

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1998). Things and relations. In J. R. Martin & R. Veel (Eds.), *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourse of science*, (pp. 185–235). London: Routledge.
- Jones, J., Gollin, S., Drury, H., & Economou, D. (1989). Systemic-functional linguistics and its application to the TESOL Curriculum. In R. Hasan & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Language development: Learning language, learning culture*, (pp. 257–328). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Martin, J. R. (1991). Nominalization in science and humanities: Distilling knowledge and scaffolding text. In E. Ventola (Ed.), *Functional and systemic linguistics: Approaches and issues* (pp. 307–337). Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Martin, J. R. (1993). Genre and literacy-modelling context in educational linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 13, 141–172.
- Martin, J. R. (1996). Waves of abstraction: Organizing exposition. *The Journal of TESOL-France*, 3(1), 87–105.
- Menyuk, P. (1988). *Language development: Knowledge and use*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.
- Schleppegrell, M. (1996). Conjunction in spoken English and ESL writing. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), 271–285.
- Schleppegrell, M., & Colombi, C. (1997). Text organization by bilingual writers. *Written Communication*, 14, 481–503.
- Unsworth, L. (1999). Developing critical understanding of the specialised language of school of science and history texts: A functional grammatical perspective. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 42(7), 508–521.
- Valdés, G., & Geoffrion-Vinci, M. (1998). Chicano Spanish: The problem of the “underdeveloped” code in bilingual repertoires. *The Modern Language Journal*, 82(4), 473–501.
- Veel, R. (1998). The greening of school science. In J. R. Martin & R. Veel (Eds.), *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourse of science* (pp. 114–151). London: Routledge.
- Ventola, E., & Mauranen, A. (1991). Non-native writing and native revising of scientific articles. In E. Ventola (Ed.), *Functional and systemic linguistics: Approaches and issues: Trends in linguistic studies and monographs*. (pp. 457–492). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ventola, E., & Mauranen, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Academic writing: Intercultural and textual issues*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Whittaker, R., & Rojo, L. M. (1999). A dialogue with bureaucracy: Register, genre and information management as constraints on interchangeability. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 149–189.

5

Writing History: Construing Time and Value in Discourses of the Past

James R. Martin
University of Sydney

WHAT HISTORY?

In a postcolonial world, our history comes back to haunt us and it becomes difficult to move forward without dealing with the past. In Australia, the issues of land rights and stolen generations dominate the politics of reconciliation, with diverse voices contesting both the history and what to do about it. Debates are highly charged, and for many commentators John Howard's conservative government has not dealt productively with the situation:

On taking office the Howard government mounted a cynical and sustained campaign to discredit the institutions of Aboriginal welfare and the processes of self-determination and reconciliation, culminating in Howard's shameful refusal to apologise on behalf of the nation for the policies of forced removal of Aboriginal children from their parents. The prime minister invited the outpouring of racial hatred through the calculated persecution of the "Aboriginal industry" and his attacks on the "black arm-band view" of Australian history. (Hamilton, *Guardian Weekly* June 21, 1998, p. 12)

From a social semiotic perspective, a concern with reconciliation makes the discourses of history every bit as important to salvaging humanity as discourses of science are to salvaging the environment. But research funding, and thus scholarly enterprise, do not reflect a balance of this kind. For science we have *Talking Science* (Lemke, 1990), *Writing Science* (Halliday & Martin, 1993), *Reading Science* (Martin & Veel, 1998), *Explaining Science in the Classroom*, (Ogborn, Kress, Martins, & McGillicuddy,

1996). *Genre Analysis* (Swales, 1990), *Writing Biology* (Myers, 1990), *Shaping Written Knowledge* (Bazerman, 1988), *Scientific Discourse in Sociocultural Context* (Atkinson, 1999, Wallace & Loudon, 2002) ... the list goes on. Quite a canon! But for history ... just what springs to mind? Beyond this, in Australia's public education sector, history is rapidly declining as a subject choice in secondary school. What effect, one wonders, will this have on our readings of the past—on just who will make them and who will read them, and on how critically any of this will be done?

In this chapter I'd like to redress this balance a little, drawing on literacy research undertaken by colleagues from the so-called "Sydney School" (Martin, 2000a). I'm interested in the kind of discourse that makes and remakes history, and in the implications of this for teaching literacies of history in university and school.

WHOSE HISTORY?

Let's begin by setting some parameters, drawing on the highly charged reconciliation theme introduced earlier. First, some oral history, from Archie Roach, a well-known Aboriginal singer and songwriter. The song in question has become one of the anthems of the stolen generations movement; in the verses reproduced here, Roach recounts his own experience of having been stolen from his family by white Australia.

[1] One dark day on Framingham

Came and didn't give a damn

My mother cried go get their dad

He came running fighting mad

Mother's tears were falling down

Dad shaped up he stood his ground

He said you touch my kids and you fight me

And they took us from our family

Took us away

They took us away

Snatched from our mother's breast

Said this was for the best

Took us away ... (Roach, 1990)¹

Roach is in the fortunate position of being able to sing his history to an appreciative audience in the field of popular culture. Most personal history on the other hand is never recorded, let alone heard. The oral history movement represents an attempt by historians to give a voice to nonliterate histories, and it has had some impact on Australian schools—with, for example, students interviewing relatives about mi-

¹ Lyrics are from "Took the Children Away" written by Archie Roach (Mushroom Music Publishing). Reprinted with permission.

gration or Aboriginal elders visiting schools on "Sorry Day"² to talk about their experiences as stolen children. Hardy (1968, a popular writer) and Rose (1991, an academic) are two influential Australians who have given voice to Aboriginal history along these lines. Recently, the federal government report on the stolen generations, *Bringing Them Home*, included an unparalleled amount of testimony from stolen Aboriginal Australians in textually prominent positions throughout the document.

Next, some written history, from Vicente Rafael (1988), a postcolonial scholar dealing with the colonization of the Philippines by the Catholic church. In chapter 3 of his treatise, Rafael turns to the logic of confession:

[2] ... This internalisation of an exterior hierarchy consists of two interrelated procedures: the accounting of past events and the reproduction of the discourse of interrogation contained in the confession manuals.

First, the process of accounting. All confession manuals contain the unconditional demand that all sins be revealed ...

The Spanish demand is that nothing be held back in confession. One is to expend all that memory can hold in a discourse that will bring together both the self that recalls and that which is recalled. The present self that confronts the priest in confession is thus expected to have managed to control his or her past—to reduce it, as it were, to discursive submission. Whereas the examination of conscience requires the division of the self into one that knows the Law and seeks out the other self that deviates from it, a "good confession" insists on the presentation of a self in total control of its past. It is in this sense that confessional discourse imposes on the individual penitent what Roland Barthes called a "totalitarian economy" involving the complete recuperation and submission of the past to the present, and by extension of the penitent to the priest (Barthes, 1976: 39–75).

Unlike Roach's song, this text is not written for a mass audience, but for a community of academic peers who can handle discourse at this level of abstraction. As we might expect from his poststructuralist stance, Rafael treats colonization as a discourse interpellating subjects as the church's emerging hegemony prescribes. This reading of the past is a long way from common sense discourse; it deconstructs the naturalizing story of civilization and salvation we might uncritically expect. Discourse of this order has also had some impact on Australian schools, as part of the critical literacy movement—with prominent educators promoting deconstructive readings from the beginning of every lesson from the beginning of school (cf. Morgan, 1997; Muspratt, Luke, & Freebody, 1997; Walton, 1996). In order to understand how to manage this for history, we need to look closely at texts like Rafael's and the discourses they build on to see what kind of discourse postcolonial critique involves—so that we don't fall into the trap of writing as if critical literacy is a stance outside of discourse that students can be directed to assume.

² The anniversary of the release of the government's *Bringing Them Home* report; now referred to by some organizers as "Journey of Healing." Around Australia grass-roots commemorative meetings are held in recognition of the stolen generations.

MARKING TIME

What I want to do now is proceed by factoring out some distinctive features of history discourse, across a range of genres—taking texts like Roach's as point of departure and eventually ending up with texts like Rafael's. In each phase of this procedure, I'll use contrasting texts to highlight the variables in question; and I'll provide a functional linguistic reading of relevant factors based on Halliday (1994) and Martin (1992). The tradition of reading history I'm following here is based on Coffin (1997); Eggins, Wignell, and Martin (1993); Martin (1993a, 1993b, 1996, 1999a, 1999b, 2000b); Martin and Plum (1997); and Veel and Coffin (1996).

To begin, consider Text 3, a personal recount written after a class trip to the zoo. This genre is deployed to recount personal experiences that unfold over a relatively short time frame, with an ongoing prosody of evaluation giving meaning to events for family and peers (Martin, 1985/1989; Martin & Plum, 1997). It features actions sequenced in time by both implicit and explicit temporal connections (explicit links are underlined in Text 3 below).

[3] Taronga Park Zoo

Last Wednesday all Year 1 went to Taronga Zoo.

First we went to have a lesson. We all saw a ringtail possum and the teacher showed us a koala's hand. We saw a great white shark's mouth and I saw a lion.

We saw a peacock while we were having lunch and my Dad came to the Zoo with me and monkeys and a big gorilla and we saw zebra and a giraffe and I had a good time at the Zoo. I went back to school. I felt good.

I liked the lion and the elephant and giraffe but the best thing was going on the train and the ferry and the bus and I felt good going back home and when I got back home I felt exhausted and we had a snack.

From these links we can reconstruct the sequence of events through which the text unfolds, as we might have done for Roach's personal recount above (implicit links in parentheses below).

First We went to have a lesson.
 (then) We all saw a ringtail possum
 And (then) The teacher showed us a koala's hand.
 (then) We saw a great white shark's mouth
 And (then) I saw a lion.

This kind of personal recount can be usefully contrasted with Text 4, an historical recount, whose function is to manage generalized events involving whole classes of participants that typically unfold over a relatively longer time frame. Text 4 covers

1000 years of whaling, as related by a retired marine biologist to the Canadian Wildlife Federation in 1989. It features activities positioned in the past by circumstances of location in time that appear initially in the clause as Theme (as underlined below).

[4] For one thousand years, whales have been of commercial interest for meat, oil, meal and whalebone. About 1000 A.D., whaling started with the Basques using sailing vessels and row boats. They concentrated on the slow-moving Right whales. As whaling spread to other countries, whaling shifted to Humpbacks, Grays, Sperm and Bowheads. By 1500, they were whaling off Greenland; by the 1700s, off Atlantic America; and by the 1800s, in the south Pacific, Antarctic and Bering Sea. Early in this century, the Norwegians introduced explosive harpoons, fired from guns on catcher boats, and whaling shifted to the larger and faster baleen whales. The introduction of factory ships by Japan and the USSR intensified whaling still further.

The global picture, then, was a mining operation moving progressively with increasing efficiency to new species and new areas. Whaling reached a peak during the present century.

While this high-seas drama was unfolding, coastal, shore-based whaling developed around the world. In Canada, for example, it was native whaling for Belugas and Narwhal in the Arctic, and commercial whaling from northern Vancouver Island in the Pacific, and from Quebec, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in the Atlantic. (W. R. Martin, 1989, p. 1)

From these locations in time we can establish the various phases of whaling history, arranged one after another from the past to the present. The contrast we are working on here is between *sequence* in time (as managed by temporal conjunctions) and *setting* in time (as managed by thematic circumstances of location in time). *Sequence* manages time as a series of naturally unfolding everyday events; *setting* chunks time into clumps of composite activities. Where this chunking is generalized, across historians, then the phases may be conventionalized and named (e.g., the Middle Ages, WWII, the Cold War; note in passing the use of uppercase letters to reinforce the technicality, which in turn affords acronyms for very famous chunks). The critical factor here has to do with packaging time—moving from a series of events to phases, which can then be further compartmentalized through naming—giving us a more technical, “thing-ised” history. This represents a move from more typically spoken to more typically written discourse.

Autobiographical recount resembles personal recount in being written in the first person, but manages a longer time line in a similar way to historical recounts. Biographical recount is closely related, although written in the third person rather than first. Text 5 foregrounds pivotal phases of Captain Cook's life by using Theme predication (*it was then that ...*, *it was when he was employed on the charting of the Newfoundland coast and the estuary of the St Lawrence River that ...*).

[5] On 3 November 1726, in Marton-in-Cleveland, an agricultural village hidden amidst the scenic beauty of the Yorkshire Dales in the rural acres of the North Riding, James and Grace Cook brought their week-old son to the parish church of St Cutbert for baptism. When the boy grew to adolescence he was apprenticed to a grocer in the

nearby fishing village of Staithes. It was there that he felt the first call of the sea—a passion which never left him. He was not prepared to spend his life as a grocer and within eighteen months he moved down the coast to Whitby where he signed on as a deck hand on a Whitby collier.

Cook's progress in the merchant navy was steady but not spectacular. At the age of 26 he was offered his first ship and it was then, for reasons best known to himself, that he took the decisive step in his life and gave up the opportunity of advancement to join the Royal Navy as an able seaman. His talents and hard-won knowledge soon gained him recognition in the Navy. He obtained his master's certificate in 1757 after serving under Hugh Palliser during the blockade of the French ports and he served in Canada during the siege and the capture of Quebec. It was when he was employed on the charting of the Newfoundland coast and the estuary of the St. Lawrence River that he met an army surveyor called Samuel Holland. Within a very short time Cook had mastered the surveying and map-making techniques which Holland taught him. (Aughton, 1999, pp. 6–7)

ABSTRACTION

To fully appreciate the compartmentalization of time factor just introduced, we need to look more closely at the language responsible for turning activity into things (Halliday, 1998). For example, *the Long March* is a nominal group as far as grammar is concerned; this phase of the Chinese Revolution is construed as a thing. But semantically we know, as mature readers, that it refers to an activity, involving thousands of soldiers marching from the south to the north of China. The grammar of *the Long March* is in a sense out of step with its meaning. Why does the historian prefer two levels of meaning, in tension with one another, where one meaning might do?

Consider the following excerpt from Mandela's autobiographical recount, toward the very end as he sums up his life in relation to the meaning of freedom (Martin, 1999b):

[6] I was not born with a hunger to be free. I was born free—free in every way that I could know. Free to run in the fields near my mother's hut, free to swim in the clear stream that ran through my village, free to roast mealies under the stars and ride the broad backs of slow-moving bulls. As long as I obeyed my father and abided by the customs of my tribe, I was not troubled by the laws of man or God.

It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had already been taken from me, that I began to hunger for it. At first, as a student, I wanted freedom only for myself, the transitory freedoms of being able to stay out at night, read what I pleased and go where I chose. Later, as a young man in Johannesburg, I yearned for the basic and honourable freedoms of achieving my potential, of earning my keep, of marrying and having a family—the freedom not to be obstructed in a lawful life.

But then I slowly saw that not only was I not free, but my brothers and sisters were not free. I saw that it was not just my freedom that was curtailed, but the freedom of everyone who looked like I did. That is when I joined the African National Congress, and that is when the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the free-

dom of my people. It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home, that forced a life-loving man to live like a monk. I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me ... (Mandela, 1995, p. 750)³

“When I was a child, I spake as a child”⁴ or however that line goes. So when recounting his childhood, Mandela uses language in which grammar and semantics match up. Participants are realized as nouns, qualities as adjectives, processes as verbs, assessments as modal verbs, and logical connections as conjunctions, as laid out in Table 5.1. The discourse is relatively concrete.

Then *born free* becomes *boyhood freedom*, and the recount shifts to a more abstract discourse with recurring tension between meaning and wording. Meanings of all kinds drift in the direction of the noun, as we see in Table 5.2.

Even causal relations that might otherwise have been realized as connections between clauses are realized inside the clause as nominalized Agents that act on other nominalizations—as with the transforming Theme-predicated Agent below:

It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, ...

Halliday (1994) refers to this skewed coding of meaning in grammar as “grammatical metaphor,” because there are two meanings instead of one (the grammatical one and the semantic one) and the grammatical meaning in some sense symbolizes the semantic one. Halliday (1998) summarizes the pay-off of this skewed coding for the evolution of scientific discourse. The pay-off for Mandela is that alongside the meaning potential of the adjective (as in paragraph 1), he now has in addition the meaning potential of the noun to construe his changing conception of freedom (see Martin, 1999b for details). The abstract discourse extends his meaning potential in just the ways he needs to make sense of his life. We'll return to look at the pay-off for historians in general in more detail further in the chapter.

A crude map of this interstratal tension is presented in Fig. 5.1, which alongside the drift toward nominalization allows for verbal realizations of logical connections.

CAUSE

Historians and history teachers typically try to do more than chronicle the past—they try to explain it. It's not just a matter of when things happened, but why they happened as they did. For a text that foregrounds causal as opposed to tempo-

³From *A Long Walk to Freedom* by Nelson Mandela. Copyright © 1994 by Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. By permission of Little, Brown, and Company (Inc.).

⁴Arriving in Manly, a beach suburb in metropolitan Sydney, I once recited (based on a sign that greeted visitors) “Seven miles from Sydney and a thousand miles from care.” My daughter Phoebe, then 4 years old, said “Where's Care?” Now 12, she gets the joke when I tell the story (cf. Halliday, 1993).

TABLE 5.1

Congruent Realizations

<i>participant as Thing (noun)</i>	I, fields, hut, stream, village, mealties, stats, bulls, father ...
<i>quality as Epithet (adjective)</i>	free, clear, broad
<i>process as Process (verb)</i>	was born, to run, to swim, to roast, rise, obeyed ...
<i>assessment as Finite (modal verb)</i>	could
<i>logical relation as Textual Theme (conjunction)</i>	as long as

TABLE 5.2

Incongruent Realizations

<i>process as Thing (noun)</i>	this desire	cf. I desired freedom
	hatred	cf. They hated the prisoner
<i>quality as Thing (noun)</i>	a hunger to be free	cf. I was hungry to be free
	dignity	cf. They were dignified
	narrow-mindedness	cf. They were narrow-minded
	humanity	cf. They were humane
<i>assessment as Thing (noun)</i>	achieving my potential	cf. I achieved what I could
	truth	cf. It wasn't true
	responsibilities	cf. I must act

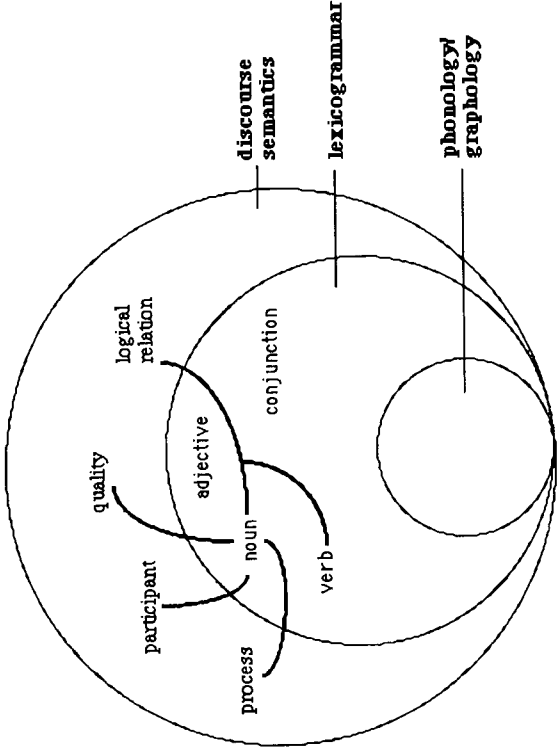


FIG. 5.1 Tension across meaning and wording in abstract discourse.

ral connections, consider Text 7, here, which exemplifies historical account as opposed to recount (not simply one event after another but one event giving rise to another). Causal connections have been underlined.

[7] ... As it turned out however, there was a last minute rush. There were no doubt particular reasons for this. But a general reason was that developments at home and abroad had changed the political landscape. At home, China had moved on from New Democracy to full-blooded socialism; abroad, Khrushchev had denounced Stalin and his "cult of personality" and proposed new strategies for the international communist movement.

In China, "socialist transformation" was set off by Mao's victory in a dispute between himself and most of the rest of the party's leadership over the right way to react to a crisis in agriculture. In 1953, the government found that it was short of grain to feed the urban population. A system of compulsory procurement, under which private transactions in grain were forbidden in rural markets until the agents of the state, often millers, had bought up fixed quotas of grain at low prices, was therefore introduced. This change relieved the situation in towns. But, in the absence of any rapid growth in output, it produced severe shortages in the countryside. Mao's response was to demand the rapid collectivisation of agriculture—the replacement of privately owned farms by agricultural-producer cooperatives, to begin with of a kind in which members would be remunerated in part for their contributions of land, draught animals and tools, but quite soon at a "higher stage," where members would be rewarded only for their labour.

It was Mao's belief that collectivisation would lead to increased output, through the achievement of economies of scale from the creation of larger farms, and also make it

easier for the government to procure the grain it needed to feed the country's urban population. But he was influenced at least as much by his fear that the pattern of ownership created by land reform would soon produce a high degree of economic and social polarisation in the countryside—that the richer peasants would accumulate more land and other assets, that the poorer peasants would be forced to sell or mortgage their land and that the leveling effects of land reform would therefore be undone. (Evans, 1993, pp. 126–128)

Note that these highlighted connections are typically realized within rather than between clauses in abstract history of this kind. The only causal conjunctions deployed are *therefore* and *to*; elsewhere we find nouns like *reason*, verbs such as *lead to*, and prepositions like *for*:

Congruently realized causal connections:

CONJUNCTION

therefore

Incongruently realized causal connections:

NOMINAL

Reason/s, effects, response

VERBAL

Make, lead to

PREPOSITIONAL

For, through, from, (in the absence of⁵)

Note in particular the tightly packed chain of causally connected nominalizations in *collectivization would lead to increased output, through the achievement of economies of scale from the creation of larger farms*. However, by focusing exclusively on these explicit lexicalizations of cause, we are not doing justice to the causation motif permeating the entire recount. One further aspect of this is the agentive role of leaders like Krushchev and Mao in commanding change.

- verbal cause (sayers commanding abstractions)
Khrushchev had ... *proposed* new strategies ...
Mao's response was to *demand* the rapid collectivization of agriculture ...

Another is the agentive effect of abstractions on abstractions, realized across a range of effective material processes:

- material cause (abstractions affecting abstractions)
developments at home and abroad had *changed* the political landscape
In China, "socialist transformation" was set off by Mao's victory ...

⁵Arguably a lexicalised preposition here, although one derived of course by recoding a quality as a thing.

5. WRITING HISTORY

This change *relieved* the situation in towns.
it (this change) *produced* severe shortages in the countryside
that the pattern of ownership *created* by land reform ...
that the pattern of ownership ... would soon *produce* a high degree of
economic and social polarization in the countryside

Clause structures of both kinds make available a very large range of processes for developing a fine grained explanation of why things happened as they did. Alongside the very limited range of causal meanings afforded by conjunctions (Halliday, 1994; Martin, 1992), we have available the open system lexis of material and verbal processes—which gives historians the resources they need to delicately explain how one thing (and I mean "thing") led to another.

Although this expansion of resources may be subtle and essential, it also has the effect of making explanations less accessible to critique. Consider for example Australia's current Prime Minister refusing to apologize on behalf of the nation for the stolen generations:

[8] The Prime Minister acknowledges and thanks you for your support for his personal apology to indigenous people affected by past practices of separating indigenous children from their families. However, the government does not support an official national apology. Such an apology could imply that present generations are in some way responsible and accountable for the actions of earlier generations, actions that were sanctioned by the laws of the time, and that were believed to be in the best interests of the children concerned. (Senator Herron writing on behalf of the Prime Minister, John Howard, to Father Brennan in late 1997.)

And here's an example of what this text might have sounded like if causality were realized between rather than within clauses (as we might unpack the PM's position for an 8-year-old):

[8'] The Prime Minister received your message and he thanks you because you supported him because he apologized personally to indigenous people because government officials took their children away from them. But the government will not apologize officially on behalf of the nation, because if it does, then people might argue that indigenous people can blame present generations and make them explain why government officials took their children away; but they took them away because the laws of the time approved and allowed them to take them away, and the government thought the children would benefit more if the officials took them away than if they left them with their families.

Note that at certain points in our translation we have had to fill in material that was not made explicit in Senator Herron's reply—for example, who was it that took the children away (government officials) and who might hold current generations responsible (indigenous people)? And this highlights the way in which nominalized language allows writers to manipulate agency. In Text 8' there are nine Agents, all but one of them people acting on other people (Agents underlined below):

because you supported him
 because government officials took their children away from them.
 that indigenous people can blame present generations
 and indigenous people make them explain
 why government officials took their children away;
 but they took them away
 and the laws of the time allowed them to take them away,
 if the officials took them away
 than if they left them with their families.

In Text 8, on the other hand there are only four Agents, none of them specific individuals (Agents underlined below):

... affected by past practices of separating indigenous children from their families.
 the government does not support ...
 Such an apology could imply ...
 ... were sanctioned by the laws of the time

Alongside this, nominalized language also enables writers to reframe arguments in their own terms. In Text 8⁶ for example, there are 18 ranking clauses to argue with; the Mood elements of these clauses (Subject and Finite) are listed in Table 5.3.

In Text 8, on the other hand, there are only four ranking clauses⁶ to dispute. The first two of these are in effect performatives (acknowledging and thanking), so there is nothing to challenge. This leaves two clauses, one having to do with the government not supporting an apology and the other with what such an apology could imply, as we see in Table 5.4.

This shifts the debate away from the facts of the matter (who did what to whom and who will hold whom accountable as in Text 8') and over to the abstract legal niceties of whether or not an apology will lead to claims for compensation, which is what the government is really worried about. At this point in Australian history, leadership meant not having to say you're sorry.

Before leaving the motif of explanation, we need to consider genres that are both permeated with abstract causal motifs of this kind (like historical accounts) and are in addition globally structured around phases of cause and effect—consequential and factorial explanations. These are the genres required when the

⁶The clause following *imply* is taken as an embedded fact, not a projection, in this analysis: *Such an apology could imply [that present generations are in some way responsible and accountable for the actions of earlier generations, actions that were sanctioned by the laws of the time, and that were believed to be in the best interests of the children concerned].*

TABLE 5.3

Mood Elements in Text 8'

Ranking Clause	Finite	Subject
The Prime Minister received ...	did	he?
and he thanks ...	does	he?
because you supported ...	did	I?
because he apologized ...	did	he?
because government officials took ...	did	they?
But the government will not ...	won't	it?
because if it does ...	might	it?
then people might argue ...	might	they?
that indigenous people can blame ...	could	they?
and indigenous people make ...	would	they?
why government officials took ...	did	they?
but they took ...	did	they?
because the laws of the time approved ...	did	they?
and the laws of the time allowed ...	did	they?
and the government thought ...	did	it?
The children would ...	would	they?
If the officials took ...	did	they?
Than if they left ...	did	they?

reductive linearity of the grand narrative (Lyotard, 1984) construed by historical recounts and accounts is broken down to focus on simultaneous causes or effects. Complex causes and effects are always around of course, if we choose to look at them; but in grand narratives they are elided and submerged, to give a naturalized trajectory of inevitability to mainstream readings of the past.

Consequential explanations consider multiple effects of some event; factorial explanations consider multiple factors leading to some event. These are two of the

TABLE 5.4
Mood Elements in Text 8

Ranking Clause	Finite	Subject
The Prime Minister acknowledges ...	does	he?
and (he) thanks ...	does	he?
However, the government does not ...	doesn't	it?
Such an apology could ...	could	it?

genres favored by secondary-school examiners in Australia where students regularly encounter questions like *What were the effects of the Treaty of Versailles?* or *What were the causes of WWI?* How many of us have escaped old chestnuts such as these?

Text 9 exemplifies this concern with simultaneous causes and effects. First Buggy, the secondary-school historian, describes three effects of the Long March, which can be simultaneously read as three factors in the eventual Communist victory. Buggy then includes a reprise by Mao, who renders his explanation in more lexically metaphorical language.

[9] How Did the Long March Contribute to the Eventual Communist Victory?

First of all, it established the leadership of Mao Zedong. Although Mao was challenged by the leader of the Fourth Route army, Zhang Guotao, the prestige Mao acquired during the Long March assured his dominance. Mao's leadership also brought an end to the dominance of the Soviet Union in the party and made Chinese Communism more independent.

The Long March forged a tightly knit army that drew strength from its sufferings. The survivors formed the tough nucleus of the New Red Army which developed at Yunnan. The policy of going north to fight the Japanese also stimulated high morale in the Red Army and appealed to patriots throughout China.

As it passed through twelve provinces the Red Army brought the message of Communism to hundreds of millions of peasants, who would otherwise have never heard of Communism.

In a report delivered a few months after the completion of the march in December 1935, Mao Zedong summed up the achievement:

We say that the Long March is the first of its kind ever recorded in history, that it is a manifesto, an agitation corps and a seeding machine ... It proclaims to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes and that the imperialists and their jackals, Chiang Kai-shek and his like are perfect nonentities ... It declares to approximately two hundred million people of eleven provinces that only the road of the Red Army leads to their Liberation. Without the Long March how could the broad masses have known so quickly that there were such great ideas in the world as are upheld by the Red Army?

The Long March is also a seeding machine, it has sown many seeds in eleven provinces which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit and yield a crop in the future.

To sum up, the Long March ended with our victory and the enemy's defeat. (Buggy, 1988, p. 240)

Below we come back to a discussion of the organization of global explanatory structures of this kind; Martin (1996) approaches this kind of organization from the perspectives of both analysis and synthesis.

As with accounts, and perhaps even more so, factorial and consequential explanations are permeated with the clause-internal causal motifs outlined above. Drawing on Halliday's (1994) ergative analysis of the English clause, we can outline in Table 5.5 this motif for Text 9, where abstract Agents recurrently affect abstract Mediums. Note in passing the range of material processes deployed to relate causes and effects.

VALUE

Beyond chronicling then there is explaining; and beyond explaining there is interpretation—because saying why things happened as they did necessarily involves a stance—an evaluative orientation to what is going on. This raises the issue of subjectivity and objectivity in history, and how texts present themselves along this cline. Coffin (1997) suggests a three-term stance system, involving “recorder,” “interpreter” and “adjudicator” positions (cf. Iedema, Feez, & White, 1994; White, 1997 on media discourse). In recorder stance, texts present themselves as factual chronicles and avoid inscribing attitude. Text 10 exemplifies this voice, which maintains its “objectivity” in the face of heart-wrenching experiences.

[10] “The Journey of Healing”

Yesterday I went into the library and we talked about Aboriginal people. When they were little someone took them to another place. When they grew up they couldn't find their families. [Year 1, Vietnamese student]

For interpreter stance, texts focus explicitly on judgements of behavior; for historians, the whimsy of fortune, along with the abilities and courage of protagonists are favorite themes. Adjudicator stance is rarer, and involves historians making moral judgements about truthfulness and ethics.

Recorder voice

No judgement (more “objective”)



Interpreter voice

Judgements of luck, ability, courage



Adjudicator voice

Moral judgements (more “subjective”)

TABLE 5.5

Reasoning (written grammar, i.e. abstractions causing abstractions)

Agent [abstraction]	Process [caused]	Medium [abstraction]
the Long March	contributed to	the eventual Communist victory
it [= the Long March]	established	the leadership of Mao Zedong.
the prestige Mao acquired	assured	his dominance.
Mao's leadership	brought an end to	the dominance of the Soviet ...
" "	made	Communism ... independent.
the Long March	forged	a tightly knit army
{that [= the army]}	drew	strength from its sufferings.
The survivors	formed	the tough nucleus of the ... Army ...
The policy of going north	stimulated	high morale ...
{The Red Army}	brought	... Communism to ... peasants

Part of the rhetoric of history is shifting from one stance to another as the past unfolds. Three excerpts from a feature article by Manne (1999) show him moving from objective recording, through the interpretation of William Craig's abilities, and on to adjudication of governmental morality and truthfulness. The article begins objectively, but culminates subjectively as Manne positions his reading of the past in relation to ongoing political debate.

recording (no explicit judgements):

[11a] "No Mercy for Nellie Bliss"

The story begins with a letter sent on February 17, 1903, to the police in Townsville. It was written by the Northern Protector of Aborigines in Queensland, the notable anthropologist, Dr Walter E. Roth, who was shortly to become Chief Protector in Queensland, and later the sole royal commissioner into the conditions of Aborigines in the north of Western Australia. Historians may eventually come to see him as the architect of the policy of Aboriginal child removal in Australia.

[later] interpreting (judging abilities):

[11b] Craig followed his telegram with a letter. He had listened to Nellie Bliss with genuine attentiveness. He was able to put to the Home Secretary, in a morally and legally persuasive language, the kind of case he now knew Nellie herself would have put before the court if she had been able to speak English or ... pay for a barrister ...

[finally] adjudicating (judging morality, truthfulness):

[11c] We have, in recent times, been told flatly that this policy was driven by a concern for the best interests of the children. We have been told, too, that the policy accorded with the moral standards of the time. No-one, however, who follows this story—who witnesses the grief of Nellie Bliss, the terror of Walter, the arrogance of Dr Walter Roth and the astonished indignation of William Craig—could seriously come out believing that what we have been told is true. (Manne, 1999, p. 11)

Outside the media, adjudicator stance is rare. In the discipline of history itself it is perhaps felt to be unscholarly; beyond this, taking up a moral position will tend to narrow one's readership down to those who share your point of view. Solidarity is very much at risk. Interpreter stance is not as volatile, and a great deal of history discourse seems to be concerned with deploying recorder stance to convince readers of the plausibility of interpretations. Text 12 is another example from Buggy (1988), which starts with an interpretation that is then carefully substantiated with objective recording and incorporation of primary sources.

[12] The Breakout: 16 October to 25 November

This most successful phase of the Long March owes a great deal to the diplomatic skills of Zhou Enlai and to the bravery of the rearguard.

Knowing that the south-west sector of the encircling army was manned by troops from Guangdong province, Zhou began negotiations with the Guangdong warlord, Chen Jitang. Chen was concerned that a Guomindang victory over the Communists would enable Chiang Kaishek to threaten his own independence. Chen agreed to help the Communists with communications equipment and medical supplies and to allow the Red Army to pass through his lines.

Between 21 October and 13 November the Long Marchers slipped quietly through the first, second and third lines of the encircling enemy. Meanwhile the effective resistance of the tiny rearguard lulled the Guomindang army into thinking that they had trapped the entire Communist army. By the time the Guomindang leaders realized what was happening, the Red Army had three weeks' start on them. The marching columns, which often stretched over 80 kilometres, were made up of young peasant boys from south-eastern China. Fifty-four per cent were under the age of 24. Zhu De had left a vivid description of these young soldiers:

They were lean and hungry men, many of them in their middle and late teens ... most were illiterate. Each man wore a long sausage like a pouch ... filled with enough rice to last two or three days.

By mid-November life became more difficult for the Long Marchers. One veteran recalls:

When hard pressed by enemy forces we marched in the daytime and at such times the bombers pounded us. We would scatter and lie down; get up and march then scatter and lie down again, hour after hour. Our dead and wounded were many and our medical workers had a very hard time. The peasants always helped us and offered to take our sick, our wounded and exhausted. Each man left behind was given some money, ammunition and his rifle and told to organize and lead the peasants in partisan warfare when he recovered.

When entering new areas the Red Army established a pattern which was sustained throughout the Long March:

We always confiscated the property of the landlords and militarist officials, kept enough food for ourselves and distributed the rest to poor peasants and urban poor ... We also held great mass meetings. Our dramatic corps played and sang for the people and our political workers wrote slogans and distributed copies of the Soviet Constitution ... If we stayed in a place for even one night we taught the peasants to write six characters: "Destroy the Tuhao" (landlord) and "Divide the Land." (Buggy, 1988, p. 225)

Actually, evaluation interacts with abstraction and explanation here in a very typical copatterning of resources. The initial part of the text, which does the interpreting, is also the most nominalized part of the text; and the text that follows is in one sense an argument for the interpretation. As the text unfolds, it presents itself as more objective and more concrete, and this a good reason for agreeing with Buggy's interpretation of the reasons for the success of this phase of the Long March:

level of abstraction 1 (interpreter stance):

This most successful phase of the Long March owes a great deal to the diplomatic skills of Zhou Enlai and to the bravery of the rearguard.

The next part of the text documents Zhou Enlai's diplomacy and, subsequently, the bravery of the rearguard. This passage contains a number of grammatical metaphors (underlined below), but is not as grammatically metaphorical as the introduction. The text uses this middling level of abstraction to spell out the events that form the basis for the historian's evaluation of the reasons for the success of this phase of the Long March.

level of abstraction 2 (recorder stance):

Knowing that the south-west sector of the encircling army was manned by troops from Guangdong province, Zhou began negotiations with the Guangdong warlord, Chen Jitang. Chen was concerned that a Guomindang victory over the Communists would enable Chiang Kaishek to threaten his own independence. Chen agreed to help the Communists with communications equipment and medical supplies and to allow the Red Army to pass through his lines.

Between 21 October and 13 November the Long Marchers slipped quietly through the first, second and third lines of the encircling enemy. Meanwhile the effective resistance of the tiny rearguard lulled the Guomindang army

into thinking that they had trapped the entire Communist army. By the time the Guomindang leaders realized what was happening, the Red Army had three weeks' start on them. The marching columns, which often stretched over 80 kilometres, were made up of young peasant boys from south-eastern China. Fifty-four per cent were under the age of 24. Zhu De had left a vivid description of these young soldiers:

Finally the text moves to primary source material by way of providing evidence for the preceding interpretation, drawing on diary records of those actually involved in the fighting:

When hard pressed by enemy forces we marched in the daytime and at such times the bombers pounded us. We would scatter and lie down; get up and march then scatter and lie down again, hour after hour. Our dead and wounded were many and our medical workers had a very hard time. The peasants always helped us and offered to take our sick, our wounded and exhausted. Each man left behind was given some money, ammunition and his rifle and told to organize and lead the peasants in partisan warfare when he recovered.

level of abstraction 3 (exemplified through recorder stance):

The interplay of primary and secondary sources is an important aspect of history teaching in Australian secondary schools. Textbooks like Buggy's, for example, include substantial sections comprised of primary materials (both texts and images) on the basis of which students are taught to make history. Unlike some textbooks, Buggy demonstrates how to integrate primary with secondary material as part of the rhetoric of evaluation, abstraction and explanation just reviewed.

ARGUING

This brings us to persuasion, where the rhetoric of demonstration exemplified in Texts 11 and 12 above is not enough—because the judgement to hand is simply too contentious (a volatile adjudication perhaps) not to be argued for. So once again we have to move beyond recounts and accounts to texts that are globally structured—but this time as arguments rather than explanations. Note that the motivation for moving to global reasoning this time round is more interpersonal than ideational; it has to do with forming community around shared values. With factorial and consequential explanations on the other hand the motivation for global structure was more ideational; there it had to do with acknowledging the complexity of the causal relations (i.e., multiple causes and effects).

This brings us to the genres of argument—exposition and discussion, which may focus either on a macro-proposition (why readers should believe something) or on a macro-proposal (why readers should do something). We'll focus on macro-propositions here; for discussion of hortatory arguments see Martin 1985, 1995a). Text 13 exemplifies exposition, which in this case tries to justify the controversial Thesis that war can be a good thing. It presents two Arguments in favor

of the thesis (development of manufacturing and research) and then closes with a Reiteration of the benefits of war (a lesson that politicians round the world have learned all too well).

[13]

Thesis: (a) Wars are costly exercises. (b) They cause death and destruction (c) and put resources to nonproductive uses (d) but they also promote industrial and economic change. (e) This benefit does not mean that war is a good thing, but that it sometimes brings useful developments.

Argument 1: (f) The Second World War further encouraged the restructuring of the Australian economy towards a manufacturing basis. (g) Between 1937 and 1945 the value of industrial production almost doubled. (h) This increase was faster than otherwise would have occurred. (i) The momentum maintained in the post-war years (j) and by 1954–1955 the value of manufacturing output was three times that of 1944–1945. (k) The enlargement of Australia's steel-making capacity, and of chemicals, rubber, metal goods and motor vehicles all owed something to the demands of war. (l) The war had acted as something of a hot-house for technological progress and economic change.

Argument 2: (m) The war had also revealed inadequacies in Australia's scientific and research capabilities. (n) After the war strenuous efforts were made to improve these. (o) The Australian National University was established with an emphasis on research. (p) The government gave its support to the advancement of science in many areas, including agricultural production.

Reiteration: (q) Though it is difficult to disentangle the effects of war from other influences, (r) it is clear that future generations not only enjoyed the security and peace won by their forefathers but also the benefits of war-time economic expansion. (Simmelhaig & Spenceley, 1984, p. 121)

Note that in Text 13 the causal relation of reason to belief is not strongly scaffolded (cf. Text 14 below). Working with students learning to write exposition in primary school, we have tended to be much more explicit:

I think (war is a good thing) for two reasons ...

Firstly ...

Secondly ...

In conclusion (there's a lot of benefit to war).

But for Text 13, understanding the reasoning means recognizing the genre and the causal configuration of its staging.

Having said this, it's important to note that the rhetoric of abstraction and evaluation introduced previously is still present here, in an even more elaborated form. Martin (1992, 1993a) noted that Halliday's analysis of Theme and New in English clause structure resonates with similar patterns at higher levels of text organization. Hyper-Themes (the topic sentence of traditional school rhetoric) for example can be used to predict patterns of Theme selection in the clause just as Hyper-New can be used to sum up News; Hyper-Themes may themselves be predicted by Macro-Themes (introductory paragraphs) just as Hyper-News may be consolidated as Macro-News (summary paragraphs); and so on for as many layers of

prediction and accumulation as required to punctuate a discourse's information flow. A crude rendering of this hierarchy of periodicity is offered as Fig. 5.2.

The second paragraph of Text 13 exemplifies this "sandwich" texture, with clauses g–k elaborating f (Hyper-Theme) before being summed up as l (Hyper-New).

(f) The Second World War further encouraged the restructuring of the Australian economy towards a manufacturing basis.

(g) Between 1937 and 1945 the value of industrial production almost doubled. (h) This increase was faster than otherwise would have occurred. (i) The momentum was maintained in the post-war years (j) and by 1954–1955 the value of manufacturing output was three times that of 1944–1945. (k) The enlargement of Australia's steel-making capacity, and of chemicals, rubber, metal goods and motor vehicles all owed something to the demands of war.

(l) The war had acted as something of a hot-house for technological progress and economic change.

Paragraph three has a Hyper-Theme (m–n), but not a Hyper-New—reflecting the fact that writers differ in their predilection for predicting or accumulating or both. I suspect that the more a writer writes to a detailed plan, the more likely it is that there will be layers of prediction forecasting where the text is going; writers who don't know what they are going to say until they say it tend to favor periodic accumulation.

Moving on from the "Hyper-" to the "Macro-" level, Text 13 as a whole is an expository sandwich, with Thesis as Macro-Theme and Reiteration as Macro-New:

(a) Wars are costly exercises. (b) They cause death and destruction (c) and put resources to nonproductive uses (d) but they also promote industrial and economic change. (e) This benefit does not mean that war is a good thing, but that it sometimes brings useful developments.

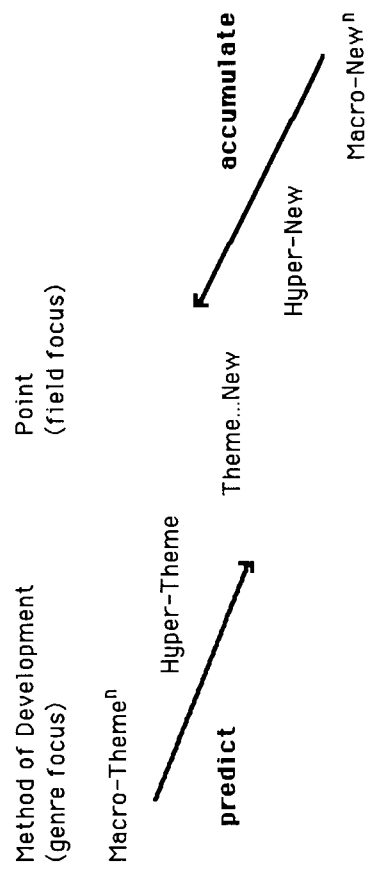


FIG. 5.2 Waves of abstraction (i.e., layers of Theme and New).

- (f) The Second World War further encouraged the restructuring of the Australian economy towards a manufacturing basis ...
- (m) The war had also revealed inadequacies in Australia's scientific and research capabilities...
- (q) Though it is difficult to disentangle the effects of war from other influences, (r) it is clear that future generations not only enjoyed the security and peace won by their forefathers but also the benefits of war-time economic expansion.

To read this argumentative rhetoric we have to recognize the layers of prediction and accumulation, which can be challenging because all layers in discourse of this kind are fairly nominalized—it's degrees of abstraction that matter and effective readers are apparently fine-tuned to these. And Text 13 does deal with concrete examples in paragraphs 2 and 3 following the Hyper-Themes. Beyond this, readers also have to recognize the key evaluation that is triggering the arguments—at issue here are the positive, not the negative effects, of war, although both are introduced in Text 13's Macro-Theme. The sandwich rhetoric is critical here, because it is *useful developments* that is picked up in the Reiteration as *the benefits of war-time economic expansion*. Another key indicator is the use of lexical metaphor to flag key evaluations, typically as Hyper-Theme or Hyper-New, as we see in these examples from the texts we've been looking at:

- [4] The global picture, then, was a mining operation ... (Hyper-New)
- [6] the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me ... (Hyper-New)
- [9] the Long March is the first of its kind ever recorded in history, [that] it is a manifesto, an agitation corps and a seeding machine ... (Hyper-Theme)
- [13] The war had acted as something of a hot-house for technological progress and economic change ... (Hyper-New)

So to the rhetoric of evaluation, grammatical metaphor, and explanation established previously, we can now add hierarchy of periodicity and lexical metaphor. The interplay of these factors is what gives history discourse its distinctive character.

This is a lot to learn, especially in education sectors where teachers and students do not share a metalanguage for talking about discourse, and where pedagogic principles are influenced by the "progressive" ideology that direct teaching is an impediment to learning (cf. Martin, 1998). Text 14 shows an 11/12-year-old from a nonmainstream ESL background working into the discussion genre, where more than one side of an issue is presented and adjudicated. From the perspective of traditional school grammar, there is of course much to proscribe in such a text, which does not consistently deploy English grammar, and sometimes uses spoken English where it does. But following Australian initiatives to introduce factual writing in primary school (cf. Cope & Kalantzis, 1993; Hasan & Williams, 1996), the basic scaffolding for the discussion genre is there—ready for the grammatical metaphor and evaluation of mature argument to develop. Whether it does or not is of course a matter for epigenesis—will the students in question find themselves in the kind

of learning environment that will trigger the ontogenesis? What are the triggers? Who will enable them? What do we do with students who arrive at university without this rhetoric in place? For relevant Australian secondary school materials see Brook, Coffin, & Humphrey, 1996; Coffin, 1996.

[14] Currently the year 6 have being discussion whether or not should there be war. Here are some reasons why war should happen. It's possible many people think war should happen because it could wipe out a whole lot of populations so many other people could have more food to eat. Sometimes we may have war because to end an argument or to reach a better solution. It can be seen that people need to show patriotism for a nation.

But on the other hand if war happens many innocent people get killed, that includes young people that may one day be our future leaders. Furthermore, if one country fights the rest of the other countries gets involved and many people suffer. One other important reason is the cost of weapons and many other feel is a waste which could be spent on the starved and homeless people.

My point of view after looking at both sides is war should not happen because government are the ones that makes the decision so they should be the ones that fight each other.

MAPPING HISTORIES

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to develop an overview of the discourses of modernity we have been reviewing to portray history as we've known it. A summary outline is presented as Table 5.6, organized by genre and annotated with genre staging, some informal description of the function of each genre and some notes on key linguistic features (Coffin, 1997; Martin, 1999a). The outline has been arranged as a kind of learner pathway, beginning with the personal recount genre familiar to most students from their oral culture. It then develops through the autobiographical, biographical, and historical recounts that deal with longer stretches of phased activity. At this point the pathway moves from texts construing time (recounts) to those construing cause (accounts, explanations, and arguments)—a major move accompanied by a significant increase in grammatical metaphor, as signaled by the thicker boundary line. The next step takes us from linear grand narratives to texts organized around multiple causes and effects (explanations), and from there to texts organized around multiple arguments (expositions and discussions).

Although the genres are bounded by solid lines separating categories (with the thicker lines representing major developments), it is perhaps better to read the pathway as a cline (technically a genre topology; Martin, 1997)—because it is not unusual to find texts that straddle the borders (e.g., recounts with some causal links or accounts with temporal ones). And how one views a genre may in any case be a matter of reading position. Text 9, for example, might be read by some as an exposition presenting arguments as to why the Long March was a success, (rather

TABLE 5.6 (continued)

Genres of History—A Learner Pathway

Genre [staging]	Informal Description	Key Linguistic Features (Halliday 1994, Martin 1992)
Discussion—multi-sided; adjudicate [Issue ^ Sides ^ Resolution]	More than one interpretation considered	Internal conjunction keying on thesis; + internal organization of points of view
Post-colonial discourse [Foucault; Lyotard]	Avoiding reductive temporal & causal linearization into grand narrative/effacing voices of the 'other' ...	Replace naturalizing time/cause explanation with 'spatial' discursive formation realizing episteme

Note. For reasons of space the challenge genre has not been illustrated here; it constitutes a counter argument to a prevailing thesis (a rebuttal).

than an explanation); Text 13 on the other hand might be read by others as an explanation of the consequences of war (rather than an exposition)—and in either case, subjectivity may be coloring the readings (communist vs nationalist, capitalist vs environmentalist respectively). This is a controversial area; my own position is that modernist texts do indeed naturalize a reading position, but that readers can read against the grain of a discourse if they are able and so choose. When treating Text 9 as explanation and Text 13 as exposition, I am arguing that these are the genres the configurations of meaning in these texts work to naturalize.

In constructing this learner pathway we were influenced by what is generally known as a spiral curriculum, which starts where students are and guides them forward through successive zones of proximal development toward explicit discourse goals (Coffin, 1997; Martin, 1998; Rothery, 1989, 1996). The pathway is constructed on linguistic principles, as inspired by Halliday's (1993) notion of a language-based theory of learning. Our feeling was that genres that foreground features of written rather than spoken discourse, especially grammatical metaphor, and that unfold rhetorically rather than chronologically will be harder for students to learn—harder still for nonmainstream students whose coding orientation does not equip them to learn written discourse by osmosis (without it being taught) in school. This is not to say that genres further along the pathway cannot be taught without working through every step along the way; but it is to suggest that skipping steps will mean that extra work has to be done to familiarize students with the discourse resources that they may thus have missed.

It may be useful at this point to unpack a little of the linguistic reasoning involved in these contingencies. The key genres of modernist history are restated in Table 5.7, in groups reflecting the stronger boundaries in Table 5.6. Above and below these genres six key factors differentiating them from one another are outlined. Using Halliday's (e.g., 1994) notion of interpersonal, ideational, and textual mean-

TABLE 5.6

Genres of History—A Learner Pathway

Genre [staging]	Informal Description	Key Linguistic Features (Halliday 1994, Martin 1992)
Personal recount [Orientation ^ Record]	Agnate to story genres; what happened to me	Sequence in time; 1st person; specific participants
Autobiographical recount [Orientation ^ Record]	Borderline—agnate to story & factual genres; story of my life [oral history]	Setting in time; 1st person; specific participants
Biographical recount [Orientation ^ Record]	Story of someone else's life	Setting in time; 3rd person (specific); other specific & generic participants
Historical recount [Background ^ Record]	Establishing the time line of the grand narrative	Setting in time; 3rd person; mainly generic participants (but specific great men)
Historical account [Background ^ Account]	Naturalizing linearization rendering the grand narrative inevitable	Incongruent external causal unfolding; 3rd person; mainly generic participants; prosodic judgement
Factorial explanation [Outcome ^ Factors]	Complexifying notion of what leads on to/from what	Internal organization of factors; factors externally linked to outcome; 3rd person; mainly generic participants
Consequential explanation [Input ^ Consequences]	Complexifying notion of what leads on to/from what; hypothetical variant—if x, then these outcomes	Internal organization of factors; consequences externally linked to input; 3rd person; mainly generic participants
Exposition—one sided; promote [Thesis ^ Arguments]	Problematic interpretation that needs justifying	Internal conjunction keying on thesis
Challenge ⁵ —one sided; rebut [Position ^ Rebuttal]	Someone else's problematic interpretation that needs demolishing	Internal conjunction keying on thesis

continued on next page

TABLE 5.7
Factors Underpinning Learner Pathway for History Genres

		<i>History Topology</i>		
1	prosodic appraisal	periodic appraisal		thesis appraisal
2	proposition	proposition/ proposal		
3	tell	record	explain	argue
		reveal	probe	
4	Auto/ biographical recount [later]	historical recount [in/during]	historical account [external cause, incongruent]	factorial & consequential explanation [internal cause]
		group (+ hero) focus		exposition/ challenge
5	text time = field time	discussion		
6	episodic unfolding in time	group (+ hero) focus		text time ≠ field time
		causal unfolding	internal unfolding	

ing, the pathway can be unpacked, factor by factor, as follows (‘...’ represents a boundary from the table):

1. interpersonal meaning: ongoing reaction to what went on (prosodic appraisal) ... clusters of evaluation of what went on (periodic appraisal) ... formulate thesis around appraisal of what went on (thesis appraisal)
2. interpersonal meaning: give information (proposition) ... justify an interpretation about what happened or what should be (proposition/proposal)
3. ideational meaning: tell what happened to an individual (tell) ... record what happened to groups (record) ... explain what led on to what (reveal) ... probe a set of factors leading to or from some event (probe) ... present arguments around an interpretation of what happened (argue)
4. textual meaning: largely specific reference (individual focus) ... largely generic reference, except for great “men” (group + “hero” focus)

5. textual meaning: relatively congruent (text time follows field time) ... relatively grammatically metaphorical (text time differs from field time)
6. textual meaning: external temporal (episodic unfolding in time) ... external metaphorical consequential (causal unfolding) ... internal⁷ conjunctive organization (internal (rhetorical) unfolding)

MORE TO HISTORY

There’s more to history than has met our eye. More genres—for example report and description (as discussed in Martin, 1993a). More discourse—the whole issue of primary and secondary sources has scarcely been touched on (Brook et al., 1996), which in turn raises the issue of more modalities—because primary sources typically include images that have to be viewed (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Lemke, 1998). And more text—because the genres reviewed here are typically configured into macro-genres as textbooks and student projects (Martin, 1995b, in press). Chapter 9 of Buggy (1988), for example, is a macro-recount of the Long March that unfolds as follows:

[Outline]

Introduction

The Breakout: 16 October to 25 November

Battle of Xiang River: 25 November to 3 December

The Capture of Zunyi: January 1935

Zunyi Conference: 15–18 January 1935

The Golden Sands River Crossing: 29 April to 8 May

The Luding Bridge Crossing: 29 May 1935

The Great Snowy Mountains: July 1935

The High Grasslands: August 1935

Lazikou Pass: 16 September

How did the Long March Contribute to the Eventual Communist Victory?

⁷For internal versus external conjunction see Martin 1992, 1993a.

[[The Long March Legend and Reality = 16 pp scaffolded primary sources]]

Why did the Long March Succeed?

[Structured Question, Problems and Issues, Role Play, Empathy Exercises]

[Bibliography]

Alongside an Outline, Bibliography and interactive sections (Structured Question etc.), and 16 pages of primary sources, it consists of 10 historical recounts unfolding serially through time (including Text 12 shown previously), a consequential explanation (Text 9 shown previously) and one factorial explanation. In Bugby's chapter these genres are clearly separated into discrete sections. In other textbooks boundaries may not be so clearly marked, nor even so clear. Readers have to learn to navigate the change of gears, including cases where transitions involve one genre phasing gradually out of another. To this we have to add a concern with so-called "genre-mixing," a misnomer if ever there was one—because to mix genres we have to have genres to mix, and this implies recognizable typologies. Perhaps more appropriate here is the notion of mixed texts, drawing on more than one genre, in various ways. Martin (2002) considers renovation, hybridization, multimodality, and macro generic assemblages in secondary school geography—all very different ways of 'combining' genres. Other possibilities include embedding, where one genre functions as a stage in another (Martin, 1995b), and contextual metaphor, where one genre stands in for another (e.g., children's stories as scientific explanations; Martin, 1990; 1997). The range of variation⁸ reflects the diversity of social factors at play; to study change we need a rich model of multifunctional texts, not a reductive one.

By way of closing I make two points. First, from the perspective of functional linguistics, the key to understanding the texture of the advanced literacy needed for secondary and postsecondary schools is grammatical metaphor⁹—the process whereby language expands its meaning potential by cooking meaning twice. This is the process that brings the meaning potential of the entire grammar to bear on meaning of any kind, however allocated to specific functional regions (noun, verb, modal, adjective, conjunction) in everyday life. This expanded meaning

⁸The range of variation will come as no surprise to functional grammarians, who deal regularly with renovation (*Don't disappear that overhead!*), blends (*It is stocks, muscled body, short legs and massive chest make the jaguar a powerful and efficient hunter*), multimodality (*3 of them went POW!*), clause complexing (*Yes, but Anna will probably always be a bit shorter than you, 'cos Anna's Mummy and Daddy are much shorter than Mummy and Daddy, so Anna will probably never be as tall as you even when she's grown up.*), embedding (*Factors [favorable to the development of the true tropical rainforest] are annual rainfall amounts in excess of 1500mm.*) and grammatical metaphor (*The effects of industrialization and the need of more land due to the growth of population seriously affected wildlife and still is today*): (Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995; Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 1997).

⁹For ideational metaphor see especially Halliday and Martin (1993); Halliday (1998); Martin (1992), chapter 6; interpersonal metaphor hasn't been in focus here, but is explored in Halliday (1994); Martin (1995a).

potential is what modernity has used to construct its uncommon sense disciplines and institutions, and what postmodernity in its turn has subsumed to reconstrue these disciplines and institutions as discourses that co-articulate (with attendant modalities such as image, sound, and action) our social semiotic life. The move from primary to secondary schooling in the western world symbolizes ontogenetic readiness as far as this expanded meaning potential is concerned (Halliday, 1993). Where students end up depends on how they take up the potential. Modernity deployed a distribution of this potential that squandered the human resources we now need to remake our postcolonial world.

Second, power and status—again, from the perspective of functional linguistics, it is important not to reduce access to the discourses outlined for history here to a question of status. Sure they sound good, and those controlling can sound literate and learned as they choose. But the key point here is not that these discourses have prestige—because the reason they have acquired prestige is that they privilege. They give controllers the meaning potential to intervene across a range of sites, as they so choose, which would otherwise be closed—to enact bureaucracy for example, or build technology—to manage the tools modernity has used to annihilate so many languages and cultures, and to so severely damage our biosphere—the tools to salvage these as we so choose. The status comes from the power, not the other way round.

I'm not saying everyday language isn't powerful; it's after all the tool we use for dealing with our lovers, family, and friends. It matters there. And Archie Roach, for example, took this discourse, combined it with a flair for musical composition and singing, and helped move a people—along a road to reconciliation they might not otherwise have stumbled along. But it is important to keep in mind he had Paul Kelly¹⁰ producing him, Mushroom Records to distribute him, print and electronic media to project him, popular culture to consume him ... and those enabling discourses are far from the everyday discourse Archie Roach sings. A stolen child, but he got off skid row; an inspiring story, but not many are let off. Perhaps one lesson we can take from this is that the power of multimodal discourse may turn out to be a useful complement to the ever more abstract postmodern discourse we draw on to deconstruct modernity. It can be better grounded in the materiality of our social world, which is where change ultimately has to happen—perhaps it is an essential tool for enacting critique, as we generate constructive accounts of what we want to happen in our world. Our privilege, to use and distribute, as we so choose.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, D. (1999). *Scientific discourse in sociohistorical context: The Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675–1975*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Aughton, P. (1999). *Endeavour*. Moreton-in-March: The Windrush Press.

¹⁰Kelly is one of Australia's most respected singer/songwriters in the troubadour tradition, who has been very active producing music by indigenous artists—one of Australia's most important "Shamrock Abs."

- Bazerman, C. (1988). *Shaping written knowledge: The genre and activity of the experimental article in science*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Brook, R., Coffin, C., & Humphrey, S. (1996). *Australian identity: A unit of work for junior secondary history*. Sydney, Australia: Metropolitan East Disadvantaged Schools Program. (State Equity Centre, Bridge & Swanson St., Erskineville, NSW, Australia).
- Buggy, T. (1988). *The Long Revolution: A history of modern China*. Sydney, Australia: Shakespeare Head Press.
- Coffin, C. (1996). *Exploring literacy in school history*. Sydney, Australia: Metropolitan East Disadvantaged Schools Program.
- Coffin, C. (1997). Constructing and giving value to the past: An investigation into secondary school history. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Genre and institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* (pp. 196–230). London: Cassell.
- Cope, W., & Kalantzis, M. (Eds.). (1993). *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching literacy*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Eggs, S., Wignell, P., & Martin, J. R. (1993). The discourse of history: distancing the recoverable past. In M. Ghadessy (Ed.), *Register Analysis: Theory and practice*, (pp. 75–109). London: Pinter.
- Evans, R. (1993). *Deng Xiaoping and the making of modern China* (rev. ed.). London: Penguin.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1993). Towards a language-based theory of learning. *Linguistics and Education*, 5, 93–116.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1998). Things and relations: Re-grammaticising experience as technical knowledge. In J. R. Martin & R. Veel (Eds.), *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourses of science* (pp. 185–235). London: Routledge.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Martin, J. R. (1993). *Writing science: Literacy as discursive power*. London: Falmer.
- Hardy, F. (1968). *The unlucky Australians*. Melbourne, Australia: Thomas Nelson.
- Hasan, R., & Williams, G. (Eds.). (1996). *Literacy in society*. London: Longman.
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. *Bringing Them Home: National inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. (1997). Sydney, Australia: Author.
- Iedema, R., Feez, S., & White, P. (1994). *Media literacy (Write it Right Literacy in Industry Project: Stage Two)*. Sydney, Australia: Metropolitan East Disadvantaged Schools Program. (State Equity Centre, Bridge & Swanson St., Erskineville, NSW, Australia).
- Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.
- Lemke, J. (1990). *Talking science: Language, learning, and values*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Lemke, J. (1998). Multiplying meaning: Visual and verbal semiotics in scientific text. In J. R. Martin & R. Veel (Eds.), *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourses of science* (pp. 87–113). London: Routledge.
- Lyotard, J. (1984). *The postmodern condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mandela, N. (1995). *Long walk to freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus.
- Manne, R. (1999, May 26). No mercy for Nellie Bliss. *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 11.
- Martin, J. R. (1985). *Factual writing: Exploring and challenging social reality*. Geelong, Vic., Australia: Deakin University Press.
- Martin, J. R. (1990). Literacy in science: Learning to handle text as technology. In F. Christie (Ed.), *Literacy for a changing world*, (pp. 79–117). Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research (Fresh Look at the Basics). (Republished in Halliday & Martin, 162–202.)
- Martin, J. R. (1992). *English text: System and structure*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (1993a). Life as a noun. In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Writing science: Literacy as discursive power*, (pp. 221–267). London: Falmer.
- Martin, J. R. (1993b). Technology, bureaucracy and schooling: Discursive resources and control. *Cultural Dynamics* 6(1), 84–130.
- Martin, J. R. (1995a). Interpersonal meaning, persuasion and public discourse: Packing semiotic punch. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 15(1), 33–67.
- Martin, J. R. (1995b). Text and clause: Fractal resonance. *Text* 15(1), 5–42.
- Martin, J. R. (1996). Waves of abstraction: Organising exposition. In T. Miller (Ed.), *The Journal of TESOL France 2.2: Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom applications* (pp. 87–104). Paris: TESOL France & U.S. Information Service.
- Martin, J. R. (1997). Analysing genre: Functional parameters. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Genre and institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* (pp. 3–39). London: Cassell.
- Martin, J. R. (1998). Mentoring semogenesis: 'Genre-based' literacy pedagogy. In F. Christie (Ed.), *Pedagogy and the shaping of consciousness: Linguistic and social processes*, (pp. 123–155). London: Cassell.
- Martin, J. R. (1999a). A context for genre: Modeling social processes in functional linguistics. In R. Strainon & J. Devilliers (Eds.), *Communication in linguistics*, (pp. 1–41). Toronto, CA: GREIF (Collection Theoria).
- Martin, J. R. (1999b). Grace: the logogenesis of freedom. *Discourse Studies* 1(1), 31–58.
- Martin, J. R. (2000a). Grammar meets genre: Reflections on the 'Sydney School'. *Arts: the Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association*, 22, 47–95.
- Martin, J. R. (2000b). Design and practice: Enacting functional linguistics in Australia. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 20, 116–126.
- Martin, J. R. (2002). From little things big things grow: Ecogenesis in school geography. In R. Coe, L. Lingard & T. Teslenko (Eds.), *The rhetoric and ideology of genre: Strategies for stability and change*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Martin, J. R., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., & Painter, C. (1997). Working with Functional Grammar. London: Edward Arnold.
- Martin, J. R., & Plum, G. (1997). Construing experience: Some story genres. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7, 1(4), 299–308.
- Martin, J. R., & Veel, R. (Eds.). (1998). *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourses of science*. London: Routledge.
- Martin, W. R. (1989). Innovative fisheries management: International whaling. In A. T. Bielak (Ed.), *Innovative fisheries management initiatives* (pp. 1–4). Ottawa: Canadian Wildlife Federation.
- Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1995). *Lexicogrammatical cartography: English systems*. Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.
- Morgan, W. (1997). *Critical Literacy in the classroom: The art of the possible*. London: Routledge.
- Muspratt, S., Luke, A., & Freebody, P. (Eds.). (1997). *Constructing critical literacies: Teaching and learning textual practice*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin. (Also Hampton Press).
- Myers, G. (1990). *Writing biology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Ogborn, J., Kress, G., Martins, J., & McGillicuddy, K. (1996). *Explaining science in the classroom*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Rafael, V. (1988). *Contracting colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*. Manila, Philippines: Areneo de Manila University Press.
- Roach, A. (1990). Took the children away. *Charcoal Lane*. Sydney, Australia: Mushroom Records (Produced by P. Kelly & S. Connolly).
- Rose, D. B. (1991). *Hidden histories: Black stories from Victoria Rover Downs, Humbert River, and Wave Hill Stations*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.

- Rothery, J. (1989). Learning about language. In R. Hasan & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Language development: Learning language, learning culture* (pp. 199–256). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Rothery, J. (1996). Making changes: Developing an educational linguistics. In R. Hasan & G. Williams (Eds.), *Literacy in society* (pp. 86–123). London: Longman.
- Simmelhaug, H., & Spenceley, G. F. R. (1984). *For Australia's sake*. Melbourne, Australia: Nelson.
- Swales, J. M. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Veel, R., & Coffin, C. (1996). Learning to think like an historian: The language of secondary school history. In R. Hasan & G. Williams (Eds.), *Literacy in society* (pp. 191–231). London: Longman.
- Wallace, J., & Loudon, W. (2002). *Dilemmas of science teaching: Perceptions on problems of practice*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Walton, C. (1996). *Critical social literacies*. Darwin, Australia: Northern Territory University Press.
- White, P. (1997). Death, disruption and the moral order: The narrative impulse in mass 'hard news' reporting. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Genre and institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* (pp. 101–133). London, UK: Cassell.

6

Challenges of the Science Register for ESL Students: Errors and Meaning-Making

Mary J. Schleppegrell
University of California, Davis

This chapter presents an analysis of second-language writing, showing how English as a Second Language (ESL) students deploy the meaning-making resources of English in their science lab reports in ways that differ from the choices made by a native speaker of English, with different results in terms of the overall shape and voice of the texts that they produce. Analyzing the texts of native speakers helps us identify the grammatical resources that enable writers to create a text of a particular type. With this knowledge, we can look at second-language writers' texts to see where the students may need to develop lexico-grammatical and discourse-structuring resources that are functional for a particular task.

The lab report is a commonly-assigned genre in science and technical courses. A genre is a culturally recognizable text type that unfolds through a series of stages. Each discipline has its own genres that are recontextualized in academic assignments. A study of 10 undergraduate courses in natural science and engineering (Braine, 1989) found that 85% of the assignments required students to report on a specified participatory experience such as a laboratory experiment. Such assignments not only assess students' performance in the laboratory, but also prepare them for the real-life writing tasks they will perform when they leave the university.

Constructing particular instances of a genre calls for the coherent presentation of meanings at the clause level. This means that a focus on genre necessarily requires attention to register elements. Halliday (1978, 1994) defines register in terms of the lexical and grammatical choices that construe particular contexts of situation. He proposes that there are three kinds of meanings expressed in every clause: the "ideational," "interpersonal," and "textual." Grammatical choices in

**Developing Advanced Literacy
in First and Second Languages**
Meaning With Power

◆ ◆ ◆

Edited by

Mary J. Schleppegrell
M. Cecilia Colombi
University of California, Davis



2002

LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS
Mahwah, New Jersey
London