FG/06/05

Although the two following texts (Texts A & B)(see appendix 1) 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 reader's 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 author

Matthew Walsh

July 31st 2007

1. Introduction

This paper will compare and contrast two texts using the tools of Systemic Functional Grammar. The texts have similar subject matter, but differ Systemically in aspects of the way they seek to convince the reader of their proposition. This paper will examine syntactic complexity, choices of Theme, agency, Modal values, and evaluative language in attempting to reveal the differences between the texts.

2. The Texts: the discourses they exist in.

The two texts are both sampled from 'left-of-center' periodical publications distributed primarily within the U.K. One article is from The Guardian (from here on the article is referred to as TG), and the other from New Statesman (from here on the article is referred to as NS). For reference, I have separated the texts (appendix 1) into sentences referred to in this paper as S1, S2 … I use the definition of 'sentence' as "stretch(es) of (written) words beginning with a capital letter and ending with a full stop" (White. 2004, p. 164).

Both articles were published in late 1998, a time familiar to most when deposed Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet was in the United Kingdom for medical treatment and the government of Spain had issued several international arrest warrants for him requesting his extradition. Complying with the request was problematic for the bureaucracy of the United Kingdom presumably because Pinochet was considered an ally at the times of his crimes. He was praised for his rapid implementation of free market policy and deregulation in Chile and as well for his cooperation during the Falklands War. In the public consciousness of the U.K. however, Pinochet was the prototypical brutal Latin-American dictator to such an extent that he had been the subject of poplar music played on the radio daily and one could even argue that the emergence in the English language of 'disappear' as a transitive verb could be attributed to public awareness of

Pinochet's government's acts to quell dissent after his military coup. For these reasons, the government of the U.K. refusing to let Pinochet be extradited was quite controversial and this is the discourse where both texts exist.

Adding to this discourse both articles start from the Pinochet issue and go on to examine other political figures guilty of human rights violations that have not been brought to justice or extradited.

TG focuses on Turkish Kurd separatist leader Apon Ocalan and the PLO who both avoided extradition from Italy while NS examines Cuban President Fidel Castro and recounts events following the revolution there.

In NS, the comparison between Pinochet and Castro is in answer to an unspecific 'right' in UK society who propose "…if there is a case against Pinochet, shouldn't there… also be a case against Fidel Castro?' (NS, S2). The rest of the text serves as a factual account of what Castro and the Cuban government could be found guilty of in comparison to that of Pinochet.

TG, on the other hand seems not to be in reaction to any sound byte in the public mind but is pre-emptive in chastising the government of Italy for not allowing Ocalan or the PLO members' extradition and summarizes the crimes those parties were guilty of.

It could be argued that the ultimate goal of both texts was to pull attention away from Pinochet and portray the UK's refusal to allow his extradition as something less ridiculous when seen in relativity to select other global events, but upon first reading it seems obvious that the texts differ in how they evaluate the figures they describe. TG's use of language concerning Ocalan, the PKK, the PLO and the Italian government is much more colorful and demonizing, whereas NS's picture of Castro seems much more objective and at times perhaps even downplays the nature of the events surrounding him. Hopefully, a close examination of the lexico-grammatical features of the texts using the tools of Systemics will shed more light on how this takes place.

2. Analysis

2.1 Syntactical complexity of the texts.

'Syntactical complexity' is not a term generally found in systemic literature. However, several items on the rank-scale can help us compare it between the texts. Aside from a difference in sentence length which would arise because of a variety of factors such as complexity of nominal groups and details specified (or not) in Circumstance or by Adjuncts, we can measure whether sentences are made of a single Clause or several in a Clause Complex.

Although TG's word count is slightly higher than NS, every aspect summarized below (table 1) shows lower syntactical complexity in TG.

In particular TG uses short sentences more often than NS. This can be seen acutely in an uninterrupted series of short, declarative statements when TG recounts the *Achille Lauro* incident perpetrated by members of the PLO in 1985 (S8 - S15, appendix 1).

The simplicity seems to create a dramatic rhetorical effect in that it is set apart from the rest of the text or the style of broadsheets in general which would tend to be more descriptive. The syntactic minimalism creates a succinct, matter-of-fact gist to the events that seems to indicate stress on the part of the narrator highlighting perhaps the injustice of the situation. These are simple, undeniable facts or at least this rhetorical device represents them as such. Author Virginia Tufts (2006), although not from the Systemics tradition, notes that very short sentences can be used for this effect.

Looking at the total number of clauses per text (see table 1 below), it can be surmised that NS describes things in more detail with longer clauses. This will be described more below and later in section 2.3.1.

	The Guardian (TG)	New Statesman (NS)
Words	635	626
Sentences	37	31
Clauses	60	46
Single clause sentences	21 (57%)	15 (48%)
Clause Complexes	16 (43%)	16 (52%)
Sentences 10 words or less	11 (30%)	7 (23%)
Average words per sentence	17	20

Table 1. Syntactical complexity in the texts

Sampling the one sentence in each text that uses the word 'shot' we can see this difference in syntactical complexity in effect:

He was shot, and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all. (TG, S10)

Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara. (NS, S11)

In TG, the first nominal group representing a participant in the clause is the simple head 'He', compared to that of NS, 'Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads', where the head 'prisoners' is modified by both the pre-modifying determiner 'Many of the' and the post-modifying qualifier 'shot by firing squads'. Concerning Process as well TG contains two: 'was shot' in paratactic relation with 'was dumped over' ('was' ellipsis) described by the singular Circumstantial Adjunct, the prepositional phrase 'wheelchair and all'. On the other hand NS has one Process, 'were judged' described by two Circumstantial Adjuncts, the prepositional phrases 'within a few hours' and 'by special groups supervised by Che Guavara'. In this last prepositional phrase we see one prepositional phrase 'supervised by Che Guevara' modifying another 'by special groups'.

From these examples, we can see how at times TG's conciseness is almost abrupt creating an emphatic and almost shocking quality whereas NS is more typified by describing events in more detail, as mentioned before.

Next, we will look at choice of Theme in the two texts.

2.2 Textual choices in the texts: marked Themes

White (2004, p. 154) defines Theme as everything up to and including the first experiential element (Participant, Process, or Circumstance) in a clause noting that if this is not the Subject then the theme is marked. Thomson (2004, p. 143) cites Halliday (1985, p. 39) as defining Theme as 'what the clause is about' but in a later edition (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 64) adding 'point of departure of the message' or 'that which locates and orients the clause within its context'. The rest of the clause is Rheme, or what it being said from that point of departure. Bloor & Bloor (1995, p.66) explain how Given and New are very similar to Theme and Rheme and often parallel but are elements of the Information structure of text and a part of what makes it coherent or cohesive, whereas Theme and Rheme are the elements of the Thematic structure and is more concerned with the message carried by that one clause.

NS contains nine instances of Marked Themes (S5, 6,12,13,14,15,17,27, and 29) and all but one of them were a prepositional phrase Circumstance, placing the happening of the clause in the timeline the text creates. An example would be:

In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000 political prisoners. (NS, S17)

Theme	Rheme

We can see that this Marked Theme in NS is not used to create cohesion by adhering to Given-New because if it were spoken, it would have a tonic prominence typical of New (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 89). These dates are newly introduced and carry an information focus. Instead NS seems to be giving the reader a history lesson of sorts, creating a chronology by sequentially listing the events surrounding Castro and Cuba in a factual manner. This adds authority or objectivity to its propositions.

In contrast, TG has only six instances of Marked Themes (S8,21,23,30,34, and 37) and only two are Circumstance of time. The rest serve to focus the clause more along the lines of Halliday's first definition of Theme above; "what the clause is about". An illustrative example would be:

By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly.(TG,S37)

Theme	Rheme

NS puts the focus on the writer's condemning and emotionally charged lexicalization of Ocalan as 'murderer', and Italy's allowing him to escape as 'giving aid and comfort'. (more on lexical choices in section 2.5)

Another example that this time happens to be parallel with Given-New but perhaps serves more to focus the sentence is below. Although the writer had been describing the Kurdish situation before that in the text, which makes 'the Kurdish problem' Given, it's obvious that the clause wishes to express that it is a problem for which perhaps no one has an answer to rather than expressing that the author in particular is at a loss or too ignorant to answer.

What the answer to the Kurdish problem is, I don't know. (TG,S30)

Theme	Rheme

By examining the choice of Themes in the texts, we can see that NS uses Marked Themes to create a timeline in order to create a chronology, a more seemingly factual account of the events of history, whereas TG uses markedness to stress a point or pull focus to the meaning the writer wishes to express.

2.3 The experiential world within the texts：Actors, Agents or Initiators associated with Processes

In this section, we will look at which participants are represented as Actors, Agents or Initiators of actions within the texts in order to see how the texts portray the individuals within. According to White (2000, p. 145) we can use an 'agency' analysis to explore "the more covert or implicit ways that texts act to position their readers/listeners and to adopt particular evaluative positions." He gives the example of using passive structures to avoid presenting an Actor. In a transitive analysis, "The Actor is construed as bringing about the unfolding of the Process through time; and this unfolding is either confined in its outcome to the Actor or extended to another participant, the Goal" (Halliday & Mattheissen, 2004, p. 282). For some classes of verbs however the Actor can appear to also be Goal though not labeled as such. Thompson (2004, p. 135) gives the example of "We increased our profits" verses "Our profits increased" where in both cases the increase happens to 'our profits'. For a mental process encoding is not difficult because Subject can be either Sensor or Phenomenon, but in the case of these types of material process verbs that seem to act as both transitive or intransitive 'the ergative model' (as opposed to the transitive model) uses the label 'Agent' for the external cause or 'doer' and 'Medium' is used for the participant that the process is actualized through, hosted in, or in more simpler terms, done to.

In Systemics 'Initiator' is another specialized version of Actor used for processes expressing causation. Thompson (ibid, p. 125) gives the examples of 'make', 'force', and 'drive'. The Initiator is the 'causer' of the Process in an executive role. Thomson gives the example sentence ' Excess blood makes the knee swell.' In this case 'excess blood' is the Initiator of the Process 'swell' whereas 'knee' is the Actor that does the swelling.

In comparing the ways the texts represent the experiential world, we will narrow in on Processes with a negative connotation. From there we will be concerned with what Participant is represented as doing the Process and looking for places where an Actor/Agent/Initiator is specified compared to

where one is non-present or avoided. We will include agency represented in Circumstance in passive structures such as "He… was imprisoned <u>by Ocalan</u>" (TG, S21) in accordance with the more general sense of the word 'agent' as defined by The Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching & Applied Linguistics (Richards, et al, 1992, p. 11) but will include inanimate or abstract entities, which the dictionary does not. In this way, we are doing an 'agency test' in the manner described by White (2000, p. 145) above.

Looking at the table in Appendix 2, it comes as no surprise that TG, with its shocking and emphatic style is much more explicit in assigning agents to Processes with negative connotations. Between its four 'bad guys', Ocalan, the PKK, the PLO men who hijacked the *Achille Lauro,* and the Italian government, it directly assigns one of them as agent to such Processes as 'kill', 'hijack', and 'wage a terrorist war' a total of nineteen times. Interestingly Pinochet is nowhere to be found as agent.

NS, on the other hand, uses its two main characters Pinochet and Castro as agent of Processes with a negative connotation only four times. There are however 5 other agents of Processes with negative connotation such as 'many of those executed' (S14) or 'agents of the state or others operating from a political motive' (S29).

In terms of an agent being absent in a passive structure the way White (ibid) describes above, there were two clauses in each text where this happened. In TG this happens at S10 "He was shot…." and S25 "They were killed." In both cases, the effect of the missing agent in the clause does not seem to be a downplay of events or avoidance of lexicalizing the responsible party, but rather both of these sentences are of the short emphatic type mentioned before (see section 2.1) used for rhetorical effect. Adding an agent would have lessened the punch. NS, however does at times seem to diffuse responsibility somewhat by not pinpointing an agent. At S23 "… a tugboat of passengers trying to get to Florida was rammed off the Cuban coast" leaves you to fill in an agent anywhere between 'the Coast Guard' to 'revolutionary zealots under Castro's command', probably closer to the former. It is easy to imagine that TG would have made Castro the agent for effect, attributing the action to the individual rather than the organization

as it does at S3, "Ocalan…has waged a terroristic war in south eastern Turkey." NS, on the other hand, when summing up what Castro (or the Cuban government) is accused of at S6-8 does this in a very different way, never once using Castro *or* the Cuban government as an agent of an ill-deed Process. One reason this happens is because all of the ill deeds mentioned are nominalized, which I will describe later (see section 2.3.1). NS is agent-less at one more point, (S25) "…the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated when they tried to commemorate the incident" but this is very similar to the tugboat example and needs no further description.

As for the more specialized transitive Initiator or ergative Agents mentioned before, there are a few instances, but they weren't associated with Processes with a negative connotation. In TG at S6 we see "He…has not been made to face justice…" which could be re-worded as "Italy has not made him face justice" with Italy as Initiator, however Italy is already established in Circumstance of an earlier clause within the clause complex so it would be superfluous. In terms of ergative Agents, in TG, there is one instance of a verb with ergative reversibility, 'apply' in "… this is not a situation where you can apply minority statutes" (S34). I'd propose that having the Agent here, you in a general sense, seems to suggest that such 'applying' would be foolish or inappropriate, whereas '…this is not a situation where minority statues can apply' sounds like more of legal issue regarding the details of such statutes.

2.3.1 Nominalization

Returning to the nominalization mentioned before, NS's lack of agency can be explained by this. It's not that NS refers less to ill deeds associated with Castro and Cuba than TG does about Ocalan and the others, it's that the processes are more often nominalized, a type of grammatical metaphor. This has several functions. One is perhaps that by doing so it avoids assigning agency grammatically and steers clear of the sensationalist and

condemning effect that TG achieves so often by doing so. It sounds more objective. Another is that by nominalizing, it is able to represent experiential reality more simply in terms of syntax by not needing a separate Mood Block, Process and therefore Clause for every process represented by the nominalizations. A good example is at S20:

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

Thompson (2004, p. 227) mentions that this is typical of formal written English and the outcome is a simpler clause complex but a much more complex group. More ideational meaning packed into simpler syntax. In section 2.1 I showed how in fact it is TG, not NS that has simpler syntax. This would seem to indicate that TG's use of short sentences for rhetorical effect outweighs its less formal properties whereas NS contains much more ideational information regardless of its more formal style.

Another way of exploiting nominalization mentioned by Thompson (ibid), is that the processes represented as 'things' are able to take on Attributes, as they do in the following example (in S6) where they act as Carrier in a relational process:

> "…violations of rights to privacy, freedom of expression, assembly and due process of law are consistent and systematic…"

Yet another use for nominalization mentioned by Thompson (ibid) is to enable logical relations to be expressed in a single clause as in the example below found at S8. This is also said to be typical of formal English.

> "…there is a clear link between Castro's leadership and the repression of dissent in Cuba…"

A table comparing nominalization of ill deeds in NS and TG can be found in appendix 3 and we see that NS nominalizes seventeen times compared to TG's mere three.

Concerning the evaluative positions reflected by the agency analysis presented above, it could be said that TG is much more condemning of the characters it describes through agency, whereas NS is appears more objective and formal in style.

2.4 Modal values of probability or obligation

TG and NS differ in how they use modals of probability or obligation.

As Thompson (2004, p. 72) describes, modals often are used to grade how much the speaker/writer accepts responsibility for the attitude being expressed. They may wish to objectivize a process removing such responsibility and making it appear to be a quality of the process itself, rather than any attitude or proposal of the writer's origin.

Of NS's six instances of modals of probability or obligation, (S1,3,8,9,10,23) two thirds, or four of them are modals of probability of the type mentioned above. After setting up the imaginary situation of Castro being tried in some sort of international court. The crimes he would be tried for 'might' (S9) fall into a number of categories, which 'would' (S10) be things like post-revolution executions or torture, or 'might' (S23) be more specific incidents, like the tugboat affair. Concerning Pinochet however, crimes he would be tried for 'would have to' (S8) be genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. We can see that through modals NS asserts 'objectively' that the probability of these events being considered crimes in an international court is less in the case of Castro than with Pinochet. Although a different issue, we can also see a difference in the lexical choices (see 2.5 for more) between 'specific incidents' attributed to Castro verses Pinochet's 'genocide'. In sum, the use of modals in NS objectivizes to the evaluative benefit of Castro and Cuba.

TG uses modals of probability and obligation in a different manner. Of a

total of five instances, both modals of obligation (S31, 33) and all three of probability (S32, 33, 34) center on what the solution for the Kurds stuck in Turkey should be. Some say there 'should' (S31) be a new state, others say it 'must' (S32) be decentralization, but many say the Kurds 'should' (S33) and 'will' (S33) just assimilate. This last 'will' and the 'must' in S32 are what Halliday & Mattheissen (2004, pp. 615) refer to as 'subjective' and 'implicit' modals of probability meaning the user is making a proposition. Although these propositions are framed by the verbal or mental processes 'say' or 'think' and attributed to others, the writer wraps up the discussion with "…assimilation *should* go ahead and *will* do so" (S33) using the modals to indicate that the probability of an independent state coming about is low and anyone striving for that has an obligation to stop. The modals in TG work to the evaluative detriment of Ocalan and the PKK, or at least to that of their cause.

2.5 Lexical evaluation of the characters

Thompson (2004, pp. 75) notes that most evaluation is expressed by lexical choices. We have shown, in some ways, how grammar choices in the texts have aided them in expressing their particular evaluative positions but we have left untouched lexis in itself. In section 2.3 and 2.3.1 we examined processes with a negative connotation, or nominalizations of them and lists of these can be found in appendices 2 and 3, so for lack of space we won't reexamine or compare them here but examining the differences in the way people are lexicalized or paraphrased the texts will reveal some differences. Some of the differences may be because of the actual nature of the people or events, and certainly because of the differences in the messages the texts wish to create, but looking at table 2 below, we can see that TG is much more condemning of the people it compares to Pinochet and also sympathetic towards their victims.

	TG	NS
People compared to Pinochet (or who escaped extradition)	Ocalan, murderer, communist, (PLO men, murderers, killers,)	Castro, dictator
People killed (or imprisoned)	victims, Kurds, 20 unarmed conscripts, four defectors from his organization, two young primary school teachers, newly-married wife, An elderly, crippled tourist, (Selim Curukkaya), (defectors) (Kurdish innocents)	former soldiers from the Batista regime, the defeated army, prisoners, 550 people, those executed, 41 people, passengers trying to get to Florida, (political prisoners)

Table 2: Lexicalization of characters in the texts.

We see that TG uses emotionally charged words like 'killer' or 'murderer' whereas NS doesn't. TG says 'victims' and adds sympathy-creating adjectives to the noun group representing the suffering party like 'young' 'newly-wed', 'elderly', 'crippled', 'unarmed', or 'innocents'. NS never says 'victims' but tends to lexicalize in a more neutral way with noun groups like: 41 people, or passengers trying to get to Florida. It also puts things in a military context using phrases like 'defeated army', or 'former soldier from the Batista regime' (this last choice of 'regime' probably disagreeable to some). NS's choice of words almost has the opposite effect, that of removing sympathy, whereas TG seems to go out of its way to create it in order to vilify its 'bad guys'.

3. Conclusion

This paper has compared the lexico-grammatical differences between two texts using the tools of Systemic Functional Grammar and revealed several differences in how they aim to convey their message.

TG uses short sentences for an emphatic rhetorical effect, uses Marked Themes to pull attention to points it aims to make, assigns blame to those it wishes to vilify by explicitly making them agent of processes with negative connotations whenever this doesn't distract from its use of short sentences, uses modals to express the error and futility of attempting to create a Kurdish state, and makes lexical choices to amplify the ruthless nature of those people it aims to damn while gathering sympathy to those who have been subject to their acts. It breaks from the typical, more formal and objective style of a newspaper article in order to create all these effects.

NS, on the other hand, is more full of information, uses marked themes to create an authoritative chronological account of events, and avoids agency to seem more formal, less sensational, or so as not to focus blame. It nominalized processes to attribute qualities to them or indicate logical relations between them and uses modal values to objectivize propositions that work to the evaluative benefit of Castro. Lexically it admits Castro is a dictator, but portrays those subject to human rights violations as loyalist combatants from the days of the revolution, or at least in more plain terms different from the sensationalist way TG does. It is more formal in style and seems much more factual and objective, but to someone who had a more extreme image of Castro and the acts associated with him, it may seem to downplay elements.

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Appendix 1, texts from the assignment question

(Sentences numbers for reference are mine)

Text A (from The Guardian)(referred to as TG)

The Other Extradition:

(1)   An interesting question: compare the fate of General Pinochet, aged 83, and Comrade "Apon Ocalan", aged 48.

(2) Pinochet faces extradition.

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

(4) 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.

(5)   He is wanted on a red Interpol list, at the behest of the German government.

(6) 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.

(7)   Has the Italian state got a soft spot for murderers?

(8)   In 1985, PLO men hijacked a cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*.

(9) An elderly, crippled tourist, in a wheelchair, berated them.

(10) He was shot, and dumped over the side, wheelchair and all.

(11) The four killers were later arrested in Italy.

(12) They "escaped" while "on leave" from prison.

(13) Now, it seems, the Italian state is at it again.

(14) It will not extradite Ocalan to Turkey.

(15) This is a strange contrast with British behaviour over Pinochet.

(16) The problem is that Ocalan himself is hugely complicating a difficult enough situation.

(17) The PKK claims to speak for "the Kurds", and there is in some quarters an easy acceptance of this claim.

(18) But most of his victims have been Kurds.

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

(20) Ocalan is a Communist, complete with hammer and sickle, and he runs the PKK in Stalinist style, complete with executions and purge trials.

(21) 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, and managed, with great difficulty, to get away, through Beirut.

(22) Other defectors have not been so lucky, most of them Kurdish innocents.

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

(24) 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.

(25) They were killed.

(26) The newly-married wife of one was going to be spared but she asked to be killed as well, and the PKK obliged.

(27) 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.

(28) Such movements can talk the language of "national liberation", and gain credibility in serious circles.

(29) But there is not A Kurdish Question: there are several.

(30) What the answer to the Kurdish problems is, I do not know.

(31) 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.

(32) Others say that the answer must be decentralisation which again, is not senseless.

(33) Many observers, in view of the complications, just think that assimilation should go ahead and will do so.

(34) Whatever the answer, this it not a situation where you can automatically apply minority statutes.

(35) 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.

(36) Not many Kurds wish to throw this away for the sake of the PKK's flyblown variant of Che Guevara's romantic agony.

(37) By giving aid and comfort to this murderer, the Italian government has behaved contemptibly.

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

Text B (from New Statesmen) (referred to as NS)

Will Castro be next in the dock ?

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

(2) If nothing else, the Law Lords have set a legal precedent.

(3) And if there is a case against Pinochet, shouldn't there, asks the right, also be a case against Fidel Castro?

(4) Both, after all, were - and, in Castro's case, are - Latin American dictators, in countries of similar size.

(5) In 1980, the population of Cuba was 11.1 million; the population of Chile, 9.7 million.

(6) 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.

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

(8) 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 *(possible typo - 'be' omitted)* based on crimes subject to universal jurisdiction, such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

(9) The evidence against Castro might fall into three broad categories.

(10) 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.

(11) Many of the prisoners shot by firing squads were judged within a few hours by special tribunals supervised by Che Guevara.

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

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

(14) At the time, the revolution was widely popular and many of those executed had a reputation for brutality.

(15) As the revolution was consolidated, people left Cuba in droves.

(16) State security agents were on the lookout for anyone regarded as counter-revolutionary.

(17) In the mid-1960s, Castro himself admitted to 25,000political prisoners.

(18) Some anti-Castro groups put the figure at 60,000.

(19) 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.

(20) It included electric shocks the incarceration of prisoners in dark isolation cells the size of coffins, and beatings to extract information or confessions.

(21) Thousands of political prisoners were released in the 1970s.

(22) 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.

(23) 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.

(24) Castro said it was an accident.

(25) Amnesty International said the survivors and their families were harassed and intimidated when they tried to commemorate the incident.

(26) 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.

(27) 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.

(28) It produced two rigorously sourced volumes in February 1991.

(29) 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.

(30)   The victims were classified by age, profession, region and political affiliation.

(31) It was acknowledged at the time that there were other deaths and disappearances yet to be as firmly established.

<div align="center">(Maurice Walsh, New Statesman 11/12/98)</div>

Appendix 2: Agents of processes with negative connotation in the texts.

The Guardian (TG)

Line number in text	Participant/Actor as Agent:	Process with negative connotation (n-group/Part):
S3	Ocalan	has waged (a terrorist war)
S4	Ocalan	claims (the usual indulgence for terrorism)
S4	Ocalan	has been personally charged (with murder)
S5	Ocalan	is wanted
S8	PLO men	hijacked
S10	-	was shot
S11	The four killers (PLO men)	were arrested
S12	PLO men	escaped
S13	the Italian state	is at it again*
S14	the Italian state	will not extradite
S20	Ocalan	Is (a communist)*
S20	Ocalan	runs the PPK
S21	Ocalan	was imprisoned
S23	Ocalan	broke (a ceasefire)
S23	Ocalan	killed (20 unarmed conscripts)
S25	-	were killed

S26	PKK	obliged
S27	PKK	is (a terrorist organization)
S27	PKK	(nominalized) aim to create a Maoist state
S37	the Italian government	give aid and comfort
S37	the Italian government	behaved contemptibly

Totals (TG)

Participant/Actor as Agent to Process with negative connotation:	Total number in text:
Ocalan	9
PKK	3
PLO men	3
The Italian government/state	4
Unspecified (Agent not an Participant/Actor in the clause)	2

Line number in text	Participant/Actor as Agent	Process with negative connotation (n-group/Participant)
S1	Pinochet	get away with (it)
S4	Pinochet/Castro	Were (Latin American dictators)
S4	Castro	Are (Latin American Dictators)
S14	many of those executed	had (a reputation for brutality)
S16	state security agents	were on the lookout*
S19	the Cuban version	did not fight shy
S20	it –tourture by Cuban revolutionaries	included (electric shocks….)
S23	-	was rammed
S25	-	were harrased
S29	agents of the state or others operating from political motive -in Chile	had died at the hands of

Totals (NS)

Participant/Actor as Agent to Process with negative connotation:	Total number in text:
Castro	2
Pinochet	2
others	5
Unspecified (Agent not an Participant/Actor in the clause)	2

Appendix 3: Nominalization of ill deeds in the texts

Nominalization of ill deeds in NS	
S6	violations of rights of privacy
S6	violations of rights of freedom of expression
S6	violations of rights of assembly
S6	violations of rights of due process of the law
S8	the repression of dissent
S8	genocide
S8	crimes against humanity
S8	war crimes
S10	the execution of former soldiers
S12	a bloodbath
S19	torture
S20	electric shocks
S20	the incarceration of prisoners
S20	beatings
S23	the drowning of 41 people
S31	deaths
S31	dissapearances

Nominalization of ill deeds in TG	
S20	executions
S20	purge trials
S27	the creation of a Maoist state