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THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

MA Applied Linguistics

Module 3 Assignment

March 2018

Student ID #: 1809848

A Lexicogrammatical Analysis of Two Texts

FG/18/05

Although the two following texts (Texts A & B) can be said to have a similar subject matter, they adopt rather different evaluative positions with respect to the primary participants/protagonists with which they are concerned. By means of a close grammatical analysis, compare and contrast the way the two texts act to position their readers attitudinally. Consider in particular the way the texts seek to portray particular individuals in either positive or negative terms. You should develop an argument about how each text seeks to deal with potentially contentious propositions, how it acts to win over readers to its particular evaluative position and how basic grammatical and text organisational choices might offer more or less covert support for the evaluative stance being adopted. You may, in particular, choose to consider,

- difference in Theme choices in the two texts,
- which Participants are represented as agents or initiators of actions,
- which Participants are represented as acted upon,
- the types of Processes associated with particular Participants,
- the use of evaluative or judgemental language by the author,
- the use of modal values of probability or obligation by the respective authors.

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1. Introduction

This essay seeks to use Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to explore and explain differences between two texts: one from *The Guardian* written by Norman Stone in November of 1998, and the other from *New Statesman* written by Maurice Walsh the following month of the same year. Each article, on a very superficial level, deals with the same general topic: the extradition of Pinochet to Spain by Britain and the consequences of that decision for other dictators and criminals guilty of international crimes. However, when put under the microscopic view of an SFL analysis, many major differences become apparent. Some of the areas of SFL that will be used to uncover these differences will be Theme and Theme progression, appraisal and evaluative language, how participants are portrayed and which types of processes they are associated with, and modalization. Examining these aspects of the SFL framework will provide an explicit explanation for the position of the authors in respect to the people and events they are describing and will allow for a much more complete understanding of the texts. By using SFL, a text analysis can have a systematic framework to approach the variety of meanings that may be presented by a single text. Halliday outlined in his seminal work introducing his framework of Systemic Function Linguistics that there are three major types of functions portrayed in a text, and that these metafunctions are a result of interplay between both lexis and grammar (1984). This lexicogrammatical system of meaning-making is divided into experiential, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions (Butt, Lukin, and Matthiessen, 2004). The experiential metafunction forms the content of the message, interpersonal the connection between the interlocutors, and textual the features making a text coherent and cohesive. In this essay, parts of each metafunction will be examined. In the following sections, Theme, appraisal, participants and processes, and modality will be examined with respect to each text.

2. Thematic Analysis

Systemic Functional Linguistics' primary concern is the clause-level structure due to the fact that "...it is in the clause that meaning of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure" (Halliday 2004:10) Within the clause, it is the initial position that stages the message to come thereafter, and this part of the clause is called the Theme. Halliday defines the Theme as the "point of departure for the message" (Halliday 2004:83). This position serves to orient the reader as to what will come next, or the Rheme (everything that is not the Theme). The Rheme is generally where the new information is presented (Thompson, 2013 & Hawes, 2010a). The propositioning of information by a speaker or writing in the position Theme or Rheme is considered a textual resource for making a message coherent (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004). Although Halliday defined the Theme as the first ideational element in the clause (Halliday, 2004), there is a controversy as to where the Theme ends and the Rheme begins (North, 2005). Although Halliday's definition of the Theme offers enormous value to analyzing the focus of a text – whether it be time-oriented as in narrative, space-oriented as in description, etc. – other researchers (see Davies, 1994; Berry, 1995; and Martin, 2002) have found more utility in extending the Theme to include the grammatical subject. In most clauses, those being declarative and wh- subject interrogatives, the unmarked Theme is the grammatical subject (Halliday, 2004; North, 2005). Marked Themes are most frequently Circumstances that contribute to locating the reader in place or time (North, 2005). Therefore, examining the Themes without including the grammatical subject offers the benefit of seeing how the text is staged and examining the Theme including the grammatical subject offers deeper insight into the topic continuity of a text (Ibid.). In the end, both perspectives offer unique insights. For the two texts in this essay, an analysis from both perspectives was done.

Utilizing the Hallidayan perspective of Theme, a few observations were made. First, Text A used far more unmarked themes than Text B. Due to the respective content of each text, this indicates the exploitation of the Theme as a tool of persuasion as Fairclough has indicated that using a marked Theme defies the expectation of the reader, who expects known or previously given information (Fairclough, 1994). Hawes notes that this may be a conscious strategy when arguing a point that is more controversial (2010a). Due to the fact that Text B takes a far more defensive position with respect to Castro, it would be expected that a more persuasive strategy be required. Another observation made was that Text A used more interpersonal Themes than Text B. This points to a more informal tenor, and taken in conjunction with the rest of the analysis, particularly the use of personal pronouns for both the author and reader, seems to indicate an attempt to personalize the discourse. When including the grammatical subject in the definition of Theme, a continuity of topic becomes possible to look at. The next section deals with how the continuity of topic may be examined using a Thematic analysis.

2.1 Thematic Progression

Growing from the importance of the left-most position in the clause, some authors took this a step further to try and analyze the topical progression from looking at the Thematic pattern throughout the whole text. Hawes states that “key in the rhetorical strategy of any text, including that of newspaper articles, is the way information and comment are organized through thematization...” (2010a:39). Danes outlined three typical patterns for Thematic progression: *constant*, *simple linear*, and *derived* (1974). *Constant* is where contiguous clauses retain a maintain a similar Theme, *simple linear* where the Rheme from the previous clause becomes the Theme of the next, and *derived* where Themes are linked to a Hyper-Theme (Hawes, 2010a). Of course all of these may come at different stages in a text and are not definitive (Hawes, 2010b). When examining Thematic progression from this perspective, it is almost essential to include the grammatical subject as that is what carries the topic forward in a text (North, 2005). The progression of each text is shown in Figures 1 and 2. The figures show a Macro-Theme, or an overarching theme bringing many Hyper-Themes together. Then each Hyper-Theme can be elaborated with one of Danes’s progressions.

From Figure 1 and 2, a few things become clear. The purpose of Text A seems to focus on placing blame on Italy for its treatment of internationally accused criminals. It seems to be that this article was published after Pinochet was ordered to be extradited by the UK, but before it became clear through various legal battles that that extradition would not take place. Therefore, Text A praises Britain for its treatment of a criminal like Pinochet, and uses this as a platform to blame Italy for not taking similar steps against Ocalan. Then Text A presents a similar case, the case of members of PLO who escaped from Italy, and suggests that they escaped due to incompetence on the part of Italy (see Table 1 for appraisal analysis of Italy in Text A). Of Danes’ patterns of organization this comes closest to *simple linear*. Hawes notes that this type of progression “less obtrusive ... [but] may seem plodding if overused” (2012). This in conjunction with the use of modality, informal language, and personal pronouns leaves the reader with the impression of a conversation venting frustration at the horrible crimes committed by Ocalan and the PLO going unpunished because of Italy’s lack of competence. This sort of impression is furthered by the participant/process analysis (see Section 4) where it becomes evident that the author does not wish to offer the alternative perspective in the form of giving the accused party the role of Sayer in verbal processes.

The topic of Text B, evident from the diagram, is one of a more careful consideration of whether or not charges could be brought against Castro for the crimes that he committed. The objective air of the article is reflected in its more careful organization, that of first comparing the situation in Cuba with that of Chile, and then providing three possible areas where charges could be brought against Castro. The use of modality (see Section 5) furthers this air of objectivity. Of Danes' Thematic progressions, this is most closely fits the *derived* progression. Hawes states of the *derived* progression that it is the standard for Western intellectual writing (2010a). He also found that this progression type is more typical of more mainstream accepted newspapers in contrast to *simple linear* which is more typical of tabloid reporting (Ibid.).

Figure 1: Thematic Progression in Text A

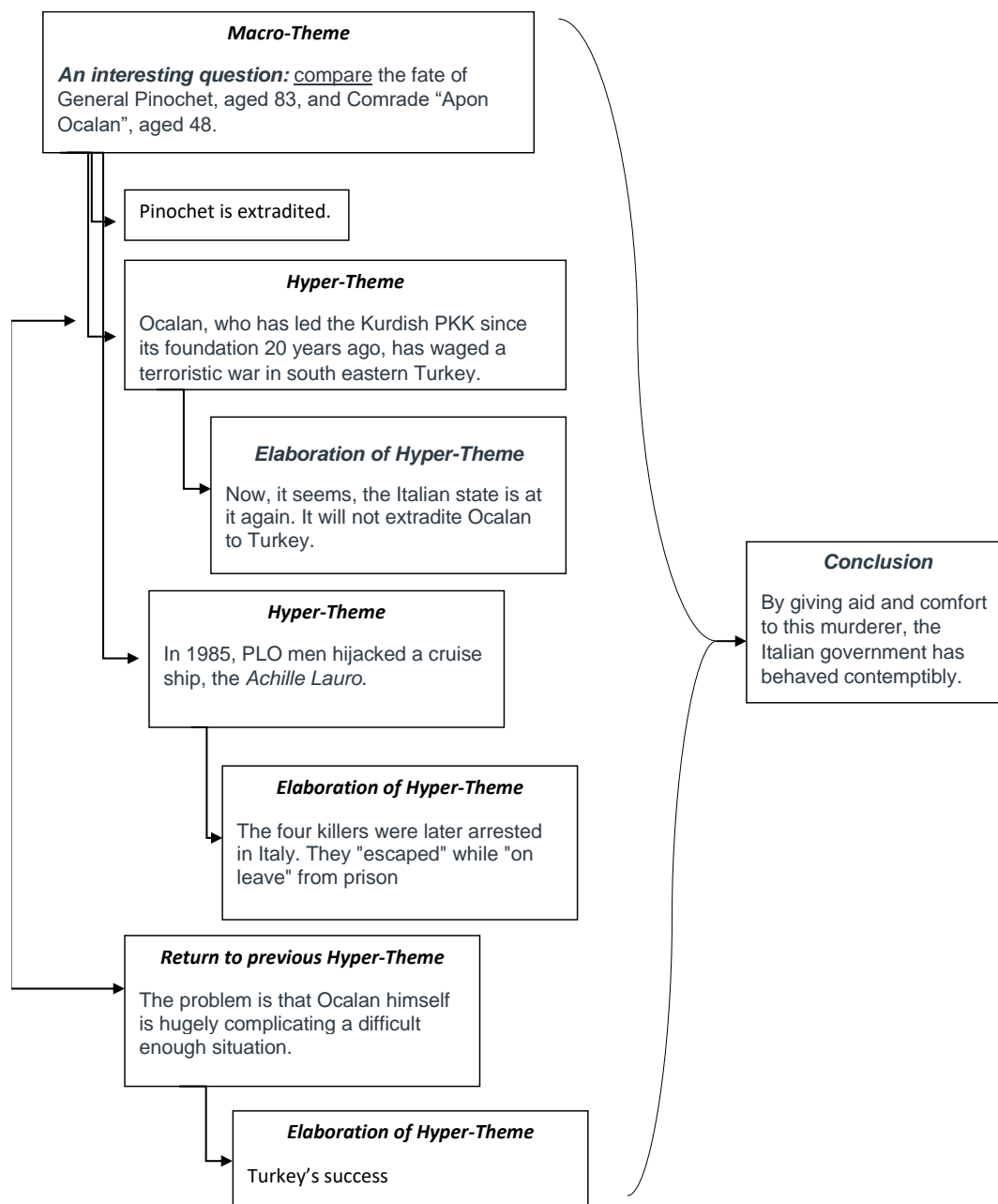
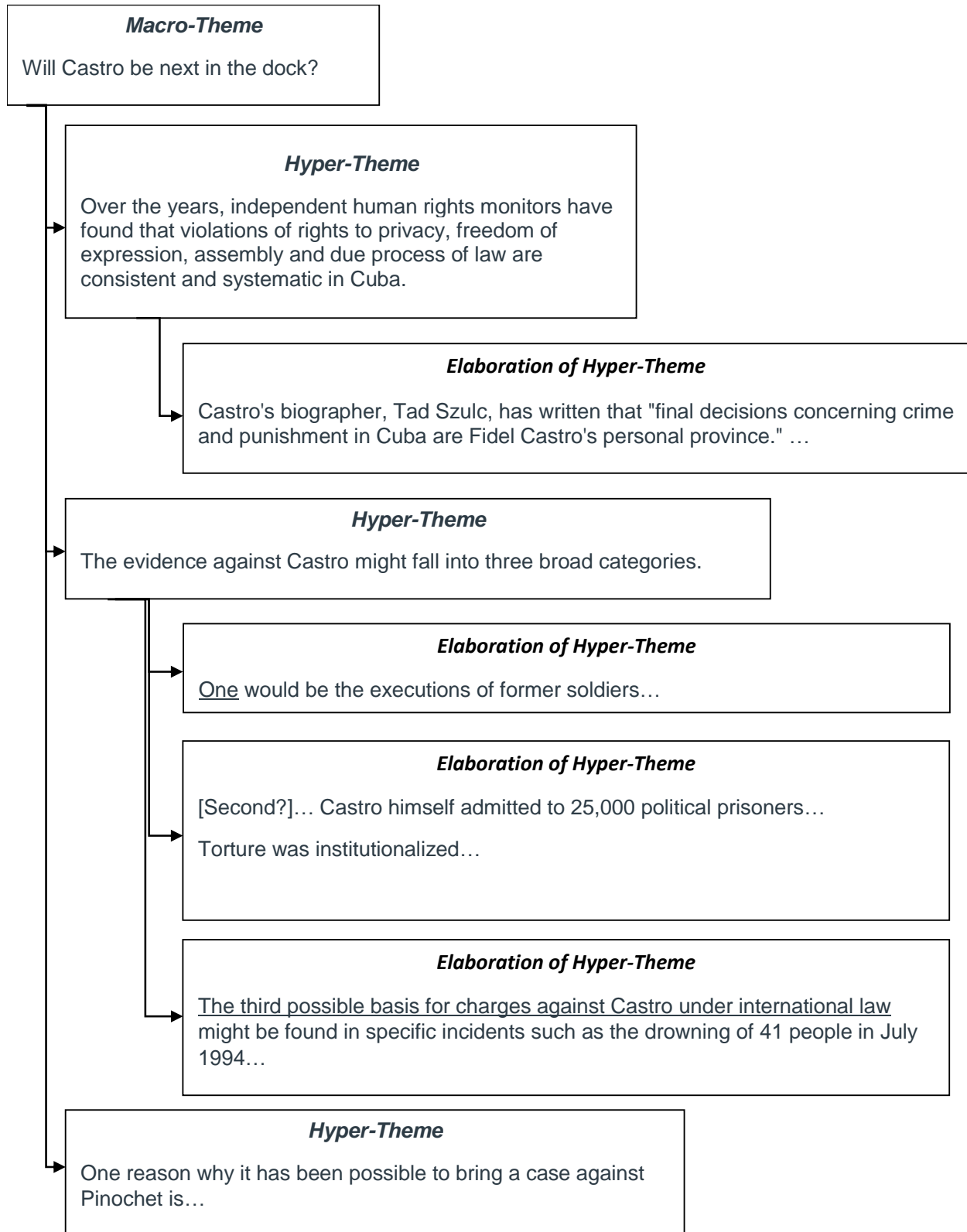


Figure 2: Thematic Progression in Text B



3. Appraisal

The appraisal framework exploited in this essay was started by Martin at the University of Sydney spanning from the late 1990s to the 2000s (see Iedema, Feez, and White, 1994; Martin, 1995a; Martin, 1995b; Christie and Martin, 1997; and Coffin, 1997). It was acknowledged at this time that although historically the field of linguistics was concerned with the description of the structure of language, another incredibly prominent feature of language use was being neglected: the interpersonal nature of discourse. Bakhtin (1981) and Voloshinov (1995) proposed that language is not only a form of self-expression but a conversation between the speaker and listener, whether they are present or not. These developments occurred in conjunction with the development of Systemic Functional Linguistics by Halliday (1984). The usefulness of this approach is particularly salient when used analyzing text. The appraisal framework itself examines discourse to explicitly label the language used by a speaker that reveals his/her position towards the content that they are discussing. Appraisal includes the speaker/writers attitudinal, dialogistic, and intertextual positioning. Attitudinal positioning encompasses taking a positive or negative view of the people or events under discussion. Dialogistic and intertextual positioning places the author in relation to other people and/or texts relating to the topic of discussion. An example of dialogistic positioning from the two extracts examined is the following:

“You are not even allowed to cross **your legs** in his camps, says Selim Curukkaya, as it might be taken fore (sic) a sign of disrespect.” (A.22)

Here the author brings the reader into the conversation as if the reader were present in Ocalan’s camp, being restricted even as to the way s/he is allowed to sit. This has the rhetorical effect of bringing the reader into the oppressive world of Ocalan and amplifying the effect of his repression. As for intertextual positioning, here is an example from Text B:

“And if there is a case against Pinochet, shouldn’t there, **asks the right**, also be a case against Fidel Castro?” (B.4)

Although an analysis of dialogistic and intertextual position may reveal covert stances taken by an author with respect to their subject matter, after doing the analysis, the most interesting results and most numerous cases of appraisal were in relation to attitudinal positioning. Therefore, in this analysis, I have focused on attitudinal appraisal in Text A and B. Attitude has been divided by different authors into different categories. Martin (1995b) divides Attitude into Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation, all of which are present in the articles selected. Affect consists of an emotional response by one of the participants, Judgement of the participant’s assessment (good or bad), and Appreciation to objects, processes, or affairs. Coffin adds to these categories Engagement and Amplification (1997). Engagement includes hedging and expectation, and Amplification is the use of words to accentuate a particular feature of a participant or process for either a positive or negative effect (Ibid.).

Table 1: Appraisal in Text A

Appraisal in Text A:

Appraisal	Participants
+capacity	<i>Ocalan x2, Selim Curukkaya x2, others [who claim decentralization is a solution], Turkey, Greece</i>
+integrity	<i>Britain, Turkey, Greece</i>
+Amplify	<i>Turkey [‘s success]</i>
+credible	<i>Selim</i>
-integrity	<i>Ocalan x10, PKK, Italy x4, PLO x2</i>
-capacity	<i>Italy, some quarters (who accept Ocalan), East, Turkey, PKK</i>
-endorsement	<i>Ocalan, PKK</i>
-expectation	<i>Italy</i>
-lucky	<i>other defectors from PKK</i>
-normality	<i>East</i>

Table 2: Appraisal in Text B

Appraisal in Text B:

Appraisal	Participants
+capacity	<i>Pinochet, Law Lords, Fidel Castro, Cuban Committee for Human Rights x2</i>
+integrity	<i>Law Lords, Castro x4, Cuba</i>
+veracity	<i>Cuban Committee for Human Rights</i>
+appreciation	<i>Chile</i>
+affect	<i>We</i>
-amplify	<i>Cuba</i>
-capacity	<i>Cuba</i>
-integrity	<i>Pinochet x2, Fidel Castro x8, Cuba x7, Che Guevara, those executed by Castro, Chile</i>
-veracity	<i>tribunals after revolution, commission in Chile x2</i>
-enrich	<i>Pinochet, Fidel Castro</i>
-endorsement	<i>America</i>
-evaluation	<i>Chilean democracy</i>

In the articles examined, the most prominently used category of Appraisal is Judgement, and examining this feature, many striking differences accentuate the how each piece positions itself in respect to the main topics of discussion: Castro, Pinochet, Ocalan, PKK, and PLO. The Appraisal analysis is found in Appendix B. The analysis includes evaluation in the forms of both explicit and implicit evaluation. Explicit evaluation is when overt language is used to show the speaker's judgment of the participant/circumstance (i.e. words like *horribly*, *terroristic*, *backward*, etc.), and implicit evaluation is when the mere mention of a fact in that placement of the text evokes either a positive or negative evaluation. Examples of this include:

"It [Italy] will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey." (A.15)

Where after mentioning all of the horrible crimes of Ocalan, this clearly indicates a disapproval, or a negative ethical evaluation of Italy. Another example from Text B:

"Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found that violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba" (B.7)

The coding of this as a negative judgement of integrity is dependent on the expectation that the readership of the article values privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process. It also depends on the trust the readership has in "independent human rights monitors." Because this is most likely the case, I have coded factual propositions such as this as (t, -integrity), t indicating that this is a token of implicit evaluation.

Now that I have introduced the Appraisal framework, there are many important observations that reveal key differences between the texts in question. The first is that Text A contains only negative evaluations of the main participants Ocalan, Pinochet/Chile, and Fidel Castro/Cuba. This provides an explicit description as to how Text A takes a much harder stance on Pinochet/Chile, Castro/Cuba, and Italy (absent from Text B). Text A contains positive evaluations only when mentioning the capacity of these participants, therefore not leaving any possibility of positive ethical appraisal. Text B, on the other hand, mentions Castro and Cuba with a positive integrity a total of five times (see Table 2), which although far less than the negative integrity evaluations (19), still allows the readership a softening of the criticism. An example of this (implicit) positive appraisal can be found in the following statement:

*"At the time [of the executions] **the revolution was widely popular**, and many of **those executed had a reputation for brutality** (. "* (B.16)

Attributing negative actions to those executed and a popular support for the revolution which produced the executions give the reader a definite softening of the brutality of the crimes, although not excusing them completely. Other statements in Text B that contrast with the "us" vs. "them" narrative found in Text A are:

*"But within a few months, after acknowledging that 550 people had been executed, **he ordered the firing squads to stop.**"* (B.15)

*"In the mid-1960s, **Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners.**"* (B.19)

*"Thousands of political **prisoners were released** in the 1970s"* (B.23)

B.15 uses the verb *acknowledging* which carries the connotative meaning of accepting that one has made mistakes (acknowledge, 2018). B.19 uses *admitted*, which has very similar connotations to *acknowledge* (admit, 2018). And lastly, B.23 attributes the positive action of releasing prisoners to Castro. There are no such instances in Text A.

4. Participants and Processes

Halliday's framework, under the experiential metafunction, presented a view of the analyzing the verb to acknowledge that different categories of verbs function in very different ways. He proposed different categories of processes with each process being associated with certain types of participants. For example, material processes have an Actor and Goal, whereas verbal processes have a Sayer and Verbiage. This exemplifies the different functions of such processes. When analyzing a text, examining which participants in the text are associated with which processes can reveal how the author has chosen to distinguish those participants (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004).

Table 3: Selected material processes in Text A

Text A: Material processes for negatively connotated participants		
Actor	Process	Goal
Ocalan	waged	a terroristic war
	broke	a cease-fire
PLO	killed	20 unarmed conscripts
	hijacked	a cruise ship
	escaped	

For Text A, all of the negatively connotated participants (Pinochet, Ocalan, PLO, Italy, and PKK) are mainly given the role of Actor in Material processes and the majority of Material processes are associated with them. In the cases where these participants are associated with relational processes, they are the Token for Values that have major negative connotations. The one instance where a negatively connotated participant (the PKK) is a Sayer is when the process is *claim* which indicates a disendorsement on behalf of the author for the statements made.

*"The PKK **claims** to speak for "the Kurds"..." (A.18)*

In Text B, however, the negatively connotated participants are not only associated Material processes, but nearly half of the Material processes do not contain them as Actor. Text B places *revolutionaries*, *Castro*, [Chilean] *commission* [for investigating Pinochet's rule], *the Cuban Committee for Human Rights*, and *Castro's biographer* in the position of Sayer a total of eleven times. This is an allowance to the accused parties a voice in the matter. In contrast, Text A only places the *PKK* and *Ocalan* (the accused in Text A) the position of Sayer only once. In fact, when the *PKK* is Sayer in Text A, a negative endorsement is made with the use of the verb *claim*.

Focusing closer on the Material processes, the Actors and those acted-upon for each text are shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Acted and Acted Upon

Text A:	
Actors	Acted-upon
<i>Ocalan</i>	<i>Defectors</i>
<i>Italy</i>	<i>Elderly tourist</i>
<i>Tourist</i>	<i>Unarmed conscripts</i>
<i>Four killers (PLO)</i>	<i>Newly married teachers</i>
<i>Turkey</i>	
Text B:	
<i>Pinochet</i>	<i>Foreign dictators</i>
<i>Law Lords</i>	<i>Fidel Castro</i>
<i>Independent human rights monitors</i>	<i>Former soldiers</i>
<i>Che Guevara</i>	<i>Prisoners</i>
<i>State security agents</i>	<i>People</i>
<i>Commission</i>	<i>Political prisoners</i>
	<i>Pinochet</i>

Although there are no definitive conclusions that can be drawn from examining who is Actor vs. acted-upon, we can see from the table that Text A's actors are mostly the ones facing criticism from the author, and the acted-upon are likely to be people the readership would not associate with people deserving of the crimes mentioned. If we take for example the following sentence from Text A:

"In 1993, Ocalan broke a ceasefire, and killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus." (A.25)

Not only is breaking a ceasefire a treaty that is expected to be honored, but the use of the modifiers *young* and *unarmed* with *conscript* suggests a releasing of guilt from the conscripts for their participation in the war against the PKK. A sentence with similar experiential meaning could be stated with completely different connotations in the following way:

**"In 1993, Ocalan attacked a group of enemy combatants who were preparing to meet the PKK in battle."*

Although in reality the same event could have occurred, these two differing ways of explaining the events and portraying the actors and acted-upon greatly affects the readers' interpretation of events. Interestingly, Text B included many of the negatively connotated participants with those who are acted upon. This difference shows a different narrative approach of the author of Text B, not only focusing on the crimes of the participants, but also what happened to them as a result.

5. Modality

The final topic of analysis in this essay is that of modality. Modality in SFL is divided into modalization for probability and usuality, and modulation for obligation and inclination (Thompson, 2013). Modality is a part of the interpersonal metafunction because of its negotiating effect on the message with the listener/reader. Modality can be either implicit or explicit, implicit within a clause and explicit in a separate clause.

The two texts diverge quite drastically in their use of modality. Text A only has three instances of probability, and two of those are within a quotation from another person. The only instance of usuality is in reference to Italy's recurrent treatment of internationally wanted criminals lackadaisically. Text B on the other hand, uses extensive modality to present its message, using a total of nine instances of probability. In addition, the only instance of usuality occurs in a quotation from "independent human rights monitors." This has the effect of not generalizing statements about participants/actions and softening the possibility of what the speaker says. A few examples of probability from Text B are shown below:

*"The evidence against Castro **might** fall into three broad categories."* (B.10)

*"One **would** be the executions of former soldiers..."* (B.11)

*"The third **possible basis** for charges against Castro under international law **might** be found in specific instances..."* (B.26)

This is quite interesting as for each of these hyper-Themes (as discussed in Section 2.1) provide possible explanations for why Castro's behavior might have been justified. The placement of this modal hedging or softening defines the tone of the author including Castro as a Sayer (giving him a voice) and including Castro in positive appraisal clauses. Here we can see subtle, nearly undetectable meanings becoming clear by using an SFL framework for text analysis.

6. Conclusion

Using the tools offered by Systemic Functional Linguistics and what has been expanded upon since Michael Halliday's first introduction to the subject, two apparently simple texts become distinguished with very stark differences in choices of Theme and Theme progression, appraisal, participants and processes, and modality. Without using a systematic approach to these texts, undoubtedly many subtle differences would be left undiscovered. These tools allow us to better describe and see how each author has positioned themselves in relation to their participants and to see how much of a one-sided picture they are offering their readership. Whether consciously or subconsciously the authors have taken a stance on the issue and presented that stance to their readers using a series of linguistic choices from organization to word choice. Text A presents a simple linear progression more common in informal speech, uses personal pronouns, presents only negative evaluative language of those participants that it chooses, and offers little to no modality to allow the possibility of a different interpretation. These linguistic choices paint a picture for the reader who undoubtedly internalizes this message likely without realizing it. These linguistic choices bring the reader into a discourse that is closer to informal spoken language in order to convince them of the ideological implications of the author. Text B, on the other hand, utilizing a *derived* Thematic progression, instances of positive appraisal (other than that of capacity) for negatively connotated participants, lack of personal pronoun usage, and a far more extensive use of modalization, indicates an attempt by the author to objectify the discourse. This approaches the conventions more common in academic discourse. Although a reader would unlikely detect the specific linguistic choices that attempt to portray this objectivity, they would likely feel more sympathy towards the accused participants (Pinochet and Castro) than after reading Text A.

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Appendix 1: Text A

The Other Extradition:

An interesting question: compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade "Apon Ocalan", aged 48. Pinochet faces extradition. Ocalan, who has led the Kurdish PKK since its foundation 20 years ago, has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey. Of course, he claims the usual indulgence for terrorism, but he has been personally charged with murder, in Germany, where four defectors from his organisation were killed. He is wanted on a red Interpol list, at the behest of the German government. He flew to Italy, and requested political asylum, and has not been made to face justice there - instead there he sits, in a comfortable house near Rome. Has the Italian state got a soft spot for murderers? In 1985, PLO men hijacked a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*. An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them. He was shot, and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all. The four killers were later arrested in Italy. They "escaped" while "on leave" from prison. Now, it seems, the Italian state is at it again. It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey. This is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet.

The problem is that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation. The PKK claims to speak for "the Kurds", and there is in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim. But most of his victims have been Kurds. One of his onetime lieutenants, Selim Curukkaya, wrote his memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan). Ocalan is a Communist, complete with hammer and sickle, and he runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trials. You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, says Selim Curukkaya, as it might be taken for (sic) a sign of disrespect; he himself was imprisoned by Ocalan, and managed, with great difficulty, to get away, through Beirut.

Other defectors have not been so lucky, most of them Kurdish innocents. In 1993, Ocalan broke a ceasefire, and killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus. A particularly horrible case involved two young primary school teachers, who had gone to the south east out of idealism bring education to the backward east. They were killed. The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared but she asked to be killed as well, and the PKK obliged.

The PKK is a terroristic organisation with links to gangland and its aim is the creation of a Maoist state in areas of Turkey and Iraq. Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", and gain credibility in serious circles. But there is not A Kurdish Question: there are several.

What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, I do not know. Even nationalist Turks sometimes say that there should be a Turkish - Kurdish state, a federation of the kind suggested by the late Turgut Ozal at the time of the Gulf war, as an alternative to the survival of Saddam Hussein. Others say that the answer must be decentralisation which again, is not senseless. Many observers, in view of the complications, just think that assimilation should go ahead and will do so. Whatever the answer, this is not a situation where you can automatically apply minority statutes. The Turkish Republic has done, overall, a pretty remarkable job of "modernisation"; in some ways, it has been the only successful Third World country, with free media, respectable economic growth, and social circumstances that are way above those of any of her neighbours, except Greece. Not many Kurds wish to throw this away for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony. By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly.

(Norman Stone *The Guardian*, Saturday 28/11/98)

Appendix 2: Text B

Will Castro be next in the dock ?

If Pinochet gets away with it, can we look forward to the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators? If nothing else, the Law Lords have set a legal precedent. And if there is a case against Pinochet, shouldn't there, asks the right, also be a case against Fidel Castro? Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American dictators, in countries of similar size. In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; the population of Chile, 9.7 million.

Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found that violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba. Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, has written that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are Fidel Castro's personal province." But although there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba, charges similar to those made against Pinochet would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories. One would be the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime carried out immediately after the revolution in Cuba; the revolutionaries described this as the "cleansing" of the defeated army. Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.

In response to American accusations of a bloodbath, Castro declared that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction". But within a few months, after acknowledging that 550 people had been executed, he ordered the firing squads to stop. At the time, the revolution was widely popular and many of those executed had a reputation for brutality.

As the revolution was consolidated, people left Cuba in droves. State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary. In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners. Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000. Torture was institutionalised and several accounts leave little doubt that the Cuban version - despite the rhetoric about the "new man" - did not fight shy of the malevolent ingenuity that is the trademark of its practitioners. It included electric shocks, the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions. Thousands of political prisoners were released in the 1970s. The Cuban Committee for Human Rights, established more than 20 years ago, estimated that in 1991 there were 3,000 political prisoners; some observers believe the number may now have dropped to 500.

The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people in July 1994, when a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was rammed off the Cuban coast. Castro said it was an accident. Amnesty International said the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated when they tried to commemorate the incident.

One reason why it has been possible to bring a case against Pinochet is because contrary to many assertions - Chile's reckoning with its past has been exemplary. In 1990, after an imperfect democracy was re-established, a commission, including some who had been at least sympathetic to

the dictator, investigated Pinochet's rule. It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991.

Without once mentioning Pinochet by name, it concluded that 1,158 people had died at the hands of agents of the state or others operating from political motives and that 957 had disappeared. The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation. It was acknowledged at the time that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.

(Maurice Walsh, *New Statesman* 11/12/98)

Appendix 3: Appraisal Analysis of Text A & B

Text A:

The Other Extradition:

An interesting question: compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade "Apon Ocalan", aged 48. Pinochet faces extradition. Ocalan, who has **led (+capacity)** the Kurdish PKK since its foundation 20 years ago, has waged a **terroristic Turkey (-integrity)** war in south eastern. Of course, he **claims (-endorsement)** the usual **indulgence for terrorism (-integrity)**, but he has been personally **charged with murder (t, - integrity)**, in Germany, where four defectors from his organisation were killed. **He is wanted on a red Interpol list (t, -integrity)**, at the behest of the German government. He flew to Italy, and requested political asylum, and **has not been made to face justice there (t, -integrity)** - instead there he sits, in a comfortable house near Rome. Has the Italian state got a **soft spot for murderers (t, -integrity)**? In 1985, PLO men **hijacked (-integrity)** a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*. An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them. **He was shot, and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all (t, -integrity)**. The four killers were later arrested in Italy. **They "escaped" while "on leave" from prison (t, -capacity to Italian authorities)**. Now, it seems, **the Italian state is at it again (t, -integrity)**. **It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey (t, -integrity)**. **This is a strange (- expectation) contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet (t, +integrity to UK)**.

The problem is that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation. The PKK **claims (- endorsement)** to speak for "the Kurds", and there is in some quarters an **easy (-capacity)** acceptance of this claim. But most of his victims have been Kurds. **One of his onetime lieutenants (+capacity, +veracity)**, Selim Curukkaya, wrote his memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan). Ocalan is a **Communist, complete with hammer and sickle (t, -integrity)**, and he runs the PKK in **Stalinist style (t, -integrity)**, complete with **executions and purge trials (t, -integrity)**. You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, says Selim Curukkaya, as it might be taken fore (sic) a sign of disrespect; he himself was imprisoned by Ocalan (+capacity), and managed, **with great difficulty (+capacity to Ocalan)**, to **get away (+capacity Selim)**, through Beirut.

Other defectors have **not been so lucky (-lucky)**, most of them Kurdish innocents. In 1993, Ocalan **broke a ceasefire (t, -integrity)**, and **killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus (t, -integrity)**. A particularly **horrible (-affect)** case involved two young primary school teachers, who had gone to the south east out of idealism bring education to the **backward (-normality/capacity)** east. They were killed. The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared but she asked to be killed as well, and the **PKK obliged (t, -integrity, +capacity)**.

The PKK is a **terroristic organisation with links to gangland (-integrity)** and **its aim is the creation of a Maoist state (t, -integrity)** in areas of Turkey and Iraq. Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", and gain credibility in serious circles. But there is not A Kurdish Question: there are several.

What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, I do not know. Even nationalist Turks sometimes say that there should be a Turkish - Kurdish state, a federation of the kind suggested by the late Turgut Ozal at the time of the Gulf war, as an alternative to the survival of Saddam Hussein. Others say that the answer must be decentralisation which again, is **not senseless (+capacity)**. Many observers, in view of the complications, just think that assimilation should go ahead and will do so. Whatever the answer, this is not a situation where you can automatically apply minority statutes. The Turkish Republic has done, overall, a pretty **remarkable job (+capacity)** of **"modernisation" (t, +integrity)**; in some ways, it has been the only **successful (+capacity) Third World country (t, - normality/capacity)**, with **free media, respectable economic growth, and social circumstances that are way (+amplify) above those of any of her neighbours (t, +integrity to Turkey)**, except

Greece (+capacity/integrity to Greece). Not many Kurds **wish to throw this away (-affect)** for the sake of the PKK's **flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony (-competence/knowledge).** **By giving aid and comfort to this murderer (t, -integrity), the Italian government has behaved contemptibly (-integrity).**

(Norman Stone *The Guardian*, Saturday 28/11/98)

Text B:

Will Castro be next in the dock ?

If Pinochet **gets away with it (+capacity/-integrity)**, can we **look forward to (+affect)** the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators? If nothing else, the **Law Lords (+integrity)** have **set a legal precedent (t, +capacity).** And if there is **a case against Pinochet (t, -integrity)**, shouldn't there, asks the right, also **be a case against Fidel Castro (t, -integrity)**? Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American **dictators (-integrity, -enrich)**, in countries of similar size. In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; the population of Chile, 9.7 million.

Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found that **violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba (t, -integrity).** Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, has written that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are **Fidel Castro's personal province (+capacity).**" But although there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the **repression of dissent in Cuba (t, -integrity)**, charges similar to those made against Pinochet would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories. One would be the **executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime (t, -integrity)** carried out immediately after the revolution in Cuba; the revolutionaries described this as the "cleansing" of the defeated army. Many of the prisoners **shot by firing squads (t, -integrity)** were **judged within a few hours (t, -veracity)** by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.

In response to American **accusations (-endorsement)** of a **bloodbath (-integrity), Castro declared that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction (+integrity, or t, -integrity if readership is likely to value legal precepts over moral conviction)".** But within a few months, after **acknowledging (+integrity)** that 550 people had been executed, he **ordered the firing squads to stop (t, +integrity).** At the time, the revolution was widely popular **(+satisfaction)** and **many of those executed had a reputation for brutality (t, +integrity to Castro; -integrity to executed).**

As the revolution was consolidated, people **left Cuba in droves (t, -capacity to Cuba).** State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary. In the mid-1960s, Castro himself **admitted (t, +integrity) to 25,000 political prisoners (t, -integrity).** Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000. **Torture was institutionalized (t, -integrity)** and several accounts leave little doubt that the Cuban version - despite the **rhetoric (-enrich, -endorsement)** about the "new man" - **did not fight shy (-amplify)** of the **malevolent ingenuity (-integrity)** that is the trademark of its practitioners. It included **electric shocks, the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions (t, -integrity).** **Thousands of political prisoners were released (t, +integrity)** in the 1970s. The Cuban Committee for Human Rights, **established more than 20 years ago (t, +capacity),** estimated that in 1991 there were 3,000 political prisoners; some observers believe the number may now have dropped to 500.

The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people in July 1994, when a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was **rammed (t, -integrity)** off the Cuban coast. Castro said it was an accident. Amnesty International said **the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated when they tried to commemorate the incident (t, -integrity)**.

One reason why *it has been possible to bring a case against Pinochet is because contrary to many assertions - Chile's reckoning with its past has been exemplary (+appreciation to Chile)*. In 1990, after an **imperfect (-valuation)** democracy was re-established, a commission, including some who had been at least sympathetic to the dictator **(-veracity)**, investigated Pinochet's rule. **It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991 (+capacity)**.

Without once mentioning Pinochet by name (t, -veracity), it concluded that 1,158 people had died at the hands of agents of the state or others operating from political motives and that 957 had disappeared (-integrity to Chile). The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation. It was acknowledged at the time that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.

(Maurice Walsh, *New Statesman* 11/12/98)

Appendix 4: Thematic Analysis According to Halliday's Definition of Theme

- Unmarked Theme underlined
- Marked Theme double underlined
- Textual Theme in bold
- Interpersonal Theme in bold italics

Text A:

[1] The Other Extradition:

[2] ***An interesting question:*** compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade "Apon Ocalan", aged 48.

[3] Pinochet faces extradition.

[4] (a) Ocalan, (b) who has led the Kurdish PKK since its foundation 20 years ago, (c) has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey.

[5] (a) ***Of course***, he claims the usual indulgence for terrorism, (b) but he has been personally charged with murder, in Germany, (c) where four defectors from his organisation were killed.

[6] He is wanted on a red Interpol list, at the behest of the German government.

[7] (a) He flew to Italy, (b) and requested political asylum, (c) and has not been made to face justice there – (d) ***instead there*** he sits, in a comfortable house near Rome.

[8] Has the Italian state got a soft spot for murderers?

[9] In 1985, PLO men hijacked a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*.

[10] An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them.

[11] (a) He was shot, (b) and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all.

[12] The four killers were later arrested in Italy.

[13] (a) They "escaped" (b) while "on leave" from prison.

[14] (a) Now, (b) it seems, the Italian state is at it again.

[15] It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey.

[16] ***This*** is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet.

[17] (a) The problem is (b) that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation.

[18] (a) The PKK claims to speak for "the Kurds", (b) ***and there is*** in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim.

[19] ***But most of his victims*** have been Kurds.

[20] One of his onetime lieutenants, Selim Curukkaya, wrote his memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan).

[21] (a) Ocalan is a Communist, complete with hammer and sickle, (b) ***and he*** runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trials.

[22] (b) You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, (a) says Selim Curukkaya, (c) **as it** might be taken for (sic) a sign of disrespect;

[23] (a) he himself was imprisoned by Ocalan, (b) and managed, with great difficulty, to get away, through Beirut.

[24] Other defectors have not been so lucky, most of them Kurdish innocents.

[25] (a) In 1993, Ocalan broke a ceasefire, (b) and killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus.

[26] (a) A particularly horrible case involved two young primary school teachers, (b) who had gone to the south east out of idealism bring education to the backward east.

[27] They were killed.

[28] (a) The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared (b) **but she** asked to be killed as well, **and** (c) the PKK obliged.

[29] (a) The PKK is a terroristic organisation with links to gangland (b) **and its aim** is the creation of a Maoist state in areas of Turkey and Iraq.

[30] (a) Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", (b) and gain credibility in serious circles.

[31] (a) **But** there is not A Kurdish Question: (b) there are several.

[32] (b) What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, (a) I do not know.

[33] (a) **Even** nationalist Turks sometimes say (b) **that there should be** a Turkish - Kurdish state, a federation of the kind suggested by the late Turgut Ozal at the time of the Gulf war, as an alternative to the survival of Saddam Hussein.

[34] (a) Others say (b) that the answer must be decentralisation (c) which again, is not senseless.

[35] (a) Many observers, in view of the complications, just think (b) that assimilation should go ahead and (c) will do so.

[36] (a) **Whatever the answer**, this is not a situation (b) where you can automatically apply minority statutes.

[37] The Turkish Republic has done, overall, a pretty remarkable job of "modernisation";

[38] (a) in some ways, it has been the only successful Third World country, with free media, respectable economic growth, and social circumstances (b) that are way above those of any of her neighbours, except Greece.

[39] Not many Kurds wish to throw this away for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony.

[40] By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly.

(Norman Stone *The Guardian*, Saturday 28/11/98)

Text B:

[1] Will Castro be next in the dock ?

[2] (a) If Pinochet gets away with it, (b) can we look forward to the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators?

- [3] (a) If nothing else, (b) the Law Lords have set a legal precedent.
- [4] (a) **And** if there is a case against Pinochet, (b) shouldn't there, (c) asks the right, (b) also be a case against Fidel Castro?
- [5] Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American dictators, in countries of similar size.
- [6] (a) In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; (b) the population of Chile, 9.7 million.
- [7] (a) Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found (b) that violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba.
- [8] (a) Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, has written (b) that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are Fidel Castro's personal province."
- [9] **But** (b) although there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba, (a) charges similar to those made against Pinochet would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.
- [10] The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories.
- [11] One would be the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime carried out immediately after the revolution in Cuba;
- [12] the revolutionaries described this as the "cleansing" of the defeated army.
- [13] Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.
- [14] (a) In response to American accusations of a bloodbath, Castro declared (b) that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction".
- [15] (a) **But** within a few months, after acknowledging that 550 people had been executed, (b) he ordered the firing squads to stop.
- [16] (a) At the time, the revolution was widely popular (b) **and many of those** executed had a reputation for brutality.
- [17] (a) **As** the revolution was consolidated, (b) people left Cuba in droves.
- [18] State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary.
- [19] In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners.
- [20] Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000.
- [21] (a) Torture was institutionalised (b) **and** several accounts leave little doubt (c) that the Cuban version - despite the rhetoric about the "new man" - did not fight shy of the malevolent ingenuity (d) that is the trademark of its practitioners.
- [22] It included electric shocks, the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions.
- [23] Thousands of political prisoners were released in the 1970s.
- [24] (a) The Cuban Committee for Human Rights, established more than 20 years ago, estimated (b) that in 1991 there were 3,000 political prisoners;

[25] (a) some observers believe (b) the number may now have dropped to 500.

[26] (a) The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people in July 1994, (b) when a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was rammed off the Cuban coast.

[27] (a) Castro said (b) it was an accident.

[28] (a) Amnesty International said (b) the survivors and their families were harassed and (c) intimidated (d) when they tried to commemorate the incident.

[29] (a) One reason (b) why it has been possible to bring a case against Pinochet is (c) because contrary to many assertions - Chile's reckoning with its past has been exemplary.

[30] (a) In 1990, after an imperfect democracy was re-established, (b) a commission, including some (c) who had been at least sympathetic to the dictator, (b) investigated Pinochet's rule.

[31] It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991.

[32] (a) Without once mentioning Pinochet by name, (b) it concluded (c) that 1,158 people had died at the hands of agents of the state or others operating from political motives (d) and that 957 had disappeared.

[33] The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation.

[34] (a) It was acknowledged at the time (predicated Theme) (b) that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.

(Maurice Walsh, *New Statesman* 11/12/98)

Appendix 5: Thematic Analysis Including Grammatical Subject

- Unmarked Theme underlined
- Marked Theme double underlined
- Textual Theme in bold
- Interpersonal Theme in bold italics

Text A:

[1] The Other Extradition:

[2] ***An interesting question:*** compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade "Apon Ocalan", aged 48.

[3] Pinochet faces extradition.

[4] (a) Ocalan, (b) who has led the Kurdish PKK since its foundation 20 years ago, (c) has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey.

[5] (a) ***Of course***, he claims the usual indulgence for terrorism, (b) ***but he*** has been personally charged with murder, in Germany, (c) where four defectors from his organisation were killed.

[6] He is wanted on a red Interpol list, at the behest of the German government.

[7] (a) He flew to Italy, (b) and requested political asylum, (c) and has not been made to face justice there – (d) ***instead there he*** sits, in a comfortable house near Rome.

[8] Has the Italian state got a soft spot for murderers?

[9] In 1985, PLO men hijacked a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*.

[10] An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them.

[11] (a) He was shot, (b) and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all.

[12] The four killers were later arrested in Italy.

[13] (a) They "escaped" (b) while "on leave" from prison.

[14] (a) Now, (b) ***it seems***, the Italian state is at it again.

[15] It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey.

[16] ***This*** is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet.

[17] (a) The problem is (b) that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation.

[18] (a) The PKK claims to speak for "the Kurds", (b) ***and there is*** in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim.

[19] ***But most of his victims*** have been Kurds.

[20] One of his onetime lieutenants, Selim Curukkaya, wrote his memoirs (PKK - Die Diktatur des Abdullah Ocalan).

[21] (a) Ocalan is a Communist, complete with hammer and sickle, (b) ***and he*** runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trials.

[22] (b) You are not even allowed to cross your legs in his camps, (a) says Selim Curukkaya, (c) **as it** might be taken fore (sic) a sign of disrespect;

[23] (a) he himself was imprisoned by Ocalan, (b) and managed, with great difficulty, to get away, through Beirut.

[24] Other defectors have not been so lucky, most of them Kurdish innocents.

[25] (a) In 1993, Ocalan broke a ceasefire, (b) and killed 20 unarmed young conscripts in a bus.

[26] (a) A particularly horrible case involved two young primary school teachers, (b) who had gone to the south east out of idealism bring education to the backward east.

[27] They were killed.

[28] (a) The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared (b) **but she** asked to be killed as well, **and** (c) the PKK obliged.

[29] (a) The PKK is a terroristic organisation with links to gangland (b) **and its aim** is the creation of a Maoist state in areas of Turkey and Iraq.

[30] (a) Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", (b) and gain credibility in serious circles.

[31] (a) **But** there is not A Kurdish Question: (b) there are several.

[32] (b) What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, (a) I do not know.

[33] (a) **Even** nationalist Turks sometimes say (b) **that there should be** a Turkish - Kurdish state, a federation of the kind suggested by the late Turgut Ozal at the time of the Gulf war, as an alternative to the survival of Saddam Hussein.

[34] (a) Others say (b) that the answer must be decentralisation (c) which again, is not senseless.

[35] (a) Many observers, in view of the complications, just think (b) that assimilation should go ahead and (c) will do so.

[36] (a) **Whatever the answer**, this is not a situation (b) where you can automatically apply minority statutes.

[37] The Turkish Republic has done, overall, a pretty remarkable job of "modernisation";

[38] (a) **in some ways**, it has been the only successful Third World country, with free media, respectable economic growth, and social circumstances (b) that are way above those of any of her neighbours, except Greece.

[39] Not many Kurds wish to throw this away for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony.

[40] By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly.

(Norman Stone *The Guardian*, Saturday 28/11/98)

Text B:

[1] Will Castro be next in the dock ?

[2] (a) If Pinochet gets away with it, (b) can we look forward to the possibility of more cases being brought against foreign dictators?

[3] (a) If nothing else, (b) the Law Lords have set a legal precedent.

[4] (a) **And** if there is a case against Pinochet, (b) shouldn't there, (c) asks the right, (b) also be a case against Fidel Castro?

[5] Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American dictators, in countries of similar size.

[6] (a) In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; (b) the population of Chile, 9.7 million.

[7] (a) Over the years, independent human rights monitors have found (b) that violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic in Cuba.

[8] (a) Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc, has written (b) that "final decisions concerning crime and punishment in Cuba are Fidel Castro's personal province."

[9] **But** (b) although there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba, (a) charges similar to those made against Pinochet would have to be based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

[10] The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories.

[11] One would be the executions of former soldiers from the Batista regime carried out immediately after the revolution in Cuba;

[12] the revolutionaries described this as the "cleansing" of the defeated army.

[13] Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.

[14] (a) In response to American accusations of a bloodbath, Castro declared (b) that "revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts but on moral conviction".

[15] (a) **But** within a few months, after acknowledging that 550 people had been executed, (b) he ordered the firing squads to stop.

[16] (a) At the time, the revolution was widely popular (b) **and many of those** executed had a reputation for brutality.

[17] (a) **As** the revolution was consolidated, (b) people left Cuba in droves.

[18] State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary.

[19] In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners.

[20] Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000.

[21] (a) Torture was institutionalised (b) **and** several accounts leave little doubt (c) that the Cuban version - despite the rhetoric about the "new man" - did not fight shy of the malevolent ingenuity (d) that is the trademark of its practitioners.

[22] It included electric shocks, the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions.

[23] Thousands of political prisoners were released in the 1970s.

[24] (a) The Cuban Committee for Human Rights, established more than 20 years ago, estimated (b) that in 1991 there were 3,000 political prisoners;

[25] (a) some observers believe (b) the number may now have dropped to 500.

[26] (a) The third possible basis for charges against Castro under international law might be found in specific incidents such as the drowning of 41 people in July 1994, (b) when a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was rammed off the Cuban coast.

[27] (a) Castro said (b) it was an accident.

[28] (a) Amnesty International said (b) the survivors and their families were harassed and (c) intimidated (d) when they tried to commemorate the incident.

[29] (a) One reason (b) why it has been possible to bring a case against Pinochet is (c) because contrary to many assertions - Chile's reckoning with its past has been exemplary.

[30] (a) In 1990, after an imperfect democracy was re-established, (b) a commission, including some (c) who had been at least sympathetic to the dictator, (b) investigated Pinochet's rule.

[31] It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991.

[32] (a) Without once mentioning Pinochet by name, (b) it concluded (c) that 1,158 people had died at the hands of agents of the state or others operating from political motives (d) and that 957 had disappeared.

[33] The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation.

[34] (a) It was acknowledged at the time (predicated Theme) (b) that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.

(Maurice Walsh, *New Statesman* 11/12/98)