness, these constituents are re-labeled as Theme in Japanese.

Chapter 5 provides a description of the system of Theme in Japanese. This system includes single, multiple and implicit Themes, which select various clause constituents such as participants and circumstances, hypotactic beta clauses of enhancement, textual connectives and a range of comment adjuncts in first position. Following on from the description of the system of Theme, is a discussion on how individual Themes combine to produce particular thematic patterns of progression and methods of development, and how particular text types, or genres can be described as populations of texts which display a particular method of development within and across generic stages. These stages work together to realise the genre.

Chapter 6 presents a description of the newspaper articles in the corpus. Each text in the corpus is divided into clauses, which are in turn organised into T-units. The chapter begins with the *Ginkoo*, the hard news story, followed by *Setsubun*, the soft news story and finishes with *Keizai Kishoodai*, the news commentary story. Each news story is described in its own terms looking at the selection of Theme, the organisation of logico-semantic relations, the distribution of ‘given’ and ‘new’ and how these grammatical choices serve to construct the generic stages within each text. Each text, as an instance of a genre, is then compared to the genre family template available in the literature. The similarities and differences between the instance and the system of each genre are presented and discussed.

Chapters 7 and 8 follow a similar organisational pattern as chapter 6, with chapter 7 describing the nursery tales in the corpus, *Urihimeko* and *Momotaroo* and chapter 8 describing the narratives, *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori* respectively.

The thesis concludes with chapter 9 which summarises both the quantitative results in chapter 4 and the qualitative descriptions of each of the text types in chapters 6, 7, and 8. It considers the findings of the study in relation to the four hypotheses made by Fries (1995b) on the relationship between Theme and textual organization. And finally, after considering the usefulness of the SF genre templates used to frame the quantitative analysis, the thesis concludes with a number of suggestions for further study which arise from this research.

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## Chapter 2 – Framework of Analysis

### 2.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 presents a general description of the Systemic-Functional (SF) model of language, the model utilised in this study. In particular, this chapter will describe the textual and logical metafunctions, which are drawn on to analyse the texts in the corpus. In addition, it will provide a range of Japanese examples as a demonstration of the applicability of the theoretical model to the Japanese language.

### 2.1 General description of SF theory

As a means to opening the discussion on the theory of language description called Systemic-Functional Grammatics, it is useful to begin by considering the distinction Halliday (1996) makes between *grammar* and *grammatics*. The term *grammatics* arose as a means

to escape the ambiguity where 'grammar' meant both the phenomenon itself - a particular stratum in language - and the study of that phenomenon; I was simply setting up a proportion such that grammatics is to grammar as linguistics is to language. (Halliday 1996:34)

In other words, Halliday uncoupled the polysemy in the meaning of *grammar* as both a sub-system of language and as the study of that sub-system. This uncoupling illuminates more precisely the task of linguists when attempting to describe the grammar of a specific language using a specific theory of grammar or grammatics. As mentioned above, this study is located theoretically within the domain of Systemic-Functional Grammatics, a theory which upholds a characterological approach whereby the language under scrutiny, in this case Japanese, is described in its own terms (Halliday 1996:33).

The following subsections will briefly sketch the features of Systemic-Functional Grammatics before offering an explanation as to why the SF model was selected as the theoretical foundation for this study.



### 2.1.1 Theory and description

Halliday (Halliday 1961) argues that a General Linguistic theory should be a theory that can be applied to any language. However, a General Linguistic theory is not a theory concerned with structural universality in a Chomskyan sense, but rather it is a theory concerned with abstracted functional categories that are applicable to particular linguistic descriptions. This was first articulated by Firth when he stated,

what is being sketched here is *a general linguistic theory* applicable to *particular linguistic descriptions*, not *a theory of universals* for *general linguistic description*. (Firth 1957; Firth's emphasis in (Halliday 1996:33))

In this sense, a theory can be used to describe any language. However, the description of a specific language is not in itself the theory. The theory is the theoretical framework in which the language is described. Further, different theoretical traditions will produce different descriptions “which derive from, and are answerable to, that theory” (Halliday 1961:241).

A General Linguistic theory generates methods of description which are based on “a scheme of interrelated categories which are set up to account for the data” (Halliday 1961:243). These categories, or the metalanguage of the theory, operate under two provisos. In the first instance, each theory develops (within its own paradigm) a set of terms and notions whose meanings are defined by their relationship to each other within the theoretical framework (Halliday 1996). The description which arises out of the observation of the phenomenon is then understandable within the theoretical categories that have been set up. Consider the term **subject** as an example. Within a Systemic-Functional description of English, this term, in conjunction with the Finite element, is defined by its role in the MOOD structure. It is the nuclear participant which carries forward the information exchange in dialogue (Matthiessen 1995a:410-420). Alternatively, Halliday defines the grammatical subject as “the warranty of exchange. It is the element the speaker makes responsible for the validity of what he is saying” (Halliday 1994:34).

However, the term **subject**, which is readily used in other theoretical grammatics, can have other meanings. This is evident in the use of subject in one manifestation of Universal Grammar. Li and Thompson (1976) define **subject** in

relation to **topic** in terms of the degree of grammaticalisation, “Subjects are essentially grammaticalised topics” (1976:484). To understand what **subject** means in this context, it is necessary to understand the notion of grammaticalisation and how it is applied in Universal Grammar.

In the second instance, metalanguage is interpretable within the particular linguistic environment of each individual language. As Halliday puts it, “each language its own metalanguage” (Halliday 1996:33). In this instance, the term **subject** is understood as it operates in English, or in Japanese, or any other language. As explained above, according to SF theory, **subject** in English is that which enacts MOOD selection, while in Japanese it has been shown *not* to contribute to the grammar of MOOD.

It seems obvious that in Japanese the element comparable in function to the English Mood includes not only primary tense and modality but also the main verb, sentence final particles and other items like adjectives and adverbs depending on the content, **the one thing that is not present in such an element is the Subject.** (Hori 1995:165) [Emphasis added].

There is no doubt that Japanese clauses select for MOOD. However, the constituents of MOOD defined in English as the elements that are tossed back and forth to keep the discourse going, are not Subject and Finite in the case of Japanese. (Fukui 1998:6)

Consensus has yet to be reached within the Systemic-Functional community as to the function of **subject** in Japanese, but what is agreed is that **subject** in Japanese functions differently to **subject** in English cf.(Hori 1995; Fukui 1998; Teruya 1998).

Returning to the issue of theory and description, it is pertinent then to reiterate that the metalanguage used in this study is that which arises out of the theoretical framework of Systemic-Functional Linguistics, but which also is defined within its language-specific environment. In other words, the theory is centred around abstract categories and thus is, logocentric; the description of Japanese on the other hand is centred around specific realisations of abstract categorisation and is thus, glottocentric – privileging the language under description. (Halliday 1996:33). A Systemic-Functional description of language is thus a description located within a specific theoretical architecture where the categories used to describe the language are defined in relation to each other

within the bounds of that theoretical architecture. The description is not theory neutral (Matthiessen and Nesbitt 1996).

### **2.1.2 A theory of ‘meaning’ potential**

The SF model views language as a form of social behaviour, albeit, a very complex and sophisticated form (Halliday 1978:36-39). In this context, what is important about language is that it is instrumental in enacting our social relationships and social behaviour (Halliday 1973:11). Furthermore, our relationships and behaviour are dictated by cultural paradigms, that is, “culture and language co-evolve in the same relationship as that in which, within language, meaning and expression co-evolve” (Halliday 1992a:11). As such, each culture embodies a set of behavioural choices which are all ‘potentially’ possible, ‘potentially’ acceptable. This potentiality applies to all forms of behaviour including linguistic behaviour. In this behavioural sense, language is viewed as a resource for making meaning within the constraints of the culture in which it is embedded..

### **2.1.3 Realising the meaning potential**

Language is used to accomplish things. For example, children use it to regulate their environment, to interact with others, to shape their identity, to explore their environment and to create imaginary worlds (Halliday 1973). This ‘use’ of language as behaviour is purposeful and therefore fulfils a social function. It is this social function of language which is reflected in the internal organisation of language as a system.

Learning one’s mother tongue is learning the uses of language, and the meanings, or rather the meaning potential, associated with them. The structures, the words and the sounds are the realisation of this meaning potential. Learning language is learning how to mean. (Halliday 1973:24)

This meaning making potential is technically the semantic potential of language. The potential to make meaning is realised by the set of linguistic resources that are available within a language. These resources are within the lexicogrammatical system of the language, where lexicogrammar refers to the “combination of grammar and lexis (vocabulary); the resources for expressing meanings as

wordings” (Matthiessen 1995a:785). The capacity to make both linguistic and non-linguistic meanings combine to construe the totality of a society’s semiotic potential (Shore 1992).

From a SF perspective then, the lexicogrammar functions to realise the meaning making potential of the semantic plane. Language therefore, constitutes human experience, social processes and the social order, “the grammar transforms experience into meaning” (Halliday 1996:7). The grammatics is thus a theory of human experience (Halliday 1992a:10) whereby we act out our meanings in language, with each individual linguistic act being an instance of the overall meaning potential (Halliday 1996:32).

#### 2.1.4 Cline of instantiation

The overall meaning potential has been interpreted in SF Linguistics as a notion similar to Saussure’s notion of *langue*, that is, “language, viewed as a system of relations between categories, abstracted from the variation implicit in individual utterances, historical evolution of the system, or dialects”(Downes 1984:99) but with an important difference. Saussure drew a distinction between *langue* and *parole*, the individual’s utterance (Downes 1984:98). Whereas he viewed them as separate notions, Halliday has observed that *langue* is analogous to the systemic meaning potential of language and *parole* is analogous to the instances of the linguistic act, but they are **not** two separate notions; rather, they are the same thing seen from different observation points. *Langue* is the underlying system, *parole* is the instance of language. In other words, language as system is instantiated by language as text.

*Langue* is *parole* seen from a distance, and hence on the way to being theorised about. I tried to make this explicit by using the term "meaning potential" to characterise the system, and referring to the instance as an "act of meaning". (Halliday 1996:30)

This view sits in opposition to the Chomskyan view of competence, which views *langue* as an internal, individual competence and thus falls into the realm of cognitive psychology (Halliday 1973). The SF grammatics describes, on the other hand, language as a construction rather than as a reproduction of cognition (Halliday 1992a:10).

Furthermore, the SF model highlights that language as text is never without a context. The context is of two types: the context of the local surrounding text, that is the instantial context known as the Context of Situation; and the larger context of language in which the text is construed, known as the Context of Culture. “[B]oth language and Context of Culture are systemic potentials which can be instantiated or actualised over time” (Matthiessen 1995a:37).

A complementarity of perspective exists between the notions of system and instance. Language variation inherently depends on social phenomena, geographical location and registerial constraints. Such constraints locate instances of language in clusters somewhere between the full potential of the system and each individual instance or realisation of the system. This illustrates how system and instance exist on **a cline of instantiation**. A particular variety of language can be viewed from the system end of the cline and interpreted as a language sub-type, or else it can be viewed from the instance end of the cline and interpreted as a text type. The interpretation depends on the perspective of the observer (Halliday 1996:30).

### **2.1.5 Probabilities**

Related to and following on from the cline of instantiation is the notion of linguistic probability. This refers to when individual speakers move from system to instance, they engage in a process of choice. Depending on the meanings being made through the process of choice, it is not surprising to find that some choices are more likely than others. This probability dimension is the quantitative complementarity to the qualitative nature of the process of choice. Nesbitt and Plum summarise as follows:

[T]he linguistic system as a system of paradigmatic oppositions is a system of possibilities. Choosing a particular feature in a system means what it does because of the features that were not chosen but could have been chosen. This is the qualitative aspect of the system, the system of ‘either/or’ relations. But the system is not only a system of possibilities, it is also a system of probabilities. The linguistic system as a system of probabilities is also a potential to mean. The choice of a particular feature also means what it does against the background of what are more likely and less likely choices. What is said is not only interpreted against a background of what could have been said but was not; it is also interpreted

against the background of expectancies, against the background of what was more likely and what was less likely to be said. The grammar of a language is not only the grammar of what is possible but also the grammar of what is probable (Nesbitt and Plum 1988:8-9).

In this way, we can see how instantiations can congregate as ‘populations’ of certain text types, sharing similarities and patterning probabilities which have reasons to be associated with each other, or be categorised as similar.

### **2.1.6 The tri-stratal architecture of the model**

In keeping with Hjelmslev (1961), the SF model is organised into a content and expression plane which is connected through an arbitrary relation. The expression plane is the phonology and graphology of language, while the content plane includes the potential set of meanings to be made by language. In SF theory, the content plane has been divided further into semantic and lexicogrammatical strata. The semantic stratum sits ‘above’ the lexicogrammatical stratum. The lexicogrammar functions to realize the meanings located above in the semantics. The model is thus built around a tri-stratal architecture consisting of phonology/graphology, lexicogrammar, and semantics.

SF theory is stratified in order to mimic the grammar of a language (Halliday 1996:22). The stratification foregrounds and mimics the meaning making potential of language. This stratification is that which enables the transformation of experience into meaning (Halliday 1996:27), thus the three stratum: phonology/graphology, lexicogrammar and semantics. This stratification of language allows speakers to construe experience through meanings (the semantic stratum), which are realised through wordings (the lexicogrammatical stratum), which are in turn, realised through soundings (the phonological stratum). The semantic stratum interfaces with context and the phonological stratum interfaces with our physiological articulatory and auditory capability.

However, the lexicogrammatical stratum is the only one of the three which is “purely internal to the linguistic system” (Matthiessen 1997:37). It is unique in that it can serve to realise the semantic plane and yet it is concurrently realised by the phonological plane. It is this kind of stratified semiotic system which enables constituency and produces myriads of open-ended acts of meaning:

The stratal pattern of organisation, with an entirely substance-free stratum of grammar at its core, makes it possible to construct complex, open-ended networks of semantic potential in which meanings are defined relative to one another and hence can modify each other and also can change in interaction with changes in the ongoing (semiotic and material) environment. (Halliday 1996:7)

The advantage of using a stratified theory is that the SF linguist has a resource for looking at the grammar from three perspectives. Halliday has called this the ‘trinocular’ view of grammar (Halliday 1996:26). The trinocular view allows the linguist to characterise grammar ‘from above’, that is, from the viewpoint of semantics; ‘from below’, from the viewpoint of phonology, and ‘from roundabout’, from its own lexicogrammatical position. This ability arises from the theory having an abstract categorisation that mirrors the grammar and manifests the trinocular perspectives.

### 2.1.7 The lexicogrammatical stratum

The previous section identified the uniqueness of the lexicogrammar, in the sense that it is internal to the linguistic system unlike the semantic and the phonological strata. Such an internal status determines its own internal organisation in that the lexicogrammar is that which *realises* the semantics. This realisational characteristic relies on linguistic choice – one meaning arises out of one or one set of choices, while another arises out of other choices. As mentioned, choice is a central feature of the model. At any point in the instantiation of a text, there is a choice in what to select. Each choice will affect the meaning of the text. For example, in the clause, *My dog eats biscuits*, it is possible to change the constituent at each point in the clause by selecting other constituents from the selected set of possibilities. Instead of *my* it could be *your*, instead of *dog*, it could be *dinosaur*, instead of *eat* it could be *dig* and instead of *biscuits* it could be *holes* which results in a new clause, *Your dinosaur digs holes*. This kind of choice which selects from paradigmatic sets of constituents is focal in the system.

The SF model focuses on the paradigmatic axis for a number of reasons which relate to the way the lexicogrammar is constitutive of the semantics. Paradigmatic representation 1) ‘frees’ the grammar from the rules of syntax; 2) defines description as a relational phenomenon; 3) represents language as a

resource not as an inventory; 4) predicts probabilistic semantic clustering; and 5) shapes natural language into a lexicogrammar (Halliday 1996:21).

### 2.1.8 Generalisations and delicacy

The term lexicogrammar combines what is considered as two distinct orders of phenomena in other theories of language, that of the lexis and that of grammar. In SF theory these are not treated as distinct but rather as a type of complementarity; lexis and grammar are seen as one resource existing on a cline with the most ‘grammatical’ furthest to the left idealised as generalisations, while lexis is located furthest to the right idealised as the most lexicalised, delicate form of grammar. This is illustrated by the system network which moves from most grammatical and generalised on the left through a network of ‘wiring’ choices to the most lexicalised and specific on the right. The example below in Figure 2.1 is the network of MOOD systems in English taken from Matthiessen (Matthiessen 1997:6).

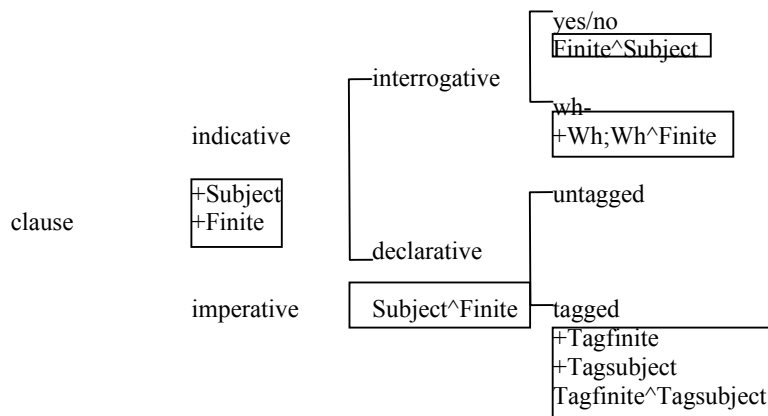


Figure 2.1  
Network of MOOD systems in English

In this formulation of the theory, lexis and grammar are considered as the one phenomenon which can be viewed from different standpoints along the cline (Halliday 1996:22-3). Movement from generalisation on the left through to delicacy on the right is a consequence of the privileging of the paradigmatic axis within the theory. As choice within the system unfolds, the realisations become more and more word-like and may unfold into the morphology.



## 2.2 Categories of the lexicogrammar

An SF description of a language is a description which is based on the categories of the theory. In this case, the categories within the lexicogrammar as described by Halliday are those of '*unit*', '*structure*', '*class*' and '*system*' (Halliday, 1961:247). The following sections briefly define and illustrate these categories using examples from Japanese.

### 2.2.1 *Unit* in SF theory

Halliday states that language is a patterned activity and this patterning is organised within certain segments of language. These language segments have been labelled as the 'units' of the grammar and these exist in a hierarchical relationship with each other (Halliday 1961). This hierarchical ordering is referred to as the rank scale. These units are idealised and each language will have its own set of units on a rank scale. So, for the description of English, Halliday postulated the following units, *clause*, *group/phrase*, *word* and *morpheme* on a rank scale which is presented in Fig. 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2  
*units* on a theoretical rank scale (Halliday 1961:253)

This idealised rank scale is a way of modelling the structural organisation of language. Japanese can be modelled in this way. Teruya (Teruya 1998:14) presents the rank scale in Japanese as a scale consisting of the units of *clause*, *group/phrase*, *word* and *morpheme*, in a manner similar to English. The definition of the *word* in his study (Teruya 1998:114) is based on work by Okuda (1974), Suzuki (1972, 1994), Miyajima (1972), Muraki (1991) which includes a configuration of lexical and grammatical aspects. Adopting such a position is one way of accounting for the use of postpositional particles, or case suffixes in

Japanese. These are considered as a kind of morpheme, which, when combined with a lexical morpheme, together form the unit of *word*.

Each idealised unit on the rank scale “consists of one, or of more than one, of the unit next below” (Halliday 1961:251), that is, the sentence is made up of a one or more clauses, the clause is made up of one or more groups, the group is made up of one or more words and a word is made up of one or more morphemes. Further, each unit has its own constituency. The constituents of each unit are organised according to the 'wording' rules or syntagmatic rules of the grammar:

Constituency is a form of structural organisation; in other words it is part of the mechanism whereby meanings are put into effect. It is an extremely simple but powerful device, whereby parts are built up into wholes, and these again as parts into larger wholes, but with different organic configurations at each step. (Halliday 1994:16)

### 2.2.2 *Structure in SF theory*

As stated above, the unit is the pattern-carrying category. The patterns are patterns in linear progression and take the form of repetition of likeness:

In grammar, the category set up to account for likeness between events in successivity is the “structure”.....A structure is thus an arrangement of elements ordered in “places” [and is] always a structure *of a given unit*. (Halliday 1961:254-255)

By way of example, the nominal group is a unit in the grammar which has its own particular patterning or structure. The nominal group consists of items from the rank next below, that is to say, it consists of one or more words and these words are structured in a predictable linear fashion within the nominal group. Consider the example of the structure of the nominal group in Japanese in Table 2.1 below taken from Thomson (2000:325). Here, the utilisation of the particle *no* serves to construe a linear, syntagmatic structure whereby the modified element (the Head) on the right is being modified by a classifier followed by the particle *no*. The insertion of the particle *no* sets up the classifying relationship. This is a typical pattern or structure in construing meanings of classification within the nominal group.

lexical item	grammatical item	lexical item	translation
□□□□ <i>Doitsuujin</i>	□ <i>no</i>	□□□□□□□□ <i>suchuwaadesu</i>	a German flight attendant
Classifier		Thing	
Modifier		Head	

Table 2.1

The classifying structure of the nominal group in Japanese

### 2.2.3 Class in SF theory

The category of class in SF theory is similar to the traditional linguistic term, ‘parts of speech’ except that its definition does not depend on the different inflectional potential of each class as was originally the case with Latin and Greek (Halliday 1994:28):

A class is a set of items that are alike in some respect. They need not be words; there are classes of group and phrase, classes of clause, and also, at the other end of the scale, classes of morphemes (Halliday 1994:28).

Within the lexicogrammar stratum, a class of items is connected to the notion of unit and structure within the model:

Class, like structure, is linked to unit: a class is always a class of (members of) a given unit: and the class-structure relation is constant - a class is always defined with reference to the structure of the unit next above, and structure with reference to classes of the unit next below. (Halliday 1961:261)

Class can be defined both in terms of grammatical and semantic criteria. The grammatical criteria are those which can be observed in the unit next above, while the semantic criteria relate to the function of the element (Halliday 1994). The number of classes in any given language will of course vary depending on the class/structure relation within that language. In the case of Japanese, the description of class is a disputed descriptive space. Various linguists have suggested different descriptions within different theoretical paradigms. Following is a summary of three of these by way of example.

Within the traditionally accepted versions of class in Japanese there are the following positions on taxonomies. Shibatani (1990:215) postulates seven categories: the major lexical categories of noun, verb and adjective; the minor categories of demonstratives and conjunctions; and two further lexical categories that are not found in European languages, namely those called ‘adjectival verb’ and ‘verbal noun’.

McClain (1981:1) also lists a similar, yet distinctive, list of seven categories. These are verbs, adjectives, particles, nouns, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections. Martin (1988:30), on the other hand, does not list the classes directly but prefers to classify nuclear sentences according to three types: verbal, adjectival and nominal, to which he then adds two subcategories of verbal noun and adjectival. Martin's taxonomy enables him to produce a clause typology which suggests that the grammatical behaviour of clauses is perhaps determined by class. This suggestion will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 3 Section 3.6

The Okuda Group (Kokugo Bucho 1994) presents six categories: noun, verb, adjectives type 1, adjective type 2, adverb and conjunction. Teruya (1998), who has drawn heavily on the Okuda Group in his work, presents the classes in an indirect manner in the sense that there is no discussion or justification for his classification. His classification is presumed in text examples within the study (ref. to Figure 2-1 Teruya 1998:43). He presents six classes: conjunctions, nominals, verbals, adjectivals, postpositionals and negotiating particles.

However, my position on class in Japanese is somewhat different to all of the above. If class is defined both in terms of grammatical and semantic criteria, then, I suggest that there are only two primary classes which can be distinguished in Japanese. These classes are nominals and verbals.

In grammatical terms, the verbal class is an open, lexical set which is distinguished by the feature of conjugation. All verbals have a 'dictionary form' which conjugates producing a range of morphological endings. The nominal class is also an open, lexical set but it is distinguished by the feature of non-conjugation. Nominals do not conjugate.

In semantic terms, the verbal class functions prototypically to realise the process in the transitivity<sup>1</sup> structure of the clause, while the nominal class functions prototypically to realise the participant in the transitivity structure.

Interestingly though, both verbal and nominal classes can realise circumstances in the transitivity structure and connective relationships between clauses. The fact that both nominals and verbals can function as circumstantial adjuncts is the reason why traditional accounts of class in Japanese include the discrete class of 'adjective'. This class is then further subdivided into adjectives

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<sup>1</sup> The transitivity system is a system within the experiential structure of the ideational metafunction which is discussed below in Section 2.2.

that are grammatically verb-like because they conjugate and adjectives that are grammatically noun-like because they do not. Precisely because they are grammatically verb-like or noun-like is justification for classification under an abstracted, general category of either a nominal or verbal class, as I suggest. That they can function as circumstances points to the range of functionality of both the nominal and verbal classes in Japanese.

By way of illustrating the grammatical and semantic criteria of class in Japanese, Tables 2.2 and 2.3 present partial criteria for both using the nominal class. The nominal class in Japanese is grammatically defined by the selection of particles *no* or *na* when operating at group rank in a modifying role (Thomson 2000); the nominal class of word serves as the Head in the nominal group; it does not inflect but can be affixed; it selects from the set of particles (or post-positions) which assign functional roles at clause rank. These grammatical criteria are demonstrated in Table 2.2 below.

Grammatical Criteria	Japanese	English translation
1. Selection of modifying particle <i>no</i> when functioning to modify in the nominal group	□ □ □□ <i>boku no sekai</i>	my ( <b>I</b> plus ‘possessive particle’) world
2. Affixation of plural bound morpheme, - <i>tachi</i>	□□□ <i>bokutachi</i>	we ( <b>I</b> plus ‘others’)
3. Head in logical structure of nominal group	□□ □ □ □ <i>sono toki no boku</i>	<b>I</b> [at the time].....
4. Selection of particles at clause rank	□ ga □□□□ <i>boku ga itta.</i>	<b>I</b> (functioning as Sayer through assignation of ‘ga’) said.

Table 2.2

An example of the grammatical criteria of the class of noun using the masculine first person pronoun, *boku*.

A semantic definition of the nominal class in Japanese expresses how the nominal class functions. In the case of the class of noun in Japanese, it can function to express human and non-human beings, concrete and abstract things etc, and also as a Deictic, Numerative and Classifier in the nominal group and sometimes under restricted conditions, as Epithets (Thomson 2000). Consider the examples in Table 2.3 below.

Semantic Criteria	Japanese	English translation
1. Functioning as a being or thing	□□ □ □ □ <i>sono toki no boku</i> Thing	<b>I</b> [at the time].....
2. Functioning as a Deictic	□ □ □ □ <i>boku no sekai</i> Deictic	my ( <b>I</b> plus ‘possessive particle’) world
3. Functioning as a Numerative	□□□□□ □ □ <i>nanajuuhachikiro no mame</i> Numerative	<b>78kgs</b> of beans
4. Functioning as a Classifier	□□□□□ <i>setsubun no gyooji</i> Classifier	<b>the Bean-Throwing</b> Festival
5. Functioning as an Epithet	□□ □□□□ <i>hairo no shatsu</i> Epithet	<b>grey</b> shirt

Table 2.3

An example of the semantic criteria of the class of noun using examples from the corpus.

#### 2.2.4 System in SF theory

The final category within the lexicogrammar which will be discussed here is the notion of system. According to Halliday (1961:246), “grammar is that level of linguistic form at which operate closed systems”. In other words, if you are describing a closed system in any language, you are describing the grammar of that language, for if you were to describe an open system, you would be describing its lexis. This is the distinguishing difference between grammar and lexis. Classes exist in open sets, while grammar is organised in closed sets or closed systems. Halliday (1961) has defined a closed system as follows:

“A closed system is a set of terms with these characteristics:

- (a) the number of terms is finite: they can be listed as A B C D, and all other items E... are outside the system.
- (b) each term is exclusive of all the others: a given term A cannot be identical with B or C or D.
- (c) if a new term is added to the system this changes the meaning of all the others.(Halliday 1961:247)

Another way of looking at closed systems is to consider them as paradigmatic relations, relations between competing possibilities. As a sentence is formulated, as every structure unfolds, the writer/speaker is choosing from the set of limited possibilities. This set of limited possibilities is the system. According to Halliday (1994:15), language should not be seen as a set of structures but rather as a network of systems which are “interrelated sets of options for making meaning.

Such options are not defined by reference to structure; they are purely abstract features, and structure comes in as the means whereby they are put into effect, or ‘realised’”. These systems are, of course, abstract, however the realisation(s) of these systems are those which appear as structure in an actual instantiation of language, that is, in a text.

By way of example, the preceding discussion on my view of class in Japanese can be represented as a system network. In the Figure 2.3, the two primary classes of nominals and verbals are organised in a system network. As you move through the system of choices, from left to right, the level of delicacy increases and further secondary or sub-set classes are evident. These secondary classes have finer or more delicate distinctions between them. Note that included in the nominal class, there is a *no*- nominal and a *na*-nominal, while in the verbal class, there is a *-ru* verbal and an *-i* verbal. The *no*-nominal prototypically functions as participant, while the *na*-nominal functions as a circumstance or as an Epithet. The *-ru* verbal functions prototypically as the process, while the *-i* verbal functions as a circumstance. From a topological point of view, the *no*-nominals and the *-ru* verbals are the truest or purest of their class, while the *na*-nominals and *-i* verbals are more on the boundary of the class. That is to say, they are similar to the others in grammatical terms, either they conjugate or don’t, but they are different in that they serve different semantic functions, that of circumstance rather than participant or process.

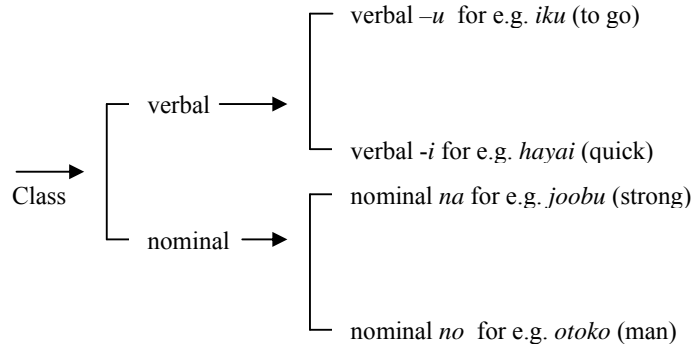


Figure 2.3  
Nominal<sup>2</sup> and Verbal<sup>3</sup> classes in Japanese

### 2.3 The metafunctions of the lexicogrammar

The lexicogrammar serves to realise the meaning potential of the semantics. These meanings can be classified according to how language is put to use. We use language in three ways, or to put it another way, language has three distinct functions to which it is put to use: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual function. These functions are, in a sense, macro, in that within them lie many permutations of that same function. Two of these macro, or more precisely, metafunctions, relate to phenomena outside language. One of these, named the ideational, serves to **construe** our experience in and of the world. Further, the respective structures of the metafunctions differ in type. Within the ideational metafunction, experiential meanings are built up through a part/whole relation, a constituency relation, whereby the ‘whole’ is bounded, with the parts or constituents playing distinctive roles (Martin 1995:195), such as participant, circumstance and process. This is a multivariate particle-like structure.

While the ideational metafunction construes our experience in and of the world, it also relates this representation of the world in logical terms. In other words, there are two components to the ideational metafunction: the logical and the experiential components. The logical metafunction defines complex units in

<sup>2</sup> This is not a complete system network of class in Japanese. There are further options in the nominal class, specifically a ‘zero’ type option which is not discussed here as it is beyond the general scope of this study. This ‘zero’ option is the choice in the system where I would locate the traditional class of conjunction. Further, I consider particles/postpositions as a closed set of items and therefore a structural choice in the grammar and not as a discrete class of open lexical items like the nominal and verbal classes.

<sup>3</sup> The *-u* verbal class includes the *ichidan* (vowel stem), *godan* (consonant stem) and irregular set of verbs in traditional Japanese grammar (McClain 1981:4).



the grammar, considering both the nature of dependency and the semantic function of the units within a complex. Logical structures are iterative or univariate in that the limited set of logical relations repeats themselves throughout the grammar.

The experiential metafunction represents experience in language as happenings, entities and circumstantial features, while the logical metafunction represents experience in terms of logical relations between happenings and entities. Essentially, the experiential category represents experience directly, while the logical represents it indirectly (Halliday 1979:59).

The constituency structure of the experiential metafunction and the iterative structure of the logical metafunction are complementary. Martin (1995) argues that logical and experiential systems are complementary typologies, not mutually exclusive ones. Martin points out that SF theory allows for an interpretation and description of the complementarity.

..the choice between constituency and dependency should not simply be built into our metalinguistics as a choice between grammatics, since choosing one model or the other straightforwardly effaces the logical or experiential meaning that is backgrounded by this decision. (Martin 1995:223).

The other metafunction, which relates to phenomena outside of language, that is, the interpersonal metafunction, serves to **enact** our social roles and more particularly, our speech roles. Within the interpersonal metafunction, prosodic principles of structure are utilised. This kind of structure is “a melodic line mapped on to the clause as a whole, running through from beginning to end” (Halliday 1979:66) which expresses the particular tone or tenor of the speaker. Meanings of assertion, query, hesitation, doubt, wonderment and so on are made manifest through the intonation contour as it maps onto the clause. This is a field-like structure.

The third, the textual metafunction, serves to **enable** the ideational and the interpersonal to be presented “as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in text unfolding in context” (Matthiessen 1997:13). The textual metafunction is that part of the grammar which enables the development of a parallel linguistic universe through which we can share our experiences and relationships. In other words, language creates its own world of meaning. Halliday summarises this as follows:

The grammar creates its own 'world three' which is a world that is made of meaning, the semiotic counterpart of our worlds of reflection and of action (Halliday 1992a:15).

The textual metafunction utilises a syntagmatic structure of periodic peaks of prominence. Peaks of thematic prominence and newsworthy prominence serve to organise the discourse into message units with the thematic peak signalling what it is that the speaker is concerned with, and with the newsworthy peak signalling what new information the hearer needs to attend to (Halliday 1979:68). This is a wave-like structure.

These three metafunctions map onto the unit of clause in English. In ideational terms, the clause is viewed as a representation of the world; in interpersonal terms, the clause is viewed as an interaction between interactants; and in textual terms, the clause is viewed as a message. According to Teruya (1998), this is also the case for Japanese.

The basis for the functional interpretation of the grammar is the clause, and other lower ranking units are interpreted according to the configuration they make to the clause (Teruya 1998:41)

## **2.4 Description of the textual metafunction**

Section 2.1 above sketched a general description of the SF model of language and offered examples taken from Japanese. The following section will look in more detail at the parts of the lexicogrammar which relate directly to the grammar of the textual metafunction in Japanese as this is the focus of this study. Additional Japanese examples will be provided.

The textual metafunction has a number of systems which serve to 'enable' the organisation of a text as 'message'. The systems relevant to this study are the systems of THEME, INFORMATION FOCUS, CONJUNCTION, and ELLIPSIS AND SUBSTITUTION. Additionally, systems within the logical metafunction are also involved in the construction of text as 'message'. These systems are the system of INTERDEPENDENCY and the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS. Each of these systems will be briefly described in turn below.

### **2.4.1 The system of THEME**

Halliday has defined Theme as "... the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned.... the part

in which the Theme is developed is called the Rheme” (Halliday 1994:37). Fries has described Halliday’s definition as the ‘separating’ approach when considered in light of the original proposed definition of Theme by Mathesius in 1939, which is reproduced below (Fries 1983:117).

[The theme] is that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds. (translated by Firbas 1964:268 in Fries 1983:116)

Mathesius’ definition combines information status with point of departure. In other words, the definition enshrines Theme as the ‘given’ constituent. Halliday, however has purposefully distinguished between the two concepts, separating them on the grounds that ‘given-ness’ relates not to thematicity but rather to ‘newsworthiness’ realised by the separate system of INFORMATION STATUS.

Given + New and Theme + Rheme are not the same thing. The Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. the Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you. Theme + Rheme is speaker-oriented, while Given + New is listener-oriented (Halliday 1994:299).

Consequently, Halliday’s definition deliberately excludes any conflation between the organisation of information into New and Given with the structural organisation of a message into Theme and Rheme.

Theme, as defined by Halliday, is a functional category. Inter alia, the category of Theme theoretically can be realised in different languages using different lexicogrammatical resources. For example, Theme in English is realised by first position in the clause (Halliday 1994:38). Halliday illustrates this using the following examples in Table 2.4 below.

a. The duke b. My aunt c. That teapot	has given my aunt that teapot. has been given that teapot by the duke. the duke has given to my aunt.
d. Once upon a time e. Very carefully f. For want of a nail g. With sobs and tears	there were three bears. she put him backon his feet again. the shoe was lost. he sorted out those of the largest size
Theme	Rheme

Table 2.4  
Theme in English

In each example above, Theme is realised by the position of the elements, that is, first position rather than by some other means such as *function*, *class* or *unit* on the rank scale. Each of these examples, due to their initial positioning, orient the message by establishing a point of departure for the ensuing ideational meaning.

This orientation has a trinocular potential in the sense that the three metafunctions can feature thematically. Halliday postulates three kinds of Themes: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Again, illustrating this using examples from English, the ideational Theme is the first element in the Transitivity structure of the clause (Halliday 1994:53). It can be a Participant or a Circumstantial Adjunct of some kind, or, depending on the MOOD choice, a Process or an interrogative element. The interpersonal Theme is a initial element that engages in attitudinal orientation (Matthiessen 1995a:538) by the use of attitudinal adjuncts, vocatives and the presence of the Finite element. The textual Theme is the first continuative, structural or conjunctive element fronting the clause (Halliday 1994:53). In making his point, Halliday illustrates multiple Theme using the complex example in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5  
(Halliday 1994:55)

Halliday's discussion on Theme (1994) is illustrated descriptively by the operation of Theme in English. As stated, in English, Theme is realised by first position. However, Theme as first position is one instantiation of the abstract concept of the system of THEME in the theory. It does not automatically follow that other languages will construe Theme as the initial element in the clause. This being the case, the intriguing questions for me were: is Theme a useful concept for languages other than English? Does it exist in Japanese and, if so, how is it instantiated in the lexico-grammar of Japanese? This is taken up in considerable detail in chapter 4.

### 2.4.2 System of INFORMATION STATUS

As suggested in the previous section, information in a message is presented as either new to the listener/reader, or as given, that is, already known to the listener/reader. The system which assigns status to information as either ‘given’ or ‘new’ is the system of INFORMATION STATUS. In theorising two separate systems, one for thematicity and one for newsworthiness, the variety of rhetorical effects exploited by users of a language can be captured and described.

Unlike the other systems clustered within each metafunction, the system of information status does not map onto the clause. Rather, the unit over which information is assigned a status relates to the phonological organisation of speech into tone groups or intonation units. The tone group sits beside the clause rather than on the clause, and serves a very important semantic function.

The tone group is not only a phonological constituent; it also functions as the realisation of something else, namely a quantum or unit of information in the discourse. Spoken discourse takes the form of a sequence of INFORMATION UNITS, one following the other in unbroken succession with no pause or discontinuity between them. (Halliday 1994:295)

Typically, the unmarked assignment of ‘given’ and ‘new’ is to map given onto Theme and new onto Rheme. Variations on this pattern result in marked rhetorical effects. “Theme and information together constitute the internal resources for structuring the clause as a message – for giving it a particular status in relation to the surrounding discourse” (Halliday 1994:308).

Like English, Japanese also organises information into Given and New. The Given is recoverable, while the New is newly introduced and is not presumed. Note however, that it has not yet been demonstrated that the information unit in the system is the tone group in spoken Japanese discourse. To determine this will require an extensive phonological study. Nevertheless, the arrangement of Given and New can be seen in written texts. The New information tends to be explicitly stated towards the end of a clause but preceding the process. Once it has been introduced, the information is then free to move closer to the beginning of a clause to the position where typically, Given information is located. Consider the example below in Table 2.6. In sentence 1, *booiingu 747* (a Boeing 747) appears in a circumstance as the final constituent

before the process, *suwatte ita* (was sitting). The airplane is then picked up in the sentence 2 and is located at the beginning. It is now Given information.

Sentence 1	<i>Boku wa 37sai de, sono toki <u>booiingu 747 no shiito ni</u> suwatte ita.</i> I was 37 years old and sitting in a <u>Boeing 747 seat</u> at the time.
Sentence 2	<i><u>Sono kyodai na hikooki wa</u> buatsui amagumi o kuguinukete kooka shi, Hamburugu Kuukoo ni chakuriku shiyoo to shite iru tokoro datta.</i> <u>The gigantic plane</u> by ducking through thick rain clouds, was descending and about to land at Hamburg Airport.

Table 2.6  
The typical placement of ‘new’ and ‘given’ in the corpus of this study.

### 2.4.3 The system of CONJUNCTION

Another system which serves to organise text into a message is the system of CONJUNCTION. Conjunction is one of the systems in the grammar which are non-structural and which serve to contribute to the texture or cohesion of discourse. These elements, whether they be single words, groups, or larger segments of text, establish relationships between clauses, sentences and paragraphs. They connect segments of language using a number of different semantic relationships. “The most general categories are that of apposition and clarification, addition and variation, and spatio-temporal, manner, causal-conditional and matter” (Halliday 1994:310). These semantic functions are discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.2 on the logico-semantic relation below.

The system of CONJUNCTION in Japanese has not been described in SF terms, however, the system does operate. The operation is, of course, somewhat different from English in that there are both structural and non-structural connective elements. The structural elements tend to be clause-final, realised through verbal conjugations and or through the addition of connective particles (*setsuzokuji*), while the non-structural elements tend to be clause and sentence-initial, realised through separate words (from the class of nominals in my typology), groups or embedded clauses (*setsuzokushi*). Consider the examples below. Table 2.7 illustrates a clause final structural connective, *node*. *Node* is a bound morpheme on the first clause which only can occur clause-finally attached to the final process in the clause. Table 2.8 illustrates a clause initial non-structural connective, *dakara*. *Dakara* is a word which functions to link

sentences. It is always located sentence initially, before any of the constituents in the transitivity structure of the clause. Its presence does not cause structural changes to other constituents in the clause.

Clause 1			Clause 2	
circumstance	process	Conjunctive particle	participant	process
<i>Momo kara</i>	<i>umareta</i>	<i>node,</i>	<i>Momo Taroo to</i>	<i>tsukemashita.</i>
from a peach	was born	because	Peach Boy	attached.

Table 2.7

“Because he was born from a peach, they named him Peach Boy”

An example of a clause-final structural connective

Sentence 1	Conjunctive word	Sentence 2
<i>Okiro, rikai shiro, to.</i>	<i>Dakara</i>	<i>boku wa kono bunshoo o kaite iru.</i>
Wake up, work it out.	Thus	I this story am writing .

Table 2.8

“Wake up, work it out. Thus, I am writing this story”

An example of a clause-initial non-structural connective

#### 2.4.4 The system of ELLIPSIS and SUBSTITUTION

A further system which serves to organise text into message and which is relevant to this study is the system of ELLIPSIS AND SUBSTITUTION. In brief, “[t]he starting point of the discussion of ellipsis can be the familiar notion that it is ‘something left unsaid’..... ‘unsaid’ implies ‘but understood nevertheless’....”(Halliday and Hasan 1976:142).

Substitution is a structural mechanism whereby a place-holding element is substituted for a presupposed clause, group or part of a clause or group. The place-holding element signals the presupposed element that it refers to. The substituted element functions as the reference item of the original referent.

As with English, ellipsis and substitution occur in Japanese. Often, Given information is left out; it is elided because it is recoverable. If a constituent in the clause is not elided, then it may be substituted. The common substitute word for participants and circumstantial adjuncts combined is *soo* (that); for concrete nominal groups, *mono* (concrete thing); for abstract nominal groups, *koto*; for processes, *da/desu* (to be) or *suru/shimasu* (to do). Consider the following

examples of ellipsis<sup>4</sup> and substitution taken from the corpus below. In Table 2.9, the old woman, *obaasan wa*, is elided in the second and third clause in the clause complex. In Table 2.10, the word, *soo* substitutes for the locution, “A *Momo Taroo-san*” in the second sentence. In Table 2.11, the word *suru* substitutes for the process, *sentaku o shimashita* (to do the washing) in the first clause of the second sentence.

<i>Obaasan wa</i>	<i>ureshikute,</i>	<b>(zero)</b>	<i>sugu</i>	<i>te o</i>	<i>nobashite</i>	<b>(zero)</b>	<i>sore o</i>	<i>tsukamae-mashita.</i>
The old woman	was delighted and so,	<b>(she)</b>	immediately	hand	stretched out,	<b>(she)</b>	it	grabbed
Carrier	Attribute	Actor	Circ: temp	Goal	Process: material	Actor	Goal	Process: material

Table 2.9

The old woman was delighted, and so **she** stretched out her hand and **she** grabbed it.

An example of ellipsis from *Urihimeko*

“A, <i>MOMO TAROO-SAN</i> ”.	<i>SOO</i>	<i>yonde,</i>	<i>dete kita mono ga</i>	<i>arimashita.</i>
Hey, Momo Taroo	that	gerund of ‘to call’	a thing which appears	existed
Locution	Verbiage	Process: verbal	Existent	Relational Process <sup>5</sup>

Table 2.10

“HEY, MOMO TAROO!” . Calling THIS, the animal appeared.

An example of nominal substitution from *Momo Taroo*

<i>Obaasan wa,</i>	<i>seidashite</i>	<i>SENTAKU O SHIMASHITA.</i>	<i>Sukoshi</i>	<i>SURU to,</i>	<i>kawakami kara,</i>	<i>ukishizumi shite,</i>	<i>nagarete kuru mono ga</i>	<i>arimashita.</i>
old woman	energetically	washed	a bit	‘to do’	from upstream	bobbing	a thing which is floating	existed
Actor	Circ: manner	Process: mat	Circ: extent	Pro: mat.	Circ: location	Circ: manner	Existent	Pro: rel

Table 2.11

The old woman WASHED energetically. When DOING this for a little while, from up the river, bobbing up and down there appeared a thing floating.

An example of verbal substitution from *Urihimeko*

<sup>4</sup> Further examples and a more detailed discussion of ellipsis is taken up in Chapter 3 in relation to the introduction of the T-unit as a unit of analysis.

<sup>5</sup> The relational process in Teruya’s typology of the experiential metafunction in Japanese includes what is considered as the existential process in English. (Teruya 1998:291)



Having briefly sketched the relevant systems of the textual metafunction, the following section will present a description of the systems of the logical metafunction in Japanese.

## **2.5 Description of logical metafunction**

The experiential metafunction in Japanese has recently been investigated and described in detail by Teruya (1998). His work describes the transitivity structures of Japanese looking at the processes of saying (verbal), sensing (mental), being (relational) and doing (material). In so doing, he has demonstrated the multivariate, part/whole structures that operate in Japanese to construe the world as representation.

In contrast, the logical metafunction in Japanese has not yet received the same attention, and so, the following discussion forms a partial contribution to the understanding of the operation of the logical metafunction in Japanese. By way of introducing the logical metafunction, it is useful to consider the notion of sentence typology which is addressed in Longacre's work (1970 and 1985) before considering an SF view.

Longacre considered the sentence as a unit of clauses in combination. These clause combinations formed two types of sentences: 1) Peripheral (or subordinate) elements plus Nucleus; and 2) as intra-nuclear combinations. In the Peripheral plus Nucleus type (type 1), he stated that the sentence nucleus was the domain of the following semantic relations: "coordination, antithesis, alternation, certain types of parallelism and paraphrase, certain time relations such as sequence and simultaneity, certain types of implication and quotation" (Longacre 1970:784). The intra-nuclear combinations (type 2) were also classified and labelled as 'merged sentences' corresponding to complex verbal phrases as espoused by Palmer (1965:115-179).

The significance of Longacre's work is related to his demonstration of how sentences in languages, in general, form systems rather than inventories, and how each sentence system is unique to a given language. Longacre further demonstrated that what is universal is the type of function performed by the various systems of sentences in each language, rather than the forms.

Longacre (1985) developed a typology based on the semantic function of clause combinations in sentences. He elaborated on this typology by describing

and illustrating the recursive nature of clauses in combination and by describing and illustrating the formal features of these clause combinations in languages around the world. He postulated a very useful distinction between co-ranking and chaining structures. Co-ranking structures are those where sentences consist of a series of verbs of the same rank, called independent clauses corresponding to the ‘and’, ‘but’ and ‘or’ relations in English. Chaining structures, on the other hand, are not a series of verbs of the same rank, but rather a series of medial verbs followed by a final dominating verb which manifests a fuller structure than the preceding verbs.

In the same way as Longacre, the SF model presents the formal and semantic characterisations of clause linkage as equally important. There is, however, a clear distinction between Longacre’s typologies and SF theory. From an SF point of view, Longacre developed a typology which straddled the rank scale, and therefore, could not expose the extent of logico-semantic and dependency operations within and across the units of natural language. That is to say, he could not capture the fractal nature of complexing across the rank scale.

The logical metafunction is thus the site within the theory where the formal and the semantic characterisations of clause linkage are managed. These characterisations are divided between two systems. The system of INTERDEPENDENCY in the SF model makes formal distinctions between co-ranking and chaining structures in the grammar, or in other words, makes a distinction between different kinds of modification operating between clauses whereas the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS makes distinctions between the semantic functions of clause combinations.

### **2.5.1 The system of INTERDEPENDENCY**

The system of INTERDEPENDENCY is a resource which enables repetition of elements and is, therefore, recursive, which thus provides “generalized resources for creating complexes at any rank” (Matthiessen 1995a:90). The system of INTERDEPENDENCY is a univariate construct which generates complexes, rather than a multivariate one which generates simplexes (Taylor Torsello 1996:154).

This univariate construct can be realised by 1) a symmetrical and transitive structure, known as parataxis or by 2) a non-symmetrical and non-transitive structure, known as hypotaxis (Halliday 1994:221). These two structural choices

are general to all complexing, which includes complexing at word, group/phrase and clause rank.

Parataxis at clause level in Japanese is symmetrical and transitive. It is the linking of “two like elements of equal status, one initiating and the other continuing” (Halliday 1994:218). The symmetrical characteristic relates to the forms of the recursive elements being of the same kind, for example, the recursive units could all be finite, or similarly all be non-finite, but not a mixture of finite and non-finite. The transitive characteristic of parataxis relates to the order of the elements. The order is expressed in the sequence in which they appear. This means that “there is no other way in which it can be expressed - no way, that is, in which a SEQUENCE A and B and C could realise an ORDER A & C & B” (Halliday 1979:75). The paratactic relationship is indicated in the analysis by number 1,2,3,...etc in order to capture the transitive nature of the relationship.

The example from the corpus in Table 2.12 below illustrates the non-finite inflection *-tari*, the *representative form* (Martin 1988:566) in paratactic arrangement. Both elements are structurally symmetrical and transitive in that the sequence .. *ijimetari<sup>a</sup>*, *komarasetari<sup>b</sup>* (tease (a) and cause trouble (b) is expressed in the order in which they appear. It does not allow for ‘cause trouble’(b) followed by ‘tease’ (a).

Clause 1	Clause 2
....., <i>hito o ijimetari</i> , ..... people tease and	<i>komarasetari</i> ..... cause trouble....
1	2

Table 2.12

Taken from *Momo Taroo*

*Sore demo, hito o ijimetari, komarasetari shite iru warui mono o taiji suru to iu no desu kara, sore o tomeru wake ni wa ikimasen.*

Even so, because (he) must subjugate bad people who cause trouble and tease people, (they) couldn't stop him.

#### Example of non-finite parataxis

A further example in Table 2.13 below illustrates parataxis between finite forms. Both forms *ookii* (is big) and *manmaru da* (is round) are finite, selecting for present tense. The two attributes *ookii* and *manmaru* are from different classes in Japanese. *Ookii* is from the verbal class, while *manmaru* is from the nominal class, which accounts for why they do not look structurally similar. They are however, within the grammatical rules of their classes, both finite.

Clause 1	Clause 2
<i>Momo ni shite wa ooki<sup>c</sup> shi,</i> Peach as for big and	<i>uri ni shite wa manmaru da<sup>d</sup> shi.</i> melon as for round and
1	2

Table 2.13

“For a peach, it is big; for a melon, it is round.”

Example of finite parataxis from *Urihimeko*

Hypotaxis, on the other hand, is an asymmetrical and non-transitive relationship between clauses in a clause complex. The asymmetrical characteristic relates to the fact that the forms of the recursive elements are of different kinds. This means, for example, that non-finite and finite forms can operate and, together construe a logical meaning. This mixing of structural types results in an imbalance or asymmetry between the forms whereby one form functions as grammatically dominant, with the other behaving in a dependent manner. Longacre (1985) described this as a *nucleus, margin* relation, while Halliday (1994) prefers the terms *dominant* and *dependent* respectively.

The non-transitive characteristic of the hypotactic relationship relates to the fact that the order of the dominant and dependent elements is not fixed. “In a hypotactic structure the elements are ordered in dependence, and this ordering is largely independent of the sequence” (Halliday 1994:222). The dominant element is identified by the Greek letter alpha ( $\alpha$ ), with the dependent elements, which enjoy a logical relation independent of the sequence in which they appear, are identified by the Greek letters beta ( $\beta$ ), gamma ( $\gamma$ ) etc. The use of the Greek letters is intended to capture the non-transitive nature of the hypotactic relation.

Examples Tables 2.14 and 2.15 below illustrate a hypotactic relationship between two clauses. Table 2.14 is the original as it appears in the corpus, and Table 2.15 is the same example with a change in the order of the elements. Note that the change in the order does not change the nature of the dependency. The beta ( $\beta$ ) clause is still dependent on the alpha ( $\alpha$ ) clause. The beta ( $\beta$ ) clause ends in a non-finite form *-shite miru to*, which takes its tense from the finite verb *natte ita* in the alpha ( $\alpha$ ) clause.

(β)	<i>daigaku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sotsugyoo shite</i>	<i>miru to,</i>		
	university..	from	graduated	when		
(α)	<i>goteinei ni</i>	<i>mo hutari to</i>	<i>mo onaji kaisha no</i>	<i>shain ni</i>	<i>natte ita.</i>	
	appropriately	both	same company's	employees	became	

Table 2.14

Taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

“When we graduated from university, we naturally both became employees of the same company”.

(α)	<i>goteinei ni</i>	<i>mo hutari to</i>	<i>mo onaji kaisha no</i>	<i>shain ni</i>	<i>natte ita,</i>	
	appropriately	both	same company's	employees	became	
(β)	<i>daigaku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sotsugyoo shite</i>	<i>miru to.</i>		
	So,	university..	from	graduated	when	

Table 2.15

Taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

“We naturally both became employees of the same company when we graduated from university”.

### 2.5.2 The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS

The paratactic and hypotactic structures construct complexes which can function to construe a set of semantic relations, known within the theory as logico-semantic relations. These logico-semantic relations are of two main types: expansion and projection. Meanings of expansion relate to one recursive element expanding on another in terms of elaboration, extension or enhancement, that is, a secondary clause expands on a primary clause. Meanings of projection relate to one recursive element projecting through another, that is, a secondary clause projects through a primary clause either as a ‘saying’ (locution), or as a ‘thinking’ (idea) (Halliday 1994).

There are three types of expansion and two types of projection. Within the expansion relation, one clause will expand on another by extending it, elaborating it or enhancing it. An extending relation adds new information by giving an exception or offering an alternative. The relation is represented by the plus (+) sign. An elaborating relation expands through restatement of some kind, or through further specification of either comment or exemplification. Elaboration is represented by the equals (=) sign. The relation of enhancement expands through embellishment which qualifies a clause through circumstantial features of time, place, manner, cause or condition. Enhancement is represented by the multiplication (x) sign. Within the projection relation, one clause will project another by presenting it as a construction of wording, that is, as a locution, or as a construction of meaning, that is, as an idea (Halliday 1994). A locution is

represented by double quotation mark (“), while an idea is represented by a single quotation mark (‘). By way of illustrating these different types of logico-semantic relations, examples of each type have been taken from the corpus and are presented below in Table 2.16.

Expansion	
Enhancement	
x β <i>Sore wa omotakute</i> Because it was heavy,	α <i>nanakanaka uei ni agarimasen.</i> (she) couldn't pick it up.
Extension	
+1 <i>Watashi ga waratta to omou ga</i> I thought to laugh but	+2 <i>S-kun wa itatte shinkoku hyoojoo datta.</i> S-kun had a very serious expression.
Elaboration	
<i>Maikai yaru koto wa mattaku kawaranai.</i> what it does each time will not change.	= <i>Tsumari gakushuu nado to itta koto wazenzen dekinai.</i> In other words, in relation to 'learning' (they) cannot do (it) at all.
Projection	
Locution	
”β <i>“Daijoobu desu, arigatoo” to</i> “I'm fine, thank you”,	α <i>boku wa itta.</i> I said.
Idea	
’β <i>Yareyare, mata Doitsu ka, to</i> “Well, well, Germany, again”,	α <i>boku wa omotta.</i> I thought.

Table 2.16

## Examples of logico-semantic clausal relations in Japanese

An interesting feature of the logico-semantic relations within the texts of the corpus is that the range logico-semantic relations map onto predominantly hypotactic clause complexes. This is because the clauses in the texts are predominantly hypotactic. Table 2.17 below presents the number of complexes in each text of the corpus and the division into paratactic and hypotactic types. Of the 720 clauses complexes, 77 or 10.7% are paratactic, while 643 or 89.3% are hypotactic.

Text	# of clauses in complexes	Parataxis	Hypotaxis
<i>Ginkoo</i>	21	2 (9.5%)	19 (90.5%)
<i>Setsubun</i>	13	0	13 (100%)
<i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	27	2 (7.5%)	25 (92.5%)
<i>Urihimeko</i>	72	4 (5.5%)	68 (94.5%)
<i>Momo Taroo</i>	220	18 (8.2%)	202 (91.8%)
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	84	25 (30%)	59 (70%)
<i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	88	10 (11%)	78 (89%)
<i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	195	16 (8%)	179 (92%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>720</b>	<b>77 (10.7%)</b>	<b>643 (89.3%)</b>

Table 2.17

Taxis

Below in Table 2.18 is a typical example of hypotaxis taken from *Donguri to Yamaneko*. The boldened verb *tabete* is asymmetrical with the main verb, *nobotte ikimashita* as it has no tense, mood, nor aspect. It is dependent on the final verb in Clause 2 and is therefore hypotactic, yet it realises a logico-semantic function of extension:addition<sup>6</sup>. The text examples in the corpus suggest that Japanese is prototypically hypotactic. Japanese hypotactic clauses can function to realise logico-semantic relations of extension which are typically expressed paratactically in Indo-European languages. For a typological discussion on ‘coordination’, see Longacre (1985:238). In other words, regardless of the logico-semantic relationship between the clauses, the tactic relationship is usually one of dependency, that is, hypotaxis. The division of labour between hypotactic complex constructions and paratactic ones is imbalanced and skewed towards hypotaxis in Japanese. Unlike English, the probability that logico-semantic relations of extension are expressed by clauses in a paratactic relation to each other (Nesbitt and Plum 1988) does not exist.

<i>Momo Taroo wa. isoide gohan o <b>tabete</b></i>	<i>hitori tanigawa no sotta komichi wo kami no hoo e nobotte ikimashita</i>
Ichiro quickly <b>ate</b> his meal, <b>and</b> .	headed off east along the road beside the river alone
Hypotactic $\beta$ Clause 1	Hypotactic $\alpha$ Clause 2

Table 2.18

An example of a hypotactic clause complex realising a logico-semantic function of extension: addition

<sup>6</sup> There is quite a bit of informal (nothing as yet published) debate in the Japan Association of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (JASFL) in relation to the logico-semantic meanings of extension being realised through hypotactic clause structures in Japanese. This is rather different from English which tends to select parataxis over hypotaxis for meanings of extension (Nesbitt and Plum 1988). Even though grammatical asymmetry leads to the conclusion that clause combining in Japanese is typically hypotactic, some SF linguistics in Japan suggest that the logico-semantic function of the beta clause influences taxis. The suspensive-*TE* form is a classic example of this influence. Hasegawa (1996) discusses this by illustrating that the *-TE* form exhibits both characteristics of subordination and coordination. She goes on to say that Talmy (1978) “claims that Japanese has no genuine coordinate constructions whatsoever” (Hasegawa 1996:9). Hasegawa states that this claim is valid given the fact that there is no equivalent to the coordinating connective, *and* in Japanese. Hasegawa uses *and* as a prototypical example of a connective between coordinating clauses which assume a grammatical symmetry, that is, a paratactic relation. If a coordinating relation is thus not grammatically symmetrical, then it cannot be classified as coordination, rather, there is a case for claiming that the semantic symmetry of coordination is expressible within a grammatically asymmetrical environment. It is common place in Japanese for grammatically asymmetrical hypotactic clauses to function semantically like a coordinating clause. It is this type of clause that has stimulated the debate within JASFL. My position is that Japanese is prototypically hypotactic and that the functions expressed by ‘coordination’ are expressible within a hypotactic clause relation. This is demonstrated in Table 2.18 above.

Very rarely is there a case of clause combining that entails clauses that are grammatically symmetrical in the corpus. Below however, is an example of an exception in the corpus from *Momo Taroo*. In this case, the verbs *orimashita* and *tanomimashita* both select for tense and politeness, and both are finite. The clauses are linked by a conjunctive particle, *ga* (but) functioning to extend in terms of adversative addition.

<i>Soshite, shibaraku kotoba mo dasazu ni orimashita ga</i> For a while <b>no</b> words <b>came out</b> but, paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 1	<i>MomoTaroo san, watashi mo issho ni, tsurete itte kudasai" to tanomimashita</i> "Momo Taroo, please take me", (she) <b>requested</b> . paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 2 (this clause includes a projected locution)
--	--

Table 2.19

A paratactic extension clause complex from *Momo Taroo*

Despite having examples such as Table 2.19 in the corpus, the suggestion that Japanese is heavily hypotactic remains valid given the high number of grammatically asymmetrical clause complexes in the corpus.

The hypotactic nature of Japanese is due in part, to the phenomenon of clause chaining (refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.8.3 below). Regardless of the logico-semantic function of the clause, invariably, it is only the final clause that selects for tense, aspect, mood, modality, finiteness and so on. Therefore, in a general typological sense, Japanese seems to be predominantly hypotactic.

One can speculate as to why Japanese is heavily hypotactic. The fact that the preferred tactic clausal link is a dependent/dominant, or satellite/nucleus link suggests that there must be a particular discourse function of hypotaxis. This question has been discussed by Matthiessen and Thompson (Matthiessen 1988) who suggest that the function of clause combining is to reflect the rhetorical organisation of discourse. If the complexing is hypotactic then the hypotactic clause “is *subordinate* because of its subordinate role with respect to the nucleus, as these function in the organisation of the text to serve the writer’s goals” (Matthiessen 1988:309). In their study of English clause combining, they showed that enhancing hypotactic clauses reflect the textual organisation of the enhancing nucleus-satellite kind. These clauses construct episodic sequences which act as satellite to the nuclear, alpha clauses (Matthiessen 1995b:39). They demonstrated that systematicity in grammatical structure flows out of systematicity in functional demands placed on language. The function of enhancing hypotactic clauses in



Japanese appears to be similar. The enhancing hypotactic clauses construct episodic sequences around the main clauses. This is illustrated in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

SF theory was chosen as the framework of analysis in this study because it is a powerful analytical tool for linguistic description. It is powerful for the following reasons:

1. SF theory assumes that language is a social behaviour and functions to serve our ideational and interpersonal needs.
2. SF theory is organised stratally to reflect the enabling role of the lexicogrammar in enacting our social meanings.
3. SF theory privileges paradigmatic choices thereby mimicking the nature of natural language as a system of choice and meaning potential.
4. SF theory captures the differences and similarities between languages through the system network architecture. The differences can be seen in the delicacy of the realisation statements of each language and the similarities can be seen in the generalisations and metafunctional trinity.
5. SF theory allows for the description of a language in its own terms. The definitions are all relational within the framework of the language under investigation.

The descriptions of Japanese in this chapter which have been used to illustrate the utility of the SF model have served to justify the use of the model in this study.

The following chapter will continue the discussion on the nature of the lexicogrammar of Japanese but this time, in relation to segmenting the texts for analysis. The segmentation process is explained in terms of clause delimitation and the utilisation of the unit of analysis, the T-unit.

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## Chapter 3 – Parsing Methodology

### 3.0 Introduction

In order to analyse the resources of the textual metafunction, a particular unit of analysis was used to segment the texts in this study. This chapter will introduce that unit of analysis. It is called the T-unit (Fries 1995c), that is, (Theme-unit), and it is useful as the unit of analysis because it can conflate with segments of text larger than a clause simplex and therefore, in a sense, sits beside the clause in the same manner as the information unit in SF theory.

The reasons behind the use of the T-unit in this study relate to a number of characteristics of the lexicogrammar of Japanese. These characteristics relate to: 1) the complexing resources within the system of INTERDEPENDENCY; 2) the mapping of logico-semantic relations onto these complexing resources; and 3) the fractal nature of complexing. Further, the system of ELLIPSIS AND SUBSTITUTION intersects with the system of INTERDEPENDENCY to produce a particular linguistic environment out of which arises the justification for a textual unit which sits beside the clause rather than mapping onto the clause.

This chapter opens with a discussion on grammaticalisation to demonstrate the fractal nature of complexing and how this affects clause delimitation and text segmentation. It provides recognition criteria for identifying taxis at clause and group rank, and recognition criteria for identifying the logico-semantic functions of the *-te* form, a multi-functional tactic resource at clause rank, and recognition criteria for identifying embedding. This is followed by a brief description of clause typology in Japanese.

This introductory discussion sets the scene for the subsequent discussion on the T-unit. Having painted the grammatical space, as it were, the chapter moves onto demonstrating how the resources of Ellipsis and Substitution in conjunction with the resources of complexing jointly create a linguistic environment out of which the T-unit arises as a natural ‘unit’ in the lexicogrammar of Japanese. The T-unit is thus defined and illustrated. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the function of paragraphs and punctuation in Japanese, especially in relation to the insertion of direct speech

into the texts of the corpus. Punctuation impacts on the clause and the T-unit count.

### **3.1 Segmenting Text**

In order to begin to analyse the textual resources of the lexicogrammar of Japanese, the texts need to be divided into smaller chunks of text. These chunks normally conflate with clauses as the unit of clause is considered to be the unit of text over which the lexicogrammatical resources of the three metafunctions manifests (refer Teruya 1998). However, delimiting the clause in Japanese is not straightforward. Consideration needs to be given to some grammatical characteristics of Japanese. These will be dealt with below under the generalised notion of grammaticalisation.

#### **3.1.1 Grammaticalisation**

The following discussion on grammaticalisation serves to background complexing in Japanese by way of contextualising the recognition criteria for identifying complexing at different ranks which are formulated below. Grammaticalisation is a term used to refer to how grammatical forms and constructions arise, how they are used, and how they shape the language:

The framework of grammaticalisation is concerned with the question of whether boundaries between categories are discrete, and with the interdependence of structure and use, of the fixed and the less fixed in language. It therefore highlights the tension between relatively unconstrained lexical structure and more constrained syntactic, morphosyntactic, and morphological structure. It provides the conceptual context for a principled account of the relative indeterminacy in language and of the basic non-discreteness of categories (Hopper and Traugott 1993:1-2).

Givón has suggested that clause combining is indeed an example of grammaticalisation. In his discussion he described how “loose, paratactic, ‘pragmatic’ discourse structures develop - over time - into tight, ‘grammaticalised syntactic structures’” (Givon 1979:208). He characterised a path of grammaticalisation which moved from ‘loose’ on the left of the cline to ‘tight’ on the right of the cline as follows:

Discourse-->syntax-->morphology-->morphophonemics-->zero  
(Givon 1979:209).

Givón's characterisation has been further elaborated on by Hopper and Traugott (1993) in that clause combining is further viewed as a unidirectional cline from relatively free juxtaposition to syntactic and morphological bondedness (Hopper and Traugott 1993:168). Hopper describes three structural types situated along the cline of grammaticalisation from right to left.

parataxis----->hypotaxis----->subordination (embedding)  
(Hopper and Traugott 1993:170).

The further right, the more grammaticalised the form. The rightmost type of grammaticalisation, that of subordination or embedding, functions “semantically as well as syntactically an expression of a constituent (Hopper and Traugott 1993:177). Hopper's description of embedding uses the clause as an example: *[[That the Titanic sank]] was unexpected. That the Titanic sank* functions as a single constituent in the clause structure, that of an embedded fact in SF terms, and is similar to the Japanese example in Table 3.1 below. *That the Titanic sank* is a single constituent, as is *Takushi ni noranakatta no*, but nonetheless they are both clauses. This is the kind of grammaticalisation that defines subordination in Hopper's terms.

<i>[[Takushi ni noranakatta]] no</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>[[kekkon shite,</i>	<i>kodukai ga</i>	<i>husoku-gachi ni</i>	<i>natta</i>	<i>kara]]</i>	<i>daroo</i>
[[ taxi in not riding]] nom. particle		getting married	pocket money	reduced	be-came	so	probably
Identified embedded fact clause		Identifier embedded causation clause					Rel: Pro

Table 3.1

“The fact [[that he stopped taking taxis]] is probably because, since getting married (his) pocket money has become tight.”

In his discussion on sentence typologies, Longacre described subordination as a *merged sentence* (Longacre 1970:783). In this discussion he used verbal examples such as the clause: *He appeared to succeed* (Longacre 1970:80) in which the verb, *appeared to succeed* is made up of more than one element, where one of the elements is non-finite, in this case *to succeed*. This verb, despite consisting of more than one element functions as a single constituent in the clause, in much the same manner as Hopper's example. Hopper's example illustrates a clause functioning as a single participant in the transitivity structure, while Longacre's example illustrates a verb complex functioning as a single

process in the transitivity structure. They are both examples of grammaticalisation.

### 3.1.2 The fractal nature of taxis

Having established the notion of grammaticalisation, I will now illustrate how tactic morphology is used to construe not only clause complexes but also verbal group complexes in Japanese. Clause complexes have multiple constituency, while verbal group complexes function as single constituents, that is, single processes in the transitivity structure of a single clause. Complexing which combines ‘like’ units on the rank scale, is described as being fractal<sup>1</sup>.

The system of INTERDEPENDENCY is the place in the grammar where complexing structures reside. As Longacre, Hopper and Traugott state, single constituents in a clause can be made up of complex structures. The grammar of complexing is a kind of grammaticalisation. In Japanese, complexing occurs across the rank scale. It is fractal and the grammatical resources involved in contruing complex constructions are often the same resource at different ranks. A clause complex may in fact use the same grammatical resource as a verbal group complex in Japanese.

The fact that tactic resources can operate at different ranks in the language is not isolated to Japanese. Fractal morphological endings occur in Tagalog and are similar to the *-te* form in Japanese in that they build complexes at both clause and group rank. The logical endings [ng] and [na] in Tagalog are fractal: “the linker is used to link i) interdependent clauses and ii) parts of nominal groups” (Martin 1995:197).

An example of such a structure is the suspensive *-te* form of the verbal class in Japanese. The *-te* form is one of the complexing resources which links main verbs and auxiliary verbs in the verbal group, but also forms clause chains (refer to Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2) at clause rank. Hopper and Traugott (1993) use the suspensive *-te* form as an illustration in their discussion on clause chaining.

The suffix *te/de* on the verb stem signals that the clause in question is interdependent and more marginal than an independent nucleus. However, it is

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<sup>1</sup> fractal is defined by Matthiessen as “principles of organisation that recur throughout the grammatical system in different contexts” (Matthiessen 1995a:96)



not fully dependent. In other words, it is hypotactic...“[constructions like this are] known as 'clause chaining'. In such chains, usually only one of the clauses is a nucleus containing the full range of verbal markers for tense, aspect, mood and so on. If the language is verb-final (OV), the fully marked verb is the last in the series” (Hopper and Traugott 1993:174).

Consider the example in Table 3.2 below. The process *tabete* (to eat) in clause 1 uses the suspensive *-te* form to link the clause to the next clause. The link is a successive temporal one, with clause 1 preceding clause 2 in real time. Note also, the final material process in Clause 2, *nobotte ikimashita* (to climb + to go [in simple past]). This is a single constituent in the clause structure but it is a complex structure in the grammar of the verbal group. The *-te* form is used to link the main event verb, *nobotte*, with the auxiliary verb, *iku*, which functions to add directionality to the main event verb in the group complex.

<i>Ichiroo wa</i>	<i>gohan o</i>	<i>tabete,</i>	<i>hitori</i>	<i>tanigawa no sotta komichi o</i>	<i>kami no hoo e</i>	<i>nobotte ikimashita.</i>
Ichiroo	rice	eat,	alone	[[stream along]] road	easterly direction DIR	climb + went
Actor	Goal	Pro: material	Circ of manner	Scope <sup>2</sup>	Circ. of location	Pro: material

Table 3.2

Ichiro **ate** his meal, and **headed off** east up the road beside the river alone.  
(*Donguri to Yamaneko*)

Returning to the discussion on clause chaining, Longacre defines it as a kind of sentence structure which typically ends in a dominating verb “of fuller structure than any of the preceding verbs. These preceding verbs are commonly referred to as medial verbs while the dominating verb at the end is know as the final verb” (Longacre 1985:238). For example, in the sentence in Table 3.2, *nobotte ikimashita* is the dominating verb, while *tabete* is the medial verb. Chaining structures are hypotactic and are considered a type of grammaticalisation. Longacre (1985) continues by saying that clause chaining languages typically locate the predicate clause-finally with the other clause elements preceding the predicate. Also, dependent clauses, that is, hypotactic clauses, precede the main clause and are thus in a sense, ‘chained’ to the dominant clause in Japanese. In the example above, *tabete* is ‘chained’ to the dominant, *nobotte ikimashita*.

<sup>2</sup> based on the description of the material process in the transitivity structure of Japanese. (refer. (Teruya 1998:380))

Another feature of chaining is that such clauses enter into logico-semantic relations of expansion, specifically that of enhancement in terms of temporality and causation. As suggested by Longacre, the suspensive *-te* form constructs clause chains in Japanese which are in an enhancing logico-semantic relationship with the dominant alpha clause. This is the case for *tabete* in Table 3.2 above. *Tabete* uses the clause chaining, hypotactic complexing *-te* form to link itself to the dominant alpha clause 2, through a temporal enhancing relation.

*Nobotte* in Table 3.2 is, however different. It is an example of the *-te* form taxis at group rank. This is also a form of grammaticalisation which is discussed in brief below. Using work done on clause chaining by DeLancey (1991) in Lhasa, Hopper illustrates how a hypotactic clause chain develops into an inflectional one where loss of clause boundary and clause identity results:

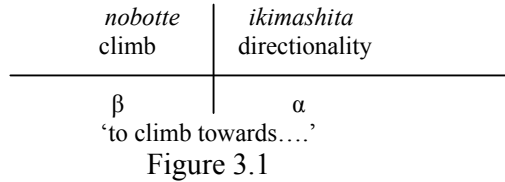
Some verbs [in Lhasa], .... may have come to be used frequently with non-final verbs where a sequenced event interpretation was pragmatically either redundant or implausible, and hence they came to be reanalysed not as full verbs, but as markers of aspect. For example, 'gro' 'go' is informative as a motion verb in construction with a non-motion verb such as 'eat', but it is redundant with respect to motion in construction with a verb of motion such as 'walk', 'flee'. In the latter context, motion is demoted, directionality promoted.... (Hopper and Traugott 1993:198-9).

Hopper goes on to explain that once these verbs are reanalysed as markers of aspect, they have moved further along the cline of grammaticalisation from hypotaxis to complete dependency of inflectional bonding. A consequence of this re-analysis is a movement from multiple to single constituency. This is illustrated using the verb *tshar* 'finish' in Lhasa. It has three coexistent uses:

a) main verb meaning 'finish' in an event separate from that expressed by the non-final verb, b) serialised verb meaning 'finish' or 'perfect' in an event expressed by the non-final (or bare ) verb, c) grammaticalised suffix meaning 'perfect' functioning in the tense-aspect slot (Hopper and Traugott 1993:200).

This movement towards complete dependency of inflectional bonding also occurs in Japanese, for example, the *-te* form. When it is used to construct complexes at clause level, it functions as a serialised verb as described by Hopper and Traugott, and when used to construct complexes at verbal group level, it functions as a grammaticalised suffix. This is the case in clause 2 in Table 3.2 above. *Nobotte ikimashita* is a hypotactic verbal group complex realised by the *-te* form with the final element *ikimashita* marked for past tense.

*Ikimashita* is the alpha element, *nobotte* is the beta in terms of interdependency in Figure 3.1 below. Logically speaking, despite being grammaticalised, *ikimashita* is the Head in the verbal complex. Logico-semantically however, *nobotte* carries the meaning.



In traditional accounts, *ikimashita* (*iku*) is classified as an auxiliary verb functioning to realise an aspectual meaning of 'directionality' (Maynard 1990:181). *Iku* is, however, a lexical verb in its own right, meaning 'to go'. Thus, *iku*, along with a list of other lexical verbs, can grammaticalise into a verbal auxiliary. It loses its lexical function and gains a grammatical, aspectual function. Note that this verbal group complex functions as a single process in the transitivity structure in clause 2 in Table 3.2. The lexical verb is *nobotte* (to climb). It is non-finite and hypotactically linked to the auxiliary via the *-te* form.

In a manner similar to Delancy we can now list the coexistent uses of the verb *iku* as i) a lexical verb<sup>3</sup> meaning "to go", and ii) a grammaticalised auxiliary marking aspectual directionality.

My point in the above explanation has been 1) to illustrate the fractal nature of taxis in Japanese and 2) to show that it is important to distinguish between taxis at group and clause rank in Japanese when chunking the text into ranked clauses. *Nobotte ikimashita* is an example at group rank, where earlier discussion centred around *tabete*, an example at clause rank.

### 3.2 Verbal group complex recognition criteria

The process of clause delimitation of the texts in the corpus is assisted by the recognition criteria for identifying verbal group complexes which I have formulated below. In the case of taxis realised by the *-te* form, the verbal group complex has the following features which serve as recognition criteria:

- a) The verbal group complex contains only **one** lexical verb.

<sup>3</sup> A lexical verb is defined as the verb which carries the semantic load in the verbal string. In SF terms, it is the Event in the experiential structure of the verbal group (Halliday 1994:197)

- b) The lexical verb is construed as the **hypotactic beta** element in the logical structure of the string.
- c) The verbal group complex has **grammaticalised auxiliaries**, for example, *shimau*, *miru*, *kuru*, *iku*, etc. These verbs have lost their original lexical function and now add some kind of aspect to the lexical beta verb. For example, *shimau* in the complex *kawatte shimau* has lost its lexical meaning, ‘to put in’ and is now functioning as an auxiliary construing ‘totality’. *kawatte shimau* is a verbal group complex which means ‘to be totally changed’.
- d) The grammaticalised auxiliaries function as the **alpha element** in the logical structure of the string and select for MOOD, TENSE, POLARITY and MODALITY etc.
- e) The verbal group complex has a **fixed constituent order**. Constituents **cannot** move around within the group complex. If they do, grammaticality is lost, and so is the meaning. In the above examples, alteration to *\*shimau kawatte* is totally impossible within the grammar. An important point to note here is that this fixed word order is contrary to a hypotactic relation in the sense that the beta element usually can move without altering grammaticality. This is taken up in more detail below in Section 3.3. In the case of group rank hypotactic complexing, the constituent order is fixed, that is beta clause ( $\beta$ ) followed by alpha clause( $\alpha$ ).

These features are illustrated below in Table 3.3

<i>kawatte</i>	<i>shimau</i>
$\beta$	$\alpha$
lexical verb, “to change”	auxiliary of ‘totality’
Taxis: suspensive <i>-te</i> form	
fixed consituency order	

Table 3.3

An example of verbal group taxis.

Examples of other tactic resources used to construe verbal group complexes are illustrated in Table 3.4 below.

<b>1. kakanakereba</b>	<b>naranai</b>
$\beta$	$\alpha$
lexical verb, “to write” plus negative polarity conditional inflection.	auxiliary
Taxis: conditional <b>-eba</b>	
fixed consituency order	
“must write”	
<b>2. kaite wa</b>	<b>ikenai</b>
$\beta$	$\alpha$
lexical verb, “to write”	auxiliary
Taxis <i>-te</i> form + particle	
fixed consituency order	
“prohibited to write”	

Table 3.4

Other examples of hypotactic linking resources in the verbal group complex

### 3.3 Clause complex recognition criteria

Having provided recognition criteria for identifying hypotaxis at group rank, it is useful to compare this with recognition criteria for identifying hypotaxis at clause rank. You will recall in the discussion in chapter 2 on the system of INTERDEPENDENCY, that hypotactic clauses are ordered in terms of dependency rather than sequence. In other words, a hypotactic clause can move either side of the dominant clause without effecting the meaning. This was illustrated in Tables 2.14 and 2.15.

In a paratactic relationship, on the other hand, the clauses are not free to move without interrupting the meaning. Consider the example in Table 3.5 below. If Clause 2 is placed before Clause 1 with the conjunctive particle *ga* inserted between them, then the meaning is altered. The new order would translate as, “Momotaroo, please take me”, (she) **requested but**, for a while, **no words came out**. This is an inversion of the original meaning and while grammatical, it is rather nonsensical. The location of the paratactic clauses in relation to each other constructs the meaning.

<i>Soshite, shibaraku kotoba mo dasazu ni</i> <i>orimashita ga</i> For a while <b>no</b> words <b>came out</b> but, paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 1	<i>MomoTaroo san, watashi mo issho ni, tsurete itte</i> <i>kudasai</i> "to <i>tanomimashita</i> “Momotaroo, please take me”, (she) requested. paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 2 (this clause includes a projected locution)
--	---

Table 3.5

A paratactic extension clause complex from *Momotaroo*

Bearing this in mind, the recognition criteria for identifying complexing at clause rank are as follows:

- The clause complex has more than one ranked process realised by either a verbal group simplex or complex.
- The clause complex is paratactic if the symmetry is embodied in the order of the constituent processes along with their attendant participants and circumstances, and if the processes are equal in a structural sense, that is, they are both finite or both non-finite.
- The clause complex is hypotactic if the dependency relationship does not depend on the order of the clauses in relation to each other, and if they are unequal in a structural sense, that is, the dominant clause is finite, with the dependent clause(s), non-finite.

However, the above criteria are unable to account for the examples presented below in Table 3.6 and Table 3.7.

<i>Wakai onna ga, potsunto hitori de suwatte</i> The young girl, sitting alone	<i>koocha o nonda.</i> drank tea.
---	--------------------------------------

Table 3.6

or, reversing the order of the clauses,

<i>Wakai onna ga, koocha o nonde</i> The young girl drank tea and	<i>potsunto hitori de suwatta .</i> sat alone.
--	---

(Gengogaku Kenkyuukai 1989a:17)  
Table 3.7

The example in Table 3.6 is a hypotactic clause complex in the sense that the processes realised by verbal groups, *nonde* and *suwatta*, are asymmetrical. In the first complex, *suwatte* is non-finite, while *nonda* is finite selecting for simple past tense. According to criteria c) above, moving the clauses should not effect the dependency relationship, however in this case it does. The second complex presents the clauses in reverse order keeping the tactic link and simple past tense the same. Moving these clauses changes the meaning. Clause 1 in Table 3.6 functions to enhance through manner. The probe being: How did she drink tea? Sitting alone. While clause 1 in Table 3.7 functions to establish the chronological order of the young girl's actions. She drank tea and then she sat alone. In each case, grammaticality is maintained. The fact that the meaning changes suggests that this type of complex is not entirely hypotactic in nature in that the meaning change suggests that the complex may be transitive, a quality of parataxis.

As a means for explaining this, I want to suggest a cline of taxis in Figure 3.2 below which represents parataxis and hypotaxis topographically, situating parataxis on the left of the cline and hypotaxis on the right of cline. Situated mid-way between them is a rather indeterminate combination of qualities from

both forms of taxis. The indeterminate, or intermediary tactic form is transitive like a paratactic relation yet asymmetrical like a hypotactic relation.

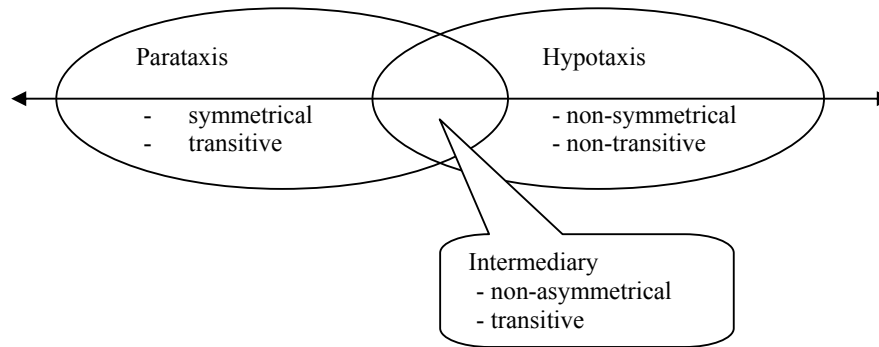


Figure 3.2  
Cline of Taxis

The above example in Table 3.7 could be considered as an intermediary kind of clause, in that it is hypotactic in terms of structure, yet paratactic in terms of order or sequence. Possibly this intermediate category arises due to the fact that the division of labour between hypotactic endings and paratactic endings in Japanese is skewed. The hypotactic clause complexes do more work, (are also more frequent in the corpus) and therefore are available to construe a wider range of meanings. This will be taken up in more detail in the next section below.

### 3.4 Logico-semantic functions of hypotaxis at clause rank

Having provided recognition criteria for distinguishing between taxis at group and clause level using the *-te* form by way of example, the next step is to explain the logico-semantic range of meanings that the *-te* form serves to realise at clause rank in the grammar. Generally speaking, the *-te* functions to realise meanings of enhancement. However, within the category of enhancement the *-te* functions to realise a diversity of enhancement types. Types of enhancement include meanings of temporal location, spatial location, manner and cause/condition.

By way of providing background for the recognition criteria I suggest for determining the function of hypotaxis at clause rank, I will begin with a brief survey of the work of other linguists on this issue.

In Myhill and Hibiya's 1988 study, clause chaining was defined as "the use of non-finite forms not headed by a conjunction with temporal or

circumstantial meaning" (1988:363). They have included in their definition of clause chaining a logico-semantic component, specifically that of enhancement (see Halliday 1994; Matthiessen 1995a). Hasegawa (1996), likewise, suggests that the function of the clause linking *-te* form is that of possibly extension and definitely one of enhancement. Although working outside an SF framework she does not classify the functions in generalised terms. Rather, she lists the various kinds of functions as a) additive, b) temporal sequence, c) cause, d) means, e) contrastive, f) concessive and g) conditional (Hasegawa 1996:6), where a) and e) would be extending<sup>4</sup> and b), c), d), and f) would be enhancing. She then goes on to say that "[t]he semantic relationship between the linked [by *-te* form] constituents [is] so diverse that no single relation can be considered central" (Hasegawa 1996:6). The fact that many meanings have been attributed to the *-te* form is further supported by Martin's (1988) work. He identifies nine meanings, but makes no distinction between the use of the *-te* form across the rank scale. He lists the meanings as follows:

1. temporal sequence: 'and then'
2. consequence or cause and result: 'and so'
3. manner or appearance: '-ing; -like' (for which the concurrent form Vb- *inagara* 'while...-ing can often be substituted )
4. contrast: 'and/but'
5. concession: 'and yet, even so'
6. condition: '-ing = if/when'
7. instrument: 'by...-ing'
8. witness or exemplification: 'and in proof thereof'
9. simple conjoining: 'and' (Martin 1988:479)

Martin, apart from listing the range of meanings of the *-te* form, provides no explanation for the conditions under which each of the meanings arises nor does he attempt to account for the different meanings at different ranks.

In the work of the *Gengogaku Kenkyuukai* (the Linguistics Research Group), the logico-semantic relations of the *-te* form depend on a fundamental choice between meanings that embody *fukugoosei* (compoundedness) and meanings that embody, *heiretsu* (parallelism) (Gengogaku Kenkyuukai 1989a). If the relationship between the marginal (or dependent) and nucleus (or dominant) verbs together serves to create one meaning, then 'high'

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<sup>4</sup> In the corpus of this study I did not come across any examples of the *-te* form realising meanings of extension.



compoundedness results. If however, the relationship is not close, a combined meaning is not achieved. This results in the verbs of the marginal and the nucleus being unrelated semantically and therefore existing in semantic parallel. In SF terms, the compoundedness results in enhancements of manner at clause and group rank, while the parallelism results in successive and simultaneous, temporal enhancements. In any case, all types are construed hypotactically. Examples from the Linguistics Research Group are provided below in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8  
Tactic examples from the Linguistics Research Group

Within the corpus of this study there are examples of the various logico-semantic functions of the *-te* form at both clause and group rank. Consider the following clause complexes from *Donguri to Yamaneko* in Tables 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11.

*Ichiroo wa isoide<sup>a</sup> gohan o tabete<sup>b</sup>, hitori tanigawa no sotta komichi wo, kami no hoo e nobotte<sup>c</sup> ikimashita.*  
Ichiroo **quickly ate** his meal, and **headed off** east along the road beside the river alone.

Table 3.9

<sup>a</sup> enhancement: manner (embedded clause functioning at word rank)

<sup>b</sup> enhancement: temporal: successive (clause rank)

<sup>c</sup> enhancement: manner (verbal group rank)

*Sore wa omotakute<sup>d</sup>, nakanaka ue ni agarimasen..*  
Because it **was heavy**, (she) couldn't lift it out.

Table 3.10

<sup>d</sup> enhancement: cause: reason (clause rank)

*Ichiroo wa taki ni muite<sup>e</sup> sakebimashita.*  
Ichiroo **facing** towards the waterfall **shouted**.

Table 3.11

<sup>e</sup> enhancement: spatial: point (clause rank)

Each of these is an example of enhancement but each is of a different kind and in a different ranking environment: ‘a’ is an embedded clause which is naturalised as a ‘word’ functioning as a circumstance of manner; ‘b’, ‘d’ and ‘e’ are clause-ranked hypotactic enhancements of successive temporality, causation and manner respectively; and ‘c’ is a verbal-group-ranked enhancement of manner.

The diversity evident in the examples above needs to be subjected to criteria tests in order to uncover the linguistic conditions from which the enhancement relation is realised. Further, there needs to be some criteria for determining which kind of logico-semantic enhancement is realised.

Hasegawa comments that due to the functional diversity of the *-te* form, linguists like Alfonso, Teramura, Endo, Gray, Himeno and Ogoshi claim that the *-te* form has no intrinsic meaning of its own and that “the interpreter must infer the intended semantic relationship based on extralinguistic knowledge” (Hasegawa 1996:7). This is not very helpful, particularly for second language learners of Japanese who would hope to find evidence in the lexicogrammar for logico-semantic realisations. Linguists should look for evidence in the context of the text to see if the various logico-semantic relations at various ranks can be pinned down and explained away by observation of the behaviour, let’s say, of the *-te* form inflection and the characteristics of its immediate linguistic environment. Hasegawa has stated a similar position, “If a word appears in a sentence and the sentence is uttered or written in discourse, [then] the word and

the intrasentential, and /or extrasentential context contribute jointly to the final interpretation, eliminating most semantic ambiguity” (Hasegawa 1996:17).

### 3.4.1 Logico-semantic recognition criteria

In the previous section on the recognition criteria of group and clause complex, the distinguishing feature was moveability. If the constituent can move and maintain grammaticality, then the complex is at clause rank. If not, then the complex is at group rank. Consider the example below. By moving the *-te* from constituent, *potsuno hitori de suwatte*, right of the following constituent, *koocha o nonda*, in (b), grammaticality has been maintained and so the *-te* form is operating at clause rank. Note however, that the meaning, that is, the enhancement type has changed. In (a) the enhancement was one of manner, but the move in (b) resulted in the enhancement changing to that of a simultaneous, temporal meaning.

- (a) *Wakai onna ga, potsunto hitori de suwatte koocha o nonda.*  
The young girl, sitting alone drank tea.  
(Gengogaku Kenkyuukai 1989a:17)
- (b) *Wakai onna ga, koocha o nonda, potsunto hitori de suwatta.*  
The young girl, drank tea and sat alone.

Once it has been determined that instances of the *-te* form are moveable and therefore operating at clause rank, it is then possible to test for the type of logico-semantic relation. As in examples (a) and (b) above, the move resulted in a meaning change. If a meaning change occurs then the movement is left along the cline of taxis away from the hypotactic end towards the intermediary category on the cline. The meaning change signals a movement towards transitivity, a characteristic of parataxis. The enhancement changes from one of manner to one of successive or simultaneous temporality, which is illustrated in (b) above.

However, there is another type in which movement does not cause a change in meaning. If, when the constituent (and accompanying circumstances etc) is moved, there is not a logico-semantic change, then the *-te* form is operating more hypotactically and is thus construing meanings of enhancement, in this case, of manner. Consider (c) and (d). In a sense, this is a true hypotactic form in that the taxis is both asymmetrical and non-transitive.

- |     |   |   |                       |
|-----|---|---|-----------------------|
| (c) | $\beta$ <i>Ichiroo wa <b>taki ni muite</b></i><br>Ichiro, facing the waterfall, | $\alpha$ <i>sakebimashita.</i><br>shouted.                    |                       |
| (d) | $\alpha$ <i>Ichiroo wa sakebimashita,</i><br>Ichiro shouted,                    | $\beta$ <i><b>taki ni muite.</b></i><br>facing the waterfall. | (Donguri to Yamaneko) |

Note that when the marginal/beta clause moves, the tense and aspect of the nucleus or alpha clause remains unaltered. The marginal clause maintains its logico-semantic status as an enhancement of manner. This is also the case for enhancements of cause as in examples (e) and (f) below. Movement of the *-te* form element does not alter the causal relation in (f)

- (e) *Sore wa **omotakute**, nakanaka ue ni agarimasen..*  
 Because it **was heavy**, (she) couldn't lift it out.
- (f) *Sore wa nakanaka ue ni agarimasen, **omotakute.***  
 (She) couldn't lift it out, because it **was heavy**.

In summary then, the logico-semantic meanings realised by the *-te* form at clause rank are distinguishable by moveability and the possibility of a subsequent meaning change. If, by moving the *-te* form constituent, the meaning changes, then the enhancement is either one of temporal or spatial location. However, if the meaning does not change, then the enhancement is either one of cause or manner.

In written Japanese, the difference between enhancements of manner, temporality and cause is further distinguished by the use of the comma, *ten*. Enhancements of manner are not marked by the comma, while temporality and cause are. *tabete* in Table 3.2, which realises a clause-ranked, temporal enhancements and (e) above, which realises a clause ranked, causal enhancement are indicated by the use of the comma, while in example (c) which realises a clause ranked, manner enhancement, the comma is not utilised. If we were to rewrite example (a) with a comma following the verbal, *suwatte*, then the enhancement of manner would change to an enhancement of temporality: *suwatte nonda* (drank sitting alone) compared to, *suwatte, nonda* (sat and drank).

### 3.5 Embedding

Division of the text into clauses is a division or chunking into ‘ranked’ clauses, that is, clauses which operate at clause rank in the grammar. Embedded clauses do not operate at clause rank but rather operate at group and word rank. It is important to be able to identify these clauses so that the chunking of the text is consistent, that is, the segments are all of the same rank, in this case, the rank of clause.

Embedding is the process by which a unit shifts down the rank scale thereafter, residing at a lower rank within the lexicogrammar; it is downgraded as a constituent (Halliday 1994). Putting it simply, select units ‘dress down’ to a rank below.

An embedded or rank-shifted clause which operates at group rank functions as a constituent of a group structure. For example, a rank-shifted clause can function as a qualifier in the nominal group as in the example, *the cat which I bought yesterday sat on the mat*. Similarly, a rank-shifted clause at word rank forms a word and functions as the Head/Thing in the nominal group in its own right as in the example, *Running makes you fit*. Embedded clauses which reside permanently as words at word rank are so naturalised in the grammar that they are listed as lexical items in dictionaries. Consider Hasegawa’s example *shiite* (boldly) (Hasegawa 1996:5). This word is listed in the dictionary in its rank-shifted form as a lexical item (refer to Kenkyusha 1974:1526).

Following in Tables 3.12 - 3.16, are examples of embedded clauses that have rank-shifted down to both group and word rank. Were these clauses not recognised as embedded, no longer operating at clause rank, the parsing or the division of the text into clausal chunks would be very different.

[[Takushi ni norankatta]] no wa	[[kekkon shite,	kodukai ga	husokugachi ni	natta	kara]]	daroo
Identified embedded fact clause	Identifier embedded causation clause					pro; Rel

Table 3.12

“The fact [[that he stopped taking taxis]] is probably because, since getting married (his) pocket money has become tight.”

Table 3.12 illustrates a clause with an embedded fact. The clause bounded by double brackets [[ ]], *Takushi ni noranakatta* is a down-ranked clause forming the semantic content of a nominalisation functioning as a Thing in the nominal

group structure and therefore also, as a participant of a Relational process in the transitivity structure of the clause. Despite being downranked, the clause is still clearly identifiable as a clause – it has its own constituency, that of a process, *noranakatta*, its own circumstance, *takushi ni*, and is grammaticalised as a Thing by the nominalising particle, *no*.

The following examples in Table 3.13, 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 are of rankshifted clauses (boldened) operating at word rank. The first pair, *isoide* (quickly) and *damatte* (silently) are rankshifted clauses functioning as circumstances of manner, while the second pair, *suru to* (and then) and *soo itte* (saying this) are rankshifted clauses functioning as connectives between clauses.

<i>Ichiroo wa</i>	<b>[[isoide]]</b>	<i>gohan o</i>	<i>tabete,</i>	<i>hitori</i>	<i>tanigawa no sotta komichi o</i>	<i>kami no hoo e</i>	<i>nobotte ikimashita.</i>
Ichiroo	quickly	rice	eat,	alone	[[stream along]] road	easterly direction DIR	climb + went
Actor	Circ. of manner	Goal	Pro: material	Circ of manner	Scope <sup>5</sup>	Circ. of location	Pro: material

Table 3.13

Ichiro **quickly** ate his meal, and headed off east along the road beside the river alone.  
(*Donguri to Yamaneko*)

<i>Kuri no ki wa</i>	<b>[[damatte]],</b>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mi o</i>	<i>barabara to</i>	<i>otoshimashita.</i>
Chestnut tree	silently,	again	fruit ACC	scatter	dropped.
Actor	Circ. of manner	Cir. of manner	Goal	Circ. of manner	Pro: material

Table 3.14

The chestnut tree **silently** dropped the seeds again randomly.  
(*Donguri to Yamaneko*)

<i>Ichiroo wa</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>sukoshi</i>	<i>ikimashita.</i>	<b>[[Suru to]]</b>	<i>ippon no Kurumi no ki no kozue o,</i>	<i>risu ga</i>	<i>pyon to</i>	<i>tonde imashita</i>
Ichiroo	again	little	went	Then,	one branch of a walnut tree	squirrel	hop/jump	fly + ing
Actor	Circ.	Circ.	Pro: material	Connective	Scope	Actor	Circ.	Pro: material

Table 3.15

Ichiro continued for a bit. **Just then**, a squirrel jumped along the branch of a walnut tree.  
(*Donguri to Yamaneko*)

<sup>5</sup> based on the description of the Material process in the transitivity structure of Japanese. (refer. (Teruya 1998:380))

[[ <i>Soo itte</i> ]]	<i>Momotaroo wa,</i>	[[ <i>koshi ni sageta</i> ]] <i>kibitango o</i>	<i>hitotsu</i>	<i>totte</i>	<i>inu ni</i>	<i>yarimashita.</i>
Saying this	Momotaroo	[hip from + hang ] dumpling ACC	one	took and	dog+ BEN	give + past
Connective	Actor	Goal	Numerative <sup>6</sup>	Pro: mat	Beneficiary	Pro: material

Table 3.16

Saying this, *Momotaroo* took one ball which was hanging from his hip and gave it to the dog.  
(*Momotaroo*)

Identification of these constituents as embedded clauses is based on a set of recognition criteria which is introduced below.

### 3.5.1 Embedded clauses functioning at word rank

The final set of recognition criteria needed to ensure consistent clause delimitation relates to the identification of embedded clauses functioning at word rank. This occurs when the beta clause has only one constituent, that of process. There are no accompanying participants in the beta clause as it typically shares the same participant with the alpha clause, nor are there any accompanying circumstantial adjuncts. Essentially, in the case of the *-te* form constituent, it typically realises a meaning of enhancement: manner and is free to move among the participants and circumstances of the alpha clause as though it were from the class of word. However, is not able to move right of the alpha process and maintain grammaticality. Consider (g), (h) (i) and (j) below. In (g), (h), and (i), the grammaticality and the logico-semantic relation of manner remains in tact, while in (j) grammaticality is lost once the beta process, *damatte* moves right of the alpha process. The grammaticality is, however, retrievable by replacing the comma with a full stop, or *maru*. *Damatte* is thus a stand-alone sentence fragment as in (k).

- (g) *Kuri no ki wa damatte mata mi o barabara to otoshimashita.*  
The chestnut tree silently again dropped the seeds.
- (h) *Kuri no ki wa mata mi o barabara to damatte otoshimashita.*  
The chestnut tree again silently dropped the seeds.

<sup>6</sup> The Numerative element, *hitotsu*, (one) is considered part of the nominal group, [[*koshi ni sageta*]] *kibitango* (one dumpling which was hanging from his hip) . It is floating outside of the nominal group but nevertheless is considered part of the structure of the nominal group (refer to -Thomson 2000:323). This nominal group forms the Goal in the clause.

- (i) *Kuri no ki wa mata mi o **damatte** barabara to otoshimashita.*  
The chestnut tree again silently dropped the seeds.
- \*(j) *Kuri no ki wa mata mi o barabara to otoshimashita, **damatte***
- (k) *Kuri no ki wa mata mi o barabara to otoshimashita. **Damatte.***  
The chestnut tree again dropped the seeds. Silently.

(Donguri to Yamaneko)

In Japanese, single-process embedded clauses functioning as words are naturalised as words and are not double bracketed [[ ]], which would indicate their original clausal origins. These clauses, which are now functioning as words, are different from other embedded clauses and will from here onwards be classified as ‘rank-reduced’ words. Recognition criteria for these words are as follows:

1. Embedded clauses functioning as words are single processes without attendant participants and circumstances.
2. They are typically realised using the *-te* form.
3. They function as a single constituent in the clause, typically as a circumstance of manner.
4. They are free to move around the clause between the other constituents provided they do not move right of the alpha process. If they do, then this prompts a new sentence to begin.

### 3.6 Typology of hypotactic structures at clause rank

Having discussed and presented recognition criteria for distinguishing a) taxis between clause and group; b) the different types of logico-semantic functions of the *-te*; and c) for identifying embedded clauses functioning at word rank, I will outline another important issue in relation to clause delimitation. This is clause typology in Japanese.

In chapter 2, I suggested that there are two primary classes in Japanese, the verbal and the nominal classes. Essentially, both classes in Japanese can enter into tactic relations using their own discrete tactic structures.

The verbal class prototypically conjugates into a set of tactic inflections, in some cases with attendant particles, while the nominal class undergoes a process of copularisation through the addition of the copula, *da/desu* (to be), that is, a nominal can verbalise through the addition of the verb, ‘to be’ or through the addition of the verb, *suru* (to do). Below in Figure 3.3 is a partial set of non-finite tactic forms which are organised according to class and which are



specifically associated with hypotactic clause linkage taken directly from the corpus. From the typology it is evident that the verbal class is more productive tactically than the nominal class, given the larger number of possible tactic options. Note the prevalence of the *-te* form. It operates across the classes as *-te* in *-u* verbals, as *-kute* in *-i* verbals and as *de* or *shite* in the nominal classes.

One further point to note in the case of the verbalisation of the nominals is that the addition of the copula, *da/desu* and the verb, *suru* (to do) is predictable in the grammar. It is redundant and so often simply elided. This occurs in the newspaper articles, most likely because space is restricted and so redundant grammar is elided. Consider the opening T-unit in the *Setsubun* article, *mikka wa setsubun* (The third is the Bean Throwing Festival). The *datta* (simple past tense of *da*) which would normally follow *setsubun* is elided. This is also the case of the addition of the *suru* verb. Again, in the same article in T-unit 8, it ends in *toojoo* (appeared), however the verbal element, *shita* (simple past of *suru*) is elided.

In the process of chunking the texts into clause segments it has been useful to refer to the typology to determine a clause boundary within a complex. There are both finite and non-finite tactic endings in Japanese, all of which are organized according to class. Knowing the typology aided in the process of segmenting the texts.

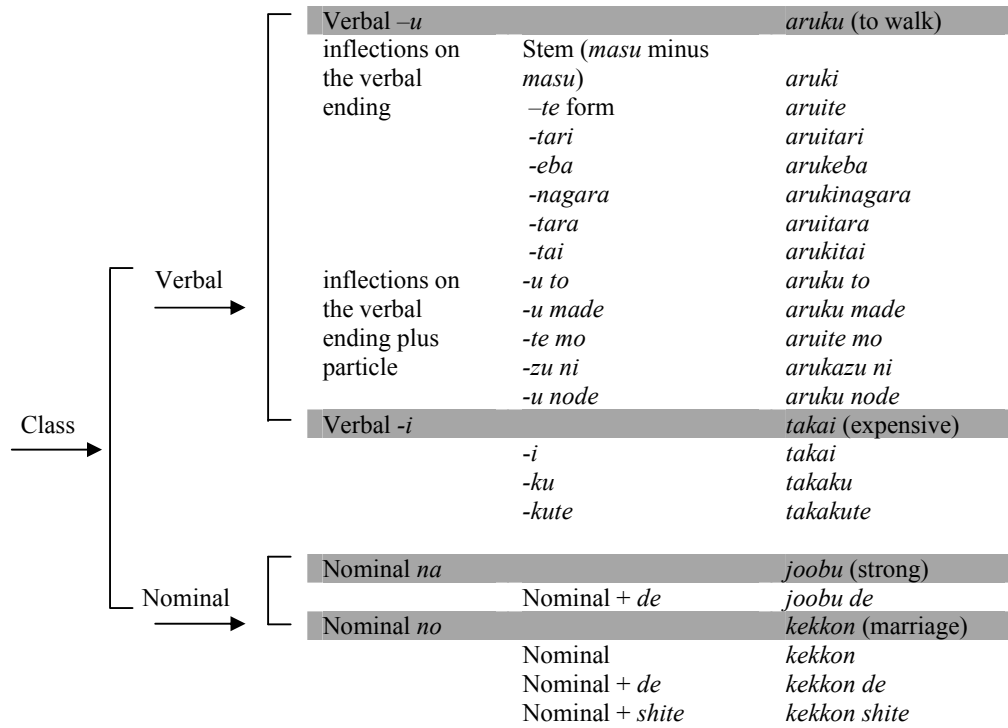


Figure 3.3

Partial typology of non-finite tactic endings according to class

### 3.7 Clause delimitation

The above discussions on grammaticalisation, the fractal nature of hypotaxis in Japanese, the function of the hypotactic *-te* form and embedding have provided the background for the development of recognition criteria for identifying complexing at group and clause rank in Japanese. This criteria has been used in this study to assist in the ‘chunking’ of the texts into clause segments.

Clause delimitation in the study was achieved through the following steps.

1. Identification of ranked clause simplexes:

A ranked clause simplex consists of one process with multiple constituency and conflates with a sentence in written form. A ranked clause is distinguished from an embedded clause by multiple constituency. An embedded clause functions as a single constituent of a ranked clause, for example, as an Actor in a Material process.

2. Identification of clause complexes:

A clause complex consists of more than one process with multiple

constituencies involved in an interdependency relation with each other of either hypotaxis or parataxis. A clause complex is distinguished from a verbal group complex through a moveability test. If by moving the constituents, grammaticality is lost, then the complex is operating at group rank. If grammaticality is maintained, whether or not the meaning changes or stays unaffected, then the complex is operating at clause rank.

### 3.8 The T-unit: a textual unit beside the clause

Having explained my method for delimiting the clauses in the corpus, the next step in the parsing of the texts is to consider over what unit in the grammar the three metafunctions map. Within accepted SF theory, the *unit* of the clause is the span of text over which the textual system of THEME operates even though the system of THEME is recognised as a fractal category – one which manifests in different ranking environments (Matthiessen 1995a:90). Teruya (1998) also agrees that the unit of clause in Japanese is that which the metafunctions map over (including the system of THEME).

Limiting the span of text to the *unit* of clause is problematic in Japanese. Due to some of the characteristics of Japanese, the clause may not be the only span of text over which textual meanings are mapped. If you leave open the possibility that textual meanings may be fractal then units larger, and indeed, smaller than the clause may participate in the construal of textual meanings. I present an argument below that justifies theorising a larger *unit*, the T-unit in order to capture the operation of textual meaning in Japanese. The theorisation of a larger textual unit is not new. In fact, it is an issue which echoes through the literature.

The justification for theorising the T-unit relates to the fact that other researchers looking at a range of languages have found the notion of a larger textual unit useful in their analyses. Daneš, agrees with Halliday that the grammar of discourse may occur within the domain of the clause, but ‘with certain modifications, beyond the domain of the clause as well’ (Daneš 1974:106). Fries (1995b) also has considered a unit larger than the clause. It is his term, the T-unit which I have borrowed and defined differently in this study. Similarly, Fang, McDonald and Cheng (1995) postulate that clauses in Chinese cluster textually and that this suggests “that most probably a unit intermediate

between the clause complex and the text could be established by reference to patterns of thematic selection” (Hasan and Fries 1995:xli). And finally, Cloran (1995) suggests organising the semantic plane into a rank scale of three units: text, ‘rhetorical activity’ and message, whereby the message unit is a constituent of ‘rhetorical activity’ unit, which, in turn, is a constituent of the text unit.

Further, the other justification for theorising a textual unit which is larger than the clause relates to the grammatical characteristics of Japanese. Due to certain grammatical features, textual meanings appear to map onto chunks of text above the clause. My argument for wanting to theorise a textual unit larger than clause recognises the fractal nature of textual and logical meanings and is based on two characteristics of Japanese. The first characteristic is the presence and operation of co-referential ellipsis in Japanese and how it acts as a form of structural cohesion, linking items between clause complexes and across sentence boundaries. The second characteristic is the clause-chaining nature of complexes. These two characteristics are discussed in turn below.

### **3.8.1 Ellipsis in Japanese**

The first characteristic of Japanese which justifies the use of the T-unit is that of co-referential ellipsis. By way of explaining this feature, I will begin with further discussion on ellipsis in Japanese and follow on from that with a discussion on co-referentiality.

Boxwell, in his 1995 paper on the operation of ellipsis in Weri, a language of Papua New Guinea, discusses and describes ellipsis in a cogent manner. I will take his lead and explain ellipsis in Japanese according to his description.

Halliday and Hasan (1967) define ellipsis "an elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere" (1967:143). Boxwell (1995) adds, "[e]llipsis, then, is characterised by the noticeable omission of elements(s), and the resultant incompleteness of structure and the recoverability of the omitted elements(s) from the context" (Boxwell, 1995:131). Consider the following examples in Tables 3.17-3.19:

[[ <i>Hannin ga shinnyuu shite toosoo suru</i> ]] made ( <b>zero</b> )	<i>yaku 5 hun kan</i>	<i>datta.</i>
[[The criminal to enter and to escape ]] until ( <b>time</b> )	about 5 mins duration	was
Identified	Identifier	Rel Pro.

Table 3.17

The **time** it took for the man to enter and escape was within about 5 minutes.

<i>Mikka wa</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	( <b>zero</b> )
The third	Bean-throwing Festival	( <b>was</b> )
Identified	Identifier	Relational Identifying Pro.

Table 3.18

The third **was** the Setsubun Festival.

<i>Obaasan wa</i>	<i>ureshikute,</i>	( <b>zero</b> )	<i>sugu</i>	<i>te o</i>	<i>nobashite</i>	( <b>zero</b> )	<i>sore o</i>	<i>tsukamae-mashita.</i>
The old woman	was delighted and so,	( <b>she</b> )	immediately	hand	stretched out,	( <b>she</b> )	it	grabbed
Carrier	Attribute	Actor	Circ	Goal	Process: material	Actor	Goal	Process: material

Table 3.19

The old woman was delighted, and so **she** stretched out her hand and **she** grabbed it.

Example 3.17 illustrates an elliptical nominal Thing, *jikan* (time). The elided Thing is recoverable from the immediate situation and not the surrounding text. Example 3.18 illustrates an implicit relational process. The verb, *datta* (was) is missing. The elided verb is recoverable, not from the immediate situation, but in a sense, from the surrounding text, via the predictability of the grammar. In example 3.19 the Actor, *obaasan* (old woman) is mentioned in the first clause and then omitted in the subsequent two clauses. The elided Actor, *obaasan* is recoverable from the immediate context. In this example, *obaasan* in the subsequent two clauses is given information, information already presented to the reader/listener. It is an example of anaphoric reference and is assigned this status via the operation of ellipsis.

### 3.8.2 Ellipsis and co-referentiality

Examples 3.17 and 3.18 above occur frequently in Japanese but they are not the type under discussion in this study. The type of ellipsis that is illustrated by example 3.19 is the type that will be dealt with here. This type of ellipsis occurs frequently within clause complexes, as in example 3.19 above, but also across

sentence boundaries as in example 3.20 below. Examples 3.19 and 3.20 are examples of co-referential ellipsis which is explained below.

Ellipsis, 'a relationship in the wording rather than directly in the meaning' (Halliday 1994:316), is a structural feature within the lexicogrammar and generally realises relationships of "co-classification" (Halliday and Hasan 1985b:74) however, it is recognised that ellipsis can also play a role in "establishing the relation of co-referentiality" (Boxwell 1995:124). Co-referentiality is a kind of reference that must meet two conditions (Boxwell 1995: 123):

1. that there are at least "two instances of reference"; and
2. that reference must be to the same thing.

In Japanese, the kind of ellipsis illustrated in 3.19 above and 3.20 below functions to co-refer. It refers back to, and in some cases, forward to the same referent which creates identity chains and ties between clauses. This co-reference is most evident in participant ellipsis as illustrated in example 3.19 above. It is, however, also possible to have process ellipsis as in example 3.20.

i) a.Kusa no nioi, b. [[kasuka na hiyakasa o hukunda]] kaze, c.yama no ryoosen, d. [[inu no naku]] koe, e.sonna mono ga	mazu saisho ni	ukabiagatte kuru.	ii) (zero)	totemo kukkiri to	(zero) .
a.grass smell, b.the wind which blew a little icily, c.the mountain ridge, d.the cry which was the dog , e.these things	firstly	to surface	(These things)	very clearly	(surfaced)
Phenomenon	Circ.	Mental Process	Phenomenon	Circ.	Mental Process

Table 3.20

(i)The smell of the grass, the slight cold wind, the mountain ridge, the noise of the dog, these things were the first things to surface. (ii)(They) (surfaced) very clearly.

In the second clause (ii) of example 3.20, both the Phenomenon, .....sonna mono (these things) and the Mental process, *ukabiagatte kuru* (to surface in one's mind - to recall) are elided and in each case the elided item is recoverable from the cotext immediately preceding the clause, *totemo kukkiri to* (very clearly).

In each case the elided item and its presupposed item refer to the same situational referent and so are co-referential. It is this kind of co-referential ellipsis that acts as a form of structural cohesion, linking items cohesively between clause complexes and across sentence boundaries, thereby raising the possibility that the *unit* of clause is not the only segment of text over which textual metafunctional meanings are mapped. Rather, the *unit* of clause is but one of a number of text segments over which these textual meanings are construed. Given the structural cohesion present between clauses, as in example 3.19 and across sentences, as in example 3.20, it is possible to say these text segments have the potential to have textual meanings mapped onto them as well.

### 3.8.3 Clause-chaining in Japanese

Another argument for using the notion of T-unit to segment the text is the feature of clause-chaining in Japanese. Unlike English, Japanese is a language which predominantly utilises chaining structures. Consider example 3.19. It is a hypotactic clause complex consisting of three clauses. The forms of the verbs in the first two clauses are medial, they do not select for time or tense, rather they use a tactic inflection, the *-te* form which signals they are linking and dependent. This clause-chaining structure is often held together cohesively by co-referential ellipsis and is further justification for considering the use of the T-unit construct. The participant, *obaasan* is the nuclear participant in each clause event though it is only stated in Clause 1. Co-referential ellipsis operates in Clauses 2 and 3 referring the reader back to Clause 1 for the elided referent item, *obaasan*.

### 3.8.4 Defining the T-unit

Given this discussion, it is possible to define the T-unit as a segment of text that forms a structural, co-referential unit in which the referent is the first constituent of the unit. This structural unit does not have a one to one correspondence with the unit of clause. It is not a system of the clause, but rather it sits ‘beside’ the clause in a similar fashion to that of the information *unit* in the system of INFORMATION STATUS (Halliday 1994:308) and can map onto a clause simplex, complex or even traverse a sentence boundary. Thus, examples 3.17 to 3.20 can now be reanalysed as examples of T-units mapping onto different kinds of text segments. Examples 3.17 and 3.18 are T-units mapped onto clause simplexes.

Example 3.19 is a T-unit mapped onto a clause complex, while example 3.20 maps onto two clause simplexes thereby traversing a sentence boundary. A further type should also be considered. This is a type which is found **within** a clause complex. In this type, there is no co-referential ellipsis binding the clauses, nor is there a clause chain relation in operation. In this case, as in example 3.21 below, there could be two or more T-units within a clause complex. This kind of T-unit usually maps onto either a paratactic clause complex as in example 3.22, or an intermediary type, that is, a transitive yet asymmetrical complex, such as in example 3.21

<i>Suchuwaadesu wa</i>	<i>nikkori to waratte</i>	<i>itte shimai,</i>	<i>ongaku wa</i>	<i>Birii Joeru no kyoku ni</i>	<i>kawatta.</i>
The stewardess	smiling sweetly	left;	the music	to a Billy Joel tune	changed
Actor	Circ: manner	Pro: mat.	Token	Value	Pro: rel
<b>Clause 1</b>			<b>Clause 2</b>		
<b>T-unit 1</b>			<b>T-unit 2</b>		

Table 3.21

In this study, the definition of the T-unit is different from that utilised by Fries. Fries defined the T-unit as “an independent conjoinable clause complex” (1995c:49). In this study, the span of the T-unit extends beyond the conjoinable clause complex to segments of text which include whole sentences. In summary, the T-unit in this study maps onto clause simplexes, onto clause complexes, within clause complexes and across sentence boundaries.

<i>Soshite, shibaraku kotoba mo dasazu ni orimashita ga</i> For a while <b>no</b> words <b>came out</b> but,	<i>MomoTaroo san, watashi mo issho ni, tsurete itte kudasai" to tanomimashita</i> “Momotaroo, please take me”, (she) requested.
paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 1	paratactic <b>finite</b> clause 2 (this clause includes a projected locution)
T-unit 1	T-unit 2
clause complex	

Table 3.22

### 3.9 The clauses and T-units of the corpus

The process of clause delimitation in this study which was discussed above was used to parse the texts in the corpus. Each text was parsed into clauses, which



were then organised into T-units. The clause and T-unit count is presented in Table 3.23 below.

Text type	Clauses	T-units
<b>The Newspaper articles</b>		
1. <i>Samusa Yurunde Setsubun</i>	19	12
2. <i>Ginkoo ni Tanjuu Gootoo</i>	25	12
3. <i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	36	23
<b>The Nursery Tales</b>		
4. <i>Urihimeko</i>	120	71
5. <i>Momotaroo</i>	335	190
<b>The Narratives</b>		
6. <i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	138	86
7. <i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	289	151
8. <i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	143	102
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1105</b>	<b>647</b>

Table 3.23

The total number of clauses and T-units in the corpus

The clauses in the corpus consist of simplexes, complexes and sentence fragments. The sentence fragments are single locutions, single circumstances and onomatopoeia. Verbal and Mental process clauses which contain locutions have been treated as simplexes with the locution being analysed as a clause constituent rather than as a projected clause. The clause break-down according to the texts in the corpus is presented in Table 3.24 below.

Texts	Total # clauses	Simplexes	Complexes		Sentence Fragments
			Parataxis	Hypotaxis	
<b>News Stories</b>					
<i>Setsubun</i>	19	6 (31.5%)	0	13 (68.5%)	0
<i>Ginkoo</i>	25	4 (16%)	2 (8%)	19 (76%)	0
<i>Keizai</i>	36	9 (25%)	2 (5.5%)	25 (69.5%)	0
<b>Nursery Tales</b>					
<i>Urihimeko</i>	120	37 (31%)	4 (3%)	68 (56%)	12 (10%)
<i>Momotaroo</i>	335	81 (24%)	18 (5.5%)	202 (60.5%)	34 (10%)
<b>Narratives</b>					
<i>Taberareta</i>	143	25 (17.5%)	25 (17.5%)	59 (41%)	34 (24%)
<i>Noruwei</i>	138	38 (27.5%)	10 (7%)	78 (56.5%)	12 (9%)
<i>Donguri</i>	289	46 (16%)	16 (5.5%)	179 (62%)	48 (16.5%)

Table 3.24

Clause breakdown of the texts in the corpus

### 3.10 The paragraph

The T-units within each text organise themselves into paragraphs. However, the function of the paragraph in Japanese is less defined than in English. Given this fact, it is useful to consider the notion of paragraph in general and then look at some of the literature in relation to the paragraph in Japanese as the paragraph or *danraku* is a recognized segment of text in Japanese (Maynard 1998).

The paragraph as a text segment is viewed as a segment which limits grammatical operation. Longacre stated that the internal divisions within a sentence or clause complex yielded “divisions of considerable relevance to the structure of discourse and paragraphs” (Longacre 1970:788). In other words, the semantic relations construed between clauses in a complex reflect similar semantic relations evident in paragraphs and discourse through such devices as conjoining, alternation, temporality, implication, paraphrase, illustration, deixis, attribution etc (Longacre 1985:241). Similarly, Hinds suggests that paragraph boundaries are important in that the limit of the paragraph can limit the extent of a grammatical operation:

The determination of paragraph boundaries is essential because a number of grammatical operations are constrained by their presence. Among these operations are anaphoric phenomena in general; that is, deletions, definitizations, and pronominalisations. Specifically, the term 'deletions' refers to the case where an inferable element is not present in the actual discourse. (Hinds 1976:18).

However, Hinds also considered the paragraph to have a discourse function in a manner similar to Longacre:

A paragraph consists of segments, each of which develops or elaborates the paragraph topic. Within each segment there will be one peak sentence, or cluster of sentences, and an arbitrary number of nonpeak sentences. Peak sentences convey the major points of information in the segment while nonpeak sentences are in a limited number of semantically subordinate relationships to the peaks. (Hinds 1976:24).

The paragraph in Japanese seems to be a flexible unit of organisation and may have a discourse function. Research on the paragraph in Japanese is rather sketchy although following is a brief summary of some of the work.

The flexibility of the paragraph may be due to the fact that the boundaries of the paragraph are very much determined by the author's whim. The boundary

depends on the writer's purpose (Ookuma 1992). By way of example, paragraphing is considered important in newspaper articles as the indentation at the start of the paragraph provides visual impact for the reader. The journalists therefore ensure that the important points in their stories are located close to the indentation, that is, at the start of the paragraph. In a sense, the beginning of the Japanese paragraph functions in a similar manner to the topic sentence – it previews what is to follow in the rest of the paragraph. This allows for efficient skim reading by the reader who uses the paragraph indent as a guide for finding the salient information. In this sense, the paragraph is very open to the writer's purpose. If the writer wants the reader to attend to some information, then the efficient method is through indentation (Ookuma 1992).

Maynard (1998) presents a slightly different explanation on the paragraph. She considers it a discourse unit, but says it does not necessarily begin with a summarising topic sentence. Rather, the discourse “gradually flows toward the [paragraph]-final segment specifying the summary-like statement, or the writer's view or opinion.”(Maynard 1998:82). She notes that newspaper articles use short paragraphs consisting of only one or two sentences. Paragraphs are signaled graphologically by a new line.

In the text of the corpus, it was sometimes difficult to determine when a new paragraph begins. This relates in part to the punctuation conventions of Japanese and the inclusion of locutions in the text. Both new paragraphs and locution indent. Therefore, often times it is difficult to distinguish between the beginning of a new paragraph and the beginning of a new locution. Following is a brief discussion on punctuation conventions in Japanese and the inclusion of locutions in a text.

### **3.11 Punctuation**

In Japanese, the comma, *ten*, and the full stop, *maru*, are the principal devices of punctuation. However, the function of the comma and, in some respects, the full stop is rather loosely defined.

Himo (1992), in his paper on the use of the comma, points out that the linguistic descriptions of the comma by renowned linguists such as Mikami (1972) and Honda (1982) do not match with usage. There appear to be two

general principals involved in comma usage. The first relates to reading aloud. If a passage is to be read aloud, then the writer will place commas where they intend the reader to pause. The second relates to rules of use. Most writers will use commas according to the structure of the sentence, in other words, the writers believe they are following a set of grammatical rules on comma usage. However, there is little consistency across texts in relation to a recognised convention of use. Therefore, by way of determining the function of the comma, Himo surveyed the use of the comma in the work of good writers, in school textbooks and he also looked at how particular school grammar books describe the rules of comma usage.

Firstly, Himo looked at how the comma is taught in mother tongue school textbooks. The grammar book, *Nippongo: Yon no Ue* lists the three following rules of usage (Himo 1992:225). They are:

- In a clause complex, separate the two clauses with a comma;  
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□  
*Ji wa maru de heta de, sumi mo gasagasa shite yubi ni tsukukurai deshita.*  
The letters were absolutely illegible, and the ink also flakily smudged on your fingers. (*Donguri to Yamaneko*)
- Use the comma to separate the adjectives in the nominal group if there are more than one;  
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□...  
*rebamotsu ya unagi no yoo na, shitsukoi, enerugisshu na shokuhin...*  
Oily, energy-laden foods like liver stew and eel.....(*Taberareta Otoko*)
- Use the comma to separate groups and words in complexes.  
□□□□□□□□□□.....  
*Aka-oni, shiro-oni, kuro-oni-domo ga*  
The red devil, the white devil and the black devil.....(*Momotaroo*)

After surveying the work of a number of ‘good’ writers, such as Tanizaki, Fujimura and Okuda, he found that these writers used the comma as the three rules above state but also used it in the following four other ways. These are:

4. Use of the comma after a conjunction.  
☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐  
*Dakara, aru hi no koto desu.*  
 Consequently, it happened one day.
5. Use of the comma after a circumstance.  
☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐  
*Mukashi, mukashi, arutokoro ni, ojiisan to obaasan to ga orimashita.*

Long, long ago, in a certain place, there was an old man and old woman.

6. Use the comma after a nominal group if the head noun is modified by an embedded clause, and if the nominal group is clause medial, then the whole nominal group is bounded by commas, with one at the beginning and one at the end of the group.

□□□□[[□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□]]□□□□

*Kokuji wa, wago wo arawasu tekitoo na kanji ga mitsukaranai toki ni,*  
In the mother tongue, at the time when you can't find the appropriate  
kanji to express the meaning,... (Himo 1992:228)

7. Use the comma to separate the two sections of an inverted sentence.

□□□□□□□□

*Atsui, kyoo wa.*

It's hot, today.

Apart from these seven consistent uses of the comma, Himo found that other usage was idiosyncratic, that is, the manner in which the comma was used really depended on the writer. It is very flexible and open to manipulation. He demonstrated this with the quotative particle, *to*. This particle may be preceded by a comma, or followed by a comma depending on the effect the writer wishes to create. According to Himo, the effect may relate to rhythm. Placing the comma first gives a different rhythm to placing the comma after the particle *to*. In my opinion, the choice may in fact relate to newsworthiness and salience. If the comma comes before *to*, then the salience is on the locution, and if the comma come after *to*, then the salience is on the verbal process. This needs further study before anything definitive can be said.

One further function of the comma which has already been described is its use in distinguishing between enhancement types at clause rank. You will recall that the comma inserted after the *-te* form can indicate a meaning of successive temporal and causal enhancement. Refer back to Tables 3.9 and 3.10 for an illustration of this.

As mentioned above, the function of the full stop is also rather loosely defined. Often, full stops are used when one would assume a comma is more appropriate as in the example below for *Noruwei no Mori* in Table 3.25 below. The full stop coming after 'eyes' could just as appropriately have been a comma. However, the choice of full stop rather than comma marks off the clause constituent clearly as a sentence fragment, rather than as a clause constituent.

This is a stylistic choice on the part of the writer, and is not isolated to just this example. Other examples in the text include the sentence fragment, *totemo kukkiru to* (Very clearly) in T-unit 51 and *Hoka no nani mo kamo ga kekkyoku wa kiete shimatta yoo ni* (In the same way as the rest of the memory has) in T-unit 82.

T-unit	Textual Theme	Ideational Theme	Rheme
T-U 66	x temporal – <i>sore kara</i> And then	Part.: Actor – she	looks in my direction, smiles, tilts her head slightly, chats (to me and looks into my <u>eyes</u> . Like (she ) is looking for a shadow of a small fish darting off to the bottom of the crystal clear pond.

Table 3.25

### 3.12 Locutions

The effect of the flexibility of the comma and the full stop in Japanese is that it is often very difficult to identify the limit of a clause or clause complex, especially when it is a Verbal process with a locution. Across the texts in the corpus, there is a range of styles of punctuation in relation to locutions. The two consistent styles are: 1) that a locution always takes its own line and is always indented by one character space; and 2) that the comma never precedes the quotative particle, *to*. Other than that, there is a lot of variation. Examples from each text which contains locutions are illustrated below and the variation is demonstrated in Table 3.26 below.

*Urihimeko*

*Donguri to Yamaneko*

[illegible]

*Taberareta Otoko*

(example 1)

[illegible]

(example 2)

[illegible]



T-unit	Clause 1	T-unit	Clause 2
36	□ <i>Maru de betsuji ni natta mitai ja nai ka?</i> □ (I said), “You seem to have become a different person these days, don’t you think?”	37	□ <i>Yappari wakaru ka ne</i> □ (S-kun said), “Yeah, clearly you can tell.”

taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

Another feature of the use of locutions is that mostly the locutions appear with quotation marks, *kaki kakko*, however, in *Noruwei no Mori* there are locutions which have no quotations marks. Again, this appears to be a stylistic choice as the locutions are most certainly direct speech, for example T-unit 78.

Finally, a consequence of locutions always taking a new line is that in extended dialogic turn-taking, as in paragraph 24 in *Taberareta Otoko*, it is difficult to identify a paragraph break as each locution is indented on a new line. Therefore, I have taken the view that in extended dialogic turn-taking there is no paragraph break. This leads to very long paragraphs of direct speech.

### 3.13 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explain how the texts in the corpus were parsed into clauses, and how, due to ellipsis and clause chaining, it has been useful to postulate a larger unit, the T-unit to capture the mapping of textual meaning within the texts.

The chapter began with a discussion on grammaticalisation and fractality in order to background the recognition criteria used to identify group complexes, clause complexes and embedded clauses. The recognition criteria was used in this study to delimit the clauses of each text. In addition, recognition criteria which was used to identify the logico-semantic functions of multi-functional tactic resources at clause rank was presented.

This chapter has also defined and discussed the T-unit, the unit used to segment the texts in order to analyse the resources of the textual metafunction which serve to organize a text as a message. In this study, the T-unit is a unit which sits beside the clause in the same manner as the information unit in SF theory.



Finally, the chapter concluded with a brief discussion on the function of paragraphs in Japanese and punctuation, especially in relation to the insertion of direct speech into the text of the corpus.

Having provided the methodology for parsing the texts, the following chapter will quantify clausal patterns in the corpus which will lead onto a demonstration of how these patterns organise textually in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

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## Chapter 4 – Textual Patterns of Organisation

### 4.0 Introduction

Briefly in chapter 2, the metafunctions within the SF model were characterised as follows: the ideational metafunction serves to **construe** our experience; the interpersonal metafunction serves to **enact** our social roles; while the third, the textual metafunction serves to **enable** the ideational and interpersonal to be presented as “information that can be shared between speaker and listener” (Matthiessen 1995b:20).

This *enabling* function, this packaging of ideational and interpersonal meanings as information, guides the exchange of meaning in text. (Matthiessen 1995b:22). Information is organised as coherent information. Halliday describes this textual component of language as the *ecology of the text* (1979:60). The resources within the grammar which operate to organise and guide include the systems of THEME, INFORMATION STATUS, ELLIPSIS-SUBSTITUTION and REFERENCE. These systems, along with the system of CONJUNCTION work collectively to construct the unfolding of ‘text’ (Matthiessen 1995b:22). Further, the systems of the logical metafunction, the system of INTERDEPENDENCY and the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS also contribute to the construction of text as ‘message’ (Martin 1992).

Of the above systems, it is primarily the system of THEME and its involvement in the method of development of text and its relationship to genre in Japanese which is the principle concern of this study.

By way of opening the discussion on the system of THEME in Japanese, this chapter presents and tests the hypothesis that first position in the T-unit is salient and serves to organise information coherently. The chapter begins with a discussion on whether the notion of Theme is useful in relation to Japanese. This is followed by a quantitative study of the first position constituents in the T-unit. These constituents are then classified into metafunctional types and discussed.

#### 4.1 Is the notion of Theme useful in relation to Japanese?

The first step in a discussion on Theme in Japanese is to investigate the clause in a native or authentic Japanese text environment looking for clausal patterns which correlate with the organisation of text. In this case, the clausal patterns would serve to give “value to some term (node) in the instantial system as the current point of expansion or growth” (Matthiessen 1995b:27). Instantial system simply means an instance or example of a system of the language at work. And further, you would expect these clausal patterns to ‘key into’ the method of development of the text as it constructs an instantial system from a linear text (Matthiessen 1995b:26).

If, through an investigation of the clause patterns, Theme can be identified, Fries and Francis (1992) have rightly pointed out that there are two critical steps in the development of the description of Theme in another language: the description must be explicit, that is, have recognition criteria, and must be illustrated in context linking thematic content to the interpretation of text (Fries and Francis 1992:56).

Clues to identifying clausal patterns which correlate to the organisation of text lie in an understanding of some of the features of Japanese. The following discussion presents two features which impact on clause organisation. These features are the unmarked, clause-final positioning of the verbal group, and the unfixed order of the nuclear<sup>1</sup> and non-nuclear participants in the clause. These features are discussed below.

In the first instance, a formal description of the Japanese clause describes it as an SOV Subject-Object-Verb (Shibatani 1990:257) type structure in which the process (realised by the verbal group) typically occurs clause-finally. In the clause, *Sono hoka ni wa donna mono-oto mo nakatta* (Other than that, there was also no other sound), *nakatta* (did not exist) is the verbal group functioning as process in the clause simplex and is positioned last.

Secondly, the nuclear participants, the non-nuclear participants in the process and circumstances typically exist left of the process. In the above example, *sono hoka ni wa* (other than that) and *donna mono-oto mo* (other

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<sup>1</sup> nuclear participants are the central participants associated with each process type. (Martin, Matthiessen et al. 1997:103)

sounds) appear left of the process and function as the circumstance and participant respectively of that process. The order of the participants whether they be nuclear or non-nuclear, provided they remain left of the Process, is not fixed.

Japanese is usually said to have a free word order with respect to the adjuncts. This means that so long as you put the predicate (the nuclear sentence) at the end, where it belongs in a well-planned sentence, you are free to present each of the build-up phrases early or late as you see fit ..... thematisation, for example, will place an adjunct at the beginning of the sentence. (Martin 1988:35)

This unfixed ordering of the various constituent roles **left** of the process sets up a natural environment for establishing instantial ideational systems, that is, the node of an instantial ideational system is selected from one of the constituent roles. It is from this node that the text develops from or expands upon. The order matters. These nodes are points of departure; they are the Themes of a clause. This environment appears to be at the start, rather than at the end of the clause as the speaker/writer has a choice of what to position first in the clause. In the case of the example above, the writer clearly chose the ordering of circumstance followed by participant, rather than participant followed by circumstance. The choice is not unmotivated in Halliday's view, "Systemic theory is a theory of choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options.."(Halliday 1994:xiv). If there is a choice in positioning constituents within a clause, then that choice must be motivated by something. Matthiessen (1995b:27) suggests that the Theme guides the exchange of meaning by assigning value to a particular ideational constituent, or node which is perceived as a point of expansion for the meaning of the text. In other words, the Theme guides the creation of ideational instantial systems. The fact that you have a choice in ordering the constituents left of the process in Japanese suggests that first position is in fact salient. If you put a constituent first, then you are assigning a certain value to it, you are foregrounding it as a sign post of textual organisation.

These two features of Japanese suggest that Theme is in fact, a system of meaning within the textual metafunction of Japanese and may indeed be instantiated through a choice in constituent ordering, particularly the choice of what to position first in the clause. Further, Halliday argues that,

...if in any given language the message is organised as a Theme-Rheme structure, and if this structure is expressed by the sequence in which the elements occur in the clause, then it seems natural that the position for the Theme should be at the beginning, rather than at the end or at some other specific point (Halliday 1994:38).

Thus the task is to look for patterns of textual organisation, and given the above discussion, these patterns are likely to appear clause-initially.

Following this line of argument, I conducted a pilot study to determine if indeed Theme in Japanese was realised by first position in the clause as the above reasoning suggests. This was a 'Theme scrambling' exercise similar to that conducted by Halliday (1977b). In the pilot study, I hypothesised that "if first position is salient for thematic organisation of a Japanese text, then changing the first element of the clause should disrupt the Theme, thereby making the message in the text difficult to retrieve" (Thomson 1998:227). You would expect the text to be less cohesive internally with the co-text and less coherent externally with the context.

The study involved the manipulation of two newspaper articles by moving the first element in each clause to another position while maintaining grammaticality. The original and tampered versions of each text were then given to thirty native speaker informants who were asked to read each version and decide which was easier to read and understand.

As anticipated, the readers preferred the original texts. 76% of the informants preferred the original of text 1, *Setsubun*, and 96% preferred the original of text 2, *Ginkoo*. The informants gave a number of reasons for their preferences. These included:

1. the 'element + *wa*' was better positioned
  2. the 'word linking' method was better
  3. the subject was clearer and more straightforward
  4. you got lost in the tampered text
  5. the organisation of information in the tampered text was difficult to follow.
  6. the SOV structure was clearer in the original texts
  7. the word order was wrong in the tampered texts.
- (Thomson 1998:228)

The pilot study lent itself to the hypothesis that first position plays a role in thematic development in Japanese. The readers found they got lost or else found it difficult to follow the point of the texts when they had their first

position elements changed. In other words, the first position element functions as an orienter (Fries 1995a:318) for the unfolding of the message. It guides the reader/listener. Without this orientation the readers found the point of the information difficult to follow.

## **4.2 Textual patterns of organisation in the corpus**

The pilot study mentioned above sets the scene, as it were, for looking for textual patterns of organisation at the beginning of the clause. However, if as discussed in chapter 3, co-referential ellipsis is taken into account, then the T-unit, rather than the clause is the unit of analysis. In chapter 3, the T-unit has been defined as a segment of text that forms a structural, co-referential unit in which the referent is the first constituent of the unit. This structural unit does not have a one to one correspondence with the unit of clause and can map onto a clause simplex, complex or even traverse a sentence boundary.

In the process of identifying textual patterns of organisation, the constituents which may appear in first position in the T-unit need to be classified according to a number of considerations. Firstly, I need to allow for the possibility of multiple and single constituents. Secondly, I need to allow for the possibility that constituents appearing at the beginning of the T-unit may construe textual, interpersonal and ideational meanings, and if they do, then the classification of the constituents needs to be organised according to the metafunctions. And finally, there needs to be further subclassification within each of the metafunctions in order to capture the kinds of choices available within each metafunctional domain. The table 4.1 below sets out this organisation.

Beginning with a simple division into single and multiple types, the table further divides the single type into the three metafunctions of ideational, textual and interpersonal, which in turn are further subclassified. In the case of the ideational metafunction, I have divided it up into its experiential and logical components. For the experiential, I am using Teruya's transitivity typology (Teruya 1998), which is organised according to process type. Thus, for example, within the material process, there are four possible participant types which may appear in first position. These are Actor, Goal, Scope and



Beneficiary. Similarly, according to Teruya's typology of circumstances (Teruya 1998:428), there are six types of circumstances. These are Angle, Matter, Temporal Location, Spatial Location, Cause and Manner. The other component in the ideational domain is the logical one. If a clause is positioned initially, then it is assumed<sup>2</sup> that the clause is a dependent, beta ( $\beta$ ) clause and maybe one of five possible logico-semantic types of enhancement, extension, elaboration, locution or idea.

Single	Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Material	Actor
					Goal
					Scope
					Beneficiary
				Mental	Sensor
					Phenomenon
				Relational	Carrier
					Attribute
					Grounds
					Carrier-domain
					Identified
					Identifier
					Existent
				Verbal	Sayer
					Receiver
					Verbiage
					Target
				Circumstance	Angle
					Matter
					temporal Location
					Spatial Location
					Cause
					Manner
		Logical	$\beta$ Clause: expansion		Elaborating
					Extending
				Enhancing	
		Projections	Locution	Idea	
				Structural connective	
Textual					Comment
Interpersonal					Adjunct
Multiple					

Table 4.1

Classification of constituents which may appear in first position in the T-unit

Having determined a classification system for the types of constituents which may occur in first position, it is now possible to count the constituents which occur in first position within the T-units in each of the texts within the corpus. The following section presents the statistical count of the first position constituents in the T-units of each text.

<sup>2</sup> I make this assumption on the basis that dependent clauses in Japanese typically precede the dominant clause.

### 4.3 First position elements in the T-units of each text

#### 4.3.1 The Newspaper articles

##### 4.3.1a The Hard News Story:

***Ginkoo ni tanjuu gootoo: sampatsu hassha, 200 man-en ubatte toosoo***  
**(Armed bank robbery: 3 hosts fired, robbers stole 2 million yen and fled)**

The newspaper article, *Ginkoo ni tanjuu gootoo: sampatsu hassha, 200 man-en ubatte toosoo* is a hard news story consisting of 25 clauses. These 25 clauses organize into 12 T-units. Of the 12 T-units, four are simplexes, two are complexes, and six are T-units within a complex. There are no T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.2 below.

T-unit as simplex	4	33%
T-unit as complex	2	17%
T-unit with clause complex	6	50%
T-unit across sentence	0	0

Table 4.2  
The T-unit types in *Ginkoo*

Table 4.3 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituent appearing in these T-units. Within the single constituent type, participants and circumstances are equally represented in first position – 33.3% each. However there is a multiple constituent type consisting of two circumstances in T-unit 1. The two components of this multiple constituent are considered to work collectively because both constituents function similarly and are stacked up, as it were, beside each other at the beginning of the T-unit. In a sense they are strung together, bunched up to take advantage of the thematic potential at the beginning of the T-unit. Given the fact that they are both circumstances, in other words, they are fulfilling the same function, that is, to act as ‘attendant on the process’ (Halliday 1994:150) but not nuclear to it, in the same way as the participant is (Martin, Mattiessen et al. 1997:103), I will refer to this patterning of functionally similar constituents stacked up at the beginning of the T-unit, as a univariate, multiple type of first position constituent.

When taking the presence of the univariate, multiple circumstantial type into account, the circumstantial elements appear more frequently in first position than participants at 41.5% of the time. This is complemented by the presence of two beta clauses, again realising circumstantial meanings, but of the temporal type. The overall choice in this news story is to place circumstances and episodic clauses in first position in the T-unit at 67% of the time.

It is interesting to note that the writer has chosen to use circumstances for meanings of spatial location (refer to T-units 1, 7, 8 and 9) and beta clauses for meanings of temporal location (refer to T-units 2, 5 and 6). This division of labour, if deliberate, sets up a contrast between the two types of circumstantial meanings.

Single (11) 91.5%	Ideational	Experiential	Participant (4) 33.3%	Material Relational	Actor Identified	2 1
Circumstance (4) 33.3%				Existent	1	
				Angle	1	
				Spatial Location	2	
				Extent	1	
Logical		Taxis (3) 25%		Enhancing β Clause	3	
Multiple (1) 8.5%			Circumstance+ Circumstance (1) 8.4%		Spatial Location	1

Table 4.3  
The first position constituents in *Ginkoo*

#### 4.3.1b The Soft News Story:

##### *Samusa yurunde setsubun* (The Cold Eases and it is the Bean-Throwing Festival)

The newspaper article, *Samusa yurunde setsubun* is a short soft news story article of 19 clauses. These 19 clauses organize into 12 T-units. Of the 12 T-units, five are simplexes, one is a complex, five are T-units within a complex and only one T-unit traverses the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.4 below.

T-unit as simplex	5	42%
T-unit as complex	1	8%
T-unit with clause complex	5	42%
T-unit across sentence	1	8%

Table 4.4  
The T-unit types in *Setsubun*

Table 4.5 below documents the types and statistical spread of the first position constituent appearing in these T-units. The most common single constituent is that of participant, specifically Actor. The next most common first position constituent are circumstances, mostly Spatial Location types. There are two examples of beta clauses in first position, and each example functions to expand on the dominant clause using temporal enhancement similar to those which appeared in *Ginkoo*. Further, there are two univariate, multiple circumstantial constituents.

Again, when considering the choice of first position constituents in this news story, it is interesting to note that the writer has chosen circumstances for meanings of spatial location (refer to T-units 2, 3, 4 and 5) and beta clauses for meanings of temporal location (refer to T-units 7 and 8). This division of labour again appears to be a deliberate patterning choice when you consider that fact that this also occurs in the *Ginkoo* article. Circumstances are used for spatial meanings and the rank of clause, specifically the beta clause, is used for temporal circumstantial meanings.

Single	Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Material	Actor	3
(10) 83%			(5) 42%	Relational	Identified	1
			Circumstance (3) 24%		Existent	1
					Spatial Location	2
					Manner	1
		Logical	Taxis (2) 17%		enhancing β Clause	2
Multiple (2) 17%			Circumstance+ Circumstance (2) 17%		Spatial Location	2

Table 4.5  
The first position constituents in *Setsubun*

### 4.3.1c The News Commentary Story:

***Keizai Kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo e***  
**(Economic forecast – from the calculator to the brain)**

The newspaper article, *Keizai Kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo e* is a rather longer news commentary article of 36 clauses. These 36 clauses organize into 23 T-units. Of the 23 T-units, eight are simplexes, six are complexes, and eight are T-units within a complex. There is one T-unit which traverses the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.6 below.

T-unit as simplex	8	34.7%
T-unit as complex	6	26%
T-unit within clause complex	8	34.7%
T-unit across sentence	1	4.6%

Table 4.6  
T-unit types in *Keizai kishoodai*

Table 4.7 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituent appearing in these T-units. This news story has first position constituents which are similar to those found in the two news stories above, namely participants and circumstances, however, unlike the previous two news stories, there are also some other kinds of constituents. These include the presence of implicit or missing first position constituents and another kind of multiple constituent, this time, a multivariate, rather than a univariate type. Further, rather than having just single ideational constituents in first position, this story has single textual constituents as well.

Predominantly, participants appear most often both within the single (9/23) and multiple (6/23) types of first position constituents – 65% of the time. In contrast, circumstances occur only 9% of the time. Further, there is one beta clause construing conditional enhancement in the final T-unit, 23.

There are not just ideational constituents, but textual ones as well. For example, T-unit 2 begins with the structural connective *shikashi* (but). Apart from singular textual constituents, there are also multiple constituents which begin with textual elements ranging from single words (T-unit 11, *tsumari* [in other words]), to group/phrase constituents (T-unit 12, *tokoro ga* [however]). Further, there is a beta clause *kangaete mireba* (when you think about it)

functioning interpersonally as a kind of admission (Halliday 1994:49) in T-unit 22.

Following these initial textual constituents in the multiple type, is an ideational element, and as mentioned above, these are all participants. As these multiple constituents consist of elements construing different metafunctions, I will refer to these as multivariate in type. If there is more than one metafunctional meaning construed, say textual and ideational, then this is an example of a multivariate, multiple constituent such as in T-unit 12, *tokoro ga nyuuro wa* (however neuro-computers..).

Explicit	Single	Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Material	Actor	
(20) 87%	(14) 61%	(12) 52%		(9) 39%		Goal	2
					Relational	Identified	2
						Carrier	1
					Circumstance (2) 9%	Cause	2
					Clause (1) 4%	β clause	1
		Textual (2) 9%				Structural connective	2
	Multiple (6) 26%	Textual^	Ideational	Participant	Material	Actor	2
						Goal	1
					Relational	Carrier	2
		Interpersonal^	Ideational	Participant		Actor	1
Implicit (3) 13%	Single	Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Relational	Carrier	2
						Identified	1

Table 4.7

The first position constituents in *Keizai kishoodai*

The other kind of first position phenomenon which appears in this news story is the presence of an implicit element. This occurs in T-units 3, 5 and 19. In each case, the English pronoun 'it' or 'they' would be used in translation. Basically, these T-units consist of clauses which contain relational<sup>3</sup> processes. In T-unit 3, the implicit constituent is the Identified *onsei ninshiki no gijutsu* (voice recognition technology) in an identifying process, while in T-units 5 and 19 the implicit constituent is the Carrier in an attributive process, *gijutsu* (technology) and *konpyuutaa* (computer) respectively. These constituents are elided due to co-referential ellipsis which is operating to link cohesively - in

<sup>3</sup> According to Teruya's classification of process types in Japanese, the relational process has three subtypes: existential, ascription (decoding) and identification (encoding) (Teruya 1998)

these examples, to link anaphorically back to the constituent in the previous T-unit<sup>4</sup>.

In summary, the news stories have the following kinds of constituents in first position. Within the single type, the ideational constituents include participants, circumstances and beta clauses. The participants are less frequent than the combination of circumstances and beta clauses. The kinds of participants include Actor, Goal, Identified, Carrier and Existent, while the kinds of circumstances include those of Spatial Location, Manner, Angle and Cause. The beta clauses are of the enhancing type, specifically construing meanings of temporal location. The textual constituents consist of structural elements from across the ranks of word, group/phrase and clause. Within the multiple type, there are examples of both univariate and multivariate kinds. And finally, implicit constituents are in evidence due to the operation of co-referential ellipsis.

An interesting pattern present in the choice of first position constituents within these news stories is an echoing of similar participants and or circumstances across the three categories of single, multiple and implicit first position types. The echo effect in the *Ginkoo* news story is with the circumstances. There are single circumstances of Angle and Spatial Location, and multiple, univariate circumstances of Spatial Location as well. It seems that the choice of circumstances is echoed in the two types of first position categories present in *Ginkoo*. This echoing also occurs in *Keizai kishoodai*, this time however, with the participants, rather than with the circumstances. In this case, the participants: Actor, Goal, Carrier and Identified feature in the single category, and some in the multiple and implicit categories as well. This may relate to the method of development of the news stories which will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

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<sup>4</sup> In each case, the constituent in the previous T-unit is not in first position. In chapter 3, the T-unit was defined as a co-referential unit. The important point is that the T-unit is indeed a co-referential unit; however, the co-referentiality needs to refer back to the first position constituent rather than any other constituent in the T-unit. If the reference is back to the first position element then we have one T-unit as in T-unit 6, however, if the reference is back to other elements then this sets up a change in the first position element and therefore justification for the establishment of a new T-unit, as in T-units 5 and 19. If the first position element changes, then this signals the beginning of a new T-unit.

### 4.3.2 The Nursery Tales

#### 4.3.2a *Urihimeko* (The Melon Princess)

The nursery tale, *Urihimeko* is a short text of 120 clauses. These 120 clauses organize into 71 T-units. Of the 71 T-units, 32 are simplexes, 26 are complexes, and 4 are T-units within a complex. There are 9 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.8 below.

T-unit as simplex	32	45%
T-unit as complex	26	36.5%
T-unit within clause complex	4	6%
T-unit across sentence	9	12.5%

Table 4.8  
The T-unit types in *Urihimeko*

Table 4.9 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituents appearing in the T-units of *Urihimeko*. This story displays a number of patterns worthy of identification. Firstly, the participants which feature most prominently are Actor at 24% ( $9+7+1=17/71$ ) and Sayer at 15.5% ( $2+2+7=11/71$ ). This story includes dialogue and the Sayer therefore seems to feature significantly in first position. Also, the presence of Actor and Sayer echoes through the categories: Actors and Sayers are present in the single, multiple and implicit categories. Secondly, the most common kind of circumstance is that of Temporal Location. Further, the four beta clauses, which are enhancing and temporal in type, further contribute to the store of circumstantial meanings which appear in first position. Finally, the story also features some interpersonal and textual elements at the beginning of the T-unit both in the single and multiple categories. And within the multiple category, there are univariate and multivariate types. The univariate type of ‘circumstance followed by circumstance’ features in *Urihimeko* as the first constituent in the first T-unit of the text. This constituent, *mukashi, mukashi, aru tokoro ni* (long, long ago, in a certain place) immediately signals to the reader that they are about to hear a nursery tale as this is the typical beginning of such a story.



Explicit	Single		Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Material	Actor	9
(60)	(45)				(15)		Beneficiary	1
84.5%	63%				21%	Mental	Sensor	2
						Relational	Carrier	1
						Verbal	Sayer	2
					Circumstance		Temporal	6
					(11)		Location	
					15.5%		Spatial	1
							Location	
							Cause	2
							Manner	2
				Logical	Taxis	Expansion	Enhancing:	4
					(5)		temporal $\beta$	
					7%		Clause	
						Projection	Locution	1
			Textual				Structural	13
			(13)				connective	
			18%					
			Interpersonal				Modal	1
			(1)				Adjunct	
			1.5%					
	Multiple	Multivairate	Textual^	Ideational	Participant		Actor	7
	(15)	(14)	(13)		(9)		Sayer	2
	21%	19.5%	18%		12.5%			
					Circumstance		Circ.	4
					(4)		(temp) 1	
					5.5%		(manner) 2	
							(spatial) 1	
			Interpersonal^	Ideational	Participant		Actor	1
			(1)		(1)			
			1.5%		1.5%			
		Univariate		Ideational	Circumstance		Circ. +	1
		(1)			(1)		Circ.	
		1.5%			1.5%			
Implicit				Ideational	Participant	Relational	Identified	2
(11)					(10)	Verbal	Sayer	7
15.5%					14%	Material	Actor	1
					Taxis		$\beta$ Clause	1
					(1)			
					1.5%			

Table 4.9  
The first position constituents in *Urihimeko*

There are two interesting features in this story which need to be addressed. One is the presence of songs in the text, while the other is the concluding words, *medetashi, medetashi* (well done, well done) in T-unit 71.

There are a number of songs in the text, two of which are sung within the context of the sounds of the loom clicking. The clicking sounds are included in the text using onomatopoeia, therefore, in the T-units in which these sounds feature (T-units 18 and 45), the sounds of the loom are not considered part of the song. In these two cases, the implicit first position elements are taken to be the Sayer (or singer) of the song, that is, *Urihimeko* in T-unit 18 and *Amanjaku* in T-unit 45.

T-unit 71, which is the final T-unit of the story, has the formulaic, final words of the nursery tale in Japanese, *medetashi, medetashi*. This construction has an implicit beta clause in first position which needs some explanation. These words are typically translated into English as ‘they lived happily ever after’. This however is problematic as it is not a literal translation, but rather an attempt to link the ending of the nursery tale in Japanese with its counterpart in English. *Medetashi* is better translated as ‘congratulations’ or as ‘well done’. In which case, the question arises as to what is to be congratulated. In the case of the story, *Urihimeko*, it is a story which triumphs over evil and which also serves to explain why the roots of the nutmeg tree are red. Given this context, the *medetashi, medetashi* concludes a clause complex which may be something like, *aku wa horobite, medetashi, medetashi* (Because evil is destroyed, well done, well done) or *kore de, anata mo kono hanashi o rikai dekite kite, medetashi, medetashi* (With this, you are able to understand the point of this story and so, well done, well done). In other words, the implicit part of the final T-unit offers the reader the opportunity to interpret the story according to their own conclusions, rather than through direction supplied through an explicit beta clause. This is a common feature of Japanese which appears to defer to the reader as an intelligent consumer of the information – often the writer of the text allows the reader to fill in the missing sections according to their own interpretation (Tosu 1985).

#### **4.3.2b Momotaroo (The Peach Boy)**

The nursery tale, *Momotaroo* is a long text consisting of five chapters with a combined total of 335 clauses. These 335 clauses organize into 190 T-units: 33 in chapter one; 32 in chapter two; 53 in chapter three; 23 in chapter four and 49 in chapter five. Refer to Table 4.10 below.

Chapter	T-unit	Clauses
one	33	55
two	32	54
three	53	90
four	23	33
five	49	103
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>335</b>

Table 4.10

The clauses and T-units in *Momotaroo* organised by chapters

Of these 190 T-units, 82 are simplexes, 60 are complexes, and 31 are T-units within a complex. There are 17 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. This is presented below in Table 4.11 organised by chapters.

<b>CHAPTER ONE (33 T-units)</b>	<b>No. of T-units</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
T-unit as simplex	19	57.5%
T-unit as complex:	10	30.5%
T-unit within clause complex	2	6%
T-unit across sentences	2	6%
<b>CHAPTER TWO (32 T-units)</b>		
T-unit as simplex	16	50%
T-unit as complex:	7	22%
T-unit within clause complex	6	19%
T-unit across sentences	3	9%
<b>CHAPTER THREE (53 T-units)</b>		
T-unit as simplex	18	34%
T-unit as complex:	19	36%
T-unit within clause complex	15	28%
T-unit across sentences	1	2%
<b>CHAPTER FOUR (23 T-units)</b>		
T-unit as simplex	14	61%
T-unit as complex:	5	22%
T-unit within clause complex	2	8.5%
T-unit across sentences	2	8.5%
<b>CHAPTER FIVE (49 T-units)</b>		
T-unit as simplex	15	31%
T-unit as complex:	19	39%
T-unit within clause complex	6	12%
T-unit across sentences	9	18%

Table 4.11

The T-unit types in *Momotaroo*

Table 4.12 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituents appearing in the T-units of *Momotaroo*. The count is organised into chapters.

The T-units within each chapter display single, multiple and implicit first position constituents. Within the single category, the most common constituent is the participant at 28.5% (54 tokens) of the total count. Within this category, the Actor features most often 19% (36 tokens) followed by an approximately equal representation of Carrier (2.6%) and Sayer (3.1%). Apart from the participant type, there is a relatively equal spread of circumstances which are mostly spatial in type (7.8%), beta clauses of enhancement (9.4%), locutionary projections (8.9%) and single textual constituents (9%). There is only one example of an interpersonal first position constituent and this occurs in T-unit 2.21. This T-unit consist of an interpersonal constituent which serves to introduce the narrator into the text through a rhetorical, *Iya* (No). Typically, interpersonal elements occur clause finally and thus the presence of interpersonal constituents in first position is rather unusual.

Within the multiple category, the multivariate type features most predominately at 18% of the time, particularly the ‘textual followed by ideational’ kind at 17%. Within this type, there is a similar, significant percentage of participants as in the single category. The most common participant is the Actor (9%) followed by circumstances (3%) and by beta clauses of enhancement (2%). As in the single category, there is one example of an interpersonal first position constituent in T-unit 3.5. There is also one example of the univariate type of ‘circumstance followed by circumstance’ first position constituent and as mentioned in *Urihimeko*, it occurs at the beginning in T-unit 1. It signals the start of the nursery tale text.

Within the implicit category, participants predominate (15%) and of these the most frequent type is the Sayer (11%). The other kind of implicit constituent is the missing beta clause ‘text wrap-up’ element preceding the final clause, *medetashi medetashi*. This elided clause is filled in by the reader, that is, through their knowledge of the purpose of the nursery tale. The reader knows that the story ends with the hero subduing the evil devils and returning the villagers stolen treasure. It is a happy ending thus the reader can construe a ‘happy-ending’ beta clause which relates to the alpha clause of *medetashi*,

*medetashi*. Thus in this case, the implicit beta clause could be rendered something like *ojiisan, obaasan wa Momotaroo ga buji ni kaette kite, ureshikute*, (the old couple were happy because Momotaroo returned safely...) followed by *medetashi, medetashi* (well done, well done).

In summary, despite the differences in length between *Urihimeko* and *Momotaroo*, the two texts share similarities in the terms of the choice of first position elements in the T-units. They each display the typical opening and closing first position choices of a univariate, circumstantial element and an implicit beta clause respectively. Further, the Actor features most often in the single and multiple category, while the Sayer features most often in the implicit category in each case. The only significant difference in the selection of the first position constituent is that *Momotaroo* has a substantial number of projections in first position at 9.% compared to *Urihimeko* at 0.01%.

	Chapters						1	2	3	4	5	T			
Ex- plicit (160) 84.5%	Single (124) 65%	Idea- tional (104) 55%	Ex- periential	Part- icipant (54) 28.5%	Mat- erial	Actor	6	2	6	9	13	36			
						Goal		1		1		2			
					Re- lational	Carrier	2	1	1		1	5			
						Id.	1				3	4			
					Verbal	Existent			1			1			
						Sayer		1	2	1	2	6			
				Circumstance (15) 8%	temporal Location		1			2		3			
							Spatial Location		1	4	2	3	10		
					Cause		2					2			
							Enhance	4	3	6	1	4	18		
				Logical	Taxis (18) 9.5%	βclause Ex- pansion	Extend								
							Elabor- ate								
							Projection (17) 9%		Locution		5	9		1	15
				Idea	1	1						2			
				Textual (19) 10%					Structur- al conn- ective	5	3	6	1	4	19
				Interpersonal (1) 0.005%					Modal Adjunct		1				1
	Multi- ple (36) 18.5%			Multi- variate (35) 18%	Textual (33) 17%	^ Ideational	Participant (22) 11.5%	Actor	1	3	3	3	7	17	
		Goal													
		Sayer								1	2	3			
Sensor															
Id.							1			1					
		Carrier													
Existent					Attribute										
Circumstance (6) 3%					temp spatial		1	1		2	4				
Taxi (4) 2%					β Clause		2	2			4				

					Projection (1) 0.5%	Locution		1				1	
			Interpersonal (2) 1%		^ Ideational	β clause		1	1			2	
		Uni- variate (1) 0.5%	Ideational ( Circumstance ^ Circumstance)				1					1	
Implicit (30) 15.5%				Ideational	Partic- ipant (29) 15%	Re- lational	Identi- fied	2	1	2			5
							Carrier			1			1
						Mat- erial	Actor			1	1		2
						Mental	Senser						
					Verbal	Sayer	7	3	5	1	5	21	
					Taxis (1) 0.5%		β clause				1	1	
Totals								33	32	53	23	49	190

Table 4.12

The first position constituents in *Momotaroo*

### 4.3.3 The Narratives

#### 4.3.3a *Taberareta Otoko* (The Man who was Eaten)

The short story, *Taberareta Otoko* is the final story in a volume of the same name by Atoda Takashi. There are 143 clauses in the text which organize into 102 T-units. Of the 102 T-units, 53 are simplexes, 23 are complexes, and 21 are T-units within a complex. There are 5 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.13 below.

T-unit as simplex	53	52%
T-unit as complex	23	22.5%
T-unit with clause complex	21	20.5%
T-unit across sentence	5	5%

Table 4.13

The T-unit types in *Taberareta Otoko*

Table 4.14 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituents appearing in the T-units of *Taberareta Otoko*. Unlike the previous texts, the T-units in *Taberareta Otoko* display mostly single and implicit first position constituents. There is only two tokens of the multiple type.

Within the single category, the most significant first position constituent is the participant at 36% (37 tokens). Within this class, the most common transitivity roles are that of Carrier (10%) and Actor (10%) followed by Identified (8%) and then Senser (6%). Circumstances also appear in first

position with the most frequent being circumstances of both Temporal (6%) and Spatial Location (4%). Significantly, enhancing beta clauses occur frequently at 10.7% of the time, equivalent to the frequency of single Actors and Carriers.

Within the implicit category, the most frequent participant is the Sayer (29%). This is high due to the fact that the clauses in which the implicit Sayer features are locutionary projections. This short story includes a large section of direct speech with both the participant and process elided. The only remaining constituents in these clauses are the locutions.

Explicit	Single		Ideational	Experiential	Participant	Material	Actor	
(69)	(67)		(62)		(37)	Mental	Senser	10
68%	65%		60%		36%	Relational	Carrier	6
							Identified	10
							Existent	8
						Verbal	Sayer	1
								2
					Circumstance		Angle	1
					(13)		Matter	2
					12.5%		temporal	6
							Location	
							Spatial	4
							Location	
				Logical	Taxis		Enhancing	11
					(11)		β Clause	
					9%			
					Projection		Idea	1
					(1)			
					1%			
			Textual				Structural	5
			(5)				connective	
			5%					
	Multiple	Multivariate	Textual^	Ideational	Participant		Senser	1
	(2)				Logical		β Clause	1
	2%							
Implicit				Ideational	Participant	Mental	Senser	2
(33)						Verbal	Sayer	30
32%						Material	Actor	1

Table 4.14  
First position constituents in *Taberereta Otokō*

#### 4.3.3b *Noruvei no Mori* (Norwegian Wood)

The contemporary novel, *Noruvei no Mori* is a substantial work of two volumes. The section of the novel used in this study is the first three sections of five sections of chapter One. In the original text, these sections are indicated by triple spaced paragraphing. These three sections comprise 138 clauses in total. These clauses organize into 86 T-units. Of the 86 T-units, 37 are

simplexes, 20 are complexes, and 21 are T-units within a complex. There are 8 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.15 below.

T-unit as simplex	37	43%
T-unit as complex	20	23%
T-unit with clause complex	21	24.5%
T-unit across sentence	8	9.5%

Table 4.15  
The T-unit types in *Noruei no Mori*

Table 4.16 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituents appearing in the T-units of *Noruei no Mori*. As with the previous texts, the T-units in *Noruei no Mori* display single, multiple and implicit first position constituents. Again, within the single category, the most common constituent is the participant at 45.3% (39 tokens) of the total count. Within this category, the Actor features most often (21%) followed by a relatively equal representation of Identified (7%), Carrier (8%) and Existent (8%). As well as the participant type, there is a relatively equal spread of circumstances (7%) which are mostly spatial and temporal in type and beta clauses of enhancement (7%). Following these are a small number of locutionary projections (4.5%). There is only one example each of a single interpersonal and single textual first position constituent.

Within the multiple category, only the multivariate type features. There are of two kinds: a ‘textual followed by ideational’ at 16.2%, which has featured in the other texts within the corpus, and a ‘an interpersonal followed by ideational’ at 5.8%. Again, within the ideational component of these multiple constituents, the most common participant is the Actor at 10% (9 tokens) followed by a lower number of circumstances (4.6%) and two beta clauses of enhancement (2.3%).

Within the implicit category, participants predominate (9%) and of these, the Sayer, Sensor and Actor feature equally.



Explicit (78) 91%	Single (59) 69%		Ideational (57) 66%	Experiential (45) 52%	Participant (39) 45%	Material	Actor	18	
						Mental	Sensor	1	
						Relational	Carrier	7	
							Identified	6	
							Existent	7	
					Circumstance (6) 7%	temporal		3	
						Locatio		2	
						Spatial Location		1	
					Logical (12) 14%	Taxis (6) 7%		Enhancing β Clause	6
						Projection (6) 7%		Locution	4
						Idea	2		
				Textual (1) 1.2%					Structural connective
	Interpersonal (1) 1.2%					Modal Adjunct		1	
Multiple (19) 22%	Multivariate		Textual ^ (14) 16.2%	Ideational (14) 16.2%	Participant (9) 10.5%		Actor	8	
							Identified	1	
					Taxis (1) 1.2%		Beta clause	1	
					Circumstance (4) 4.6%		circ.temp spatial	2 2	
			Interpersonal^ (5) 5.8%	Ideational	Participant (4)		Actor	1	
							Carrier- domain	1	
		Carrier			2				
					β Clause		1		
Implicit (8) 9%				Ideational	Participant (8)	Material	Actor	3	
						Mental	Sensor	2	
						Verbal	Sayer	3	

Table 4.16  
The first position constituents in *Noruwei no Mori*

#### 4.3.3c *Donguri to Yamaneko* (The Acorns and the Wildcat)

The short story, *Donguri to Yamaneko* is the first in a collection of nine stories which appear in the publication, *Chuumon no ooi ryoori ten* (The Restaurant of Many Orders) by Kenji Miyazawa (1923). Unlike *Noruwei no Mori*, this text is not divided into sections but is written as one piece and consists of 40 paragraphs. The story comprises of 289 clauses in total. These clauses organize into 151 T-units. Of these T-units, 48 are simplexes, 34 are complexes, and 42 are T-units within a complex. There are 27 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary. Refer to Table 4.17 below.

T-unit as simplex	48	32%
T-unit as complex	34	22%
T-unit with clause complex	42	28%
T-unit across sentence	27	18%

Table 4.17  
The T-unit types in *Donguri to Yamaneko*

These 27 T-units which traverse the sentence boundary are of a particular kind and reflect a particular style of writing by Miyazawa. They tend to correlate with verbal processes and locutions. A feature of this text is that the verbal process is often in a sentence which is separate from the projected locution. An example is presented in Table 4.18 below. Here the verbal process, *kotaemashita* (to reply) appears in the sentence immediately before the locution, “*Yamaneko wa, sakki, basha de nishi no hoo e tonde ikimashita yo.*” (“Yamaneko flew by a little while ago in his carriage heading west”). The Sayer in each case is *taki* (waterfall) and so the two sentences are counted as one T-unit. This is a style adopted by Miyazawa throughout this text.

T-unit	First position constituent	the remainder of the T-unit
21	□□ <i>Taki ga</i> The waterfall	□□□□□□□□□□ <i>piipii kotaemashita.</i> whistled in reply. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ “ <i>Yamaneko wa, sakki, basha de nishi no hoo e tonde ikimashita yo.</i> ” “Yamaneko, a little while ago, in his carriage, towards the west, flew by”.

Table 4.18  
T-unit traversing the sentence boundary involving a verbal process

Table 4.19 below illustrates the types and statistical spread of the first position constituents appearing in the T-units of *Donguri to Yamaneko*. As with the previous texts, the T-units in *Donguri to Yamaneko* display single, multiple and implicit first position constituents. Within the single category, the most significant constituent is the participant at 58% of the total count. Within this category, the Actor features most often at 23% (35 tokens) followed by the Sayer at 18% and the Carrier at 10%. Circumstances are not featured in first position to any significant extent in this text, however, enhancing beta clauses feature to a small extent (7.3%). Following these are a small number of

locutionary projections (2.5%). There is only one example of a single textual first position constituent, and there are two examples of single interpersonal constituents.

Within the multiple category, only the multivariate type features. This includes the ‘textual followed by ideational’ kind and the ‘interpersonal followed by ideational’ kind. It is the ‘textual followed by ideational’ which is predominate at 14% with the Actor and Sayer participants occurring as the most common ideational elements. Within the implicit category, participants feature at 18%, and of these the Sayer is the most significant at 10.5%.

In short, *Donguri to Yamaneko* is a story which contains lots of dialogue, as well as narrator monologue of both actions and attributes. It is significant then that the first position elements are in fact the Actor, the Sayer and the Carrier. These three participants echo through the single, multiple and implicit first position categories.

Explicit (133) 88%	Single (109) 72%		Ideational (106) 70.5%	Experiential	Participant (87) 58%	Material		Actor	35
								Goal	2
						Mental		Sensor	1
						Relational	Carrier	15	
							Carrier-domain	1	
							Identified	3	
							Existent	1	
						Verbal	Sayer	27	
							Verbiage	2	
					Circumstance (4) 2.5%		temporal		2
							Location		2
				Logical	Taxis (11) 7.3%		Enhancing β Clause	11	
					Projection (4) 2.5%		Locution	4	
			Textual (1) 0.6%				Structural connective	1	
			Interpersonal (2) 1.4%				Modal Adjunct	2	
	Multiple (24) 16%	Multivariate	Textual^ (21) 14%	Ideational	Participant (17) 11.3%		Actor	8	
							Sayer	5	
							Identified	1	
							Carrier	2	
							Existant	1	
							Phenomenon	1	
			Circumstance (4) 2.5%		circ.temp		2		
	spatial				2				
	Interpersonal^ (3) 2%	Ideational	Participant		Phenomenon	2			
Projection			Idea	1					

Implicit (18) 12%	Ideational	Participant (18) 12%	Relational Verbal	Identifier Sayer	2 16
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Table 4.19  
First position constituents in *Donguri to Yamaneko*

#### 4.4 Interpreting the first position choices across the corpus

Having quantified the frequency of the various first position constituents within each text, the next step is to look at the overall picture of first position across the corpus. Table 4.20 below sets out the total percentage of the participants, circumstances, beta clauses and projections across the corpus. The participant is the most common first position element, occurring 72% of the time. Typically, the participant occurs most frequently as a single constituent (38.6%), but also features in multiple combinations coupled with either textual or interpersonal elements, or as an implicit constituent.

Text type	participant	circumstance	β clause	projection
The Newspaper articles				
<i>Ginkoo ni Tanjuu Gootoo</i>	4/12 33.5%	5/12 41.5%	3/12 25%	0
<i>Samusa Yurunde Setsubun</i>	5/12 41.5%	5/12 41.5%	2/12 17%	0
<i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	20/23* 87%	2/23 9%	1/23 4%	0
The Nursery Tales				
<i>Urihimeko</i>	49/71* 69%	16/71 22.5%	5/71 7%	1/71 1.5%
<i>Momotaroo</i>	125/190* 66%	22/190 11.5%	25/190 13%	18/190 9.5%
The Narratives				
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	76/102* 75%	13/102 12.5%	12/102 11.5%	1/102 1%
<i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	62/86* 72%	10/86 12%	8/86 9%	6/86 7%
<i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	127/151* 84%	8/151 5.3%	11/151 7.3%	5/151 3.3%
<b>TOTAL %</b>	<b>468/647*</b> <b>72%</b>	<b>81/647</b> <b>12.5%</b>	<b>67/647</b> <b>10.5%</b>	<b>31/647</b> <b>5%</b>

\*includes implicit participants occurring singly or in combination with a textual or interpersonal element

Table 4.20

The percentage of participants, circumstances, beta clauses and projections in first position in the corpus.

On the other hand, if you look at the circumstances in Table 4.20, they occur much less frequently in first position at only 12.5% of the time. Circumstances occur both as single constituents and as part of a multiple constituent comprising of textual or interpersonal elements. There are no circumstances in the implicit category, in other words, circumstances, if they are positioned initially, are always explicitly stated.

And similarly, the frequency of enhancing beta clauses is similar to that of circumstances, occurring in first position 10.5% of the time. However, unlike the circumstances, beta clauses occur across the three categories of single, multiple and implicit. Note though, that the implicit beta clause appears to occur in only one text type, that of the nursery tale, occurring in the final T-unit of each tale. Further, the presence of a beta clause in a multiple combination only occurs in *Momotaroo*. There are no multiple tokens which include a beta clause in the newspaper articles or in the narratives.

The other constituent which features in first position is the projection which is either a locution in a verbal process, or an idea in a mental process. These occur far less frequently at 5% and are only significant in *Momotaroo*. The fact that, in *Momotaroo* projections occur in first position, and that multiple constituents include beta clauses points to a stylistic difference between *Momotaroo* and the other texts in the corpus.

#### 4.4.1 Participant types

Table 4.21 below illustrates the choice of participant within each text. Within the participant category, the kind of participant which is selected most frequently across the corpus is the Actor at 30% (193 tokens / 647). This is followed by Sayer at 20% (131 tokens / 647).

	<i>Ginkoo</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	<i>Keizai</i>	<i>Urihimeko</i>	<i>Momotaroo</i>	<i>Taberareta</i>	<i>Noruiwei</i>	<i>Donguri</i>	Total
Actor	2	3	8	24	69	11	31	45	193
Goal			3		2			2	7
Beneficiary				1					1
Sensor				2		12	3	1	18
Phenomenon								3	3
Carrier			5	3	7	10	10	19	54
Attribute									
Grounds									
Carrier-domain							1	1	2
Identified	1	1	4	3	12	10	7	4	42
Identifier								2	2
Existent	1	1			2	1	7	2	14
Sayer				15	33	32	3	48	131
Receiver									
Verbiage								1	1
Target									
									468

Table 4.21  
the choice of participant type within each text

#### 4.4.2 Circumstance types

Table 4.22 below illustrates the choice of circumstances within each text. Within the circumstance category, the kinds of circumstances which are selected most frequently across the corpus are the Spatial location at 5.5% (36 tokens / 647) and Temporal locations at 4.8% (31 tokens / 647).

	<i>Ginkoo</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	<i>Keizai</i>	<i>Urihimeko</i>	<i>Momotaroo</i>	<i>Taberareta</i>	<i>Noruiwei</i>	<i>Donguri</i>	total
Angle	1					1			2
Matter						2			2
temporal Location				8	8	6	5	4	31
Spatial Location	4	4		3	13	4	4	4	36
Cause			2	2	2				6
Manner		1		4			1		6
total	5	5	2	17*	23*	13	10	8	83

\*includes the multiple univariate circumstantial constituents

Table 4.22  
the choice of circumstances within each text

#### 4.4.3 Beta clause types

Table 4.23 below illustrates the kinds of beta clauses which appear in first position within each text. The beta clauses are all enhancing in type. There are no examples of either elaborating or extending beta clauses. Within the enhancing category the temporal kinds are selected most frequently across the

corpus with the successive temporal type being most common at 4% (27 tokens / 647) followed by the simultaneous temporal type at 3% (19 tokens / 647). Following this is the conditional enhancing beta clause featuring at 2.3% (15 tokens).

	<i>Ginkoo</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	<i>Keizai</i>	<i>Urihimeko</i>	<i>Momotaroo</i>	<i>Taberareta</i>	<i>Noruwei</i>	<i>Donguri</i>	Total
<b>Enhancing</b>									
simultaneous temporal		1		1	6	2	3	6	19
successive temporal	3	1		3	7	4	4	5	27
manner					4				4
causal				1	1				2
conditional			1		7	6	1		15
Total	3	2	1	5	25	12	8	11	<b>67</b>

Table 4.23  
the kinds of beta clauses in first position

#### 4.4.4 Textual types

Table 4.24 below illustrates the kinds of textual constituents in first position. These textual constituents are connectives of various kinds including connective particles, words, phrases and connective rank reduced clauses. These various kinds are detailed in Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1. The table below illustrates the range of functions the connectives serve in the corpus. The most common kind of connective is that of temporal, followed by causative and adversative functions.

	<i>Ginkoo</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	<i>Keizai</i>	<i>Urihimeko</i>	<i>Momotaroo</i>	<i>Taberareta</i>	<i>Noruwei</i>	<i>Donguri</i>	Total
<b>Enhancing</b>									
manner	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	<b>2</b>
temporal	0	0	1	16	29	1	3	22	<b>72</b>
causative	0	0	0	6	11	2	7	0	<b>26</b>
concessive	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Extending</b>									
replative	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
adversative	0	0	2	3	5	2	4	2	<b>18</b>
additive	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	<b>4</b>
<b>Elaborating</b>									
apposition	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	<b>5</b>
clarification	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	<b>2</b>
Total									<b>131</b>

Table 4.24  
the kinds of connectives in first position

#### 4.4.5 Interpersonal types

Table 4.25 below illustrates the kinds of interpersonal constituents in first position. The interpersonal constituents are either modal or comment adjuncts.

The comment adjuncts feature the most frequently (86%). The modal adjuncts are infrequently selected (14%). This infrequency relates to the fact that interpersonal meanings typically occur clause finally. Those that do appear in initial position, are specifically versions of ‘yes’ and ‘no’.

Interpersonal constituents	<i>Ginkoo</i>	<i>Setsubun</i>	<i>Keizai</i>	<i>Urihimeko</i>	<i>Momotaroo</i>	<i>Taberareta</i>	<i>Noruwei</i>	<i>Donguri</i>	Total
modal adjunct	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
comment adjunct	0	0	1	2	4	1	5	6	19
Total									22

Table 4.25  
the kinds of interpersonal constituents in first position

#### 4.5 Conclusion

In chapter 2, I discussed the notion that systemic theory is a theory of choice. From the results above, it is possible to see this system of choice at work. The writers of these texts were making clear choices as to what to position first in the T-units. The most frequent choice was to place the participant first. Following that, the next most frequent choice was the placement of the circumstance, then the beta clause, then the projection. The fact that these decisions were made consistently across the texts in the corpus strongly suggests these choices are significant and functional.

The motivating function behind these choices is the writer’s need to organize the ideational content into a coherent message. This is apparent because the ideational content does not alter depending on what constituent is placed first. Consider the example in Table 4.26 below. The writer has chosen to place the circumstance, *hobashira no ue ni wa* (on the mast) first. However, if the Actor, *kiji ga* (the pheasant) were placed first, the ideational meaning would remain unaltered. The sentence would still contain the message that ‘the pheasant sat on the mast’.

T-unit 4.8	<i>Hobashira no ue ni wa</i>	<i>kiji ga</i>	<i>tomatte imashita.</i>
	on the mast	pheasant	sat.

Table 4.26  
taken from *Momotaroo*

Similarly, the interpersonal meaning of this clause is not altered by the particular placement of any of the clause constituents in first position. Regardless of the word order, the mood of the clause remains a declarative. It



is thus apparent that the motivation for placing particular constituents first relates to the writers need to organize the message. It relates to what the writer/speaker wants to set up as the ‘point of departure’ or ‘orienter’ of the message. In other words, using systemic terminology, the motivation relates to what the writer wants to construe as Theme. In the example in 4.26 above, placing *kiji ga* in first position would change the textual organisation of the T-unit. The writer did not do this, thereby making a deliberate choice about what to signal as the ‘orienter’ of the message. The ‘orienter’ in this case is a circumstance, thus the reader is oriented to ‘place’ rather than to ‘Actor’. However, had *kiji ga* been in first position, the reader would have been oriented to ‘Actor’.

Given the fact that there is significant evidence in the statistical count to justify that the choice of what you place first in the T-unit is significant, it is reasonable to conclude that the constituent in first position in the T-unit is functioning as Theme. It is also reasonable to generalize that this patterning is not isolated to this set of texts, but is also a pattern operating within the Japanese language as a whole, at least certainly within the written texts of the language.

The following chapter will develop the notion of Theme as it is realised in Japanese and relate individual Themes to larger patterns of thematic development. In other words, chapter 5 will look at the discourse patterns which arise from thematic choices and chapter 6 through to 8 will illustrate how these thematic choices work together to realize particular methods of development within each set of text types.

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## Chapter 5 – THEME, methods of development and genre

### 5.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is firstly to provide a description of the system of THEME in Japanese. This follows on from the previous chapter in which I demonstrated, using a quantitative methodology, that the choice of the first position constituent, relabelled as Theme, is motivated.

Secondly, the chapter will discuss the motivation behind the choice of Theme in terms of thematic patterning drawing on the work of Daneš, Fries and other researchers who have demonstrated that these patterns serve to contribute to the method of development of a text.

The latter half of the chapter will discuss how thematic choices can be motivated by the purpose of the text. In other words, a particular purpose may influence what is taken as Theme in any given text. These choices are predictable in different text types or genres. Genres are considered to have stages which collectively realise the social purpose of the text. I present a general discussion on the literature of genre in the SF framework and then describe the generic staging of the relevant News Stories, the Nursery tale and the Narrative with a view to investigating whether the Japanese texts in the corpus can be usefully described in these terms.

### 5.1 The system of THEME

As presented in chapter 2, Theme is the ‘point of departure of the message’, and Rheme is ‘the part in which the Theme is developed’ (Halliday 1994:37). According to Daneš, the Rheme is the core of the message and pushes the communication forward.

The Rheme shows its significance as the conveyor of the ‘new’, actual information, while the Theme, being informatively insignificant, will be employed as a relevant means of the construction (Daneš 1974:113).

Similarly, within SF theory, the Rheme is the site for new information; it is salient in terms of newsworthiness, while the Theme typically is the site for given information, although motivated variations on this patterning occurs.

The realisation of THEME in Japanese is first position in the T-unit. This was demonstrated in chapter 4 by the statistical count which showed that the choice of what is placed first in the T-unit is significant, thereby concluding that the constituent in first position in the T-unit is functioning to organize the message and is therefore, Theme. The following sub-sections in Section 5.1 will describe the kinds of Themes present in the texts of the corpus. The various kinds are organised as a system network based on the set of possible first position constituents which were introduced in chapter 4. This network is presented in Figure 5.1 below. The various kinds of Theme will be presented each in turn. This will be followed by a brief discussion on markedness and the marked choices of Theme within the corpus. The participant and circumstantial functions are based on Teruya's typology (Teruya 1998). Of his categories, there were no examples of Scope, Grounds, Identifier, Receiver or Target in first position. Consequently these have been left out of the system network below.

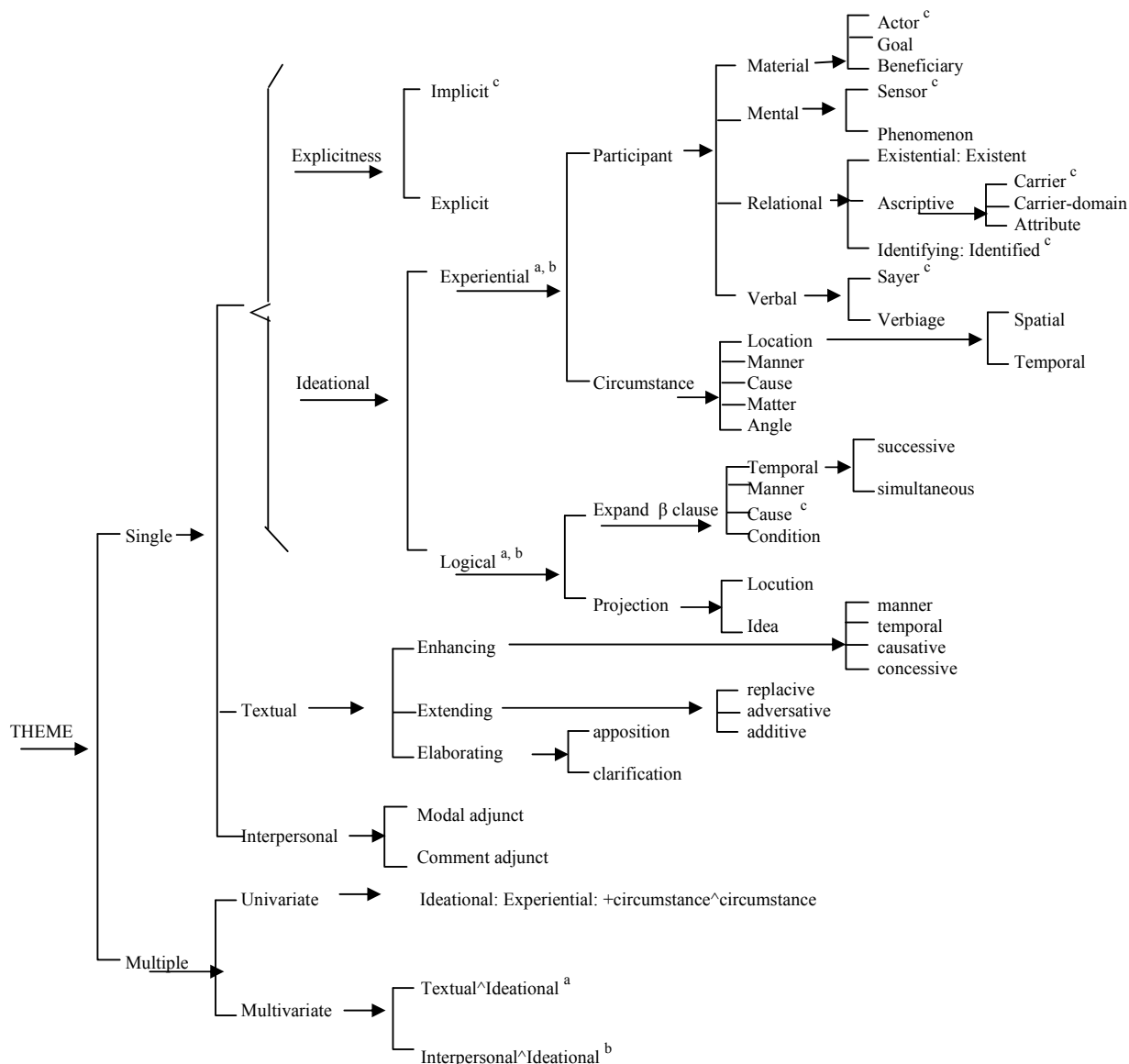


Figure 5.1  
The system network of THEME in the corpus  
(if multivariate <sup>a</sup> or <sup>b</sup>, then select from ideational)  
(if implicit <sup>c</sup>, then select unmarked participants <sup>c</sup>, or expanding  $\beta$  clause of cause <sup>c</sup>)

### 5.1.1 Single Themes

Single Themes in the corpus consist of textual, interpersonal and ideational Themes. Textual Themes are essentially connectives of various kinds establishing cohesive relations of elaboration, extension and enhancement and creating transitions in the text. There are examples of conjunctive particles (*setsuzokuji*), conjunctions (*setsuzokushi*) consisting of rank reduced clauses, and also connective phrases. Below are examples of each taken from the corpus in

Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. Note that, despite the fact that these textual Themes are single Themes, there is an elided ideational Theme in each case. It could be argued that these are examples of multiple multivariate Themes, however, ellipsis is in operation. Thus in the reality of the text, the ideational Theme is not stated. It is implicit and so these examples are treated as single textual Themes.

	THEME		RHEME
T-unit	Textual	elided ideational	
23.	To, And so,	(He)	<i>sutasuta arukidasu.</i> strode off briskly.

Table 5.1  
Conjunctive Particle  
taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

	THEME		RHEME
T-unit	Textual	elided ideational	
2	<i>Shikashi,</i> But,	(it)	<i>nakanaka fukyuu shinai.</i> has not spread much.

Table 5.2  
Conjunction  
taken from *Keizai Kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo*

	THEME		RHEME
T-unit	Textual	elided ideational	
13.	<i>ippoo de wa</i> on the one hand	(I)	<i>iv. kore wa kitto yoku nai de kigoto no zenchoo da to kigu o kanji,</i> felt that this was like a warning against a future, bad event, but
14.	<i>moo ippoo de wa</i> on the other hand	(I)	<i>v. nani ka yoku nai koto ga okotte hoshii to negau yoo na, sonna hukuzatsu na kangai o idaita mono datta.</i> had this kind of complicated, deep feeling which was wanting something bad to happen.

Table 5.3  
Connective phrase  
taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

T-unit	THEME		RHEME
	Textual	elided ideational	
18.	To itte mo, By this I mean,	(it)	<i>ashi ga hutoku nattari, nagaku nattari shita wake de wa nai.</i> wasn't that his legs became fatter or longer.

Table 5.4  
Rank Reduced Connective Clause  
taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

Single interpersonal Themes occur in the corpus but they are very rare. Their scarcity may relate to the fact that the lexico-grammar of the interpersonal meta-

function of MOOD and modality tend to utilize the end of the clause where the process is most typically located rather than at the beginning of the clause or T-unit. When an interpersonal Theme occurs, it is the result of the writer wanting to foreground an interpersonal ‘take’ or ‘spin’ on the message. And so occasionally, single interpersonal Themes do occur and are most frequently realized by a comment adjunct. As is the case for the single textual Theme, the single interpersonal Theme is followed by an elided ideational Theme, as again, ellipsis is in operation. This is illustrated in the example in Table 5.5 below.

T-unit	THEME		RHEME
	Interpersonal: <b>Comment Adjunct</b>	elided ideational	
23.	<i>Hontoo ni</i> Truly,	(it)	<i>tsume no kakaru hodo datta no desu.</i> was just a crack big enough for a finger nail.

Table 5.5  
Single Interpersonal Theme  
Taken from *Urihimeko*

Ideational Themes consist of experiential and logical kinds. However, a simultaneous choice arises at this point in the network. Ideational Themes can either be explicitly or implicitly stated. If the choice is explicit then the experiential set consists of participants and circumstances, while the logical set consists of beta expansion clauses and projections. Note that in this study, I refer to ideational Themes rather than to ‘topical’ themes as this avoids any misunderstanding the of term, ‘topic’.

The term, ‘topic’ is used very widely in Japanese linguistic descriptions and consequently has a number of disparate definitions. Within the Universal Grammar paradigm, Japanese has been typologised as a Subject prominent and Topic-prominent language (Li 1976:460). Also, Givón, in his typology work, uses the term ‘topic’ to mean “the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence of the paragraph”(Givon 1983:9). In SF terms, this is a characterisation of a feature within the ideational metafunction, rather than within the textual metafunction, and it is the textual metafunction which is under investigation in this study. Further, the post-positional particle, *-wa* has been characterised as the ‘topic’ marker (Shibatani 1990:262). Within the various descriptions of English as well, ‘topic’ is problematic in that it very often is used

to refer to a ‘given’ Theme. This ‘combining’ approach was first proposed in 1939 by Mathesius which has been translated in Firbas (1964) and picked up van Dijk (1976), Firbas (1964) and Kuno (1972) thereby conflating the functionally distinct systems of THEME and INFORMATION STATUS.

Therefore, given the frequent use of this term, ‘topic’, and the fact that it is used to describe a number of different linguistic phenomena within a range of different linguistic traditions, I feel it is best to avoid it. The term ideational Theme is sufficient for my purposes as it identifies the Theme which relates to the ideational metafunction. It also allows for the range of ideational constituents which appear in first position within the corpus to be included under its banner. Further, it is not without precedent in the systemic context to use the term ideational Theme. Ghadessy (1995:131) uses the terms ideational Theme both as a marked and unmarked choice in his paper which compared the choice of Theme and Rheme across a range of registers including sports commentary, exposition, narrative and obituary.

And so, returning the task of listing the types of Theme found in the corpus, within the single ideational Themes, the participant is the most common followed by circumstances, enhancing beta clauses and locutions respectively. Refer back to Table 4.20. Below are examples of each type taken from the corpus in Tables 5.6, 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9.

T-unit	THEME Ideational: participant (Medium)	RHEME
1.	<i>Kore wa</i> This	<i>watashi no shitashii yuujin, S-kun ni okotta koto de aru</i> happened to my close friend, S-kun.

Table 5.6  
participant  
taken from *Taberareta Otoko*

T-unit	THEME Ideational: circumstance	RHEME
61.	<i>i.Ojiisan,obaasan no ie</i> <i>no soba no ki no ue ni,</i> In a tree beside the house of the old man and woman	<i>ichiwa no karasu ga tomatte,</i> one crow landed and ii." <i>Urihimko no okago ni yo, Amanjaku me ga notte iku.</i> <i>Kaa kaa kaa kaa</i> ". <i>to nakimashita.</i> sang, "In Urihimeko's carriage, the naughty Amanjaku is riding. Crow, crow, crow, crow".

Table 5.7  
circumstance (taken from *Urihimeko*)



	THEME Ideational: beta clause	RHEME
1.24	<i>i. Mizu kara ue e sukoshi agatta to omou to,</i> When (she) thought (she) had lifted (it) from the water,	<i>ii. te ga subette,</i> her hands slipped and <i>iii. dobuun to, shita ni ochimashita.</i> (it) fell, “KaBoom” back in.

Table 5.8  
enhancing beta clause  
taken from *Momotaroo*

	THEME Ideational: projection	RHEME
26	<i>"Auf Wiedersehen!" to</i> “Goodbye”	<i>boku mo itta.</i> I also said.

Table 5.9  
projection  
taken from *Noruei no Mori*

### 5.1.2 Multiple Themes

There are two kinds of multiple Themes: univariate and multivariate. The univariate Themes are Themes which consist of two circumstantial Themes, that is, two constituents serving the same function. These Themes are found at the beginning of the hard and soft news stories and the nursery tales and serve to set the scene of the text which is to follow. The presence of a univariate Theme in the corpus signals that the text is either a news story or a nursery tale. It seems that single circumstances do not exhaust the thematic potential - they can stack up at the beginning of the T-unit to foreground the circumstantial context of the event. Consider the example in Table 5.10 below.

	THEME Univariate: (a) temporal circumstance ^ (b) spatial circumstance	RHEME
1.	<i>i. a. Tsuitachi gozen kuji gojugo-hun goro,</i> <i>b. Fukui-shi Kasuga-choo 238-1,</i> <i>Fukui Ginkoo Kasuga Shiten =Katoo Tomomasa Shiten-choo (44) = ni,</i> a. On the first around 9:55am b. at the Kasuga branch of the Fukui bank 238-1 Kasuga-choo =managed by Katoo Tomomasa (44)=	<i>sanjussai kurai no kuro sangurasu o otoko ga kyaku o yosootte</i> a man about 30 years old wearing black sunglasses disguised as a customer, <i>ii.hairikomi,</i> entered the bank and <i>iii. raitenchuu o dooshi Itagaki-choo Shimonawate, shuhu, Sugaware Kimiyo-san (30) o ushiro kara ikinari ha ga ijime ni shita ue,</i> in addition to suddenly grabbing from behind Mrs. Kimiyo Sugawara, a house wife from Fukui City Itagaki-cho Shimonawate who was visiting the bank at the time, <i>iv. kauntaa chuo ni ita suitoo gakari no Yoshino Toshiyuki-san (29) ni pisutoru o muke,</i> (he) pointed a gun at Mr. Yoshino Toshiyuki (29) a bank clerk standing behind the counter, and v. <i>“Okane o dase, hayaku dase” to odoshita.</i> demanded, “Take out the money quickly!”

Table 5.10

Univariate: circumstance ^ circumstance

taken from *Ginkoo ni Tanjuu Gootoo*

The other kind of multiple Theme is the multivariate type. This consists of two different kinds: a textual followed by ideational kind; and an interpersonal followed by ideational kind. The textual component of the multiple Themes have the same kinds of constituents as in the single examples. There are examples of conjunctive particles (*setsuzokuji*), conjunctions (*setsuzokushi*) including the set which consists of rank reduced clauses, and connective phrases. This is also true of the interpersonal and ideational components, that is, the same kinds of constituents which appear as single Themes appear as components of multiple Themes. “The interpersonal Themes indicate to the reader that the ideational configurations that follow are to be taken from the writer’s angle” (Matthiessen 1995b:41). Examples are provided in Table 5.11 and 5.12 below.

T-unit	THEME		RHEME
	Textual:rank reduced clause	Ideational: Agent	
24	<i>Kangaete mireba</i> When you think about it,	<i>i.ningen wa, people</i>	<i>aimai ni oomaka ni taishoo o torae,</i> take hold of phenomena broadly and ambiguously and, <i>ii. samazama ni shori shi,</i> deal with it is a variety of ways and, <i>iii. machigae nagara mo</i> while even making mistakes <i>iv. gakushuu shite</i> learn and <i>v. shidai ni kashikoku naru.</i> gradually become more intelligent.

Table 5.11

Multivariate: textual ^ ideational kind

taken from *Keizai Kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo*

T-unit	THEME		RHEME
	Textual:Comm ent adjunct	Ideational: Medium	
19.	<i>Annojoo,</i> As expected,	<i>Amanjaku ga</i> Amanjaku	<i>yatte kimashita.</i> visited. <i>“Urihimeko, Urihimeko, ore to issho ni asobimashoo.”</i> <i>“Urihimeko, Urihimeko, let’s play together”</i>

Table 5.12

Multivariate: interpersonal ^ ideational kind

taken from *Urihimeko*

### 5.1.3 Implicit Theme

Within the system of THEME in the corpus, the ideational Themes can either be explicitly or implicitly stated. The discussion above dealt with the kinds of explicit ideational choices. In this section, the implicit ideational choices are discussed. These are more limited than the explicit realisations and are indicated by the superscript <sup>(c)</sup> in Figure 5.1.

Implicit Themes consist of only ideational elements and these are predominately participants, however in the nursery tale texts there is the implicit beta clause at the end of each story serving to signal the ending. The implicit Themes present in the corpus are provided in the Table 5.13 below.

Text type	Experiential					Logical
	Actor	Carrier	Identified	Sayer	Senser	Because
<b>The Newspaper articles</b>						
<i>Samusa Yurunde Setsubun</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ginkoo ni Tanjuu Gootoo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	0	2	1	0	0	0
<b>The Nursery tales</b>						
<i>Urihimeko</i>	1	0	2	7	0	1
<i>Momotaroo</i>	2	1	5	21	0	1
<b>The Narratives</b>						
<i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	3	0	0	3	2	0
<i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	0	0	1	16	0	0
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	1	0	0	30	2	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>

Table 5.13  
Statistical Spread of Implicit Themes.

The fact that implicit Themes occur can be explained by the presence of redundancy in the grammar of Japanese. Redundancy is, according to Lemke, “a formal way of describing what goes with what else.....the predictable relation or connection of two things”(Lemke 1995:169). Essentially, the implicit Themes are redundant, they are predictable from the grammar, the surrounding text or the context. The Sayer is the most common implicit Theme and this is due to the fact that a Locution, of course, has a Sayer. It often does not need to be stated, particularly, if the turn-taking order of the direct speech in a story serves to indirectly identify who is speaking. It is therefore, predictable and redundant. In the texts which include direct speech, that is, the nursery tales and the narratives, often only the Locution is explicitly stated. The Sayers are missing, thus the Theme is implicit, and the Verbal Processes are also missing from the Rhemes. Consider the example in Table 5.14 below.

T-unit	THEME	RHEME
	implicit Ideational: Sayer	
115	(Ichiroo)	“ <i>Shoochi shimashita. Orei nanka irimasen yo.</i> ” (said), “You’re welcome. You don’t need to thank me.”
116	(Yamaneko)	“ <i>Iie, orei wa doo ka totte kudasai. Watashi no jinkaku ni kakawarimasu kara. Soshite kore kara wa, hagaki ni kaneta Ichiroodono to kaite, kochira o saiban-sho to shimasu ga, yoo gozaimasu ka?</i> ” (said), “Please receive my ‘thank-you’ gift. Otherwise, I’ll look bad. So, from now on, I’ll address the postcard to ‘Master Kaneta Ichiroo’ from the ‘Court House’. Is that OK?”

Table 5.14  
Implicit Sayer Theme  
Taken from *Donguri to Yamaneko*

In the case of the other implicit participant Themes, they are missing for the following three reasons. There is either redundancy in the grammar of the pronominal demonstrative, *sore* (it); redundancy in the co-text relating to co-referential ellipsis; or redundancy in the context of culture relating to the social purpose and function of the story.

Table 5.15 below presents an example of an implicit Theme due to redundancy in the grammar. In this example, *sono ban no koto desu* occurs at the beginning of chapter 2 in *Momotaroo* and is the narrator setting the scene, ‘that night’ for the events which are about to unfold. This is an identifying relational process with only one participant, the identifier, *sono ban no koto* (that night) and the process, *desu* (to be). The identified, if it were explicitly stated, would be the demonstrative pronominal, *sore* (it), and thus the clause would translate something like, ‘It was that night’. However, the typical unmarked form of a scene-setting relational clause in Japanese grammar is Identifier plus Process only. Typically, *sore* is implied and only explicitly stated as a marked variation. An example of the marked variation appears in *Norui no Mori* T-unit 6. This kind of grammatical redundancy, that is, a relational process without an Identified participant serves to ‘set the scene’, as it were in the nursery tales and narratives.

T-unit	THEME	RHEME
	implicit Ideational: Identified	
2.1	(It)	<i>sono ban no koto desu</i> was that night.

Table 5.15

Implicit Theme due to redundancy in the grammar

Table 5.16 below is an example of an implicit Theme due to redundancy in the co-text. In this example, the implicit participant Theme in T-unit 3.19, ‘he’ refers co-referentially to the referent item, *Momotaroo* in T-unit 3.14. As the referent item is retrievable, there is no need in the text to refer again explicitly to *Momotaroo* while ever the referent item remains unchanged across the T-units. The Theme is thus implicit as the referent item is unchanged. This is an example of redundancy in the surrounding co-text.

	THEME	RHEME
	implicit Ideational: Actor	
3.19	(He)	<i>i. Uchi o deta,</i> left the house and, <i>ii. sukoshi iku to,</i> after going a little way, <i>iii. mura e demashita.</i> arrived at the village.

Table 5.16

Implicit Theme due to redundancy in the cotext

The final kind of redundancy which relates to the presence of implicit Themes is that of redundancy in the context of culture. As previously explained, the final T-units in the nursery tales have an implicit beta clause Theme followed by the Rheme, *medetashi, medetashi*. This implicit beta clause is left to the reader to construe. The construal however, is very predictable because the consumer of the text knows that the social purpose of a nursery tale is to teach them a lesson or moral. They know to fill in the missing clause with something that relates to the lesson or moral of the story – something to do with the success of good over evil, or the fact that they understand the point of the story. This is supported by Tosu (1985) when he states that, “[t]he Japanese language tends to leave much room for the hearer to judge the implications”(Tosu 1985:179). Two possible

versions are supplied in the example below in Table 5.17. This predictability is a form of redundancy, but not in the grammar, or the co-text but in the reader's understanding of the function of the nursery tale within their culture. It is a form of cultural redundancy.

	THEME	RHEME
	implicit Ideational:beta clause	
5.49	<i>(i.Minna shiawase ni natte,)</i> (Because everyone was now happy,) or <i>(ojiisan, obaasan wa Momotaroo ga buji ni kaette kite ureshikute,)</i> (the old couple were happy because Momotaroo returned safely,)	<i>ii.medetashi, medetashi.</i> Well done, well done.

Table 5.17  
Implicit Theme due to redundancy in the culture  
taken from *Momotaroo*

#### 5.1.4 Markedness

In the above description of the single ideational Themes, the kinds of constituents were listed, namely participants, circumstances, beta expansion clauses and projections without mentioning the frequency of occurrence. However, in chapter 4, the quantitative results presented a picture of the most frequently occurring first position constituents, or Themes. You will recall that the most commonly occurring constituent was the participant (72%). It thus appears that the participant is typically selected as Theme, or, in other words, the typical pattern of Theme selection is to choose the participant. The choice of some other constituents such as a circumstance or a beta expansion clause is a marked choice, motivated by a desire to foreground as Theme something other than the participant for reasons which may relate to the overall textual organisation of the discourse.

From the corpus, the unmarked ideational Theme is the participant, while a marked ideational Theme can be either a circumstance, an enhancing beta clause or a projection. Another interesting marked choice is the explicit use of the demonstrative pronominal, *sore* (it), mentioned above in the discussion on implicit Themes. It appears from the corpus that *sore* is the marked thematic choice in an identifying relational process. This occurs in T-units 13 and 21 in

*Keizai kishoodai*. The unmarked choice is the ellipsis of *sore*, due to redundancy in the grammar.

These kinds of marked choices are not, I believe isolated to this corpus. Given the fact that the texts in the corpus are quite representative of Japanese texts in general, it is reasonable to suggest that this patterning is most likely a typical pattern of markedness in the language at large.

Having isolated the participant choice as the unmarked choice of Theme, it is interesting to consider which participants are most commonly selected as Theme. There is a clear pattern in the corpus which relates to process type. Table 4.21 in the previous chapter lists the participants types selected as Theme. There is a participant within each process type which is selected as Theme more frequently than any other. This frequency is listed below in Table 5.18 The unmarked choices are the constituents which feature as the ideational Themes in the implicit Theme category. This again appears to be related to redundancy, in this case, redundancy in the grammar and the surrounding text.

Process	Participant		no. of tokens	% of total number	Marked (M) or Unmarked (U) choice
Material	Actor		193	96%	U
	Goal		7	3.4%	M
	Beneficiary		1	0.6%	M
	Scope		0	0	M
Mental	Sensor		18	86%	U
	Phenomenon		3	14%	M
Verbal	Sayer		131	99.2%	U
	Receiver		0	0	M
	Target		0	0	M
	Verbiage		1	0.8%	M
Relational:	Existential:	Existent	14	100%	U
	Ascriptive:	Carrier	54	96.4%	U
		Carrier-domain	2	0.6%	M
		Attribute	0	0	M
		Grounds	0	0	M
	Identifying:	Identified	42	95.4%	U
		Identifier	2	4.6%	M

Table 5.18  
unmarked and marked participant choices



### 5.1.5 The Ergative Perspective

The presentation of Theme thus far in the discussion presents Theme according to a transitivity typology, in other words, the classification of the experiential Themes is according to transitivity roles such as Actor, Goal and so on. However, Themes can also be viewed from an ergative perspective. This is useful in order to see how the text incorporates moral responsibility and the assignation of power between the participants in the texts. The Themes across the corpus as a whole are predominantly the Medium (65.2%), with the Agent featuring less frequently (19.2%). This is illustrated in Table 5.19 below. This results in the avoidance of constructions which lay responsibility for actions. Across the corpus, the thematic selection does not reveal ‘who did what to whom’, but rather, it reveals that ‘something occurs’ or ‘someone acts’. Questions of moral responsibility or power are not implied. These texts are about things happening not about who is responsible.

Text type	Agent	Medium	Circumstance	Total
<b>The Newspaper articles</b>				
<i>Ginkoo</i>	0	4	5	9
<i>Setsubun</i>	0	5	5	10
<i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	4	16	2	22
<b>The Nursery tales</b>				
<i>Urihimeko</i>	16	33	16	65
<i>Momotaroo</i>	39	84	24	147
<b>The Narratives</b>				
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	2	73	14	89
<i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	14	48	11	73
<i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	30	93	8	131
<b>TOTAL %</b>	<b>105 (19.2%)</b>	<b>356 (65.2%)</b>	<b>85 (15.6%)</b>	<b>546 (100%)</b>

Table 5.19  
Ergative analysis of experiential Themes

## 5.2 Discourse patterns: method of development

In the section on markedness above, I suggested that the choice of a marked Theme may relate to the overall textual organisation of the discourse, that is to say, the choice of Theme works to assist in organising information as coherent information. Theme/Rheme patterns are significant for discourse organisation. Individual Themes work together to form patterns or methods of development. The method of development is an organizing principal which operates above the lexicogrammatical strata. It is not a structural resource, but a semantic one

serving to organize the semantic realm; "...the notion of method of development is not a structural idea but a semantic one" (Fries 1995a:324).

The following section will discuss the notion of method of development beginning with the early work of Daneš on thematic progression (TP), followed by the work of Fries who investigates the method of development of texts by demonstrating that the choice of Theme is sensitive to different text types. In other words, depending on what social function a text serves, the choice of Themes and the method of development will be predicatable. (Fries 1995a). This section will conclude with further discussion on Matthiessen's notion of instantial ideational systems and how patterns of Theme build instantial systems which serve to identify different text types.

### **5.2.1 Patterns of Thematic Progression**

The work of Daneš, within the Prague tradition is the starting point when looking at the development of thematic organisation . His work was conducted within the Functional Sentence Perspective paradigm where he began to look at Theme choices:

“...even a superficial observation of texts shows that the choice and distribution of themes in the text reveal a certain patterning; this statement also corresponds to our intuitive expectations that the progression of the presentation of subject–matter must necessarily be governed by some regularities, must be patterned (Daneš 1974:109).

In his work, Daneš looked for common patterns of thematic progression (TP) which he defined as

“the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter,...), to the whole text, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot” (Daneš 1974:114).

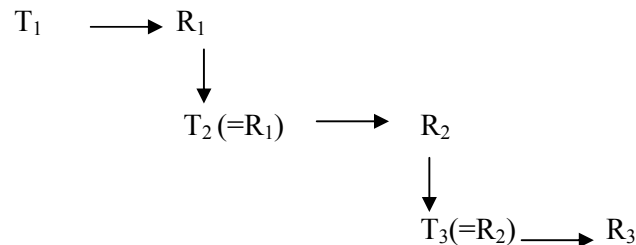
He assumed that text connectivity is achieved in part through TP patterns. He found common patterns of TP that occurred in Czech, German and English. In brief, he identified three generic types of TP (Daneš 1974:118-119). They are as follows:

- 1) simple linear TP in which the Theme of a clause originates in the Rheme of a preceding clause;

- 2) TP with a continuous Theme that "enters into relation with a number of different Rhemes" (Fries 1995a:320); and
- 3) TP with derived Themes. "In this case, the passage as a whole concerns a single general notion, and the Themes of the various constituent clauses all derive from that general notion, but are not identical to one another" (Fries 1995a:320).

These three types are illustrated below with examples taken from Daneš. The Themes are underlined. Of the three types, Daneš notes that the linear and the continuous tend to operate locally in the text, while the derived and variations on the derived TP type tend to operate more globally over longer stretches of text and could be considered a higher order type of thematic patterning, that is, organising the text or the paragraph rather than organising the clauses locally.

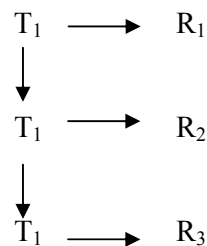
i. Linear TP



Example:

The first of the antibiotics was discovered by *Sir Alexander Fleming* in 1928. He was busy at the time investigating certain species of germ which is responsible for boils and other troubles.

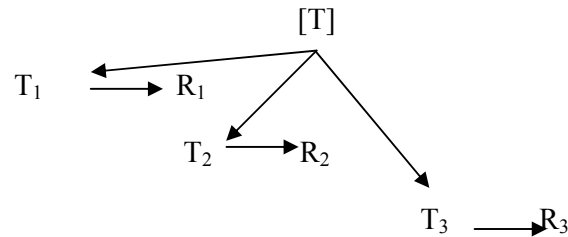
ii. Continuous TP



Example:

*The Rousseauist* especially feels an inner kinship with Prometheus and other Titans. His is fascinated by an form of insurgency. He must show an elementary energy in his explosion against the established order and at the same time a boundless sympathy for the victim of it. Further, the Rousseauist is ever ready to discover beauty of soul in anyone who is under the reprobation of society.

### iii Derived Thematic Progression



Example:

All substances can be divided into two classes: *elementary substances* and *compounds*. An elementary substance is a substance which consists of atoms of only one kind... A compound is a substance which consists of atoms of two or more different kinds...

The languages which Daneš studied, Czech, German and English are all Indo-European and thus, given their diachronic connections, it is not too surprising to find similarities in thematic patterning. However, Japanese is not related to these languages at all (Finegan, Blair et al. 1997:288), yet these TP patterns are in evidence. This similarity cannot be explained by referring to language families alone, but is best understood in terms of textual organisation. All languages have their own grammatical resources of organising discourse, and the fact that some languages might utilise the same resource – in this case, the beginning of the textual unit (either the clause or T-unit) – points to the fact that the possible set of potential grammatical resources for textual organisation is quite limited. To shed light on this would involve an extensive, multi-language study which is outside the scope of this study, but which would be an interesting line of investigation to pursue. In any case, Daneš' three basic TP patterns occur in the corpus. Examples of each type are supplied Tables 5.20, 5.21 and 5.22 below.

T-unit	THEME	RHEME
25.	<i>i. Kanojo wa</i> She ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	<i>soo itte</i> said this, <i>ii. kubi o huri,</i> shook her head, <i>iii. seki kara tachiagatte</i> stood up and <i>iv. totemo suteki na egao o boku ni mukete kureta.</i> gave me a beautiful smile. <i>"I hope you'll have a nice trip. Auf Widershehn! (Yoi goryokoo o. Sayoonara)".</i> (said), "I hope you'll have a nice trip. Goodbye. (Have a good trip. Goodbye)".

Table 5.20  
continuous  
taken from *Noruwei no Mori*

T-unit	THEME	RHEME
5	<i>i. Hikooki ga chakuchi o kanryoo suru to</i> When the plane completed its landing,	<i>ii. kin'en no sain ga kie,</i> the non-smoking sign was switched off, and <i>iii. tenjoo no supiikaa kara chiisana oto de <u>BGM</u> ga nagarehajimeta.</i> background music. (BGM) was piped quietly from the ceiling speaker.
6	<i>Sore wa</i> It	[[ <i>doko ka no ookesutora ga amaku ensoo suru</i> ]] <i>biitoruzu no "Noruwei no mori" datta.</i> was the Beatles' "Norwegian Wood" played romantically by some orchestra.
7.	<i>Soshite</i> And <i>sono meredii wa</i> this melody	<i>itsumo no yoo ni boku o konran saseta.</i> as usual caused me unease.

Table 5.21  
linear  
taken from *Noruwei no Mori*

T-unit	THEME	RHEME
27	<i>i. Juuhachi-nen to iu saigetsu ga sugisatte shimatta ima de mo Even though now 18 years has past,</i>	<i>ii. boku wa ano soogen no huukei o hakkiri to omoidasu koto ga dekiru. I can still clearly remember that grassland scene.</i>
28	<i>i. Nannichi ka tsuzuita yawaraka na ame ni natsu no aida no hokori o sukkari arainagasareta yamahada wa The surface of the mountainside where the dry summer dust had been washed away by the gentle, lasting rain</i>	<i>hukaku azayaka na aomi o tatae, was a deep vivid green;</i>
29	<i>ii. juugatsu no kaze wa The October wind</i>	<i>susuki no ho o achikochi de yurase, caused the ears of the pampas grass to sway back and forth;</i>
30	<i>iii. hosonagai kumo ga the long, thin clouds</i>	<i>koori tsuku yoo na aoi tenchoo ni pitari to haritsuite ita. stuck to the icy, blue zenith.</i>

Table 5.22

derived

taken from *Noruwei no Mori*

The TP patterns in the corpus fall into two types: those within and those between the T-units. The continuous pattern occurs within the T-unit, while the linear and derived patterns occur between or across the T-unit. As previously mentioned in chapter 3, the T-unit is defined as a co-referential unit in which the referent is the first constituent of the unit. However, the fact that continuous TP occurs within a T-unit, allows another, complementary definition of the T-unit to be postulated. Essentially, a T-unit can now be defined as a unit consisting of one thematic phase, that is, while ever the same Theme is operating, there can be more than one Rheme expanding it. These Rhemes may exist within a clause complex and/or across a sentence boundary (the orthographic unit in a written text). A T-unit is one phase of continuous thematic progression. If the Theme changes, a new T-unit is formed.

Equating the T-unit with one thematic phase, I believe solves the problem of the span of operativeness of Theme. Does a Theme span the clause, or something larger as it functions to organise discourse? Halliday has himself asserted that thematic organisation occurs throughout the ranks of the system at levels below and above the clause (Halliday 1994:54). Further, from previous studies, it has been shown that Theme can span across the clause complex, across

sentences, paragraphs and texts (refer to Martin (1995); Matthiessen (1995b); Cloran (1995) and Fries (1995c)). Fries, in his work on English, first postulated the term, T-unit to allow him to study the thematic patterns operating at ranks higher than the clause complex and states:

In my work on Theme I have found it useful to deal with a unit slightly larger than clause, but smaller than sentence. It consists of an independent clause together with all hypotactically related clauses and words that are dependent on that independent clause. I have coined it an independent conjoinable clause complex (Fries 1995c).

Similarly, building on Hasan's concept of the message as the smallest semantic unit of text, Cloran (1995) needed to postulate a higher ranked unit, in her case, the message unit. She postulates that the semantic stratum is organised around a constituency-based rank scale consisting of: text, rhetorical unit, message. The text consists of rhetorical units, and rhetorical units consist of message units. She further suggests that the various types of thematic progression establish a range of relationships between rhetorical units.

Moreover, looking at the work of Halliday, Fries and Martin, it is noticeable that Theme/Rheme constructions are relevant in different ranking environments: those of the clause (implicit in Halliday's definition), clause complex (explicit in Fries' definition), paragraph and text (explicit in Martin's work). Martin writes that Theme at paragraph and text level echo the textual structures of Theme/Rheme and information organisation at clause rank. This illustrates the fractal nature of Theme, that is, Theme is a functional category that can "manifest in different ranking environments" (Matthiessen 1995b:90).

In any case, my version of the T-unit sits somewhere between Fries' 'con-joinable clause complex' and Cloran's message unit. However, my version of the T-unit is not organising the semantic stratum as in the case of the message unit, but is more like Fries' unit, in that, it sits within the lexicogrammatical strata, not above the clause, but rather one might say, beside the clause. This is similar to how the information unit sits beside the clause (Halliday 1994:308) and organises the information into 'given' and 'new'. Theoretically positioning the T-unit beside the clause sets up a neat complementarity with the location of the information unit within the theory. Both the grammatical resources of these systems of INFORMATION STATUS and THEME are located within the textual

metafunction and being periodic in nature, and wave-like in structure, it would make good sense that the respective units of each sit beside the clause in a symmetrical, complementary relationship to each other.

Using the con-joinable clause complex as his unit of analysis, Fries, in his work, set out to investigate the organising nature of Theme by positing four hypotheses based on the premise that, “[i]f Theme is a meaningful element on the level of clause or clause complex, then we should find that the kinds of meanings that are made thematic would vary depending on the purposes of the writer” (Fries 1995b:6).

### **5.2.2 Theme and Method of Development**

Building on the work of Daneš, Fries investigated the extent to which TP patterns contributed to the overall organisation of discourse. He postulated that, if thematic status was meaningful, then one could expect that thematic status in clause complexes would contribute to the interpretation of texts (Fries 1995c:66). He approached the task by testing the four hypotheses which relate thematic progression to genres, method of developments and generic staging. The hypotheses are as follows:

1. Thematic progression correlates with genre type.
2. Experiential content in Themes correlates with method of development.
3. Experiential content of Themes correlates with genres.
4. Experiential content of the Themes correlates with generic elements of structure (Fries 1995b).

Each of these hypotheses will be dealt with in turn below.

#### **1. Thematic Progression correlates with Genre type.**

This hypothesis is concerned with TP and the origins of Themes, that is, where the Theme comes from and how it relates to the other Themes and Rhemes within the text. Fries drew on Daneš TP patterns pointing out that the linear TP derives Theme from the previous Rheme. The continuous TP pattern derives Theme from the previous Theme, while the derived TP derives Theme from a general notion as Theme out of which arises a number of related but not identical Themes. However, Fries found that research only weakly supports this hypothesis as they do not directly correlate with genre type (refer to Francis



1989; Bäcklund 1990; Francis 1990) as these TP patterns do not appear consistently enough within different genre types to directly correlate with a particular genre.

## **2. Experiential content in Themes correlates with Method of Development**

This second hypothesis addresses the relation between the experiential content of the Themes and the readers' or listeners' interpretation of the meaning of the text.

Two texts may say roughly the same thing but develop their ideas in different ways. The way in which a text develops its ideas can be called the method of development of the text (Fries 1995a:323).

Fries suggests that texts which appear to have a simple, single method of development, will have Themes expressing meanings which relate to the method of development through the utilisation of experiential choices. He claims that this is testable by changing the experiential content of the Themes in a text to see whether there is a change in the reader's perceptions of how the ideas in the text are developed. The first position 'scrambling' pilot study which I conducted and which preceded this larger study on Theme in Japanese, is the kind of test which I believe Fries calls for. It was clear from the result of the pilot test (Thomson 1998), that changing the first position constituent, that is, changing the Theme, disrupted the reader's perception of how the text developed. In Fries' terms then we can say, that the method of development of the 'scrambled' texts was disrupted. Fries points out that a number of studies (Martin 1986; Martin 1989; Benson, Greaves et al. 1992; Halliday 1993) have demonstrated that there is, in fact, a correlation between the experiential content of the Themes and the 'impression produced by the texts' (Fries 1995b:9).

## **3. Experiential content of Themes correlates with Genres**

The experiential content of the Themes in a text is sensitive to different genres. Fries found from his own work (Fries 1995a) and the work of others (Francis 1989; Bäcklund 1990; Francis 1990) that this hypothesis holds true to a reasonable extent as he found that "the frequencies of the various TP progressions vary with genre type, the experiential content of the Themes varies

with genre type, and the proportions of times that certain meanings are expressed thematically also varies with genre type” (Fries 1995a:355). For example the purpose of tour guide texts is to present and explain the various sights to the reader, therefore references to spatial location will play an orienting role (Fries 1995a:325). Also, Francis (1989 & 1990) found that the typical and most predominant Themes in news stories were participants of material and verbal processes, while far fewer relational participant/processes were selected as points of departure for the message. By contrast, editorials and letters [of complaint] both selected fewer material processes as Theme, very few verbal processes and a much higher percentage of relational processes (Francis 1990). Further, news stories had significantly more people and 'thing' Themes than the other two genres of editorial and letters. By the same token, these two expository genres used abstractions as Theme much more often than News does (Fries 1995a). Fries work demonstrates

that texts of different genres tend to use different patterns of thematic development, and that they also tend to place different sorts of information in the Themes of the clauses....his data shows that the different genres display shifting percentages of thematic and non-thematic uses of locative and temporal information. His results predict that a greater percentage of the locatives in the text will function as Theme if that text describes a scene than will be the case if that text describes a series of events (Hasan and Fries 1995: xli)

Matthiessen (1995b) illustrates this by comparing the Themes which collectively contribute to the method of development or logogenetic build-up of different text types. He showed: 1) how a tourist guidebook text developed thematically through locations realised as circumstantial adjuncts as its purpose is to guide the reader through a ‘semiotic’ journey; 2) how a taxonomic report develops thematically through elaborative taxonomisation realised by participants in hyponymic or meronymic relations with each other, as its purpose is to describe the parts of a group or system; and 3) how a narrative develops thematically through episodic knowledge realized by recursive selections of enhancing temporal sequences as its purpose is to entertain while exploring social and cultural values. Temporal enhancement is typically used to construct episodes made up of sequences of events where the main characters take on different participant roles.

Further, Matthiessen pointed out the significance of the system of CONJUNCTION in relation to Theme in that "it provides the 'method of development' that thematic selections have been shown to key into.

The selection of Theme, in a monologic passage is typically made to reveal the point of expansion. Thus if the expansion is one of temporal enhancement, the Theme is likely to be a specification of time; but if the expansion is one of taxonomic elaboration, the Theme is likely to be a current term in the taxonomy (Matthiessen 1995b:26-27).

Matthiessen considers Theme as a logogenetic growth point in terms of method of development. Selection of an element as Theme values that element as the next point of departure, as a point of expansion or growth. Maintaining the element as Theme allows for further expansion, while changing the Theme allows for a shift in the logogenetic development (Matthiessen 1995b). Shifting logogenetic build-up or maintaining it implies that there are number of choices involved in how a text develops thematically.

Martin also talks about the choice of experiential Themes being linked to text type. In his work on the analysis of Australian junior secondary science and history discourses (Martin 1993) he analysed the Themes and the information structure of a group of texts used by students and wrote, "[t]hematic selections ...articulate an angle on the field which is patterned in semantically definable ways..... reflecting the different methods of development appropriate to Reports in science and history and to scientific Explanations" (Martin 1993:244). Martin demonstrated that the Themes of scientific and historical discourses are different because they contribute to the overall purpose of the text, that is, to the genre.

....scientific discourse in junior-secondary school textbooks is organised as one large report, within which explanation and experiment genres are embedded. In contrast, history textbooks at this level are organised as generalised recounts, within which reports and more occasionally exposition are embedded. Generically then, science is about what the world is like, whereas history is about what happened (Martin 1993:267).

#### **4. Experiential content of the Themes correlates with Generic elements of Structure**

This hypothesis concerns the relation between the choice of experiential Theme and the various generic stages within a text. It proposes that the different stages of a text have presumably different purposes, and that this will be reflected in the choice of experiential Theme. Plum (1988) found, in his study that the stages of the narratives he examined used different kinds of topical Themes. Within the stages of Incident and Crisis, 90% of the Themes were participant chaining Themes, while within the stages of Reorientation, Interpretation and Abstract, the percentage of participant chaining Themes were less than 60%.

Another aspect of this hypothesis is the possibility that movement from one stage to another is signaled in the choice of the Themes. In other words, Themes of specific types may appear at the boundaries of generic stages which signal that either the text is moving into or out of stage. Research by Green (1980), Montgomery (1982) and Firbas have indicated that certain kinds of information, for example that realised by initial adverbials fulfil a scene or topic setting function (Fries 1995b:5). This kind of Theme may appear at the beginning of a scene setting stage within a larger text. In any event, Fries makes the point that there has been little research done in this area. However, I will contribute in part to verification of hypothesis 4 by illustrating that specific experiential Theme selection occurs at the onset of particular stages in the corpus of this study.

In conclusion, various researchers, some to more or lesser a degree, have verified the hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 as stated by Fries. Of the four, hypothesis one, *thematic progression correlates with genre type* is the least likely to be the case due to the fact that TP patterns do not directly serve to realise particular genres, but rather, as the research has shown, they work to organise the method of development of a text. Consequently, the method of development and the genre type depend very much on the experiential choice of Theme and also the shifting percentages of thematic and non-thematic uses of locative and temporal information (Hasan and Fries 1995:xli).

This study will, in the following three chapters, look at how the choice of Themes both textual and ideational<sup>1</sup>, the TP patterns and the method of development are operating in the texts of the corpus to see, if in fact, their operation is shaped by the social purpose of the text. Before I do this however, I need to present a discussion on genre in order to explicate the nature of the social purpose of the news story genres, the nursery tale and the narrative genre as presented in the literature.

### 5.3 Genre

The concept of genre is the subject of considerable debate. This arises from the fact that genre, like the term, topic, has a number of conceptualisations based on different linguistic traditions. Discussion on the different conceptualisations within different traditions distracts from the purpose of this study and thus will not be entered into here, however, it is useful to define the conceptualisation which is used in this study and the justifications for its use.

The conceptualisation of genre which is being applied in this study is that which arises out of SF theory. There is, however, a range of understandings of genre. Despite the debate about the nature of genre within SF circles, the fact remains that genre has the following general characteristics. Genre is a functional model of context based on social purpose which can be represented typologically as a system network. Essentially, a genre is a population<sup>2</sup> of texts, variations exist, but the probability (refer to Nesbitt and Plum (1988) for a discussion on systemic probabilities) of the features of each genre serve to define the population as one kind of population, for example, a population of narrative texts, of nursery tale texts, of newspaper texts. A useful way of describing these probabilities and the relationship between genre, register and the grammar is through the modal concept of usuality. The most usual features would topologically place a particular text centrally within the text type, while texts with less than the usual features would exist indeterminately on the boundary of a genre. Further, the application of the notion of genre lends itself to teaching

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<sup>1</sup> note that I use ideational rather than experiential Themes in order to include the choice of both projections and logico-semantic expansion clauses in the analyses.

<sup>2</sup> I borrowed this term from Chris Cléirigh who, modestly, is not prepared to claim it as his own, but who, nonetheless, is not able to tell me who coined it first. Thus, in the absence of information to the contrary, I will attribute the term, 'population of texts' to Cléirigh (2001).

contexts, a feature that interests me greatly, as my analyses directly inform my teaching of Japanese as a Foreign Language.

The two SF conceptualisations of genre which are applied in this study are explicated below.

### **5.3.1 SF Conceptualisations of Genre: the Genre Approach and Generic Structure Potential**

The name, Genre Approach has been given to the theoretical writings and practical teaching materials arising from the research as conducted by Jim Martin and colleagues during the 1980's and 1990's at the University of Sydney. The development of the notion of genre from Martin's perspective was motivated by an interest in developing a model of context that could be used to inform literacy teaching in schools. This led to the "development of Australia's distinctive genre-based literacy programs in primary and secondary schools" (Martin 1999:25).

Martin's conceptualisation of genre is based on Gregory's category of functional tenor (Gregory 1967; Gregory and Carroll 1978). Martin (1999) found the category of functional tenor to have a practical utility in that it introduced the notion of global purpose, that is, a text as a whole had a specific, social purpose. However, this notion of functional tenor, "which couldn't be easily reconciled with the intrinsic functional design of language as developed by Halliday" (Martin 1999:27) did not mesh with the metafunctions and context variables of field, tenor and mode. Martin developed the notion of genre from the idea that texts have a global purpose. He thus defines genre as 'staged goal-oriented social process[es]' (Martin 1986:246); it is a model of context which is viewed as a connotative or secondary social semiotic system which allows exploration of the functionality of language in relation to how it is used (Martin 1999:31).

Martin (1999) organises genres according to types in a typological system network<sup>3</sup> but he also describes genres from a complementary topological perspective which serves to capture the issue of gradience - the degree of proximity between categories within similar genre types or families, and the

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<sup>3</sup> an example of one of these is in Figure 5.5.

capture the issue of mixed genres whereby one text may move through a number of social purposes thus combining, say the features of a report and explanation genre in one text as a mixed genre. Topological perspectives have been very useful in the education work undertaken by Martin et.al. especially in curriculum design, as his primary aim was to map culture as a system of genres (Martin 1999). He wanted to identify the lexicogrammatical features of different genres in order to find ways to reveal, compare and teach the different kinds of valued texts within primary and secondary schools in NSW.

In contrast to Martin's model, Hasan (1996) postulates the notion of Generic Structure Potential (GSP). This is an abstract categorisation which attempts to state the generic structure potential for a set of texts which may occur appropriately within certain contextual environments. Hasan describes GSP as

descriptive of the total range of textual structures available within a given genre *G*. It is designed to highlight the variant (optional) and invariant (obligatory) properties of textual structures within the limit of one discrete genre and the GSP must be capable of specifying the following facts about text structure:

1. it must specify all those elements of structure whose presence is obligatory;
2. it must enumerate all those elements whose presence is optional;
3. [it] must also specify the obligatory and optional ordering of the elements vis-a-vis each other, including the possibility of iteration (Hasan 1996:53).

For Hasan, the GSP represents the total potential structure of a genre; an actual text is but one instance of the genre and reflects one possible configuration of the genre type. The GSP is thus analogous to a system, while the actual structure of some individual text is just one possible instantiation of some particular path allowed by the GSP.

Hasan's work is based on data from European anthologies, for example, Grimms, Jacobs, Aesops and more recent tales for children. She attempts to account for variation among one text type, rather than in Martin's case, attempting to map culture as a system of genres. Hasan is concerned with variation within a genre, while Martin is concerned with the kinds of genre a culture generates and values, their relationships with each other, and their distinctive elements.

The differences between Martin's and Hasan's conceptualisation of genre, or rather the differences between 'different registers of SFL' (Martin

1999:27) needs to be clearly presented so that different kinds of consumers of the theory might choose the 'register' appropriate to their needs. Martin's conceptualisation is concerned with the set of genres in any given culture, while Hasan's is concerned with variation within one genre. In my case, the differences between the two conceptualisations are complimentary for this study. The corpus consists of texts serving different social functions, and in the case of the nursery tales, and narratives, there is more than one example of each text type. Thus, Martin's notion is useful in distinguishing the differences between the text types, and Hasan's notion is useful in accounting for variation within the same text types.

The following discussion will present brief general descriptions of the genres which are represented in the corpus drawing on the work of both Martin and Hasan, but bearing in mind, their respective research is based on English texts and may not apply to Japanese text types. In any event, their frameworks provide a grounded starting point for looking at these genres in Japanese and determining the generic structures and lexicogrammatical features.

The following descriptions of the news story and narrative genres draws primarily on Martin's work and that of his colleagues who worked in the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) in Sydney, NSW, while the descriptions of the nursery tales, draws on Hasan's work.

### **5.3.2 The News Story Genres**

The Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) was a coordinated initiative to develop genre analysis "as a way of thinking about the kinds of writing students undertook in primary and secondary school" (Martin 2000:1). This initiative was extended to secondary school and three workplace sectors (science, industry, media and administration) in 1990 and became known as the 'Write it Right' project. It is the material developed for the media sector from the Write it Right project that has proved very useful in understanding the news story in English and which I will use as the basis for my discussion on the genres of news stories in this study.

The DSP material states that the social purpose of the news story is to foreground those events which threaten the social order, list the consequences of those events, and portray events through the eyes of



those people and institutions which are tokens of social stability and instruments of crisis resolution (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:106).

According to the DSP research, the news which threatens the social order is highly valued and is considered to have high newsworthiness. In other words, the more threatening the news, the more newsworthy it is. High newsworthy stories are termed 'hard' news, while stories designed to counterbalance the destabilising effect of such information are described as 'soft' news. The social purpose of the hard news story is to chronicle events and indicate their social relevance. The events in the story place the social order at risk and are usually about physical (floods, earthquakes etc), socio-economic (stock market crashes etc) and political (overthrow of governments, elections etc) events. Further, the story of these events has an intensity and urgency about it (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:108).

#### **5.3.2.1 The Hard News Story**

Hard news stories have a common structure, in other words, they have discrete generic stages. This is illustrated in Figure 5.2 below. Each story has a Headline which is followed by a Lead statement. The Headline serves to introduce the story in a generalized manner without reference to the time, place or the protagonists. The Lead is a synopsis of the story which contains an assessment of the consequences of the events. The Headline and Lead combine to function as the Nucleus of the structure. Following the Lead are Satellite paragraphs or statements which serve to recount the events and/or report on them thereby elaborating or restating the events and facts. These Satellites tend to be independent of each other, yet each are dependent directly on the Nucleus (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:116). The Satellites have their own internal coherence, typically with their own thematic patterning and method of development.

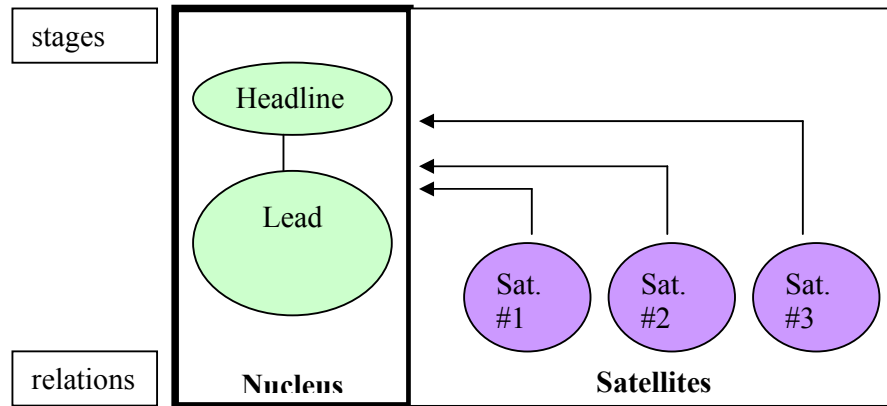


Figure 5.2  
The Generic stages of the Hard news story

### 5.3.2.2 The Soft News Story

On the other hand, the social purpose of the soft news story is to exemplify social values (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994). In English, within the soft news class of stories there are three subclasses: the Media Exemplum, the Media Observation and the Media Feature. Of the three types of soft news stories, it is the Media Observation which is of interest in this study. The soft news Media Observation story is less newsworthy than the hard news story and is essentially a story which is socially stabilising. It presents a positive light on the material or moral status quo. Typically, it serves to “record that the seasons unfold and that we pass from youth to old age with a regularity and inevitability at odds with the chaos and seemingly break-neck pace of the world of ‘hard’ news events”(Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:149). It is not dynamic and does not have an intensity or urgency about it.

The soft news Media Observation has the following stages which are illustrated in Figure 5.3 below. The story is introduced by a Headline. There is no Lead, however, the body of the story consists of three stages. The first stage is the Orientation which sets the scene. This is followed by the Event Description stage which provides the chronological details of the event. The final stage is the Comment stage in which either an explanation or a response to the event is presented.

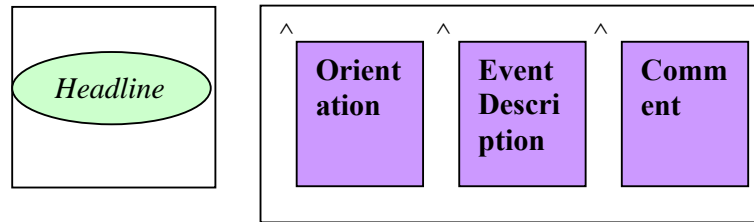


Figure 5.3  
The Soft news Media Observation story

### 5.3.2.3 The Commentary News Story

Unlike the hard and soft news stories which are kinds of story telling texts, the news commentary is a factual text type. It serves “to present a view or judgement regarding an issue” (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:78). It presents an argument or arguments as opinion and it usually follows hard news stories, human interest stories and international news in the newspaper.

The social purpose of argumentative texts is to argue a case in such a way that the audience is convinced of the truth of the view point or the merits of the proposal (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:154).

The structure of the news commentary is very similar to the structure of expository texts (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:157) in that a clear thesis, that is, a claim or statement is made which is followed by arguments which support the thesis. Each argument tends to extend or enhance using a linear form of thematic progression whereby new information located in a previous Rheme is picked up as the next, subsequent Theme. The arguments tend to lead on from one to another by means of conjunctions, building one on the other towards a climax or closure which maximises rhetorical impact in the conclusion where the Thesis is restated and the reader is presumably convinced of the importance or truth of the Thesis.

News commentaries rather than having Nuclei and Satellites tend more to have stages which are linked to each other. These ordered stages have been identified as an Orientation, Thesis, Arguments and Conclusion. These are illustrated in Figure 5.4 below. The symbol ^ stands for ‘followed by’ and the notation in superscript in the argument stage, ‘n’ stands for any number above 1.

In other words, there may be only one or possibly as many as ten arguments presented in a commentary to justify the thesis statement.

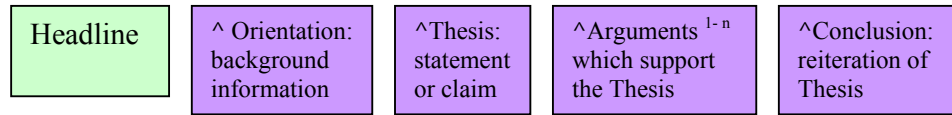


Figure 5.4  
The Stages of the News Commentary

Having briefly sketched the descriptions of hard news, soft news and news commentaries, the question to be asked is to what extent these descriptions are representative of news stories in Japanese. This question is taken up in chapter 6 where the three news stories in the corpus are analysed from the perspective of their social purpose looking at:

- i. the stages in each text
- ii. the selection of Theme within each stage;
- iii. the thematic patterns of development between and within the stages;
- iv. the logical relations between and within T-units, paragraphs and stages;
- v. the distribution of the organisation of information into ‘given’ and ‘new’ in relation to the choice and patterning of Theme.

### 5.3.3 The Nursery Tale Genre

The nursery tale serves to socialize young children into the culture by entertaining them. As described by Hasan (1996), it is different from texts such as procedural texts which are more closely linked to the context. Essentially the nursery tale is a nursery tale, amongst other things, because the role of language is constitutive; “it plays such a crucial role in the determination of the tale’s genre that it may be regarded as the primary source of its definition” (Hasan 1996:51). The properties of the nursery tale are accessible only through language. “The language of the tale is not responsive to factors of the material situational setting within which the creation or the recounting of the tale takes place” (Hasan 1996:51). Descriptions of genres which characteristically are constitutive of language such as the nursery tale need to address what the text is about, the nature of relations between characters and events, how the main


points are held together and what textual strategies are at work to achieve a generally recognizable generic shape.

Hasan (1996) states that the nursery tale conforms to preexisting conventions. In order to capture these ‘conventions’, Hasan uses the concept of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) which I briefly explained in Section 5.3.1. The GSP structure includes obligatory and optional components. Hasan claims that provided all obligatory structures are present in a text, it can be considered an instance of the genre. Additionally, the inclusion of optional components allows for the possibility of variation between texts which are instances of a particular genre.

Hasan postulates the GSP of the nursery tale is as follows:

$$[(\langle \text{Placement} \rangle^{\wedge}) \text{Initiating Event}^{\wedge}] \text{Sequent Event}^{\wedge} \text{Final Event} [^{\wedge}(\text{Finale}) \square (\text{Moral})]$$
 (Hasan 1996:54)

The notation which she uses needs some explanation. Round brackets, ( ) indicate optionality; angled brackets,  $\langle \rangle$  indicate interspersed placement; square brackets, [ ] indicate the limit of the mobility of the elements; the carat sign,  $\wedge$  stands for ‘is followed by’; the raised dot,  $\square$  indicates reversibility; while the curved arrow,  indicates iteration of that element. Each component of the nursery tale GSP is explained below beginning with the Placement component.

The Placement has a semantic function of character particularisation, which is lexicogrammatically realised by indefinite modification, for example, ‘a woman’, ‘a good man’ etc, and also by, but not necessarily, a relational Process of either existential, intensive or possessive type. Associated crucial properties in the Placement are impersonalisation which refers to the convention whereby neither the narrator nor the audience can be assigned the role of *dramatis personae*, the main protagonist in the tale, and temporal distance which refers to the placement of the events and characters of the tale at a point in time “far removed from that of the tales’ creation or reception” (Hasan 1996:59). Optional to the Placement are two elaborative semantic properties. These are ‘attribution’ and ‘habitude’. The particularised character is given certain attributes and is assigned certain habitual acts or states which are important to the unfolding of the story. Thus within the Placement stage, there must occur person

particularization but impersonalisation and temporal distancing along with elaborative attribution and habitude may occur.

The next stage, the Initiating Event is made up of three parts: frame, main act and sequel, respectively. Frame is optional and “refers to a state of affairs which acts as the background of the main event (Hasan 1996:69). Following on, the main act is an obligatory component of the Initiating Event. It is characterised by a one-time happening or doing and is the place in the tale where the tale begins to move. The main act is followed by sequel - states of affairs related to the main act in three possible ways: either temporally, causally or tangentially. “An Initiating Event closes where an expectation that has been set up by the main act is frustrated” (Hasan 1996:70).

Following the Initiating Event are the Sequent Events of the tale. These are consecutive, subsequent events which unfold and set up the Final Event. The Final Event is a culmination of the events in the story. It is logically related to the previous events or states of affairs. This is followed by the Finale which is “the highly conventionalised 'return to altered rest' statement about the main protagonists, intimating a habitual tenor of existence for them, which can then logically function as the Placement for another tale” (Hasan 1996:55). Either prior to, or following the Finale is the Moral of the tale; the component which teaches socially valued behaviour – the right and wrongs of the culture. It is the point of the tale.

Again, the question to be asked in relation to this study is to what extent this description of the nursery tale is relevant to the Japanese version of a nursery tale. Does the GSP apply to a tale from a non-European cultural tradition? This question will be addressed in chapter 7 where the two nursery tales in the corpus, *Urihimeko* and *Momotaroo* are analysed along the same lines as the news stories mentioned above.

#### **5.3.4 The Narrative Genre**

From the point of view of genre families, the narrative, along with the nursery tale, belongs to the genre family of storytelling. The family members are listed in the taxonomy in Figure 5.5 below.

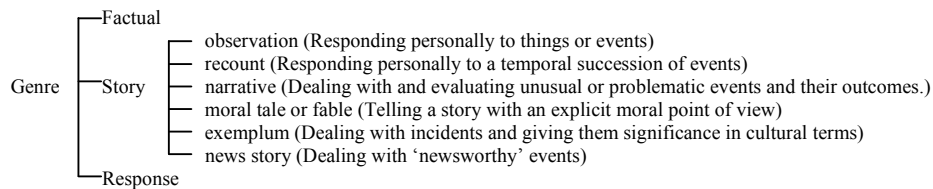


Figure 5.5  
The genre family of story-telling  
(Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:80)

Thus, in a sense, as a nursery tale tells a story, so does a narrative. The term, narrative is used to describe a particular kind of story, one that is considered the most valued type of story-telling text (DSP 1994). It primarily serves to entertain and is not isolated to a child audience like the nursery tale – it is for children and adults alike; however at the same time, it evaluates and gives significance to cultural values; it is concerned with change or continuity of those values. It is a powerful device for inducting children and adults into the highly valued practices and beliefs of a culture.

The focus on the individual and on a strong motivation to act in the face of adversity is a highly valued aspect of life in most Western societies. So the narrative, through its generic structure, teaches children and adults about how they should behave in contexts where they encounter adversity, or where the outcome of events is problematic in some way (Disadvantaged Schools Program :86).

The narrative within the Western culture is concerned with facing up to or dealing with adversity. It is worth investigating whether the narrative serves the same purpose in Japanese culture. In fact, the kinds of stories and story contents which we choose to tell “reflect and disclose our cultural presuppositions and values” (Toolan 1988:164). This leads onto the consideration that the kinds of stories which are valued in one cultural context may differ from the kinds of stories which are told in another cultural milieu, and leading on from that again, is the possibility that the way in which the story is told - what is foregrounded, how it is staged and so on, may also differ between cultures. For example, the Japanese culture is not known for fostering individuality and social action (refer to Sugimoto (1997) for a discussion on the move away from collectivism towards individualism in contemporary Japan), thus the analyses of the narrative in Japanese may reveal that the Japanese narrative serves to perpetuate different

social and cultural values through different stages. Tosu (1985) suggests that in Japanese, the purpose of the folktale, a kind of narrative in his typology is to acknowledge the cyclic structure of life, with a tendency towards non-achievement,

“Solutions to problems are not worked out through the efforts on the part of heroes....in these tales, emphasis is not placed on heroes’ taking initiative of actions. It is placed on the event itself and heroes and heroines are described as sentient rather than agents of actions” (Tosu 1985:182).

In any event, Labov (1972), in his work on the oral personal narratives of inner-city black Americans established a six-part analysis of the oral narratives. Despite the fact that his work was based on spoken story telling, his six part analysis or staging

“seems to underlie the structuring of many literary narratives too...no radical gulf separates literary from ‘everyday’ narrative; the same devices, used for the same purposes, emerge in both” (Toolan 1988:174).

The narrative, based on Labov’s original work, thus achieves its social purpose through the following generic stages of Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda. This is represented as follows:

**(Abstract) ^[(**<Orientation>**) ^ **Complication**] ^ [**<Evaluation>** ^ **Resolution**] ^ (Coda)**  
(Martin 1992:556)

The notation used is that used by Hasan. The rounded brackets indicate optionality; the square brackets indicate the limit of the mobility of the stages, the angled brackets indicates interspersed-ness.

The optional Abstract sketches the narrative in an abridged form and serves to advertise the story sometimes “promising more than gets delivered” (Toolan 1988:154). It is followed by the an optional Orientation stage which may be interspersed which “specifies the participants and circumstances, especially of place and time” (Toolan 1988:155). It also sets up customary sequences of events which will be, presumably disrupted by the events of the story. This stage locates the reader in a story genre and enables the reader to predict what might follow. The Complication includes a sequence of events which go awry. A problem is created which could prove to be critical. This problem is resolved in the Resolution stage. Interspersed through the Resolution stage is Evaluation in which evaluative language is used to express surprise,



incredulity, impossibility and so on which enables predictions about positive or negative outcomes of the story. It “consists of all the means used to establish and sustain the *point*, the contextual significance and tellability, or reportability, of a story”(Toolan 1988:156). The narrative ends with an optional Coda stage which ‘seals off’ the story, declaring that the narrative proper is over (Toolan 1988:161).

As suggested above, the question to be asked is whether or not these stages exist in the Japanese narrative and if the narrative serves the same social purpose of evaluating and giving significance to cultural values. If so, then what are these values? These questions will be addressed in chapter 8 where descriptions of the analyses of the narrative texts in the corpus will be presented.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter developed out of the quantitative study of first position in the T-unit which was presented in chapter 4. It has described the kinds of constituents found in first position labeling them as Theme and classifying them into single, multiple and implicit types.

Having established the kinds of Themes, this chapter discussed the literature on thematic progression and methods of development indicating that individual Themes work together to form patterns which may predict different text types and discussed the choice of Theme as also being possibly predictable according to text type.

This was followed by a discussion on the SF view of text types or genres with the two significant views of Martin and Hasan being presented. Both their views are complementary to this study as they shed light on different aspect of genre and will be used to act as the framework for describing the text types in the corpus.

The following three chapters will deal with each text type in turn and will consider the relevance of genre and generic staging in relation to the Japanese version of the genres in question. The texts will each be described from the viewpoint of social purpose and will investigate to what extent the choice and patterning of Theme work to realise a method of development and whether these methods are characteristic of the genre in question. Chapter 6 will present the

news stories; Chapter 7, the nursery tales, and Chapter 8 will deal with the narratives.

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## Chapter 6 - The News Stories

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter will present descriptions of the three news stories in the corpus. Each text is considered as an instance of a particular genre. The choice of Theme and how these choices key into the method of development are described with the intention of demonstrating the particular function of each generic stage of each text. In other words, configurations of Themes serve to realise the function of each of the generic stages in each text.

The description of each text begins with an examination of the generic stages. This is followed by an examination of the selection of Themes within each stage and how these collectively work to produce a particular method of development. The generic stages are then described logically in relation to each other and consideration is given to the distribution of given and new information and how these configurations also key into the method of development. The picture of each text as an instance of a particular genre is built up. This picture is compared with the systems of genres which were introduced in chapter 5 as a means of determining the extent to which these systems are relevant in Japanese.

The discussion will begin with the hard news story, *Ginkoo ni tanjuu gootoo: sampatsu hassha, 200 manen ubatte toosoo* (Armed Bank Robbery: three shots fired, robbers stole two million yen and fled), followed by the soft news story, *Samusa yurunde setsubun* (The Cold Eases and it's the Bean-throwing Festival) and will conclude with the news commentary, *Keizai kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo e* (Economic Forecast – From Calculator to the Brain).

### 6.1 The Analysis of *Ginkoo ni tanjuu gootoo: sampatsu hassha, 200 manen ubatte toosoo* (Armed Bank Robbery: three shots fired, robbers stole two million yen and fled)

As mentioned in chapter 5, the social purpose of the hard news story is to chronicle events which are seen to destabilize ‘-either in fact or potentially - the current physical, ideological and moral order’ (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:107). The following description will demonstrate how this social purpose is achieved through the organisation of the language within the hard news story.

### 6.1.1 The Generic Stages

As described in chapter 5, the hard news story has been characterised as having a Nucleus which is obligatory, and Satellites which are additional. Despite Satellites being additional, they each perform a specific function, have grammatical features which work to isolate them as a section of the text and have grammatical features which link them to the Nucleus (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:121).

The *Ginkoo* article is clearly staged and this generic staging is illustrated in Figure 6.1 below. In this figure, the Headline is coloured aqua blue, the stages or Satellites are mauve, and the paragraphs are sky blue. The arrow linking Satellites 1 and 2 indicates a chronological link.

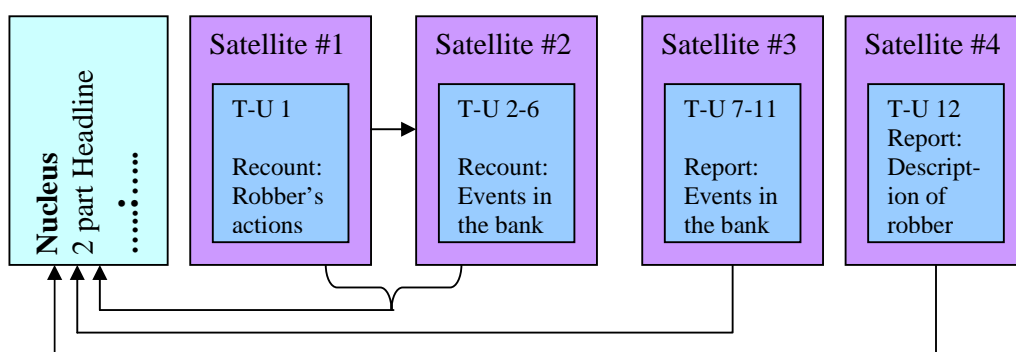


Figure 6.1  
Generic Staging of *Ginkoo*

The story has a Nucleus which consists of a two-part Headline written in the Chinese character script, *kanji*. Part 1 of the Headline, *Ginkoo ni tanjuu gootoo* announces the event, that is, an armed robbery, while Part 2, *sampatsu hassha, 200 manen ubatte toosoo* explicates the details of the robbery event, that is, three shots were fired and the robber stole two million yen and fled.

Following the Nucleus are four Satellite stages which cluster into two sets of pairs. The first set recounts the robbery, with Satellite 1 (T-unit 1) recounting the robber's actions, while Satellite 2 (T-units 2-6) recounts the events in the bank. The second pair of Satellites reports on the robbery, with Satellite 3 (T-unit 7-11) reporting on the conditions in the bank, while Satellite 4 (T-unit 12) reports on the description of the robber.



### 6.1.2 The function of the stages

The Satellites in the *Ginkoo* news story have the following functions: Satellite 1 functions to recount the robber's actions; Satellite 2 functions to recount the events in the bank; Satellite 3 functions to report on the conditions in the bank; and Satellite 4 functions to report on the robber's description.

These functions are realised by the language choices in the text which are motivated and organised. The organisation is achieved partly through the thematic development of each Satellite which in turn is realised by the choice of Theme in each T-unit. This is demonstrated below in the description of the thematic choices within each Satellite and the complete thematic analysis is reproduced in the Appendix 2.

The first pair of Satellites function to recount the event. Firstly, Satellite 1 opens with a multiple circumstantial Theme which locates the actions of the robber in time, *tsuitachi gozen kuji gojuugo-hun goro* (on the first at around 9:55 am) and place, *Fukui-shi Kasuga-choo 238-1, Fukui Ginkoo Kasuga Shiten =Katoh Tomomasa Shiten-choo (44)= ni* (at the Kasuga branch of the Fukui Bank 238-1 Kasuga City = managed by Mr. Katoh Tomomasa (44)). Having established the circumstances of the robbery, the Rheme of the T-unit deals with the robber, *otoko* and his material and verbal actions; those of 'entering', 'grabbing', 'pointing a gun' and 'demanding'. This lengthy T-unit is a chronological clause chain of the robber's actions. In other words, Satellite 1 is about *the robber and his actions* which are located within the Rheme and therefore salient in terms of information status – the robber and his actions are presented as 'new' information, and which are organised textually around a univariate, multiple circumstantial Theme of time and place.

Satellite 2, which recounts the events within the bank, consists of 5 T-units, each with its own Theme. The Satellite recounts these events chronologically by using three dependant or beta clauses as Themes which function to recount the events episodically. These clause Themes serve to locate the action of the robber in relation to the actions of the bank employee, Mr Yoshino, thereby setting up an episodic sequence, that is, when Mr. Yoshino stood up, the robber fired three shots. Interrupting the sequence are T-units 3 and 4 which have participants (Actors) as Theme, *ippatsu* (one shot) and *hoka no nihatsu* (the other two shots) respectively. These Theme choices serve to enable a

description of what happened to the bullets; one hitting the cash tray and the other two, hitting the wall. Following this, the remaining T-units, 5 and 6 return to the episodic sequencing organisation in which, again, the robber's actions are prompted by Mr. Yoshino's; that is, when Mr. Yoshino put the cash on the counter, the robber shouted and threw the shopping bag, and when Mr. Yoshino threw the shopping bag full of money back to the robber, he snatched it, ran out of the bank and escaped. This episodic sequencing enables the detail of the robber and his actions to be constructed as 'new' information and located in the Rhemes.

The second pair of Satellites, rather than recount the event, function to report the event. Satellite 3 reports on the state of affairs within the bank. To do this, rather than using verbs of action and saying as was the case in the first pair of recounting Satellites, Satellite 3 uses verbs of existence, *iru/aru* (to exist) and relation, *da* (to be) in order to report on the event. We learn about the number of people involved, the lack of injuries and the period of time of the robbery. Satellite 3 is essentially about the facts of the robbery. Consequently, the information is organised thematically around both circumstances (T-units 7, 8 and 9) and participants (T-units 10 & 11).

Satellite 4 also reports, not on the conditions in the bank, but on the details of the robber - his height and his clothing. This Satellite consists of only one T-unit which organises thematically around a circumstantial Theme of Angle, *Fukui-kenkei no shirabe de wa* (according to the investigation of Fukui Prefectural Police). This thematic choice lends authority to the description of the robber, which is salient and thus appropriately located within the Rheme. This final Satellite wraps up the story. It 'serves to signal that the text is complete' (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:134).

In short, the Satellites organise into discrete units designed to realise very specific purposes or functions which are summarized in Table 6.1. Note that the Satellites conflate with the paragraphing of the text. There are four Satellites and four paragraphs.

Stages	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme	T-unit Rheme
<b>=Satellite 1:</b> Purpose: to recount on robber's actions	Paragraph 1	T-U 1	Univariate, multiple circumstantial Theme of Time and Place: On the first around 9:55am, at the Kasuga branch of the Fukui bank,	a robber disguised as a customer, entered the bank, and in addition to grabbing Mrs. Sugawara from behind, pointed a gun at Mr. Yoshino, a bank clerk standing behind the counter and demanded, "Take out he money quickly".
<b>=Satellite 2:</b> Purpose: to recount on events in the bank	Paragraph 2	T-U 2	Episodic B Clause: When Mr. Y. stood up in surprise,	he fired the gun three times,
		T-U 3	Participant: Actor one of the three bullets	hit the cash tray on Mr. Y's desk which was about 5 m away.
		T-U 4	Participant: Actor The other bullets	hit the wall.
		T-U 5	Episodic B Clause: When Mr. Y put the two piles of cash on the counter	the robber said, 'put the money in here' and threw Mr. Y. the shopping bag,
		T-U 6	Episodic B Clause: when Mr. Y put the money in the bag and hurled it back,	the robber snatched it, ran out of the bank entrance and escaped in a car which was parked on the western side of the bank.
<b>xSatellite 3:</b> Purpose: to report on conditions in the bank	Paragraph 3	T-U 7	Circ. of Place: In the bank	were eight people including the manager.
		T-U 8	Circ. of Extent: Of these	three were women.
		T-U 9	Circ. of Place: In the bank at the time of the robbery,	were three customers but,
		T-U 10	Part.: Existent: injured people	there weren't.
		T-U 11	Part.: Identifier: The time it took for the man to enter and escape	was within about 5 minutes.
<b>+Satellite 4:</b> Purpose: to report on robber's description	Paragraph 4	T-U12	Circ.of Angle: According to the Fukui-ken police,	the suspect was 175 cms tall, was wearing a grey shirt and was wearing a white hat.

Table 6.1

Themes in the T-units of each Satellite of the *Ginkoo* news story

### 6.1.3 Method of development

Each Satellite in the *Ginkoo* news story is isolated from the other Satellites through motivated language choices. This isolation is brought about by thematic

development which occurs **within** each Satellite, rather than between the Satellites. This is illustrated in Table 6.2 below.

Stages	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme	T-unit Rheme
= <b>Satellite 1:</b> Purpose: to recount on robber's actions	Paragraph 1	T-U 1	Multiple circumstantial Theme of Time and Place: On the first, at the Fukui bank ↓	a robber disguised as a customer entered the bank grabbed Mrs. Sugaware pointed a gun at Mr. Yoshino and demanded money
= <b>Satellite 2:</b> Purpose: to recount on events in the bank	Paragraph 2	T-U 2	Episodic Clause: When Mr. Y. stood up	he fired three shots
		T-U 3	Participant: Actor one bullet	hit the cash tray
		T-U 4	Participant: Actor the other bullets	hit the wall
		T-U 5	Episodic Clause: When Mr. Y put the cash on the counter	he said, 'put the money in here' and threw him the shopping bag.
		T-U 6	Episodic Clause: When Mr. Y put the money in the bag and returned it	the robber snatched it, ran outside and escaped in a car...
X <b>Satellite 3:</b> Purpose: to report on conditions in the bank	Paragraph 3	T-U 7	Circ. of Place: In the bank	were eight people
		T-U 8	Circ. of Extent: Of these	three were women
		T-U 9	Circ. of Place: In the bank	were three customers
		T-U 10	Part.: Existent: Injured people	were none.
		T-U 11	Part.: Identifier: The time it took	was about 5 minutes.
+ <b>Satellite 4:</b> Purpose: to report on robber's description	Paragraph 4	T-U12	Circ. of Angle: According to the Fukui police, ↓	robber was 175 cms tall was wearing a grey shirt and was wearing a white hat.

Table 6.2

Thematic Development and logical relations in the *Ginkoo* hard news story

Satellite 1 has an internal continuous thematic progression (TP) (Danes 1974:118) pattern across an extensive clause complex chain which is linked to the multiple circumstantial Theme of Time and Place. Satellite 2 is made up of another internal continuous TP pattern, this time of episodic clausal Themes related to the actions of Mr. Yoshino. This is briefly interrupted by an internal derived TP pattern (Danes 1974) of the bullets as participants which are derived from the Rhemes of Satellite 2. Satellite 2 however, is not entirely unconnected thematically with Satellite 1. The participant, *Yoshino-san* (Mr. Yoshino) which is part of the first clausal Theme in Satellite 2 (T-unit 2), is derived from the Rheme of T-unit 1 in Satellite 1. This connection signals a relationship of chronological time between Satellite 1 and 2. The significance of this connection is further elaborated upon in Section 6.1.4 below.

Following on, Satellite 3 has an internal derived TP pattern, in this case, of the people within the bank construed as participants, which are again derived from the Rhemes of Satellite 3. Also, there is an internal continuous TP pattern linking *dooshiten* (the bank) and *...shiten nai ni wa* (in the bank branch).

Finally, Satellite 4 has another continuous TP pattern across a shorter clause complex chain, which is linked to the new circumstantial Theme of Angle (Matthiessen 1995a:334), that is, the angle of the Fukui Police, which describes the characteristics of the robber in the Rheme. In other words, each Satellite has a TP pattern which functions to isolate the Satellites from each other. The only TP pattern which serves to link the Satellites is the linear pattern linking the first Theme in Satellite 2 to the Rheme of Satellite 1. All other TP patterns function within the Satellites working to construct internal organisation.

#### 6.1.4 Logical relations

As mentioned above, the Satellites have grammatical features which link them to the Nucleus. Despite the discrete organisation of each Satellite in relation to thematic development, each Satellite is related to the Nucleus in a logical manner. In the case of the first pair, the information provided in the Headline, that is, the robbery, the shots and the escape, is expanded. The information is restated in more detail in the first two Satellites, with Satellite 1 chronologically earlier than Satellite 2. The restatement of the information of the Headline is a logical elaboration (=) (Halliday 1994:219). This is illustrated in Table 6.2 above.

Both Satellites 1 and 2 elaborate the Headline and are therefore linked both chronologically and through a linear thematic development **between** (refer to 6.3) them as well as their both having their own internal thematic development patterns.

Satellite 3 links back to the Nucleus in another fashion. Satellite 3 serves to enhance the Nucleus by reporting on the conditions in the bank. The information expands on the facts of the event. This relation is similar to the enhancement (x) relation described by Halliday (1994:232).

And finally, Satellite 4 serves to add more new information about the robber which is not mentioned in the Headline. This additional information serves to extend the Nucleus and is like the extension (+) relation used by Halliday (Halliday 1994:230).

### 6.1.5 Given and New Distribution

Given the evidence that this text is motivated, it is therefore not surprising that the organisation of the information into given and new status maps onto the Themes and Rhemes of the T-units in predictable ways. As Satellites 1 and 2 are essentially restatements of the Headline, the Themes are given, and in the case of the multiple circumstantial Theme in Satellite 1, it originates directly from the Headline. Similarly, in Satellite 3, the opening Theme, *dooshiten* (the bank) is derived from the Headline and is again, given. This mapping of Theme with given further construes the logical link of enhancement between the Satellite 3 and the Nucleus. However the Theme of Satellite 4, *Fukui-ken-kei no shirabe de wa* (according to the Fukui Prefectural police) is new, not having been mentioned before. The effect of mapping new information on Theme assists in the construal of the logical relation of extension between this Satellite and the Nucleus. An extending relations adds **new** information to that already introduced in the Headline. This is partly realised through the choice of mapping new information onto Theme. Further, the conflation of new information with Theme in which the constituent contains the postpositional particle *-wa*, appears to add emphasis through the construal of a contrasting relation (Martin 1988:64), that is, it is *according to the Fukui police*, not according to some other institutional body.

### 6.1.6 Summary

The above description of the *Ginkoo* news story illustrates how this news article is a motivated piece of news copy with clear generic stages working together to realise a particular type of news story, in this case, the hard news story. *Ginkoo* has generic stages which are like the DSP classification of the hard news story, these being the Headline as Nucleus and the Stages as Satellites. The Satellites have their own discrete functions and these are realised through grammatical features such as thematic development which isolates each Satellite from each other, and other grammatical features such as the logical relations and the mapping of given information onto Theme which serves to link each Satellite to the Nucleus.

It is evident from the analysis that the *Ginkoo* hard news story is organised around generic stages and that the language choices within *Ginkoo* work systematically to realise the social purpose of the text.

## 6.2 The Analysis of *Samusa yurunde setsubun* (The Cold Eases and it's the Bean-throwing Festival)

Having described an example of a hard news story in Japanese, the discussion will now turn to a description of the soft news media observation story, *Setsubun*.

As previously mentioned, the social purpose of the soft news story is to exemplify social values, and in the case of the soft news media observation story, to exemplify “the timeless rhythms of nature and those human institutions which are tied to them” (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:148). The following description will demonstrate how this social purpose is achieved through the organisation of the language within the *Setsubun* news story. The following description will demonstrate the staging of *Setsubun*, the functions of each stage and the grammatical features which serve to realise the stages, and which serve to link the stages to the Headline.

### 6.2.1 The Generic Stages

The *Setsubun* article is a staged news story describing the festivities surrounding the annual Bean-throwing Festival. The generic staging is illustrated in Figure 6.2 below.

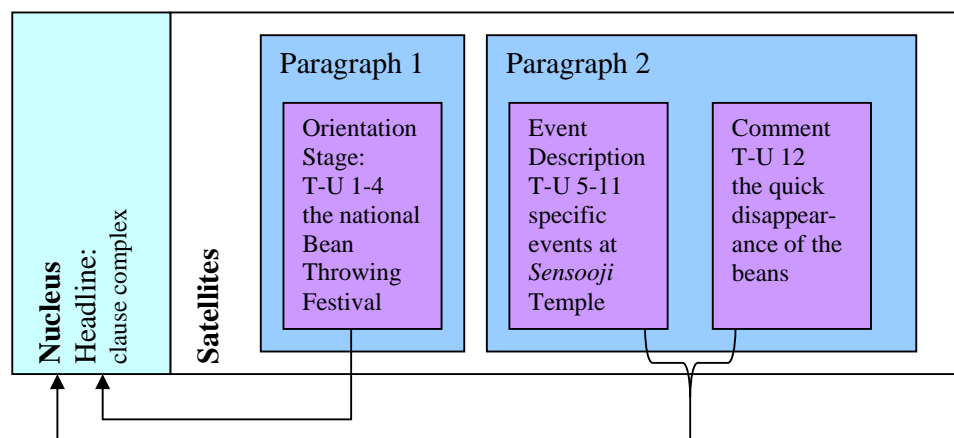


Figure 6.2  
The stages of *Setsubun*

The story has a Headline as Nucleus which consists of a clause complex, *Samusa yurunde, setsubun* (The Cold Eases, and it is Setsubun). Following the Nucleus, there are three Satellite stages, two of which cluster into the second paragraph of the news story. Satellite 1 (T-units 1-4) orients the reader to the general circumstances around the time of the festival, while Satellite 2 (T-units 5-11) describes the specific celebration at the *Sensoo* Temple in *Asakusa*, Tokyo. The third Satellite comments on the *Sensoo* Temple celebration.

### 6.2.2 The functions of the stages

The Satellites in the *Setsubun* news story have the following functions. Satellite 1 functions to orient the reader to the national *Setsubun* (Bean-throwing) Festival; Satellite 2 functions to describe the festival events at *Sensoo* Temple; and Satellite 3 functions to comment on those events.

The organisation of the language within each Satellite serves to realise the function of each. Following is a description of the Themes of each T-unit illustrated in Table 6.3 below, however, the full analysis is reproduced in Appendix 2.

Satellite 1 begins with a T-unit which opens with an identifying relational process which has the Identified, *Mikka wa* (the Third) as Theme. In other words, the circumstance of Time, *mikka wa* is being construed as a participant - a 'circumstance in disguise' (Halliday 1994:131). T-units 2, 3 and 4 each follow with a congruent circumstantial Theme of Place moving from a general location, *hobo zenkokuteki ni, tsuukinkyaku no naka ni wa* (throughout the entire country) to specific locations, *kono yooki no naka* (in this climate), and *zenkoku-kakuchi no jinja ya otera de wa* (at temples and shrines in each district). In other words, Satellite 1 introduces the circumstances of the story in order to orient the reader to the event.

Satellite 2, which serves to describe the specific *Setsubun* event at *Sensoo* Temple opens with the specific circumstantial Theme, *Tookyoo Asakusa Sensooji de wa* (at Tokyo Asakusa Sensoo Temple) in T-unit 5. Once the temple location is clearly established, the kindergarten children are thematized in T-unit 6 where we learn about their rhematic actions of 'assembling', 'marching' and 'receiving'. This is followed by two separate episodic, clausal Themes in T-unit 7 and 8 which serve to introduce the start of the bean-throwing and the actions of the



devils as events which follow the thematic episodic actions of the children. T-unit 9 changes the pace by offering a circumstantial Theme of manner, *issei ni* (altogether) in relation to the children's shouting. And finally, the closing two T-units, 10 and 11 thematise the participants, *mame* (beans) and *oni* (devils) which were introduced rhematically in T-units 7 and 8 respectively. In short, Satellite 2 functions to describe the events at *Sensoo* Temple by construing the participants as Theme thereby enabling the actions of the children, the beans and the devils to be located in the Rhemes.

The final Satellite in the *Setsubun* news story, Satellite 3 serves to offer the journalist's spin or comment on the event. In a sense, this is a weak Satellite in that it does not occur in a separate paragraph, but rather is included at the end of the main event description paragraph. The comment relates to the speed in which the beans were used up and this is achieved through the thematisation of beans, *mame*.

In short, as with the hard news story, the Satellites in the soft news story organise into discrete units designed to realise very specific purposes.

Stages	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme	T-unit Rheme
=Satellite 1: Orientation, the national Bean-throwing Festival	Paragraph 1	T-U1	Participant Theme - 'Circumstance of Time in disguise' The third	(was) <i>Setsubun</i> .
		T-U2	Circumstance of Place – Throughout the entire country	blue skies have spread and the cold too has eased and so
		T-U 3	Circumstance of Place- within the commuting public	(there are) people who are removing their coats and holding them, as well.
		T-U 4	Univariate, multiple Theme of Circumstance of Contingency and Circumstance of Place i. In this climate ii.at temple and shrines throughout each district,	the Bean Throwing Festival celebrations were joyously held.

+Satellite 2: Event Description, the <i>Sensoo</i> Temple Festival Event	Paragraph 2	T-U 5	Univariate, multiple Theme of Circumstance of Place and Circumstance of Time At <i>Asakusa Sensoo</i> Temple that morning	bean-throwing by the temple's kindergarten children was held.
		T-U 6	Participant: Actor – 570 children wearing the <i>kamishimo</i> over their uniforms	assembled at 10am. (They) marched joyously along <i>Nakamise</i> St, and received a container of beans at the front of the <i>Sensoo</i> Temple building, and
		T-U 7	Episodic B Clause – After listening to the teacher's <i>Setsubun</i> chant, “let's exterminate the devils who bring illness and injury”,	finally, bean-throwing began.
		T-U 8	Episodic B Clause – When they heard the tape which contained the voices of the devils saying, “Oo, Oo”,	red and blue devils who were staff disguised, carrying papier-mache rods appeared.
		T-U 9	Circumstance of Manner – Altogether	from the children, voices saying, “Out with the devil, and in with good fortune” rose up.
		T-U 10	Participant: Actor – The beans which they threw vigorously	hit the devils point blank and
		T-U 11	Participant: Actor – The devils	running here and there, surrendered
+Satellite 3: Journalist's Comment		T-U 12	Participant: Existent – The 78 kgs of prepared beans also	quickly disappeared.

Table 6.3

Themes in the T-units of each Satellite in the *Setsubun* news story

### 6.2.3. Method of Development

The Themes within the *Setsubun* example organise into patterns of thematic progression (TP). These patterns are illustrated in Figure 6.4 below and are rather different to the patterns described in the *Ginkoo* story. The Satellites in *Setsubun* are less isolated from each other and this is due to the TP patterns **between** the Satellites, however they do have internal TP patterns as well.

These internal TP patterns tend to be of the linear type. For example, the first circumstantial Theme in T-unit 4, *kono yooki no naka* (in this climate) originates from the Rheme of T-unit 2. Similarly, in Satellite 2, the Theme in T-

unit 6, *enji 570nin* (570 children) originates from the preceding Rheme of T-unit 5. This serves to describe the actions of the children at *Sensoo* Temple which is then further developed through a continuous TP pattern. Another internal linear TP pattern occurs at T-unit 10 when *oni* (devils) is picked up as Theme in T-unit 11, thereby serving to describe the actions of the devils in the salient, rhematic position.

The more interesting TP patterning, however, is the external patterning occurring between the Satellites in the *Setsubun* news story. There is a pattern of continuous TP which serves to link the Themes of the Satellites. For example, the Theme in T-unit 1, *mikka* (the Third) is picked up as part of a multiple circumstantial Theme in T-unit 5, the first T-unit of Satellite 2. Similarly, the second circumstantial Theme of T-unit 4, *zenkoku-kakuchi no jinja ya otera de wa* (at temples and shrines throughout each district) also appears as the other circumstantial Theme of the first T-unit in Satellite 2, *Tookyoo Asakusa no Senooji de wa* (at Tokyo Asakusa Sensoo Temple). Admittedly, this Theme is not strictly identical, however, it most certainly is specifically related and originates from the more general Theme given in T-unit 4.

A similar continuous TP link exists between Satellites 2 and 3. In this case, it is a participant Theme, *mame* (beans) which traverses the Satellite boundary. This enables the journalist to make a comment in relation to the thematised beans. The point to be made here is that these Themes are being picked up across Satellites thereby establishing a link between Satellites rather than working to keep the Satellites isolated.

It appears from the analysis that the Satellites of *Setsubun* have closer thematic links with each other than do the Satellites of *Ginkoo* which appear to be more isolated.

Stages	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme	T-unit Rheme
= <b>Satellite 1: Orientation,</b> the national Bean-throwing Festival	Paragraph 1	T-U1	Participant Theme - 'Circumstance of Time in disguise' The third	(was) Setsubun
		T-U2	Circumstance of Place – Throughout the country	blue skies have spread and the cold too has eased so,
		T-U 3	Circumstance of Place – within the commuting public	(there are) also people who are removing their coats and holding them.
		T-U 4	i. Circumstance of Contingency; ii. Circumstance of Place i. In this climate, ii. at temple and shrines..	the Bean Throwing Festival was held.
+ <b>Satellite 2: Event Description,</b> the <i>Sensoo</i> Temple Festival Event	Paragraph 2	T-U 5	i. Circumstance of Place; ii. Circumstance of Time i. At Asakusa <i>Sensoo</i> Temple, ii. that morning	bean-throwing by the temple's kindergarten children was held.
		T-U 6	Participant: Actor – 570 children wearing the <i>kamishimo</i>	assembled in front of the Gate at 10am. (They) marched along <i>Nakamise</i> St, received a container of beans and,
		T-U7	Episodic Clause – after listening to the teacher's chant,	bean-throwing began.
		T-U 8	Episodic Clause – When they heard the tape of the devils,	red and blue devils who were staff disguised, and carrying rods, appeared.
		T-U 9	Circumstance of Manner – Altogether	from the children, voices say, "Out with the devil and in with good fortune" rose up.
		T-U10	Participant: Actor – The beans which they threw	hit the devils point blank and,
		T-U 11	Participant: Actor – The devils	running here and there, surrendered.
+ <b>Satellite 3: Journalist's Comment</b>		T-U 12	Participant: Existent – The 78 kgs of prepared beans also	quickly disappeared.

Table 6.4  
Thematic development and logical relations in the *Setsubun* news story.

#### 6.2.4 Logical Relations

As was the case in the *Ginkoo* news story, so too, do the Satellites in the *Setsubun* news story relate to the Headline in a logical manner. In the case of the first Satellite, the information provided in the Headline is restated in more detail. The restatement is a kind of elaboration (=) in Halliday's logico-semantic terms. Satellite 2 serves to extend the Nucleus by describing the events and actions of the children, teachers, and devils at the temple. This additional information is like the extension (+) relation used by Halliday. And finally, Satellite 3 continues to extend the Nucleus by adding the journalist's comment. This is most likely the reason why Satellite 3 does not begin with a new paragraph. Both Satellite 2 and 3 work together to extend the Nucleus, however they do it in different ways. Satellite 2 adds specific information about the *Setsubun* event at *Sensoo* Temple, while Satellite 3 adds a personal comment. These relations are represented diagrammatically in Table 6.4 above.

#### 6.2.5 Given and New Distribution

Connected to the logical relations between the Satellites and the Headline is the organisation of the information into given or new status. Unlike the *Ginkoo* example, the organisation of information in the *Setsubun* example does not map onto Theme in the same manner. The opening Themes in the *Setsubun* news story do not originate from the Headline, that is, they are not ascribed a given status. The Themes of the first three T-units which make up Satellite 1 are each newly introduced. We do not already know about them. What we do know from the Headline, is the state of the weather, *samusa yurunde* (the cold eases) and *setsubun* (the Bean-throwing Festival). This given information is repeated in the Rhemes of Satellite 1. You will recall that the Rheme is where the salient, newsworthy information (typically the new information) (Halliday 1994:300) is located. So why put given information in the Rheme? The answer most likely lies in the social purpose of the soft news story. It functions to exemplify our social values, to work to stabilise and perpetuate our cultural practices, therefore the national event, *Setsubun* needs to be placed in the most salient, newsworthy position in the T-unit. This is the Rheme. The fact that the Themes of the first Satellite of the news story do not originate from the Headline may be a defining linguistic characteristic of the soft news observation story in Japanese.

Further, activities surrounding the *Setsubun* Festival are also rhematically located. Activities such as *mamemaki*, (the act of bean-throwing), the action of the children, the teachers, and the devils are all located in the salient, newsworthy position, that of, the Rheme. This too, may also be a characteristic of the soft news observation story – the motivated rhematic location of the cultural events and activities.

### 6.2.6 Summary

In the same fashion as with the *Ginkoo* news story, the above analysis of *Setsubun* illustrates how this news article is a motivated piece of news copy with clear generic stages working together to realise a particular type of news story, in this case, the soft news media observation story. *Setsubun* has generic stages which are like the DSP classification of the soft news media observation story. These are the Headline as Nucleus and ordered Satellites. The ordered Satellites act respectively as an Orientation, followed by an Event Description, which in turn is concluded by a Comment. The functions of these Satellites are realised through grammatical features such as thematic development which isolates, although less so than in the case of the Hard news story, each Satellite from the other, and other grammatical features such as the logical relations and the mapping of given and new onto Theme which serves to link each Satellite to the Nucleus.

## 6.3 The Analysis of *Keizai kishoodai* – *keisanki kara zunoo e* (Economic Forecast – From the Calculator to the Brain)

The *Keizai kishoodai* article is a staged news commentary presenting the claim that the role of computers in society is about to increase as a result of new technological developments. It is a factual text unlike the hard and soft news stories which are kinds of story-telling texts.

### 6.3.1 The Generic Stages

The text has clear stages which match the DSP descriptions of a news commentary text but which occur in a different order. Refer back to Section 5.3.2.3 for the discussion on the DSP generic template for news commentaries. While the story is written to argue the writer's viewpoint, there is very little evaluative language present. However, where it occurs, it does so very

strategically in the Orientation, Thesis Statement and Reiteration of Thesis stages. The generic staging is illustrated in Figure 6.3 below.

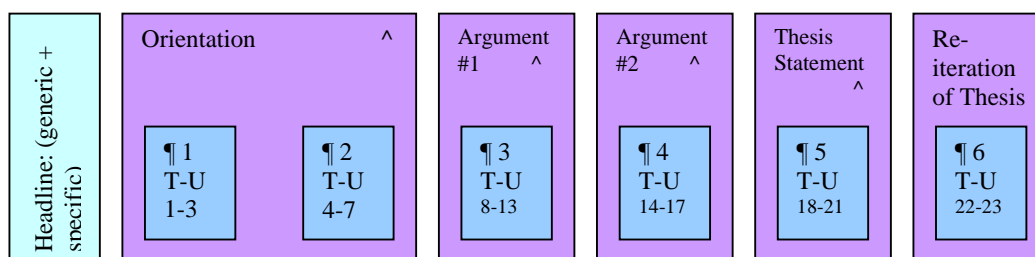


Figure 6.3  
The stages of *Keizai kishoodai*

This news commentary article appears in a regular feature section of the paper offering editorial comment on economic developments, thus the generic Headline, *Keizai Kishoodai* (Economic Forecast). However, the actual Headline of this story is *Keisanki kara zunoo e* (From the Calculator to the Brain). Following the Headline there are five stages. The first stage is the Orientation stage (T-units 1-7) which consists of the first two paragraphs in the story. Following this, there are two Argument stages (T-units 8 –13 and T-units 14-17) consisting of one paragraph each. This leads onto the Thesis Statement (T-units 18-21) which logically arises out of the two preceding arguments. The Thesis Statement stage is reiterated more strongly in the final paragraph which serves to realise the Reiteration of Thesis stage (T-units 22-23).

### 6.3.2 The functions of the stages

The stages in the *Keisanki kara zunoo e* news story are illustrated in Table 6.5 below and have the following functions. The Orientation stage functions to orient the reader to the fact that *onsei-ninshiki no gijutsu* (voice-recognition technology or VRT) has been around for years but is not wide-spread. It points to how a promising new development may assist in the wider use of VRT. This new development has two characteristics. These are 1) an ability to learn through *neuro* (neuron-like capability) and 2) an ability to judge difference through *fajii* (fuzzy logic). In this Orientation stage, paragraph one introduces VRT, while paragraph two introduces *neuro* and *fajii*. This stage thus sets up the two subsequent arguments. Argument One functions to address the characteristic of *neuro* and compares old technology with new, while Argument Two functions to

address the characteristic of *fajii*, again, comparing old technology with new. There is a parallel in terms of structure between these two stages. Following on from Argument Two, the Thesis Statement stage functions to state the writer's claim, in this case, the claim that, "due to neuro-computers and fuzzy logic, 'the computer' is going to change considerably". The final stage, the Reiteration of the Thesis Statement functions to amplify the Thesis. In this case, the claim is made stronger by aligning these features of *neuro* and *fajii* with the capability of humans thereby strengthening the claim that the role of computers in society given their new, human-like characteristics will increase.

The choice of Themes both textual and ideational within and between each stage serves in part to realise the function of each stage. Following is a description of the Themes of each T-unit with the full analysis appearing in Appendix 2.

The Orientation stage begins with a T-unit which opens with the participant, *onsei-ninshiki no gijutsu* (VRT) as Theme. VRT is Theme in T-units 2 and 3 as well, thereby enabling information about 1) the development of this technology, 2) its limited use to date, 3) an explanation of what it does and 4) who it can assist, to be presented in the Rheme. Paragraph 1 is essentially three T-units with the same ideational Theme which appears as a single explicit Theme in T-unit 1. It is elided in T-unit 2 leaving a conjunction, *shikashi* (but) as a single textual Theme. Following this, T-unit 3 again places VRT in first position, but this time as an implicit ideational Theme. In other words, were it not for the use of the textual Theme in T-unit 2, the whole paragraph would have comprised of one long T-unit or one long continuous TP phase.

The second paragraph in the Orientation stage, comprises T-units 4-7. It functions to introduce the reader to the 'promising' technology. T-unit 4 begins with a circumstantial Theme of Purpose (refer to Teruya (1998:428)), *kono onsei ninshiki ni* (for the purposes of voice recognition). The Rheme of this T-unit mentions *yuuboo na gijutsu* (a promising technology) which is picked up as Theme in T-unit 5 functioning as an Identified of two Identifiers, *nyuuro to fajii* (neuro and fuzzy technology). T-units 6 and 7 then present the manufacturer of this promising technology, *Hitachi Sakushoo wa* as ideational Theme with T-unit 7 being headed up by the textual Theme, *ippoo* (then).



Following the Orientation stage are the two Arguments each with their own paragraph. As previously mentioned there is a kind of parallelism occurring in these two stages. Argument One begins with the two Identifiers, *kono nyuuro to fajii wa* (this neuro and fuzzy technology) as Theme with the Rheme containing the fact they differ fundamentally from current computer technology. T-unit 9 picks up *juurai no mono wa* (current computer technology) as Theme and begins to describe the fact that current technology can only replicate, that is, reproduce existing information. T-unit 10 confirms this, while T-unit 11 elaborates the point by the presence of an appositive textual Theme, *tsumari* (in other words) and by selecting 'learning' as Theme and 'an inability to learn' as Rheme. T-unit 12 marks an adversative change in the paragraph by the use of the textual Theme, *tokoro ga* (however) thereby setting up a contrastive relation between current technology and the ideational Theme, *nyuuro wa* (neuro-computers) one of the promising new technologies. T-unit 13 continues with the same Theme selecting the marked form of co-referential ellipsis *sore wa* (they) as Theme with the fact that 'neuro-computers are suitable for voice recognition tasks' as Rheme. In other words, Argument One is achieved by firstly describing the limitations of current computer technology and contrasting that with the new capabilities of neuro-computers.

Argument Two in paragraph 4 follows the same pattern as for Argument One. The ideational Theme of T-unit 14 is *juurai no konpyuutaa wa* (current computer technology) which enables another limitation, *seikaku muhi* (super-accurateness) to be located in the Rheme. T-unit 15 elaborates the implication of this limitation, by another appositive textual Theme, *to iu koto wa* (that is to say) preceding the ideational Theme, *aimai na momo wa* (ambiguity) which is seen as a phenomenon which super-accurate computers can not manage. T-unit 16 marks the contrastive switch in the paragraph by the use of the textual Theme, *kore ni taishi*, (contrary to this), thereby setting up another contrastive relation between current technology and the ideational Theme, *fajii wa* (fuzzy logic), the other promising new technology. The final T-unit in the paragraph, T-unit 17 continues with a related Theme, *fajii konpyuutaa wa* (fuzzy computers) as Theme with the fact that they 'can manage things other than numbers' as Rheme. To reiterate, Argument Two is achieved by firstly describing the accuracy limitations of

current computer technology and contrasting that with the new capabilities of *fajii* computers which can manage ambiguity.

Having argued that the new technologies have new capabilities, the next stage, the Thesis Statement stage, then functions to state the claim that computers are going to change. This is achieved by selecting a circumstance of Cause/Reason (refer to Teruya (1998:428)), *kono nyuuro to fajii de* (due to neuro and fuzzy logic) as Theme. The Rheme of this opening T-unit, T-unit 18 contains the thesis, *konpyuutaa wa ookiku kawatte iku* (computers are going to change considerably). The subsequent three T-units then serve to reinforce this claim by presenting the characteristic of repetitive accurateness as Theme placing ‘the fact that it is both a strength and weakness’ as Rheme.

Finally, the commentary concludes with the paragraph which amplifies the Thesis. It opens with the only modal adjunct in the text, *kangaete mireba* (come to think of it) thereby presenting the following statements in an interpersonal frame giving personal authority to the claim. T-unit 24 presents *ningen* (people) as Theme thus describing ‘their ability to manage ambiguity in various ways, making mistakes and learning, thus becoming more intelligent’ as Rheme. The final T-unit, T-unit 23 opens with an enhancing beta clause of condition, *Nyuuro to fajii ni yoru onsei ninshiki no gijutsu ga kakuritsu sureba* (if VRT which depends on fuzzy logic and neuro-computing is established), which brings together the three prominent Themes of VRT, *nyuuro* and *fajii*, thereby setting up the Rheme for a stronger, more confident reiteration of the Thesis statement – ‘that the computer will be like people and the role of computers will expand’.

Stage	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme: Textual/Inter	Theme: Ideational	T-unit Rheme
Orientation: presents 'new technology'	Paragraph 1	T-U 1:		Part.:Goal – Voice recognition technology(VRT)	has been developed earnestly for the past 20 yrs, and has been utilized by a section of the community since the early days.
		T-U 2:	+ adversative – <i>Shikashi</i> But	[Implicit: Part.: Identified] –VRT	has not spread much.
		T-U 3:		[Implicit: Part.: Identified] –VRT	isn't entering text by hitting keys on the word processor, as it is spoken, if the sentences were entered, technophobic people would be helped however.
	Paragraph 2	T-U 4:		Circ. of cause (purpose) – For the purposes of voice recognition	a promising technology has appeared.
		T-U 5:		[Implicit: Part: Carrier ]– VRT	is neuro-like and fuzzy.
		T-U 6:		Part.: Actor – Hitachi Manufacturing Company	developed this new VRT which combines the theories of neuro-computers and fuzzy logic. (They) make computers learn the characteristics of the sounds of spoken language using neurons and
		T-U 7:	x temporal – <i>ippoo</i> then	[Implicit: Part: Actor ]– The computer	uses fuzzy logic to judge which word is which.
	Paragraph 3	T-U8:		Part: Carrier – These neuro-computers and fuzzy logic	differ fundamentally from current computer technology.
		T-U9:		Part: Goal - Current computer technology	no matter how often you tell it to do something,
		T-U10:		Part: Actor – what it does each time	will not change.
		T-U11:	= apposition – <i>tsumari</i> in other words,	Part.: Actor – 'learning'	(they) cannot do (it) at all.
		T-U12:	+adversative – <i>tokoro ga</i> However	Part.: Actor – neuro-computers	in the same way as language originates from neurons, can learn.
		T-U13:		Part.: Actor -They	are suited for voice distinction and the more repetition there is, gradually their accuracy improves.
=Argument #1	Paragraph 4	T-U14:	+ addition – <i>mata</i> Further	Part.: Carrier – current computer technology	is super accurate.
		T-U15:	=apposition – <i>to iu koto wa</i> In other words	Part.: Goal – ambiguity	is not accepted at all.
		T-U16:	+ replacive – <i>kore ni taishi</i> Contrary to this,	Part.: Carrier – fuzzy	means ambiguity and,
		T-U17:		Part.: Actor – fuzzy computers	can manage things which are not expressed as numbers.
xThesis State ment	Paragraph 5	T-U18:		Circ. of cause: Due to Neuro-computers and fuzzy logic,	computers are going to change a lot.
		T-U19:		[Implicit Part.: Carrier] – They	have been designed to be super-accurate and so,

		T-U20:		Part.: Identified – The fact that no matter how many times they do it, they do it the same way every time	is a strong point of previous computer technology but
		T-U21:		Part.: Identified - it	is at the same time a weak point, too.
=Reiteration of Thesis Statement	= Paragraph 6	T-U22:	Interpersonal comment adjunct – $\beta$ clause <i>Kangaete mireba</i> When you think about it,	Part: Actor – people	handle phenomena broadly and ambiguously and, deal with it in a variety of ways and, while even making mistakes, learn, and gradually become more intelligent.
		T-U23:		Expansion: $\beta$ -clause If VRT which depends on fuzzy logic and neuro-computers is established,	computers will be more like people and their role is likely to expand a notch.

Table 6.5  
Themes in the T-units of each stage in *Keizai Kishoodai*.

### 6.3.3 Method of Development

Unlike the previous two news stories which present a method of development that isolates the Satellites from each other, the news commentary story develops TP patterns which link within and between the stages quite differently. The TP patterns are illustrated in Table 6.6 below.

Stage	Paragraphs	T-unit	Theme: Textual/Inter	Theme: Ideational	T-unit Rheme
Orientation	Paragraph 1	T-U 1:		Part.: Goal – <i>onsei ninshiki gijutsu(VRT)</i>	been developed 20 yrs ago, but use has been limited to one group
		T-U 2:	+ adversative – <i>but</i>		has not spread
		T-U 3:		[Implicit: Part.: Identified – VRT]	isn't keyboard technology if the text is entered, <i>technophobic people</i> would be helped
	x Paragraph 2	T-U 4:		Circ. of cause (purpose) – <i>VRT ni</i>	a promising technology has appeared
		T-U 5:		[Implicit: Part.: Carrier – <i>promising technology</i> ]	is neuro-like and fuzzy.
		T-U 6:		Part.: Actor – <i>Hitachi</i>	developed this new VRT which is ...and makes computer learn using neurons..
		T-U 7:	x temporal – <i>ippoo</i>		uses fuzzy logic to judge..
Argument #1	= Paragraph 3	T-U8:		Part: Carrier – <i>nyuuro to fajii</i>	differ from current technology
		T-U9:		Part: Goal – <i>juurai no mono</i>	no matter how often you tell it to do something,
		T-U10:		Part: Actor – <i>maikai yaru koto wa</i>	will not change.
		T-U11:	= apposition – <i>tsumari</i> ^	Part.: Actor – <i>gakushuu.koto wa</i>	cannot do at all.
		T-U12:	+adversative – <i>tokoro ga</i> ^	Part.: Actor – <i>nyuuro wa</i>	as language originates from neurons, can learn
		T-U13:		Part.: Actor – <i>Sore</i>	suit voice distinction and with repetition, accuracy improves.
Argument #2	= (+) Paragraph 4	T-U14:	+ addition – <i>mata</i> ^	Part.: Carrier – <i>juurai no konpyuutaa</i>	is super accurate.
		T-U15:	=apposition – <i>to iu koto wa</i>	Part.: Goal – <i>aimai no mono</i>	is not accepted at all.
		T-U16:	+ replacive – <i>kore ni taishi</i>	Part.: Carrier – <i>fajii wa</i>	means ambiguity and,
		T-U17:		Part.: Actor – <i>fajii konpyuutaa</i>	can manage info. not expressed as numbers.
Thesis Statement	x Paragraph 5	T-U18:		Circ. of cause: <i>...nyuuro to fajii de</i>	<b>computers are going to change a lot.</b>
		T-U19:		[Implicit Part.: Carrier – <i>konpyuutaa</i> ]	are super-accurate and so,
		T-U20:		Part.: Identified – <i>..koto o yaru to iu no wa</i>	is a strong point but
		T-U21:		Part.: Identified – <i>sore</i>	is a weak point, too.
Reiteration of Thesis Statement	= Paragraph 6	T-U22:	Comment adjunct – $\beta$ clause <i>kangaete mireba,</i>	Part: Actor – <i>ningen</i>	handle phenomena, deal with it in various ways, even making mistakes, learning, and becoming more intelligent
		T-U23:		Expansion: $\beta$ -clause <i>Nyuuro to fajii ni yoru onsei ninshiki no gijutsu ga kakuritsu sureba,</i>	<b>computers will be more like people and their role will expand</b>

Table 6.6  
Thematic development and logical relations in *Keizai kishoodai*.

The TP pattern of paragraph 1 is that of a continuous TP pattern; VRT is thematic in each T-unit of the paragraph. This patterns continues into paragraph 2 which

picks up the VRT Theme from one and presents it as a circumstance of Cause at the beginning of paragraph 2. The internal TP pattern of paragraph 2 however, is linear in nature and it is here, in this paragraph, that the rhetorical organisation of the news commentary is set up. The Rheme of T-unit 5 has contained within it, the two features of the new technology, *nyuuro* and *fajii* through which the writer constructs the argument in the subsequent two paragraphs. These two features appear rhematically but are picked up as Themes in the following paragraphs. The rhetorical organisation is thus set up by this derived TP which enables continuous TP links across the following three paragraphs. In other words, the scene is set in the Orientation stage in paragraph 2 to argue the claim that computers will change due to *nyuuro* in paragraph 3, and due to *fajii* in paragraph 4. This then is linked to paragraph 5 again through a continuous TP pattern using a circumstance of Cause to support the claim that computers will change. The TP patterns which are internal to each paragraph are linear in type. This occurs in paragraphs 2, 3 and 5. Otherwise, the predominant pattern is a continuous one traversing paragraphs and stages.

The only paragraph which is not explicitly linked by TP patterns is paragraph 6. This paragraph functions as the Reiteration of Thesis Statement stage and as mentioned is an amplification of the previous Thesis Statement stage. The whole paragraph acts as an appositive restatement devoid of any TP pattern. However, there exists a stark opposition between paragraph 5 and 6 in relation to the placement of the Thesis. In paragraph 5 the thesis occurs in the Rheme of the first T-unit in the paragraph, that is to say, it is stated up front immediately following the two arguments used to support the claim. But then in paragraph 6, the opposite occurs. The reiteration of Thesis occurs in the final T-unit of the paragraph and consequently of the whole text. This enables a strong, climactic ending to the build up of the exposition in which arguments are presented, the writer's opinion is clearly stated and then restated for greater effect.

#### 6.3.4 Logical Relations

The logical relations in the news commentary are of three types. There are overt logical links within the paragraphs building links between the T-units, overt links between paragraphs which partly serve to link the paragraphs and stages and then,

there are covert links which function in the same manner. The logical relations are indicated in Table 6.6 above.

In the first instance, the body of the commentary is not overtly linked to the Headline. There is an implicit link whereby the whole text serves to elaborate on the rather cryptic Headline, *Keisanki kara Zunoo e* (from the Calculator to the Brain). The Headline is tracking the development of the computer from a technology limited to calculation to a more sophisticated technology similar to the human brain which is capable of learning and managing ambiguity. Thus the whole text is in an elaborating (=) relation with the Headline.

The explicit logical links between the paragraphs are as follows. There is a circumstance of Cause (purpose), *kono onsei ninshiki ni* (for the purposes of voice recognition) linking paragraph 2 to paragraph 1 in a relation of enhancement (x). This same strategy is employed to link paragraph 5 to the two argument paragraph, 3 and 4. A circumstance of Cause, *nyuuro to fajii de* (due to neuro and fuzzy technology) relates the two preceding paragraphs in a relation of enhancement, specifically of causation (reason). Refer to Teruya (1998:428). The other overt logical link between paragraphs 3 and 4 is the extending (+) conjunction, *mata* (and) which links the two arguments which both support the Thesis statement in paragraph 5.

The other logical links between the paragraphs are implicit in nature. That is to say, there is no overt structural element signaling the link. Rather, the link is either through the TP patterns or is simply implied. The link between the Orientation stage and the two Argument stages is achieved through the use of the derived TP patterns in paragraph 2. This sets up paragraph 3 for a description on *nyuuro*, and paragraph 4 for a description of *fajii*. The link between paragraph 5 and 6 is one of implication. Paragraph 6 is a restatement of the Thesis statement. The fact that it is a restatement needs no further overt signal within the structure. It is obvious. Therefore the logical relation of paragraph 6 to 5 is that of elaboration. Related to this is the fact that the ideational Theme of T-unit 22 in paragraph 6, *ningen* (people) makes the implicit link to the Headline through meronymic (refer to Martin1992:304) cohesion with *zunoo* (brain). That is to say, the brain is a part of a person, and this relation links the meaning of the Headline with the content of the text.

The logical links between the T-units within each paragraph tend to be more explicit using textual Themes which serve to organize the internal ideational content of the paragraphs. Paragraph 1 has an extending conjunction, *shikashi* (but) indicating a contrast. Paragraph 2 has an enhancing conjunction, *ippoo* (then) indicating a temporal sequence. Paragraphs 3 and 4 have the parallel structure of elaborating connectives, *tsumari* (in other words) and *to iu koto wa* (in other words), signaling apposition. This is then followed by extending connectives, *tokoro ga* (however) and *kore ni taishi* (contrary to this) which enable a contrast between current and the new technology to be set up.

These logical resources used within the text are quite significant in that they are used to internally organize paragraphs through relations between T-units, and also to externally organize relations between paragraphs and thus between the generic stages of the text. It is clear that the resource of Theme is that which enables these logical relations both through the TP patterns but also through the choice of logically connecting textual Themes, to unfold in the life of the text.

### 6.3.5 Given and New Distribution

Connected to the logical relations between the paragraphs is the organisation of the information into given and new status. In a manner similar to the opening of the *Setsubun* soft news story, the Theme of the first T-unit in the news commentary does not originate from the Headline, that is, it is not ascribed a given status. It is newly introduced. However, this is not typical for this text. Typically, the Themes are all given, either deriving from preceding Rhemes or Themes – of the 23 Themes in the text, only four are new. This mapping of given to Theme and new to Rheme is consistent with the purpose of the news commentary. It is written to present an argument or claim. In the process of developing the argument, the writer will build up each point, introducing it via the Rheme, to be picked up as Theme in order to further elaborate the point. Alternatively, the writer will continue one Theme adding further information in subsequent Rhemes. Employment of these two strategies tends to produce the pattern of given with Theme and new with Rheme.

An interesting point to note however, is that two of the new Themes operate in a similar manner. T-unit 11 and T-unit 15 contain the Themes, *gakushuu nado to itta koto wa* (as for [their ability to] learn) and *aimai na mono*



*wa* (ambiguity) respectively. These Themes are then picked up in the following T-units in the Rheme. This appears to be a deliberate placement to take advantage of the salience of information placed rhematically. Information in the Rheme tends to be the information the writer/speakers wishes the reader/listener to attend to. It is the newsworthy position. Thus by placing given information in the newsworthy location, the writer can stress the point, that is, that ‘learning’ and ‘ambiguity’ are newsworthy features of the new technology to be attended to in the development of the argument in this text. The other new Theme, *ningen* (people) is in T-unit 22 and is not strictly new in that *ningen* is related through meronymy to the Headline. In a sense, there is an implicit ‘given’ assumption that the reader knows about people. This is because *zunoo* (brain) appears in the Headline and the ‘brain’ is a part of a ‘human’.

### 6.3.6 Summary

In short, the above analysis of *Keizai kishoodai – keisanki kara zunoo e* illustrates how this news commentary article is a motivated piece of exposition with clear generic stages working together to construct an argument. *Keizai Kishoodai* has generic stages which are like the DSP classification in that there is an Orientation stage, a Thesis Statement stage, Argument stages and a Reiteration of the Thesis Statement stage. However, these stages do not appear in the same order as suggested in the literature. In fact, the order of the stages in this news commentary could be considered to be the mirror image of that which is mentioned in the literature. Rather than the Thesis Statement stage occurring before the arguments which support it, the Thesis Statement stage occurs after the supporting arguments and is then immediately followed by the Reiteration of Thesis stage. This provides a very strong framework for presenting an opinion and may, in fact, be the typical structure of expository news stories in Japanese. This pattern of argument ^ thesis has been identified in a section of the short story *Taberareta Otoko*. Consider the segment below in Table 6.7. T-unit 28 is the Thesis Statement, which claims that the character, *S-kun*, is a hopeless cook. This statement is backed up by the arguments preceding the claim. The first piece of evidence to back the claim, in T-unit 25 states that the narrator has never seen *S-kun* in the kitchen; the second piece of evidence, in T-unit 26 states that when

camping, S-kun watches the others do the cooking; and the third piece of evidence, in T-unit 27, states that S-kun never offers coffee when you visit him.

	¶12	T-U 24	Circ. of Time – At the time when I thought that this was strange,	the change continued and extended to S-kun's hands.
<b>Argument 1:</b> never seen S-kun in the kitchen	¶13	T-U 25	Part.: Sensor – I	while having been acquainted with S-kun for this long, had never seen him standing before the flames (of the stove) cooking.
<b>Argument 2:</b> S-kun watches others cook		T-U 26	x Conditional & clause – Even when camping,	he only watched others industriously preparing the meal.
<b>Argument 3:</b> S-kun never offers coffee		T-U 27	Circ. of Place- At his bachelor pad, too	(I) went sometimes but it didn't mean I received a cup of instant coffee.
<b>Thesis Statement</b>		T-U 28	Circ. of Angle – With respect to cooking,	(S-kun) had absolutely no skill and couldn't even cook a fried egg satisfactorily.

Table 6.7  
Expository micro-staging in *Taberareta Otoko*.

In any event, the discussion has demonstrated that it is the system of Theme and the choice of Theme which serves to realise the organisation of the T-units within and between the paragraphs. The selected Themes work together to construct thematic progression patterns and develop the logical links between and within the paragraphs.

#### 6.4 Implications of the analyses

Having deconstructed an example of a hard news, soft news and news commentary, it is evident that each text has its own motivated structure. In other words, each example has generic stages which serve to fulfil definable functions: **to recount** and **to report** in the hard news example; **to orient**, **to describe** and **to comment** in the soft news observation example and; **to argue** a claim in the news commentary example.

The choice of Theme and the TP patterns in which the individual Themes participate are determined in part by the social purpose of each text. The social purpose further construes the logical organisation within and between paragraphs and the selection of information as given or new.

The question which arises as a result of this research is whether or not the staging which is clearly evident in these examples is a general characteristic of each of these news genres in Japanese. Are these characteristics of discrete news story genres in Japanese?

A definitive answer to this question will only result from a quantitative study of the various news stories in Japanese. Were such a quantitative study to be undertaken, it would then be possible to make a cross-linguistic comparison between the staging and structure of the news story in English. While it is not possible to make any definite comparative generalisations between English and Japanese at this early stage in the process, I would nonetheless, like to predict some possible distinctions were the characteristics of *Ginkoo*, *Setsubun* and *Keizai Kishoodai* to be typical of news story genres in Japanese.

Firstly, the hard news story in Japanese does not have a Lead Statement stage, as is the case in English. The function of this stage which, in conjunction with the Headline, is to “present the essence of and the most dramatic angle on the event (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:96) is essentially handled entirely by the Headline. I believe that this is because Japanese has the advantage of *kanji*. *Kanji*, being an logographic orthography (Halliday 1985c:19), is by its nature, lexically dense, and thus can serve both as a Headline and Lead statement giving detail about the event in a very small amount of space. The essence of the event is captured in the Headline and thus there seems to be no need for a Lead statement in the Japanese hard news story. The Nucleus therefore consists of Headline only, unlike English which has a Headline and Lead statement as the Nucleus of the story.

Secondly, the hard news story in Japanese appears to have more overt chronological development of the events in the story. This is evident in the pairing of the Satellites (2 and 3) in *Ginkoo*. These Satellites together recount the events of the story. Satellite 2 is chronologically earlier than Satellite 3. In other words, the order of the Satellites matters. There is a significant time link between them. This chronological connection is different to the English hard news story which does not have Satellites relating to each other, but rather only to the Nucleus. Essentially, there appears to be both a chronological time connection between Satellites and an operation of external thematic development occurring.

In contrast to the hard news story, there appears to be little difference between the soft news media observation story in Japanese and its counterpart in English. Each have generic stages which are ordered sequentially beginning with an Orientation stage, followed by an Event Description stage and concluded by a Comment stage. While each stage has internal TP patterns, these stages are at the

same time not significantly isolated from each other. Rather, there are TP patterns which link between each Satellite. These shared characteristics suggest that the soft news media observation story in English and Japanese are similar.

Finally, as mentioned above, the news commentary text, while having basically the same stages as an English news commentary text according to the DSP classification (1994:161), the order which these stages appear in is not the same order as suggested in the literature. Rather than the Thesis Statement stage occurring before the arguments which support it, the Thesis Statement stage occurs after the supporting arguments and is then immediately followed by the Reiteration of Thesis stage.

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented descriptions of the three news stories in the corpus. The descriptions have been based around the generic stages of each text type. The language choices, particularly those of Theme, method of development, logical relations and the distribution of given and new information collectively serve to realise the particular function of each stage and give the text as a whole, a particular generic configuration.

The system of genre was introduced in chapter 5 where general descriptions of the stages of each genre were provided. Chapter 6 has presented analyses of three examples thereby affording the opportunity to present an instance of the system in each case. *Ginkoo* is an instance of the hard news genre; *Setsubun* is an instance of the soft news observation genre; while *Keizai kishoodai* is an instance of the news commentary genre. Each instance allows for the opportunity to compare the structure of the instance with the generalised structure of the system.

The hard news story example differs only marginally from the general system as outlined in chapter 5. In the system, the Satellites are independent of each other, but related to the Headline. This is predominantly the case in the *Ginkoo* instance, however, there is a chronological link between the two recounting Satellites which was not predicted in the general system. Further, the instance does not have a Lead statement, a feature of the general system which forms part of the Nucleus of the hard news story. Instead, due to the logographic nature of Japanese *kanji*, it appears that the Lead statement which functions to

elaborate the Headline is unnecessary. *Kanji* is naturally lexically dense and thus the *kanji* in the Headline alone is sufficient.

The soft new media observation story appears to match the generalised system. The instance and the system both have the appropriate stages, in the appropriate order with logical links between the stages.

In contrast, the news commentary instance, *Keizai kishookai* reveals limitations with the generalised description of the system. The generalised system presents the stages in a particular order. This is not evident in the instance. While the same stages occur, they occur in a different order. This highlights the fact that the generalised description of the system may in fact be language specific and thus, the system postulated in the DSP research may not be appropriate in Japanese.

In any event, the notion of genre has proved very useful in the analyses of the news stories in the corpus. Through the frame of genre, the various language choices within each text can be seen to be motivated and working together to organise the ideational content of a text into a textually coherent message.

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## Chapter 7- The Nursery Tales

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter will present descriptions of the nursery tales in the corpus. As in chapter 6, each text is considered as an instance of a particular genre. The choice of Theme and how these choices key into the method of development are described with the intention of demonstrating the particular function of each generic stage of each text.

The description of each text begins with an examination of the generic stages. This is followed by an examination of the selection of Themes within each stage and how these collectively work to produce a particular method of development. The generic stages are then described logically in relation to each other and consideration is given to the distribution of given and new information and how these configurations also key into the method of development. The picture of each text as an instance of a particular genre is built up. This picture is compared with the systems of genres which were introduced in chapter 5 as a means of determining the extent to which these systems are relevant in Japanese.

As presented in chapter 5, the nursery tale has been described as a genre, particularly by Hasan (1996). To reiterate, Hasan uses the concept of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) to describe the tale. The GSP is formulated as follows:

**[(<Placement>^) Initiating Event^] Sequent Event^ Final Event [^(Finale)□(Moral)]**

Hasan's notation takes into account variation within nursery tales, however, the shared features include a common social purpose and the kinds of stages. Hasan states that the social purpose of the nursery tale is to socialise young children into the culture by entertaining them. This is achieved through the stages of an optional Placement, followed by an Initiating Event, followed by Sequent Events which culminate in a Final Event. Hasan's description is used to frame the discussion of the analyses of the two nursery tales.

The Placement functions to particularise a character and may also impersonalise the character(s) and distance them temporally. Both the Initiating Event and Final Event have further sub-stages. The Initiating Event includes three parts: a frame, a main act and a sequel respectively. The frame provides background for the main event which is a 'one-time' happening from which the

tale unfolds. The difference between a frame and Placement is one of global relevance to the tale. If the background information is localised and not relevant to the whole tale, then Hasan considers the information as a frame, however, if it is globally relevant to the whole tale, then she considers it Placement (Hasan 1996:70).

Following the main act is the sequel to the main act when an expectation set up by the main act is frustrated. The Sequent Events build and set up the Final Event. The Final event has three parts: a final event, a finale and a moral. The final event is a culmination of the events in the tale out of which the optional finale – a return to altered rest –arises. The Final Event stage may also have an optional moral which teaches socially valued behaviour.

The ‘return to altered rest’ characteristic of the optional finale stage in Hasan’s GSP resonates with the findings of Tosu (1985) in his study of the staging of folktales in Japanese. His study, which investigated the staging of seven folk tales, found that the folktale had a cyclical structure: lack ^ lack liquidated ^ lack (Tosu 1985) which culminates in a return to an ‘original’ state. He found that a tale, if it began unhappily, finished unhappily, and similarly, if it began happily, it finished happily. The tale would move through a stage of change or action, but then return to a state of rest. In terms of social purpose, the tale provides a means through which to socialise children. However, according to Tosu, the emphasis is on experiencing an event rather than acting on the event. There is a tendency towards ‘non-achievement’ by the heroes and heroines in each tale (Tosu 1985:182).

Despite describing the Japanese folktale as having a cyclical structure in which he suggests a tendency towards non-achievement, he also describes a subset of tales which he calls the ‘kindness rewarded and evil punished’ type (Tosu 1985:173). This categorisation reflects the nature of the two tales under examination in this study. *Urihimeko* and *Momotaroo* are tales in which good triumphs over evil. Within Tosu’s discussion, the ‘good versus evil’ subset does not discount his staged structure of lack ^ lack liquidated ^ lack. Rather, he describes a variation on the structure whereby, these stories follow a structure of an optional initial stage of (lack liquidated ^) lack ^ lack liquidated.

In Tosu’s representation of the staging of the folktale he did not relate specific lexicogrammatical choices to generic stages. He did not demonstrate how



particular lexicogrammatical choices serve to realise different functions of the stages. Unlike Tosu, Hasan demonstrates this relationship in her research. Her GSP is thus the logical choice for framing the examination of the two tales in this study. The following discussion will begin with the short tale, *Urihimeko* (The Melon Princess), followed by the longer tale, *Momotaroo* (The Peach Boy) which is divided into five chapters.

### 7.1 The Analysis of *Urihimeko* (The Melon Princess)

The tale, *Urihimeko* is an example of what Nakajima (1976) calls the *ijootanjoo* (abnormal birth) class of tale. In short, these tales begin with the birth of the main character usually from a kind of fruit found floating down a river. The reference to the river is seen as analogous to the main character being a gift from God. This is a rather common beginning not only for many tales in Japan, but also in Korea and China (Nakajima 1976).

However, *Urihimeko* is not a particularly well known example of this particular kind of nursery tale. It is about a little girl who is born from a melon found by an old woman while washing on the riverbank. She and her husband raise the child who becomes a skilled weaver. Her adopted parents leave her alone at home weaving one day while they go to the mountains. They warn her to keep the house securely closed and not to let the old witch, *Amanjaku* in. However, *Urihimeko* is tempted by *Amanjaku* and they go out to play. *Amanjaku* torments her which leads to *Urihimeko*'s death from a fall, after which, *Amanjaku* impersonates her. *Amanjaku* fools the adopted parents and endears herself to the local wealthy landowner who agrees to marry her. On the morning of the wedding, a crow cries that *Amanjaku* is riding in *Urihimeko*'s carriage. Upon hearing the cries, the old couple become suspicious and grab *Amanjaku*, take her to the stream and wash her face. Discovering the truth, they then angrily drag *Amanjaku* bleeding through the nutmeg grove over and over. The moral of the story is that the roots of the nutmeg tree are red today as a result of that day long ago, when the old couple took their revenge on *Amanjaku*. Despite this being a rather gruesome tale, good triumphs over evil in the sense that *Amanjaku* is punished for her subterfuge.

### 7.1.1 The Generic Stages

*Urihimeko* contains the stages as predicted by Hasan's GSP template. The generic stages are presented in Figure 7.0 below. The tale opens with an Initial Event in which there is Placement both in time and place, character particularisation of the old couple and the dramatis personae, *Urihimeko*. The Initial Event stage includes the three sub-stages of frame, main act and sequel. The frame serves to establish *Urihimeko*'s origins, that is, her birth from a melon found floating down a mountain stream. This acts as background information for the introduction of *Urihimeko*. The Placement and frame precede the main act which occurs when the parents leave *Urihimeko* alone in the house while they go to the mountains warning her not to allow the witch, *Amanjaku* in the house. The main act is then followed by the sequel which arises causally out of the main act. In this case, *Amanjaku* arrives and successfully tempts *Urihimeko* out to play. Having been warned in the main act, this warning is thus frustrated in the sequel, which according to Hasan, marks the limit of the Initiating Event stage. This stage is rather long consisting of eleven paragraphs made up of 34 T-units.

The Initiating Event is followed by the first of two Sequent Events. Sequent Event 1 serves to tell of *Urihimeko*'s torment at the hands of *Amanjaku* which results in her falling from the peach tree and dying. *Amanjaku* removes her clothes, returns to the home of the adopted parents dressed as *Urihimeko*. She resumes weaving and when the parents returned home, denies that *Amanjaku* visited. This stage consists of four paragraphs, significantly less than in the Initiating Event, and is made up of 14 T-units.

Sequent Event 2 follows directly on from Sequent Event 1 and serves to tell of *Amanjaku*'s manipulation of the adopted parents by having them make rice cakes for the rich landowner who she successfully connives to marry. This stage consists of only two paragraphs made up of 10 T-units.

The final stage in the tale is the Final Event stage which consists of three sub-stages: the final event, the finale and the moral of the tale. Collectively, these mark the culmination of the events of the tale. The final event sub-stage serves to tell of the discovery of the imposter, *Amanjaku*. This is achieved via the crow's song. Upon this discovery, the tale moves into the finale sub-stage where the adopted parents, in a rage, murder *Amanjaku*. This is then followed by the final

sub-stage, the moral of the tale. The moral serves to explain that the reason why the roots of the nutmeg tree are red is because they were stained by *Amanjaku*'s blood. Unlike the previous stages, this stage consists of only one long paragraph of 12 T-units.

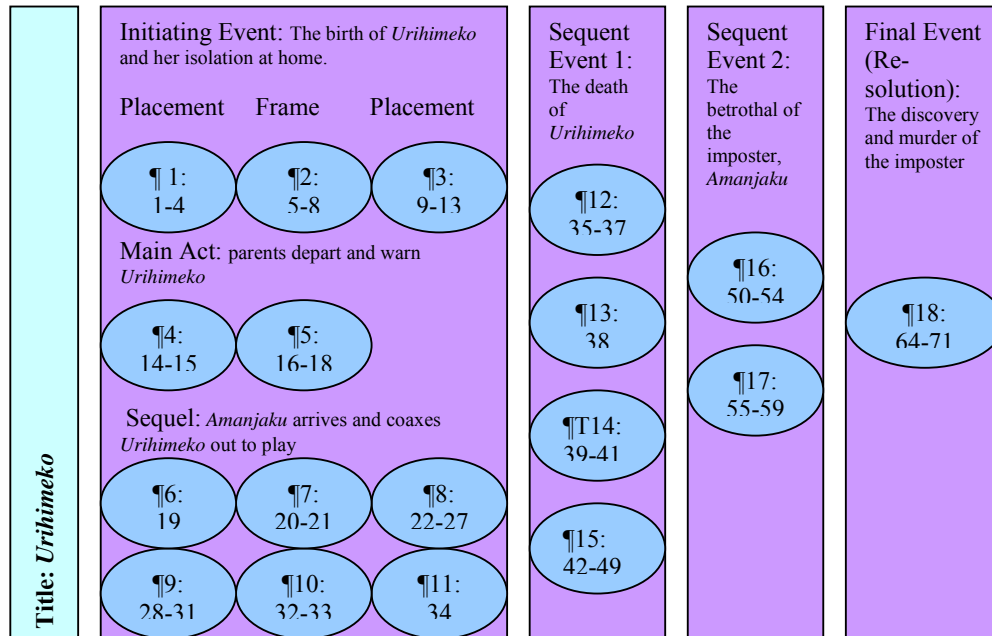


Figure 7.0  
The generic stages of *Urihimeko*

### 7.1.2 Realizing the Function of the Stages

Having outlined the stages of *Urihimeko* above, this section will describe the selection of Theme in each stage. Refer to Table 7.1 below.

The Initiating Event functions to set-up a one-time happening from which the tale unfolds. This stage opens with the Placement sub-stage. The Themes of the first three T-units in paragraph one serve to place the tale in fictional time and place through circumstantial Themes of Time, *mukashi*, *mukashi* (long, long ago) – T-unit 1, *aru hi* (one day) – T-unit 2, and circumstantial Themes of Place, *aru tokori ni* (in a certain place) – T-unit 1 and *kawakami kara* (from upstream).

The next sub-stage is the frame which occurs in paragraph 2. Here we learn about *Urihimeko*'s birth. The first T-unit in the paragraph selects as Theme the participant, *mi no aru hako ga* (the box with fruit) from which unfolds the discovery of the melon. The retrieval of the box, the old woman's return home and the discovery of the melon are positioned in the Rhemes of the T-units of this

paragraph oriented through the old woman as an implicit participant Theme in T-units 6 and 8 and a circumstantial Theme of Time, *ban ni* (that night) in T-unit 7.

Paragraph 3 provides the second interspersed Placement stage where we are introduced to the main character, *Urihimeko*. Through an episodic beta clause, *hoochoo o ateyoo to suru to* (When they tried to tap (it) with a knife) as Theme in the opening T-unit (9), the reader is oriented to what happens next – the opening of the melon and the birth of a baby. This is followed by attribution, that is, a description in the Rheme of T-unit 10 of the implicit Theme, *Urihimeko*. T-unit 11 selects a textual Theme of causation to signal the naming of the child as *Urihimeko*, the Melon Princess in the Rheme. In T-unit 12, a circumstantial Theme of Manner, *daiji ni sodatete iru uchi ni* (in the course of raising her carefully) orients the reader to the demeanour of the main character through further attribution. The textual Theme in T-unit 13 extends the description of her attributes, allowing her skill of weaving to be made salient in the Rheme.

The main act unfolds in Paragraphs 4 and 5. The opening Theme of this sub-stage in a circumstance of Time, *aru hi* (one day) which sets the scene for the adopted parents trip to the mountains. This is followed by a multiple Theme consisting of a textual Theme of causation, *soko de* (so then) and *ojiisan ga* (the old man) as Sayer. The Rheme of the T-unit contains the request that *Urihimeko* mind the house and the warning not to be tempted by *Amanjaku*. Paragraph 5 opens with another multiple Theme consisting of a temporal textual Theme, *koo itte* (saying this) and Actor, *hutari wa* (the couple) which enables their actions, that of leaving, to be positioned rhematically. This is also the case for the subsequent two T-units, 17 and 18 which place *Urihimeko* as Theme and her actions as Rheme, namely, that of singing and weaving while home alone.

Paragraph 6 through to Paragraph 11 collectively work together as the final sequel sub-stage of the Initiating Event. T-unit 19, Paragraph 6 opens with a multiple Theme consisting of a comment adjunct<sup>1</sup>, *annojoo* (as expected) and the Actor, *Amanjaku*. The comment adjunct immediately sets up the expectation that *Amanjaku* will arrive as suggested in the previous main act sub-stage. *Amanjaku*'s actions of arriving and coaxing *Urihimeko* to come out and play are placed in the Rheme. In Paragraph 7, T-unit 20 opens with a circumstance of

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<sup>1</sup> for a description on comment adjuncts refer to Halliday (1994), *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Edward Arnold p. 83

Manner, followed in T-unit 21 by an episodic beta clause which allows the actions of *Amanjaku* to be framed in relation to *Urihimeko*'s. *Urihimeko* is thematic in the next T-unit so that her response to *Amanjaku* is given salience as Rheme. T-unit 23 opens with another comment adjunct, *hontoo ni* (truly) which serves as one of the rare moments when the narrator of the tale steps in with his/her attitude. The following two Themes return to the action of the sequel in which *Amanjaku* is chosen as ideational Theme fronted by textual Themes of adversative and causative connectives respectively. A locution by *Amanjaku* functions as Theme in T-unit 26. T-unit 27 selects *Urihimeko* as an implicit Sayer Theme so that her response to *Amanjaku*'s words are given salience in the Rheme. Essentially, Paragraph 8 tells of *Urihimeko*'s attempts to withstand *Amanjaku*'s coaxing. Paragraph 9 is a repeat of the intent of Paragraph 8. Again, *Amanjaku* attempts to coax and *Urihimeko* attempts to withstand. In each case, *Amanjaku* and *Urihimeko* are selected as Theme with their actions located in the Rheme. Paragraph 10 opens with a multiple Theme consisting of a textual (temporal) connective followed by a circumstance of Time setting the scene as it were for *Urihimeko* to respond to *Amanjaku*'s offer to piggy-back her. This is thwarted in the following T-unit by *Amanjaku* (implicit Sayer) who offers to carry her in a basket. The Initiating Event closes in Paragraph 11 which consists of only one T-unit, 34. The Theme is a textual Theme of causation which suggests capitulation on *Urihimeko*'s part. *Amanjaku* is construed as an implicit Actor Theme and her actions of carrying *Urihimeko* are placed in the Rheme.

Sequent Event 1 functions to unfold the events which ultimately result in the death of *Urihimeko*. This stage consists of four paragraphs. Consistently across these paragraphs, there are textual Themes of temporality linking one event after another. The ideational Theme in each case is typically the Actor, *Amanjaku* whose actions are located in the salient, Rheme position. The stage is set up initially by an episodic beta clause, *chooja dono no ura no hatake e yatte kuru to* (Upon reaching the landowner's back field) at the beginning of T-unit 35. All of *Amanjaku*'s subsequent actions are located in the landowner's back field. It is not until the final paragraph of the stage that *Urihimeko* is selected as Theme. She is chosen as Theme in T-unit 43 allowing her reactions, actions and death to be located in the Rheme. Following her death, *Amanjaku* is again construed as Theme in T-units 44 and 45 as she impersonates the dead princess. Following this,

the adopted parents then feature thematically as they return from their excursion and ask *Amanjaku*, whom they believe is *Urihimeko*, whether or not *Amanjaku* visited. In summary, this stage moves between ideational, participant Themes of *Amanjaku*, *Urihimeko* and the old couple. These ideational Themes are often fronted by textual Themes of temporality.

Sequent Event 2 functions to unfold the events which lead to the betrothal of the imposter to the wealthy landowner. Consisting of only two paragraphs, it is nevertheless, similar to the structure of Sequent Event 1. There are textual Themes of temporality and mostly ideational, participant Themes of the adopted parents, *Amanjaku* and the wealthy landowner. We learn about the actions of each through the selection of the participants as Theme. In brief, T-units 50-52 are concerned with *Amanjaku's* actions of pretending to take rice cakes to the landowner, eating them, and requesting more. This is followed by the old couple making more cakes, and *Amanjaku* delivering them to the landowner and asking him to marry her. The Theme of the final T-unit, 59 in this stage selects the landowner as Theme and his decision to make her his wife is placed in the Rheme.

The Final Event Stage consists of only one paragraph made up of 12 T-units, with the three sub-stages of final event, finale and moral all occurring within the paragraph. Each sub-stage is clearly delimited by a specific implicit participant Theme – the kind which arises from redundancy in the grammar. As mentioned in Section 5.1.3, this particular kind of Theme is the implicit Identified participant, *sore* (it) in the Identifying relational process. This structure, in T-unit 60, serves to set the scene for the final event, “(It) was an incident...”; in T-unit 65, to set the scene for the finale, “(It) was *Amanjaku* and so...” and in T-unit 70, to finally set the scene for the moral of the tale, “(It) is a fact that...”. Each of these implicit Themes serves to introduce each of the sub-stages within the Final Event. The subsequent Themes within each stage orient the reader as follows. Following on from the implicit Theme in T-unit 60, the Theme in T-unit 61 is a circumstance of Spatial Location, *ojiisan, obaasan no ie no soba no ki no ue ni* (in a tree beside the house of the old man and woman) which locates the crow who alerts the old parents to *Amanjaku's* subterfuge. The crow's cries are set up again in T-unit 62 through the use of a circumstantial Theme of Extent, *nando mo* (many times). Following this, a participant – Sensor, *ojiisan mo obaasan mo* (both the old man and woman) is selected as the Theme of T-unit 63. In this T-unit, via the selection

of the Theme, the reader is directed to attend to the old couple's thoughts in the Rheme. In T-unit 64, their thoughts are followed by a causative textual Theme, *soko de* (and so) which signals the old couple's response to their suspicions. This response, that is, to seize, to take to the stream, and to make *Amanjaku* wash her face marks the high point in the final event sub-stage and is predictably located in the Rheme.

T-unit 65 marks the start of the next substage, the finale, through the selection of the implicit Theme, *sore*, (it) as mentioned above. T-unit 66 selects as Theme another implicit Theme, *Amanjaku* which arises from the redundancy in the cotext due to co-referential ellipsis. *Amanjaku* is mentioned in the Rheme of the preceding T-unit and so is co-referentially elided in T-unit 66. T-unit 67 opens with another causative textual Theme, *sore de* (and so) followed by *ojiisan, obassan ga* (the old couple) as participant, Actor Theme. Their response – to again seize *Amanjaku* and forcibly scrub her face, is located in the Rheme. T-unit 68 begins with a textual Theme of Manner, *soo suru to* (in doing so) followed by a circumstantial Theme of Manner, *ippen ni* (completely) which combine to set the scene for the discovery of *Amanjaku* as the imposter. T-unit 69 thus follows up with *ojiisan, obassan wa* (the old man and woman) selected as participant, Actor Theme to enable their anger, abuse and subsequent murder of *Amanjaku* to be saliently located in the Rheme. Here the finale ends. The tale has reached a climax. *Amanjaku* has been discovered and consequently murdered by the old couple. The events of the tale have concluded and the protagonists have returned to a state of 'altered rest' from which it is possible to develop another possible tale (Hasan 1996:55).

The final sub-stage of the Final Event and of the whole tale is the moral. Again, this opens with the implicit Theme, *sore* (it). The Rheme of this T-unit, 70 contains the moral – that the red of the nutmeg tree root comes from *Amanjaku's* blood which dyed the nutmeg root long ago. This moral is the point of the whole tale and is appropriately located in the salient position of Rheme. T-unit 71, the final T-unit in the tale, opens with an implicit beta clause; the clause is un-stated but retrievable due to the reader's understanding of the social purpose of the nursery tale within the culture. As explained in Section 5.1.3, this is a kind of cultural redundancy whereby the reader knows to substitute a meaningful clause relevant to the moral or lesson of the story. In this case, we could substitute, *aku*

*wa horobite* (Because evil is destroyed) as the clausal Theme followed by the Rheme, *medetashi medetashi* (well done, well done) which concludes the tale.

The above description makes evident the role which Theme selection plays in the organisation of this nursery tale. The following section will develop this further by describing how these Themes work collectively to construe a method of development which serve to realise the stages of the tale both within and between paragraphs and stages.

Stages		T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Initiating Event: Purpose: to set up a 'one-time' happening – The Birth of <i>Urihimeko</i> and her isolation at home	x Placement: time – long ago, and particularisation. of old	¶ 1 T-U 1		Multiple circ. Theme of Time and Place - long ago, in a certain place,	lived an old man and woman
		T-U 2		Circ. of time - one day	the old woman went to the river to wash
		T-U 3		Circ. of place - from up stream	two boxes floated down
		T-U 4		Episodic $\beta$ clause - Seeing them,	she shouted, "come here"
	x Frame – finding the melon	¶ 2 T-U 5		Participant: Actor - box	approached.
		T-U 6	x temporal- <i>soko de</i>	(she)	picked it up and returned home.
		T-U 7		Circ. of time - that night	when she tried to open it, a melon emerged.
		T-U 8		[Impl. Part: Sayer] woman	"What a splendid melon..."
	x Placement: particularisation & attribution of dramatic	¶ 3 T-U 9		Episodic $\beta$ clause - When trying to cut it,	the melon cracked open and a baby emerged.
		T-U 10		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - baby	cried. (It) was a cute girl.
		T-U 11	x temporal- <i>soko de</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - They	named her U-re-hi-me-ko.
		T-U 12		Circ. of manner - raising her carefully,	(she) became a beautiful daughter
		T-U 13	x temporal- <i>soo shite</i>	[Implicit Part: Carrier] - she	(she) became skillful at the loom
	Main Event: parents depart for the mountains leaving <i>Urihimeko</i> alone	¶ 4 T-U14		Circ. of Time - one day	the parents decided to go to the mountains.
		T-U15	x causative- <i>soko de</i>	Participant: Sayer - man	said. "Watch the house. ...be careful...don't let Amanjaku in"
		¶ 5 T-U 16	x temporal <i>Koo itte</i>	Part.:Actor - the two	left.
		T-U 17		Part.:Actor - <i>Urihimeko</i>	was weaving
		T-U 18		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Uri	(sang), "Event without a shutte..."
	+ Sequel: <i>Amanjaku</i> arrives and coaxes <i>Urihimeko</i> out to play	¶ 6 T-U 19	comment adjunct – <i>Annojoo</i>	Part.:Actor - Amanjaku	visited "Come out and play.."
		¶ 7 T-U 20		Circ. of man - over & over	Amanjaku called.
		T-U 21		Episodic $\beta$ clause - when <i>Urihimeko</i> pretended,	more coaxingly, "Open the door.."
		¶ 8 T-U 22		Part.: Actor - Uri	frightened, though it was OK to open the door a bit.
		T-U 23	Interpersonal comment adjunct – <i>Hontoo ni</i>	[Implicit Part: Carrier] - it	was just a crack big enough for a finger nail



			T-U 24	+advers – <i>shikashi</i>	Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	inserting her nails, (she) opened the door.
			T-U 25	x causative- <i>soshite</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - she	entered the house.
			T-U 26		Locution - "Come and pick peaches in the field",	Amanjaku said.
			T-U 27		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Uri	"No. I'll get in trouble".
		¶ 9	T-U 28	+advers– <i>Dake demo</i>	Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	didn't listen.
			T-U 29		Circ. of Ext - over & over	"Come and pick peaches ..."
			T-U 30		Part.: Sayer -Uri	troubled, (she) replied, "I'll be heard...."
			T-U 31	x temporal- <i>suru to</i>	Part.: Sayer - Amanjaku	said. "I'll carry you."
		¶ 10	T-U 32	x temporal- <i>soko de</i>	Circ. of time -this time	Urihimeko said, "On your back there is a horn..."
			T-U 33		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Amanjaku	"I'll get a basket, and put you in it on my back".
		¶ 11	T-U 34	x causative- <i>soo shite</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - Amanjaku	went and got the basket, put Urihimeko in it and carried her.
x Sequent Event 1: The death of Urihimeko		¶ 12	T-U 35		Episodic β clause - upon reaching the field	up the peach tree, Amanjaku climbed
			T-U 36	x temporal- <i>suru to</i>	Circ. of manner - by herself	(she) ate only the tasty peaches.
			T-U 37		Part.: Beneficiary - To Uri	"Eat dried earwax. Eat dried snot."
		¶ 13	T-U 38	x temporal- <i>Soo itte</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - Amanjaku	threw (Urihimeko) only the bad ones
		¶ 14	T-U 39	x temporal- <i>Tsugi ni</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - Amanjaku	decided that Uri climb the tree.
			T-U 40	x temporal- <i>suru to</i>	Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	said to keep going higher, up and up.
			T-U 41	x temporal- <i>Sono ue</i>	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Amanjaku	"Look! A caterpillar. Look! the landowner's mother is coming!"
		¶ 15	T-U 42		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Amajaku	saying this, intimated Urihimeko
			T-U 43		Part.: Carrier - Urihimeko	surprised and flustered, fell & died
			T-U 44	x temporal- <i>suru to</i>	Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	putting on Urihimeko's kimono, impersonated her.
			T-U 45	x temporal- <i>soshite</i>	Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	returned to the old couple's house, (and sang) "Because there is no shuttle, I can't weave."
			T-U 46		Circ. of Location - to there	the couple returned home.
			T-U 47		Part.: Actor - they	upon return noticed the sound of the loom was different.
			T-U 48	x causative- <i>soko de</i>	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - they	asked, "Did Amanjaku come?"
			T-U 49		Part.: Sayer - Amanjaku	feigning ignorance, (replied), "No, she didn't".
x Sequent Event 2: The betrothal of the imposter, Amanjaku		¶ 16	T-U 50		Part.: Actor -the couple	decided to make rice cakes.
			T-U 51		Circ. of Time - at the time..	(they) filled a picnic box and directed Urihimeko to take it to the landowner.
			T-U 52		Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	upon leaving, gobbled up the rice cakes.
			T-U 53	x temporal- <i>soshite</i>	Circ. of Location - to the house	(she) returning saying, "I'm home".

		T-U 54	x temporal- <i>soshite</i>	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Amanjaku	(said), “The landowner will marry me if he gets another box of rice cakes”.	
		¶17	T-U 55		[Implicit Part: Sayer]- Amanjaku	said these lies.
			T-U 56		Part.: Actor - They	believing these lies, made more cakes and packed them into a box
			T-U 57		Part.: Actor - Amanjaku	took them and this time, really went to the landowner
			T-U 58	x temporal- <i>soshite</i>	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - Amanjaku	said, “Please make me your bride”.
			T-U 59		Part.: Sensor - the landowner	decided to receive her as his bride.
Final Event (Resolution): The discovery and murder of the imposter, <i>Amanjaku</i>	xFinal Event: The discovery	¶18	T-U 60		[Implicit Part: Identified] - (it)	was an incident on the morning of the wedding.
			T-U 61		Circ. of Location - in the tree...	a crow landed and sang, “In Urihimeko’s carriage the naughty Amanjaku is riding”.
			T-U 62		Circ. of Extent - many times	(it) sang and so,
			T-U 63		Part.: Sensor - the couple	thought, “how strange. Urihimeko has changed. Maybe she is an imposter?”
	x Finale: The murder of <i>Amanjaku</i>		T-U 64	x causative- <i>soko de</i>	[Implicit Part: Actor] - they	seized her, took her to the back stream and made her wash her face.
			T-U 65	+advers – <i>shikashi</i>	[Implicit Part: Identified] -(it)	was Amanjaku and so,
			T-U 66		[Implicit Part: Actor] - she	only pretended.
			T-U 67	x causative- <i>sore de</i>	Part.: Actor - the couple	grabbed her and scrubbed her face.
			T-U 68	x manner- <i>Soo suru to</i>	Circ. of manner - completely	revealing her true character, (they) discovered Amanjaku.
	xThe Moral : why the nutmeg roots are red.		T-U 69		Part.: Actor- the couple	were furious. By dragging her through the nutmeg grove, (they) abused (her) until blood flowed.
			T-U 70		[Implicit Part: Identified] - (it)	is a fact that the red of the nutmeg root comes from Amanjaku’s blood.
			T-U 71		[Implicit causal β clause] - (Because evil is destroyed,)	well done, well done.

Table 7.1  
Themes in the T-units of the nursery tale, *Urihimeko*

### 7.1.3 The Method of Development

The Themes within *Urihimeko* organise into a consistent pattern of thematic development. Within the Initiating Event stage, when participants are first introduced they appear initially in the Rheme and are picked up as Theme in following or subsequent T-units. This is a consistent pattern of linear TP.

Each of the main protagonists are introduced in the Rheme of each T-unit, which are presented below. The adopted parents, *ojiisan* and *obaasan* are first mentioned in the Rheme of T-unit 1 at the start of the tale.

Stage	¶	T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Initiating Event: placement	¶ 1	T-U 1		Multiple circ. Theme of Time and Place – long ago, in a certain place,	lived <b>an old man and woman</b>

*Urihimeko* is first mentioned as the baby emerging from the melon in the Rheme of T-unit 9 and then as a child in the Rheme of T-unit 10. Her name is subsequently introduced in the Rheme of the following T-unit, 11.

Initiating Event: Placement	¶ 3	T-U 9		Episodic $\beta$ clause – When trying to cut it,	the melon cracked open and <b>a baby</b> emerged.
		T-U 10		[Implicit Part: Sayer] -baby	cried. (It) was a cute <b>girl</b> .
		T-U 11	x causative- <i>soko de</i>	(They)	named her <b>U-re-hi-me-ko</b> .

*Amanjaku* is introduced in the Rheme of T-unit 15 in the old man's locution alerting *Urihimeko* to the departure and the possibility of *Amanjaku's* visit.

Initiating Event: Main Event	¶ 4	T-U15	x causative- <i>soko de</i>	Participant: Sayer – man	said. "Watch the house. ...be careful...don't let <b>Amanjaku</b> in"
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Within the tale, participants other than the protagonists are also introduced via the Rheme. The box from which the melon appears is first mentioned in the Rheme of T-unit 3, and the crack in the door via which *Amanjaku* forces entry into the house, is mentioned in the Rheme of T-unit 22, respectively presented below.

Initiating Event: Placement	¶ 1	T-U 3		Circ. of place – from up stream	two <b>boxes</b> floated down
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Initiating Event: Sequel	¶ 8	T-U 22		Part.: Actor - Uri	frightened, thought it was OK to <b>open the door a bit</b> .
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There are two exceptions to this pattern of introduction which serves to contribute to a pattern of linear TP. The first is the introduction of the other protagonist, the wealthy landowner, *chooja-dono*. This character is introduced in the only locution of the tale which is selected as Theme. The locution is positioned as Theme so that the Sayer, *Amanjaku* can be located saliently in the Rheme, thereby emphasising the Sayer, rather than the locution. However, *chooja-dono* is first mentioned within this Theme. This is the only example of a participant being first introduced within a Theme.

The other exception is the peculiar implicit Theme which arises from redundancy in the grammar, the implicit Identified participant, *sore* (it) in the

identifying relational process. This structure does not derive from the text, at least it is not ‘introduced’ into the text. It is a characteristic of the grammar of the identifying relational process.

Once all of the protagonists are introduced through a linear TP pattern, the method of development of this nursery tale is based around these protagonists. The text unfolds around the actions of the main protagonists. Each of the protagonists, the adopted parents, *Urihimeko*, *Amanjaku* and the landowner engage in action within the tale but with differing frequency. Based on Table 7.2 below, *Amanjaku* is construed as a participant Theme 43% of the time, followed by the adopted parents (26.5%). *Urihimeko*, due to her early demise in the tale, features less frequently as Theme (18.5%). The tale thus moves between the actions of each of the characters building towards a climax with the actions of *Amanjaku* being the most frequent.

Participant Themes	Roles: Actor	Sayer	Sensor	Identified	Carrier	Beneficiary	Total	Percentage
<i>hako</i>	1						1	2%
<i>Urihimeko</i>	2	4			2	1	9	18.5%
<i>ojiisan/obaasan</i> singly and/or jointly	9	3	1				13	26.5%
<i>Amanjaku</i>	13	8					21	43%
The crack in the door					1		1	2%
<i>chooja-dono</i>			1				1	2%
<i>sore (it)</i>				3			3	6%
							49	100%

Table 7.2

The classification and percentage frequency of the participant Themes in *Urihimeko*

As suggested, the story develops around the participants, with the circumstantial Themes and enhancing beta clausal Themes functioning to set the scene for the actions and dialogue between the participants. Of the 71 T-units, 49 (69%) are participant Themes, while 16 (22.5%) are circumstantial Themes and 5 (7%) are beta clausal Themes. The remaining T-units select the locution as Theme. These figures serve to further indicate that the tale revolves around the participants.

The frequency and distribution of the participant Themes is presented in Table 7.3 below. This table illustrates how the choice of particular protagonists as participant Theme serves to contribute to the method of development of the tale. The numbers represent the number of times per paragraph a particular protagonist is construed as Theme.

	P	F	P	Main Act	Sequel						Sequent Event 1				Sequent Event 2		Final Event	
Protagonist as Participant Theme	¶1	¶2	¶3	¶4	¶5	¶6	¶7	¶8	¶9	¶10	¶11	¶12	¶13	¶14	¶15	¶16	¶17	¶18
<i>ojiisan</i>				1														
<i>obaasan</i>		2																
<i>ojiisan/obaasan</i>			1		1										2	1	1	4
<i>Urihimeko</i>			2		2			2	1			1			1			
<i>hako</i>		1																
<i>Amanjaku</i>						1		2	2	1	1		1	3	4	2	3	1
<i>The crack</i>								1										
<i>chooja-dono</i>																	1	
<i>sore</i>																		3

Table 7.3

The distribution and frequency of participant Themes in *Urihimeko*

Paragraph 1 does not contain any participant Themes but rather consists of circumstantial Themes only which serve to set the scene of the tale in time and place. This is represented through grey shading. The adopted parents and *Urihimeko* interact with each other in the first half of the Initiating Stage from Paragraph 2 through to 5, across the sub-stages of frame, placement and the main act. *Amanjaku* appears for the first time in paragraph 6 which marks the beginning of the sequel sub-stage of the Initiating Event. Paragraph 7 has no participant Themes but again serves to set the scene for the events in the sequel to be played out and is shaded grey. From Paragraph 8 through to 11, *Amanjaku* and *Urihimeko* interact taking turns as Theme. Paragraph 12 marks the beginning of the Sequent Event 1 stage with the paragraph predominantly assigned to set the scene through circumstances and an enhancing beta clause. However, *Urihimeko* is placed thematically in this paragraph thereby initiating a new interplay – this time between *Urihimeko* and *Amanjaku*, which continues through to paragraph 15. Another interplay, this time between *Amanjaku* and the adopted parents, begins in paragraph 15 and is played out in the following stage, Sequent Event 2, in paragraphs 16 and 17. *Amanjaku* is selected as Theme five times, compared to the parents as Theme, twice. The reader is thus significantly oriented in this stage to the actions of *Amanjaku*. This stage closes with the construal of the landowner, *chooja-dono* as Theme. The final Rheme of this stage contains his decision to take *Amanjaku* as his bride.

Within the Final Event stage, the adopted parents serve as the dominant Theme. Their actions of discovery, washing, abusing and murdering arise from

the selection of the parents as Theme. *Amanjaku* is only construed as Theme when we learn of her pretensions at face washing. The other Theme which occurs three times in this stage is the implicit Theme, *sore* (it) which functions to open each sub-stage within the Final Event.

In summary, the method of development of *Urihimeko* revolves around the actions of the main protagonists; each protagonist having been first introduced in the Rhemes and picked up as subsequent Themes through a linear TP pattern. Each protagonist takes turns as Theme with the circumstantial and enhancing beta clauses functioning to set the scene, in a sense, in a supporting role. The stages of the tale serve to delimit who interacts with who, beginning with the interplay between the parents and *Urihimeko*, then the interaction moves onto one between *Urihimeko* and *Amanjaku*, followed by *Amanjaku* and the parents, culminating in the Final Event where the parents engage in the violent act of murder.

#### 7.1.4 Logical Relations

The logical relations in *Urihimeko* are of two types. There are covert links between the stages and overt logical links within the paragraphs which build links between the T-units in the course of the development of the paragraphs of each stage. These logical relations are indicated in Table 7.1 above.

In the first instance, the stages of *Urihimeko* relate to each other by means of temporal enhancement (x). This relation is not overtly stated through explicit use of a connective, but rather is implied by the order of events in the tale. This is a type of covert logical relation in which one event leads to the next, which leads to the next and so on. The Initiating Event is enhanced by the Sequent Event 1, which is enhanced by Sequent Event 2, which is enhanced by the Final Event. Each stage expands on a previous stage sequentially ordered from beginning to end.

The sub-stages within the Initiating Event and Final Event also are logically linked in an implicit manner, again relating to each other through a logical relation of enhancement(x). Within the Initiating Event, the placement stages and the frame relate to the Main Act by means of temporal enhancement, while the sequel relates to the Main Act through a relation of extension. And again, within the Final Event, the first sub-stages relates logically to the finale

through a relation of temporal enhancement, while the finale relates to the moral through a relation of causal enhancement.

The other kind of logical links within the tale are the overt or explicit links between the T-units in the course of the development of the paragraphing within each stage. These explicit links are connective textual Themes of either enhancement or extension. Of the enhancing examples, the most common type are temporal connectives. These connectives serve to link the consecutive actions of the tale one after the other. Consider Paragraphs 12, 13, 14 and 15 in Sequent Event 1. Each paragraph is developed through temporal connectives as the actions of *Amanjaku* unfold in time. The other type of enhancing connectives are causative ones. Consider T-unit 15 in paragraph 4. Here the connective, *soko de* (so)<sup>2</sup> is used to signal why they told her to mind the house – because they were going to the mountains. Connectives of extension are less frequent, however, they do occur. Those that appear are adversative (T-unit 24) in type.

In summary, the function of the stages is to enhance, albeit implicitly, the action of the preceding stages. The function of the connectives within the stages is also to enhance, in this case, through the unfolding of consecutive events, using explicit temporal enhancing connectives.

### 7.1.5 Given and New Distribution

As intimated in the Section 7.1.3, when participants are first introduced in the tale, they appear initially in the Rheme and are picked up as Theme in following or subsequent T-units. Some, if not all of the information in the episodic beta clausal Themes derives from previous Rhemes in a similar manner. Consider for instance, T-units 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 4 and 9. Thus, the information status of the participant and clausal Themes are that of Given. However, when circumstances appear thematically they are not derived from previous Rhemes but are usually introduced for the first time as Themes. Consider T-units 1, 2, 7, 14, 20, 20 and 32. These circumstantial Themes are thus assigned the information status of New. This patterning is expected as the method of development of the text revolves around the main protagonists. It is therefore predictable that, when construed as

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<sup>2</sup> *soko de* is a connective which can be either a temporal enhancing conjunction meaning ‘and then’ or a causal enhancing conjunction meaning ‘and so’ depending on the context. In *Urihimeko* both meanings are apparent. Consider T-unit 6 (temporal usage) and T-unit 48 (causal usage).

Theme, we, the readers know who the characters are, and what role they play in the tale. The actions and locutions of these characters are thus introduced as new, salient and newsworthy information in the Rhemes of these T-units. When circumstantial Themes assigned New status are selected, the effect is to orient the reader to the scene where the participants and their actions unfold. This arrangement of Given/participant Theme and New/circumstantial Theme is echoed throughout the tale.

#### 7.1.6 Summary

In short, the above analysis of *Urihimeko* illustrates how this nursery tale is a motivated piece of creative writing with clear generic stages working together to construct the unfolding of a series of events in an entertaining manner which serve to explain the natural phenomena of red nutmeg tree roots. *Urihimeko's* stages correspond with the structure as predicted by Hasan's GSP in that there is an Initiating Event stage which includes Placement elements as well as the three sub-stages of frame, main act and sequel. This is followed by the Sequent Event stages which build toward a culmination in the Final Event stage. This stage again includes the three sub-stages of final event, finale and moral as predicted by Hasan's GSP. The paragraph patterning whereby each subsequent stage in the nursery tale is realised by fewer numbers of paragraphs serves to build towards a crescendo. As each stage contains less and less paragraphs, the speed at which the action unfolds increases. Events and actions move faster and faster until the final stage where all the action -the final event, the finale and the moral all occur in the one paragraph, in a sense, like a climax.

The method of development of the tale is based around the choice of Theme and the mapping of Given status onto the participant Themes and New onto the circumstantial Themes. This construes the unfolding of the action of the nursery tale. The protagonists in the tale take turns as participant Themes interacting with each other and building towards the climax.

The following section of chapter 7 will present the analysis of *Momotaroo*, a substantially longer and very well known nursery tale in Japanese using Hasan's GSP as a means of comparing the two tales and as a means of determining the predictability of Hasan's nursery tale genre.



## 7.2 The Analysis of *Momotaroo* (The Peach Boy)

*Momotaroo* is a classic Japanese nursery tale that, unlike *Urihimeko*, is familiar to every Japanese adult and child. It is the most well known example of the *ijootanjoo* (abnormal birth) class of tale. The story is believed to have originated from a song from the end of the Muromachi Era, around 1470. The song was about a young man who lived in the Okayama region and who challenged a demon that was intercepting gifts for the Emperor along the trade route from Kyushu to Kyoto. The demon surrendered and the young man returned the gifts to the Emperor (Nakajima 1976).

The *Momotaroo* tale has gone through a number of changes over the centuries. However, the modern story of *Momotaroo* is about a little boy born from a peach and raised by a poor elderly couple. In short, after growing up he acknowledges his calling and announces he will subjugate the devils on Devil's Island that have been plaguing the common people. He does this by requesting a lunch box of millet dumplings and sets out to gather his team of brave, gallant warriors: a dog, a pheasant and a monkey. The warriors are empowered by the eating of the dumplings and together they set out on a boat to Devil's Island. Once they arrive at the island they locate the devils' hideout in a cave protected by gates and guarded by junior devils. Systematically, *Momotaroo* and his team subdue the devil guards at each gate and proceed to the hideout where they confront the head devil, demand his surrender which results in a battle of good against evil. Predictably, *Momotaroo* and team subdue the head devil who surrenders and promises to never again harass or rob from the common people. The devils agree to exile, and return the cache of stolen treasure to *Momotaroo*. The heroes then return home to the delight of the old couple and they live happily ever after. It is believed that the story is about the transition into manhood for *Momotaroo*. The hero, by his good deeds is initiated into manhood (Nakajima 1976).

### 7.2.1 The Generic Stages

*Momotaroo* consists of five chapters. Although these chapters are untitled, each chapter could be titled as follows: Chapter 1, The Discovery of the Peach; Chapter

2, The Birth of *Momotaroo*; Chapter 3, *Momotaroo's* Calling; Chapter 4, The Journey and Chapter 5, The Battle.

Due to the chapterisation and the length of this tale, 190 T-units in total, it does not unfold through simple stages; rather there are two layers of staging out of which the tale unfolds. These are what I will call, macro and micro-stages. By this I mean, the tale has a clear macro-stage of Initiating Event followed by Sequent Events and a Final Event, however, within the macro-Initiating Event stage, there is some further embedding of the stages of the nursery tale. In a sense, the macro-Initiating Event stage has its own internal staging which includes an initiating event, sequent events and a final event, functioning to organise the substantial macro-Initiating Event stage.

The macro-stages map onto the chapters as follows. Chapters 1, 2 and the beginning of 3 form a lengthy Initiating Event. The remainder of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and just over half of Chapter 5 contain eight Sequent Events, while the final six paragraphs of Chapter 5 includes the Final Event stage. This arrangement is illustrated in Figure 7.2.

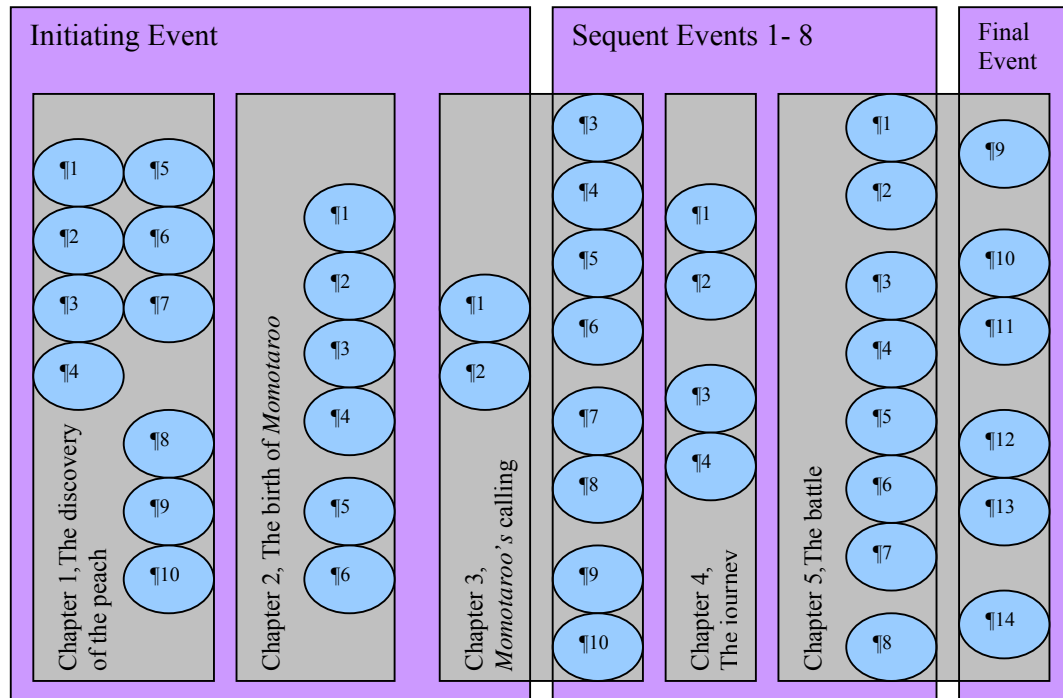


Figure 7.2  
The generic stages of *Momotaroo*

As indicated by Figure 7.2, the Macro-Initiating Event stage begins in paragraph 1 of Chapter 1 and ends at the end of paragraph 2 in Chapter 3. The eight Sequent Event stages are grouped together in their paragraphs: Sequent Event 1 is paragraphs 3-6; Sequent Event 2 is paragraphs 7 and 8 and Sequent Event 3 is paragraphs 9 and 10 in Chapter 3. Sequent Event 4 and 5 are paragraphs 1-2 and 3-4 respectively in Chapter 4 and Sequent Events 6, 7 and 8 are paragraphs 1-2, 3-7 and paragraph 8 respectively in Chapter 5. The Final Event spans paragraphs 9-14.

The macro-Initiating Event stage in *Momotaroo* is long (18 paragraphs). However, it is too simplistic to say that this Initiating Stage has Placement and the sub-stages of main act and sequel. These substages do indeed occur at the macro level but there is also a micro level operating; that is, prior to the macro-main act, a story needs to be told about how *Momotaroo* came into being. To explain how this operates, I will, firstly, discuss the macro-Initiating Event stage and its attendant sub-stages, after which I will discuss the micro stages within the opening macro-Initiating Event stage.

In the Initiating Event, there is Placement of both time and place in T-unit 1.1. Person particularisation of the old man and woman also occurs at this point. The introduction of the dramatis personae, *Momotaroo* occurs much later in the stage, in chapter 2, T-unit 2.24. He is first introduced as a baby who is born from a peach. The main act and sequel occurs in paragraph 2 of Chapter 3. Hasan states that the main act, “sets the whole story going.....where it all begins to move” (Hasan 1996:70). In this case, the main act occurs when *Momotaroo* realizes his calling, that of subjugating the devils, announcing to his adopted parents that he is leaving, and requests a lunch box of millet dumplings. Here, the tale begins to move. We can now expect something to happen. *Momotaroo* is about to head off on an adventure. The sequel occurs immediately following the main act when the parents offer their objection to his intentions. They can’t however stop him, as they know implicitly that this must be his calling given the fact that he has grown up a strong, incredibly unique child. The parents’ objection to his quest is frustrated and *Momotaroo* is free to leave and fulfill his calling. To reach the point which sets the story going, it takes approximately half the tale or just over two chapters.

So why does it take so long for the story to begin to move? The reason possibly relates to the method of introduction of the main protagonist, *Momotaroo*. In order to introduce him into the story, he needs to be born from the peach, which needs to be discovered by the old couple. Thus the tale begins with person particularisation of the old couple, who then discover the peach, and when attempting to taste it, *Momotaroo* is born. This is all background information which serves to establish *Momotaroo* as unique and special and it also serves to entertain the reader. There is entertainment value in the background to *Momotaroo*’s birth. This background information is presented as a nursery tale, the micro tale within the first stage of the larger macro-Initiating Event. Figure 7.3 below illustrates the micro-tale organisation of the Initiating Event.

The micro-tale begins with a frame in T-unit 1.2 followed by the micro-main act (paragraph 1.2- 1.3) where the old man goes to the mountain to collect brushwood while the old woman goes to the river to do the washing. The sequel to this act is the old woman’s discovery of the large thing floating down the river (paragraph 1.4) which is followed by a detailed description of the thing and the old woman’s identification of it as a large peach (paragraph 1.5). This description

equates with Hasan's optional attribution, an elaborative feature of Placement, "the particularised character may be assigned certain characteristics; these may pertain to quality, status, possession or relationship" (Hasan 1996:60). In this case, the peach is described as large, round and delicious.

The following five paragraphs unfold two sequent events: event one relating the old woman's first attempt at retrieving the peach from the river and event two relating her second, successful attempt at retrieval. In summary, chapter 1 serves to introduce the old couple, and tell the story of the discovery of the peach.

Chapter 2 serves to tell the story of the birth of the main protagonist, *Momotaroo*. This chapter includes sequent event 3 in the micro-tale of the Initiating Event. This micro-stage (paragraph 2.1- 2.4) tells the story of the old woman bursting with delight as she tells the old man about the peach upon his return home. They spend the evening trying to decide whether or not to eat it, deciding in the end to cut it open for a taste. The micro-final event stage occurs in paragraphs 2.5 and 2.6. This marks the birth of *Momotaroo* and concurrently serves as person particularisation with some attribution of the *dramatis persona* of the macro-tale and is thus a form of Placement. Having met the main protagonist, the tale then moves into chapter 3 where we read about *Momotaroo*'s attributes as he grows up. Essentially, this paragraph serves to establish more Placement, this time of attribution. Following this description is the macro-Main Act of his calling and the macro-Sequel of his parent's inability to dissuade him after which he departs. Both stages occur rapidly and succinctly in paragraph 3.2. The paragraph and consequently the macro-Initiating Event end with further Placement attribution – this time attributes of *Momotaroo* as conqueror. The tale is now set to move. We now expect *Momotaroo* to set out on his quest.

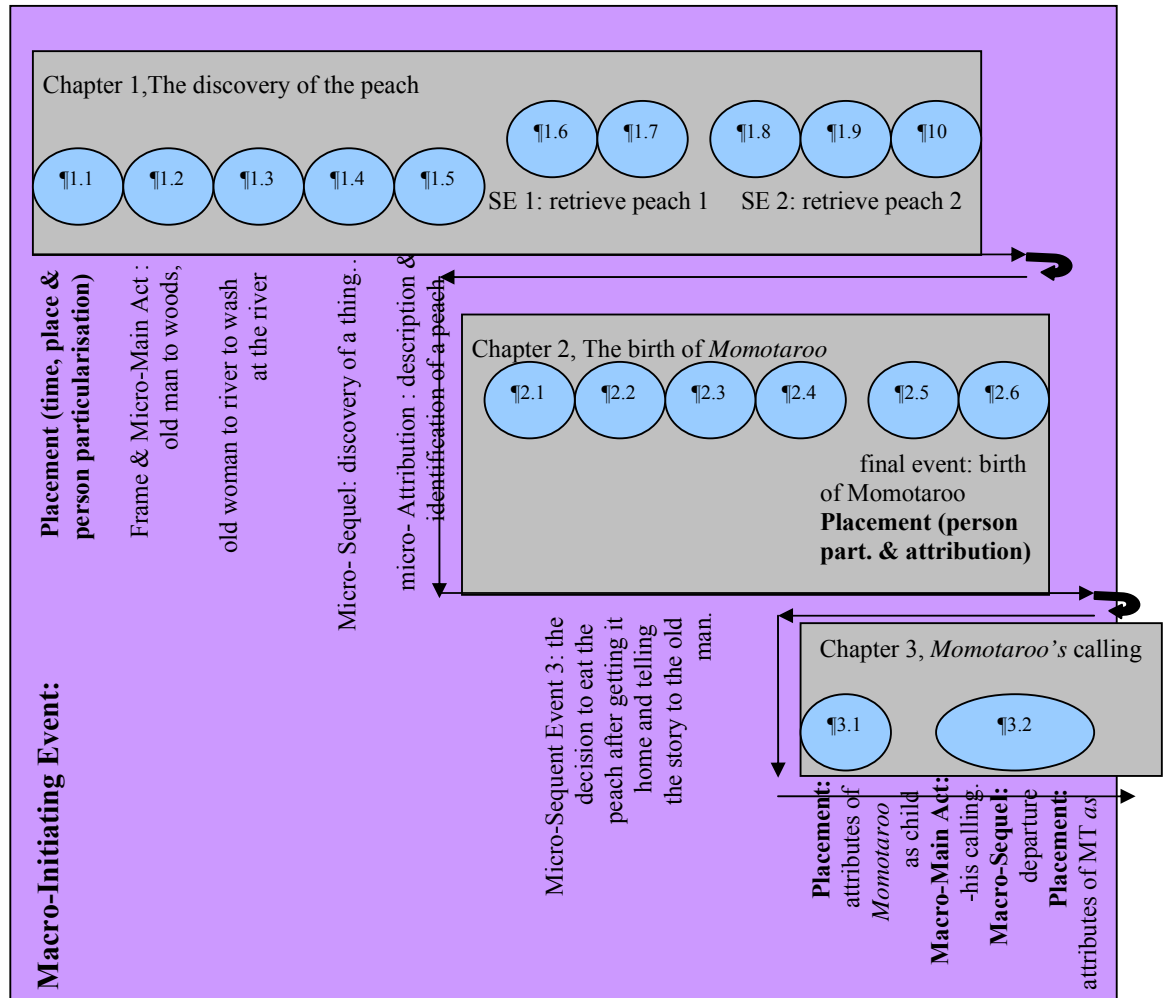


Figure 7.3  
The micro-tale organisation of the Initiating Event.

Having reached the end of the Initiating Event Stage, the tale moves into Sequent Events, that is, *Momotaroo* is involved in eight Sequent Events. The first three occur in the rest of chapter 3 and involve meeting up with three animals: the dog (paragraph 3.3-3.6), the monkey (paragraph 3.7-3.8) and the pheasant (paragraph 3.9-3.10). These animals join him, are empowered by the millet dumplings and set off together with *Momotaroo* for Devil's Island. Two subsequent Sequent Events, 4 and 5 are clustered in chapter 4. Sequent Event 4 deals with the procurement of a sailing boat (paragraph 4.1-4.2) and Event 5, with the boat journey to Devil's Island (paragraph 4.3-4.4). Within Event 5 there is a delightful description of the manner in which the group of subduers sail the boat. This

matches with Hasan's optional Placement feature of habitude, "the assignment of habitual acts/states to the particularised character(s)" (Hasan 1996:61). The reader is presented with a picture of the group stoically and determinedly sailing towards destiny. Chapter 5 is reserved for the events related to the battles with the devils. The chapter opens with more attribution, that is, descriptions of Devil's Island, the tunnels, gates and devil guards (paragraph 5.1) functioning as Placement. Sequent Event 6 describes the arrival at Devil's Island (paragraph 5.2), Sequent Event 7 describes the battle at the first gate on the Island (paragraph 5.3-5.7), and Event 8 is the battle at the second gate (paragraph 5.8). The Final Event opens with further Placement, this time of person particularisation and attribution of the head devil (paragraph 5.9). This is followed by the final, climactic battle at the third gate between *Momotaroo* and the head devil in which *Momotaroo* succeeds and the head devil surrenders (paragraph 5.10-5.11). The finale, where *Momotaroo* forgives the devils, banishes them and retrieves the stolen treasure of the common people, occurs in paragraph 5.12-5.13. The final paragraph in the tale contains the moral. The moral is an implied one in the sense that there is no overt statement on what one can learn from the tale. Rather, the reader is invited by the narrator to consider the extent of the old couple's happiness at the success of his quest and the safe return of the brave *Momotaroo*. The Sequent Events and the Final Event of the tale are illustrated below in Figure 7.4a.

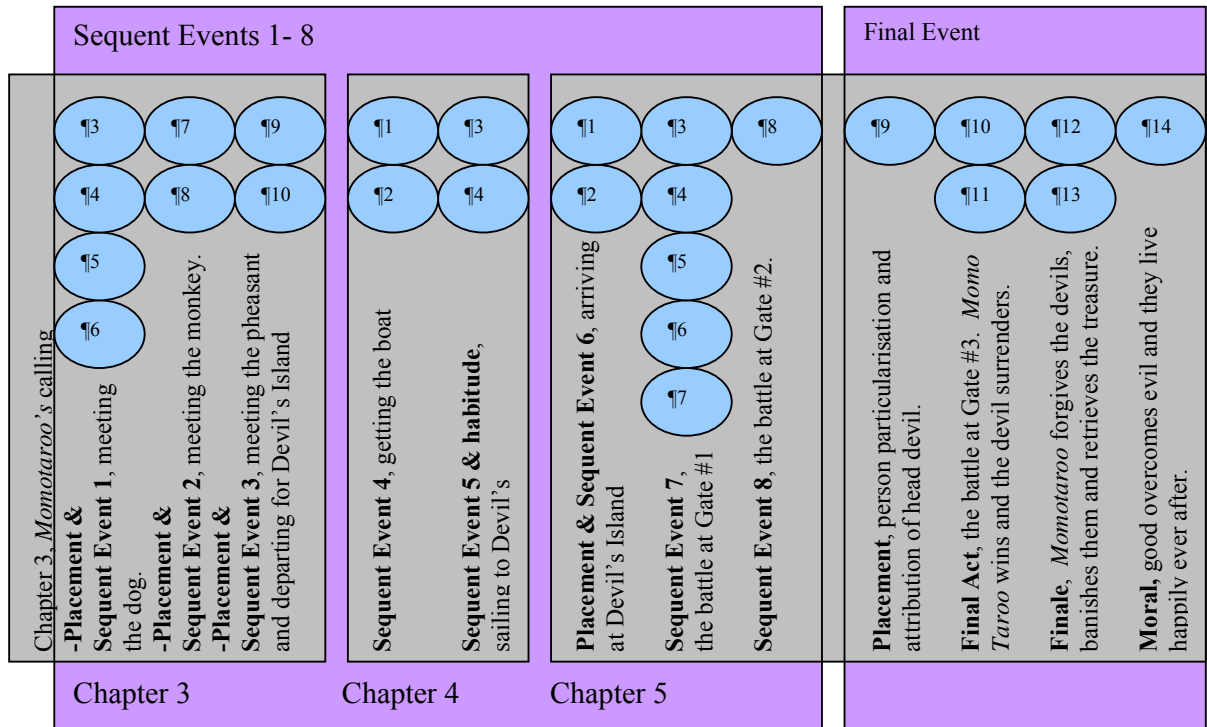


Figure 7.4a.  
The Sequent Events and the Final Event of *Momotaroo*

## 7.2.2 Realizing the functions of the stages

Having outlined the generic stages of *Momotaroo*, this section will describe how each stage is realised through particular choices of Theme. The full set of thematic choices is reproduced below in Table 7.4b.

As detailed above, the Initiating Event stage of the tale is long and complex with bi-layered staging, that is, macro and micro-staging. The discussion will begin with a description of the Themes of the macro-stages of the entire tale and will be followed by a description of the micro-stages within the Initiating Event.

The Initiating Event opens with Placement in time and place through a multiple circumstantial Theme, *mukashi, mukashi, aru tokoro ni* (long, long ago, in a certain place). The Rheme of this T-unit (1.1) contains person particularisation, that is, the introduction of the old couple. Further person particularisation in a Placement stage occurs when we are introduced to the main protagonist, *Momotaroo* in T-unit 2.24. The Theme of this T-unit is a



circumstantial Theme of Location, *soko ni* (in there) which sets up the Rheme to contain salient information about a baby, *Momotaroo* who is trying to be born out of the peach. Having met the main character, the tale provides more Placement at the beginning of Chapter 3 where we get a description of *Momotaroo* growing up as a child. This serves to assign attributes to *Momotaroo* which set him apart as special. Predictably, as attribution requires a relational process, the Carrier, in this case, *Momotaroo* is selected as Theme. The entire paragraph 3.1 contains attributing relational processes and the Themes are typically the participant Carrier with only one circumstantial Theme of Time, *mamonaku* (before long) in T-unit 3.6. This Theme serves to set up the passing of time so that more attribution can occur.

Immediately following this Placement stage is the macro-Main Act of the tale when *Momotaroo* decides to answer his calling. T-unit 3.8, which opens paragraph 3.2, selects the implicit Identified participant, *sore* (it) as Theme. This sets up the one-time-ness (Hasan 1996:69) of the Main Act so that the Rheme of the T-unit contains an Identifier of one-time-ness, *aru hi no koto* (one day) followed by the relational process, *desu* (is). Having set up one-time-ness, the following Theme is a participant Sayer, *Momotaroo* who announces his intention to subjugate the devils in the Rheme via a verbal process plus locution. The following T-unit, 3.10, selects a locution, *Sore wa sore wa*, (Oh, my!) as Theme, thereby allowing the the old couple functioning as Sayer, and the verbal process to be located in the Rheme giving them salience.

The macro-Sequel follows in T-unit 3.11 which opens with a connective, *sore demo* (nevertheless). This connective logically links the previous information in the Main Act concessively with information in this T-unit, thereby signalling that an expectation set up by the Main Act is about to be frustrated. In this case, the parents' objection, which is implied by the thematic locution in the previous T-unit, is to be frustrated. Despite what the parents think, *Momotaroo* will answer his calling – he will depart to subjugate the devils. This Sequel stage closes at T-unit 3.14 with *Momotaroo* as Theme and his act of leaving, as Rheme.

Prior to the close of the Initiating Event stage, a further Placement at the end of paragraph 3.2 is concerned with the attributes of *Momotaroo*, not as a child, but now, as our hero subjugator. This is achieved through four consecutive circumstantial Themes of Spatial Location (T-units 3.15, 3.16, 3.17 and 3.18)

which shift focus to different parts of his body in order to describe, through existential processes, his equipment and stance in the Rhemes.

The remaining paragraphs in Chapter 3 introduce the first three Sequent Events of the tale where *Momotaroo* meets up with the three animals who join him in his quest. Each Sequent Event opens with Placement which particularises each animal, thereby setting them up as main protagonists in the tale. The first encounter is with the dog which is introduced in the Theme of T-unit 3.20. This stage unfolds with participant – Actor and Sayer Themes of either *Momotaroo* or the dog. The other kind of ideational Theme which features, is the locution. The first locution of each Sayer is positioned thematically, so that the Sayer can be placed in the Rheme, thereby emphasising who says, rather than what is said (the Locution). However, once the first locution of a dialogue exchange is established, the subsequent locutions are located rhematically, as in T-units 3.24-3.26, thus giving more salience to what is said. The participant Themes are often coupled with textual Themes of either temporal or causal relations. These thematic choices are repeated in the next two Sequent Event stages where *Momotaroo* meets the monkey and the pheasant. Thus, these three stages have a structure which, being iterative in nature, creates a familiarity in relation to the characters, a pattern which further contributes to the particularisation of the personified animal characters. These stages also have a number of enhancing beta clauses as Theme. This enables the rhematic actions of the protagonists to be located episodically in relation to each other. The chapter ends with *Momotaroo* and his band of followers departing for Devil's Island.

The next two Sequent Events, 4 and 5 relate to the journey to Devil's Island. These two events are clustered together in chapter 4, which is rather short in relation to the other chapters. Sequent Event 4 which describes the procurement of the sailing boat, is constructed around participant Themes of Actor and Sayer with two textual Themes, one temporal, the other, causative, thereby ordering the actions of the participants in terms of time, cause and effect. These thematic choices are again evident in Sequent Event 5 which describes the boat journey to Devil's Island. Additional to the participant Themes are circumstantial and enhancing beta clause Themes. These again serve to locate the actions of the protagonist either in time or place. The habitual flavour of the acts of sailing the boat (T-units 4.16 ~ 4.22) are achieved through Theme changes

down the list of participants. The tale moves quickly between the wind, the monkey, the boat, the pheasant, the dog and *Momotaroo*.

Chapter 5 opens with attribution. The reader learns about the nature of Devil's Island through the choice of a relational process with the selection of the Identified participant, *onigashima wa* (Devil's Island) as Theme. The following T-units of the paragraph provide further attribution of the caves, the tunnels, the gates and the devils on guard. The reader is oriented to the attribution through circumstantial Themes of Location and beta clauses. Paragraph 5.2 details the arrival at Devil's Island and functions as Sequent Event 6. The paragraph opens with a textual Theme, *tokoro de* (anyway) indicating clarification, after which we learn about the arrival of the sailing boat which is construed as an ideational Theme. T-unit 5.8 opens with another textual Theme, this time of consecutive time, *suru to* (then) which is followed by a circumstantial Theme of temporal order, *mazu* (first up) after which, we learn about the actions and locutions of the dog as he announces the group's intentions upon arrival at Devil's Island.

Sequent Event 7 begins at paragraph 5.3. This stage is concerned with the battle at the first gate on the island. This is the first of three battles between the devils and *Momotaroo* and his team. This sets the pattern for the unfolding of the events in an iterative fashion similar to that which was utilised in Sequent Event 1, 2 and 3 when *Momotaroo* meets up with his three compatriots. In short, either *Momotaroo*, the animals or the devils take turns as participant Actor and Sayer Themes, so that the reader is oriented to the actions and locutions of each in the Rhemes. Operating together with the participant Themes are enhancing textual Themes of temporality and causation.

Sequent Event 8, which is the battle at the second gate, unfolds in paragraph 5.8. Again, Actor and Sayer participant Themes orienting the reader to their actions, coupled with textual Themes of temporality, feature.

The Final Act in the tale opens at paragraph 5.9 in chapter 5. The heroes arrive at gate 3 for the last, climactic battle. Paragraph 5.9 is concerned with Placement which involves person particularisation of the head devil in T-unit 5.29 and attribution in relation to the head devil's appearance and reputation in T-units 5.30 and 5.31. The Placement unfolds in this paragraph through circumstances of Location along with the Identified participant Theme, *kono oni no taishoo wa* (this head devil). Having set the scene, as it were, in paragraph 5.9, paragraphs

5.10 and 5.11 contain details of the battle. In a similar manner to the previous two battles, the Themes are participant Actor, Sayers alternating between the animals, the rod of the head devil and *Momotaroo*. Coupled with the participant Themes, are textual Themes of temporality and causation as well as a circumstance of Time and an episodic beta clause. Essentially, the Themes orient us to the actions of the main protagonists episodically over time. The Final Act concludes when the head devil as Sayer Theme surrenders requesting forgiveness and offering, via a Locution, to return the stolen treasure, and live quietly in exile.

The finale of the tale unfolds in paragraphs 5.12 and 5.13 when *Momotaroo*, after consultation with his compatriots, agrees to forgive the devils. The heroes then retrieve the treasure, load the boat and return home. These actions are all located in the Rheme having been set up through participant Themes of Actors and Sayers.

The moral of the story is contained in the final paragraph of the tale, 5.14. The old couple as Theme in T-unit 5.48 meet *Momotaroo* and his team followed by the narrator's voice which sets up the reader to supply the missing beta clause Theme in the following T-unit, 5.49. The narrator presents a rhetorical question construed as a beta clause, *donna ni yorokonda koto de arimashoo*, (you can imagine how happy they were). This rhetorical question serves to prompt the reader to fill in the elided beta clause along the following lines, *ojiisan, obassan wa Momotaroo ga buji ni kaette kite ureshikute* (the old couple were happy because Momotaroo returned safely). In other words, the good deeds and safe return of *Momotaroo* are things which make people we love, happy. The reader is left to make this link in order for the Rheme of this T-unit, *medetashi, medetashi* (well done, well done) to make sense. This Rheme signals the end of the tale.

#### chapter 1

Stages		T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Initiating Event: presenting <i>Momotaroo</i>	x Place- ment	¶ 1.1	T-U 1.1	Multiple circ. Theme of Time and Place - long ago, in a certain place,	lived an old man and woman
	micro main acts	¶ 1.2	T-U 1.2	=verifactive – As a matter of fact	happened one summer's day
			T-U 1.3	Participant: Actor – man	left to collect brushwood.
			T-U 1.4	[Impl. Part: Sayer] woman	said, "Goodbye"
Initiating Event:		¶ 1.3	T-U 1.5	Participant: Actor - woman	as she set off, said, "I'll go and wash at the river, and carrying a washing tub, left "Scrub scrub. Scrub scrub."

	+ micro sequel	¶ 1.4	T-U 1.6		Participant: Actor - woman	worked hard.
			T-U 1.7		Episodic $\beta$ clause – After doing so,	from up river, bobbing up and down, there appeared a thing.
			T-U 1.8		[Impl. Part: Sayer] woman	“Huh. what’s this?...”
	x micro sequent event #1	¶ 1.5	T-U 1.9		Participant: Actor - woman	quit washing and tilting her head, wondered.
			T-U 1.10		[Implicit Part: Identified] - it	was a round object. was about the size of a watermelon. was white, green and a light red.
			T-U 1.11		Circ. of cause (purpose) – For a peach,	(it) was big and
			T-U 1.12		Circ. of cause (purpose) – For a melon,	(it) was round.
			T-U 1.13	+ temporal- <i>To</i>	Part.:Actor - it	moved to a more visible place.
			T-U 1.14		Part.:Identified - it	was a very, very big peach..
			T-U 1.15		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	(said) “What an unusual peach? It’s s big, delicious...magnificent peach.”
		¶ 1.6	T-U 1.16		Circ. of time – At the moment when.....,	the peach soon floated into reach.
			T-U 1.17		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	(said,) “Ah, here it comes”
		¶ 1.7	T-U 1.18		Part.: Carrier - woman	was delighted, stretched out her hand and grabbed it.
			T-U 1.19	+advers – but	[Implicit Part: Carrier] - it	how was? (gloss: Guess what?)
			T-U 1.20		Part.: Carrier - it	was heavy and couldn’t be lifted up.
			T-U 1.21		xEpisodic $\beta$ clause – Grabbing with both hands,	“Heave Ho!”, the woman (said), exerting herself more.
			T-U 1.22		xEpisodic $\beta$ clause – when she thought she had it	her hands slipped and it fell, ‘Kaboom’ back in.
			T-U 1.23		Part.: Actor – The peach	sank to the bottom of the river.
			T-U 1.24		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“What a shame. How regrettable” (said).
	x micro sequent event #2	¶ 1.8	T-U 1.25		xEpisodic $\beta$ clause – As the old woman said this,	again, the peach floated up.
			T-U 1.26		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“I’m blessed. This time do it properly.....Don’t slip from my hands”.
		¶ 1.9	T-U 1.27		Part.: Actor - woman	raked the peach up into her palms and hung on tightly with both hands.
			T-U 1.28	x temporal – and then	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“Oh dear, dear me, heave...”.
		¶ 1.10	T-U 1.29		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	shouted this long tirade and hugged the peach to her chest.
			T-U 1.30	x causative- and so	[Implicit Part.: Actor] - woman	set it in the wash tub beside her.
			T-U 1.31	x temporal – and then	[Implicit Part.: Actor] - woman	looked at it closely
			T-U 1.32		[Implicit Part: Identified] - it	was truly an unusual peach. was a kind of peach not seen before. was a kind of peach not heard of before.
			T-U 1.33		Idea – “I’ll eat it with papa. I’m sure it will taste like nothing we have ever eaten before...”	the old woman thought.

## Chapter 2

Stages			T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Initiating Event: presenting Momotaroo	x micro sequent event #3	¶2. 1	T-U 2.1		[Implicit Part: Identified] - it	was that night.
			T-U 2.2		Locution – “I’m home”,	(said) the old man returning home laden with brushwood.
			T-U 2.3		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“I’m sure you must be tired”
		¶2. 2	T-U 2.4		x Episodic β clause – Before finishing her words	the old woman blurted out the story of the peach.
			T-U 2.5		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“Papa, something good has happened. Hurry up and come inside.”
		¶2.3	T-U 2.6		Part.: Actor - man	smiled, put away the brushwood, washed his hands and came inside.
			T-U 2.7	x temporal – and then	x Episodic β clause – when he entered the room	on the chopping board in the room was a rather large peach.
			T-U 2.8		Locution – “Wow, that’s an amazing peach.....in all of Japan”,	the old man said in surprise.
			T-U 2.9	x causative- and so	[Implicit Part: Actor] – he	stopped the old woman who had the knife in her hand. “Wait, Wait. It would be a shame to eat it now!”
		¶2.4	T-U 2.10	x temporal – after that	Circ. of time – for a long time	the two of them probably stared at the peach.
			T-U 2.11	= apposition – in other words	x Episodic β clause – looking at the peach	(they) ate dinner and
			T-U 2.12		x Episodic β clause – eating dinner	(they) looked at the peach.
			T-U 2.13		x Episodic β clause – Dinner was over and as (they) tidied it away	the old woman spoke.
			T-U 2.14		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – The old woman	(said), “Papa, have you decided what to do? Is it still a shame to eat it?”
			T-U 2.15		Locution – “Mmm”	the old man thought.
			T-U 2.16		[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	“Well, let’s try a little taste. Only a little bit.”
			T-U 2.17	x causative- and so	Part: Actor – the old woman	took the knife.
			T-U 2.18	x temporal – after that	[Implicit Part: Sayer] - woman	(said), “First, like this” as she touched the blade of the knife to the head of the peach. “I’ll cut it in two.”
	x micro final event: the birth of Momotaroo	¶2. 5	T-U 2.19	+advers – However	Part: Actor – a strange thing	happened.
			T-U 2.20	= appositive – You see,	x Episodic β clause – even though (the peach) just touched the teeth of the knife	the peach split in two.
			T-U 2.21	Interpersonal modal adjunct – No,	[Implicit Part: Actor] – (the peach)	didn’t just split.
			T-U 2.22		Circ of Location – from it	a voice sounding like, “Waa, waa” could be heard crying.
			T-U 2.23		Part: Carrier – Both the old man and woman	were very surprised.
			T-U 2.24	= appositive – You see	Circ. of Location – there	a baby from the inside of the peach energetically was trying to kick free.
			T-U 2.25		Locution – “Oo, oo”,	the old woman said as,
			T-U 2.26		Locution – “This is strange”	the old man said.
			T-U 2.27	x temporal – Continuing,	Locution – “what’s this? A cute baby?”	the old woman said.

		¶2. 6	T-U 2.28		Locution – “This is certainly a gift from God”	the old man also said.
			T-U 2.29	x temporal – after that	Part: Actor – the couple	heated the water and gave the baby its first bath. also made (the baby’s) first kimono and dressed him in it.
			T-U 2.30	+ addition – Also	[Implicit Part: Actor] – the couple	made red rice and celebrated.
			T-U 2.31		Part: Actor – they	were so happy, and .
			T-U 2.32	interpersonal comment adjunct – <i>sore wa moo</i> Really	[Implicit Part: Actor] – the couple	raised the baby with great care. His name, too, because he was born from a peach, (they) named (him) “Peach Taroo”.

## Chapter 3

Stages			T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme	
Initiating Event: presenting <i>Momotaroo</i>	= Placement	¶ 3.1	T-U 3.1		Part: Carrier – Momotaroo (MT)	rapidly grew up.	
			T-U 3.2		Part.: Existent – His cuteness	was there from the time of his birth, but	
			T-U 3.3		[Implicit part.:Carrier] – he	became very intelligent and strong too.	
			T-U 3.4		x Episodic B clause – Even if they are exceptional children,	(they) couldn’t compare.	
			T-U 3.5	Interpersonal Modal Adjunct – No	x Episodic B clause – Even if they are adults,	(they) couldn’t compare.	
			T-U 3.6	x causative- and so	Circ. of Time – before long	(Momotaroo) became Japan’s no. 1 child.	
			T-U 3.7		x Episodic B clause – Even if they are devils,	(they) could not compare.	
	Main Act	¶ 3.2	T-U 3.8	x causative- consequently,	[Implicit part.:Identified] – this	happened one day.	
			T-U 3.9		Part.: Sayer – MT	said to the old man and woman. “Papa, Mama, I’m going to Devil’s Island to conquer the devils. Please pack me a lunch box of millet dumplings”.	
			T-U 3.10		Locution – “What? What?”	said the old man and woman in shock.	
	+ Sequel		T-U 3.11	x concessive – nevertheless	[Implicit Part: Actor] – MT	because (he) must subjugate bad people who cause trouble and tease people,	
			T-U 3.12		[Implicit part.:Identified] – it	wasn’t a reason to stop him	
			T-U 3.13		Locution – “Well then, go, do what you have to do and return”	was said by the old man and woman and	
	= Placement		T-U 3.14		Part.: Actor – MT	left.	
			T-U 3.15		Circ. of Location – on his right hip,	were the millet dumplings,	
			T-U 3.16		Circ. of Location – on his left hip	was a sword,	
			T-U 3.17		Circ. of Location - on his back	stood a flag.	
			T-U 3.18		Circ. of Location – On the flag	was written in large letter, “Momotaroo, Japan’s No. 1 boy.”	
x Sequel Event #1: meeting the dog	Placement: presenting the dog	¶ 3.3	T-U 3.19		[Implicit Part: Actor] – MT	left the house and after going a little way, arrived at the village.	
			T-U 3.20	x temporal – after doing this	Part: Actor – one large dog	came rushing up to him.	
			T-U 3.21		Locution – “Momotaroo! Momotaroo!”	the dog said.	
			T-U 3.22		[Implicit part.:Identified] – this	is an old story and so,	

x Sequent Event #1: meeting the dog			T-U 3.23		x Episodic $\beta$ clause – even though it was a dog	it could speak.
			T-U 3.24		Locution – “What? What do you want?”	Momotaroo asked.
			T-U 3.25		[Implicit part.: Sayer] – dog	“Where are you going, Sir?”
			T-U 3.26		[Implicit part.: Sayer] – MT	“I’m going to subdue the devils on Devil’s Island.”
		¶ 3. 4	T-U 3.27		Part.: Actor – the dog	totally admired the brave MT and his strong words.
			T-U 3.28	x causative- and so	[Implicit part.: Sayer] – dog	said nothing for a time but then, “Momotaroo, please take me with you!”, he asked.
			T-U 3.29		[Implicit part.: Sayer] – MT	“OK. Well then, I’ll give you this millet dumpling. Eat it and come with me.”
		¶ 3.5	T-U 3.30	x temporal – Saying this	Part.: Actor – MT	took one ball which was hanging from his hip and gave it to the dog.
			T-U 3.31		Part.: Actor – the dog	ate it and (said) “What a delicious ball. This is my first time to eat such a yummy one. Thank you very much.”
		¶ 3. 6	T-U 3.32	x temporal – Saying this	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – the dog	wagged his tail vigorously and followed.
			T-U 3.33	x temporal – after that	x Episodic $\beta$ clause – going a little further	(they) entered the mountains.
			T-U 3.34		x Episodic $\beta$ clause – Upon entering the mountains	(they heard something call), “Momotaroo....”
x Sequent Event #2: meeting the monkey	Place-ment	¶ 3. 7	T-U 3.35	x temporal – Saying this	Part.: Existent – an animal	appeared. was a monkey.
			T-U 3.36		Locution – “What? What’s your business?”	Momotaroo said, as
			T-U 3.37		Locution – “Where are you going?”	the monkey asked.
			T-U 3.38		Locution – “I’m going to subdue the devils on Devil’s Island”	Momotaroo said,
			T-U 3.39		Part.: Actor – the monkey	admired him, and going red in the face, “Please take me with you, too”, he asked, bowing his head.
			T-U 3.40		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – MT	“OK. Well then, I’ll give you this dumpling. After eating it, follow me.”
		¶ 3.8	T-U 3.41	x temporal - and so	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – MT	gave the dumpling to the monkey.
			T-U 3.42		Part.: Sayer – monkey	(said), “Yummy, yummy”, and ate them and becoming invigorated (he) followed Momotaroo.
x Sequent Event #3: meeting the pheasant	Placement		T-U 3.43	x temporal – after that	x Episodic $\beta$ clause – going further again,	and this time (they) came to a field.
			T-U 3.44		x Episodic $\beta$ clause – Upon entering the field,	“Momotaroo!”, an animal called and appeared in the sky.
			T-U 3.45	x temporal – looking,	Part.: Identified – it	was a pheasant.
			T-U 3.46		Part.: Actor – the pheasant	in front of Momotaroo landed from the sky and (asked), “Momotaroo, where are you going, Sir?”
			T-U 3.47		Locution – “I’m going to the subdue the devils on Devil’s Island,	Momotaroo said.
			T-U 3.48		Part.: Actor – the pheasant	admiring him greatly, fluttered his wings and spoke. “Momotaroo, please take me with you, too. Please.”
			T-U 3.49		Locution – “OK”	Momotaroo said.
			T-U 3.50		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – MT	“Eat this millet dumpling, gain strength and follow me.”



x Sequent Event #3: meeting the pheasant		¶3.9	T-U 3.51	x causative – and so,	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – MT	took the dumpling from his hip and gave it to him.
			T-U 3.52		x Episodic β clause – When the pheasant ate it,	(it) suddenly seemed to gain strength, then flew up and danced two or three times above Momotaroo and after that, landed.
		¶3.10	T-U 3.53	x causative – and so,	Part.: Actor – MT	led the three animals: the dog, the monkey and pheasant, and pointed to the island and hurriedly departed.

## Chapter 4

Stages			T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
x Sequent Event #4: getting the boat		¶4.1	T-U 4.1		Part.: Actor – MT and the three animals	arrived at the coastline from where they could see Devil's Island.
			T-U 4.2	x temporal – and then,	Part.: Sayer – MT	spoke. "One of you, go and find a boat."
			T-U 4.3		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – They	(said), "Yes, Sir."
		¶4.2	T-U 4.4		Part.: Sayer – The monkey and the pheasant	replied thus.
			T-U 4.5	x causative – and so,	Part.: Actor – the monkey	ran up the coast road.
			T-U 4.6		Part.: Actor – the pheasant	flew through the sky.
			T-U 4.7		Circ. of time – Shortly	a sailboat appeared.
			T-U 4.8		Circ. of place – on the mast	sat the pheasant.
			T-U 4.9		Part.: Goal – The helm	was taken by the monkey.
			T-U 4.10		Part.: Actor – the monkey	skillfully steering the boat brought the boat to exactly in front of Momotaroo. "Momotaroo, please board the boat."
x Sequent Event #5: Sailing to Devil's Island.		¶4.3	T-U 4.11	x temporal – saying this	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – MT	bowed.
			T-U 4.12	x temporal – and so,	Part.: Actor – MT and the dog	got on board.
			T-U 4.13		Part.: Actor – The monkey	again skillfully steered the boat and headed off.
			T-U 4.14		[Implicit Part.: Actor] – The four of them	headed towards Devil's Island.
			T-U 4.15		Circ. of Location – on the sea	the swell was strong.
			T-U 4.16		Part.: Actor – The wind too	was blowing hard.
			T-U 4.17	+ advers – but	Part.: Actor – the monkey	because (he) steered it skillfully.
			T-U 4.18		Part.: Actor – the boat	got a lot of wind in the sails and sailed quickly like an arrow.
			T-U 4.19		Part.: Actor – The pheasant	continued to sit on the top of the mast and directed the monkey to the left and right.
			T-U 4.20		x Episodic β clause – When the boat strayed from the direction of Devil's Island	the pheasant would cry out.
			T-U 4.21		Part.: Actor – the dog	held onto Momotaroo's flag at the bow of the boat and concentrated on Devil's Island.
			T-U 4.22		Part.: Actor – MT	was in the middle of the boat and opened his rising-sun fan and leisurely fanned himself.
		¶4.4.	T-U 4.23		Circ. of Time – During that time,	(the boat) rapidly approached Devil's island.

## Chapter 5

Stages			T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
x Sequent Event #6: arriving at Devil's Island.	=Placement	¶ 5.1	T-U 5.1		Part.: Identified – Devil's Island	was an island of rock. (it) had black rocks. (it) had brown rocks. (it) had grey rocks.
			T-U 5.2		Part.: Actor – These rocks	were piled on top of each other, up and up, and formed a high mountain.
			T-U 5.3		x Episodic $\beta$ clause – Hollowing out the mountain and making caves inside	there, the devils lived.
			T-U 5.4		Circ. of purpose – To get to the devil's cave,	there were three tunnels.
			T-U 5.5		Circ. of Location – in these tunnels	there was an iron gate each and a closed metal door.
			T-U 5.6		Circ. of Location – in front of each of the doors	a red, white and black devil wearing a loincloth of tiger skin and carrying a fat rod stood on guard.
		¶ 5.2	T-U 5.7	Interpersonal comment adjunct – <i>tokoro de anyway</i>	Part.: Actor – Momotaroo's boat,	skillfully steered by the monkey, arrived outside the first metal gate.
			T-U 5.8	x temporal – then	Circ. of Time – first up,	the dog jumped onto the island and called in a loud voice.
			T-U 5.9		[Implicit Part.: Sayer]-The dog	"Hey, you devils. Momotaroo, No. 1 in Japan has today, just now, come to this island to subdue you. Bad devils, what do you think about that Surrender! If you don't, you won't be spared."
x Sequent Event #7: the battle at gate 1.		¶ 5.3	T-U 5.10	x temporal – after that,	Part.: Actor – the dog, monkey and pheasant	first progressed to the gate's door.
			T-U 5.11		Part.: Sayer – the dog	again called in a loud voice. "Open the gate, open the gate"
		¶ 5.4	T-U 5.12		Part.: Identified – This	was the gate opening command.
			T-U 5.13	+advers – But	Part.: Sayer – The devil who hear this	(shouted), "Humans have come to attack", then (he) shut the door tightly and slammed the rod into the floor giving no thought to opening the door.
			T-U 5.14		Part.: Sayer – The dog, monkey and pheasant	said to Momotaroo. "What shall we do, Momotaroo?"
			T-U 5.15		Locution – "Go and attack, attack!. First, you pheasant and monkey attack by opening the door from the inside",	Momotaroo said.
			T-U 5.16		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – They	(said), "Yes, Sir."
		¶ 5.5	T-U 5.17	x temporal – First	Part.: Actor – the pheasant	flapped his wings, took off and flew over the gate.
			T-U 5.18	x temporal – Then,	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – the pheasant	aimed at the faces of the devils who were inside and being triumphantly haughty, and so swooped on them. (It) aimed at their eyeballs and attacked.
			T-U 5.19		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – The devils	(said), "Oh, I can't stand this. This is awful"
		¶ 5.6	T-U 5.20		Part.: Actor – the devils	one after the other covered their eyes with both hand, and crouched down.
			T-U 5.21		Part.: Actor – Not one of them	could swing their weapon.

			T-U 5.22	x temporal – Then,	Part.:Actor – the monkey	climbed over the gate, opened the door from the inside and called. “Now, Momotaroo, please come in.”	
		¶5.7	T-U 5.23		Part.:Actor – MT and the dog	rushed in and took out the rope they had brought and tied up all the devils.	
		¶5.8	T-U 5.24	x temporal – After that	[Implicit Part.:Actor ]– they	came to the second gate.	
x Sequent Event #8: the battle at gate 2.			T-U 5.25	x temporal – Then again	Part.: Sayer – the dog	called, “Open the gate, Open the gate” and demanded the devils’ surrender.	
			T-U 5.26		x Episodic β clause – When realizing they wouldn’t surrender	Momotaroo commanded the pheasant and the monkey to go over the gate and as before tie up the devils.	
x Final Event	= Placement	¶5.9	T-U 5.27	x temporal – After that	[Implicit Part.:Actor ]– they	at last faced the third gate, the devil’s headquarters.	
			T-U 5.28		Circ. of Location – here too	as for the first and second gates, the monkey opened the door without difficulty.	
			T-U 5.29	+ adverbs – But	Circ. of Location – Inside (the gate)	was the head devil and the pheasant, monkey and dog weren’t able to subdue him.	
			T-U 5.30		Part.: Identified – This head devil	was big and red and wielded his rod like a windmill.	
			T-U 5.31		x Episodic β clause – If (you) were hit by this	even humans would be smashed to smithereens and become fragments like sand and so (it) was frightening.	
		¶5.10	T-U 5.32		Part.: Actor – The pheasant, monkey and dog	surrounded the head devil and repeatedly barked and squawked.	
			T-U 5.33	x temporal – Then,	Part.: Actor – MT	took the rod from the devil close by and said, “I am Momotaroo, No. 1 in Japan and I will be your opponent.” “EEEEEEiiiiiii” (he) shouted, and to urge himself on, slicing the air (he) wielded the rod.	
			T-U 5.34		Part.: Carrier – The speed and the strength	was visible as though the sword was sparking.	
			¶5.11	T-U 5.35	x temporal – After that	Part.: Actor – MT	slowly holding the rod approached the head devil.
				T-U 5.36	x temporal – And then	Circ. of Time – soon after	a ‘ping’ sound occurred.
	T-U 5.37				Part.: Actor – The rod of the head devil	hit Momotaroo’s rod and smashed into smithereens. (It) gurned into fragments like sand or dirt.	
	T-U 5.38			x Episodic β clause – Realizing this	the head devil was shocked, and before Momotaroo, with hands held together, (he) sat.		
	T-U 5.39			[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – The devil	bowed his head and spoke. “Momotaroo, please forgive me. I won’t do evil things anymore. I’ll return the treasure I took from people. I’ll leave this island and go far away. In the far off place, I’ll live as a good devil.”		
	x finale:		¶5.12	T-U 5.40	x causative – So then,	Part.: Actor – MT	discussed this with the pheasant, the monkey and the dog. “What do you think?”
		T-U 5.41			Part.: Sayer – The three of them	spoke. “Please forgive him”.	
		¶5.13	T-U 5.42		Part.: Actor – MT	forgave the devils.	

Final Event			T-U 5.43	x causative – So then,	[Implicit Part.: Actor] – They	piled the boat full of the stolen treasure and (the wind) filled the sail and (they) returned home.
			T-U 5.44		Part.: Actor – The monkey	took the helm skilfully, and
			T-U 5.45		Part.: Actor – the pheasant	perched on the mast on watch.
			T-U 5.46		Part.: Actor – The dog	stood the flag on the bow and
			T-U 5.47			in the middle of the boat opened the rising-fun fan and gently fanned his chest.
	x Moral	¶5.14	T-U 5.48		Part.: Actor – The old man and woman	met Momotaroo and you can imagine how happy they were,
			T-U 5.49		[Implicit: x Episodic $\beta$ clause] – the old couple were happy because Momotaroo returned safely,	well done, well done.

Table 7.4b  
Themes of the T-units of the nursery tale, *Momotaroo*

### 7.2.3 The Method of Development

The Themes within *Momotaroo* organise into a consistent pattern of thematic development. When the main characters in the tale are first introduced they appear initially in the Rheme and are picked up as Theme in following or subsequent T-units. This is again a consistent pattern of linear TP similar to that found in *Urihimeko*.

Each of the main protagonists are introduced in the Rheme of each T-unit presented below. The adopted parents, *ojiisan* and *obaasan* are first mentioned in the Rheme of T-unit 1.1 at the start of the tale.

Stage	¶	T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Initiating Event: placement	¶ 1.1	T-U 1.1		Multiple circ. Theme of Time and Place – long ago, in a certain place,	lived <b>an old man and woman</b>

The peach is first mentioned as a thing in the Rheme of T-unit 1.7. It is later identified as a peach, again rhematically in T-unit 1.14.

Initiating Event: Placement	¶ 1.4	T-U 1.7		Episodic $\beta$ clause – Fter doing so,	from up river, bobbing up and down, there appeared a <b>thing</b> .
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Initiating Event: Placement	¶ 1.5	T-U 1.14		Part.: Identified – it	was a very , very big <b>peach</b> .
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*Momotaroo* is introduced in the Rheme of T-unit 2.24 as a baby.

Initiating Event: Main Event	¶ 2.5	T-U 2.24	x causative- because	Circ. of Location – there	a <b>baby</b> from the inside of the peach energetically was trying to kick free.
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The other protagonists, the monkey, the pheasant, the devils and the head devil are also first mentioned in the Rhemes of their T-units, 3.35, 3.45, 5.3 and 5.29 respectively. The only exception to this pattern of introduction is the introduction of the dog. He is introduced in thematic first position in T-unit 3.20. Reasons for this are addressed in Section 7.2.5 below.

Initiating Event: Placement	¶3.3	T-U 3.20	x temporal - after doing so	Part.: Actor – <b>one large dog</b>	came rushing up to him.
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As with *Urihimeko*, the method of development of *Momotaroo* is based around the protagonists of the tale with the text unfolding around the actions of the main protagonists. Each of the protagonists, the adopted parents, *Momotaroo*, the dog, the monkey, the pheasant, the devils and the head devil engage in action within the tale. However, the generic stage in which they engage and the frequency of their construal as Theme differ. The frequency of the protagonists as Theme is illustrated in Table 7.5 below. The adopted parents are selected as Theme 23% of the time. If you include the Themes in which *Momotaroo* acts alone and jointly with his band of animals, then *Momotaroo* is construed as a participant Theme 22.5% (5.5% + 17%) – basically equal to that of the adopted parents. Further, the animals, either singly or collectively feature 26% (8.5%+6%+6%+5.5%) of the time, followed by the less frequent protagonists, the devils at 4.5% (3%+1.5%). The remaining 24% of participant Themes is made up of the peach at 6%, the redundant *sore*, (it) at 5% and the ‘other’ category which includes one-off participants, such as the boat (T-unit 4.18), or the devil’s rod (T-unit 5.37) etc at 13%.

Participant Themes	Roles: Actor	Sayer	Sensor	Identified	Carrier	Existent	Goal	Total	Percentage
thing or peach	3,1			2	2			8	6%
<i>Momotaroo</i>	7,2,5	1,5			2			22	17%
<i>ojiisan/obaasan</i> singly and/or jointly	7,6,1	5,8			1,1			29	23%
the dog	4,1,1	3,2						11	8.5%
the monkey	1,4,2	1						8	6%
the pheasant	3,2,3							8	6%
MT & animals	3,4							7	5.5%
animals (grps)	2,	3,2						7	5.5%
devils	2	2						4	3%
the head devil		1		1				2	1.5%
redundant <i>sore</i>				1,1,3,1				6	5%
Other	2,2,3			1,1	1,3	2	1,1	17	13%
Total								129	100%

Table 7.5

The classification and percentage frequency of the participant Themes in *Momotaroo*

As suggested, the story develops around the participants, with the circumstantial Themes and enhancing beta clausal Themes functioning to set the scene for the actions and dialogue between the participants. Of the 190 T-units, 125 (66%) are participant Themes while 47 (24.5%) are circumstantial Themes and beta clausal Themes. The remaining 9.5% is made up of locutions as Theme. These counts serve to confirm that indeed the tale revolves around the participants. Further, the similarity with *Urihimeko* cannot be ignored. Both tales have the same percentage of participants as Theme – almost 70%.

The frequency and distribution of the participant Themes is presented in Table 7.6 below. This table illustrates how the choice of participant Theme enables the unfolding of each protagonist's actions leading to the tale's climax and conclusion. The numbers represent the number of times per paragraph a particular protagonist is construed as Theme.

	Initiating Event		Sequent Event Stages									Final Event		
	Placement & Micro events	Main Act & Sequel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		Final Act	Finale	Mor-al
chapters	1	2	chapter 3			chapter 4					chapter 5			
paragraphs (¶)	1.1	1.2~	3.2	3.3~	3.7~	3.8 <sup>3</sup> ~	4.1~	4.3~	5.1~	5.3~	5.8	5.9~	5.12~	5.14.
Participant Themes														
thing or peach	7	1												
<i>Momotaroo</i>			5	4	2	3	1	2				2	3	
<i>ojiisan/obaasan</i> singly and/or jointly	16	12												1
the dog				6				1	1	1	1		1	
the monkey					2		2	2		1			1	
the pheasant						3	1	1		2			1	
MT & animals							1	2		1	1	1	1	
animals (grps)								2			3	1	1	
devils										4				
the head devil												2		
redundant <i>sore</i>	1	1	2	1						1				
Other		3	4		1	1	1	2	3			2		

Table 7.6

The distribution and frequency of participant Themes in *Momotaroo*

The adopted parents and the peach interact with each other at the start of the Initiating Stage in the micro-sequent events that set up the birth of *Momotaroo*. *Momotaroo* appears from the Main Act of the Initiating Event stage onwards as the consistent participant Theme featuring in every stage either, individually or as part of the band of conquerors, in Sequent Events 6, 7 & 8. As the tale unfolds, *Momotaroo* interacts with each individual animal as he meets them and signs them up in Sequent Events 1, 2, 3. *Momotaroo* then interacts with them all together as they find the boat and sail to Devil's Island in Sequent Events 4 and 5. Once the battles begin, *Momotaroo* acts jointly with the animals against the devils in Sequent Event 7, 8 and in the Final Event. The tale reaches a climax with the defeat of the head devil in the Final Act. Following this the heroes all appear as Theme as they jointly, retrieve the treasure and individually, take up their 'sailing' positions on the return journey. Here, we have a repeat of acts of sailing again construing a feeling of habitude, a feature of Placement. The tale ends with the moral which opens with the old couple as Theme. This creates a symmetrical

<sup>3</sup> SE 3 starts at T-unit 3.44 in this paragraph – the fourth T-unit in the paragraph.

closure, in the sense, that the tale began with the old couple, the thus ends with them.

In summary, the method of development of *Momotaroo* revolves around the actions of the main protagonists; each protagonist having been first introduced in the Rhemes and picked up as subsequent Themes in line with a linear TP pattern. Each protagonist takes turns as Theme with the circumstantial and enhancing beta clauses functioning to set the scene, in a sense, in a supporting role. The stages of the tale serve to delimit who interacts with who, beginning with the interplay between the parents and the peach, then the interaction moves onto one between *Momotaroo* and his band of followers, followed by the interplay between the heroes and the devils and then ending with the parents. This is all clearly evident through the tracking of Theme throughout the tale.

#### 7.2.4 Logical Relations

Similarly, as with *Urihimeko*, the logical relations in *Momotaroo* are of two types. There are mostly covert links between the stages and overt logical links within the paragraphs, building links between the T-units in the course of the development of the paragraphing within each stage. These logical relations are indicated in Table 7.4b above.

In the first instance, the stages of *Momotaroo* relate to each other by means of enhancement (x). This relation is at times overtly stated through explicit use of connectives such as the causative, *dakara* (consequently) which introduces the Main Act in the tale in Paragraph 3.2. However, mostly the links between the stages are implied by the order of events in the tale. This type of covert logical relation relies on one event leading to the next, which leads to the next and so on. The Initiating Event is followed by Sequent Event 1, which is followed by Sequent Event 2, 3, 4 etc onwards until the tale reaches the Final Event. The logical link between these stages is that ‘and then...’, ‘and then...’, ‘and then...’ etc. Such a link is of the enhancing type, specifically that of subsequent time (Halliday 1994:328). However, of the 22 separate stages in the tale which include the micro-stages in the Initiating Event, nine have overt connectives assisting with the logical linkage (T-units 1.2, 2.19, 3.8, 3.35, 4.11, 5.10, 5.24, 5.27, 5.40), the rest are all linking by enhancement covertly. Of these nine overt connectives, six are connectives of enhancing temporality (T-units 3.35, 4.11, 5.10, 5.24, 5.27,



5.40), one is an enhancing causal (T-units 3.8), one is an adversative extension (T-unit 2.19) and the final one is an elaborating connective, *tokoro ga* (anyway..) which acts to clarify and launch the tale straight after the first T-unit 1.1.

An interesting point to note is that the explicit enhancing causal connective occurs at a critical point in the unfolding of the tale. It serves to textually link the Main Act of the tale (T-unit 3.8) causally with the attribution present in the Placement stage immediately preceding the Main Act. Basically, the explicit use of logical links in the textual Themes serves one primary function. The explicit temporal connectives link the Sequent Events in subsequent time.

Further, the comment adjunct in T-unit 1.2 supplies a meaning of 'obviousness' and serves to assist in the textual organisation of the tale (Halliday 1994:83). It is the narrator's opinion coming through saying, 'obviously, I'm going to tell you about what happened. Listen and the tale will unfold before you'.

There are other overt or explicit logical links within the tale which link between the T-units in the course of the development of the paragraphing within each stage. Again, these explicit links are connective textual Themes of primarily enhancement, with some examples of extension. Of the enhancing examples, the most common type are temporal connectives. These connectives serve to link the consecutive actions of the tale within each stage, one after the other. The other type of enhancing connectives are causative ones. Consider T-unit 3.6. Here the connective, *soshite* (so) is used to signal a causative link between *Momotaroo* growing up uniquely strong and his ascendancy as Japan's number 1 child.

Connectives of extension are less frequent. Those that appear are either adversative (T-unit 2.19) or additive (T-unit 2.30) in type. The reason connectives of extension feature less is due to the fact that the general thrust of the tale is to build on events one after the other in subsequent time, in order to build towards a climax. This is achieved through logical links of enhancement rather than extension or elaboration.

In brief, the function of the stages is to enhance, most notably in an implicit manner. And similarly, the function of the connectives within the stages is to enhance explicitly the unfolding of consecutive events over time. The resonance of enhancement both within and between the stages presents for the child listener or reader, a simple, effective logical relationship between events in

the tale. This provides them with an easy introduction to the genre of the nursery tale which is essentially, a kind of mythical recount.

### 7.2.5 Given and New Distribution

As intimated in the Section 7.2.3, when participants are first introduced in the tale, they appear initially in the Rheme and are picked up as Theme in following or subsequent T-units. They are thus assigned the status of Given when selected as Theme. The notable exception to this is the particularised dog in T-unit 3.20. He is first introduced as a new participant Theme rather than as a given one. One way to explain this is as a manipulation of the Given/Theme, New/Rheme mapping. By mapping new onto Theme, the writer may be trying to say to the reader, “You know this character. Not because he has been introduced through a previous Rheme, but because you know the structure of the nursery tale genre. It is part of your cultural knowledge. You know the characters are particularised”. In other words, the writer presumes the reader knows the character.

Further, some, if not all of the information in the episodic beta clausal Themes is Given in a similar manner to most of the participant Theme. They are derived from previous Rhemes. Consider T-unit 1.8. Here, the episodic clausal Theme is derived from the locution in the Rheme of the previous T-unit. Thus, apart from the dog, the information status of the participant and clausal Themes is that of Given.

In contrast, when circumstances appear thematically they are a mixture of both Given and New. Some are derived from previous Rhemes, such as in T-unit 1.25, while others are not, such as in T-unit 3.15 and 3.16. These circumstances are usually introduced for the first time as Themes. These circumstantial Themes are thus assigned the information status of New.

The other type of New Theme is the locution. Throughout *Momotaroo*, many of the locutions of the protagonists are construed as Theme such as in T-units 2.25 2.26 and 2.27. The effect of positioning the locution as Theme allows the Sayer to be located rhematically and therefore, given salience. In a turn taking exchange between the characters of the tale, it is important to keep track of who is talking, thus locating the Sayer rhematically emphasises the Sayer, rather than the ‘said’. As readers, we are directed to attended to the speakers in the Rheme, rather than the New information in the Theme.

### 7.2.6 Summary

In summary, *Momotaroo* is a nursery tale with clearly defined generic stages fulfilling different functions. The Initiating Stage sets the scene for the tale presenting the Main Act followed by the Sequel, which combined, set the tale moving. This is followed by eight separate Sequent Events which introduce the three animals, and describe the procurement of the boat, the journey to Devil's Island, the arrival and the battles. The tale unfolds as a staged text based around temporal enhancement. One event leads to the next, and onto the next and so on until the climax is reached and the incident resolved. In a manner similar to *Urihimeko*, the speed of the tale increases as it develops. The Initiating Event stage is lengthy (18 paragraphs) which moves into shorter Sequent Event stages that are consistently only two paragraphs in length. The only two exceptions are the meeting of the dog (SE 1) and the battle at Gate 1 (SE 7). Both of these stages are the first of two related strings of events, the meetings and the battles. Each of these initial events in the strings have more detail than the subsequent related events. Despite this, the pace of the tale picks up as the climax approaches until the Final Event with its sub-stages which occurs in the last five paragraphs of chapter 5.

The method of development of *Momotaroo* revolves around the main protagonists. The actions and some of the locutions of these characters are thus introduced as new, salient and newsworthy information in the Rhemes of these T-units. It is therefore predictable that when construed as Theme, we, the readers know who the characters are and what role they play in the tale. This is evident by the significant number of participant Themes (66%) compared to the number of circumstantial and episodic clausal Themes. When circumstantial Themes assigned New status are selected, the effect is to orient the reader to the scene where the participants and their actions unfold. This arrangement of given/participant Theme and new/circumstantial Theme is echoed throughout the tale.

However, this pattern does not apply to the locutions in the tale. Depending on the writer's intentions, locutions are either located in the Theme thereby mapping New onto Theme in a marked sense, or else, they are located in the Rheme, mapping New onto Rheme in an unmarked sense. The locution as

Theme enables the Sayer to be salient, while the locution as Rheme enables the converse, that is, the 'said' to be salient.

### 7.3 Contrasting the two tales

From the analyses of these two nursery tales, it is possible to make statements about their similarities and their differences. In the first instance, the two tales are similarly and clearly developed around the actions of the protagonists sharing the same percentage, that is, approximately 70% of participants as Theme. The circumstances and episodic beta clausal Themes act in a supporting role and serve to set the scene for the action of the protagonists in the tale. The protagonists are generally introduced for the first time in the Rhemes of the T-units, thus the participant Themes tend to be assigned Given information status. As readers, we come to know the characters.

The differences between the two tales are related to the use of Placement, the amount of attribution present in each tale, the length of each tale, and the selection of locution as Theme.

Placement in *Urihimeko* is found only in the Initiating Event stage. It serves 1) to provide person particularisation, 2) to locate the tale in terms of time and space as well as 3) to provide a limited (2 examples only) amount of attribution relating to the qualities of the princess. However, this is not the case in *Momotaroo*. Placement occurs in the Initiating Event stage as well as at the beginning of some Sequent Events in which new protagonists are introduced as well as in the Final Event. The Placement throughout *Momotaroo* provides person particularisation, placement of the tale in both time and space, attribution and habitude.

Another difference between the two tales is the length. *Urihimeko* is shorter and is not chapterised like *Momotaroo*. However, the length of *Momotaroo* does not appear to effect the staging. The tale has the same stages as *Urihimeko*. Rather, the length adds detail to the events. This detail is found in the fact that the tale includes the micro-staging in the macro-Initiating Event and significantly more description and therefore, more Placement within the stages of Initiating Event, Sequent Event and Final Event. This lengthening of the tale may also add to the enjoyment factor for the reader. It means the reader can stay in the mythological world longer.

The final difference between the two tales which is worthy of mentioning is the use of locutionary Themes. While *Urihimeko* has one locution as Theme, it is *Momotaroo* where this thematic choice is significant (9.5% of Themes) and which is the defining difference between the method of development of these two nursery tales. The use of locutions as Theme in *Momotaroo* enables the Sayers to be made salient in the Rheme. This helps the reader keep track of who is talking in a lengthy dialogic exchange. This does not seem to be so important in *Urihimeko* because the dialogue exchanges are not lengthy. In any event, the differences between both tales are not significant in the sense that they do not distinguish them as different genres. Rather, both texts are clearly developed in a similar fashion and are easily identifiable as nursery tales. They begin with the univariate, multiple circumstantial Theme and end with the implicit beta clause, both seemingly, significant features of the nursery tale in Japanese.

#### **7.4 Implications of the Analyses**

In relation to Hasan's nursery tale GSP model, it is worth considering how relevant it is to these two Japanese nursery tales. In the case of *Urihimeko*, the template is appropriate. The tale's staging matches that predicated by Hasan's model.

However, *Momotaroo* has a significantly different feature to that postulated by Hasan. Person particularisation, a main function of the Placement in the nursery tale, occurs throughout the tale, not only in the Initiating Event as suggested by the GSP model, but as mentioned above, also in the Sequent Events Stages when the other characters enter into the tale. Each new character is particularised as follows: the old couple in T-unit 1.1; *Momotaroo* is T-unit 2.24; the dog in T-unit 3.20; the monkey in T-unit 3.35; the pheasant in T-unit 3.45, the devils in T-unit 5.3 and the head devil in 5.29. Given this structure it is interesting to consider if this kind of person particularisation should be considered as Placement, whereby each character has global relevance to the tale, or whether it should be considered as frame, whereby each new character only has local relevance to the actions in each sequent event in the tale. The criteria which Hasan uses to distinguish between Placement and frame is whether or not the character is of global relevance to the tale or not.

My view is that the characters are globally relevant and their particularisation serves to construe Placement rather than frame. When you consider the actions of each protagonist, once they are introduced, they are selected as Theme consistently throughout the stages of the tale up to and including the Final Event. Table 7.10 illustrates very clearly that all participant Themes, apart from the peach, *sore* and the ‘other’ category appear as Theme in the Final Event stage. Therefore, those protagonists appearing in the Final Event stage have been globally relevant to the whole tale. Only the peach is locally relevant appearing in the first half of the Initiating Event stage. The particularisation of the peach is thus treated as frame rather than Placement. The particularisation of the other protagonists are treated as Placement.

In terms of the GSP model, Hasan attempted to account for variation. What is not clear however, is whether or not Hasan considered variation to be variation within one cultural set of nursery tales, or across cultural sets of tales. In any event, she limited the possibility of variation within her description by specifying variation only within the squared brackets [ ] of the description. She did account for the interspersed nature of Placement through the use of the angled brackets < >, but only within the limit of the squared brackets. Placement is certainly interspersed in *Momotaroo* but it is not limited to the Initiating Event Stage as Hasan’s model suggests. It is present in all stages of the tale. Given this situation, I wonder if Hasan’s model could not be modified to allow for this by removing the squared brackets and allowing for optional, interspersed Placement within all the stages as follows:



(<Placement>) Initiating Event^ (<Placement>) Sequent Event^ (<Placement>)  
 Final Event [^(Finale)□(Moral)]

In *Urihimeko* and *Momotaroo* there was no evidence that the Finale and the Moral were optional (indicated by the rounded brackets) or reversible (indicated by the raised dot ) as suggested by Hasan’s model. However, it is entirely possible that they are optional and reversible and this is worth investigating using a larger corpus of Japanese nursery tales.

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented descriptions of the two nursery tales in the corpus. The descriptions have been based around the evidence that the function of the stages of each text are realised through language choices, specifically those of Theme, method of development, logical relations and the distribution of given and new information. These choices collectively serve to realise the particular function of each stage which work collectively to realise the particular genre, in this case, the genre of the nursery tale.

Hasan's Generic Structure Potential (GSP) which was introduced in chapter 5 provided a general description of the stages of the nursery tale. Chapter 7 has thus presented the analyses of two examples thereby affording the opportunity to, in a sense, present an instance of the GSP of nursery tales in each case. And, each instance has allowed for the opportunity to compare the structure of the instance with the generalised GSP model.

As explained above, *Urihimeko* is an instance which appears to match the generalised GSP model as postulated by Hasan. The instance and the system both have the same staging, in the appropriate order with logical links between the stages.

In contrast, *Momotaroo* presents as a more problematic instance. It does not match the GSP model closely and thus reveals limitations with the generalised description of the system of nursery tales as presented by Hasan. The generalised GSP limits the location of interspersed Placement to the Initiating Event which is not the case in *Momotaroo*. Placement occurs in all stages of *Momotaroo*. This sheds light on the fact that the generalised GSP may in fact be language specific and not appropriate in Japanese without modification as presented above.

In any event, the notion of genre has proved very useful in the analyses of the nursery tales in the corpus. Through the frame of genre, the various language choices within each text can be seen to be motivated and working together to organise the ideational content of a text into a textually coherent message.

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## Chapter 8 – The Narratives

### 8.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the analyses and an interpretation of two of the narrative stories in the corpus, *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori*. As in chapters 6 and 7, each text is considered as an instance of a particular genre, in this case, as an instance of the Narrative genre. The choice of Theme and how these choices serve to key into the method of development are described with the intention of demonstrating the particular function of each generic stage within each text. The descriptions of these two instances of a genre are compared with the Narrative template which was introduced in chapter 5 as a means of determining the extent to which this version of the narrative genre applies in Japanese.

As presented in chapter 5, the narrative has been described as one of the genres of story telling and is considered the most valued story-telling type of text (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994). Primarily, it serves to entertain; however at the same time, it evaluates and gives significance to cultural values. It is a powerful device for inducting children and adults into the highly valued practices and beliefs of a culture.

The narrative and the nursery tale are similar in that both serve to give significance to cultural values. However, in my opinion, the difference between these two text types lies mainly in three areas. These are 1) the explicitness of the induction into the cultural values; 2) the kind of audience the story is intended for and 3) the degree of social stereotyping which may occur.

The nursery tale is more explicit, in the sense, that there is a moral to the tale which may be spelt out at the end. This is certainly the case in *Urihimeko* where the final two T-units state very explicitly that the roots of the nutmeg tree are red as a result of the murder of the imposter, *Amanjaku*. The moral in *Momotaroo* is only marginally less explicit in the sense that, rather than stating the moral outright, the narrator steps-in in the penultimate T-unit and suggests to the reader that the end result of *Momotaroo* subduing the devils, retrieving the treasure and returning home safely, is good. In contrast, the narrative embeds the message or moral of the story in the text using the Evaluation stage(s) to explain

the point of the story. Using evaluative language, the narrator can explain the significance of certain events and actions.

The nursery tale is a story which is written for young children (Hasan 1996), while on the other hand, the narrative is not limited to children, but can be written for both an adult and/or a child audience.

Finally, the nursery tale tends to use stereotypical characters who have predictable behaviours which demonstrate cultural values, “women are valued primarily for their beauty and passivity.. [a]ctive females roles almost always signify evil, which is physically identified as ugly..” (Cranny-Francis 1992:75). This is clearly seen in the construction of *Urihimeko* who is the passive, good daughter of the old couple, and *Amanjaku* who is the evil impersonator with a ‘horn’ on her back. Similarly, men are constructed as heroes, “the saviour hero of the avenging” or the villain who is evil and violent (Cranny-Francis 1992:83). Not incidentally, *Momotaroo* is our avenging male hero and the devils are the villains. In contrast, the characters of the narrative are not stereotyped in terms of their attributes or behaviours, rather, the character(s) usually change or go through some growth experience through which significance is assigned.

The narratives, *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori* are both written narratives of personal experience. Narratives of personal experiences are texts in which the narrator acts and evaluates his/her actions, “the speaker becomes deeply involved in rehearsing or even reliving events of his past” (Labov 1972:354).

The narrative genre template or ‘system’ which is used to frame the analysis in this chapter is based on Labov’s stages of the personal experience narratives used in his work on the oral, personal narratives of young speakers of Black English Vernacular. The template was briefly introduced in chapter 5, and is reiterated below.

(Abstract) ^[(**<Orientation>**) ^ **Complication**] ^ [**<Evaluation>** ^ **Resolution**] ^ (Coda)  
(Martin 1992:556)

In the literature, it is suggested that the Evaluation stage can occur within and between stages, either embedded as part of another stage, or as a stage in its own right. The Evaluation stage is one of the places in the text where the narrator features as, “the individual or ‘position’ we judge to be the immediate source and authority for whatever words are used in the telling” (Toolan 1988:76). The

narrator is responsible for 1) descriptions of settings, 2) identification of characters, 3) temporal summaries, 4) definition of characters, 5) reports of what characters did not think or say, 6) commentary – interpretation, judgement, generalisation” (Toolan 1988:82). These ‘acts’ of the narrator are found in the Orientation and Evaluation stages. The Orientation stage includes ‘acts’ 1-4 above, while the Evaluation stage includes ‘acts’ 5 and 6.

The following sections will present analyses for each of the narratives, *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori*, describing the generic staging of each text with a view to identifying the purpose of the Japanese narrative. And further, as suggested above, the question to be asked is whether or not the stages which occur in the Japanese narrative function similarly to the narrative in English, thereby serving to evaluate and give significance to cultural values.

### 8.1 The Analysis of *Taberareta Otoko* (The Man who was Eaten)

*Taberareta Otoko* is the final story in a collection of black humour short stories from a book of the same title by Takashi Atoda. Takashi Atoda is a famous, Tokyo born (1935), postwar, Japanese short story writer who is “known for his ability to compact a novel’s worth of meaning into a compelling and intricate story of only a few pages. Atoda’s stories demand and deserve more concentration than the ‘train reading’ status afforded most paperbacks” (Llorens 2001). He is credited with establishing a new genre of black humour in the world of Japanese literature (Suzuki 1997).

The book, *Taberareta Otoko* is divided up into three sections. Section One titled, ‘Innocent Seduction’, *shiroi yuuwaku* is a collection of 14 stories concerned with temptation and infidelity; Section Two titled, ‘Underwater Flowers’, *suichuuka* contains another 14 stories concerned with the life of courtesans and call girls; while Section Three titled, ‘Mysterious Occasions at Work’, *ofisu no yuuki* contains 14 stories of sexual titillation in the workplace. *Taberareta Otoko* is the final story in Section Three.

It is a story of two work colleagues, written in the first person as a personal narrative (Labov and Waletzky 1967). The narrator, *watashi* (I) writes about his colleague, *S-kun* (Master S). *S-kun* has recently married and since that time, the narrator witnesses certain changes in *S-kun* which *S-kun* also attests to. The two of them discuss the changes which include changes in habits, behaviours

and physical attributes. *S-kun*'s explanation is that during a dream, his wife eats part of him and by the next morning, a new more appropriate body part grows back. However, *S-kun* actually believes it is not a dream, but rather real, and that his wife really eats parts of him, which re-grow in a form more acceptable to her. He actually thinks she is a witch.

The process of change begins with the legs and moves up the body. *Watashi* finds this hard to believe and justifies the changes in *S-kun* as indicative of how life changes for a man once he is married. The story ends with a short conversation between the two after *watashi* notices that the scar on *S-kun*'s face is no longer visible and that he is behaving as though he is unaware of their previous conversations. *Watashi* suggests that perhaps *S-kun*'s wife really is a witch. *S-kun* responds in a manner which suggests he has no knowledge of any of the previous conversations. When *S-kun* turns towards *watashi*, he realises his suggestion that she may be a witch is true. *S-kun* has re-grown a new head.

In my view, the story has two possible readings. The first one deals with the sense of loss of male friendship which *watashi* is feeling as a result of his friend getting married. Marriage results in changing priorities in life and the time available for male friends is lost. In a sense, it is a loss of boyhood friendship as a man moves away from friends and cleaves to a woman, thereby signaling a move into mature adulthood.

Another reading is the sense of loss of identity upon getting married. The changes in *S-kun*'s body could be seen as a metaphor for his loss of autonomy as his wife places expectations and demands upon him. The woman represents in the first instance, a happy future prospect, but as the marriage unfolds, the reality of being married falls short of his expectation. The portrayal of the woman is a negative one. She is assigned the negative role of the controlling new wife being compared and then finally considered to be, a witch. *S-kun*'s loss of identity is thus out of his control, as all responsibility for change is in the hands of the evil witch. The cynical tone of this story matches the tone of the other stories within the volume of short stories. Each story in the collection ends with a twist and has a cynical, fatalistic flavour.

### 8.1.1 The Generic Stages

In the first instance, *Taberareta Otoko* is a story which addresses adversity. The adversity is most certainly one of loss, loss of friendship and loss of identity. The overall structure of the narrative and the respective stages work together to construe a particular generic configuration through which this loss is presented.

*Taberareta Otoko* achieves this through the generic stages of the narrative as suggested by Labov (Labov 1972). The specific stages of this story are Abstract ^ Orientation ^ Complication 1 ^ Evaluation 1 ^ Complication 2 ^ Evaluation 2 ^ Resolution ^ Coda which is illustrated in Figure 8.1 below. Despite the presence of evaluative language throughout the story, there are substantial amounts of evaluation between the Complication stages and between the Complication and Resolution stage, thereby justifying the designation of a stage dedicated to evaluation. Evaluation enables the writer to supply description and attribution relevant to the point of the narrative. The twist in the story occurs after the Resolution in the Coda. Here, the reader discovers the truth. The narrator steps in and indirectly confirms the point of the story, that is, that the wife **is** indeed a witch thereby bringing the story to a conclusion. The interpretation, that the wife is a witch, is confirmed by the final clause, *S-kun no atama mo moo sukkari haekawatte shimatta rashii* (S-kun's head too seemed to have completely regrown).

The story opens with an Abstract (paragraph 1) in which the writer signals that an interesting story about a work colleague is about to unfold. This is followed by the Orientation stage (paragraphs 2-16) in which the reader is introduced to the work context in which the story unfolds and the main characters, *watashi* (also the narrator) and *S-kun*. Once the characters and setting in time and place have been established, the remainder of the Orientation stage (paragraphs 4-16) opens with the significant event of *S-kun's* marriage which exacts changes in *S-kun's* behaviour, and the narrator's feelings of foreboding. This is followed by three substantial sections which sketch the kinds of changes which *S-kun* has experienced in order to state the nature of the situation prior to the actions which are about to unfold in the Complication stages.

The first Complication stage (paragraphs 17-26) is divided into two parts both of which rely on verbal processes to unfold the actions of the narrative.

These verbal action processes are interrupted by an Evaluation stage from paragraph 27 until 29. This interruption of events serves to build tension by stalling the action and inducting the reader into *watashi*'s interpretation of the series of events.

Further action is supplied in a subsequent Complication stage (paragraphs 30-35) which is again evaluated in paragraph 36. The reader is now anticipating a resolution, possibly the unlikely one which *watashi* suggests.

The story climaxes in the Resolution stage (paragraphs 37-39) which concludes with the Coda (paragraph 40) thus ending the story by closing off the sequence of complicating events and indicates there are no more events to follow. In this case, the transformation of *S-kun* is complete having begun at the legs, it concludes at the head. In a sense this is analogous to the building of a climax. The changes move upwards from the legs towards the seat of one's identity, the head.

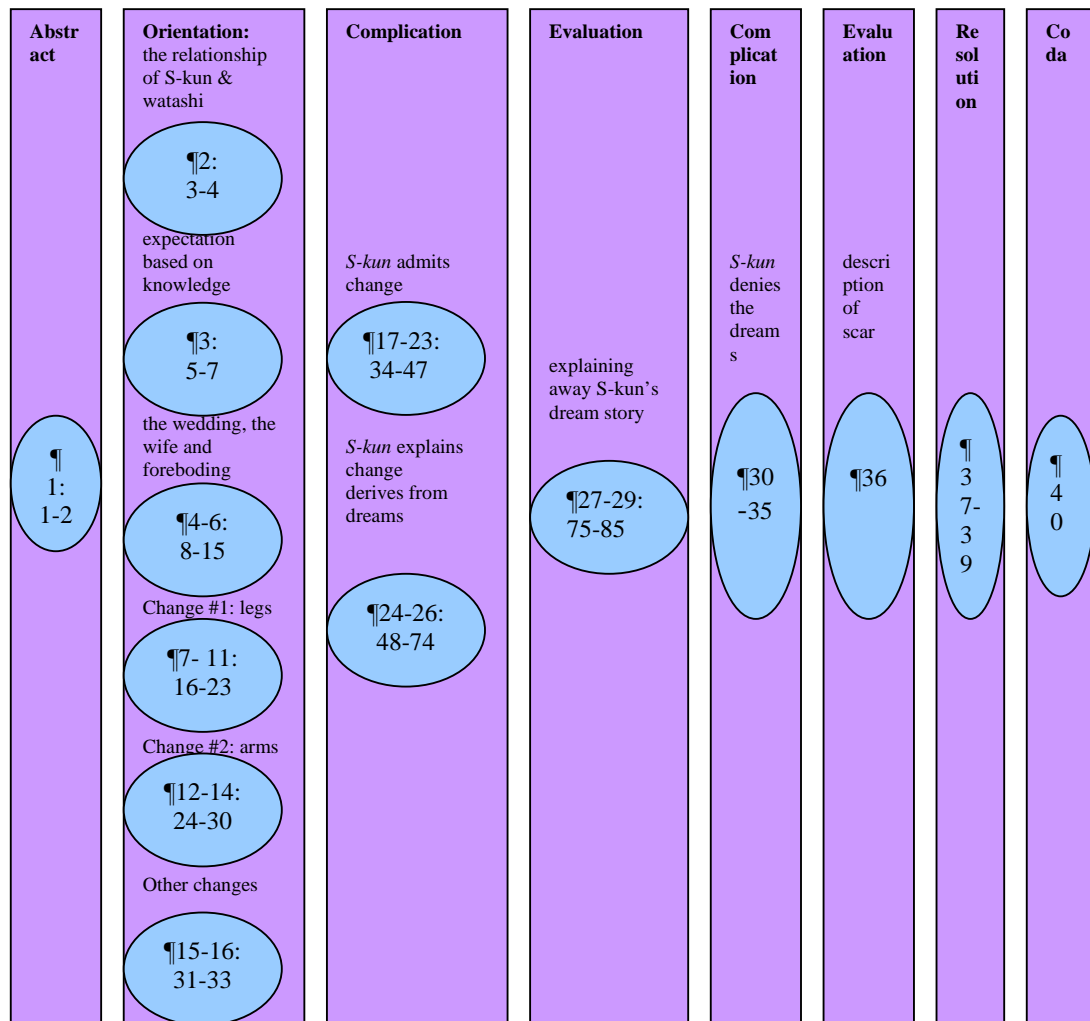


Figure 8.1  
The generic stages of *Taberareta Otoko*

### 8.1.2 Realizing the Function of the Stages

Having outlined the stages of *Taberareta Otoko* above, this section will describe how each stage is realised through thematic choice. Refer to Table 8.1 below.

The Abstract functions to advertise the story. In this case, it is achieved through the choice of the demonstrative noun, *kore* (this) in T-unit 1 which acts to cataphorically point the reader forward to the narrative. It sets up an expectation that what they are about to read, may be something familiar. This is further established in the only other T-unit in this stage, which selects a circumstance of Place, *anata no shuui ni mo* (even within your circle) to build

solidarity with the reader and entice the reader to continue, as they may have experienced the same kind of person in their lives. This serves to bridge the reader in the present with the fictional place of the narrative.

The next stage, the Orientation, opens with a participant Theme, *S-kun to watashi wa* (S-kun and I) in T-unit 3. These are the only two protagonist in the story and their placement as Theme allows for the relationship between them to be explicated and made salient in the Rheme. The Orientation functions to introduce the participants and circumstances of Time and Place and also sets up customary sequences which are disrupted by the events of the story. In this case, this is achieved through the opening participant Theme and then subsequent clausal Themes in T-unit 4 and 5 which set up the customary situation of two school friends who, having gone along the same education pathway, now find themselves working in the same company. These choices set up the 'routine' of their relationship which is further confirmed by the thematic circumstance of Matter, *S-kun no mono no kangaekata ya seikatsu no shuukan ni tsuite* (in relation to his way of thinking and his personality quirks) in T-unit 7. This Theme enables the narrator to rhematically state his thorough knowledge of his friend, thus setting up the reader for an event which may frustrate the narrator's expectations.

The remainder of the Orientation stage begins at T-unit 8 and extends through to T-unit 33. It consists of a description of the changes which *S-kun* had undergone prior to the events of the narrative. T-units 8-15 introduce the significant event which brings about change, the wedding of *S-kun* to his exotic new wife and the narrator's feelings of foreboding. T-units 16-23 deal with the first change which occurs in *S-kun's* legs; T-units 24-30 deal with the second change, that which occurs in his arms and T-units 31-33 present another change, this time in his digestion.

The section from T-unit 8 -15 opens with the participant Actor Theme, *sono S-kun* (the S-kun [whom I knew]) in T-unit 8 thereby setting up his act of marriage in the Rheme. This is the only material action of the section. The remaining T-units present the narrator's evaluation of this action. T-unit 9 selects the wife as Theme allowing for a description of her appearance; T-unit 10 selects the narrator as Sensor Theme allowing for a mental assessment of *S-kun's* luck; T-unit 11 selects a circumstance of Time, *hirooen no ato de* (after the



reception) to locate the narrator's increasing feeling of jealousy which is then picked up as Theme in T-unit 12. The following two Themes of this section are extending textual Themes, *ippoo de wa* (on the one hand) and *moo ippoo de wa* (on the other hand) which set up the two conflicting feelings which the narrator expresses as a result of *S-kun's* marriage. This section concludes with the narrator's 'hunch' construed as a participant Carrier Theme. The attribute, that his hunch is correct, is located in the Rheme. Thus, this first section, which outlines the changes in *S-kun*, opens with a material action, that of getting married, which is then evaluated by the narrator in the subsequent seven T-units. This pattern of action followed by evaluation is common throughout these sections which document the transformation of *S-kun*.

The section from T-units 16-23 presents the first change in *S-kun* and opens with an enhancing episodic clause of time, *kekkon shite ikkagetsu mo suru to* (one month after getting married) in T-unit 16. Having established time as Theme, the Rheme of this T-unit contains the only material process in this section, *watashi's* act of noticing *S-kun's* change. This T-unit stands apart as a separate paragraph. T-unit 17 selects an Identified participant as Theme allowing for the location of the change, that is, 'in his legs', to be placed rhematically. The next two T-units consist of elaborating textual Themes which clarify the kind of change which is apparent. T-unit 20 selects a circumstance as Theme which sets up *S-kun's* liking-of-taking-taxis as Rheme. This is picked up as Theme in the following T-unit. This enables the narrator to note how 'his love of taking taxis' has now changed to 'walking' instead. T-unit 22 opens with a conditional clause as Theme which specifies the conditions under which *S-kun* now takes taxis. This section closes with an implicit participant Sensor Theme, *watashi* (I) which locates the narrator's mental process and projection as Rheme. The reader now knows that *S-kun's* legs are stronger and more robust than before. This section has consisted of one material process which is elaborated on through subsequent evaluating T-units.

The section from T-units 24-30 follows the same pattern again. The first T-unit in the section, T-unit 24 opens with an enhancing circumstance of Time, *okashi na koto ga aru mono da to omou uchi ni* (at the time when I thought that this was strange) which sets up the next change, the change in his arms, as Rheme. Again, this opening T-unit is set apart from the rest of the sub-stage as a

separate paragraph. The following paragraph again supplies elaboration of this change in the form of recounting *S-kun*'s past behaviours, firstly, through a mental process which selects a participant Sensor Theme, *watashi* in T-unit 25. This is then followed by five enhancing circumstantial and conditional clause Themes which locate the past behaviours in time and place. The narrator's recount is presented as Rhemes.

Again, the section from T-units 31-33 follows a similar pattern. The first T-unit in the section, T-unit 31 opens with an enhancing episodic clausal Theme, *ki o tsukete nagameru to* (when I looked carefully) which sets up further transformations to be located in the Rheme. The following paragraph again supplies evaluation of this change in the form of attribution in T-unit 32 which selects a participant Carrier Theme. This is then followed by a projected Idea as Theme which enables the Sensor, that is *watashi* and the mental process to be made salient in the Rheme. The following T-unit, 34 selects a circumstance of Matter, *koo iu henka ni tsuite* (in relation to this change) as Theme which signals that the narrator's reaction to the change, that is, his inclination to question *S-kun* directly will locate rhematically.

In brief, the Orientation stage consists of background information that does not include any action in the story – background information about the characters and the situation that they find themselves in before the narrative begins. In other words, this stage consists of mostly evaluation in the form of relational and mental processes. The events of the story are yet to unfold. These begin in the Complication stage.

The first Complication stage presents two dialogic exchanges in which *S-kun* admits to the changes and provides an explanation for them. This stage, which begins at T-unit 34, marks a change in structure. Rather than the pattern of material action followed by evaluation found in the sections in the Orientation stage, the language of the Complication stages relies on verbal processes through which the narrative action unfolds. Again, this section opens with an enhancing circumstance of place, *kaisha no hiruyasumi* ([at] lunch time at work) as Theme in T-unit 35 which sets the scene for the ensuing action. Following this, the Themes in T-units 36-41 are either explicit or implicit participant Sayers. Essentially, *S-kun* and *watashi* take dialogic turns which locate the locutions in the Rheme. The locutions function to unfold the action of the narrative.

Interpersed between the turn taking is some description of both *S-kun* or *watashi* as they react to each others' words in T-units 38 and 40. T-unit 42 selects an implicit Theme, *S-kun* which enables the narrator to step in and supply some evaluation in relation to the oddness of his behaviour. The significant development in this dialogic exchange is the suggestion by *S-kun* that he thinks his wife is a witch. This occurs in the Rheme of T-unit 44 which *watashi* attempts to discount in the Rhemes of the final two T-units.

The Complication stage continues on with the dialogic turn-taking structure in Paragraph 24<sup>1</sup> which consists of 24 dialogic turns. The Themes in every case but two are participant Sayer Themes either explicitly or implicitly stated. The action unfolds through the rhematic locutions. The reader learns about the changes in *S-kun* deriving from dreams in which his wife eats a part of him. The body part subsequently re-grows into a better 'model', more suited to her desires. This section concludes with *watashi* as participant Actor Theme saying that *S-kun* is just tired. In the final T-unit, 73, *S-kun* as participant Actor Theme, leaves the discussion in disgust. The verbal action of the narrative is suspended at this point by an Evaluation stage.

This first Evaluation stage consists of three paragraphs made up of eleven T-units, from T-unit 74 through to 84. This Evaluation stage interrupts the events of the narrative, in this case, the verbal action between *S-kun* and *watashi*. The stage serves to supply the reader with the narrator's angle or spin on the action of the story. The evaluative language consists of predominantly relational processes of the identifying, attributing and existential types as well as mental processes. The Themes are participant Themes interspersed with conditional beta clauses and some circumstances of Time. In brief, the circumstances and clauses set the scene for the context on which the narrator comments using relational processes. The reader thus learns that *watashi* does not believe *S-kun's* explanation, but rather supplies an alternative explanation based on *watashi's* assumption that *S-kun* is embarrassed at now being hen-pecked (literally in Japanese the expression, *shiri ni shikare* means, 'to be covered by a bottom'). This Evaluation stage stalls the action of the story, thereby building tension and increasing the mystery surrounding *S-kun's* changing behaviour.

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<sup>1</sup> the length of this paragraph is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.12.

Having built up the tension, the story moves into another Complication stage which returns to the narrative action again, through the use of verbal processes. It opens with a multiple interpersonal ^ ideational Theme consisting of the Comment Adjunct, *jissai no tokoro* (actually) and a participant Actor, *watashi* (I) in T-unit 85. The following Theme is the implicit Actor, *watashi*. Both T-units contain material actions which are mentally perceived. In other words, *watashi* is ‘doing’ a lot in his head which prompts him to engage in further verbal turn-taking with *S-kun*. The subsequent Themes are predictably either explicit or implicit participant Sayers and the rhematic locutions serve to unfold the conversation through which the reader learns that *S-kun* no longer seems to be aware of the dreams or his suggestion that his wife eats him. This stage concludes with two T-units, 93 and 94 containing a material and a mental process which break from the dialogue and through which we learn of the stand-off between *watashi* and *S-kun*. This marks the end of the Complication stage.

At this point the action stops again, and another Evaluation stage interrupts. The narrator, using an episodic clausal Theme, *ki ga tsuku to* (looking closely) in T-unit 96, indicates the disappearance of the scar on *S-kun*’s forehead. The Rheme contains a description of when *S-kun* injured himself years ago through the choice of the explicit demonstrative, *sore* (it) as a Carrier Theme.

Having used evaluation to establish substantial mystery surrounding the changes in *S-kun*, the narrative thus enters the Resolution stage. This stage opens with further evaluation in a new paragraph fronted by a single textual Theme consisting of the temporal connective, *soo ieba* (thinking this) and an implicit participant Sensor, *watashi* (I) in T-unit 97. *Watashi* senses that *S-kun*’s personality has changed and asks the crucial rhetorical question – ‘do people really change this much?’ in the Rheme of the following T-unit. This is set up through the episodic clausal Theme, *bijin no okusan o morau to* (when you score such a beautiful wife). This is followed by a conditional clausal Theme, *moshi soo naraba* (if that is the case) which sets the scene for the narrator arriving at the same conclusion as *S-kun*, that his wife is indeed a witch. This evaluation prompts the final verbal turn-taking action of the narrative. In T-unit 100, *watashi* as Sayer Theme suggests that *S-kun*’s wife is a witch. Consequently, in T-unit 101, *S-kun* as Theme turns to *watashi* and responds in a manner which suggests he is strangely unaware of any conversation or suggestion that his wife

is indeed a witch. He appears totally ignorant of all prior conversations on the matter.

The final T-unit in the story serves as a Coda. *S-kun*'s head is construed as a participant Actor Theme which enables the fact that it has re-grown to be located saliently in the Rheme. The suspicion is confirmed. S-kun has been eaten by his witchly wife and the narrative is now "sealed off" (Labov 1972:366). The short story is now complete – the point being that *S-kun* married a witch!

Stages		¶	T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Abstract	signaling what's to come	¶ 1	T-U 1		Part.:Identified – This	is an experience which happened to my close friend, S-kun.
			T-U 2		Circ. of place – Even within your circle	you may know someone like him.
= Orientation: introduction of main protagonists , setting up the relationship between them, setting the scene and sketching the kind of thing that is going on before the events of the narrative.	the relationship between S-kun and Watashi – classmates and work colleagues	¶ 2	T-U 3		Participant: Identified – S-kun and I,	passing through N-elementary and N-junior high school, were classmates of the same N-university. (S-kun and I), even though we progressed through the same high school and university, our classes and majors of course were different, but there was no difference in our schooling.
			T-U 4	x causative- <i>Soshite</i> And so	Episodic $\beta$ clause – when we graduated from university	both of us, appropriately became employees of the same company.
	setting up an expectation based on his knowledge of S-kun	¶ 3	T-U 5		x conditional $\beta$ clause – If you continue along the same path as this	even if you don't like it, you become close to each other.
			T-U 6		Part: Identified – S-kun's personality	was not of the kind that I like but,
			T-U 7		Circ. of matter – In relation to his way of thinking and his personality quirks,	I thought that I knew everything down to the finest detail.
	the wedding	¶ 4	T-U8		Part.:Actor – The S-kun (whom I knew)	got married 6 months ago.
	description of the new wife and Watashi's feelings of jealousy and foreboding.	¶ 5	T-U 9		Part.:Identified – His wife	was an exotic-faced beauty, to the extent that I was frightened (by it).
			T-U 10		[Implicit Part: Sensor] – I	(don't know) how S-kun managed to capture the heart of such a beautiful woman,
			T-U 11		Circ. of time – after the reception	I (felt) jealous -
			T-U 12		Part.:Carrier – that jealousy	intensified,
			T-U 13	+ additive <i>ippoo de wa</i> on the one hand	[Implicit Part: Sensor] – I	felt that this was like a warning against a future, bad event
			T-U 14	+ adversative <i>moo ippoo de wa</i> on the other hand	[Implicit Part: Sensor] – I	had this kind of complicated, deep feeling which was wanting something bad to happen.
	a correct hunch	¶ 6	T-U 15		Part.:Carrier – My hunch	to a certain extent, was spot on.
	x Change #1: mental action in relation to the first change in the legs, followed by narratorial evaluation.	¶ 7	T-U 16		Episodic $\beta$ clause – One month after getting married,	I noticed S-kun's subtle change.
		¶ 8	T-U 17		Part.: Identified – The change	first was apparent in his legs.
		¶ 9	T-U 18	= appositive <i>to itte mo,</i> By this I mean,	[Implicit Part: Identified] – it	doesn't mean that his legs became fatter or longer.
		¶ 10	T-U 19	= clarification <i>ima mo itta toori,</i> As I have said,	Part: Sensor – I	believed on the whole, that I knew S-kun's personality and habits but

			T-U 20		Circ. of place – within these	his like of taxis was one of his noticeable, conspicuous habits from years ago.	
			T-U 21		Part.: Identified – This	suddenly changed to liking to walk.	
¶11		T-U 22		x conditional β clause – Even at the time when he only had to go a short distance,	the S-kun who hailed taxis, even though he had to go 2 or 3 kms on a rainy day, (announced), “Well, I shall walk”, and strode off briskly.		
		T-U 23		[Implicit Part.: Sensor] –I	felt that compared with previously, even his stride had become terribly robust.		
	x Change #2: material action in relation to the second change in the arms, followed by narratorial evaluation.	¶12	T-U 24		Circ. of Time – At the time when I thought that this was strange,	the change continued and extended to S-kun's hands.	
		¶13	T-U 25		Part.: Sensor – I	while having been acquainted with S-kun for this long, had never seen him standing before the flames (of the stove) cooking.	
			T-U 26		x Conditional β clause – Even when camping,	he only watched others industriously preparing the meal.	
			T-U 27		Circ. of Place- At his bachelor pad, too	(I) went sometimes but it didn't mean I received a cup of instant coffee.	
			T-U 28		Circ. of Angle – With respect to cooking,	(S-kun) had absolutely no skill and couldn't even cook a fried egg satisfactorily	
		¶14	T-U 29	+ adversative <i>Sore ga</i> However,	Episodic β clause – When I would visit the matrimonial home	S-kun would usurp his wife's role and dive into the kitchen and make gorgeous hors d'oeuvres and bring them to the dining room.	
			T-U 30		Circ. of time – Since this miraculous transformation	truly, I have been speechless.	
		x Change #3: material action in relation to other changes in <i>S-kun</i> .	¶15	T-U 31		Episodic β clause – When I looked carefully,	S-kun's change occurred in other areas as well.
	T-U 32				Part: Carrier – A man who doesn't keep his hands off digestive medicines	suddenly changes into a heavy eater and likes to eat oily, energy laden foods like liver offal and eel.	
	¶16		T-U 33		Idea – (like) being highly sexed in bed at night,	I imagine dirty thoughts like (that).	
	+ Complication : S-kun admits change through verbal action processes	<i>S-kun</i> and <i>Watashi</i> engage in dialogue (verbal narrative action) in which <i>S-kun</i> admits to changes suggesting his wife is a witch.	¶17	T-U 34		Circ. of Matter – In relation to this change	(it) is natural too, that I would be inclined to ask S-kun (about it).
			¶18	T-U 35		Circ. of Place – (at) lunch time at work,	(I) said to S-kun who by chance happened to sit next to me
				T-U 36		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – I	(said), “You seem to have become a different person these days, don't you think?”
				T-U 37		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “Yeah, clearly you can tell.”
¶19			T-U 38		Part.: Actor – S-kun	smiling a little oddly, gazed back at me.	
			T-U 39		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – I	(said), “Yeah, I can tell. Maybe when one has a beautiful wife, it is possible to transform to such an extent.”	

<p><b>Complication : S-kun explains the changes are the result of dreams through verbal action processes</b></p> <p>S-kun and Watashi engage in dialogue (verbal narrative action) in which S-kun explains the changes happen at night during dreams.</p>	¶20	T-U 40		Part.: Sayer - I	said (this) half-jokingly, but
		T-U 41		Part: Actor – S-kun	pulling a face, murmured <<unable to help himself>>, “My beautiful wife!”
	¶21	T-U 42		[Implicit Part.: Actor] – He	is satisfied by a beautiful wife but, (he) appears like something is wrong.
		T-U 43		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – I	(asked), “What’s happened?”
	¶22	T-U 44		Part.: Sayer – S-kun	said one word. “She might be a witch.”
	¶23	T-U 45		Part.: Sensor – I	doubted my ears for a moment.
		T-U 46		Part.: Carrier – The word ‘witch’,	if in the movies or on TV, (is OK) but, (it) isn’t an appropriate word in the day to day life of a salary-man.
		T-U 47		[Implicit Part: Sayer]-I	(said) , “Witch?”
	¶24	T-U 48		Part.: Sensor – I	thought to laugh but,
		T-U 49		Part.: Carrier – S-kun	had a very serious expression.
		T-U 50		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “I don’t know. Something is wrong.”
		T-U 51		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “With your wife? What is it?”
		T-U 52		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “Well, since getting married...I’ve had strange, yeah, strange dreams.”
		T-U 53		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “What kind of dreams?”
		T-U 54		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “The first one was about my legs.”
		T-U 55		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “Your legs?”
		T-U 56		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “Yeah, When I go to sleep, my wife comes up beside me, and suddenly starts to eat my leg. Raw! She has this chiseled, meat-eating-race-like expression on her face. Her eyes sparkle and she feasts, crunching on my leg.”
		T-U 57		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “And then?”
		T-U 58		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “Well, not having a leg is a problem, right? So I tell her and she calmly says, ‘A better one will grown by tomorrow’”.
		T-U 59		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “Indeed!”
		T-U 60		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “I recall, after she ate it, when I looked at the wound, out of it appeared a shoot and it became a magnificent new leg by the following morning.”
		T-U 61		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), “You don’t need to worry. It is only a dream.”
		T-U 62		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), “Yeah, but I know I just said it was a dream, and I know you can’t imagine it to be something more, but in my mind there remains a clear memory of her actually eating my leg during the night.”



= Evaluation: the narrator explains away S-kun's version of events		T-U 63		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), "Blimey!"
		T-U 64		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "Others would say that, too. But really, it wasn't a dream. As proof, 2 or 3 days later, my hand was eaten."
		T-U 65		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(asked), "Again, by the following morning, had a new one grown?"
		T-U 66		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "Yep. When she licked the opening of the wound, afterwards, a new hand grew."
		T-U 67		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(asked), "Have you spoken to your wife, about these...strange events?"
		T-U 68		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "Yes, I have. She too said how strange it was, laughingly. But she seemed to know something. She seemed to know that my legs strengthening and the fact that I became able to cook were as a result of the dream. I used to like to take taxis. But these days, without wanting them to, my legs walk. And, as for cooking, when I take notice, my hands are automatically chopping cabbage etc."
		T-U 69		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – I	(said), "It's all in your mind. Is your iron stomach a result of the dreams as well?"
		T-U 70		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "Yes, that's right. In fact, in the middle of the night, she came up beside me and said, 'that stomach's not very good.' And then, she ate it greedily. And my quitting cigarettes, too, well, she ate my throat the following morning. the smoke chokes me and won't go down my windpipe. My body is being eaten by my wife, and bit by bit I'm turning into someone else.
		¶25 T-U71		Part.: Actor – I	looked closely at S-kun's face. "You're tired, you know Because your living environment has changed.
		T-U 72		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "Maybe so, but...."
	¶26	T-U 73		Part.: Actor - S-kun	shaking his head in his own disbelief, left.
	¶27	T-U 74		Circ. of time – From the start	I didn't believe his story at all.
		T-U 75		Part.: Carrier –S-kun's dreaming	may have been real, and
		T-U 76		Part.: Existant – dreaming repeatedly similar dreams, too	happens occasionally.
	¶28	T-U 77		Part.: Identified – Not taking taxis	is because since getting married, his pocket money has reduced.

		T-U 78		Conditional $\beta$ clause – If you score such a beautiful wife,	the husband probably has to work as a form of service in the kitchen.
		T-U 79		Conditional $\beta$ clause – If your lifestyle becomes strict	your stomach becomes tough, and
		T-U 80		Part.: Carrier – examples of marrying and opportunistically not smoking	aren't uncommon.
		¶29 T-U 81		Part.: Carrier – S-kun	himself, being married, under the thumb of his new wife and suddenly changed, is embarrassed and
		T-U 82	x causative <i>sore de</i> therefore	[Implicit Part.: Identified]- that	is probably the reason why he made up this stupid story.
		T-U 83		Part.: Sensor – I	at the time, thought this, and
		T-U 84		Circ. of Time – even now,	can't disregard these thoughts.
x Complication : S-kun denies any changes through verbal action processes.	S-kun and Watashi engage in dialogue (verbal narrative action) in which S-kun denies any knowledge of the dream activity and both characters are shocked.	¶30 T-U 85	Comment Adjunct – <i>jissai no tokoro</i> Actually,	Part.: Actor – I	didn't stop S-kun's story of that day from deeply touching my heart.
		T-U 86		[Implicit Part.: Actor] – I	should have half forgotten it.
		¶31 T-U 87		Part.: Identified – Thinking about it again	occurred at the time when S-kun and I were eating lunch together some days later.
		T-U 88		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – I	(said), "You know your recent story about your dreams? Well, after that, what happened? Are you still having them?"
		¶32 T-U 89		Part.: Actor – S-kun	looked at me with a strange face. "What kind of dream?"
		T-U 90		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – I	(said), "You know, the dream of your wife eating you."
		¶33 T-U 91		Part. Carrier – S-kun's expression	became more and more odd.
		T-U 92		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – S-kun	(said), "I don't follow. What dream?"
		¶34 T-U 93		Circ. of time – This time	I had to look at S-kun in total shock.
		¶35 T-U 94		Part.: Sensor – Both of us	unable to believe each other, faced each other blankly.
= Evaluation: description of S-kun's scar		¶36 T-U 95		episodic $\beta$ clause – Looking closely	on S-kun's forehead, there wasn't the clearly visible scar from years ago.
		T-U 96		Part.: Carrier – It	was, I recall, from when he fell from the monkey bars when he was an elementary school student.
x Resolution: the issue of S-kun's strange behaviour is resolved	Watashi's realization: no scar, strange behaviour etc suggest the wife really is a	¶37 T-U 97	x temporal – <i>soo ie ba</i> Thinking this,	[Implicit part.: Sensor] – I	couldn't help feeling that S-kun's personality too had suddenly changed of late.
		¶38 T-U 98		episodic $\beta$ clause – When you score such a beautiful wife	do people really change this much?
		T-U 99		conditional $\beta$ clause – If that is the case,	a wife's talents clearly are no different to that of witchcraft.

= Coda	hunch confirmed	¶39	T-U 100	Part.: Sensor – I	thought this and so said. "Indeed....perhaps she IS a witch."
		¶39	T-U 101	Part.: Sayer – S-kun	once again, turned his head strangely and (said), "Witch? What is that all about?"
		¶40	T-U 102	Part.: Actor – S-kun's head too	seemed to have completely re-grown...

Table 8.1

Themes in the T-units of the narrative, *Taberareta Otoko*

### 8.1.3 The Method of Development

The Themes within *Taberareta Otoko* organise into a consistent method of development. The main protagonists, *S-kun* and *watashi* are introduced initially in the Rheme of T-unit 1. *S-kun* is introduced directly by name, but *watashi* is introduced less directly through the deictic in the nominal group, *watashi no shitashii yuujin*, *S-kun* (my close friend, *S-kun*). Both protagonists are then picked up as Theme in subsequent T-units.

Stage	¶	T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Abstract	¶ 1	T-U 1		This	is an experience which happened to <b>my</b> close friend, <b>S-kun</b>

Typically, within the story, participants other than the protagonists are also introduced via the Rheme, for example, *watashi's* 'hunch', the 'changes' and the fact that the wife was a 'witch'. These each are first mentioned in a previous Rheme and form a pattern of linear thematic TP which are respectively presented below.

Orientation	¶ 5	T-U 14	+ adversative <i>moo ippoo de wa</i> on the other hand	[Implicit Part: Sensor] – I	had this kind of complicated, deep feeling which was wanting <b>something bad to happen.</b>
	¶ 6	T-U 15		Part.:Carrier – <b>My hunch</b>	to a certain extent, was spot on.

Orientation	¶ 7	T-U 16		episodic β clause – one month after getting married,	I noticed <i>S-kun's</i> subtle <b>change.</b>
	¶ 8	T-U 17		Part. Identified – <b>The change</b>	first was apparent in his legs.

Complication	¶22	T-U 45		Part.: Sayer – S-kun	said one word. “She might be <b>a witch.</b> ”
	¶23	T-U 46		Part.: Sensor – I	doubted my ears for a moment.
		T-U 47		Part.: Carrier – The word <b>‘witch’,</b>	if in the movies or on TV, (is OK) but, (it) isn’t an appropriate word in the day to day life of a salary-man.

Once all of the protagonists are introduced through a linear TP pattern, the method of development of this story is based around the protagonists as participant Themes and their verbal action sequences of the narrative. However, there is a significant amount of scene-setting work being done by circumstantial Themes and episodic beta clauses coupled with clausal Themes of conditionality which set up the evaluations of the narrator. This scene-setting work is clearly delimited by the stages of the text. Consider the breakdown of Theme according to generic stage in Table 8.2 below. The scene setting work occurs in the Abstract, Orientation, Evaluation and Resolution stages where circumstances and clausal Themes function to give background information. They appear more frequently in these stages than in the Complication stages. This is evident from the ratio of participant: circumstance/clause. In the stages where the scene setting work is operating, the ratio is close to being balanced. In other words, the number of participant Themes compared to circumstantial/clausal Themes is about the same (1:1, 8:7, 8:5 and 3:2 respectively). However, in the Complication stage, which is reserved for the action of the narrative, participant Themes dominate. The ratio is 16:1 – a significantly imbalanced preference for participants over circumstances and clausal Themes.

Stages	T-units	Participants	-Circumstance -episodic $\beta$ clauses -conditional $\beta$ clauses	ratio – part: circ/clause
Abstract	2	1	1	1:1
Orientation:	30	16	14	8:7
Complication	51	48	3	16:1
Evaluation	13	8	5	8:5
Resolution	5	3	2	3:2
Coda	1	1	0	1:0

Table 8.2  
participant and circumstantial/clausal Themes according to generic stage in  
*Taberareta Otoki*

Another significant feature of the method of development is the role which the character, *watashi* plays in the narrative. As suggested, this a narrative of personal experience, and so, the narrator plays two roles. The narrator, *watashi*, acts in the verbal action sequences of the Complication stage as a character in the narrative, but also he evaluates in the other stages of the text. He evaluates by telling us what he thinks, how he feels, what he notices and so on. These are not actions of the story, but rather evaluations of the story in which he acts. Thus, the narrative is developed around *watashi* as narrator and *watashi* as a character in the story. Table 8.3 illustrates the movement of *watashi* as narrator Theme to *watashi* as character Theme within the story. *Watashi* tends to ‘act’ mentally either as a Sensor or Actor participant Theme when functioning in the role of narrator, and tends to ‘act’ by saying as a Sayer participant Theme when functioning as character and contributing to the action sequences. *Watashi* as narrator is most evident in the Orientation stage where he functions as Sensor in six of the nineteen T-units. In the Complication stages, *watashi* as character is most evident where he functions as Sayer, Actor or Sensor Theme in twenty of the fifty one T-units.

	Part. role	Abstract	Orientation	Complication Parts 1 + Part 2	Evaluation Parts 1 + Part 2	Resolution	Coda
as narrator	Sensor	-	6	1	1	1	-
	Actor	-	-	2	-	-	-
as character	Sayer	-	-	18	-	1	-
	Actor	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Sensor	-	-	1	-	-	-

Table 8.3  
*watashi* as Narrator and as character in *Taberareta Otoko*.

A final feature of the method of development of *Taberareta Otoko* is the choice of participant Theme related to the distribution of the process types across the stages. Refer to Table 8.4 below. When background information is supplied in the Orientation stage, it is realised through the choice of material, mental and relational processes. This is further complemented by the scene setting work of circumstantial and clausal Themes. When the narrative moves into the action sequences of the Complication stages, the verbal process is selected as it is the ‘sayings’ in the story which constitute the action sequences (32 verbal processes

in total). When descriptive information is required to state the narrator's opinion in relation to the action of the narrative thus building towards the 'point' of the story, relational processes are selected which are again complemented by the scene setting work of circumstantial and clausal Themes. This is also presented in Table 8.4 below. When the narrative reaches the climactic event in the Resolution stage, the action is realised through verbal, material and mental processes, which in a sense, conflates the opinions of the narrator and the outcome of the story in the one stage.

		Abstract	Orientation	Complication Part 1 + Part 2	Evaluation Part 1 + Part 2	Resolution	Coda
Process type							
material			1	8		1	1
mental			6	3	1	1	
verbal				32		1	
relational							
	ascriptive		3	3	4		
	identifying	1	6	2	2		
	existential				1		
Other							
	Circumstance	1	7	3	2		
	episodic clause		4		1	1	
	conditional clause		3		2	1	
	other		1				

Table 8.4  
Distribution of the process types across the stages in *Taberareta Otoko*

In summary, the method of development of *Taberareta Otoko* is based around the protagonists as participant Themes and their verbal action. However, given the fact that this story is a narrative of personal experience, the narrator participates both to provide background information in relation to the action sequences of the story, and to act in the action sequences themselves. Thus, *watashi* serves two roles, that of narrator and that of character. This duality of role is evident in the staging and method of development of the story.

#### 8.1.4 Logical Relations

The logical relations in *Taberareta Otoko* are both covert and overt, however the covert links are the most common.

The stages of *Taberareta Otoko* relate to each other by means of temporal enhancement (x). This relation is implied by the order of events in the story

similar to the manner in which it occurs in the nursery tales. One event leads onto the next, which leads onto the next and so on. Further, the temporal ordering which occurs in the Complication stage, is also implied by the order of the verbal locutions. There is no need to explicitly state the temporal ordering as the order itself reveals a fixity of sequence which is vital to the unfolding of the story. These locutions form the narrative clauses of the text as defined by Labov. They are characterized by a temporal sequence, that is, “their order cannot be changed without changing the inferred sequence of events in the original semantic interpretation” (Labov and Waletzky 1967:21).

The less frequent kind of logical links within the narrative are the explicit links between the T-units in the course of the development of the paragraphing within each stage. These explicit links are connective textual Themes and are more varied in type than in the other texts analysed thus far. The logical links resulting from the textual Themes are extending, elaborating and enhancing in type.

The extending textual Themes occur in the Orientation stage at T-units 13 and 14, when the narrator is signaling that the changes in *S-kun* are explained by one of two possibilities. This explanation is achieved through the choice of the additive connective, *ippoo de wa* (on the one hand), and the adversative pair in the set, *moo ippoo de wa* (on the other hand). The elaborating textual Themes also occur in the Orientation stage at T-units 18 and 19 when the narrator is attempting to explain what he means in relation to the kinds of changes *S-kun* is experiencing. This is achieved through the selection of appositive, *to itte mo* (by this [I] mean) and clarifying, *ima mo itta toori* (as I have said) connectives. The enhancing textual Themes occur both in the Orientation, Evaluation and Resolution stages. Two of the three are temporal, while the third example is causative in type. The temporal ones explicitly signal a consecutive time sequence in T-units 4 and 97, while one causative Theme in T-unit 82 explicitly states the cause and effect relationship between marriage and behavioural changes.

### 8.1.5 Given and New Distribution

In Section 8.1.3, it was explained that the characters in the story are first introduced initially in the Rheme and are picked up as Theme in following or

subsequent T-units. Also, information in some of the episodic beta clausal Themes, some of the conditional clausal Themes and some circumstances derives from previous Rhemes in a similar manner. Consider T-units 4, 5 and 95. The information status of these Themes is that of Given. Other clausal Themes and circumstances appear thematically. However, they are not derived from previous Rhemes, but rather are New in terms of information status. Consider T-units 7, 22, 26, 27, 28 etc.

The patterning of Given participant Themes is expected as the method of development of the narrative revolves around the main protagonists and the mental musings of the narrator. It is therefore predictable that, when protagonists are construed as Theme, we, the readers know who the characters are, what role they play in the tale and who the narrator is. The locutions of the two main characters are thus introduced as New, salient and newsworthy information in the Rhemes of these T-units. Further, most of the participant Sayer Themes are implicit because the turn-taking sequencing implies that each speaker takes consecutive turns in the exchange and thus, the Sayer Theme is elided.

When circumstantial and clausal Themes which are assigned New status are selected, the effect is to orient the reader to the scene where the participants and their actions unfold. This arrangement of Given/participant Theme and New/circumstantial Theme is typical throughout the story.

#### **8.1.6 Summary**

The analysis of *Taberareta Otoko* has demonstrated the following linguistic features of the text. As the narrative is about the actions of the two protagonists, *watashi* and *S-kun*, the dominant thematic choice is that of participant Theme (75%). The actions of the narrative are located in the newsworthy Rheme. The method of development is built around the two protagonists however, scene-setting work is being done by the episodic clauses and circumstantial Themes of both time and place. This scene-setting division of labour is found in the Abstract, Orientation and Evaluation stages, while the Complication stage is reserved for the verbal action sequences of the narrative, selecting only participant Sayer Themes.



Due to the fact that this is a narrative of personal experience, the reader is presented with *watashi* as both narrator and character. *Watashi* as narrator appears in the Orientation, Evaluation and Resolution stages, while *watashi* as character features in the Complication stages.

The number of paragraphs within each of the stages lessens as the narrative unfolds. The Orientation stage has the most paragraphs (15 in total) which sets up the background to the events in the Complication stage. These stages also display a reduction in paragraph numbers moving from seven paragraphs in Part 1 to two paragraphs in Part 2. This reduction serves to build tension as the story moves towards a climax. Another method for building the tension within the story relates to the interruption of the flow of events by the intervening Evaluation stages.

The logical relations within the story are realised through textual Themes of extension, enhancement and elaboration. These mostly occur in the Orientation stage and are due to the work the narrator needs to do to link the events and his description to explain the point of the story. The focusing of the reader on the point of the story is achieved through the causal logical link in the Evaluation stage in T-unit 82.

In conclusion, the overall choice of Themes and the method of development arising out of these choices serve to realise the function of each of the stages of the narrative, *Taberareta Otoko*. Collectively, the stages work together to construe the narrative. The text is staged in a manner similar to that suggested by the literature, with clear evaluative stages through which the narrator can signal the point of the story.

The point of the story is to address the notion of loss, in this case, loss of identity and loss of friendship. What is interesting to note in the portrayal of this loss is that the story does not resolve the loss or suggest ways of dealing or facing up to it. This is in contrast with the social purpose of the narrative as suggested by Rothery (Disadvantaged Schools Program 1994:86) in western culture. Thus, it seems that the purpose of the narrative in Japanese culture may not be to call one to action in relation to adversity, but rather to note and acknowledge that adversity exists. This resonates with Tosu's work (1985) on folktales which appear also to function to draw childrens' attention to adversity rather than to act on or to resolve adverse situations. Maynard further points out

that “Japanese narratives, in general, concern themselves with the social order..” (Maynard 1998:77).

## 8.2 The Analysis of *Noruei no Mori* (The Norwegian Wood)

*Noruei no Mori* (The Norwegian Wood) is a novel written by Murakami Haruki, a contemporary, young Japanese author whose novels have attracted a wide following both domestically and internationally since he first began publishing. *Noruei no Mori* was published in 1987 and has since had fourteen reprints. It is the “universal story of love, loss, and finding one’s place in the world” (Complete-Review 2000:8).

The language of the novel is simple and poignant. A critical review describes Murakami’s descriptions as touching, revealing the sensitive, observant writer in Murakami.

The relatively simple story is told in a deceptively simple and straight forward manner. There is a lot of care and art behind what Murakami has done. The novel is affecting and clever. It is touching without getting too caught up in the sentiment. Murakami even manages to use the Beatles song of the title without getting too unbearably soppy (Complete-Review 2000:8).

The lyrics of the Beatles’ song, Norwegian Wood summarise a lot of the feeling in the novel. The opening line, “I once had a girl or should I say she once had me” (Beatles 1965) reflects the complicated attachment the main character, *Watanabe* has for his love, *Naoko*. He loved her but she didn’t love him – she had him; he didn’t have her. Despite his devotion, *Naoko* eventually suicides. This resonates in the last stanza of the song, “.... this bird had flown, So I lit a fire, isn’t it good? Norwegian Wood” (Beatles 1965). My interpretation of the fire is that it serves as a metaphor of his pledge not to forget her, which he makes when he is unaware of her intended suicide. The fuel for the fire is his memory of *Naoko*; she is now the Norwegian Wood. *Watanabe* pledges never to forget her. Once she knows she won’t be forgotten, it is easier for her to let go and suicide. The song is her favourite, its lyrics somehow speak to the point of the novel and the song echoes throughout the novel, “the melancholy tune and sentiment imbuing the work”(Complete-Review 2000:4). Murakami has used the song and woven it into his novel of love, loss and pledges.

The story is constructed as a personal experience narrative in which the protagonist, *Watanabe* retraces his life at university. During this period he falls in love with a girl called *Naoko* who suffers, possibly, from depression. Initially they were friends of a mutual friend, *Kizuki* who unexpectedly commits suicide. Following his death, they lose contact until meeting up accidentally in Tokyo. Their relationship develops slowly but comes to an abrupt end after they sleep together one evening. *Naoko* was then hospitalised and their contact is reduced to two visits to her sanatorium and correspondence. During this period, he starts up another relationship with a much stronger, assertive girl called *Midori*. Essentially, the story deals with the dilemma of long distance love and a pledge of fidelity with *Naoko*, and the temptation of immediate love with *Midori*.

In the end *Naoko* is unable to overcome her problems and suicides in the woods near her hospital. Her death traumatises *Watanabe* who leaves his student life to embark on a journey of bereavement as a vagrant in the countryside. Upon his return to Tokyo, he meets up with *Naoko*'s close roommate in the sanatorium, *Reiko*. Together they farewell *Naoko* with an evening of drinking, singing her favourite songs – including the Beatles' Norwegian Wood, and love making. *Watanabe* then returns his attention to *Midori* and resolves to love her. He decides to invest his future in her. The story ends with a phone call to *Midori* with him wanting to see her and explain his absence.

The story opens with *Watanabe* hearing Norwegian Wood while disembarking at Hamburg Airport eighteen years after *Naoko*'s death. He is transported by the music back to one of his visits to *Naoko* in hospital in which he pledged that he would never forget her. It dawns on him then that she knew all along that she would kill herself. She just wanted to know that she would not be forgotten. But while listening to Norwegian Wood, *Watanabe* is deeply disturbed as he realises his memory of her is fading and he is forgetting her. The pain of this realisation is compounded by the realisation that *Naoko* didn't really love him. She just didn't want to be forgotten. He challenges himself to work out why her memory is fading and why the scene in which he made his pledge to her remains crisp and clear in his mind. He thus explains that the purpose of writing the novel is to help him understand what happened so many years ago.

### 8.2.1 The Generic Stages

The section of the novel which is used in the corpus of this study is the first three sections of the five sections which make up Chapter One<sup>2</sup>. Chapter One functions as the Abstract for the entire novel which is diagrammed below in Figure 8.5. It is a summary of what is to come and entices the reader to read on – it is a kind of advertisement for the rest of the novel, “abstracts are often advertisements or trailers for stories” (Toolan 1988:154). Chapter One tells the reader 1) about the trigger of hearing Norwegian Wood which launches *Watanabe* into the personal experience narrative; 2) about *Watanabe* and *Naoko*; 3) about their connection 18 years ago, 4) about his promise, and 5) about his memory loss. However, it doesn’t tell the reader about what happens. The reader is left with an information gap, which the narrator seems to know about, and which *Naoko* knew about those 18 years ago, but which the reader does not. The reader is enticed to read on to learn the secret of *Naoko*.

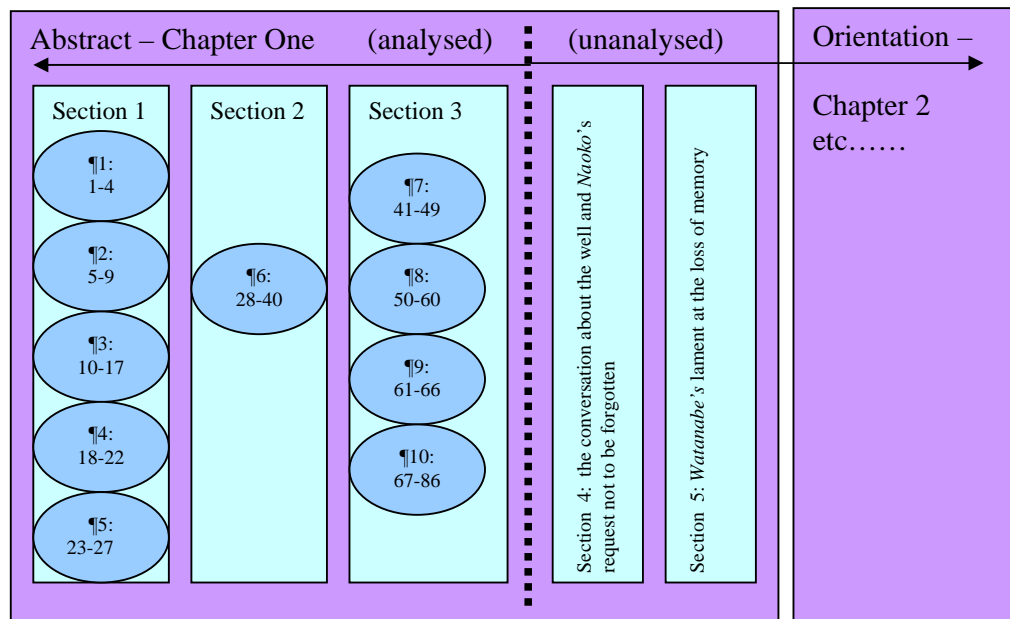


Figure. 8.5  
The Abstract stage of *Noruwei no Mori*

<sup>2</sup> The fourth and fifth sections of Chapter One are not included in the analysis as both Sections 4 and 5 are similar to the respective Complication and Evaluation stages which are analysed in detail above.

In a manner similar to that found in *Momotaroo*, these first three sections of Chapter One of *Noruwei no Mori* form part of a narrative in their own right – a synopsis of the critical events of the story which serves to present the point of the forthcoming story. The narrative within the Abstract is staged and this is illustrated below in Figure 8.6.

The Orientation stage (paragraph 1) opens with the narrator/main character, *Watanabe*. The reader learns his age and his location – in an airplane landing at Hamburg Airport. This scene, in the recent past, is where the first Complication stage begins (paragraphs 2 & 3). *Watanabe* is listening to Norwegian Wood and is transported back into his past. It presents a sequence of events which culminate in *Watanabe* having a mild panic attack. This provokes his long held memories of the grassland scene 18 years ago.

Paragraph 4 serves to provide background to this grassland scene by providing information on *Watanabe's* age, the year, 1969, and how he felt about the surroundings. This is like another Orientation stage, but in this case, of a more distant time, a time 18 years ago.

A further Complication stage follows in paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 which begins with the stewardess, in the recent past, reassuring him after he recovers from his panic attack, and farewelling him off the plane. Section One in the chapter concludes at the end of paragraph 5. This break serves to separate the action from the material action in the plane in paragraph 5 to mental action in *Watanabe's* mind in paragraph 6 and 7. The panic attack precipitates *Watanabe's* recollection of the grassland scene. This is a detailed, mental description of the natural scene – of the wind, the clouds, the trees, the sounds, but not of the people. The paragraph closes with his recollection of *Naoko's* conversation about the well. This is the sole paragraph of Section Two of the chapter.

Paragraph 7 begins Section Three. The section break serves to separate, in this case, not the action, but the time periods between the recent past in paragraph 6 and the distant past in Paragraph 7. This paragraph presents *Watanabe's* recollection of the scene during that distant period 18 years ago. The paragraph opens with a evaluative statement about memory being a strange thing. This is then elaborated on through a contrastive description of the

grassland scene, this time as *Watanabe* remembered it 18 years ago. This description contains no recollections of the natural scene, but rather only recollections of himself, Naoko and his preoccupation with his love.

Paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 function as a substantial Evaluation stage. The time has now shifted back to the present and involves his recent recollections of the distant past and his subsequent bewilderment. The contrast between his more recent memory without people and the previous memory with people is highlighted by and harks back to the opening evaluative statement in paragraph 7 - that 'memory is a strange thing'.

In Paragraph 9, *Watanabe* retells the process of recalling a fading memory as he experiences it now. Using habitual tense<sup>3</sup>, the reader learns how he recalls *Naoko's* face and then in Paragraph 10 we learn how, as time goes by, it will become increasingly difficult to recall it at all. The people-less October grassland scene persists in his mind. Paragraph 10 concludes with him explaining that the reason for the story that follows is because he can only understand what happened those years ago by writing it down. Here the reader learns that the whole point of writing the novel is so that the author can work something out for himself.

The final two sections of Chapter One, which are not analysed, serve to provide a further Complication stage in Section Four – in this case, a verbal action sequence of *Watanabe* and *Naoko* having the conversation about the well in the distant past, and in Section Five, further Evaluation which deals with the loss of memory and the reason why *Naoko* asked *Watanabe* never to forget her. By the end of Chapter One, the reader knows there is a mystery to solve and is tempted by the information gaps in the first chapter to read on. In this manner, Chapter One serves as the Abstract of the novel, that is, the trailer for the story to come. The novel subsequently continues for another 10 chapters.

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<sup>3</sup> habitual tense in Japanese is realised through the choice of non-past form of the Japanese verbal group (Maynard 1990:37)

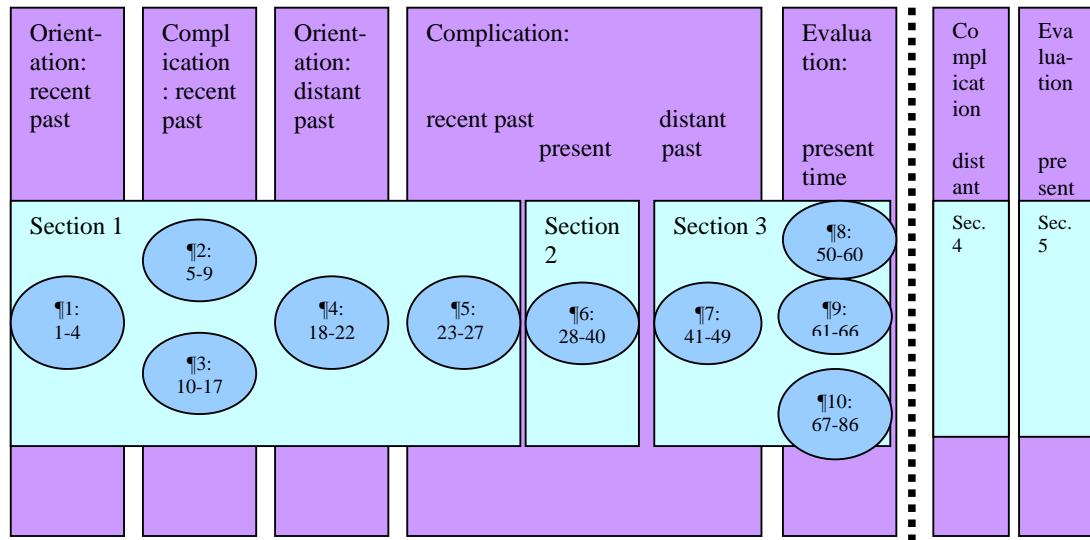


Figure 8.6  
The stages of the narrative within the Abstract of *Noruwei no Mori*

### 8.2.2 Realising the Functions of the Stages

The following section will describe how the choice of Theme serves to realise the function of each of the stages of the first three sections of Chapter One in *Noruwei no Mori*. Refer to Table 8.7 below.

The most significant feature of the thematic choices in this text is the foregrounding of time. The text moves between three time periods: distant past, recent past and present. To make the shift between time periods, temporal circumstantial Themes and episodic enhancing beta clauses are utilised. Yet, the novel is about *Watanabe*, and so, it is to be expected that a significant number of Themes will be participant Themes of the main protagonist, *Watanabe*.

The first stage, the Orientation, which provides background information on the recent past in the airplane at Hamburg Airport, consists of four T-units. The first three set the scene through the choice of three participant Actor Themes, *watashi* (I), *sono kyodai na hikooki wa* (the gigantic plane) and *juuichi-gatsu no hiyayaka no ame ga* (the cold November rain). The actions of each Theme, which are located in the Rheme, serve to paint a picture of the time and place in which the actions of the recent past unfold.

The first sequence of events, in recent time, opens with an episodic clausal Theme, *hikooki ga chakuchi o kanryoo suru to* (when the plane completed its landing) which locates the action of *Watanabe's* hearing of the

song, and his physiological reaction to it in T-unit 5-9. The Theme in T-unit 6, *sore* (it) picks up the song, mentioned in the previous Rheme, thereby identifying it as Norwegian Wood. The melody functions as Actor Theme in the subsequent T-unit. The melody disturbs *Watanabe* and causes unease which we learn about in T-unit 9. T-unit 10 opens with the participant Actor Theme, *watashi*. The reader learns of *Watanabe*'s attempts to recover from his physical reaction to the music in the Rheme. T-unit 11 begins with a temporal circumstantial Theme, *yagate* (presently), thereby giving the impression of time passing, before the stewardess returns to enquire after his condition. The rest of the paragraph presents the unfolding of the dialogue between *Watanabe* and the stewardess with both locutions and participant Sayers and Actors as Theme. This Complication stage concludes with a T-unit in which *Watanabe*, as participant Actor Theme, lifts his head, looks at the sky and is enveloped by thoughts.

The second Orientation stage, the stage which gives background information of the October grassland scene in the distant past, sets the scene for introducing the distant past, through the use of circumstances in the recent past. T-unit 19 opens with another episodic clause, *hitobito ga shiitoberuto o hazushi, monoiri no naka kara baggu yara uwagi yara o toridashihajimeru made* (by the time the passengers were undoing their seat belts and beginning to take their bags and coats out of the overhead lockers). This Theme sets the scene for *Watanabe*'s transportation back in time to describe what he felt and sensed, how old he was and when it was. Each piece of new information is located rhematically having been set up by Actor and Identified participant Themes in T-units 20–22.

Having oriented the reader to the October grassland scene, paragraph 5 moves forward to the more recent past and presents further complicating actions. The reader is presented with verbal action sequences between *Watanabe* and the stewardess. The stewardess features as Actor and Sayer participant Theme, while *Watanabe* as Sayer features as Rheme, with his locutions foregrounded as Theme.

Once this verbal action sequence concludes, the Complication stage moves forward in present time presenting mental action processes of recollection. Here, the section break functions to break up the time periods from recent past to present time. This is immediately signaled by a circumstance of Time as Theme,



*Juuhachinen to iu saigetsu ga sugisatte shimatta ima de mo* (even now 18 years later) at the beginning of paragraph 6. In T-units 29-39, this is followed by Actor and Carrier participant Themes which set up the actions of the natural forces of nature such as the wind, the clouds and the oak leaves. This locates his description of the scene in the salient position of Rheme. The paragraph concludes with another episodic clausal Theme, *arukinagara* (while walking) which locates the conversation about the well in the Rheme.

The final paragraph in the Complication stage is set in distant time. This is signaled both through a section break, but also through another temporal circumstantial Theme, *sono naka ni jissi ni mi o oite ita toki* (within [my memory] at the time that I was actually in the grasslands) in the second T-unit of the paragraph. The remaining T-units of the paragraph, T-units 43-49 select *watashi* and abstractions such as *koi* (love) and *yoyuu* (space or room) as participant Sensor and Actor Themes thereby enabling his thoughts and actions to be located in the Rheme. The reader learns that his recollections in the past featured people, thoughts and feelings rather than just visual recollections of the scenery.

The Evaluation stage consists of three paragraphs. The first one, paragraph 8 sets up a contrast with the previous paragraph through a multiple Theme consisting of the adversative textual Theme, *de mo* (but) and another temporal circumstantial Theme, *ima de wa* (now). This multiple Theme locates *Watanabe's* recollection of the present time. The paragraph is divided into a description of the scenery with participant Actor and Carrier Themes in T-units 51 and 52, which are then contrasted through another multiple Theme consisting of an adversative textual Theme, *shikashi* (but) and circumstantial Theme of Location. The subsequent Themes are Existent participant Themes (T-units 54-56) which enable the absence of people in the scene to be located saliently in the Rheme. T-unit 58 supplies rhetorical questions posed by *Watanabe* in the Rheme which are set up by *watashi* as Sensor Theme. The paragraph concludes with a reiteration that the scene, remembered in present time, is devoid of people.

Paragraph 9 continues with further evaluation, in the sense, that *Watanabe* runs through the mental process of recalling Naoko. This opens in T-unit 61 with a multiple Theme consisting of a comment adjunct, *mochiron* (of course) and a conditional beta clause of ideational Theme, *jikan sae kakereba*

(provided [I] have the time). This process is presented as habitual action, that is, the process which he must undergo in order to recall her face. T-unit 62 opens with a very long episodic beta clause detailing the process of gathering together his recollection of her features. T-unit 63 selects a multiple Theme consisting of a textual temporal Theme, *mazu* (first) and *yokogao ga* (the profile) as participant Actor Theme. This enables the fact that her profile appears first followed by a front-on image, to be located rhematically.

Having stated the process of recollection, paragraph 10 addresses the sad fact that it now takes longer and longer to recall *Naoko's* face. This is achieved through a multiple Theme consisting of an adversative textual element, *de mo* (but) and a circumstance of Time, *sonna huu ni boku no atama no naka ni Naoko no kao ga ukande kuru made ni wa* (by the time that her face has come to mind in this manner). The T-units in this paragraph are a mixture of multiple Themes both interpersonal and textual, coupled with ideational circumstantial and participant Themes. The paragraph is heavily evaluative presenting rhematic descriptions of his memory loss, the repetition of the vacant October grassland scene and prediction that that scene, too, will fade with time. Having painted this picture of fading memories, the paragraph and the Section concludes with a textual causative Theme, *dakara koso* (therefore). This signals that a cause and effect relationship is about to be set up between the loss of memory and the purpose for writing the narrative. *Watanabe's* reason for writing is because he does not want to forget any more detail. Through the selection of participant Themes in T-units 85 and 86, the justification for writing the novel is located within the Rheme, and is thus represented as salient and newsworthy.

Stages	Se c	¶	T-unit	textual Theme	Ideational Theme	T-unit Rheme
Orientation of the scene in the recent past; introduction of the narrator, <i>watanabe</i> – his age, location and a description of the scene	Section One	¶ 1	T-U 1		Participant: Actor – I	was 37 years old and sitting in a Boeing 747 seat at the time.
			T-U 2		Participant: Actor – The gigantic plane	by ducking through thick rain clouds, was descending and was about to land at Hamburg Airport.
			T-U 3		Participant: Actor – The cold November rain	died the whole area black and so created a scene like one in a gloomy Flanders group painting in which the engineers who were wearing raincoats, and a flag which was flying from an expressionless airport building and a BMW billboard were all part of the background.

x Complication: Events in the airplane in the recent past which precipitated Watanabe's panic attack and the recollection of the grassland scene in the distant past.				T-U 4	Comment Adjunct: yareyare well, well	Idea – Germany again,	I thought.
			¶ 2	T-U 5		Episodic β clause – When the plane completed its landing	the non-smoking sign was switched off and, background music, (BGM) was piped quietly from the ceiling speaker.
				T-U 6		Part.:Identified – It	was the Beatles' Norwegian Wood played romantically by some orchestra.
				T-U 7	x temporal – shoshite and so	Part.: Actor – this melody	as usual caused me unease.
				T-U 8	Comment Adjunct: - Iya No,	[Implicit. Part: Actor] - the melody	more than usual confused me and
				T-U 9		[Impl. Part: Actor] – I	shook.
			¶ 3	T-U 10		Part.: Actor – I	in order to stop my head splitting, leaned forward and covered my face with both hands and stayed like that.
				T-U 11		Circ. of time - Presently	the German stewardess came up to me and asked in English if I was feeling ill.
				T-U 12		Locution – I'm alright, just a little dizzy	was my reply.
				T-U 13		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – The stewardess	(said), "Are you really OK?"
				T-U 14		Locution – "I'm alright, thank you",	I said.
				T-U 15		Part.:Actor – The stewardess	smiled warmly and left.
				T-U 16		Part.: Carrier – The music	changed to a Billy Joel tune.
				T-U 17		Part.:Actor – I	lifted my head, and looked at the clouds floating above the North Sea and thought about the many loses I had had in my life up until now. (I thought about things like) time which was lost; people who have died or are gone; feeling that don't return.
				+ Orientation of the scene in the distant past: the effect on Watanabe's senses, the year and his age		¶ 4	T-U 18
T-U 19		Episodic β clause – By the time the passengers were undoing their seat belts and beginning to take their bags and coats out of the overhead lockers,	I was totally back in that grassland scene.				
T-U 20		Part.:Actor – I	smelt the fragrance of the grass, felt the wind on my skin and heard the bird's cry.				
T-U 21		Part.:Identified – It	was the autumn of 1969 and				
T-U 22		Part.:Actor – I	was about to turn twenty.				
xComplication: the verbal sequence of events		¶ 5	T-U 23		Part.: Actor – The same stewardess	returned and sat down beside me and asked if I had recovered.	
			T-U 24		Locution – "It's all right now, thank you. I only felt lonely, you know"	I said and smiled.	

			T-U 25		[Implicit Part: Sayer] – The stewardess	(said), “Well, I feel same way, same thing, once in a while. I know what you mean”.
			T-U 26		Part.: Actor – She	said this, shook her head, stood up and gave me a beautiful smile. “I hope you’ll have a nice trip. Aufe Wiedersehen!”
			T-U 27		Locution – “Goodbye.”	I also said.
<b>xComplication: Watanabe’s recollection (in recent time) of the grassland scene – all scenery, no people.</b>		¶ 6	T-U 28		Circ. of Time – Even now 18 years later,	I can still clearly remember that grassland scene.
			T-U 29		Part.: Carrier – The surface of the mountainside where the dry summer dust had been washed away by the gentle, lasting rain	was a deep vivid green;
			T-U 30		Part.: Actor – The October wind	caused the ears of the pampas grass to sway back and forth;
			T-U 31		Part.: Actor – the long, thin clouds	stuck to the icy, blue zenith.
			T-U 32		Part.: Carrier – The sky	(because it ) was high, it could hurt your eyes.
			T-U 33		Part.: Actor – The wind	blew across the grassland, blowing her hair faintly, and through the coppice forest.
			T-U 34		Part.: Actor – The oak leaves	rustled,
			T-U 35		Circ. of place – far in the distance	a dog’s bark was heard.
			T-U 36	x manner maru de just like	[Implicit Part.:Carrier] – The bark	was a faint bark from a voice which could be heard from the entrance to another world.
			T-U 37		Circ. of extent – other than that	there was no other sound.
			T-U 38		Part: Actor - No other sound	reached our ears.
			T-U 39		[Implicit Part.: Actor] – We	didn’t come across anybody else. (We) only saw two red birds which were startled by something and then flew up out of the grass and into the coppice forest.
			T-U 40		Episodic β clause – While walking	Naoko spoke to me about the well.
<b>x Complication: Watanabe’s recollection (in distant time) of the grassland scene – no scenery just people and thoughts.</b>		¶ 7	T-U 41		Part: Identified – One’s memory	is a strange thing.
			T-U 42		Episodic β clause – Within it at the time that I was actually in the grasslands	I did not really take much notice of the scene.
			T-U 43		[Implicit Part.: Sensor] –I	particularly didn’t think the scenery was impressive, nor, did I think that I would remember the details of that scene 18 years later.
			T-U 44	Comment Modal – Shoojiki na tokoro To be honest	Part.: Carrier Domain – for me at the time,	the scenery was really not that important.
			T-U 45		Part.: Sensor – I	was thinking about myself; (I) was thinking about one beautiful woman who was walking beside me at that time;(I) was thinking about she and I; and (I) was then thinking about me again.

			T-U 46		Part.: Identified - It	was a period in my life when, no matter what I saw, or felt, or thought, everything would return to me like a boomerang.
			T-U 47	+ additive- <i>Omake ni</i> In addition,	Part: Actor – I	was in love, and
			T-U 48		Part.: Actor – that love	carried me to very complicated places.
			T-U 49		Part.: Existant – Space in my mine to pay attention to my surroundings	didn't exist, you see.
x Evaluation: Reiteration of Watanabe's recollection (in present time) of the grassland scene and a questioning of why this has occurred .		¶8	T-U 50	+ adversative <i>Demo</i> But	Circ. of Time – now,	the first thing to surface in my mind is the grassland scene.
			T-U 51		Part.: Actor – The smell of the grass, the slight cold wind the mountain ridge, the noise of the dog bark, these things	were the first things to surface. Very clearly.
			T-U 52		Part.: Carrier – These things	were so clear (in my mind) that (I) felt that I could stretch out my hand and trace them one by one.
			T-U 53	+ adversative <i>Shikashi</i> But	Circ. of Place – Within this scene	no people were to be found.
			T-U 54		Part.: Existant – No-one	was there.
			T-U 55		Part.: Existant – Naoko also	was not there.
			T-U 56		Part.: Existant – I, too	was not there.
			T-U 57		Idea – “Where have we all gone?”,	I was thinking.
			T-U 58		[Implicit Part.: Sensor] – I	(thought), how did this happen? (I thought), where did the people important to me go? (I thought), where did Naoko and myself at the time, as well as my world go?
			T-U 59	Comment Adjunct – Soo That's right,	Part.: Carrier Domain – for me	even now, (I ) can't immediately recall Naoko's face.
			T-U 60		Part.: Identified – All that I could recall was	just a scene devoid of people.
Eval ation: habitual		¶9	T-U 61	Comment Adjunct – <i>Mochiron</i> Of course	conditional & clause – provided (I) have the time,	I can recall her face.

Evaluation: a prediction of the future process of loss of memory			T-U 62		Episodic $\beta$ clause – When I gather together each image – her small, cold hands; her pretty hair, straight and silky to touch; her softly rounded earlobes; her small mole positioned immediately below her earlobe; the elegant camel coat which (she) would wear in winter; her habit of asking a question while staring into your eyes; her voice which would sometimes shake for no reason (as if she was talking on the top of a hill in a strong wind),	naturally her face appears.
			T-U 63	x temporal – <i>Mazu</i> First	Part: Actor – her profile	appears.
			T-U 64		Part: Identified – This	is probably the result of Naoko and I always walking side by side.
			T-U 65	x causative- <i>Da kara</i> Therefore	Part: Identified – my first recollection	is always her profile.
			T-U 66	x temporal – <i>sore kara</i> And then	Part.: Actor – she	looks in my direction, smiles, tilts her head slightly, chats (to me and looks into my eyes. Like (she ) is looking for a shadow of a small fish darting off to the bottom of the crystal clear pond.
		¶10	T-U 67	+ adversative <i>Demo</i> But	Circ. of time – by the time that her face has come to mind in this manner	some time has passed.
			T-U 68	x causative- <i>Soshite</i> So,	episodic $\beta$ clause – as time passes	the time it takes for her face to come to mind takes longer and longer.
			T-U 69		Part: Existant – Sadness	exists, however,
			T-U 70		Part.: Carrier – it	is true.
			T-U 71		Circ. of time – Originally,	provided (I) had five seconds, (I) could recall (her), though
			T-U 72		Part.: Carrier – it	will become 10 seconds, then 30 seconds and then one minute.
			T-U 73		Circ. of manner – Just like the shadows of sunset	the time will lengthen.
			T-U 74	xcausative <i>soshite</i> and so,	[Implicit Part.: Actor] that memory	probably before long it will absorb into dusk.
			T-U 75	= clarification <i>Soo</i> That's right,	Part.: Carrier – my memory	bit by bit certainly drifts further away from the place where Naoko stood (that day).
			T-U 76	Conjunctive Adjunct <i>Choodo</i> In fact,	[Implicit Part.: Carrier] it	(is) like I, bit by bit drift further away from the place where I stood (that day).

x Evaluation: the reason for the story – to work out what happened 18 years ago			T-U 77	x causative <i>soshite</i> And so,	Part.: Actor – just the scene, just the October grassland scene	repeats itself over and over like a symbolic scene from a movie, surfaces in my head.
			T-U 78	x causative <i>soshite</i> And so,	Part.: Actor – that scene	persistently kicks a part of my brain. (It says,) Hey, wake up, I am still here, you know! Wake Up, wake up and work it out. (Work out) the reason why I am still here!
			T-U 79		Part.: Existant – Pain	there isn't.
			T-U 80		Part.: Existant – Pain	there absolutely isn't.
			T-U 81		Episodic $\beta$ clause – Whenever (it) kicks (me)	just a dull sound occurs.
			T-U 82	x temporal <i>Soshite</i> And then	Part.: Actor – Even that sound	may one day disappear. In the same way as the rest of the memory has.
			T-U 83	+ adversative <i>Shikashi</i> But	Circ. of place – in the Lufthansa plane at Hamburg Airport	it kicks my head longer and stronger than usual.
			T-U 84		[Implicit Part.: Sayer] – It	(says), Wake up, work it out!
			T-U 85	x causative <i>Da kara koso</i> Therefore,	Part.: Actor – I	am writing this story.
			T-U 86		Part.: Carrier – I	am the type of person who cannot work something out well without writing about it, no matter what the event.

Table 8.7

Themes in the T-units of the narrative, *Noruwei no Mori*

### 8.2.3 The Method of Development

The Themes within *Noruwei no Mori* organise into a consistent method of development as suggested in the section above. The stages of the text are developed around time periods through the use of circumstances of Time and episodic clausal Themes. Apart from paragraph 1, each subsequent paragraph of the text opens with a temporal Theme of some description in the first or second T-unit. These Themes locate the subsequent Themes and actions in either the recent past, the distant past, the present, the future or in a timeless habitual frame. This is illustrated below on the time line in Figure 8.8 The salmon coloured block represents the habitual time frame. The first five paragraphs are set in the recent past, which moves to the present in paragraph 6. Paragraph 7 is then set in the distant past, while paragraph 8 moves forward to the present. Paragraph 9 and the first part of paragraph 10 are timeless, in the sense, that they are construing habitual action which is not set in a simple tense 'time' frame. This is followed by movement back into the distant past which is subsequently contrasted with possible future action. The setting then moves back to the recent past in the airplane, where the memory loss is evident, and concludes in the

present with the writing of the novel. This last movement in time is not overtly signaled by a temporal Theme, however, the time movement is evident from the choice of present, progressive aspect of the verbal group in T-unit 85, *kaite iru* (am writing).

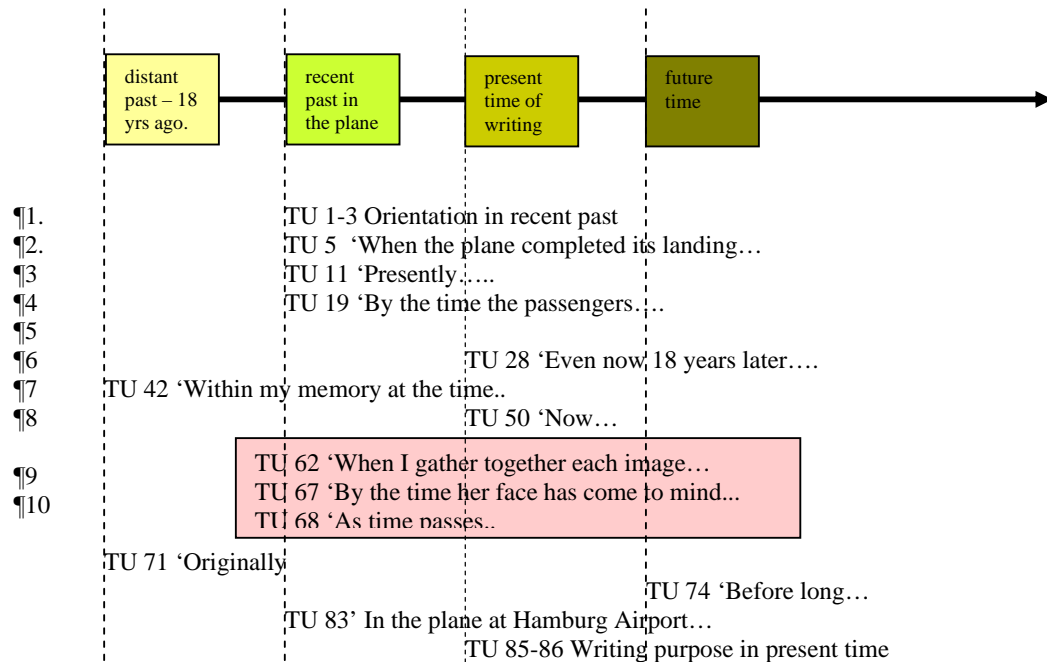


Figure 8.8

The method of development around temporal Themes in *Noruwei no Mori*

Nesting within this scene-setting macro-structure of the method of development are the participant Themes. The introduction of these participant Themes follows a consistent pattern of linear TP. Most of the participants are first introduced in the Rhemes, preceding the T-unit in which they feature as Themes. This is the case for the following participant Themes: *hikooki* (airplane), *ame* (rain), *ongaku* (music), *suchuwaadesu* (stewardess), *soogen* (the grasslands), *nakigoe* (dog bark), *donna mono-oto* (no other sound), *utsuro na oto* (a dull sound).

Further, there is a variation on the linear TP pattern in relation to the description of the grassland scene. The components of the scene are introduced through a derived TP pattern. The grassland scene is introduced rhematically in T-unit 28 out of which derives the Themes in the subsequent four T-units. These Themes, *yamahada* (the surface of the mountainside), *juugatsu no kaze* (the



October wind), *hosonagai kumo* (the long thin clouds) and *sora* (the sky) are component parts of the grassland scene. This is illustrated below in Table 8.9.

T-U 28	Circ. of Time – Even now 18 years later,	I can still clearly remember that <b>grassland scene.</b>
T-U 29	Part.: Carrier – The surface of the mountainside where the dry summer dust had been washed away by the gentle, lasting rain	was a deep vivid green;
T-U 30	Part.: Actor – The October wind	caused the ears of the pampas grass to sway back and forth;
T-U 31	Part.: Actor – the long, thin clouds	stuck to the icy, blue zenith.
T-U 32	Part.: Carrier – The sky	(because it ) was high, it could hurt your eyes.

Table 8.9  
A derived TP pattern

Significantly however, the two main protagonists, *Watanabe* and *Naoko* are not introduced through a linear or derived TP pattern, that is, deriving from Rhemes. Rather, *Watanabe* is first introduced as a Theme in the first T-unit of the story. This is distinctly different from the other story-telling texts in the corpus. In this case, the first Theme is a new participant Theme. Further, *Naoko* is introduced indirectly through the Rheme as a deictic element. In the Rheme of T-unit 33, which tells of the action of the wind, the reader learns of a female companion through the presence of *kanojo no kami* (her hair). This is followed up by the presence of another deictic element, *wareware no mimi* (our ears) in the Rheme of T-unit 38, which tells of the lack of sound reaching ‘our ears’. The reader now knows there is a woman in the story, but she is not named until she appears as a participant Theme in T-unit 55. Essentially, *Naoko* too, is introduced as a new Theme.

Elements which are significant to the point of the story from the narrator’s point of view provide another example of a shift away from introducing participants through the Rheme. These significant elements are *kioku* (memory), *kanashii koto* (sadness) and *itami* (pain). Each time these participants are introduced, they appear as Themes, that is, as new Themes. The significance of this will be taken up in Section 8.2.5 below.

Another feature of the method of development in *Noruwei no Mori*, like that found in *Taberareta Otokoto*, is the role of the narrator. This being a narrative of personal experience, it is expected that the narrator plays the role of character and also of narrator. The narrator, *Watanabe/watashi* acts in the action sequences of the Complication stages as a character in the narrative, but also orients and evaluates in the other stages of the text, telling the reader ‘how things are’ in the various time periods, as well as, what he thinks, feels and senses. The narrative is thus also developed around *Watanabe* as narrator and *Watanabe* as a character in the story. Table 8.10 illustrates the movement of *Watanabe* as narrator Theme to *Watanabe* as character Theme within the story. *Watanabe* tends to sense as a Sensor or act as an Actor participant Theme when functioning in the role of character, but takes on a much broader set of roles as narrator. As narrator, he is construed as Sensor, Actor, Existent and Carrier. Predictably, *Watanabe* as narrator appears in the Orientation and Evaluation stages, while *Watanabe* as character features in the Complication stages.

<i>Watanabe</i>	Participant role	Orientations	Complications	Evaluation
as narrator	Sensor	-	-	1
	Actor	3	-	1
	Existent	-	-	1
	Carrier	-	-	1
as character	Actor	-	5	-
	Sensor	-	2	-

Table 8.10  
*Watanabe* as Narrator and as character in *Noruwei no Mori*.

The use of interpersonal Themes in this text is more frequent than in any other text in the corpus of this study. Interpersonal Themes comprise 7% of the Themes of the text. This is more than double their frequency of occurrence in *Urihimeko*, the only other text with a number of interpersonal Themes. Refer to Table 8.11 for comparison.

Text	% of Interpersonal Themes in each text
<i>Setsubun</i>	0
<i>Ginkoo</i>	0
<i>Keizai Kishoodai</i>	0.8%
<i>Urihimeko</i>	3%

<i>Momotaroo</i>	1%
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	0
<i>Noruwei no Mori</i>	7%

Table 8.11

Percentage of Interpersonal Themes in the texts in the corpus.

These Themes enable the narrator to intervene in the story and give his/her assessment. Given the fact that this text serves as an Abstract for the novel, it is expected that the narrator would intervene in order to convince the reader to read on. The narratorial intervention is via relational processes of ascription and mental processes but also, significantly in this text, through interpersonal Themes consisting of comment adjuncts as in T-units 4, 8, 44, 59, 61, and 75.

In summary, the method of development of *Noruwei no Mori* is based around movement between time periods in which *Watanabe* is either acting as a character or commenting on the action as a narrator through description, evaluation and explanation. The interpersonal Themes serve to explicitly insert the narrator into the text. The intervention provides narratorial comment on his relationship and interaction with *Naoko*.

#### 8.2.4 Logical Relations

The logical relations in *Noruwei no Mori* occur between the stages, the paragraphs and the T-units of the text. The stages of *Noruwei no Mori* relate to each other by means of enhancement. The type of enhancement differs according to the stage. The Complication stages are linked to their respective Orientation stages through temporal links, while the Evaluation stage is linked to the Complication stage through an enhancing relation of cause and effect.

The logical links between the paragraphs are again enhancing links which are typically realised through the circumstances of Time and the episodic clausal Themes which was described in section 8.2.3. This is consistent with the temporal enhancing logical relationships between the stages of the text. However, there are also some extending textual Themes occurring as well. These logical links are due to the presence of adversative textual Themes fronting the temporal circumstantial or clausal Themes. These occur between paragraphs 7 and 8 in T-unit 50, and between paragraphs 9 and 10 in T-unit 67. These explicit links allow for an alternative to be introduced in the text. In each case, the alternative is one of time.

The logical links between the T-units in the paragraphs are different in nature to the links between the paragraphs and stages. Firstly, these links are explicitly stated using textual Themes and secondly, these links, which are particularly evident in the three paragraphs of the Evaluation stage, are logical links of cause/effect and condition. These links serve to construct the paragraphs of this stage as explanatory. The writer uses this stage to explain why he is writing the novel. There are explicit causative textual Themes which relate to 1) the manner in which he recalls Naoko's face (T-unit 65); 2) the effect the passing of time has on recollection (T-unit 68); 3) the reason why only the October scene is left reminding him of the past (T-units 77 & 78); and 4) his reason for writing the story (T-unit 85). In addition to the explicit enhancing textual Themes in this stage, there are also some extending textual Themes which serve, once more, to present alternatives in the story. These extending Themes are adversative and front circumstantial Themes of Place. Again, the text shifts from one place to another, as it does from one time period to another. This movement is achieved through the adversative, extending textual Themes in T-units 53 and 83.

### **8.2.5 Given and New Distribution**

In Section 8.2.3, it was explained that the participant Themes in the story, other than a significant few, are first introduced initially in the Rheme. These Themes are thus assigned the status of Given information. Once introduced, these participants appear as known Themes which are familiar to the reader and thus it is expected that the Rhemes will contain salient, newsworthy, new information about each participant Theme in a predictable, ordered manner. This is the general mapping pattern of Given, to Theme, and New, to Rheme.

However, the main protagonists, *Watanabe* and *Naoko*, along with a selected set of significant elements do not conform to this pattern. Rather, *Watanabe* is assigned New status, yet first introduced as a participant Theme. *Naoko*, similarly is named in the first instance in the Theme position yet her name is New. Assigning New status to Theme produces a particular rhetorical effect (Halliday 1994:298). In this case, it suggests that the reader does know *Watanabe*, and if they do not, they do know, or at least, recognise he is the main character in the forthcoming narrative. This same applies to *Naoko*. The reader

does not know her name, but the fact that she is named when selected as Theme suggests to the reader that they do indeed know her. This exploitation of the systems of INFORMATION STATUS and THEME sets up a familiarity and possibly, an intimacy, between the author and the reader.

This mapping of new to Theme also occurs with the following participant Themes: *kioko* (memory); *kanashii koto* (sadness) and *itami* (pain). These elements are significant to the point of the story from the narrator's point of view. Mapping New to Theme enables the author to construct these elements as recoverable. It suggests that the situation he is writing about, is something the reader may have experienced in their own lives. There is an implication that the reader understands these emotions – that they are recoverable and familiar. This interrupts the flow of the text and creates, in a sense, a mental punctuation mark for the reader. The narrator wants the reader to be interrupted. The story is about loss of memory and *Watanabe*'s emotional reaction to it. The author wants the reader to stop and identify with their own recollections of the past and the emotions that arise from remembering them.

### 8.2.6 Summary

The analysis of *Noruwei no Mori* has demonstrated the following linguistic features of the narrative. As this is a narrative of personal experience, the narrator/main protagonist, *Watanabe* acts and evaluates in the text. Further, participants out-number circumstances and enhancing beta clauses as Theme, featuring 72% of the time. Consequently, the actions of the narrative are located in the Rheme. The method of development is built around the participants; however, these participants are nested in a macro-structure of scene-setting according to varying time periods. The actions of the participants occur in the recent past, the distant past and in the present with accompanying moves into future time and habitual time. This scene-setting division of labour is found in all the stages of the text.

The tension in the story is built up through the information gaps created by the narrator in the Evaluation stages. Also, the flow of events is interrupted by the intervening Evaluation stages.

The overt logical relations within the story are realised through textual Themes of enhancement. These occur in the Evaluation stage which functions in

part to explain the reason for writing the story. The explanation is built up through enhancing textual Themes of causation.

In conclusion, the overall point of the novel, *Noruwei no Mori*, as a whole, is to address feelings of loss, in this case, the loss of memory and the guilt which accompanies this inevitable process. Again, this is a process which relates to adversity, similar to *Taberareta Otoko*. Similarly too, is the fact that the novel does not redress or resolve these feelings of loss. Rather, loss is presented as part of life - something to note, feel and experience.

The segment of the novel under analysis functions to specifically advertise the story which is to follow, and entice the reader to read on. It is through this particular stage, the Abstract, that reader enticement is achieved. The internal stages of the embedded narrative function to realise the purpose of the Abstract. And the function of each stage is realised through thematic choices which work collectively to construe a method of development appropriate to the author's purpose.

### 8.3 Contrasting the Narratives

Having described the thematic choices of these two narratives, it is useful to consider their similarities and differences. Both narratives deal with the social issue of loss. This is entirely accidental. These texts were not chosen for what they were about, but rather, because they were two narratives which I have had to teach in the course of my life as a Japanese language teacher. The fact that they deal with a social issue such as loss may, in fact, be part of their identity as a narrative. As the literature suggests, narratives deal with adversity, and loss is a significant kind of adversity and one which, clearly, is written about, although not necessarily acted on, in Japanese culture.

Both texts are examples of personal experience narratives and as such have the narrator both 'acting' and 'evaluating' in the story. The narrator in each case uses the first person pronoun, *watashi* when referring to themselves both as character and narrator. The narratorial insertion in *Noruwei no Mori* is more substantial than in *Taberareta Otoko* in that the narrator is taking the opportunity in the Abstract to advertise and entice the reader to read on. There is more concentration on evaluation than on complication.

Both texts display the typical stages of the narrative. However, the full set of stages is displayed in *Taberareta Otoko* and only a partial set in *Noruwei no Mori* as the analysed text is just a segment of the novel. *Noruwei no Mori* has two Orientation stages which serve to provide the background information for the two time periods which are significant to the novel, the time period in the recent past and the time period in the distant past.

In the course of the staging, both texts build up tension in the story through the insertion of Evaluation stages. These stages stall the action sequences of the Complication stages and supply narratorial information which helps to add to the suspense. In the case of *Taberareta Otoko*, the suspense is also built up through the decreasing number of paragraphs in each complicating event as the story moves towards the climax. This serves to increase the speed of the narrative. The action speeds up as it gets closer to the culminating event.

Both texts select participant Themes over circumstantial and clausal Themes. This is in keeping with the point of the narrative – to tell of a series of events in order to present a socially significant value. Thus the method of development of each text is organised around the participants with their actions located in the Rhemes. Despite the dominant choice of participant as Theme, the circumstances and enhancing beta clausal Themes serve a very specific purpose of scene-setting. This is the case in both texts, however, the scene-setting work in *Noruwei no Mori* is around time periods and is not just setting up the scene for individual or sequential actions, but rather, it is constructing a time framework around sets of actions. This framework or macro-time structure is critical to the story which addresses loss of memory over time. The macro structure constructs time in the recent past, distant past, present, and future placing specific sets of recollections in specific time frames. Within these time frames, the selected participant Themes engage in specific sets of actions.

The typical pattern for introducing participant Themes in both texts is to map Given information status onto Themes. This is achieved through introducing New participants into the text via the Rhemes. This linear TP pattern is typical in both texts. Once participants are introduced they are then selected as Given Themes. However, in *Noruwei no Mori* the two significant characters, *Watanabe* and *Naoko*, the notion of memory, *kioku* and the significant emotions of sadness, *kanashii koto* and pain, *itami* are introduced into the text for the first

time as New Themes. This exploits the unmarked Given/Theme, New/Rheme arrangement in order to build solidarity between the reader and the writer. Through this technique, the writer suggests to the reader that these people and these emotions are recoverable and therefore, familiar to the reader.

Both texts use explicit textual Themes to make logical links between complications and evaluations. The significant logical link in both stories, is the enhancing causative one, which occurs towards the end of each story and serves to explain why the events in the Complication are significant to the point of the story. In the case of *Noruei no Mori*, this is far more explicit, as the author has more work to do than just use the sequence of events to indirectly explain the feelings of loss which unfold in *Taberareta Otoko*. Thus, the use of explicit causative textual Themes is greater in *Noruei no Mori* than in *Taberareta Otoko*. Of course, other explicit logical links are made in both texts, with more variety across the logico-semantic spectrum in *Taberareta Otoko* than in *Noruei no Mori*.

A consequence of the greater use of explicit textual Themes in *Noruei no Mori* is that the text displays more multiple Themes. This again is due to the extra work being done by the narrator to explain why the events in the story are significant. Further, along with textual multiple Themes, there are also interpersonal multiple Themes for the same reason. The narrator inserts comment adjuncts to explicitly state his opinion up front in the T-unit so that the actions which unfold in the Rhemes of these T-units, does so framed from the narrator's point of view. The reader is thus explicitly inducted into what the narrator wants them to think.

*Taberareta Otoko* is not as explicit and does not do this. The text is less direct; more open to the reader's own interpretation. This creates a level of freedom for the reader to interpret the story how they wish - thus my point earlier in the discussion, that the story possibly deals with two kinds of loss, loss of friendship and loss of identity. Neither type of loss is explicitly stated in the text. The reader is left to read into it their own interpretation.

#### **8.4 Implications of the Analyses**

For all intents and purposes, the narratives in the corpus serve the same social function as outlined in the literature and share many similarities despite the



difference in length, and the fact that one text is only a segment from a larger novel. The differences between the two texts do not point to different genres, they are the same genre, but rather, the differences point to stylistic choices. The difference in the time macro-structure is an organisational choice, both texts use time to set the scene, but *Noruwei no Mori* uses it more deliberately to set up the point of the story, that memory loss occurs with the passing of time. Further the mapping of New onto Theme is another stylistic choice designed to build familiarity between the writer and the reader.

## 8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented descriptions of the two narratives in the corpus. The descriptions have been based around the generic stages and the language choices, specifically those of Theme, method of development, logical relations and the distribution of given and new information. These choices collectively serve to realise the particular stages of the narrative genre.

The model of the narrative taken from Martin which is based on the early work of Labov was introduced in chapter 5 and provided a general description of the stages of story-telling texts. Chapter 8 has thus presented the analyses of two examples, thereby presenting an instance of the narrative genre in each case. Each text is an instance of the system of narration. Each instance has allowed for the opportunity to compare the structure of the instance with the generalised model of the narrative.

*Taberareta Otoko* is an instance which appears to match the generalised model. The instance and the system both have the same staging, in the appropriate order, with logical links between the stages.

In contrast, *Noruwei no Mori* presents as only a partial instance. It does not have the full set of stages, as it is not a narrative in its own right, rather it functions as the Abstract of the larger structure of the novel. However, as a trailer for the novel, it displays Orientation (twice), Complication and Evaluation stages with only the Resolution stage missing. This is in keeping with the ‘advertising’ point of the text. If the reader were given the resolution at the outset, he/she would not be inclined to continue to read on.

In any event, the notion of genre has proved very useful in the analyses of the narratives in the corpus. Through the frame of genre, the various language choices within each text can be seen to be motivated and working together to organise the ideational content of a text into a textually coherent message thus enabling a configuration of stages which make up or define the genre. Both instances address the culturally significant value of 'loss', not by offering reactions or solutions, but rather, by 'noting' that such a notion exists as part of life. The stylistic differences which do exist between the two texts do not detract from the fact that they are both clearly narratives, in each case, narratives of personal experience. Their shared attributes clearly work to define both texts as instances of the narrative genre.

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## Chapter 9 – Conclusion

### 9.0 Introduction

This study set out to explore the relationship between the ‘enabling’ grammar of the textual metafunction and the organisation of selected written texts into discrete text types or genres. The underlying proposition is that, in Japanese, the clause in its discourse environment is patterned in a motivated manner, and that this patterning correlates with the organisation of discourse.

The aim of this concluding chapter is to summarise the evidence that has been built up to demonstrate that Japanese is organised textually in a patterned and motivated manner. The evidence is both quantitative in the sense that, the patterns have been counted and quantified, as presented in chapter four, and qualitative in the sense that, these patterns have been shown to key into the method of development of a text. The qualitative descriptions of the texts in the corpus in chapters six, seven and eight demonstrated textual organisation across five text types or genres. The quantitative study and qualitative descriptions are summarised below.

### 9.1 The System of THEME

The quantitative study in chapter four presented and tested the hypothesis, “that first position in the T-unit<sup>1</sup> is salient and serves to organise information coherently”. This was based on a ‘theme scrambling’ (refer to Section 4.1) exercise which demonstrated that first position in the T-unit was significant in terms of coherent, textual organisation. By changing the first element of the T-unit, the Theme is disrupted thereby making the message in the text difficult to retrieve.

The quantitative study counted the kinds of first position constituents in the T-unit. The classification of constituents was based on the transitivity roles as categorised by Teruya (1998). Based on the premise that a choice was made in relation to the constituent located in first position, and that these constituents were patterned in particular configurations, the first position constituents were

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<sup>1</sup> The texts of the corpus were segmented into T-units in order to account for the operation of co-referential ellipsis and clause chaining in Japanese. This was discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

seen to be involved in the textual organisation of discourse and were therefore, functioning as Theme. The various patterns of distribution and frequency are outlined below, firstly, on a corpus-wide basis and, secondly, on a text type basis.

Taking the corpus as a whole, the spread and frequency of first position constituents, that is, Themes were as follows in Table 9.1.

Transitivity Role	Percentage
Participant	72%
Circumstance	12.5%
enhancing $\beta$ clause	10.5%
Projection	5%

Table 9.1  
Spread and Frequency of first position constituents in the corpus

Breaking the corpus down into the respective text types revealed different frequencies of appearance. These are summarized in Table 9.2 below. The news commentary story, which is a factual, expository text type, had participants as, by far, the most significant Theme (87%). The hard and soft news stories had approximately equal balance of participants and circumstances (40% respectively), and an equal percentage of enhancing beta clauses (20%). From these figures it could be argued that circumstantial information was as important (if not more important if you include the circumstantial meanings which the enhancing beta clauses also provided) in Theme position as the participant in the two storytelling news articles.

Text type	participant	circumstance	$\beta$ clause	projection
<b>Factual type</b>				
The Newspaper articles				
News Commentary: <i>Keizai</i>	87%	9%	4%	0
<b>Storytelling types</b>				
Hard News: <i>Ginkoo</i>	33.5%	41.5%	25%	0
Soft News: <i>Setsubun</i>	41.5%	41.5%	17%	0
<b>The Nursery Tales</b>				
<i>Urihimeko</i>	69%	22.5%	7%	1.5%
<i>Momo Taroo</i>	66%	11.5%	13%	9.5%
<b>The Narratives</b>				
<i>Taberareta Otoko</i>	75%	12.5%	11.5%	1%
<i>Noruiwei no Mori</i>	72%	12%	9%	7%
<i>Donguri to Yamaneko</i>	84%	5.3%	7.3%	3.3%

Table 9.2  
Spread and Frequency of first position constituents according to text type

The two nursery tales selected participant Themes equally at approximately 67 percent. They differed in that *Momotaroo* selected projections, episodic  $\beta$  clauses and circumstances as Theme equally at approximately 11% each, while *Urihimeko* favoured circumstances more often (22.5%) than episodic  $\beta$  clauses and projections.

Similarly, two of the three narratives, *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori* displayed approximately the same frequency (73%) of selection of participant Themes as the nursery tales with an almost equal balance between circumstances and episodic  $\beta$  clauses. However, *Donguri to Yamaneko* selected participants as Theme far more frequently (84%).

On the basis of these counts, it becomes possible to argue that there is a pattern of selection representative of the particular text type. Storytelling news stories like hard and soft news, balanced the percentage of participants and circumstantial Themes. Both were important points of departure. On the other hand, factual news commentary stories selected predominantly participants as Theme. This relates to the fact that, in expository writing, arguments in support of claims are built up around participant Themes.

Although participants are most often selected as Theme in the nursery tale and narrative genres, the ratio of participant Themes to circumstantial Themes (including enhancing  $\beta$  clauses) is approximately 7:3. Circumstantial Themes are still significant in that they play an important functional role of scene-setting which is explained below in Section 9.2.

Having quantified the frequency and kind of Themes operating in the text of the corpus, Chapter 5 then presented these choices as a system network. This network is one instance of the system of THEME in Japanese (refer to Figure 5.1). In other words, the picture of Theme selection arising out of the corpus of this study is one example of the system of THEME at work. However, given the spread of genre types in the corpus, it is possible to speculate that this instance of the system may be representative of a general system of THEME in Japanese.

The system of THEME operating in the corpus, which could be considered as representative of the general system, was organized as follows. The first choice in the system was between single and multiple Themes. If single, they were either ideational, textual or interpersonal. If ideational, two separate,

concurrent sets of choice arose. Firstly, there was a choice between implicit and explicit Themes, and secondly, a choice between experiential and logical Themes. Implicit Themes were limited to the unmarked experiential Themes: Actor, Sensor, Identified, Carrier and Sayer, and hypotactic beta clauses of cause. These beta clauses of cause were only found in the nursery tales. If a Theme was explicit, the next set of choices were between experiential Themes and logical Themes. Experiential Themes included participants (mostly Actors and Sayers) and circumstances (mostly temporal and spatial locatives), while logical Themes included hypotactic clauses of enhancement (mostly temporal) and projection (mostly locutions).

When single textual Themes were selected in the corpus, the choice was between extending, elaborating or enhancing connectives. The most frequent type of extending textual Theme was of the adversative type, *shikashi* (but); the most frequent enhancing textual Theme was of the temporal type, *suru to* (thereupon), while the elaborating textual Themes seemed to be balanced between appositive, *to itte mo*, (by this, I mean) and clarifying types, *datte* (you see).

When single interpersonal Themes were selected in the corpus, the choice was between modal adjuncts, such as ‘yes’ or ‘no’, and comment adjuncts. The comment adjuncts were by far the most frequent interpersonal Theme (86%).

When multiple Themes were selected, the choice was between a univariate and a multivariate type. The univariate type was a multiple Theme consisting of two ideational elements, specifically, two circumstances. The circumstances were either of the Temporal or Spatial types and they appeared to stack up beside each other at the beginning of the T-unit offering, in a sense, concentrated or dense circumstantial information. These univariate Themes occurred only in the hard and soft news stories, and the nursery tales. Consequently, it could be argued that the univariate circumstantial Theme is representative of the hard and soft news story and nursery tales.

Within the news stories, the function of the univariate Themes was to supply a concentrated circumstantial context of the news events, to build up knowledge about the time and place of events in relation to one another in time and space. Refer to (Matthiessen 1995b) for a discussion on spatial enhancement.

The stacking up of the circumstances concentrates the information and enables more information to be provided in limited newspaper space.

Within the nursery tales, the function of the univariate Theme was to signal the start of the nursery tale. These Themes opened the tales. Readers immediately recognise that a tale is to follow when presented with these univariate Themes. They function in the same manner as ‘Once upon a time...’ in the English tale.

When the multivariate type of multiple Theme was selected in the corpus, there was a choice between a ‘textual followed by ideational type’ and an ‘interpersonal followed by ideational type’. In each type of multivariate Theme, the ideational component was realised as either an experiential Theme or a logical Theme. This was represented in the system network of Figure 5.1 by the superscript letters <sup>(a)</sup> and <sup>(b)</sup> meaning, ‘if (a) or (b), then select from the ideational set of choices in the ‘single Theme’ branch of the network.

In the corpus, there were no examples of a multiple Theme which included all three metafunctions. In other words, there were no multiple Themes which were a combination of interpersonal, textual and ideational constituents.

In terms of markedness, the unmarked choice of Theme was the participant as it was selected most frequently. Circumstances, beta clauses and projections appeared less frequently and therefore functioned as marked choices. Further, within the full set of participants which featured as Theme, some appeared more frequently than others. These could be considered as unmarked participant choices. These unmarked participants were Actor, Sensor, Sayer, Existent, Carrier and Identified. Not incidentally, I believe, these unmarked participant Themes also featured as implicit experiential Themes. The fact that they were selected most frequently assigns a predictability to their selection, in a sense, a redundancy was set up, and so they were elided. This resonance, between unmarked participant Themes and implicit participant Themes, lends further justification to the argument that the T-unit was a segment of text over which textual meanings were mapped in the corpus.



## **9.2 The textual configurations of the texts in the corpus**

Following on from the description of the system of THEME, Chapter 5 presented a discussion on the selection of Themes and how these selections key into the method of development of a text. This discussion was facilitated by the notion of genre and generic staging suggesting that Theme selection serves to realise the function of discrete stages within a text type or genre. This relationship between Theme selection, method of development and genre was illustrated according to each text type in chapters 6, 7 and 8. These chapters illustrated how the choice of individual Themes collectively worked to produce a particular method of development which served to realise the various stages of each of the texts.

The starting point for this illustration was the adoption of a set of genre templates taken from SF literature: the DSP templates for the news stories; Hasan's template for the nursery tales; and Martin's template for the narratives, which is based on Labov's work.

By way of summarising the analysis of the texts in the corpus, I have tabulated the findings in Appendix 3, Volume 2 of the thesis. In the table, the summary on the method of development of each text states the similarities and differences between texts of the same type. The story-telling news stories (hard and soft) shared 1) a statistical balance between participants (40%) and circumstantial Themes (20%), 2) a method of development around circumstances and episodic beta clauses, 3) similar kinds of participants: Actor, Identified and Existent, 4) similar circumstances of temporality and spatiality and 5) similar episodic beta clauses of temporality. They differed in terms of the degree to which the satellites related to each other and the different configuration of 'given-ness' in the opening Themes. The hard news story opened with Given Themes, while the soft news story opened with New Themes.

The only factual text in the corpus, the news commentary story, was distinctive from all the other texts. It had an expository type of generic staging; it selected participants as Theme most frequently (87%). Further, the stages were linked to each other using linear and continuous TP patterns and the text relied mostly on the logical relation of elaboration.

The nursery tales shared 1) a statistical balance between participants (70%) to circumstantial Themes (30%); 2) a linear TP pattern which functioned

to introduce the main protagonists; 3) a method of development around the main protagonists which tended to select Given Themes, while circumstantial Themes functioned to set the scenes of the tales; 4) selection of the same kinds of participants, circumstances and enhancing beta clauses as Theme; 5) the same kind of staging; 6) a very long Initiating Event; 7) the same kind of logical relations of enhancement between stages and 8) an opening univariate circumstantial Theme and closing implicit beta clause. The differences between the two tales were minor. *Momotaroo* was longer, chapterised, included micro-staging in the Initiating Event and selected projections as Theme, unlike *Urihimeko*.

The narratives shared very similar characteristics to the nursery tales in that they 1) had a similar statistical balance of participants to circumstantial Themes (70% compared to 30% respectively), 2) they developed around participant Themes with circumstances and episodic beta clauses doing the scene setting work, 3) they selected participants usually as Given Themes, and 4) finally, they used the same kind of logical relation of enhancement between stages. However, the narratives had a different staging arrangement which included stages of Evaluation. Further, the main characters not only acted but also functioned as narrators in the stories. The two narratives differed from each other only slightly in the manner in which tension in the stories was created and the use of New Themes in *Noruei no Mori*. These New Themes functioned to relate particular participants to the narrator's purpose for writing the story (refer to Section 8.2.5.).

\*

Having summarised both the quantitative and qualitative evidence in the Section 9.1 and 9.2 respectively, it is reasonable to conclude that Japanese is organised textually in a patterned and motivated manner.

The evidence demonstrates that the lexicogrammar used to realise textual metafunctional meanings correlates with the organisation of discourse in the texts of the corpus of this study, and that it is possible to draw a number of generalisations from the exercise. These include 1) that Theme in Japanese is realised in first position in the T-unit, and 2) that the choice of Theme and the method of development arising out of the thematic choices serves to organise the stages of the texts, which, in turn, organise into genres.

### 9.3 THEME, Method of Development and Genre

Amongst other things, chapter 5 presented research on the relationship between Theme, method of development and genre. In particular, work by Fries (Fries 1995b) presented four hypotheses which sought to shed light on this relationship. By way of relating the findings of this study to the greater body of SF work on Theme, method of development and genre, this section will consider the findings in relation to Fries' four hypotheses to determine the extent to which the findings can function as evidence in support of them. The hypotheses are:

1. Thematic progression correlates with genre type
2. Experiential content in Themes correlates with method of development
3. Experiential content of Themes correlates with genres
4. Experiential content of the Themes correlates with generic elements of structure

Hypothesis 1, *thematic progression correlates with genre type* is partially born out in the findings. While particular TP patterns were not reserved for particular genres, it was demonstrated from the descriptions that the narratives and nursery tales tended to use a linear TP pattern when introducing characters into the story. This then set up subsequent participant Themes as Given. Thus, the reader knows the characters and expects to learn about their actions in the Rhemes. Further, it was demonstrated that the TP patterns in the hard news story did not build links between the Satellites but operated within the Satellites, thereby contributing to the 'unconnectedness' of the Satellites, one of the defining characteristics of the hard news story. Thus, while it is true that no one TP pattern correlated directly with a particular genre, there was evidence in the corpus to show that particular genres tended to select particular TP patterns to serve particular purposes.

There is evidence to support hypothesis 2, *experiential content in Themes correlates with method of development*. The experiential choices in the system network of the corpus were between participants and circumstances. Texts which selected circumstances as Theme developed around the circumstances. This was clearly the case in the hard and soft news stories with each of their Satellites selecting circumstances as Theme. The other texts in the corpus tended to select participants as Theme more frequently than the hard and soft news texts, however, the ratio of participant to circumstance differed according to text type.

For example, the factual news commentary selected participant as Theme 87 percent of the time, while the nursery tales and the narratives selected participant as Theme approximately 70 percent of the time. These text types developed around the participants. In these text types, circumstances, if selected as Theme, functioned in a supporting role, as scene setting agents.

There is also evidence to support hypothesis 3, *experiential content of Themes correlates with genres*. The fact that the different text types in the corpus displayed similar ratios between participant and circumstantial (includes circumstances and episodic beta clauses) strongly suggests that the frequency of choice of particular experiential Themes correlates with genre. Narratives and nursery tales displayed a ratio of participant to circumstantial of approximately 7:3, the hard and soft news stories displayed a ratio of 4:2, while the factual news commentary was almost 9:1. Other evidence which supported this hypothesis was the selection of locutions as Theme in the nursery tales and narratives. Locutions were not selected as Theme in any of the other genres. In addition, there were no interpersonal or textual Themes in the hard and soft news stories. And finally, the nursery tales began and ended with distinctive Themes, opening with the multiple, univariate circumstantial Themes, and ending with implicit, causal beta clauses.

The final hypothesis, *experiential content of the Themes correlates with generic elements of structure* also holds true. Different stages in different genres displayed different experiential Themes. For example, in the narratives, the Complication stages only selected Actor and Sayer Themes, while the other stages selected from a wider range of participant types. Further, within the nursery tales and narratives, the unmarked implicit Theme, *sore* (it) always began a stage, and when this occurred, these stages were developed around scene setting information.

All four hypotheses are supported to various degrees by the findings of this study. It is interesting to note that evidence in support of hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 has been described by a number of researchers (refer to Section 5.2.2 ) in relation to English texts. Despite the fact that Japanese is lexicogrammatically quite different from English, it appears that the patterns of organisation of discourse, particularly the patterns of Theme, method of development and genre are similar.

## 9.4 The Genre Templates

The descriptions of each text type in chapters 6, 7 and 8 built up a picture of each text as an instance of a particular genre. Framing these ‘pictures’ were the systems of genre or, as I have referred to them as, genre templates. At this point in the conclusion, it is useful to consider how representative the genre templates were in terms of capturing instances of the Japanese version of these genres.

In short, the templates were very useful tools. The template used for the hard news story and the soft news story predicted the stages of each instance of the genre respectively. *Ginkoo* followed the stages of the hard news story:

**Headline ^ Satellites<sup>1-n</sup>,**

while *Setusbun* followed the stages of

**Headline ^ Orientation ^ Event Description ^ Comment**

Both the templates predicted the kind of stage and the order of the stages in the hard and soft news story. However, the template used for the news commentary story did not allow for the reversal in the order of the Thesis Statement and the Arguments which occurred in *Keizai kishoodai*. The template predicted the generic stages as follows:

**Headline ^ Orientation ^ Thesis Statement ^ Arguments<sup>1-n</sup> ^ Reiteration of Thesis**

The reversal of Thesis Statement and Arguments stages could easily be accounted for in the template by inserting Hasan’s ‘raised dot’ between the Thesis Statement stage and the Argument(s) stage(s). In addition, the limit of the reversibility could also easily be accounted for by inserting her squared brackets (refer to Section 5.3.3). This could be represented in a revised template as follows:

**Headline ^ Orientation ^ [Thesis Statement □ Arguments<sup>1-n</sup>] ^ Reiteration of Thesis**


This revised news commentary genre template can now predict the stages and their order as they appeared in *Keizai Kishoodai*.

As regards the nursery tale template, it predicts the staging of *Urihimeko*, but not the staging of *Momotaroo*. A significant difference between the template and *Momotaroo* is the presence of Placement throughout the Initiating, Sequent

and Final Event stages. Hasan's original template only allows for Placement in the Initiating Event as follows:

$$[(\langle \text{Placement} \rangle^{\wedge}) \text{Initiating Event}^{\wedge}] \text{Sequent Event}^{\wedge} \text{Final Event} [^{\wedge}(\text{Finale}) \square (\text{Moral})]$$

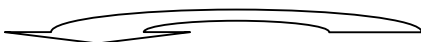

Incorporating the presence of optional Placement throughout the other stages of the nursery tale template is straightforward. Placement is interspersed and this is represented by the angled brackets according to Hasan's notation. This could be represented in a revised template as follows:

$$[(\langle \text{Placement} \rangle) \text{Initiating Event}]^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Placement} \rangle) \text{Sequent Event}]^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Placement} \rangle) \text{Final Event}]^{\wedge} [^{\wedge}(\text{Finale}) \square (\text{Moral})]$$


In relation to the narrative template, which is reproduced below, there are two additions which, if incorporated, would predict the staging of both *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori*.

$$(\text{Abstract})^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Orientation} \rangle)^{\wedge} \text{complication}]^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Evaluation} \rangle)^{\wedge} \text{Resolution}]^{\wedge} (\text{Coda})$$

*Taberareta Otoko* has two Complication and Evaluation stages. In other words, the Complication and Evaluation stages are iterative which is represented by the curved arrow. Further, the Evaluation stage present in both *Taberareta Otoko* and *Noruwei no Mori* is not limited to the Resolution stage, which the template predicts, but rather, is interspersed in the Complication stages and the Resolution stage as well. This can be represented by

$$(\text{Abstract})^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Orientation} \rangle)^{\wedge} \text{Complication}^{\wedge} (\langle \text{Evaluation} \rangle)^{\wedge}]^{\wedge} [(\langle \text{Evaluation} \rangle)^{\wedge} \text{Resolution}]^{\wedge} (\text{Coda})$$


By editing the templates, they are now able to predict the generic stages of the texts in the corpus. This does not mean that the templates can now predict the configuration of the respective genres in Japanese. This would require a quantitative study of the configuration of the respective genres in Japanese. However, it does raise the question of how representative the texts in the corpus are in terms of their generic staging in Japanese. Are they typical of their genre or not? While this study does not make generalisations in relation to the configuration of news story, nursery tale and narrative genres in Japanese, it does suggest that the texts may be representative of a Japanese version of the respective genres given there are more similarities between the instances than

there are differences. Were that to be the case, the revised templates would be able to predict generic stages cross-linguistically in both English and Japanese. In a sense, these revised genre templates are now available as a resource for investigating generic stages cross-linguistically.

## 9.5 Future Directions

Having built a case for correlating patterns of discourse with textual meaning in Japanese, I want to indicate a number of directions for future research in this area by way of closing.

In the first instance, as mentioned above in chapter 1, this study served as the ‘environmental’ study of the linguistic landscape in which the particle *-wa* operates. As indicated, the next step is to look directly at particle *-wa*, to observe its operation in the textual environment of the clause, the T-unit, the paragraph and the text. This is the natural direction in which I intend to develop my research.

During the course of this study, I have made a number of observations in relation to the particle *-wa*, and have thus, formulated the following hypothesis.

Observations of the particle *-wa* in its discourse environment, will demonstrate that *-wa* is a significant player in the system of INFORMATION STATUS, rather than in the system of THEME.

I suggest that such a study will demonstrate that the particle *-wa* marks both Given and New constituents with differing semantic effect. By this I mean, in the first instance, when a Given constituent is marked by *-wa*, *wa* flags it as Given. *wa* reminds the reader of the fact that the constituent is known and recoverable. From the descriptions of the method of development of the texts in the corpus, it was demonstrated that Themes which have Given information status mapped onto them are frequent and arise out of a linear TP pattern. In other words, Given constituents marked by *wa* are often selected as Theme<sup>2</sup>. As a result of the frequency of this selection, it is not surprising that *-wa* is considered to mark Theme.

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<sup>2</sup> It is this kind of Theme on which Teruya has based his definition of Theme (Teruya 1998:98) – a definition which, in my view, wrongly conflates the two systems of THEME and INFORMATION STATUS and which in time, I intend to decouple.

In the second instance, the particle *-wa* can also mark New constituents. When this occurs, a meaning of contrast is set up. This contrastive meaning can relate to something explicitly stated in the text, or can simply imply a contrast of some sort. The implied contrast assigns further salience to the constituent. Not surprisingly, these salient, New constituents marked by *-wa* are commonly found in the Rheme. However, these salient, New constituents (which are marked by *-wa*) are also selected as Theme.

A further complication in relation to describing the function(s) of *-wa* relates to the fact that *-wa* can feature more than once in a clause simplex. Refer to (Teruya 1998; Naganuma 2000) for a discussion on this kind of clause simplex. It is worth noting that there were no examples of clauses with more than one constituent marked by *-wa* in the corpus. However, given the fact that such constructions do occur, it suggests that another type of multiple, univariate Theme may exist. Alternatively, it could also suggest that each instance of a constituent followed by *-wa* may serve a different function within the one simplex. These questions, amongst others may be answered by a study of *-wa* in its discourse environment.

Another related future direction for research arising from this study is further research on genre in Japanese. This study suggests the need to do a quantitative study. It would be very interesting to see if the generic staging found in the texts of this corpus are found in a significant number of texts of the same type. If that is the case, then it would suggest that the various genres in Japanese could be distinguished and defined by their staging<sup>3</sup>. A study of this kind could utilise the revised genre templates as a resource.

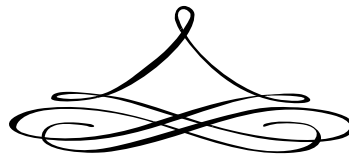
Another study related to textual organisation could be a cross-linguistic study on the utilisation of similar methods of development across unrelated languages. All languages have their own grammatical resources for organising discourse, and the fact that some languages might utilise the same resources such as first position in the clause or T-unit points to the fact that the set of potential grammatical resources for textual organisation is possibly quite limited. To shed light on this would involve an extensive, multi-language study.

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<sup>3</sup> This is not to suggest that one text conflates with one genre. There is, of course the possibility that one text may display stages of more than one genre, that is, texts of mixed genres are not precluded as possibilities.



And further, another future direction indicated by this study is an applied one. It would be very useful for teachers of Japanese as a Second/Foreign language to know if the presentation of texts as genres in the classroom facilitates learning, particularly learning to read and write. It would be useful to observe the effectiveness of the Genre Approach in teaching reading and writing in Japanese. Again, the revised genre templates could be utilized in such a study.



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Exploring the Textual  
Metafunction in Japanese:  
A case study of selected written  
texts

Volume Two: Appendices

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

from

University of Wollongong

by

**Elizabeth Anne Thomson**

Faculty of Education

December, 2001

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## Appendix 1: The Japanese versions of the texts in the Corpus (unanalyzed)

### The News Stories

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( *Ginkoo ni Tanju Goto: Sanpatsu Hassha: 200 man-en ubatte toso*, Mainichi Shimbun, 1 August, 1980 )

一日午前九時五十五分ごろ、福井市春日町二三八の一、福井銀行春日支店＝加藤智正支店長（四四）＝に、三十歳くらいの黒サングラスの男が客を装って入り込み、来店中の同市板垣町下縄手、主婦、菅原貴美代さん（三〇）を後ろからいきなり羽がい絞めにしたうえ、カウンター中央にいた出納係の吉野俊幸さん（二九）にピストルを向け「金を出せ、早く出せ」と脅した。

吉野さんが驚いて立ち上がったとたん、ピストルを三発発射、うち一発は約五メートル離れた吉野さんの机の上の現金受けざらに命中。他の二発は壁に当たった。吉野さんがそばにあった一万円の札束二つ（計二十万円、帯封付き）をカウンターに置くと、男は「こちらにほうれ」と買い物袋を投げ込み、札束を入れて投げ返したとたん、男は袋をわしづかみにして表に飛び出し、同支店西側に止めてあった乗用車で逃走した。

同支店は加藤支店長ら行員八人。うち女性三人。犯行当時支店内には三人の客がいたが、けが人はなかった。犯人が侵入して逃走するまで約五分間だった。

福井県警の調べでは犯人は身長一七五センチくらい、灰色のシャツを着ており、白い登山帽をかぶっていた。

## 寒さ緩んで節分

( *Samusa Yurunde Setsubun*, Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Evening Edition, 3 February, 1979 )

三日は節分。ほぼ全国的に青空が広がり寒さも緩んで、通勤客の中にはコートを脱いで手に持つ人も。この陽気のなか、全国各地の神社やお寺では節分祭の行事がにぎやかに行われた。

東京・浅草の浅草寺ではこの日午前、浅草寺幼稚園の園児による豆まきが行われた。園児服の上に袴（かみしも）を着こんだ園児五百七十人は午前十時に雷門前に勢ぞろい。仲見世通りをにぎやかに行進して浅草寺本堂前で豆のはいたマスをもらい、先生の「病気やケガを持ってくる鬼を元気よく退治しましょう」という節分の話を聞いたあとといよいよ豆まき。「ウォー、ウォー」という鬼の声の入ったテープが流れると、職員がふんした赤鬼、青鬼がはりこの金棒を持って登場。一斎に園児から「鬼は一外、福は一内」の声が上がった。力いっぱい投げた豆はパチパチと小気味よく鬼に当たり、鬼は右往左往したあげく、降参。用意した七十八キロの豆もすぐになくなった。



## 経済気象台 - 計算機から頭脳へ

(*Keizai kishoudai - keisanki kara zunō e*, Asahi Shimbun, Evening Edition, 2 November, 1988)

音声認識の技術はすでに二十年来、精神的に開発され、一部ではかなり早くから実用化されている。しかし、なかなか普及しない。ワープロにキーをたたいて文章を入力するのでなく、しゃべってそのまま文章が打ち出されれば、機械に弱い人は大助かりなのだが。

この音声認識に、有望な技術が現われた。ニューロとファジーである。日立製作所はニューロコンピューターとファジー理論を組み合わせた新しい音声認識技術を開発した。しゃべる言葉の音の特徴をニューロで「学習」させ、一方、何の言葉であるかの判定をするのにファジーを利用する。

このニューロとファジーは、従来のコンピューターと基本的に異なっている。従来のものは何十回、何百回と仕事をさせても、毎回やることはまったく変わらない。つまり「学習」などといったことは全然できない。ところがニューロは、ニューロン（神経細胞）からきた言葉が表すように「学習」ができる。それは音声の判別といったものに向いていて、数多く繰り返すほど次第に精度が上がってくる。

また、従来のコンピューターは正確無比である。ということは、あいまいなものはまったく受けつけない。これに対し、ファジーは「あいまい」という意味であり、ファジーコンピューターは数字でキッチリと表せないものも扱えるのである。

このニューロとファジーで、コンピューターは大きく変わっていく。正確無比であり、何十回、何百回やらせても必ず同じことをやるというの

は、従来のコンピューターの長所であったが、それは同時に欠点でもあった。

考えてみれば人間は、あいまいにおおまかに対象をとらえ、さまざまに処理し、間違えながらも「学習」して次第に賢くなる。ニューロとファジーによる音声認識の技術が確立すれば、コンピューターはより人間に近づいてくるのであり、その用途は一段と拡大するだろう。

(尚)

## う り ひ め こ

(Tsubota, J. 1975. *Urihimeko* in Mukashi Banashi Shuu. Tokyo: Shinchoo Bunko)

むかし、むかし、あるところに、おじいさんとおばあさんとおりました。ある日、おばあさんが川へせんたくに行きました。川上から箱が二つながれてきました。プカプカ、プカプカ。これを見ると、おばあさんがよびました。

「実のある箱はこっちこい。実のない箱はあっちいけ。」

実のある箱がよってきました。そこで、それを拾って、家へ帰りました。晩におじいさんとふたりであけて見たら、中からウリが出てきました。

「まあ、りっぱなウリだ。なんというウリだろう。きっと、うまいウリにちがいない。」

ほうちょうをあてようとする、もうウリが二つにわれて、中から、赤んぼが生まれてきました。オギア、オギア。かわいい、女の子だったのです。そこで、この子をう、り、ひ、め、こ、と名前をつけました。だいに育てているうちに、美しい娘になりました。そうして機織りがたいへんじょうずになったのです。

ある日、おじいさんとおばあさんと、いっしょに山へ行くことになりました。そこで、おじいさんがいいました。

「うりひめこや、うりひめこや、わたしたちは山へ行ってくるからね。用心して、るす番をしておいで。ひとりでいると、アマンジャクという

悪い女がやってくる。アマンジャクは長いツメをしていて、とても、おまえなんかかなわない。窓や雨戸にかけがねをしておくけれど、外からよんでも、決して返事をするんでないよ。」

こういって、ふたりは出ていきました。うりひめこは部屋のなかで機織りをしておりました。

「トッキン カタリ キン カタリ

管こ無くとも 七ひろ織れる

トッキン カタリ キン カタリ」

案のじょう、アマンジャクがやってきました。

「うりひめこ、うりひめこ、おれといっしょに遊びましょう。」

ねこなで声でアマンジャクはよびました。うりひめこが知らぬふりをしておりますと、ますますねこなで声を出して、

「うりひめこ、うりひめこ、ここのところをあけてくれ。ほんのすこし、ツメのかかるだけあけとくれ。」

うりひめこはこわくなって、ツメのかかるだけなら、心配なことはあるまいと、戸口をすこしあけました。ほんとにツメのかかるほどだったのです。しかし、アマンジャクは、そこに長いツメをかけ、ギリギリギート、あけてしまいました。そして、なかへ入ってきました。

「うりひめこ、うりひめこ、長者どのの裏畑に、桃の実もぎにいかないか。」

アマンジャクがいました。

「いやいや、おじいさん、おばあさんにしかられる。」

だけでも、アマンジャクはききません。何度でも何度でも、

「長者どのの裏畑に――。」

をくり返します。うりひめこは、困ってしまって、

「ぞうりで行けば、ポンポン鳴るし、げたはいて行けば、カランコと鳴るし。だから、わたしは行かない。」

といてしまいました。すると、アマンジャクはいうのです。

「だったら、おれがおぶってやる。」

そこで、こんどはうりひめこは、

「だって、おまえの背中にはトゲがある。とても、いたくて、おぶられない。」そういいました。

「そんなら、裏からオケをもってきて、オケに入れて、おぶってやる。」

そうして、オケをとってきて、とうとう、うりひめこをそれに入れて、おぶいました。

長者どのの裏の畑へやってくると、まず桃の木にアマンジャクがのぼりました。そして自分ではうまい桃の実ばかり食べました。うりひめこには、

「かりっとかじって、ミミクソ、ハナクソ。

ブッ ブップ ブップブッ。」

そういって、まずい、きたないのばかり投げてくれました。

つぎに、うりひめこが桃の木にのぼることになりました。すると、アマンジャクは、もっと上、まだ上といて、上へ上へと のぼらせました。そのうえ、

「そら、そこには毛虫だ。そら、こっちから長者どののばあさまが来た。」

そんなことをいって、うりひめこをおどかしました。うりひめこはおどろきあわてて、とうとう木から落ちて死んでしまいました。すると、アマンジャクはうりひめこの着物を自分で着て、うりひめこに化けました。そして、おじいさん、おばあさんの家へ帰って、

「トッキン カタリ キン カタリ  
管こが無くて 織りよがない。  
トッキン カタリ キン カタリ。」

と、機を織っておりました。そこへおじいさん、おばあさんが帰ってきました。おじいさんとおばあさんは、帰ってみると、どうも機の音がうりひめこたちがっております。そこでききました。

「うりひめこや、うりひめこや、アマンジャクはこなかったか。」  
アマンジャクのうりひめこは、知らぬ顔をして、  
「来ませんでした。来ませんでした。」  
そういいました。

おじいさん、おばあさんはモチをつくことになりました。つけたところで、重箱につめて、うりひめこに長者どののところへ持たせました。アマンジャクのうりひめこは、家を出るとすぐ、その重箱のモチを食べてしまいました。そして家へは、

「はい、行ってきました。」  
と、帰ってきました。そして、

「重箱にもう一つモチをくれれば、わたしをおよめさんにしてやると、長者どのが良かったです。」

おじいさん、おばあさんに、そんなウソをいいました。おじいさん、おばあさんは、それをほんとにして、またモチをついて、重箱に入れてくれました。アマンジャクのうりひめこは、それを持って、こんどはほんとうに長者のうちに去了きました。そして、

「わたしをおよめさんにしてください。」

といいました。長者どのでは、ほんとうのうりひめこと思っ、アマンジャクをおよめさんにもらうことにしました。

アマンジャクのうりひめこが、およめ入りの朝のことです。おじいさん、おばあさんの家のそばの木の上に、一羽のカラスがとまって、

「うりひめこの おかごによ、

アマンジャクめが乗っていく。

カア カア カア カア。」

と、鳴きました。何度も鳴くので、おじいさんも、おばあさんも、

「どうも、あやしい。うちのうりひめこ、なにかが化けて、化けひめこかもしれない。」

と思ひました。そこで、その化けひめこをつかまえて、裏の泉につれていって、顔を洗わせました。しかし、アマンジャクですから、洗うまねだけしかしません。それで、おじいさん、おばあさんがふたりして、アマンジャクをつかまえていて、顔をゴシゴシ洗ってやりました。そうすると、一ぺんに化けの皮がはげて、アマンジャクということがわかりました。おじいさん、おばあさんは、もうカンカンにおこりました。アマンジャクをそのへんのカヤ原のなかを引きずりまわして、血が出るほどいじめました。

今でもカヤの根もとの赤いのは、そのとき、アマンジャクの血で、カヤの根もとがそまったのだということです。メデタシ、メデタシ。



## 桃太郎

( Tsubota, Joojo. 1975. *Momo Taroo ( The Peach boy )* in Nihon Mukashi Banashi Shu, Tokyo: Shinchoo Bunko )

一

むかし、むかし、あるところに、おじいさんとおばあさんが、住んでおりました。

ところが、夏のある日のことでした。おじいさんは山へシバかりに出かけました。

「行ってらっしゃい。」

おばあさんは、おじいさんを送りだすと、

「どれ、どれ、わたしは、川へせんたくに行きましょう。」と、たらいをかかえて川へせんたくに出かけました。

「ざぶざぶ、ざぶざぶ。」

おばあさんは、せいだしてせんたくをしました。すこしすると、川上から、うきしずみして、流れてくるものがありました。

「はて、なんだろう。」

おばあさんは、せんたくをやめて、頭をかしげて考えました。まるいものです。スイカぐらいの大きさです。白くて、青くて、うす赤です。桃にしては大きいし、ウリにしてはまんまるだし。と、もうそれは見えるところにやってきました。それは大きな大きな桃だったのです。

「まあ、めずらしい桃。なんて大きな、おいしそうな桃。いいえ、きれいで、そして美しい桃。」

おばあさんが、そんなことを考えているうちに、桃はやがて手のとどくところへ流れてきました。

「さあ、きたあ。」

おばあさんはうれしくて、すぐ手をのばして、それをつかまえました。  
ところが、どうでしょう。それは、重たくて、なかなか上にあがりません。  
両手でだいて、  
「どっこいしょっ。」

と、おばあさんは力を入れました。水から上へすこしあがったと思うと、  
手がすべって、どぶーんと、下に落ちました。桃は水の底にしずんで  
しまいました。  
「これはこまった。おいしいことをした。」

おばあさんがそういっていますと、また目の前に、桃がぴょっこりとう  
いてきました。  
「あれ、ありがたや。こんどこそ、じょうずに取りましようぞ。さあ、  
桃軽くなれ。軽くなれ。おばあさんの手からすべるでないよ。」

おばあさんは桃を手もとにかきよせ、こんどこそと、しっかり両手をか  
けました。そして、  
「どっこい、こらしょっ。こらしょっのどっこい、よいしょっ。」

そういう長いかけ声をして、やっどぶじに胸の前にかかえこみました。  
それから、そばのたらいの上におろしました。そして、つくづくながめ  
ました。まったく、めずらしい桃です。見たこともない桃です。聞いた  
こともない桃です。

「おじいさんといっしょに食べましよう。きっと、もう今まで食べたこ  
ともないほどおいしい味にちがいない。」

おばあさんは思いました。

その晩のことです。

「帰りましたよ。」

と、おじいさんが、シバをいっぱい背おって帰ってきました。

「おつかれでしょう。」

いうかいわないに、おばあさんはもう桃のことをいいだしました。

「おじいさん、いいことがあるのですよ。早く上へおあがりなさい。」

おじいさんはにこにこして、シバをかたづけ、手を洗ってあがってきました。そして、茶の間にはいってみれば、そのまないたの上に、なんとまあ大きな桃がのっかっておることでしょう。

「や、りっぱな桃だ。日本一の桃だ。」

おじいさんがびっくりしていいました。そして、片手にもう、ほうちょうを持っているおばあさんをとめました。

「待て、待て。すぐ食べるのおいしいじゃないか。」

それから、どれくらい長く、ふたりは桃をながめたでありましょうか。つまり、桃をながめてはごはんを食べ、ごはんを食べては桃をながめました。ごはんがすんで、それをかたづけると、おばあさんがいいました。

。

「おじいさん、桃はまだですか、まだ食べるのおいしいですか。」

「ふうん。」

おじいさんは考えました。

「では、とにかく、すこし味をきいてみることにしましょう。ほんのちよっぴり。」

そこで、おばあさんは、ほうちょうを取りました。それから、

「まず、こうして。」

と、桃の頭に、そのほうちょうの刃をあてていいました。

「二つに切ってと。」

ところが、ふしぎなことが起こりました。だって、ほうちょうの刃を、ただ、そこにちょっとあてたきりですのに、桃が二つにわれました。いや、われたばかりではありません。そこから、

「おぎゃあ、おぎゃあ、おぎゃあ。」

という声がおこりました。おじいさんとおばあさんふたりとも、もうたいへんなおどろきかたです。だって、そこに、桃の中にひとりの人間の赤ちゃんが、ぴんぴん足をはねているのですもの。

「おう、おう。」

おばあさんがいえば、

「いや、これは、ふしぎ。」

おじいさんがいいました。つづいて、

「なんて、かわいい赤んぼか。」

おばあさんがいいました。

「これは、まったく神さまのさずかりものだぞ。」

おじいさんもいいました。

それから、ふたりはお湯をわかして、赤んぼにうぶ湯をつかわせました。うぶ着というきものなんかもつくって着せました。また、赤いごはんをたいて、お祝いなんぞもいたしました。ふたりはうれしくてうれしくて、それはもうだいに、その赤んぼをそだてました。名まえも、桃から生まれたので、桃太郎とつけました。

### 三

桃太郎は、ずんずんずんずん大きくなりました。かわいらしいのは生まれたときからですが、とてもかしこく、とても力持にもなりました。どんな子どもだってかないません。いいえ、おとなだってかなわなくなり

ました。そしてまもなく、日本一の子どもになりました。もう鬼だって  
かなわなくなったのです。

だから、ある日のことです。桃太郎が、おじいさんおばあさんにいいま  
した。

「おじいさん、おばあさん、ぼくが鬼ガ島へ鬼退治に行きます。おべん  
とうにきびだんごをつくってください。」

「それは、それは一」

と、おじいさんおばあさんも大びっくりいたしました。それでも、人を  
いじめたり、こまらせたりしている悪い者を退治するといふのですから  
、それをとめるわけにはいきません。

「それでは用心して、まちがいないように行っていらっしゃい。」

おじいさんおばあさんにいわれて、桃太郎は出発しました。右の腰には  
きびだんご、左の腰には太刀、背中には旗を立てておりました。旗には  
大きな字で、「日本一の桃太郎」と、書いてありました。

うちを出て、すこし行くと、村へ出ました。すると、一ぴきの大きな犬  
が、かけよってきました。

「桃太郎さん、桃太郎さん。」

その犬がいました。むかしのことから、犬だってものをいったの  
です。

「なんだ、用事か。」

桃太郎がききました。

「いったい、どこへ行かれるのですか？」

「鬼ガ島へ鬼退治に行く。」

犬は、桃太郎の勇ましいすがたや元気なことばに感心してしまいました。  
そして、しばらくことばも出さずにおりましたが、

「桃太郎さん、わたしもいっしょに、つれて行ってください。」

と、たのみました。

「よし。それでは、このきびだんごをやる。それを食べて、ついてこい。」

そういつて、桃太郎は腰にさげたきびだんごを一つ取って犬にやりました。  
犬はそれを食べて、

「おいしいだんごですね。はじめてこんなおいしいものを食べました。  
ありがとうございます。」

そういつて、しっぽをぴんぴんふってついてきました。それから、しばらく行くと、こんどは山へはいりました。山へはいると、

「あ、桃太郎さんー」

そうよんで、出てきた者がありました。一ぴきのサルでした。

「なんだ。用事か。」

桃太郎がいいますと、

「いったいどこへ行かれますか。」

サルがききました。

「鬼ガ島へ鬼退治に行く。」

桃太郎がいいますと、サルはすっかり感心して、顔をまっかにしていいました。

「わたしもいっしょにつれていってください。」

と、頭をさげてたのみました。

「よし、それでは、このきびだんごをやる。これを食べてからついてこい。」

そこで、サルにもきびだんごをやりました。サルも、  
「おいしい、おいしい。」

と、きびだんごを食べ、たいへん元気になって、桃太郎についてきました。それから、またしばらく行くと、こんどは野原へ出ました。野原へ出ると、もう、  
「ももたろーさーん。」

と、よんで、空を飛んでくるものがありました。見れば、それは一羽のキジでした。キジは、桃太郎の前に、空からおりて、  
「桃太郎さん、いったいどこへ行かれるところですか。」  
と、ききました。  
「鬼ガ島へ鬼退治に行く。」

桃太郎がいました。キジは、すっかり感心して、ばたばた羽ばたきをする、と、いいました。  
「桃太郎さん、わたしもいっしょにつれてってください。おねがしいたします。」  
「よし。」  
桃太郎がいました。  
「このきびだんごを食べて、元気をつけてついてこい。」

そして、腰のだんごを取ってやりました。キジはそれを食べると、にわかに元気がついたらしく、また空に飛びあがり、桃太郎の上を二度も三度も舞って、それから下におりました。

こうして、桃太郎は、犬、サル、キジと三人の者をつれて、いよいよ、鬼ガ島をさして、いそいで出かけました。

#### 四

桃太郎と、犬、サル、キジの三人は、鬼ガ島が遠くに見える海の岸にやってきました。そこで、桃太郎がいました。

「だれか舟をさがしてこい。」

「はあーい。」

サルとキジがそういました。そして、サルは海ばたの道を走って行きました。キジは空を飛んで行きました。まもなく、帆かけ舟がやってきました。帆柱の上には、キジがとまっていました。かじはサルがとっていました。サルはじょうずにかじをとって、桃太郎のすぐ前に舟をつけました。

「はい、桃太郎さん、どうぞ、お乗りください。」

そういつて、おじぎをしました。そこで、桃太郎と犬とは、舟に乗りこみました。サルはまたじょうずに、かじをとって、舟を出発させました。いよいよ鬼ガ島へ行くのです。海には大きな波が、たっていました。風も強くふいていました。しかし、サルがじょうずにかじをとりましたので、舟は、帆いっぱい風をうけて、まるで矢のように早く走りました。キジは、あいかわらず、帆柱の上にとまっていて、右だ、左だと、サルにさしずしました。鬼ガ島への方角をそれると、キジはやかましくいうのでした。犬は舟のへさきに桃太郎の旗を立てて、一心に鬼ガ島をにらんでいました。桃太郎は舟のまんなかについて、日の丸の扇を開き、ゆっくり自分をあおいでいました。

そのうち、だんだん鬼ガ島に近づいてきました。

## 五

鬼ガ島は岩ばかりの島でした。黒い岩。茶色の岩。灰色の岩。そういう岩が岩の上にかさなって、もりあがりもりあがりして、高い山になっていました。その岩をくりぬいて、中にほら穴をつくって、鬼は住んでい



ました。その鬼のほら穴へ行くのには、三つのトンネルがありました。そのトンネルには、それぞれ鉄の門があつて、鉄のとびらがしまっていました。その扉の前には、赤鬼、白鬼、黒鬼どもが、トラの皮のふんどしをしめて、太い金棒をついて、番をしていました。

ところで、桃太郎の舟は、サルがじょうずにかじをとって、その第一番めの鉄の門の前につきました。すると、まず、犬が島にとびあがつて、大声でよびました。

「おおい、鬼ども一。日本一の桃太郎さん、今日、ただ今、この島へ、鬼を退治においでになったぞう。悪い鬼ども、さあ、どうじゃ、一ぴきのこらず降参しろ。しないとあれば、生かしておかぬぞう。」

それから、犬、サル、キジが、まず鉄門のとびらの前に進みました。犬がまた大声でよびました。

「開門、開門。」

これは、門を開けということです。しかし、これを聞いた鬼どもは、  
「それ、人間がせめてきた。」

と、とびらをかたくしめて、中で金棒をごとりごとりとつき鳴らし、あけるどころではありません。犬、サル、キジが、そこで、桃太郎にいいました。

「桃太郎さん、どういたしましょう。」

「せめこめ、せめこめ、まずキジとサルで、せめ入り、このとびらを内から開け。」

桃太郎がいいました。

「はい。」

まず、キジがばたばたたちあがつて、門をこしました。そして、中にい

て大いばりにいばっている鬼たちの顔をめがけて、空からおそいかかりました。目玉をねらってとびかかりました。

「いや、これはたまらん。これはたいへん。」

鬼どもは、つぎからつぎと、みんな両手で目をおさえて、下にしゃがんでしまいました。一ピキも鉄の棒をふりあげてくる者がありません。そこで、サルは、らくらくと門をのぼって行き、中のとびらを開いてよびました。

「さあ、桃太郎さん、おはいりください。」

桃太郎と犬は、中へとびこみ、用意の綱をだして、鬼どもをみんなしばってしまいました。

それから、つぎの第二の門にむかいました。そこでも犬が、

「開門、開門。」

とよんで、鬼に降参をすすめました。降参しないことがわかると、桃太郎はキジとサルに、門をこえさせ、さっきのようにして、また鬼どもをくくってしまいました。

それから、いよいよ、第三の門、鬼の本陣にむかいました。ここも、第一の門、第二の門と同じように、サルがわけなくとびらを開きました。しかし、その中には、鬼の大将がいて、キジ、サル、犬ではなかなか退治できませんでした。この鬼の大将は大きな大きな赤鬼で、金棒を水車のようにふりまわしていました。それにあたれば、こっぴみじん、人間でも砂のようにこなごなになるというのですから、たいへんです。

キジ、サル、犬たち、その大将をとりまいて、わんわん、きいきい、ほえたてているばかりです。そこで、桃太郎が近くにあった鬼の金棒を手に取り、

「それでは、日本一の、この桃太郎が、あいてをしてやろう。」

と、

「えいっ。」

と、一声かけ声をかけ、その棒をびゅうっと風をきってふりまわしました。その早さ、その強さ、ピカピカ火が出るように見えました。

それから、桃太郎は、その棒をだんだん鬼の大將のほうに近づけました。と思うまもなく、ぱばんぱんと、音がしました。鬼の大將の金棒が、桃太郎の棒にあたって、こっぴみじんととんでったのです。砂や土のようにこなごなになったのです。これを知ると、鬼の大將がびっくりして、桃太郎の前に両手をついて、すわりました。下に頭をつけていました。

「桃太郎さん、おゆるしてください。もう悪いことはいたしません。人間からとってきた宝物はみんなお返しいたします。この島もたちのき、遠いところへまいります。遠いところで、いい鬼になってくらしめます。」

そこで、桃太郎は、キジ、サル、犬に相談しました。

「どうじゃ。」

三人がいいました。

「おゆるしなさいませ。」

桃太郎は鬼をゆるしてやりました。そして、舟いっぱいにとりかえした宝物をつんで、帆をふくらまして帰ってきました。サルがじょうずにかじをとり、キジが帆柱の上にとまって、見はりをしました。犬はへさきに桃太郎の旗を立て、桃太郎は舟のまんなかで日の丸の扇を開いて、ゆっくり胸をあおいでいました。

おじいさん、おばあさんが、桃太郎をむかえて、どんなに喜んだことであらましよう、めでたし、めでたし。

## 食べられた男

( Atoda Takashi. 1982. *Taberareta Otoko ( The Man who was Eaten )* in *Taberareta Otoko Japan*: Kodansha )

これは私の親しい友人、S君に起こったことである。あなたの周囲にも似たような人がいるのかもしれない。

S君と私は小学校、中学校を通じて同じN大学付属部のクラスメートだった。高校、大学と進んでも、クラスや専攻こそ違ったが、同じ学窓に学んだことに変わりはない。そして大学を卒業してみると、ご丁寧にも二人とも同じ会社の社員になっていた。

これだけ同じ道筋を歩いていれば、厭でも親しい間がらになってしまう。S君の性格は決して私の好むタイプではなかったが、S君のものの考えかたや生活の習慣について私はずいぶんとこまかい点に至るまで熟知しているつもりだった。

そのS君が半年ほど前に結婚をした。

奥さんはエキゾチックな面差しの、ゾッとするほどの美人である。S君がどうやってあれほどの美女の心を捕えることができたのか、披露宴のあとで私はねたましいような一そのねたみが高じて、一方ではこれはきつとよくない出来事の前兆だと危惧を感じ、もう一方ではなにかよくないことが起こってほしいと願うような、そんな複雑な感慨を抱いたものだった。

この予感はある程度まで適中した、と言っていいだろう。

結婚して一ヵ月もすると、S君が微妙に変化したのに私は気づいた。

変化は、まず最初に足に現われた。

と言っても、足が太くなったり、長くなったりしたわけではない。

今も言った通り、私はS君の性格や習慣についてあらかじめ知っているつもりだが、その中でも彼のタクシー好きは、昔から気がついている顕著な癖の一つだった。それが急に徒歩を好むように変わってしまった。

ほんのわずかな距離を行くときでもタクシーを呼び止めていたS君が、今度は雨降りの日に二、三キロ先まで行かなくてはならないというのに、「おい、歩こう」

と、スタスタ歩きだす。足の運びまでが以前に比べてやけにたくましくなったような気がする。

おかしいことがあるものだと思ううちに、変化は続いてS君の手に及んだ。

私はS君とこれほど長い間つきあっていながら、彼が火の前に立って料理をする姿などついぞ見たことがなかった。キャンプに行っても、彼はただほかの人がせっせと食事ごしらえをするのを眺めているだけ。独身時代のアパートへも何回か行っただが、インスタントコーヒー一ついれるわけではない。調理に関してはまったくの無能で、目玉焼きだって満足に焼くことができなかっただろう。

それが新婚家庭を訪ねてみると、S君は新妻を差しおいてキッチンに潜り込み、華麗なオードブルを作って食卓に運んで来た。このみごとな変身ぶりに真実私はあいた口がふさがらなかった。

気をつけて眺めると、S君の変化はまだまだほかの部分にも起こっていた。胃腸薬を手離したことのない男が急に健啖家になり、レバもつやウ

ナギのような、しつこい、エネルギッシュな食品を好んで食うようになった。

さぞかし夜のベッドでも効力を発揮するだろうと、私はいささか卑猥な想像をめぐらしたものだ。

こういう変化について、私がS君に問いただしてみる気になったのも当然だろう。

会社の昼休み、たまたま食堂で隣り合わせたS君に私は言った。

「まるで別人になったみたいじゃないか」

「ヤッパリわかるかね」

S君は奇妙に浮かない顔をして私を見返した。

「そりゃわかるよ。美人の奥さんをもろうとこうまで自己改造ができるものかな」

私は冷かし半分に言ったのだが、S君は顔をこわばらせ、

「美人の女房か」

と、小さく吐くようにつぶやいた。

美人の奥さんには満足しているが、なにか不安のある様子だ。

「どうかしたのか」

S君はポツリと言った。

「.....あいつは.....魔女かもしれない」

私は一瞬耳を疑った。“魔女”などという言葉は、映画やテレビの中にならともかくサラリーマンの日常生活に似つかわしいものではない。

「魔女.....？」

私は笑ったと思うが、S君はいたって深刻な表情だった。

「わからない。気になることがあるんだ」

「奥さんに？なんだい？」

「結婚してから、オレ、変な.....そう、変な夢を見るんだよ」

「どんな夢？」

「一番初めは足だった」

「足？」

「うん。オレが眠っていると、家内がそばに寄って来て、いきなりオレの足を食い始めたんだ。ナマのままで.....

。あいつは彫りの深い肉食人種のような顔をしているだろう。それが眼を赤く光らせておいしそうにオレの足をポリポリ噛んで食べたんだ」

「それで.....？」

「足がなくなったら困るだろう。だからオレがそう言うと、あいつは平気な顔で“明日までもっといいのがはえてくるわ” って.....」

「なるほど」

「たしかにあいつが食い終ったあと切り口を見ると、そこから芽のようなものが出て来て、それが翌朝までにりっぱな足になった」

「夢ならべつに気にすることもないだろう」

「うん.....

。しかしオレが今、夢の話だと言ったのは、こんな馬鹿な話、夢よりほかに考えられないからそう言ったまでのことで、オレの意識としては本当に夜のうちに家内に足を食われたような記憶がはっきり残っているんだよ」

「まさか」

「だれでもそう言うさ。しかしなア.....あれは夢じゃない。その証拠に二、三日して今度は手を食われた」

「また翌朝までに新しいのがはえてきたのか」

「うん。あいつが傷口をペロペロなめると、そのあとに手がはえて来た」

「奥さんには話したのかい、その.....変なことを」

「話した。あいつも“おかしい夢ね” って眼を細めて笑っていた。しかし、なにか知ってるみたいだった。足が頑丈になったのも、料理ができるようになったのも、それからのことだったしな。オレ、昔はやたらに

タクシーに乗りたがっただろう。それが最近足のほうがオレの意志に関係ないみたいに歩きだす。料理だって気がつくと手が自動的にキャベツを切ったりするんだ」

「気のせいだよ。胃が丈夫になったのも夢を見たのかい？」

「そうだ。ヤッパリ真夜中に女房がスーッとそばに寄って来て“あんまりいい胃袋じゃないみたい”なんて言ってね。ガブリと腹に食いついたんだ。タバコをやめたのも、あいつが喉に食いついた翌朝からだぜ。煙がむせるようになって、とても気管に通って行かない。オレの体は女房に食われて、少しずつべつなものに変わってしまうらしい」

私はまじまじとS君の顔を見すえた。

「疲れているんだよ。生活環境が変わったんで」

「そうかもしれないが.....」

S君は自信なさそうに首を振って席を立った。

もとより私はこんな話を少しも信じやしなかった。S君が夢を見たのは本当かもしれないし、似たような夢を繰り返して見るのも、まれにはあるだろう。

タクシーに乗らなくなったのは結婚をして小遣いが不足がちになったからだろう。あれほど美人の奥さんをもらえば亭主はサービスに努めて台所に立つこともあるだろう。生活が規則正しくなれば胃腸は丈夫になるし、結婚を機会に禁煙をする例は世間にないわけじゃない。

S君は、結婚して女房の尻に敷かれ、急に変貌した自分が照れくさくて、それであんな下手クソな作り話をしたのではないか—私はその時もそう思ったし、今でもその考えを捨てていないわけではない。

実際のところ、私はこの日のS君の話をそう深く心に留めてはいなかった。なかば忘れていたと言ってもいい。



もう一度思い出したのは、それから何日かたって、またS君と一緒に昼めしを食った時のことだ。

「このあいだの夢の話、その後どうなった。まだ見るのかい？」

S君は不思議そうな顔で私を覗いた。

「どんな夢？」

「ほら、奥さんがキミを食べる話だよ。」

S君の表情はますます奇妙になった。

「わからん。なんのことだ」

今度は私のほうが穴のあくほどS君を見なければいけなかった。

二人はおたがいに相手が信じられないように、ポカーンと顔を突き合わせていた。

気がつくと、S君の額のところに昔からはっきりあった傷跡がない。それは、たしか小学生の頃、鉄棒から落ちてついたはずだったが.....。

そう言えばS君のものの考え方も最近急に变化したような気がしてならない。

美人の嫁さんをもらうと、人間はこれほどまで簡単に変わってしまうものだろうか？もしそうならば、奥さんの才能は明らかに魔力の一種にちがいない。私はそう思ったから言った。

「なるほど.....魔女かもしれないな」

S君はなおも不思議そうに首を振って、

「魔女って.....なんの話だ？」

S君の頭も、もうすっかりはえ替ってしまったらしい.....。

## ノルウェイの森

( Murakami, H. 1991. *Noruei no Mori (Jo) ( Norwegian Wood )*, Tokyo: Kodansha. )

僕は三十七歳で、そのときボーイング747のシートに座っていた。その巨大な飛行機はぶ厚い雨雲をくぐり抜けて降下し、ハンブルク空港に着陸しようとしているところだった。十一月の冷ややかな雨が大地を暗く染め、雨合羽を着た整備工たちや、のっぺりとした空港ビルの上に立った旗や、BMWの広告板やそんな何もかもをフランドル派の陰うつな絵の背景のように見せていた。やれやれ、またドイツか、と俺は思った。

飛行機が着地を完了すると禁煙のサインが消え、天井のスピーカーから小さな音でBGMが流れはじめた。それはどこかのオーケストラが甘く演奏するビートルズの「ノルウェイの森」だった。そしてそのメロディーはいつものように俺を混乱させた。いや、いつもとは比べものにならないくらい激しく僕を混乱させ揺り動かした。

僕は頭がはりさけてしまわないように身をかがめて両手で顔を覆い、そのままじっとしていた。やがてドイツ人のスチュワーデスがやってきて、気分がわるいのかと英語で訊いた。大丈夫、少し目まいがしただけだと僕は答えた。

「本当に大丈夫？」

「大丈夫です、ありがとう」と僕は言った。スチュワーデスはにっこりと笑って行ってしまい、音楽はビリー・ジョエルの曲に変った。僕は顔を上げて北海の上空に浮かんだ暗い雲を眺め、自分がこれまでの人生の過程で失ってきた多くのもののことを考えた。失われた時間、死にあるいは去っていった人々、もう戻ることのない想い。

飛行機が完全にストップして、人々がシートベルトを外し、物入れの中からバックやら上着やらをとりだし始めるまで、僕はずっとあの草原の

中にいた。僕は草の匂いをかぎ、肌に風を感じ、鳥の声を聴いた。それは一九六九年の秋で、僕はもうすぐ二十歳になろうとしていた。

前と同じスチュワーデスがやってきて、僕の隣りに腰を下ろし、もう大丈夫かと訊ねた。

「大丈夫です、ありがとうございます。ちょっと哀しくなっただけだから (It's all right now, thank you. I only felt lonely, you know.)

」と僕は言って微笑んだ。

「Well, I feel same way, same thing, once in a while. I know what you mean. (そういうこと私にもときどきありますよ。よくわかります)」彼女はそう言って首を振り、席から立ちあがってとても素敵な笑顔を僕に向けてくれた。「I hope you'll have a nice trip. Auf Wiedersehen!

(よい御旅行を。さようなら)」

「Auf Widersehen!」と僕も言った。

十八年という歳月が過ぎ去ってしまった今でも、僕はあの草原の風景をはっきりと思い出すことができる。何日かつづいたやわらかな雨に夏のあいだのほこりをすっかり洗い流された山肌は深く鮮やかな青みをたたえ、十月の風はすすきの穂をあちこちで揺らせ、細長い雲が凍りつくような青い天頂にぴたりとはりついていた。空は高く、じっと見ていると目が痛くなるほどだった。風は草原をわたり、彼女の髪をかすかに揺らせて雑木林に抜けていった。梢の葉がさらさらと音を立て、遠くの方で犬の鳴く声が聞こえた。まるで別の世界の入口から聞こえてくるような小さくかすんだ鳴き声だった。その他にはどんな物音もなかった。どんな物音も我々の耳には届かなかった。誰一人ともすれ違わなかった。真っ赤な鳥が二羽草原の中から何かに怯えたようにとびあがって雑木林の方に飛んでいくのを見かけただけだった。歩きながら直子は僕に井戸の話をしてくれた。

記憶というのはなんだか不思議なものだ。その中に実際に身を置いていたとき、僕はそんな風景に殆んど注意なんて払わなかった。とくに印象的な風景だとも思わなかったし、十八年後もその風景を細部まで覚えているかもしれないとは考えつきもしなかった。正直なところ、そのときの僕には風景なんてどうでもいいようなものだったのだ。僕は僕自身のことを考え、そのときとなりを並んで歩いていた一人の美しい女のことを考え、僕と彼女とのことを考え、そしてまた僕自身のことを考えた。それは何を見ても何を感じても何を考えても、結局すべてはブーメランのように自分自身の手もとに戻ってくるという年代だったのだ。おまけに僕は恋をしていて、その恋はひどくややこしい場所に僕を運びこんでいた。まわりの風景に気持を向ける余裕なんてどこにもなかったのだ。

でも今では僕の脳裏に最初に浮かぶのはその草原の風景だ。草の匂い、かすかな冷やかさを含んだ風、山の稜線、犬の鳴く声、そんなものがまず最初に浮かびあがってくる。とてもくっきりと。それらはあまりにもくっきりとしているので、手をのばせばひとつひとつ指でなぞれそうな気がするくらいだ。しかしその風景の中には人の姿は見えない。誰もいない。直子もいないし、僕もいない。我々はいったいどこに消えてしまったんだろう、と僕は思う。どうしてこんなことが起りうるんだろう、と。あれほど大事そうに見えたものは、彼女やそのときの僕や僕の世界は、みんなどこに行ってしまったんだろう、と。そう、僕には直子の顔を今すぐ思い出すことさえできないのだ。僕が手にしているのは人影のない背景だけなのだ。

もちろん時間さえかければ僕は彼女の顔を思い出すことができる。小さな冷たい手や、さらりとした手ざわりのまっすぐなきれいな髪や、やわらかな丸い形の耳たぶやそのすぐ下にある小さなホクロや、冬になると

よく着ていた上品なキャメルのコートや、いつも相手の目をじっとのぞきこみながら質問する癖や、ときどき何かの加減で震え気味になる声（まるで強風の吹く丘の上でしゃべっているみたいだった）や、そんなイメージをひとつひとつ積みかさねていくと、ふっと自然に彼女の顔が浮かびあがってくる。まず横顔が浮かびあがってくる。これはたぶん僕と直子がいつも並んで歩いていたせいだろう。だから僕が最初に思い出すのはいつも彼女の横顔なのだ。それから彼女は僕の方を向き、にっこりと笑い、少し首をかしげ、話しかけ、僕の目をのぞきこむ。まるで澄んだ泉の底をちらりとよぎる小さな魚の影を探し求めるみたいに。

でもそんな風に僕の頭の中に直子の顔が浮かんでくるまでには少し時間がかかる。そして年月がたつにつれてそれに要する時間はだんだん長くなっていく。哀しいことではあるけれど、それは真実なのだ。最初は五秒あれば思いだせたのに、それが十秒になり三十秒になり一分になる。まるで夕暮の影のようにそれはどんどん長くなる。そしておそらくやがては夕闇の中に吸いこまれてしまうことになるだろう。そう、僕の記憶は直子の立っていた場所から確実に遠ざかりつつあるのだ。ちょうど僕がかつての僕自身が立っていた場所から確実に遠ざかりつつあるように。そして風景だけが、その十月の草原の風景だけが、まるで映画の中の象徴的なシーンみたいにくりかえしくりかえし僕の頭の中に浮かんでくる。そしてその風景は僕の頭のある部分を執拗に蹴りつづけている。おい、起きろ、俺はまだここにいるんだぞ、起きろ、起きて理解しろ、どうして俺がまだここにいるのかというその理由を。痛みはない。痛みはまったくない。蹴とばすたびにうつろな音がするだけだ。そしてその音さえもたぶんいつかは消えてしまうのだろう。他の何もかもが結局は消えてしまったように。しかしハンブルク空港のルフトハンザ機の中で、彼らはいつもより長くいつもより強く僕の頭を蹴りつづけていた。起きろ、理解しろ、と。だからこそ僕はこの文章を書いている。僕は何ごとによらず文章にして書いてみないことには物事をうまく理解できないと

いうタイプの人間なのだ。

## どんぐりと山猫

( Miyazawa, K. 1970. *Donguri to Yamaneko* in *Chuumon no ooi Ryoori-ten*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko )

おかしなはがきが、ある土曜日の夕がた、一郎のうちにきました。

かねた一郎さま 九月十九日

あなたは、ごきげんよろしいほど、けっこです。

あした、めんどなさいばんしますから、おいでん

なさい。とびどぐもたないでください。

山ねこ 拝

こんなのです。字はまるでへたで、墨もがさがさして指につくくらいでした。けれども一郎はうれしくてうれしくてたまりませんでした。はがきをそっと学校のかばんにしまって、うちじゅうとんだりはねたりしました。

ね床にもぐってからも、山猫のにやあとした顔や、そのめんどうだという裁判のけしきなどを考えて、おそくまでねむりませんでした。

けれども、一郎が眼をさましたときは、もうすっかり明るくなっていました。おもてにでてみると、まわりの山は、みんなたたいたまできたばかりのように、うるうるもりあがって、まっ青なそらのしたにならんでいました。一郎はいそいでごはんをたべて、ひとり谷川に沿ったこみちを、かみの方へのぼって行きました。

すきとおった風がざあっと吹くと、栗の木はばらばらと実をおとしました。一郎は栗の木をみあげて、

「栗の木、栗の木、やまねこがここを通らなかったかい」とききました。  
栗の木はちょっとしずかになって、

「やまねこなら、けさはやく、馬車でひがしの方へ飛んで行きましたよ」と答えました。

「東ならぼくのいく方だねえ、おかしいな、とにかくもっといってみよう。栗の木ありがとう」

栗の木はだまってまた実をばらばらとおとしました。

一郎がすこし行きますと、そこはもう笛ふきの滝でした。笛ふきの滝というのは、まっ白な岩の崖のなかほどに、小さな穴があいていて、そこから水が笛のように鳴って飛び出し、すぐ滝になって、ごうごう谷におちているのをいうのでした。

一郎は滝に向いて叫びました。

「おいおい、笛ふき、やまねこがここに通らなかったかい」滝がぴーぴー一答えました。

「やまねこは、さっき、馬車で西の方へ飛んで行きましたよ」

「おかしいな。西ならぼくのうちの方だ。けれども、まあも少し行ってみよう。ふえふき、ありがとう」

滝はまたもどのように笛を吹きつづけました。

一郎がまたすこし行きますと、一本のぶなの木のしたに、たくさんの白いきのこが、どってこどってこどってこと、変な楽隊をやっていました。

一郎はからだをかがめて、



「おい、きのこ、やまねこが、ここを通らなかったかい」  
とききました。するときのこは、

「やまねこなら、けさはやく、馬車で南の方へ飛んで行きましたよ」と  
こたえました。一郎は首をひねりました。

「みなみならあっちの山のなかだ。おかしいな。まあもすこし行ってみよう。きのこ、ありがとう」

きのこはみんないそがしそうに、どってこどってこと、あのへんな楽隊をつづけました。

一郎はまたすこし行きました。すると一本のくるみの木の梢を、りすがぴょんととんでいました。一郎はすぐ手まねぎしてそれをとめて、

「おい、りす、やまねこがここを通らなかったかい」とたずねました。  
するとりすは、木の上から、額に手をかざして、一郎を見ながらこうこたえました。

「やまねこなら、けさまだくらいうちに馬車でみなみの方へ飛んで行きましたよ。」

「みなみへ行ったなんて、二とこでそんなことを言うのはおかしいなあ。けれどもまあもすこし行ってみよう。りす、ありがとう」りすはもういませんでした。ただくるみのいちばん上の枝がゆれ、となりのぶなの葉がちらっとひかっただけでした。

一郎がすこし行きましたら、谷川にそったみちは、もう細くなって消えてしまいました。そして谷川の南の、まっ黒なかかやの木の森の方へ、あたらしいちいさなみちがついていました。一郎はそのみちをのぼっ

て行きました。かやの枝はまっくろに重なりあって、青ぞらは一きれも見えず、みちはたいへん急な坂になりました。一郎が顔をまっかにして、汗をぽとぽとおとしながら、その坂をのぼりますと、にわかにはっと明るくなって、眼がちくっとしました。そこはうつくしい黄金いろの草地で、草は風にざわざわ鳴り、まわりはりっぱなオリーブいろのかやの木のもりでかこまれてありました。

その草地のまん中に、せいの低いおかしな形の男が、膝を曲げて手に革鞭をもって、だまってこっちをみていたのです。

一郎はだんだんそばへ行って、びっくりして立ちどまってしまいました。その男は、片眼で、見えない方の眼は、白くびくびくうごき、上着のような半てんのようなへんなものを着て、だいいち足が、ひどくまがって山羊のよう、ことにそのあしきときたら、ごはんをもるへらのかたちだったのです。一郎は気味が悪かったのですが、なるべく落ちついてたずねました。

「あなたは山猫をしりませんか」

するとその男は、横目で一郎の顔を見て、口をまげてにやっとわらって言いました。

「山ねこさまはいますぐに、ここに戻ってお出やるよ。おまえは一郎さんだな」

一郎はぎょっとして、一あしうしろにさがって、

「え、ぼく一郎です。けれども、どうしてそれを知ってますか」と言いました。するとその奇体な男はいよいよにやにやしてしまいました。

「そんだったら、はがき見だべ」

「見ました。それで来たんです」

「あのぶんしょうは、ずいぶん下手だべ」と男は下をむいてかなしそうに言いました。一郎はきのどくになって、

「さあ、なかなか、ぶんしょうがうまいようでしたよ」

と言いますと、男はよろこんで、息をはあはあして、耳のあたりまでまっ赤になり、きもののえりをひろげて、風をからだに入れながら、

「あの字もなかなかうまいか」とききました。一郎はおもわず笑いだしながら、へんじしました。

「うまいですね。五年生だってあのくらいには書けないでしょう」すると男は、急にまたいやな顔をしました。

「五年生っていうのは、尋常五年生だべ」その声が、あんまり力なくあわれに聞こえたので、一郎はあわてて言いました。

「いいえ、大学校の五年生ですよ」

すると、男はまたよろこんで、まるで、顔じゅう口のようにして、にたにたにたにた笑って叫びました。

「あのはがきはわしが書いたのだよ」一郎はおかしいのをこらえて、

「ぜんたいあなたはなにですか」とたずねますと、男は急にまじめになって、

「わしは山ねこさまの馬車別当だよ」と言いました。

そのとき、風がどうと吹いてきて、草はいちめん波だち、別当は、急にていねいなおじぎをしました。

一郎はおかしいとおもって、ふりかえって見ますと、そこに山猫が黄い

ろな陣羽織のようなものを着て、緑いろの眼をまんまるにして立っていました。やっぱり山猫の耳は、立ってとがっているなど、一郎はおもいましたら、山猫はぴょこっとおじぎをしました。一郎もていねいに挨拶しました。

「いや、こんにちは、きのうははがきをありがとう」

山猫はひげをぴんとひっぱって、腹をつき出して言いました。

「こんにちは、よくいらっしゃいました。じつはおとといから、めんど  
うなあらそいがおこって、ちょっと裁判にこまりましたので、あなたのお考えを、うかがいたいとおもいましたのです。まあ、ゆっくり、おやすみください。じき、どんぐりどもがまいりましょう。どうもまい年、この裁判でくるしみます」山ねこは、ふところから、巻きたばこの箱を出して、じぶんが一本くわえ、

「いかがですか」と一郎に出しました。一郎はびっくりして、

「いいえ」と言いましたら、山猫はおうようにわらって、

「ふふん、まだお若いから」と言いながら、マッチをしゅっとすって、わざと顔をしかめて、青いけむりをふうと吐きました。山ねこの馬車別当は、気を付けの姿勢で、しゃんと立っていましたが、いかにも、たばこのほしいのをむりにこらえているらしく、なみだをぼろぼろこぼしました。

そのとき、一郎は、足もとでパチパチ塩のはぜるような、音をききました。びっくりしてかがんで見ますと、草のなかに、あっちにもこっちにも、黄金いろのまるいものが、ぴかぴかひかっているのです。よくみると、みんなそれは赤いずぼんをはいたどんぐりで、もうその数ときたら、三百でも利かないようでした。わあわあわあわあ、みんななにか言っているのです。

「あ、来たな。蟻のようにやってくる。おい、さあ、早くベルを鳴らせ。今日はそこが日当りがいいから、そここの草を刈れ」山猫は巻きたばこを投げすてて、大いそぎで馬車別当にいいつけました。馬車別当もたいへんあわてて、腰から大きな鎌をとりだして、ざっくざっくと、やまねこの前のとこの草を刈りました。そこへ四方の草のなかから、どんぐりどもが、ぎらぎらひかって、飛び出して、わあわあわあわあ言いました。

馬車別当が、こんどは鈴をがらがらがらがらんと振りました。音はかやの森に、がらがらがらがらんとひびき、黄金のどんぐりどもは、すこししずかになりました。見ると山ねこは、もういつか黒い長い繻子の服を着て、もったいらしく、どんぐりどもの前にすわっていました。まるで奈良のだいぶつさまにさんけいするみんなの絵のようだと一郎はおもいました。別当がこんどは革鞭を二、三べん、ひゅう、ぱちっ、ひゅう、ぱちっと鳴らしました。

空が青くすみわたり、どんぐりはぴかぴかしてじつにきれいでした。

「裁判もう今日で三日目だぞ、いい加減になかなおりをしたらどうだ」山ねこが、すこし心配そうに、それでもむりにいばって言いますと、どんぐりどもは口々に叫びました。

「いえいえ、だめです、なんといったって頭のとがっているのがいちばんえらいんです。そしてわたしがいちばんとがっています」

「いいえ、ちがいます。まるいのがえらいのです。いちばんまるいのはわたしです。」

「大きなことだよ。大きなのがいちばんえらいんだよ。わたしがいちばん大きいからわたしがえらいんだよ」

「そうでないよ。わたしのほうがよほど大きいと、きのうも判事さんがおっしゃったじゃないか」

「だめだい、そんなこと。せいの高いのだよ。せいの高いことなんだよ」

「押しっこのえらいひとだよ。押しっこをしてきめるんだよ」もうみんな、がやがやがやがや言って、なにがなんだか、まるで蜂の巣をつついたようで、わけがわからなくなりました。そこでやまねこが叫びました。

「やかましい。ここをなんとこころえる。しずまれ、しずまれ」

別当がむちをひゅうばちっとならしましたので、どんぐりどもは、やっとしずまりました。

やまねこは、ぴんとひげをひねって言いました。

「裁判ももうきょうで三日目だぞ。いい加減に仲なおりしたらどうだ」すると、もう、どんぐりどもが、くちぐちに言いました。

「いえいえ、だめです。なんといったって、頭のとがっているのがいちばんえらいのです」

「いいえ、ちがいます。まるいのがえらいのです」

「そうでないよ。大きなことだよ」がやがやがやがや、もうなにがなんだかわからなくなりました。山猫が叫びました。

「だまれ、やかましい。ここをなんと心得る。しずまれしずまれ」別当が、むちをひゅうぱちっと鳴らしました。山猫がひげをぴんとひねって言いました。

「裁判もうきょうで三日目だぞ。いい加減になかなおりをしたらどうだ」

「いえ、いえ、だめです。あたまのとがったものが……」がやがやがやがや。

山ねこが叫びました。

「やかましい。ここをなんところえる。しずまれ、しずまれ」別当が、むちをひゅうぱちっと鳴らし、どんぐりはみんなしずまりました。山猫が一郎にそっと申しました。

「このとおりです。どうしたらいいでしょう」一郎はわらってこたえました。

「そんなら、こう言いわたしたらいいでしょう。このなかでいちばんばかで、めちゃくちゃで、まるでなっていないようなのが、いちばんえらいとね。ぼくお説教できいたんです」山猫はなるほどというふうにならずいて、それからいかにも気どって、繻子のきものの襟を開いて、黄いろの陣羽織をちょっと出して、どんぐりどもに申しわたしました。

「よろしい。しずかにしろ。申しわたした。このなかで、いちばんえらくなくて、ばかで、めちゃくちゃで、てんでなっていないくて、あたまのつぶれたようなやつが、いちばんえらいのだ」

どんぐりは、しいんとしてしまいました。それはそれはしいんとして、  
堅まってしまいました。

そこで山猫は、黒い繻子の服をぬいで、額の汗をぬぐいながら、一郎の手をとりました。別当も大よろこびで、五、六ぺん、鞭をひゅうぱちっ、ひゅうぱちっ、ひゅうひゅうぱちっと鳴らしました。やまねこが言いました。

「どうもありがとうございました。これほどのひどい裁判を、まるで一分半でかたづけてくださいました。どうかこれからわたしの裁判所の、名誉判事になってください。これからも、葉書が行ったら、どうか来てくださいませんか。そのたびにお礼はいたします」

「承知しました。お礼なんかいいりませんよ」

「いいえ、お礼はどうかとってください。わたしのじんかくにかかわりますから。そしてこれからは、葉書にかねた一郎どのと書いて、こちらを裁判所としますが、ようございますか」

一郎が、

「ええ、かまいません」と申しますと、山猫はまだなにか言いたそうに、しばらくひげをひねって、眼をぱちぱちさせていましたが、とうとう決心したらしく言いだしました。

「それから、はがきの文句ですが、これからは、用事これありに付き、明日出頭すべしと書いてどうでしょう」

一郎はわらって言いました。

「さあ、なんだか変ですね。そいつだけはやめたほうがいいでしょう」



山猫は、どうも言いようがまずかった、いかにも残念だというふうに、しばらくひげをひねったまま、下を向いていましたが、やっとあきらめて言いました。

「それでは、文句はいままでのおりにしましょう。そこで今日のお礼ですが、あなたは黄金のどんぐり一升と、塩鮭のあたまと、どっちをおすきですか」

「黄金のどんぐりがすきです」

山猫は、鮭の頭でなくて、まあよかったというように、口早に馬車別当に言いました。

「どんぐりを一升早くもってこい。一升にたりなかったら、めっきのどんぐりもまぜてこい。はやく」

別当は、さっきのどんぐりをますに入れて、はかって叫びました。

「ちょうど一升あります」山ねこの陣羽織が風にばたばた鳴りました。そこで山ねこは、大きく延びあがって、めをつぶって、半分あくびをしながら言いました。

「よし、はやく馬車のしたくをしろ」白い大きなきのでこしらえた馬車が、ひっぱりだされました。そしてなんだかねずみいろの、おかしな形の馬がついています。

「さあ、おうちへお送りいたしましょう」山猫が言いました。二人は馬車にのり、別当はどんぐりのますを馬車のなかに入れました。

ひゅう、ぱちっ。

馬車は草地をはなれました。木や藪がけむりのようにぐらぐらゆれました。一郎は黄金のどんぐりを見、やまねこはとぼけたかおつきで、遠くを見ていました。

馬車が進むにしたがって、どんぐりはだんだん光がうすくなって、まもなく馬車にとまったときは、あたりまえの茶いろのどんぐりに変わっていました。そして、山ねこの黄いろな陣羽織も、別当も、きのこの馬車も、一度に見えなくなって、一郎はじぶんのうちの前に、どんぐりを入れたますを持って立っていました。

それからあと、山ねこ拝というはがきは、もうきませんでした。やっぱり、出頭すべしと書いてもいいと言えよよかったと、一郎はときどき思うのです。

(一九二一年九月十九日