

**Newspaper Discourse in Wartime  
and Peacetime Japan:  
a Contrastive Linguistic and Stylistic Analysis**

**Noriko Iwamoto**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis was composed by myself and that the work is my own

Noriko Iwamoto

## Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between situational contexts and the linguistic and stylistic features of politicized language within the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics proposed by M.A.K. Halliday and others. The main area of research chosen is the wartime discourse of Japanese journalism during the Second World War. The research demonstrates the existence of a wartime register (as representation of real war) and characterizes its major stylistic and linguistic features. The secondary area chosen for the purpose of contrastive analysis is peacetime discourse concerning international conflict, (1) the Olympic Games and (2) whaling.

In wartime discourse, journalism not only plays a significant role in maintaining public morale but is also an active participant in the construction of the war effort. In the presentation of news, journalistic reports implicitly reconstruct reality by foregrounding death as a sacrifice, as glorious, and as noble, and the enemy as weak, and by obscuring threatening situations by backgrounding defeats and losses. This reconstruction is done to regulate and control the ideas and behaviour of people, and to form a strong sense of solidarity in the nation. For this function, linguistic resources are exploited to structure, transform and sometimes mask 'reality' so that newly created discourse can articulate and legitimize new orders of reality that will meet the demands of a particular social situation, such as consolidating the power of the state to wage war.

Journalism in peacetime discourse, on the other hand, is not harnessed to a war effort and, thus, the use of linguistic devices to foreground and background news events is not an instrument of state power in an open society.

The theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics is utilized in this research to provide an illustration and examination of the range and complexity of various linguistic and stylistic devices used in journalistic discourse. The main reason for the use of this particular model is that Systemic Functional Linguistics takes the view that cultural, societal and situational factors are incorporated into language, and that the language system does not exist on its own independently of these factors. The contrastive functions of wartime and peacetime journalistic discourse can thus be directly related to a situation of context model. Halliday divides the situational context into three main functional systems that together characterize discourse: Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. At a linguistic level, each of these systems is mainly realised by transitivity, thematization and modality, respectively. Using these linguistic features plus the topic of aspect, a comprehensive

investigation is undertaken to reveal and compare the main linguistic and stylistic features of wartime and peacetime discourse in Japanese journalism. The thesis concludes that, within the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the register of wartime Japanese journalistic discourse constantly foregrounds the Japanese side as *Actor* and not as *Patient* whereas in the context of peace journalism non-Japanese are often thematized as *Actors*. This switching of *Actor* and *Patient* and of thematizing in situations of war and of peace provides evidence that there is a close relationship between the linguistic and stylistic features of a particular register and situational contexts as proposed by Halliday.

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## A List of Abbreviations

### Abbreviations Used in the Analysis of Japanese Particles

|      |                     | examples   |
|------|---------------------|--|
| AC   | accusative particle | - <i>o</i>   |
| COM  | complementizer      | - <i>to</i>  |
| COP  | copula              | - <i>dearu</i> , - <i>da</i> , - <i>nari</i> , - <i>tari</i> |
| GEN  | genitive morpheme   | - <i>no</i>  |
| NEG  | negative morpheme   | - <i>nai</i> , - <i>nu</i> , - <i>zu</i>                     |
| PASS | passive morpheme    | - <i>re</i> , - <i>rare</i> ,                                |
| PERF | perfect             | - <i>ta</i> , - <i>ri</i>                                    |
| Q    | question marker     | - <i>ka</i>  |
| SB   | subject marker      | - <i>ga</i>  |
| TP   | topic particle      | - <i>wa</i>  |
| S    | Subject             |  |
| O    | Object              |  |
| V    | Verb                |  |

### Abbreviations to indicate polite forms and honorific expressions in Japanese

|   |                  |                                    |
|---|------------------|------------------------------------|
| ↑ | honorific-polite | - <i>irassharu</i> , <i>go-</i>    |
| ↓ | humble-polite    | - <i>itashimasu</i>                |
|   |                  | - <i>tatematsuru</i>               |
| + | neutral-polite   | - <i>gozaimasu</i> , - <i>desu</i> |

(explained in section 2.4.5.)

### Abbreviations for Systemic Functional Linguistics terminology

|             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| Beh.        | Behavioural   |
| Cir.        | Circumstance  |
| Mat.        | Material      |
| Met.        | Mental        |
| Pr.         | Process       |
| Rel.        | Relational    |
| Ag.-Carrier | Agent-Carrier |
| Ag.-Senser  | Agent-Senser  |

## Notes on technical terms

There is a great deal of overlapping terminology in the discourse field. The following notes are designed to summarize the present writer's solution to the problem in order to facilitate the task of the reader.

### **1. 'Patient'/'Goal'/'Affected'**

These three terms are used to cover much the same range of meanings by different writers in the field. For the sake of consistency, however, I have chosen to use the term Patient whenever possible in the text of this thesis, except of course in explicitly acknowledged citations and verbatim quotations which contain the alternative terms.

### **2. 'Theme'/'Topic'**

The terms 'Theme' and 'Topic' are also used synonymously by many writers. For the sake of consistency, I have chosen to use 'Topic' except where the alternative occurs in specific citations and related examples.

### **3. 'continuous'/'progressive'/'incompletive'**

The terms 'progressive' and 'continuous' (and occasionally 'incompletive') are used interchangeably by many ELT writers. In this case, the term 'progressive' has been selected except where the alternative terms occur in explicit citations and verbatim quotations.

### **4. 'perfective'/'completive'**

The terms 'perfective' and 'completive' are also used synonymously by many writers. For the sake of consistency, I have chosen to use 'perfective' except, of course, in explicitly acknowledge citations and verbatim quotations which contain the alternative terms.

## 0. Introduction

This research is intended to demonstrate the existence of a 'war register' (defined later in this section) in Japanese journalism during the Second World War, and to characterize its linguistic and stylistic features, following the theoretical framework of Functional Linguistics developed by Halliday and others. I use their model because they take the view that cultural and societal factors are incorporated into language, as their terms 'register' and 'genre' suggest, and that the language system does not exist on its own independently of cultural and societal factors.

Newspaper genre usually presents itself as being 'neutral', similar to the art of taking photographs in which the camera is said to never lie. Contrary to this widely shared normality, such neutrality can often be a surface disguise, especially in the case selected for investigation here: wartime propaganda. The genre reality manifested in wartime newspaper reports is merely a 'representation' of reality because of the ideological and institutional dimensions involved in creating that text. The language of propaganda is understood when it is examined comprehensively in the light of power relations and a sociohistorical study of political language and its style and register. This is what this research will attempt to do.

In the early stages of the Second World War studies of propaganda were conducted, in view of the success of Nazi propaganda. For instance, Hayakawa published a book, *Language in Action*, in 1941 as a response to the threat of propaganda, particularly as exemplified by Hitler's success in persuading millions of people to believe and share his unreasonable and destructive ideas and plans. In a later edition of the book Hayakawa has to say about the significance of the studies of propaganda:

It was the writer's conviction then, as it remains now, that everyone needs to have a habitually critical attitude towards language — his own as well as that of others — both for the sake of his personal well-being and for his adequate functioning as a citizen (Hayakawa 1965: ix).

My research is a linguistic study of the war propaganda issued in Japanese newspapers half a century ago, a propaganda that is quite unique in both diachronic and synchronic senses. What is the mechanism and function of propaganda, in the first place? In *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, Lee and Lee (1939) define propaganda

as 'organized persuasion; the spreading of ideas and values through a variety of persuasive devices; popularly viewed as persuasion that is unethical and relies on unfair tactics and concerned with ideas that are often thought harmful' (Lee and Lee 1939, quoted in Devito 1986: 239). Thus, propaganda is a highly institutionalized and conventionalized mode of presenting discourse so that the leaders of the time can manipulate people's thought and behaviour in an implicit way. This can be achieved with remarkable stylistic sophistication and by a variety of stylistic means, as I hope my study reveals.

There is a recent event that illustrates how thorough the government censorship of wartime records has been, even up to the present day — as a stronger confirmation of the existence of war propaganda. Over half a century after the end of the war, the Supreme Court of Japan finally acknowledged the existence of, and illegitimacy of, censorship of Japanese wartime records. As recently as 29 August 1997 the Supreme Court of Japan ruled that the government has acted illegally in censoring and removing from school textbooks any references to the Japanese wartime record. The court also said that the government should provide a more honest account of Japan's past events, and ordered the Ministry of Education to censor schoolbooks as little as possible to avoid distortion of what actually happened. The decision marked a personal victory for the plaintiff, Professor Saburo Ienaga, a historian. For the past 32 years he has directed a nationwide campaign to stop government censorship of references in history textbooks to Japanese wartime atrocities. *The Scotsman* editorial says, 'It is disturbing, nevertheless, that it has taken so long for this simple principle to be established' (*The Scotsman*, 30 August 1997, p.14). This long-running controversy over the legitimacy of censorship and the victory of the liberal historian may prove how comprehensive censorship has been in Japan and uncover the existence of wartime propaganda even in post-war Japan.

Since the data for my analysis is non-English and from half a century ago, some language uses and the underlying ideology may be quite alien to the readers. It may, therefore, be helpful to introduce the concept of 'intertextuality' before we go any further. The term 'intertextuality' was first introduced by Julia Kristeva (1969 discussed by Fowler 1977) in the late 1960s. Kristeva argues that no text is 'free' of other texts, saying that 'every text takes shape as a mosaic of citations, and every text is the absorption and transformation of other texts' (cited in Fowler 1977: 69). In other words, 'text' is understood in relation to other texts. Even within a single text there can be a constant 'dialogue' between that text and other texts that exist

outside it either within the same period or in different periods, whether literary or non-literary (Wales 1989: 259).

Fowler takes the argument further and proposes the concept of 'intersubjectivity', interpreting the concept 'other texts' more broadly. It means that the structures in the text suggest patterns and systems of knowledge, values, conventions and various other relationships in the community that has produced the text and its readers (Fowler 1977: 81, 124). In writing and reading, the author and the reader call upon 'the shared conventions of the relevant culture' or 'a specialized system of information and interest' in the community they belong to (ibid.: 125). What the author writes in the text makes sense only when he or she writes within the scope and possibilities provided by the system of knowledge, conventions and values that define culture (ibid.), whether at the thematic, lexical, structural, functional or rhetorical level (cf. Lemke 1985: 275). For example, in oral cultures, in addition to a shared set of values and social conventions, things like the Old English epic or the medieval ballad assume in their composition a shared knowledge between poet and audience that includes the use of certain rhetorical devices and lexical choices (Wales 1989: 260).

This is where the notion of 'register' comes in. The concept of register (Halliday 1978, Ure 1971, Ure and Ellis 1974) allows us to 'describe how a community differentiates among the texts it produces according to how it defines the situational context and how it uses language in various *types* of situation' (Lemke 1985: 276, original italics). Register can thus be characterized in terms of situational contexts. The situational contexts are defined as spheres in which 'language is being used to make particular kinds of meanings that are characteristics of a particular situation type' (ibid.: 277). Halliday divides the situational contexts into three main systems that together characterize a passage of discourse: Field, Mode and Tenor. Field is expressed through the Ideational meaning of language in the text, and it is concerned with what is going on (a kind of activity) or how we encode our experience, activities or phenomena. Tenor is realized through the Interpersonal meaning of language, which characterizes social interaction and role relationships in the situation. Mode is expressed through the Textual function of language, which characterizes the rhetorical and genre patterns, and how the message is constructed from the situation in which the language is used rather than the message itself.

Every discourse, in fact, has its own situation. Japanese wartime propaganda is no exception. It manifests itself as a certain register in a particular situation, with certain choices of grammatical, rhetorical, lexical and semantic terms. These language patterns reflect a Japanese ideology shared only by those people that lived in the country fifty years ago, and who thus represented a certain 'community'. This is particularly so in the areas of ethics and morality, as we see in Fowler's notion of 'intersubjectivity'. For example, such social and ethical values as self-sacrificing dedication to the Emperor, which even led to mass-suicidal attacks called *kamikaze koogeki* (joint suicidal missions), are reflected in lexical, grammatical and rhetorical patterns as a register from a particular situation.

As long as Japanese forces were victorious, there was little need to distort the war reports, but once they started losing there emerged a general decline in the reliability of official statements, and even defeats were reported in a bombastic language style as if they had been victories (Shillony 1981, Yamanaka 1989, *Asahi Shinbun Sha Shi* 1991, Sakamoto 1996). As in many countries at war, maintaining public morale was regarded as more important than pursuing and reporting the truth. Taketora Ogata, vice-president of *The Asahi Newspaper*, later State Minister in charge of the Information Bureau, declared before the Diet, that 'an active press was essential for maintaining the fighting spirit of the people' (*Asahi*, 9 September 1944).

Ryootaroo Shiba (1978: 7-8), a historical novelist, discusses how the inflated bombastic style in war reports issued by the Japanese army historically dates back to the period of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 to 1905. The features of this style include, for example, the use of superlative adjectives, as, for example: 'the morale of our troops is the most vigorous'. The army reports, in general, lacked objectivity, because more important in war reporting was the maintenance of public morale. After the Russo-Japanese War this style became established as one of the distinctive features of army war reports, and its use predominated during the Second World War.

What has been discussed so far are parts of the situational contexts or social reality that were manifested in the language of war propaganda. To identify the war register in the Japanese press linguistically, Halliday's framework of Field, Tenor and Mode will be used as analytic tools. Identification of a particular register necessitates comparative analysis. For this, I compare propaganda (as

representation of the real war) from peacetime discourse about international conflicts, to see if, even when the same types of phenomena occur in peacetime, the same type of linguistic manifestation is not found in peacetime texts. Various discourse situations of international encounters from peacetime will be used and compared with war propaganda from essentially the same source: the Olympic Games, whaling and the shooting down of a Korean airliner by a Russian missile. The underlying idea is that the expected difference in wartime and peacetime registers is basically due to the difference in the reporter's point of view or attitude, as well as to the social values and beliefs surrounding him.

Data for analysis is mainly drawn from *The Asahi Newspaper*, one of the leading newspapers in Japan. It used to be called *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, but was renamed *The Asahi Newspaper* in June 1941 following the amalgamation of local newspapers. It published reports from the Imperial War Headquarters as top news items on its front pages during the war. About 25 articles from critical stages of the war and another 30 from texts about peacetime international conflicts are used as data for analysis. (Criteria for the selection of data will be discussed later in more detail.) For a stronger confirmation of my findings, supplementary data are presented in the appendix.

It is quite interesting to note that Japanese newspapers written in English were being published during the war. They contained contemporary official English translations of the reports from the Imperial War Headquarters. Sometimes I have used the official English version of these newspapers. Although English was the language of Japan's enemies, it was also the only language through which Japan could communicate with the nations in Asia that it occupied (Shillony 1981: 148). The English-language newspaper *The Japan Times and Advertiser*, which contained the same highly propagandist and nationalistic discourse as Japanese-language newspapers, in its role as 'the English mouthpiece of the Foreign Ministry' (Reynolds 1991: 109), continued to appear along with some other English-language newspapers. Nevertheless, vernacular newspapers and magazines that had foreign titles were encouraged to 'Japanize'; thus the English daily *The Japan Times and Advertiser* became *The Nippon Times* (now *The Japan Times*) in 1943 (Shillony op.cit.: 148). These English-language newspapers were written and edited by Japanese, and reflected Japanese positions and world-views. These papers addressed themselves to foreigners in Japan and to English-speaking readers in the occupied territories, but they were also read by many Japanese for the purpose of

practising English (ibid.: 149). Japan's propaganda activities were, therefore, pervasive and not restricted to publications in the Japanese language, despite the fact that English was the language of its enemies and its use for other functions was discontinued.

It is important to point out problems associated with English translation, since the source texts are Japanese. Even those Japanese newspapers written in English reflect Japanese ideology and language structure. Because of 'intertextuality' and 'intersubjectivity', discussed earlier, the inevitable relationship any text has to its source language culture (where the text was produced) can cause translators considerable problems (Hervey *et al*, 1995: 69). This is because language involves all kinds of cultural traits, in the form of address as well as in grammar and lexis, which cannot be explained in universals either in consciousness or translation (Newmark 1995: 95).

If the cultural connotations of Japanese terms are to be preserved in English translation, the English may sometimes sound unnatural. My objective in my translations is to preserve as much as possible the images, figurative language, semantic and grammatical choices, and other linguistic artistry, found in the original. I have added some explanatory phrases to account for Japanese concepts and values where literal translation could distort the meaning, and included 'an appropriate descriptive-functional equivalent' in translation (Newmark 1995: 95). Although I have made use of the official translated version (Japanese newspapers written in English) as regards the reports by the Imperial War Headquarters, I have made changes in English where needed. In some places the English in the translated version is not faithful to the original Japanese either in terms of grammar or content. For instance, in some places the content is simplified, or elaborated upon, or slightly modified or even missed out in the English translation. A simple example concerning address forms is that *waga gun* (our armed forces) or *teekoku riku gun* (the Imperial Army forces) are sometimes translated as *Japanese (Army) forces* in the English translation. In particular, headlines of news articles are often slightly or significantly different from the original Japanese version. In other places, the content is changed, too, for the linguistic reason that the translation should sound natural in English. In these places, I have used my own translation to keep the original Japanese meaning and flavour as much as possible and at the same time to sound natural in English. However, I did not change simple grammatical mistakes where the content is affected little and the original gives a fair meaning.

Given the fact that the official contemporary English versions were not written by native speakers of English, there are simple grammatical mistakes, such as in the use of articles (*a, the*); tense or vocabulary (e.g., 'they took the danger of searching' where it should be 'they took the risk of searching'). Rather than changing all these small mistakes, I simply inserted (*sic*) after them. Nevertheless, in places where it is necessary to clarify what was said, I made changes within square brackets, e.g. 'Elsalem' [*sic*, Jerusalem], 'the Potsdam Proclamation' [*sic*, the Potsdam Declaration].

The organisation of this thesis is as follows. Part I, consisting of chapters one and two, is background to my major argument. In chapter one I discuss first my basic attitude towards 'language, reality and thought', drawing on and criticizing the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Here, I clarify my stand on the relationship of language to thought and society, on the basis of Whorf's assertion that 'language orders reality' to a large extent. Secondly, some models of the point of view or authorial attitude with which the writer/speaker encodes phenomena or experiences in language will be presented. Thirdly, I discuss language's role in the creation of nationhood, since my thesis is concerned with how language operates during war and can strengthen a sense of nationalism. Chapter two introduces some important aspects of Japanese culture, history and language that are relevant to my analysis. Some facets of Japanese culture are presented, then a brief history of the Pacific War is introduced, and this is followed by a discussion of press censorship in wartime Japan. Finally, several main features of the Japanese language are dealt with, and some translation problems are pointed out.

Part II, consisting of chapters three to eight, is concerned with linguistic analysis. In the introduction to this part, I discuss the theoretical model of Functionalism advanced by Halliday and others, which includes three metafunctions of language that operate simultaneously in situational contexts: the Ideational function, the Textual function and the Interpersonal function. This model will be a basic framework within which my analysis of Japanese wartime propaganda will be conducted.

Chapters three and four are concerned with transitivity analysis in Japanese wartime propaganda, which realizes the Ideational function of language (Field). The topics to be dealt with in these chapters are extensive. Chapter three presents the transitivity theory to be used; chapter four deals with the application of it,

introducing various data from wartime and peacetime texts. After the transitivity framework is presented in some detail in chapter three together with analyses of the Ergative system and the Voice system, the characteristic features of transitivity patterns in Japanese war propaganda are demonstrated in chapter four. Chapter four also includes a comparative analysis aimed at characterizing the transitivity patterns even more convincingly. Transitivity patterns in wartime propaganda will be examined and compared with the patterns in newspaper reports of non-censored discourse in wartime, newspaper reports dealing with the defeats of Japan's allies (the Germans and Italians), and finally newspaper reports about the Olympic Games and whaling.

Chapters five and six explore the issues of thematization, topic continuity, discourse development and point of view, which realize the textual function of language (Mode). Chapter five is concerned with the relationships between the transitivity system and thematic structure, and between thematic prominence and discourse subordination, in relation to the issue of point of view. These ideas will be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses on international encounters. In chapter six, focusing on Japanese post-nominal particles, I examine how the issues of thematization and point of view function in discourse development and discourse coherence in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses.

Chapter seven is concerned with Modality. Modality is considered as an Interpersonal function of language (Tenor) regulating human relationships in society. Japanese war propaganda is analysed from the perspective of auxiliary verbs and compared with the texts from peacetime discourse. With reference to Simpson's model (1993), Modality is also discussed in relation to the problem of point of view.

Chapter eight is concerned with Aspect. Although Halliday does not discuss this subject as much as the previous items of transitivity, theme, discourse and modality, Aspect may be thought of as realizing both the Interpersonal and the Ideational functions of language. Aspect refers not merely to those grammatical categories that reflect particular ways of viewing the temporal constraints or distinctions but more particularly to a part of ideological operations. The problem of Aspect is analysed in relation to foregrounding and backgrounding certain news items in war reporting, compared with texts of peacetime discourse.

The thesis concludes that there IS such a register as wartime propaganda, as established by these comparative analyses.

**PART I BACKGROUND:  
REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

## **Chapter 1**

### **Language, point of view and nationhood**

As background to my research, this chapter considers the following issues: first, my basic attitude towards the relationship between language, reality and people's patterns of thought; secondly, some theoretical models of point of view through which people view the world and how people encode their experience in language; thirdly, the role of language in creating nationhood, which is a basic ideological motive to drive people to conducting a war. I start my discussion with the argument about how language affects the way people perceive and make sense of the world.

#### **1.1. Language and representation of reality**

##### **1.1.1. Linguistically constructed world: the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**

The analysis of language and politics advanced here is primarily based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as suggested by the Structuralists, Edward Sapir (1956) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), which is now a classic on the subject of language, world-view and our conceptual system. The hypothesis, also known as Whorfianism, linguistic relativity, or linguistic determinism, which claims that the world is linguistically constructed, implies that language not only reflects reality but also constrains our perception of it. This idea is based on two assumptions. The first is linguistic relativism, which holds that our world-view is moulded by the grammatical structure of the language we speak. Hence in its extreme version, it implies that people who speak different languages can never share the same reality. This means that perfect translation from one language to another is impossible. The other assumption is linguistic determinism, which maintains that we are inescapably passive prisoners of the language we speak rather than active masters of it.

##### **1.1.2. Extreme and limited versions of the hypothesis**

There is both an extreme and limited version of the hypothesis, with variations or differences in degrees in between. The extreme version holds that language and culture determine one another and hence these two are interchangeable, language is culture and culture is language. As an example of this extremist view, Hoiijer expresses his idea in the following terms:

If language and culture have been regarded by some as distinct variables ... it is perhaps because (1) they define language too narrowly and (2) they limit culture to its more formal and explicit features, those which are most subject to change (Hojer 1953: 567).

This strong version also assumes that language not only reflects the system of culture or orders of the world but language also imposes its structures or orders almost obligatorily on its speakers. As a result, the structures of language that we use constitute and even manipulate our patterns of belief, ideologies and world-views.

The limited version admits only that language influences thought. I would myself advocate this weaker version of the hypothesis and am against an extreme or strong version of the hypothesis. The grammatical structure of one's language to some extent influences the way one perceives the world. It is important not to adopt an extreme version of Whorfianism or linguistic determinism, which almost maintains in an oversimplistic way that the structure of language, society and culture coincide perfectly (language = culture, society) as Hojer claims for two main reasons. In the first place, the strong version ignores linguistic and ideological complexities that are present within a culture, and presupposes the equation of one's language = one's culture. This equation is oversimplistic in that, as Lakoff (1987) states, in reality 'conceptual units [of language] are characterized by complex internal structures', with these conceptual networks connecting, interweaving and overlapping with other networks in complex ways (discussed by Lee 1992: 47). Fishman also says 'a basic definitional property of speech communities is that they are not defined as communities of those who 'speak the same language' (1970: 32). Such failure to perceive interactional and intricate networks within the speech community is one of the flaws of the neat and simplistic linguistic relativism observed in the stronger version of the hypothesis. Another criticism of the stronger version of the hypothesis is the fact that speakers are not so naive or uncritical as to be passively constrained by their linguistic constructions. It is indeed difficult to prove or disprove that differences in world-views between societies or cultures can be attributed to differences in their linguistic systems alone. It would also be misleading to overemphasize the role of language in perceiving reality as did nominalists such as Ockham, Locke, Hume, Humbolt, who suggested that things come into existence only when they are given names. On this view, the world is created only by the way human beings label and categorize things, states and processes, and general terms are, and only can be, names which human beings

attach to things or phenomena. The flaw of this idea is that their assumption can even be taken to mean that there is no world outside the self; a type of solipsism. It is true that we can perceive the world and be aware of various phenomena and their own existence without relying on language. There are obviously cases where words simply do not take precedence over concepts (Simpson 1993: 163). By extension, it can be said that we cannot change unpleasant reality simply by renaming things or abolishing their names, such as 'dirty old town' or 'polluted environment'. Obviously, their reality does not change even if we rename the town 'modern, clean town' as an extreme example.

Although I am against the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, I am in favour of the weak version of the hypothesis. It is certainly plausible that language in some way provides the structure with which one interprets or manifests his/her experiences, or even 'blinkers' the perception of the world in some way, considering the important role language plays in our everyday experiences. Language is the most efficient and often the only means of transmitting ideas and is an indispensable communicative tool in our daily lives. Halliday, referring to Whorf, agrees that language lends structure to experience (Halliday 1994). One's language establishes a series of categories which function as a pair of spectacles through which one views the world as it categorizes and organizes experiences for the speaker of the language (Whorf 1956). For these reasons a weaker version of the hypothesis is supported in this research, which admits language influences thought to some extent.

### **1.1.3. Language, journalism and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**

The subject of this research is the political control of journalistic reporting in Japan, 1941-1945. Journalists' work of gathering, disregarding, writing, publishing or scattering news involves the process of 'ordering of experiences and making sense of the world', which is realized predominantly through language (Hodge *et al* 1979: 81, Wang 1993: 560). In this sense, the world is linguistically and subjectively or at least not impartially constructed in journalism as interpretation intrudes into every reconstruction of the past. It follows that there are alternative ways of describing reality (Burton 1982: 200). This notion is in opposition to the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which claims the presence of the rigid relationship between the form of language one speaks and its content and which does not recognize the existence of complexity and flexibility within one culture. Volosinov (1986) notes,

'journalism possesses semiotic values, has its own kind of orientation toward reality, to refract reality in its own way' (cf. Wang 1993: 560). Such subjective representation of the external world is variously termed as 'projection' or 'representation' (Halliday 1985), 'speech and thought presentation' (Leech and Short 1981, Rimmon-Kenan 1983), and 'discourse representation' (Volosinov 1986, Fairclough 1989). Many others also discuss the 'inseparable' relationship between language and world-views that are often non-neutral to see how subjectively a certain world is linguistically constructed in a text (Davis and Walton 1983, Trew 1979a, 1979b). Some Critical Linguists such as Fowler *et al* (1979) see Whorfianism or determinism operating within a language in journalism and politics and argue that language could influence thought or determine non-neutral world-views. Although I will discuss a special case of language use, *all* language constructs reality: arguably totally neutral reporting is impossible.

Journalists, propagandists, or institutions which determine and regulate political processes, whether consciously or subconsciously, take advantage of linguistic resources, exploiting certain grammatical constructions or naming systems to 'manipulate' people's thought and behaviour.

Figure 1.1 schematizes the process by which the reality of war is reproduced and presented to people in the text written by journalists whose work was strictly controlled by wartime leaders. The point is that what people read in newspapers was not the reality of war but the image or projection that had been created by wartime leaders and journalists in the text, who refract reality in their own way; the reality of war was not directly transmitted to common people.

In wartime Japan, information sources were severely restricted and so the reliance on the press as the citizens' source of world knowledge was heavier than during any other period. People were, therefore, required to build their own reality from whatever linguistic elements (never uninterpreted facts) they could encounter in newspapers.

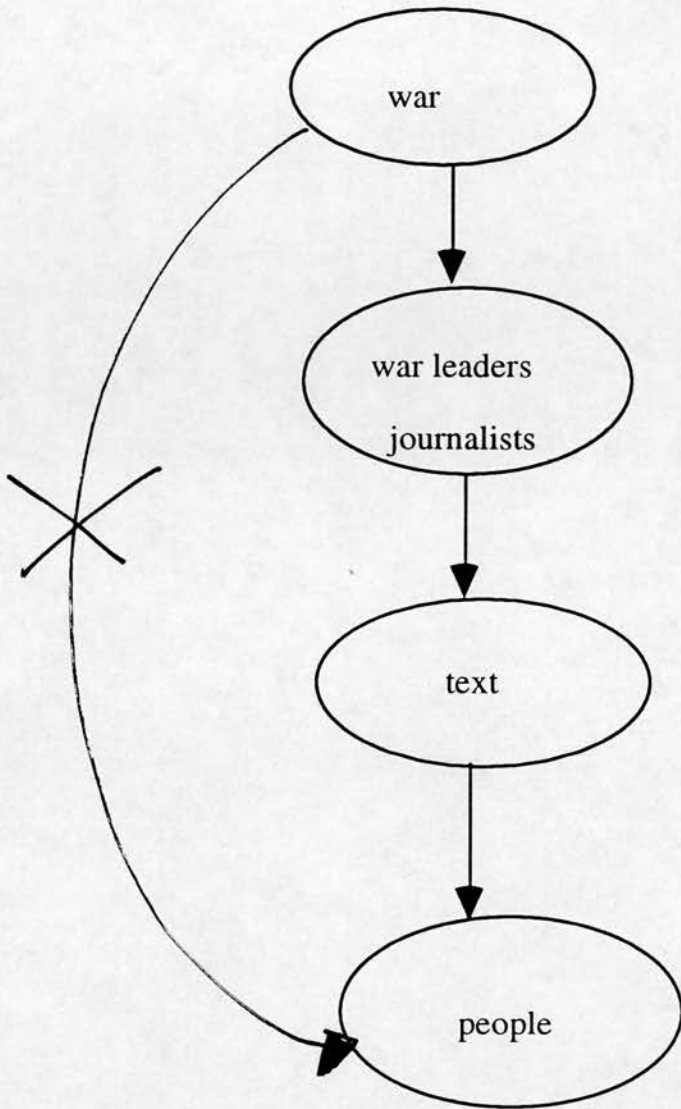


Figure 1.1 The process by which the war is reproduced and presented to people (Simpson, personal communication)

#### 1.1.4. Cognitive variables and schema theory

Certain literature which discusses how the world is linguistically shaped or understood by the human mind is directly relevant to this research. A notion related to Whorfianism, which deals with the relationship between language and human cognition, is found in **schema theory** or **frames** in cognitive psychology. This study is an attempt to account for how knowledge is organized and reproduced in

the human mind (as used by Goffman 1974, Minsky 1975, Tannen 1979, Brown and Yule 1983). To fully understand an event, it is important not only to have a broad understanding of the 'objective' context in which the event occurred, but also to understand how events are interpreted and reproduced by human minds (McGarry 1994: 41). An important question is why certain fragments of the whole event are perceived as important by the viewers, while other fragments of the same events are considered to be relatively unimportant. Tannen (1979) presents a way of explaining how knowledge is organized by way of a networking of concepts called **frames** or **schemas**. A schema is a chunk of structured background knowledge that is activated and takes effect when discourse processors try to retrieve coherence from texts. In other words, a schema is a chunk of background assumptions that come into our unconscious use in order to process or comprehend what we hear or read during discourse processing. Schemata are composed of various types of organized knowledge, such as knowledge about the prototypical objects, people, behaviour, events or experiences associated with particular qualities, concepts or settings.

The concept of foreground and background is important within the frame network. When a certain event is introduced in a text, other associated concepts within the frame network are capable of being retrieved — some are more highly activated than others without requiring much time or energy to process by the reader (Deane 1989 discussed by McGarry, *op.cit.*: 42). This processing has to do with the concept of **foreground** (Chafe 1987), or **relevance** (Sperber and Wilson 1986). As already mentioned, a reference has associations in one's mental schema and some or all of these associations are recalled and used for interpretation or understanding of the reference. Therefore, foreground means those mental associations in one's schema which become dominant and most activated when a particular reference is made during discourse processing. Which information is foregrounded and which is backgrounded is determined at the point in which the frame network comes into play.

If an activated concept is continuously mentioned with relative prominence in the text, often by means of anaphora or a pronominal reference, it is treated as **entrenched** information. **Entrenched** or activated concepts are easy to process, and so regarded as **foregrounded** information (McGarry 1994: 43). By contrast, **backgrounded** information means those relatively unimportant concepts which are in the background and those that are 'capable of being activated but with a cost of

time and energy to the reader' as against foregrounded concepts (ibid.). Therefore, background means those mental associations in one's schema which are reserved even when a particular reference is made in opposition to the case of foreground. In a narrative, for example, events or characters belonging to the story line are foregrounded whereas supporting or supplementary events or characters are backgrounded.

More recent work on Schemata-Frame analysis, such as Tannen (1993) and Semino (1995) provide a wider variety of discourse situations where the Frame analysis is utilized, such as narrative, poetry, doctor-patient communication settings and male-female differences in communicative styles. Tannen has demonstrated that:

notions of ... frame and schema can be understood as structures of expectation based on past experience, and ... these structures can be seen in the surface linguistic form of the sentences of a narrative' (Tannen 1993: 53).

This idea is intimately linked to the concept of the 'intertextuality' or 'intersubjectivity', in that background assumptions or our structuring of past experience (i.e. Frames) help us process and make sense of what is said or written.

These theories advanced by cognitive psychologists, stylisticians and critical analysts, which are related to Whorfianism, cast light upon the studies examining the relationship between language and human cognition.

#### **1.1.5. The relationship between form and content**

Another important contribution by Whorf is that he identified the connection between linguistic form and content. Hodge (1990) also argues that 'form is content, and style affects meaning' in texts. Changes in the form and style of a text result in creating differences in content and meaning (cf. Halliday 1994), such as stylistic descriptions of main characters or events in narrative, or in the use of marked or archaic classical styles. Thus, not only *what* has been said, but also *how* it has been said is equally important. One classic but clear-cut example is the application of the terms 'terrorist' or 'freedom fighter'. Wang (1993) undertook research on how differences in stylistic descriptions of international figures can affect the rhetoric of news discourses. Let us look at some more examples to see

how styles can affect content, after briefly looking at literature on archaic, bureaucratic language.

### 1.1.6. Archaic, bureaucratic language and literary texts

Traditional, conservative and archaic literary style is traditionally used especially in religious and political texts and written judicial judgements. An advantage of this style is first it can create power and, secondly, its 'decorative' devices can disguise the lack of content. Nobody dares to change the style. People in power exploit the fact that language style greatly affects content here.

George Orwell wrote severe criticisms concerning the use of 'centralized, bureaucratic language' in his essays 'Politics and the English Language' (1946) and 'Propaganda and Demotic Speech' (1944). Orwell's criticism concentrates on the huge gap that exists between 'centralized, bureaucratic language' and the ordinary language of common people. He takes a position that is against 'the standard ideology', which encourages prescription in language, and is in support of 'demotic speech'. He argues against 'the stilted bookish language' ('context-free elaborated code' to use Bernstein's term<sup>1</sup>), and maintains that this language is useless in communicating with ordinary people. He condemns the emptiness and artificiality of propaganda slogans and political jargon such as *left-deviationism*, *counter-revolutionary*, *objectively*, *capitalist*, etc. (discussed by Milroy and Milroy 1985: 44). Yuan *et al* (1990: 74) term such language *empty phraseology*, whose meanings are vague, general and abstract, but useful in creating a feverish atmosphere (*ibid.*) and a sense of power.

The 'linguistic abuses' that Orwell is attacking are not fundamentally observed in the colloquial speech of ordinary people, but they are observed in centralized, official speeches and documents, and they are written or uttered as 'standard

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<sup>1</sup> Bernstein (1971) proposes a dichotomous linguistic concept in social context: 'elaborated context-free code' and 'restricted context-bound code'. The former is a formal language which is not very context-sensitive. The speakers of this code make use of complicated sentence structure. This code is more explicit than restricted context-bound codes and speakers using it do not presuppose the same degree of shared attitudes, knowledge and expectations on the part of the addressee. By contrast, the restricted code is concerned with language which is more sensitive to the context of situation. Speakers of this code presuppose that their addressees share a great many of their attitudes, knowledge and expectations (cf. Richards *et al*, 1985: 42).

English'. He argues against power and authority in language and some features of language use that are the results of standardization by institutionalism.

Institutionalism focuses on language as 'an institution which exists independently of the individuals who perform linguistic acts' (Taylor, 1990: 10). As institutionalism rejects 'the relevance of individual agency and of the normative mechanisms by which agency is influenced, the science of language is conceived to be independent of political issues of authority, power and ideology' (ibid.). Arguing against this view, Orwell and other critical linguists hold that language is inseparable from political issues.

'Official language' in English is characterized by a relatively high proportion of words originating from Latin and Greek; access to this elaborated vocabulary is not easy for ordinary people. Interestingly, such classical words deriving from Latin and Greek in English are equivalent to *kango* (words of Chinese origin: *kanji* refers to each character) used in Japanese, which is composed of *kango* and *yamato-kotoba* (traditional Japanese words) (Suzuki 1990: 129). *Kango*, as an elaborated vocabulary, gives the impression of formality and impersonalization as do words of Latin and Greek origin in English. In some cases of Japanese official bureaucratic language, the use of classical style is not limited to content words (lexical items which have lexical meanings such as nouns, adjectives, verbs): the style was also used with function words (items with grammatical meaning, contributing to the structure of sentences or phrases, such as conjunctions or the auxiliary). Auxiliary verbs and conjunctions in Japanese do not derive from Chinese, but as we shall see in the chapter on modality, classical auxiliary verbs were used for wartime propaganda to create a powerful image. Interestingly, for the same effect, the Nazis in Germany also employed classical German style for their political propaganda (discussed in chapter 5 on modality). There seems to be a tendency that the stronger the controlling system becomes, the more words of classical origin will be used. Elaborated terms have the function of disguising the emptiness of thought or proposition, at the same time creating a sense of power or authority, and are able to deny access to those people who have not received the necessary classical education (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 46). It is often in the interests of institutionalism that written and formal communication should be as ambiguous as possible to maintain a sense of their authority.

The language used in law is traditionally classical and bureaucratic. Ogiwara (1994), Kawakami (1994), Tsuruzaki (1994) discuss how the style of written judicial judgement traditionally used in Japan is formalistic and bureaucratic as opposed to being practical and accessible to ordinary people, in order to maintain state-power.

Some examples of religious texts that still preserve the conservative style can be found in *the Koran* in Islam and also *the Sutra chanting* of Buddhism. *Sutra chanting* can protect its own sacredness by special styles: vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar (This sacred text consists entirely of classical Chinese characters). In Japan, its meaning is incomprehensible except to some professionals. The legitimacy, authority and holiness of the *Sutra chanting* is protected by the way the Sutra is solemnly chanted rather than the semantic value of the Sutra.

One example of texts that contain highly obfuscating style is the *Kyooiku Chokugo* (the so-called Imperial Edict on Education). This edict was issued in 1890, as guidance for education and morals, a year after the Constitution of the Great Imperial Japan was issued in 1889. *Kyooiku Chokugo*, which was composed of the Emperor's sacred words, was proclaimed together with the Constitution by the Meiji government for the purpose of centralizing and consolidating the Emperor's and the state's control as Japan proceeded with its militarization and reinforced nationalism. The edict became the basis of school education for the subsequent 50 years, until Japan's defeat in the Second World War in 1945. Students had to learn these Emperor's sacred words, such as 'devotion to the Emperor and to parents was the first duty of a Japanese citizen'. The edict, as the Emperor's sacred words, was valued beyond any other school subject during wartime in order to maintain public order under the reign of the Emperor (see for example, Yamazumi 1980; Takashima 1991 for what role *Kyooiku Chokugo* played in thought control). This edict was composed in the classical style of difficult *kanji* (Chinese characters) and highly honorific expressions, and its content was almost incomprehensible to the students. However, students were forced to memorize it and recite it by rote or write it, or listen to it read by the school principal. To all students of this period, this passage was the most familiar one because of its repeated reading despite its unclear meanings. This *Kyooiku Chokugo* was important in Japanese history, both on account of its form, its style and language having a major impact on the literature of the period, and of its content, the guidance on morals affecting the daily lives of all

Japanese people. The morals advocated included such ancient Japanese values as filial piety, affection between brothers and sisters, cooperation between husband and wife, benevolence, devotion, diligence. Further, the filial piety was extended to the Emperor, thus instituting a hierarchical system of societal values and individual obligation which were held to be universal principles applicable to any people at any time. As Kats and Danet (1973: 667) explain, 'normatively at least, bureaucratic organization requires a style of interpersonal relationship that is universalistic ... and effectively neutral'. Strangely enough, people had to worship the text (*Kyooiku Chokugo*) whose meanings were incomprehensible for a long period of more than half a century (1890-1945) because of its classical and archaic literary style (Yamazumi 1991: 257). However, the impact of one text on an entire population and subjugated territories in terms of language and ideology was a remarkable achievement within a short period of time (ibid.).

The style used in the Japanese Imperial War Headquarters during the Second World War, which is the subject of this research, is a typical example of bureaucratic language. A classical and decorative style was used for both content and function words to leave a strong impression on the reader and create a sense of state-power in the text, although the meaning and rhetorical patterns are in fact, quite simple. As mentioned in the Introduction, Ryootaro Shiba (1978: 7-8) a historical novelist, discusses how the inflated bombastic, ornamental style in the war reporting of the Japanese Army historically dates back to the period of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905. The style of the army's reports was lacking in objectivity, which is very important in war reports. This is because the army reporters were requested to follow the standard format or the unified discursal patterns and lexical choices in writing as outlined by the government. After that war, this style became established as one of the distinctive features of the army's war reports, and this style became very pervasive during the Second World War.

Then what makes these political, religious and judicial texts so special? It is in fact, the 'style' that makes them so particular. If they are translated into another language, they will turn out to be only mediocre, with the solemnity and meaning decreased. Tanaka (1975) terms them 'untranslatable texts' whose originality is lost in translation: 'the more the content is unclear, the better for obfuscation for the institutionalists to exercise their control' since the sacredness and power of the texts are culture-specific. These are texts where 'elaboration of style outweighs the subject matter and thematic content' or where 'the style and thematic content

together form an indissoluble whole' (Hervey *et al* 1995: 70). What matters is the style and not its content. In other words, style can determine content in these archaic or academic literary texts (*ibid.*: 229-238).

The principle that 'style determines content' seems to be a rather strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Nevertheless, in the relatively high ideological domains of politics, journalism, law or religion, this rather stronger version of Whorfianism, where content is significantly affected by language form, applies. This is a major reason why politicians are so concerned with rhetorical devices including the labelling of events and participants. Much effort was put into creating the single term *Ten'noo* (the Emperor), as Kamei (1974) revealed in his article, 'linguistic analysis of the Emperor system'. Utilizing the idea that language form significantly affects the content, politicians and religious leaders have manipulated the use of language.

It is suggested that a stronger version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis can hold only in domains where the language manipulator's intention operates strongly. The hypothesis (form determines content) is not necessarily applicable to relatively non-ideological domains. Its applicability depends on the nature of the areas in question; for example, there is a big difference between the areas where the language manipulator's intention operates strongly (e.g. politics, journalism, religion, advertising) and non-ideological areas.

This section has introduced the idea that reality is constructed by language, and has presented various ways in which 'reality' is shaped by language, emphasizing the 'textuality' of 'reality'. A weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is supported, and this will be the basic position that underpins the research.

## **1.2. Point of View: the authorial bias**

Section one of this chapter discussed the basic concept that 'textual' reality is constructed by language, and briefly introduced the ways in which experiences and ideas are encoded in language. This arises from the understanding that language 'does not allow us to "say something" without conveying an attitude to that something' (Fowler 1977: 76). No fiction is considered to be objective, neutral or value-free. Then, what provides a story's style with its particular 'feel' and 'colour'?

It is basically the writer's point of view, 'angle of vision', 'angle of telling', or authorial bias that determines the very essence of a story's style (Simpson 1993: 5). Point of view indicates a speaker's or writer's special way of conceptualizing a world-view or ideology. As the old philosophical principle goes, '*Quidquid recipitur, recipitur secundum modum recipientis* / Whatever is received is received according to the mode of the receiver'. In animals or humans, interest determines what people receive (i.e. perceive) from the outside world. Genette (1983: 71) observes:

The story is presented in the text through the mediation of some 'prism', 'perspective', 'angle of vision', verbalized by the narrator though not necessarily his ... I call this mediation 'focalization'.

In the same way,

Saying what happened is an angle of saying — the angle of saying is what is important.

(Seamus Heaney on The South Bank Show, ITV, 27 October 1991, quoted in Simpson 1993: 1)

Point of view is one of the major issues in the study of narrative theory, and has been variously termed. Among other conceptual terms and phrases similar to 'point of view', 'focalization', or 'angle of saying' are: 'viewing position' (Uspensky 1973: 2) and 'perspective' (Fillmore 1977).

### **1.2.1. Four major categories of point of view**

Boris Uspensky (1973) and others identified four major categories that are associated with point of view, which involve the following:

(1) Spatial and temporal points of view:

The Spatial point of view principally indicates the physical angle of vision adopted by a narrator or a reporter, i.e. the 'camera angle' assumed in a text; for example, close or distant, panoramic or limited. The temporal point of view implies the temporal dimensions through which a story is shaped; whether 'rapidly or slowly, in a continuous chain or independent segments' (Fowler 1986: 127 also Uspensky 1973: 57-66). The most important linguistic manifestation in regard to the spatial

and temporal point of view is by the system of deixis. Deixis is a concept used in linguistics to 'refer to the functions of...a variety of grammatical and lexical features which relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterances' (Lyons 1977b: 636). In other words, deixis may be defined as those 'orientational' features of language which function to locate utterance in the context of time (i.e. temporal deixis) and space (i.e. spatial deixis) from the speaker's viewpoint (Simpson 1993: 13). Examples of temporal deixis are *now*, *then*, etc. and examples of spatial deixis are *here*, *there*, etc.

(2) Psychological point of view:

This dimension designates the ways in which events or stories are mediated through the individual consciousness or perception of the narrator or a reporter or a single character of the story. This includes the means by which a fictional world is slanted in a certain way, as introduced in Section One of this chapter. With regard to this psychological facet of point of view, Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 79) further distinguishes the cognitive orientation (complete or restricted knowledge of the world presented as text) and emotive orientation (subjective/involved or objective/uninvolved). One of the most important components of psychological point of view is related to the internal/external point of view. This will also form an important aspect in regard to the research of Japanese wartime discourse, and will be discussed in more detail.

(3) Ideological point of view:

This component of point of view suggests an evaluative position that becomes 'the norm of the text', with which the participants and events of the story are evaluated 'from a single dominating point of view'. Evaluation or 'the norm of the text' means 'a general system of viewing the world conceptually' (Uspensky 1973: 8). This single point of view subjugates all other ideological points of view in the text. If other ideologies emerge in the text, they are transformed into the objects of evaluation by the dominant evaluating subject (the dominating ideology) or 'from the more general viewpoint' (Uspensky 1973: 8-9).

(4) Phraseological point of view: naming as an indicator of point of view

The differentiation of point of view in a text may also be manifested in the phraseological aspect, especially in the act of naming of characters by the author. For instance, within the same text, the author may first describe a character from the point of view of another character, then he or she may use his/her own point of view in the form of direct discourse (in the first/second person), then he or she may adopt the point of view of a third person or 'outside observer' which is neither the author nor the character in the story (ibid.: 17).

To illustrate how the use of the various personal names and titles reflect differences of point of view or attitude, Uspensky (1973: 20-43) examines the different appellations of Napoleon Bonaparte in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (especially, ibid., 27-32). In the early stages, the Russians call him 'Bonaparte' or 'Buonaparte', stressing his nationality or even his foreignness. On the other hand, the French call him 'Napoleon' and later 'L'empereur Napoleon'. After Napoleon's success, and the alliance of the French and the Russians, Bonaparte officially becomes 'le grand homme' and 'Napoleon' in Russia. Those who still used 'Bonaparte' were considered to 'make a strong national point'. Such shifts in naming can indicate a change in the viewer's attitude towards him.

These four categories of point of view — spatio-temporal, psychological, ideological and phraseological, are not necessarily discrete categories. There are possibilities of the combined uses of these different points of view; they may be interrelated and concur (cf. Uspensky op.cit.: 101-119, Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 82). Of particular relevance to this research are psychological, ideological and phraseological points of view although distinctions between them may not always be clear-cut.

### **1.2.2. Internal versus external point of view**

In the psychological point of view, (which may also overlap with the ideological point of view), Uspensky (1973), Genette (1980) and Fowler (1986: 127-47) propose two basic positions: the internal viewing position (where a narrator is within the story) and the external viewing position (where a narrator is outside the story). To summarize these stances:

Internal focalization suggests that the story is regulated and mediated by the first-person narrator's view, and often represents a subjective, fixed point of view as the

source of the narration is the centre of consciousness of a narrator or a certain character. This viewing stance is characterized by the use of first person pronouns and *verba sentiendi* (words indicating thoughts, feelings, emotions and perceptions) (Simpson 1993: 39), or Mental Process verbs to use Halliday's terms (defined in chapter three) or socio-expressive terms (a way of showing *surprise, regret, happiness*, etc) (Oshima 1996).

External focalization represents an objective, neutral and panchronic stance outside the consciousness of participants in the story, from which the events and characters are described (Simpson 1993: 39).

The adoption of a particular mode of focalization need not be consistent over the whole text. Genette says, 'the commitment as to focalization is not necessarily steady over the whole length of a narrative' (1980: 191). It is possible that a shift of mode takes place within a paragraph or sentence (Uspensky 1973: 18, 127-128, Simpson op.cit.: 33-34). As Genette remarks, 'any single formula of focalization does not ... always bear on an entire work, but rather on a definite narrative section, which can be very short' (Genette op.cit.: 191).

### 1.2.3. Fixed versus floating point of view

Another important viewing stance related to the internal/external focalization is the distinction between fixed versus floating points of view. A fixed point of view implies that 'the viewing position is largely stationary' as the 'perspective derives from a static source' (Simpson op.cit.: 19). This viewing position is commonly associated with the internal point of view since the perspective source is in the centre of consciousness of the viewer or characters within the story. The floating perspective, by contrast, which Uspensky terms **sequential survey**, means that the viewing position frequently shifts in the text just like 'tracking shots' in photography. In Uspensky's words:

Sometimes the narrator's viewpoint moves sequentially from one character to another and from one detail to another, and the reader is given the task of piecing together the separate descriptions into one coherent picture. The movement of the author's point of view here is similar to those camera movements in film that provide a sequential survey of a particular scene (1973: 60).

An example of this viewing position is found in the battle scene in Gogol's *Taras Bulba* (Uspensky 1973: 60). In this, there is 'a general mass of combatants' who fight the battles, and the authorial camera shifts sequentially from one pair of single warriors to another until one of the warriors is defeated. Thus, 'the author's point of view passes, like a trophy, from the defeated to the victorious' (ibid.). This illustration of the scene based on the 'floating point of view' is important because my research deals with international conflict and competition discourse in relation to point of view.

#### **1.2.4. Point of view in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses**

The application of the points of view theories discussed in this section to Japanese wartime and peacetime international conflict and competition discourses in the newspapers, requires the following observations, which are the hypothesis I am going to justify below:

(1) Wartime propaganda is based on a consistently fixed, internal perspective deriving from the 'frozen will' (discussed below in this section).

(2) Peacetime international conflict/competition discourses are based on a floating, external perspective deriving from flexible thought.

The internal perspective adopted to write the official wartime propaganda is particularly characterized by the use of *we/them*, '*our*' *Imperial Army*, '*our*' *Imperial Nation*, etc. By contrast, in peacetime discourse, generally, the use of proper nouns for naming is based on a more (though not completely) objective, external viewpoint, such as *America*, *Britain*, *Japan*, instead of *we/them*. This is where Uspensky's phraseological and psychological point of view come into play. The use of *we/them* presupposes the 'dichotomizing process' between 'our group' and 'their group' (Fowler 1991b: 16, 52). Dichotomizing is the practice of distinguishing a group which one belongs to from another group which opposes that group: this practice of dichotomizing is used to strengthen the solidarity of the group one belongs to. Dichotomizing is a basis for any type of conflict and is particularly exploited in wartime discourse. In waging a war, as Hitler said, it is necessary to

mobilize a nation by constructing the 'enemy' and 'us' through dichotomizing 'us' and 'them' (Fowler 1991b: 16, 52-53), and associating the positive legitimating values with 'us' while attaching negative, illegitimate images with 'them' or the 'enemy' (Chibnall 1977: 21-22; Fowler 1991b: 51-53). Thus, the point of view in wartime is very much internal, exclusive and fixed.

In the case of extreme nationalism such as the one that is often associated with war, 'consciousness of nationality might harden into will'. This means the denial of access to any communication or information that might obstruct the national unity or national goal. 'The hardening of the national will' indicates the shutting down of the will both of society and individual (Deutsch 1953: 181). In regard to the dichotomy of the democratic educator and the undemocratic propagandist as 'a value contrast', Kecskemeti (1973: 846) says, drawing on a citation from Martin (1932: 29):

Propaganda 'strives for the closed mind rather than the open mind'; the propagandist 'merely wishes you to think as he does,' while the educator 'is so delighted if you think at all that he is willing to let you do it in your own way'.

Oswald Spengler told the defeated Germany in 1919 that 'what we need is hardness, hardness, again hardness' (cited in Deutsch 1953: 182). Deutsch terms such closed, inflexible mental states, especially the one associated with the Japanese *kamikaze* flyers (who crashed into their enemy's planes on suicidal missions), 'the magic of the frozen will' (1953: 183). This suggests that one aspect of the psychological point of view in the official wartime discourse in Japan is that it was fixed, associated with a closed mind (considering the refusal or inaccessibility of any information that might hinder national goals), and hence the fact that information sources were severely limited, as against a flexible, floating point of view deriving from open-mindedness.

This issue of point of view (internal, fixed stance versus external, floating position) can be explained from the ideological aspect as well. Despite the seeming democratic and egalitarian connotation which we possesses, the we used in war propaganda was the product of political control and government supervision of the media. Therefore, the point of view is consistently from the government's side. Thus, in reality, we means the emperor, government and 'their people' in a hierarchical structure in wartime propaganda when the nation was under rigid state control. As opposed to that, in postwar rhetoric, due to the relative 'free flow of

information' and to the breakdown of rigid state control, various 'points of view were disseminated' (Aldgate, 1983: 70) and spread around throughout the whole spectrum of the media. Therefore, unlike the fixed, internal, subjective point of view from top-down in wartime, the peacetime press has been based on more flexible, floating, external points of view, not necessarily top-down, but often bottom-up. In peacetime discourse, the viewing source of we is not necessarily the government but can even be its opposing forces, for instance, working class people. Such is the explanation from the ideological point of view, as an example of the idea that the Uspensky's psychological, phraseological and ideological points of view can concur.

In the subsequent research, the hypothesis of the point of view adopted in international conflict discourse in Japanese newspapers will be tested, using the Hallidayan analytical framework, which includes the Ideational, the Interpersonal and the Textual functions of language (explained in the Introduction).

Besides the discussion of the issues involved in the conceptual framework of language and the importance of points of view, the role of language in nationalist movements, especially in the Japanese nationalist movement and relevant characteristics of Japanese language and culture must be considered. To characterize the stylistic features of Japanese wartime propaganda in a comparison of the same with peacetime international conflict and competition discourses, an adequate understanding of Japanese nationalism in relation to language and of Japanese culture in relation to language is essential. These issues are considered below (section 1.3.).

### 1.3. Nation, nationalism, people and language

Since my research explores how language resources are used by national leaders to mobilize a nation for a certain cause (eg. for conducting of a war), it is necessary to look at the literature on the relationship between nation, nationalism, people, language and point of view, to consider why language plays such an important role. In a period of war, the relationship between a nation and people is especially strongly felt because nationalism is the primary ideology that drives people to war. What then, is the role language plays in creating nationhood and nationalism?

#### 1.3.1. On nationhood and nationalism: creating a generic, anonymous, mass society

First, it is important to clarify the concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism', and the relationship between these concepts. Primarily, I take the view that nationalism creates a nation. Nationhood is a fundamental unit in politics: it is a 'universally legitimate' entity (Anderson 1991: 3). Nevertheless, it is important to note that nation-states are not fixed, completed and static entities. According to Espy (1979: 12), the nation is essentially a "'cognitive mobilization"<sup>1</sup> around features experienced in common by certain peoples'. That is, cognitive mobilization (i.e. nationalist thought) creates a nation. Also 'nation is the product of the nationization of a state — nationalism being the expression of that process' (Espy op.cit.: 13). In much the same way, Anderson (1983, 1991) argues that the nation is simply an 'imagined community': '*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation are anonymous and faceless to one another, yet in the minds of each lives surely the image of their fellow-countrymen's communion' (Anderson, 1983: 15, 133). Gellner (1983: 57) radically states that 'nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: *it invents* nations where they do not exist'. Gellner more precisely argues that

[Forming nationality] is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individuals, held together above all by a shaped culture of this kind, in place of a previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves (ibid.)

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'cognitive mobilization' originates in Katzenstein (1975: 1 cited by Espy 1979: 12).

Thus, in contrast to the generally accepted myth about nationalism that 'it claims to defend folk culture' (ibid.: 124) and a traditional folk society, it in reality 'forges a high culture' and 'builds up an anonymous mass society' and 'imposes homogeneity' (ibid.: 124-125). This conceptualization of nation and nationalism is very important for my research since this idea of 'creating a generic, homogeneous society' as forming a nationality will be vindicated by the evidence of linguistic analysis, which will be a major theme of my research. Topics will include: the abundant use of first person plurals<sup>2</sup>, common symbols in the naming system and common cultural values manifested in transitivity and modal structures.

Deutsch (1966: 175) maintains that nationality formation is 'the development of more closely knit groups, ... gradually becoming more dependent in the long run on their social heritage than on their physical environment'. For this purpose, national consciousness is 'the interplay and feedback of secondary symbols in an information-processing system' (ibid.: 170). In the same way, Brass (1974) presents a concept of 'a pool of symbols,' which expresses the internal values, as a tool for mobilization for nationality-formation. Presenting the cases of Sikhs and Muslims in North India, Brass explains the nationalist movements as 'the striving to achieve *multi-symbol congruence* among a group of people defined initially in terms of a single criterion (ibid.: 410)'. The symbols are mainly linguistic and religious. In this process of nationality-formation, or 'myth construction' (ibid.: 413), values are thus attached to symbols of language or religious identity, depending on the social reality or historical experience of that community, in struggling against their opponents. For instance, when religion was not an acceptable symbol, as happened in post-independent India, the Sikh political leadership turned to the symbol of the Punjabi language in order to form solidarity. In this way, the symbols of group identity which are used to achieve the goal of a community come to depend upon the political strategies pursued by its leaders. Apart from giving values to the symbols of language or religion, other associated symbols were used by both Muslims and Sikhs in North India. Brass maintains:

Spokesmen for the Muslim community look for inspiration from the past in the history of Muslim empires; those for the Sikh community find their glory in the history of Sikh kingdoms and in the valour of the Sikh warriors of the past. In this process of symbol selection from the past, it is often necessary to ignore inconvenient aspects of a community's history. The process involves deliberate selectivity in search for myth, not truth (ibid.: 412).

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<sup>2</sup> Pennycook maintains that 'pronouns can be considered to be always political' (1994: 178) although I doubt whether they can be 'always' political.

This echoes his idea that 'assimilation is a subjective more than an objective process' (ibid.: 423). As symbols of religion, history, language, and cultural traits of a nation or community are employed, 'a full-blown and coherent myth may ultimately develop' to advance a sense of nationalism (ibid.: 412). What is crucially important here is that as Deutsch (1966: 172-73) notes, only 'secondary symbols', not 'primary items' can be an effective tool for the formation of national consciousness. According to him:

The symbols of nationality are all in the last analysis adverbs or adjectives: they are not things or acts, but labels added to objects or actions. The words 'Germans' or 'Argentine' or 'English' mean nothing in themselves; they mean something only if they are understood as being added to the words 'persons,' or 'language,' or 'country,' or 'habits and customs,' or 'state.' ... The importance of the things or acts so labelled, and of the actual difference between those labels and those not so labelled, may well have a bearing on the rise and persistence of national consciousness, and on its power to modify the behaviour of individuals and groups (ibid.: 173, underline added).

In the case of Japanese war propaganda, the common cultural concepts such as *bushidoo* or warrior spirit or the tradition of worshipping the Emperor were brought into prominent use, as will be discussed in detail in the chapter on transitivity. As Deutsch says, these are 'secondary symbols', not 'primary existing' items, facts or phenomena (ibid.: 172-173), which idea accords well with Brass's theory.

### **1.3.2. The use of three dimensions in nationality-formation: time, space and people**

In a word, nationality-formation is a process of homogenization; it is a process of creating 'multi-symbol congruence' (Brass 1974, the term explained in section 1.3.3.). The process can be accounted for in terms of three dimensions — spatial, temporal and behavioural. The process of nationality-formation is likely to involve the unification of these three dimensional features, as examples below clarify<sup>3</sup>. This is because a monolithic culture or society is easier to control from above than a diversified culture or society. This accords well with Brass's idea that a nationalist movement is the 'striving to achieve multi-symbol congruence among a group of people defined initially in terms of a single criterion' (Brass, op.cit.: 41). In other words, nationalism uses arguments on three fronts — space, time and common

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<sup>3</sup> See Maruyama (1969) for a detailed account of conformism, political homogenization and standardization as well as social inversion in Japan, Germany and the United States during the Second World War.

cultural heritage. These three dimensions become a unified and powerful force if manipulated by language and can be used for nationalist purpose.

As far as the temporal dimension is concerned, a temporal continuity is emphasized, such as the use of classical style in religious, political and judicial texts as discussed in section 1.1.7. Such a diachronic continuity awakens nationalism since it is associated with the shared historical property of a people, while at the same time, it maintains a sense of the power of those who are in command of institutions.

In regard to spatial dimension, the same-ness is given emphasis in a nation to attenuate a sense of closeness and distance. For example, the same houses stand in a row in a town to enhance a sense of the same-ness in spatial terms. In Japan, as an example, in the process of modernization, school songs designated by the Ministry of Education were used for enhancing a sense of nationhood. For example, there is a song called *Furusato* (one's hometown/village), one of the famous school songs appearing in the official textbook, whose words were written by Tatsuyuki Takano and music composed by Teiichi Okamoto. The song is about the writer's old sweet home-village in Nagano Prefecture, with mountains, rivers, where he used to play in childhood, chasing rabbits. However, in the process of forming a modern nation, the writer and composer of the song were made anonymous by the Ministry of Education, and the song appeared in the school textbook including some other songs in April 1914. The intended effect was to make the hometown in question applicable to anybody's hometown/village as a shared experience: from specific to general, from concrete to abstract. Inose (1994) discusses the process at greater length, observing how school songs were used in the creation of nationhood in Japanese modernization to unite people for the wars (the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-5, the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5, the First World War in 1914-1918). After the breakout of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, nationalism rapidly developed in Japan. Inose says:

School songs designated by the Ministry of Education were disseminated, carrying a shadow of a nation in textbooks compiled by the state (my translation; Inose 1994: 139).

Until then [i.e. modernization], to the Japanese, nationhood meant one's particular hometown/village. However, with the birth of a modern state, the borderlines that surrounded their town/village went further away [from them], and the concept 'hometown/village' had changed from their surrounding area to an abstract concept. It may be that all the Japanese lost the sense of their hometowns/villages at this stage (my translation; *ibid.*: 67).

Songs unite people who are unfamiliar to one another. People surrender to the dauntless power of songs (my translation; *ibid.*: 48).

As the third factor, in addition to the unification of elements that exist in these spatio-temporal dimensions, people's behaviour and thought patterns were expected to be unified. For example, Hitler regulated people to follow the same behavioural patterns: to draw the same types of pictures devoid of animation or vigor, as an example (1996 TV Programme, *Hitler*, Japan Broadcasting Corporation). In modernization in Japan, as well, particularly in wartime, people were expected to behave and think in the same way, to devote and sacrifice themselves for the cause of the nation and the Emperor.

The homogenization of these three dimensional aspects (time, space and a shared culture including people's common behaviour and thought patterns) in the process of nationality-formation was reflected in language in terms of rhetoric, grammatical patterns and lexis, which are the main subject of my research. Before that, as background to the argument, it will be necessary to consider in more detail how print-language played an important role in unifying elements that existed in the context of these three dimensions in the process of nationality-formation.

### **1.3.3. The role of language in the formation of nationalism**

Anderson (1983, 1991) further states that the *imagined* community or nation is 'imagined through language' (1983: 133), and thus stresses the role of language in imagining and creating nationhood. Anderson discusses this importance of language in forming solidarity to create nationhood in the following terms:

It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them — as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities* (Anderson., 1983: 122; 1991: 133, original italics).

He explains how the role of language in forming solidarity differs from the national flag and costume using the term 'experience of simultaneity.' Language can suggest a 'special kind of contemporaneous community' — most effectively in the form of poetry and songs (1983: 132; 1991: 145). This implies 'language as sound', such as national anthems and chanting—their community activity creates shared moment in space, time and enhance a sense of shared culture. For example, in singing national

anthems on national holidays or other ceremonial occasions, no matter how 'mediocre' the words and the tune, there is an 'experience of simultaneity' shared by all present. At exactly such moments, people totally unfamiliar to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image created is 'unisonance' — singing the 'Marseillaise', 'God Save the Queen', *Kimigayo* (Japanese national anthem) or 'Waltzing Matilda' provides opportunities for 'unisonality', because of the 'echoed physical realization of the imagined community' (Anderson, 1983: 133; 1991: 145). At this 'selfless' moment of simultaneity, nothing connects people more effectively than 'imagined' melody (ibid.).

Similarly, language whether as poems or in the form of Imperial Edict, Sutra Chanting or written words learned by rote, for example at school, provides the experience of simultaneity as well, and brings about a consciousness of shared heritage and culture. The tendency is more common in Asian countries. The Imperial Edict on Education (*Kyooiku Chokugo*) was frequently recited at schools during wartime as explained in section 1.1.7. Archaic language which is used in edicts or Sutra Chanting, for example, makes people aware of continuity of time or richness of their own history.

The use of a community language also functions to increase a sense of shared heritage and culture. This is shown by the role of language in nationalist movements as exemplified in the case of the Irish independence movement. During the campaign, the Irish language played a significant role in mobilizing the people, and its use was very much encouraged. However, once independence was achieved, the importance of the Irish language declined.

#### **1.3.4. Print-language and the development of the 'nation'**

Gellner argues that an empire does not require literacy although nationalist movements do. He observes that literacy, as well as homogeneity and anonymity are 'the key traits' for forming a nation (Gellner, 1983: 138). Any mass-mobilization movement, whether revolutionary or nationalist, necessitates a movement towards literacy. Anderson also argues that as literacy increases, it becomes easier to provoke popular support (Anderson, 1991: 80). This may be because all nationalist or totalitarian movements, (Fascism, Nazism, Communism, etc.) have differed from classical authoritarianism such as feudal monarchs or

classical emperors, in that they not only ruled over the nation caring little for public opinion, but they have endeavoured to impose their dictatorial authority *by means of* the controlled mobilization of the entire masses. Hence, propaganda, public opinion, and mass communication were always of great importance to them (Pool: 1973: 465). Similarly, 'the new middle class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history' (Anderson: 1991: 80).

The importance of literacy to nationalist movements are due to the following reasons; first, it leads to wider dissemination of ideas; second, newspaper language, for instance, stimulates impersonalisation and generalization as discussed below. In other words, the development of literacy and printed language, promotes three dimensions (i.e. time, space and a shared culture, discussed in section 1.3.2.) to become a unified and powerful force; its effect on temporal dimension is continuity which is associated with a sense of a people's history, its influence on spatial dimension is that of generalization which emphasizes the same-ness of a people and its effect on culture is a shared sense of belonging and solidarity.

As a specific example of how the development of print-language creates nationhood, I consider Anderson (1983, 1991), who stresses the importance of national print-language in nationality-formation. He argues that 'print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language *per se*' (Anderson 1983: 122, 1991: 134). Print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness, by presenting a sense of 'simultaneity in homogeneous, empty time' (Anderson, 1991: 25). Due to the development of print-language and the spread of newspapers in 19th century Europe, people came to 'visualize in a general way the existence of thousands and thousands like themselves' simply by reading a newspaper and thus through print-language (ibid.: 77). There was no need to know of each other's identity or even existence. This happened in 19th century Europe, where 'Latin had been defeated by vernacular print-capitalism for something like two centuries' (ibid.: 77). Thus, print-language generated national consciousness and formulated a nation-state (ibid.: 46).

This concept of solidarity forming means that one has complete confidence in the existence of a solid community to which he or she belongs, and in others' 'steady, anonymous and simultaneous activity' as his or her fellow countrymen although, in fact, in a large country such as American one will never meet or even learn the

names of more than a small number of 'his 240,000,000 odd fellow Americans' (Anderson 1991: 26).

In the newspapers, we are thrown to 'a world of plurals': offices, shops, streets and cars (ibid.: 32). We-the-American-readers (Indonesian-, Japanese-, German-readers, whatever,) are 'plunged immediately into calendrical time and familiar landscape' — 'socoscape described in careful *general* details' (ibid.: 32). 'Our young man means a young man who belongs to the collective body of readers' of a certain newspaper of 'our nation' or 'the imagined community'; it does not really matter who specifically this young man is (ibid.). Even if someone reads about a car accident and a dead man, he or she does not mind at all who the dead individual was: he or she only thinks of 'the *representative* body, not the *personal* life' of the dead man (ibid.: 32, italics mine). Nevertheless, one also confirms the existence of thousands of one's fellow-men who are reading the newspaper at the same time, but whose identity one does not care about. He or she only experiences 'the simultaneity of homogeneous, empty time' (ibid.: 25) that is shared by the 'anonymous faceless fellow' (ibid.: 154).

Print-language also reinforces the function of impersonalization, objectification and quantification of people and events. For example, the experience of the French Revolution was 'shaped by millions of printed words into a "concept" on the printed paper, and in due course, into a model' (ibid.: 80). Hobsbawm argues that 'the French Revolution was not made or led by an organized party or movement in the modern sense, nor by men attempting to carry out a systematic programme' (Hobsbawm, 1964: 80, cited in Anderson 1991: 80). But once it had taken place, 'it entered the accumulating memory of print' (Anderson, op.cit.: 80). A number of overpowering experiences one after another during those events that its makers and its victims went through became a 'thing' or a static concept, i.e. 'the French Revolution' as it was later named and as it appeared on the printed page. People questioned why 'it' broke out, what 'it' was intended for, why 'it' succeeded or failed. However, the reality behind the concept, what really happened and what 'it' was, was taken for granted and not very much questioned (ibid.: 80-81).

### 1.3.5. Summary: forming a nation is creating the world of generics and the anonymous

As has been discussed, the role of the press is understood as creating 'the world of generics and the anonymous'. In much the same way, Gellner argues:

In the case of nationalism (though the same is not always true of other movements), the actual formulation of the idea or ideas, the question concerning who said or who wrote precisely what, doesn't matter much. The key idea is in any case so very simple and easy that anyone can make it up almost at any time, which is partly why nationalism can claim that nationalism is *always* natural. What matters is whether the conditions of life are such as to make the idea seem compelling, rather than, as it is in most other situations, absurd (Gellner, 1983: 126).

This aspect corresponds remarkably to Japanese wartime propaganda in that:

(a) The world of the generics is constructed, where 'who did what to whom or what, when, where and why, and how' (i.e. a basic principle of transitivity, a concept of which is explained in detail in chapters 3 and 4) is simplified or even effaced or ritualized. In fact, there seems to be a tendency that the more urgent the task for mobilization becomes, the more obscured or unified the rhetoric for the description of this principle.

(b) Ideas which are absurd in ordinary settings are made to look very 'compelling' in wartime.

(c) *What* is actually said is quite a simple thing. More and more, *how* things are said, a question of style or form, matters considerably (cf. section 1.1.6. on 'form and content', section 1.1.7. 'archaic, bureaucratic language and literary texts', chapter 5 on the use of modality).

These are the main features of my research on Japanese propaganda during wartime. Gellner also discusses the role of the media in nationality-formation in the following terms:

It matters precious little what has been fed into [the media]: it is the media themselves, the pervasiveness and importance of abstract, centralized, standardized, one to many communication... The most important and persistent message is generated by the medium itself, by the role which such media has acquired in modern life. That core message is that the language and style of the transmission is important (Gellner, 1983: 127).

Thus, a national movement is an effort to integrate and 'homogenize' culture, values and attitudes in a nation under rigid state control, but in a tactically covert way. In

this movement, the point of view tends to be internal and fixed since the perspective derives from a single, limited source of national leaders who are extremely narrow-minded as opposed to a liberal statesman or an educator who is flexible and open-minded and seeks for a multi-dimensional view. Such is the ideological explanation of point of view, dealt with in section 1.2.

In much the same way, in Japan, as the war progressed, several local newspapers were merged into national, standardized and centralized ones, with an increased circulation. Subsequent sections will look into the case of Japan in more detail.

#### **1.4. Nationalism, politics and language in Japan**

Since my research examines how linguistic resources are used in wartime Japan in comparison with peacetime, it is necessary to look at specifically Japanese literature on nationalism, politics and language as background to the major argument.

##### **1.4.1. Print language and the development of nationalism**

As we saw in the last section (1.3.), national print-language is 'of central, ideological and political importance in nationality-formation' (Anderson, 1991: 67). Just to review, print-language lays the foundation for national consciousness and *creates* nationhood by presenting a sense of 'simultaneity in homogeneous, empty time' experienced by people living in the same community (ibid.: 25). Thus, print-language generates a sense of national consciousness and helps to develop a nation-state (ibid.: 46).

How is this idea applied to Japan's case during the Second World War? By the mid 1930's, due to the increase in the number of books, newspapers and magazines published, Japan had become one of the most print-conscious nations in the world (Brown, 1955: 236). A survey shows that as the war progressed and thus the need for the development of national consciousness, local newspapers were amalgamated into national ones, whose circulation indeed increased. The amalgamation was due to the government decision. The government wanted to speak through the united organs, and at the same time, attempted to save newsprint by the amalgamation. The following shows the circulation of *The Asahi Newspaper*, Japan's premier newspaper, from 1939 to 1946.

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| 1939 | 2,682,342 |
| 1940 | 3,065,750 |
| 1941 | 3,499,255 |
| 1942 | 3,722,872 |
| 1943 | 3,662,801 |
| 1944 | 3,669,370 |
| 1945 | 3,238,777 |
| 1946 | 3,337,277 |

Table 1.1 Wartime circulation of *The Asahi Newspaper*

Source: *Asahi Shinbun Hanbai 100nen Shi* (100-year history of *The Asahi Newspaper* publishing), 1979, 1980, *Asahi Shinbun Sha* (*The Asahi Newspaper* publishing Co.)

We recognize that circulation increased when mobilization was required because of Japan's entering the war and the building up of the war structure from late 1930s to the early 1940s. The decrease in circulation from 1942 to 1943 and 1944 to 1945 reflect Japan's worsening situation and the scarcity of materials. (For more details on wartime press in Japan, see section 2.3., the press censorship in wartime Japan).

#### **1.4.2. Japanese nationalism: wartime and postwar period**

As we saw in the previous section (1.3), language resources are used to match the social conditions or demands of each given period. Since I will analyse how wartime discourse in the press differs from that of peacetime, it may be necessary to look at how the nature of nationalism changed from wartime to peacetime in Japan.

In the simplest sense, nationalism in wartime is a movement directed or even created from above by the government agencies towards people below, while in the post-war period, nationalism is a more spontaneous sentiment arising from below seeking for a more comfortable life, and a better standard of living which people can not appreciate during war.

Brown (1955: 237) argues that after 1936, when the war with China broke out, the 'ultra nationalism' in Japan 'was in large part a government propelled movement which engendered feelings that included a powerful sense of mission and also a

strong fear of foreign enemies'. The nationalist thought adopted for mobilization was:

the values — and even the divine qualities — of traditional institutions, principles, and standards. *Kokutai* (that 'national entity' which encompassed all the social relationships, standards of conduct, and institutions peculiar to Japan) and the Emperor institution (the divine, hereditary head of the State Shinto Cult and the father of the Japanese state-family) were therefore the center of the thought that dealt with the nation itself (Brown, 1955: 236-237).

The revival of such traditional elements of common heritage as Shinto-ism and the Emperor institution that were incorporated in nationalist thought in the standardization process during the war, corresponds to Brass's theory of 'pool of symbols' aforementioned. Brown defines this wartime nationalism as 'emotionalism' or more precisely, 'emotional ultra-nationalism that was based on fear and that was whipped up to fanatical heights by a government' (ibid.: 278; also Maruyama 1969: 337).

#### **1.4.3. Extreme nationalism, frozen will and self-destruction**

Deutsch (1966) argues that extreme nationalism hardens the 'national will' and shuts down the 'national mind' (181). This indicates the suppression of inconvenient information in the minds of individuals which are in conflict with national unity. Such an extreme will is hard, closed, and inaccessible to any information that might interfere with national unity or a national goal (ibid.: 182). This extreme nationalism often results in 'a worship of death and a creed of suicide' (ibid.: 183) as happened in Japan and Germany. The Japanese *kamikaze* flyer during the war and his suicidal mission of attack is a conspicuous manifestation of this idea. A surprising figure shows that 'death or the dead were popular topics in 54 out of 102 songs in the official songbook of the German National Socialist Party' in the 1930s (ibid.). A similar phenomenon was observed in wartime Japan, too. Deutsch terms this 'the magic of the frozen will'. Of course, these and various other phenomena peculiar to wartime will be the results of official propaganda administered from above, and not a 'spontaneous' sentiment arising from the common people.

Since the world we live in is not in any way singular but plural or multi-phased, both in scope and substance, such a closed system could not last long. Maruyama (1969: 347) says that 'any system that lacks feedback or counter communication

from the periphery will corrupt', as is applicable to various totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany.

#### **1.4.4. Nationalism in peacetime**

In contrast to wartime nationalism that was implicitly enforced from above, in the postwar period people began to identify themselves with the nation in far 'deeper and broader' terms (Brown, 1955: 252). The abolition of the thought-control structure and the authoritarian system by democratization during the occupation period enabled the newly organized labour groups and peasants to stand up for their rights. Brown explains this in the following terms:

the center of gravity of national thought tended to shift to a lower level in Japanese society. The great mass of the people were now beginning to express national sentiment in their own terms, because the people were in direct conflict with the ruling classes on at least one very important matter — the problem of improving the standard of living (ibid.: 252-253).

The exhibition of luxurious lives abroad in imported American films enhanced this sentiment of dissatisfaction spontaneously from the bottom of society up, rather than from the top down — people wanted a better and more comfortable life. The development of the labour movement after the war was a conspicuous example of the manifestation of this national aspiration (ibid.: 255, also see section 1.4). Thus, Brown summarizes the nature of nationalism in postwar Japan in the following terms:

Nationalist thought not only was moulded into new ways of serving the nation but became a spontaneous product of popular interests, not primarily a product of officially controlled propaganda.

The new nationalism that emerged after the war was, therefore, more closely geared to the consensus of the common people. With this as a focus, aspirations for a better way of life for all Japanese became the central theme. The improvement of living standards, moreover, was considered to be principally a Japanese problem and was not tied up with antiforeign feelings. ... Instead of blaming the situation on foreigners, the Japanese turned their attention to modernization and to internal reforms that would yield a more equitable distribution of economic wealth and political power. The new nationalism was remarkably free of antiforeign feelings — in fact, there was strong upsurge of internationalism. Nationalist feelings, strangely enough, were characterized more by confidence than by fear, even though Japan had been defeated in war (Brown, 1955: 276).

Therefore, with the diminution of antiforeign sentiments felt strongly during the war, it was no longer necessary to employ and overstate 'pools of symbols' or a shared heritage or common cultural values as components of propaganda to

indoctrinate people with. This is reflected in linguistic aspects in journalism as well, in the transitivity structure and naming system as we will see in subsequent chapters.

Similarly, the organization or group with which people identified was no longer the state or work as a common national goal but rather, first the family and second the corporation where one worked (Ishida, 1983: 41). According to a 1969 survey on 'life goals' 43 per cent of the respondents showed that their primary goal was 'to have a peaceful home life' and 17 percent indicated 'devotion to my work'. Thus about half of the people claimed to be in the first place interested in 'a happy family life', and 17% devoted to work or corporation, and almost nobody wanted to contribute to national goals or commit themselves to loyalty to the higher ideal of the state (ibid.).

#### **1.4.5. Personal pronouns and naming**

The choice of pronouns and the system of naming out of various possible alternatives reflects the writer's ideological stance since the different possibilities signify different assessments of social settings by him. The labelling of them and us is important since they are the main participants in the text as causers of the events.

The subjective, internal perspective of Japanese newspapers during wartime is manifest in the abundant uses of first person plural pronouns or generic expressions, *warera* (we), *wagakuni* (our country) for self-referencing, or *kookoku*, *teekoku* (the Imperial Nation), which connotes the obfuscating mode for self-referring expressions. To refer to the enemy, *teki* (enemy), *tekikoku* (enemy's country) were used. This is a part of a 'dichotomization' device to divide and create 'our side' and 'their side'. This way of referring is strongly coloured with markers of the Japanese world-view. As Table 1.2. summarizes, deictic use of nominals or referring expressions are prominent in Japanese newspapers during war. In contrast to this, peacetime newspaper reporting has a tendency to adopt referring expressions based on a more 'objective', non-deictic, external perspective. They use 'Japan', 'Japanese' as self-referring expressions rather than 'we', and proper names such as 'the Americans', 'the British' rather than 'adversary' or 'opponents' to refer to their adversary. Of course, this does not mean that deictic expressions are not used in peacetime rhetoric in newspapers. They are, in fact, used especially in the areas of

temporal and spatial deixis such as *now, then, this, that*, etc. Nevertheless, such deictic usage of referring expressions as *we* or *them* in peacetime rhetoric is limited to times when extremely sensational events take place, as when an important, dramatic decision is made in international relations, when the Japanese people's sense of 'nationalism' is stimulated and increased. On the other hand, such subjective reference is consistent and prominent in Japanese newspaper reporting throughout the war period. This observation verifies the presence of a fixed, internal point of view during wartime versus a floating, external point of view during peacetime.

The referring expression *teki* (enemy) is deictic in the sense that it is relative to a spatio-temporal context. Just like the terms 'president' or 'king', the term *teki* may be applied to several groups of people or individuals. On the other hand, proper nouns such as 'the Japanese', 'the Americans', or 'the British', used in peacetime newspaper reporting, are not context-dependent in the same way. In this connection, Lyons draws a distinction between 'correct reference' and 'successful reference' (Lyons 1977a: 181). According to him:

One can perhaps maintain the general principle that we can refer correctly to an individual by means of a definite description only if the description is true of the individual in question. But successful reference does not depend upon the truth of the description contained in the referring expressions. The speaker...may mistakenly believe that some person is the postman, when he is in fact the professor of linguistics, and incorrectly, though successfully, refer to him by means of the expression 'the postman' (Lyons 1977a: 181-182).

In this sense, *teki* (enemy) is categorized as 'successful reference' while the 'Americans' is a 'definite description'. Thus, the former has a stronger ideological connotation than the latter in the sense that its reference involves the speaker's commitment and thus, the reference is farther removed from reality.

In general, the use of proper nouns for naming during peacetime is based on a more (though not completely) objective viewpoint than the subjective and self-centred uses of generic plurals and abstract, highly emotional references during wartime.

Table 1.2. is a summary of the naming systems in wartime and peacetime discourse in Japanese newspaper writing:

|                                 |                          | for self-referencing   | for referring to adversary  |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| <b>peacetime</b><br>(objective) |                          | <i>nihon, nihonkoku</i><br>(Japan)   | <i>beikoku</i> (US)<br><i>eikoku</i> (Britain)                    |
| <b>wartime</b><br>(subjective)  | pronouns                 | <i>warera</i> (we)<br><i>wagakuni</i><br>(our country)                               |   |
|                                 | non-pronoun<br>reference | <i>kookoku, teekoku</i><br>(Imperial Nation)<br><i>shinkoku</i><br>(the Divine Land) | <i>teki</i> (enemy)<br><i>tekikoku</i><br>(the enemy's<br>nation) |

**Table 1.2. The naming system in wartime and peacetime discourses**

#### **1.4.6. On the use of we: language of dominance and language of common right**

The importance of inclusive, generic usage of we in political discourse has been discussed widely (for example, Wilson 1990, Pennycook 1994, Fairclough 1989). We, (the Japanese) is an abstracting device, hiding 'its massive ambiguity' (Rogers and Wilentz, 1991: 240). We has the connotation of 'undifferentiated', 'unifying', 'egalitarian' whereas older vernaculars distinguished groups within society on the grounds of hierarchy or rank. Thus, the we of Japanese propaganda was a unifying device in that it embraced the entire population while at the same time reinforcing the difference between the Japanese and their enemies<sup>4</sup>. In short, we contributes to the two conflicting linguistic functions: 'language of dominance' (i.e. language to maintain hierarchical social structure with the ruler on top of it) on the one hand, and 'language of common right' (to form solidarity against the external force or the enemy) on the other, at least seemingly (Rogers and Wilentz 1991: 241). The consistent use of we for self-reference is one of the important elements of Japanese war propaganda as a unification device.

<sup>4</sup> *We* (*wareware*) in Japanese does not distinguish between *we* = same status and *we* = higher/lower or lower/higher status. As in the case of English, *we* represents a 'vague category' with an 'indeterminate meaning' (Van Dijk 1997: 218). This semantic ambiguity can be exploited to obfuscate what *we* refers to and so *we* can be used both for the 'language of dominance' and the 'language of common right'.

#### 1.4.7. Pronouns and internal fixed versus external floating point of view

How could the issue of pronouns and naming be related to the problem of point of view or authorial attitude? Despite the seeming democratic and egalitarian connotation which *we* possesses, *we* used in war propaganda was the product of political control and government supervision of the media. Therefore, the point of view is consistently from the government's side. Thus, in reality, *we* means the emperor, government and '*their* people' in a hierarchical structure in wartime propaganda. As opposed to that, in postwar rhetoric, due to the relative 'free flow of information' and to the breakdown of rigid state control, 'the points of view were disseminated' (Aldgate, 1983: 70). To reiterate Brown's comment (1955: 252), 'the centre of gravity of national thought tended to shift to a lower level in Japanese society' after the end of the war. Therefore, unlike the fixed, internal, subjective point of view from top-down in wartime as the term 'frozen will' implies, the peacetime press has been based on a more flexible, floating, external point of view, not necessarily top-down, but often bottom-up. For example, let us see an extract from the postwar period. The following is an extract from May Day in 1946, the first May Day after the war.

##### Extract 1.1

*Sekai ni wasu rekishiteki May Day*  
*Hataraku hyakuman no danketsu*  
*Minshu Nihon e chikara zuyoki zenshin*

*Kinroosha no seefu jyuritsu*  
*Kiga to kyuu boo kara kai hoo*

*Sengen*  
*Waga Nihon no roodoosha kaikyuu wa 11 nen buride May Day ni sanku shita.*  
*Konnichi no May Day koso Nihon ni hajimete no ookisa to, hajimeteno jiyuu to ni*  
*kagayaku rekishiteki May Day de aru. Daga, dooji ni genzai no wareware wa*  
*rekishi jyoo hajimete ni kurushimi o ajiwatteiru. Sumu ni ienaku, kiru-ni ifuku naku,*  
*kuu ni kome wa nai. Shikamo sensoo o takurami, sensoo de mooketa nikumu beki*  
*shihonka jinushi, kanryoo domo wa, wareware no kurushimi o heezen to nagamete,*  
*nan no temo utoo towa shinai!*

...

*Wareware wa seefu o torikae nakutewa naranai! Hataraku mono no minshu jinmin  
seefu o uchitate nakutewa naranai!*

...

*Kakushite nomi wareware kinroo taishuu wa kiga to kyuuboo kara kaihou sare,  
sekai wa heewa to eekoo ni mitasareru de aroo...*

<English translation>

Historical May Day to make peace with the world

Solidarity by 1,000,000 workers

Great progress towards democratic Japan

Establishing government of workers

Liberated from starvation and poverty

Declaration

We, the Japanese working class have participated in May Day after 11 years. Today's May Day is the biggest historical May Day, with the gleam of freedom. But we today are suffering from the biggest pain in history. No houses to live in, no clothes to wear, no rice to eat. In addition, hateful capitalists, landlords, bureaucrats, who initiated and benefited from the war, take our pain for granted, and try to do nothing to improve our conditions.

...

We should replace the government! (We) should establish a democratic government of workers...

...

Only in that way, we, working people, will be liberated from starvation and poverty, and the world will be filled with peace and glory...

(My translation; *The Asahi Newspaper*, 2 May 1946)

Here, we can recognize the 'dissemination of points of view' from wartime, when the whole nation was under rigid state control. In this discourse, what the pronoun we refers to is the 'working class' as the opposing force to the establishment. In this discourse, we can infer that opponents of we, or what is excluded by the use of we is no longer an external, foreign force as in wartime discourse, but the internal force

operating *within* that country. There are no implications of 'undifferentiated', 'unifying', 'egalitarian' 'Japanese people' like those that existed in wartime.

Such is the social background of war and post-war Japan in terms of the nature of nationalism. As my research reveals, such different social conditions are inseparable from their linguistic manifestations in the press. Unlike wartime Japan, when everyone worked hard for a common national goal, people's interests are more diversified with the foreign enemy gone in postwar years. So international competition in peacetime (in sports, politics, economics, whatever) is not a live-or-die matter. Therefore, it can be suggested that in peacetime discourse, more non-ideological, non-deliberate linguistic realizations should be expected in describing the same type of situation as in wartime.

## Chapter two

### Some aspects of Japanese culture, language and the history of the Pacific War

The propagandist is a man who canalises an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain.

Aldous Huxley, cited in Welch 1983:7

This chapter introduces some important features of Japanese culture, the history of the Pacific War and language relevant to my argument. First, some particular aspects of Japanese culture are introduced; secondly, a brief history of the Pacific War is dealt with followed by a discussion on press censorship in wartime Japan. Finally, several main features of the Japanese language are discussed, followed by discussion of some translation problems.

#### 2.1. Some features of Japanese culture

Some distinctive features of Japanese culture can be characterized from various aspects, but here I shall restrict myself to those that are considered to be the most fundamental and also relevant to my research. As opposed to the widely held view that propaganda refers to persuading people into new sets of ideas and attitudes, the essence of propaganda lies in 'reinforcing existing trends and beliefs; to sharpen and focus them' as Nazi propagandists were aware (Welch 1983: 2). Exactly the same applies to the case of Chinese Revolutionaries. Wang (1993: 588) maintains, quoting Lee:

Despite the Chinese Communist party appearing to have its ideological origins in Marxist-Leninist thought, its practices are culturally rooted. As Lee (1990) has noted, the Chinese Communist party 'supports Confucian ethos in Leninist disguise'

Similarly, Japanese wartime propaganda was built on previous cultural and social orders (Mitchell, 1976). This section introduces some aspects of Japanese culture that were to be exploited and incorporated into propagandist discourse during the war.

### 2.1.1. The group orientation and conformity

Much literature on Japanese culture agrees that the group, rather than individual is the fundamental unit of Japanese society (Gibney 1975, Reischauer 1977, Seward 1990, Ishida 1971, 1983, Christopher 1983, Benedict 1946, Nakane 1972, Mitchell 1990). The Japanese display a remarkably high level of group identification, cohesiveness and loyalty. It is commonly understood that this group orientation is rooted in the social structure of the communal life in the Japanese rural areas and the patterns of the labour requirements of wet rice agriculture in the feudal times. Ishida (1971: 39) says:

The tradition of group conformity in Japan probably originated in the communal life of rice growing villages, in which it was necessary for the villagers to cooperate closely and in which the daily life of individual farmers was usually absorbed in the life of the village.  
(adapted from Beardsley 1959)

The societal values placed heavily on this group membership did not alter even after the transformation to an urban and industrial society. After a nation-state was established, there was an attempt by the government to extend this group conformity throughout society by means of education (Ishida, *ibid.*: 39). Mitchell (1990: 8) observes that social values deriving from group identity have been successfully developed and matched in modern Japanese society. The loyalty, obligation and responsibility people used to pay to a village headman or feudal lord have been translated to loyalty to the Emperor, to parents and to elder brothers by extension. Societal values consisted of the individual's loyalty and obligation in a strict hierarchical form. The individual is expected to sacrifice himself or herself to identify with group aims. Gibney (1975) considers that most Japanese believe that the benefits of this sense of belonging to a certain group take precedence over any loss of individuality. Importantly, this emphasis on collectivity and group orientation rather than individuality as an element of cultural traits, facilitates collectivization and the language use of we and them as a dichotomizing practice in the mobilization process such as in war.

Group conformity and the Japanese work ethic have been inseparable. People were expected to be diligent and work hard for the good of the country as a collective social body. This could put heavier emphasis on the process of working hard rather than the results; 'if you work hard and try hard for long hours, you will find approval by the society even if the results of your work are mediocre' (Fromm 1988:

60). In this way, a strong sense of responsibility and duty was felt by group members to achieve their common goals. This social convention of encouraging people to be an 'undifferentiated, diligent, obedient mass' was exploited during the war, and was reflected in language structure, in particular, in the area of Aspect (discussed in chapter eight).

### **2.1.1.1. Conformity and dynamism**

The emphasis on collectivity and conformity, nevertheless, does not suggest that people's attitudes are static, or that there is an unwillingness or resistance to change the existing social order (Ishida, 1971: 37). Rather, Ishida continues:

Japanese conformity is conformity not to the static order but to the changing situation ... Japanese conformity is dynamic ...

(ibid.: 38)

According to him, along with the establishment of a nation-state, the traditional warrior ethic, which put stress on the importance of dynamic action rather than passive adjustment to the present situation, was incorporated as a significant part of the national morality (ibid.: 39). Ishida further analyses that it is competition that makes Japanese conformity dynamic. Competition means conflict that exists within a conformity or between conformities. Such group conformity together with the principle of competition or dynamism, is an explanation of Japanese ultra-nationalism during the Second World War and the miraculous economic development in the postwar period. According to Ishida's (1983: 31) analysis:

In a conformity-conscious society like Japan, competition takes the form of competition to prove one's loyalty, whether to the emperor or to the state, and thus embodies accommodation to the prevailing social order...

### **2.1.1.2. Conformity and exclusivity**

Such a strong sense of loyalty to the group one belongs to necessarily leads to the exclusive nature of Japanese groups (Christopher, 1983). Group commitments are often felt to be long-term ones traditionally, even life-long ones in many cases, and so it was observed that each family, each school, each community, and each religious group or organization is an exclusive entity (Mitchell 1990: 20). Such a clear-cut distinction of *uchi* (in-group people) and *soto* (out group people) is one of

the important features that characterize Japanese culture<sup>1</sup>. Japanese so-called politeness and graciousness are often displayed to those whom they consider to be 'in-group people', and much indifference is shown to 'out group people'. This exclusivity is extended to a provincial (narrow-minded) sense of nationalism at the highest and worst level and distanced the Japanese people from the International Community during the Second World War (Mitchell 1990: 20).

### **2.1.2. Hierarchy and the Emperor**

Japanese social institutions are characterized by hierarchical arrangements or ranking to a degree quite unique in the world. In any social organization, family, company and social relationships, there is a ranking of members commonly accepted in terms of seniority (for details, see Nakane 1972). Societal values consisted of the individual's loyalty, commitment and obligation in hierarchical form. In that complex hierarchy, the Emperor used to be situated at the highest level and commoners were viewed as 'his people' until the end of the war. In the Great Japan Imperial Constitution which was enforced in 1890, effective until 1945, the status of the Emperor was defined as follows:

Chapter 1:

Article 1: Great Japan Empire shall be governed by the Emperor.

...

Article 3: The Emperor shall be sacred and inviolable.

'Every movement that would recruit its followers from among many discordant and divergent bands' or from many half-hearted supporters 'must have some spot towards which all roads lead' (Burke 1984: 62). Japan's wartime leaders selected the Emperor and Shintoism as the materialization of their unifying effort. The Pacific War was fought on the rhetoric that the Emperor was 'carrying out His will' although in reality he did not possess executive power (Benedict 1946: 31). His fabricated divinity was created, reinforced and used by leaders. One soldier explained later that 'the Emperor led the people into war, and it was my duty to obey to accomplish his sacred will' (ibid.). Dying for the Emperor at the Emperor's

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<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to note that in-group and out-group membership differentiation can be shifting in daily lives. According to the context of moment, the appropriate group-membership becomes one's in-group and everyone else the out-group. For example, if Ms. Yamada is speaking to her office manager about her own father, she and her father form an in-group as against the manager. But the manager becomes a member of her in-group in a situation where she is speaking to someone who has no connection with her or her company (Jordan and Noda 1987: 20-21).

command was viewed as an honour for the Japanese. The Emperor commanded soldiers, e.g. *kamikaze* flyers to contribute their lives for the sake of the nation although in reality his name and authority were simply used by the military. Most important announcements and declarations during wartime were made in the form of Imperial Rescripts. Indeed, both the Emperor and unrestricted loyalty to him were indivisible in the Japanese mind. Benedict explains the inseparable relationship between the Emperor and Japanese people in the terms: 'the Emperor was the symbol of the Japanese people, the centre of their religious lives. He was a supra-religious object' (Benedict 1946: 32). His words were considered to be as sacred as sacred can be. People fought to 'fulfill the wishes of His Imperial Majesty' and to 'demonstrate their respect for His Imperial benevolence' by dying for him (ibid.: 33). Thus, the Emperor, as the highest being in the hierarchy, was a consecrated and obfuscated unifying centre for mobilization during war.

The emphasis on one's 'proper place' in a hierarchical structure within a nation was extended into the spheres of international relations (ibid.: 52-53). The desire to establish Japan's 'proper place' in the international sphere led to major disagreement and even to war. The concept of hierarchy is crucial in understanding the Japanese social structure and the events that led Japan to enter the Second World War. This value of hierarchical, vertical social apparatus with the Emperor at the apex to whom all Japanese should dedicate themselves, was exploited by wartime leaders to match the causes of mobilization. Maruyama explains this in the following terms:

The identification of morality with power and the constant stress on proximity to the Emperor have an important effect on people's attitudes to their duties. Pride in carrying out one's duties were based not so much on any sense of horizontal specialization (that is, division of labour) as on a consciousness of vertical dependence on the ultimate value. The various pathological phenomena that arose from this state of affairs are perfectly exemplified by the Japanese armed forces. The entire educational apparatus of the military establishment was directed towards cultivating this sort of 'vertical' pride. The primary policy was to identify the armed forces as being the mainstay of the nation, in that 'the military are the essence of the nation and occupy the principal position therein' (Armed Forces Education Order). The sense of superiority that the military felt towards the 'provincials' (as they so pointedly described civilians) was unmistakably based on the concept of being an *Imperial* force (Maruyama, 1969: 14, original italics).

In this way, a characteristic of Japanese nationalism is that it constantly struggled to 'base its control on internal values; rather than on authority or values deriving from external laws or an external legal system' (Maruyama, op.cit.: 4). This is in contrast

with the West, where struggle for national power 'after the Reformation was based on formal, external sovereignty' (ibid.: 5).

### 2.1.3. Japan's no-surrender policy, the warrior ethic and *haji* (shame)

As essential background to my analysis of transitivity and theme, Japan's no-surrender policy and warrior ethic should be introduced. Unlike Western soldiers, Japanese soldiers were told to choose to kill themselves rather than to survive to be captured 'in humiliation'. This attitude goes back to the *samurai's* (warrior's) all or nothing philosophy. It was considered to be *haji* (shame) to live as a prisoner of the enemy. *Haji* is the basis of Japanese virtue. 'A man who knows shame' (*haji o shiru hito*) or 'a man who has a sense of shame' is translated 'virtuous man' or 'a man of honour'. By contrast, 'a man who knows no shame' is translated *hajishirazu* or a 'man who has no sense of shame' (Benedict 1946: 224).

There have been interesting attempts to describe concepts existing in cultures other than in English-speaking countries, integrating studies of linguistics, cultural anthropology and cognitive science. Considering culture from a universal, language-independent perspective, Wierzbicka (1992) proposes the idea of 'natural semantic metalanguage' based on the concept of lexical universals. The metalanguage is composed of universal semantic primitives or Whorf's 'common stock of concepts' (Whorf, 1956: 36) on the basis of which an accurate description and comparison can be made as regards all meanings including the most culture-specific ones (Wierzbicka 1992). Her theoretical framework was applied to the analysis of Japanese culture and semantic analysis of *hazukashii* (the adjective form of *haji*) was made as follows:

#### Meaning of *hazukashii*

X = a person, Y = an event

X feels *hazukashii*=

X feels *hazukashii* as a person does when:

Y happened to X when X was with other people

X would not have wanted Y to happen

X thinks that other people are thinking of X because of this

X does not want other people to think of X

X does not want other people to see X because of this  
X feels something bad because of that

(Bramely 1987: 69)

This ethic can be compared to the avoidance of sin in Western ethics. In Japanese religious philosophy, a person will not be punished in the afterlife depending on one's merit in this life. To Japanese, judgment is made by the public on what he did, not by 'being right with God'; he directs himself to the verdict of others and acts upon it (Benedict, 1946: 224). Japanese have to be careful that their actions and behaviour will not deviate from socially accepted behaviour since 'shameful acts' will result in mockery and ostracism from a cohesive group entity. *Haji* can be avoided through observing proper social norms, and it is also an important factor in preserving the Japanese hierarchy of 'things in their proper place'. To be captured by the enemy, or to admit defeat, and to survive as 'prisoner of war' were viewed as a major *haji* in the Japanese ethic during war. People needed badly to win respect of other people (ibid.: 173). The following proverb exemplifies this concept.

(2.1) *Iki haji kaku yori shinu ga mashi.*

'It is better to die than to live in shame'.

The idea that it is better to die than to live in *haji* (shame) shows the great weight that is placed on *haji* (Bramely 1987: 71). Such an ethic is also illustrated in the following family journal<sup>2</sup>. When Okinawa was annihilated in June 1945 its editor wrote:

### **Extract 2.1.**

#### **The magnificent final stage of Lieutenants Ushijima and Naga**

Okinawa's Commander in Chief, Lieutenant Ushijima and his major advisor Lieutenant Naga, concluding that the final stage had come to our military, ordered all our troops to make total attacks ... They (Ushijima and Naga) committed *harakiri*, cutting their stomach in a cross. Just like the way of *seppuku* conducted by warriors in olden times, they had a praiseworthy last moment. Compare this with the final stages of German leaders, whom we had believed to be our

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<sup>2</sup> The quotation was taken from a family journal which Mr. H.K. edited during the war. He regularly issued a family journal, describing daily life in Tokyo which he sent to his children and nephews who were then evacuated in a school group to the countryside to avoid air raids in the city.

honourable allies. As might be expected of a great man, Hitler killed himself. However, other major German leaders were to our regret captured by the enemy! Even as great a man as Mussolini of Italy was captured and killed by the enemy. What a dishonourable end! It is quite nonsense to call them 'heroes'. No Japanese, by contrast, wants to survive as a prisoner of our enemy. If in a desperate situation, it is the Japanese spirit to kill himself. Such magnificent ends as those of Lieutenant Ushijima and Naga represent the hearts and souls of all Japanese. Recently Americans were frightened by Japanese greatness. They have come to understand that the Japanese never say 'we give in' till the very last. ... No matter how much they continue bombing, the Japanese set our teeth and never admit defeat. Then the enemy has to yield to such persistence.

(H.K. 1 July 1945; translation mine)

#### **2.1.4. Some contradictory aspects of Japanese culture and their relevance to language**

It is commonly believed that Japanese people are polite, modest and understated. They are indeed so in normal settings in order to maintain and promote group harmony and fellow feelings. Nevertheless, as the past history of their ultra-nationalism and postwar economic development illustrates, they can also be competitive, dynamic and even aggressive at times. On these contradictions, Benedict notes in her book *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*;

Both the sword (as representation of the 'top prestige of the warrior') and the chrysanthemum (as portrait of 'cult of Japanese aestheticism') are a part of the picture. The Japanese are, to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new ways. They are terribly concerned about what other people will think of their behavior, and they are also overcome by guilt when other people know nothing of their misstep. Their soldiers are disciplined to the hilt but are also insubordinate.

(Benedict, 1946: 2-3)

Dower (1986: 121) also observes that 'seemingly paradoxical behaviour such as extreme politeness and extreme brutality was presented as two sides of the same culturally minted coin'.

How can we account for such contradictions? Three possible answers are suggested by the combination of the culture of conformity with the system of 'in-group' and

'out-group', or the competitive streak in Japanese culture or finally with a fanatical element in the Japanese population.

#### **2.1.4.1. Conformity in a closed 'In-group'<sup>3</sup>**

##### ***Uchi and soto (in-group and out-group people)***

As mentioned above, the dichotomizing concept of *uchi* and *soto* is one of the important Japanese cultural traits. The contradictions may be accounted for partly using this concept of dichotomization; the Japanese are polite and gracious towards people of *uchi*, while indifferent or sometimes even aggressive to those they consider to be people of *soto*.

#### **2.1.4.2. Conformity and competition**

As already discussed, Ishida links the seeming contradiction between conformity (static aspect) and competition (dynamism). He argues that conformity does not impede competition, but rather in reality enhances it. He argues:

... more important here is the fact that competition among the workers themselves is not destructive of conformity, since it is competition in loyalty to the company. In this way, competition results in unanimity of effort. This sort of competition is not an indication of individualism in the strict sense; it is rather the obverse of group conformity: the orientation of the members of the group is not toward individual achievement, but toward merit acquired by individual contribution to the goal of the group.

(Ishida., *ibid.*: 39)

#### **2.1.4.3. Conformity and fanaticism**

How does such a drive for competition derive from conformity? From the viewpoint of a psychoanalyst, Moloney (1954) in *Understanding the Japanese mind*, makes an integrative analysis to relate the concept of Japanese conformity to insanity or fanaticism. He argues:

Whenever there is rigidity (from the pressure of conformity), there is always an underlying resentment, bitterness or hatred; among the Japanese this may be seen in their more recent criminal codes and in their earlier attitudes towards criminal behaviour (*ibid.*: 31).

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<sup>3</sup> This concept derives from Ishida (1983)

In the same way, Dower (1986: 121) suggests that 'Japanese aggression against other countries, and the atrocities or fanatic behaviour of its fighting men, were seen as predictable outcomes of restrictive domestic pressures and controls'. So Japanese wartime behaviour can be understood as 'a comprehensible outlet for the discharge of hatred in a time of great confusion and frustration' (ibid.: 30-31). Political leaders sometimes take advantage of people's fanaticism for a mobilization drive. For example, Hitler said 'only a fanatic audience can be controlled' (1996 TV programme, Japan Broadcasting Corporation, *Hitler*). Benedict observes the connection between the Japanese norm of 'conformity' and 'fanatical' acts during the war, and explains how 'conformity' led people to fanaticism in the following terms:

When everybody is playing the game by the same rules and mutually supporting each other, the Japanese can be light-hearted and easy. They can play the game with fanaticism when they feel it is one which carries out the 'mission' of Japan. They are most vulnerable when they attempt to export their virtues into foreign lands where their own formal signposts of good behaviour do not hold (Benedict 1946: 224-225).

### 2.1.5. Cultural contradictions and language

The contradictions between conformity and dynamism as elements of Japanese cultural features, are reflected in the structure and usage of the Japanese language, too. It seems widely believed that the Japanese language has a tendency to be a polite, modest, vague, indirect, and above all, *agent-less* language, which attempts to avoid explicitness and directness, and to efface who or what is responsible for a certain act or behaviour. In *Language of 'do' and 'become'*, Ikegami (1981) argues that Japanese is an agent-effacing language, which emphasizes the 'become' element to suggest that things take place as a result of spontaneity in a situation, rather than a 'do' language like English, which clarifies who is intentionally doing some act. For example, instead of saying:

(1) *Watashitachi wa kondo kekkon shimasu*  
we TP this time marry do

'We are getting married'

the more common and generally preferred expression is

(2) *Watashitachi wa kondo kekkon suru koto ni narimashita*  
we TP this time marry do thing to become-PERF  
'At us became to getting married'

(2) minimizes agentivity, an element which includes 'volition, active-energy input and responsibility or culpability' (Cruse 1973), as exemplified by the use of the verb '*nari*' (become: *nari* is an inflected form of *naru*). Instead of conveying the same proposition as in (1), (2) connotes that the marriage had been contracted naturally without the volition and action of the participants involved (Tosu 1985: 33). This aspect of the Japanese language demonstrates contrast with English, which has a general tendency to put an emphasis on agentivity (individuality) and the 'doing' aspect.

Ikegami's observation is indeed, correct; the Japanese prefer 'becoming' types of expressions as in the above example, to 'doing' types of expression. This tendency corresponds to the 'chrysanthemum' aspect of the Japanese culture, to use Benedict's terms. But Ikegami's theory of Japanese language applies only to a restricted scope: i.e. normal usage. When the other contradictory aspect of Japanese culture, i.e. the 'aggressive' or 'sword' aspect, becomes salient, the language becomes more explicit accordingly; it changes from the 'becoming' aspect being emphasized to the 'doing' dimension being stressed. In such a case, agentivity or 'explicitness' or the deviant aspect takes precedence over emphasis on the 'natural and spontaneous process'.

These are some of the cultural traits of the Japanese that were to be exploited and merged into propagandistic discourse during the war. Social change is possible when it is situated in the continuation line of the pre-existing cultural and social heritage, just as in the cases of Nazi Germany and Maoist China.

These cultural aspects, as important background assumptions, will be related to linguistic realisations in subsequent chapters. The importance of 'hierarchy' will be connected to the issue of 'modality', and 'no-surrender policy, the warrior ethic and *haji*' to the subjects of transitivity and thematization.

## 2.2. A brief history of the Pacific War

As discussed in the Introduction, language creates and is created by situation. Putting this assumption into a context of history, it may be stated that language has a dialectical relationship with social and historical reality in the double sense of 'reflecting and influencing' it (cf. Fowler 1991a: 91). If this is so, it is important to look briefly at the social and historical background of Japan around the Second World War since we shall look into the newspaper styles especially at critical stages of the war. The following is a brief account of Japan during the Pacific War based on Shillony (1981). The data of war reports for my analysis are drawn from Japanese newspaper accounts, 1941-1945. What is worth noting is that accurate figures of casualties were not mentioned in the national press.

To counter the economic 'containment' by the Americans, Japan, allied with Germany and Italy, originally entered the war against the U.S. and Britain on the 8th of December 1941, following its 'surprise' and 'successful' attack on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii. After this, Japan successfully won battles and kept conquering places in Asia until 1942: Guam and Hong Kong in December 1941, Manila, Singapore, Java, Rangoon, Mandalay, Corregidor in 1942. However, the expanded Japanese territory created fighting fronts which were beyond Japan's economic capacity: the Aleutians in the north, the Solomons in the South, and Burma to the West. After the devastating defeat of Japan's combined fleet at Midway in June 1942, which proved to be a turning point for Japan's war effort, the whole war situation started to deteriorate for Japan. Following this, Japan continuously lost battles and suffered heavy casualties in various places: the Solomons from August to November 1942, Guadalcanal in February 1943, in which 24,600 died, Attu in the Aleutians in May 1943, where the entire Japanese garrison, totalling about 2,000 soldiers in number perished, Saipan in July 1943, and Iwo Island in February 1945. In August 1944, Americans started heavy air raids on Tokyo, where industries were destroyed one after another. In March 1945, Americans landed at Okinawa, where 110,000 combatants and 100,000 noncombatants died. In August 1945 atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Just after that, the Soviet Union declared war against Japan. On 15 August 1945, the Emperor finally accepted the Potsdam Declaration and officially surrendered.

### 2.2.1. Rationale of entering the war

Since the discourse of war propaganda is inseparable from the cultural and social structure of a given period of history, it is important to look at what causes or rhetoric drove Japan into the war.

Japan originally entered the war to drive the U.S., Britain and Russia from Asia, and to establish a new world order based on a plan of forming the Greater East Asia. Thus, the war was called 'the War for Greater East Asia' during the war.<sup>4</sup> According to Benedict, Japan conceived the international situation in the following way:

There was anarchy in the world as long as every nation had absolute sovereignty; it was necessary for her to fight to establish a hierarchy — under Japan. ... [S]he alone represented a nation truly hierarchical from top to bottom and hence understood the necessity of taking 'one's proper place.' ... [A]ccording to Japanese premises of hierarchy, [Japan should] raise her backward young brother China. (Benedict, 1946: 21) (cf. section 2.1, 'Some aspects of Japanese culture')

From a racial point of view, some studies emphasize the idea that the motive of the Japanese war effort was to 'establish a Japanese Racial World', with the Japanese at the top. For example, in *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, Dower (1986) says that the foundation of the racial world view emanating from the Japanese was 'the rhetoric of "one's proper place" that runs like a deep current through all discussion of their role as the "leading race"' (ibid.: 211). What follows is the view that as the Japanese were the superior race, 'the "proper place" of the Japanese was one of absolute leadership' (ibid.: 220).

By contrast, the Americans saw the international situation in a different light. They attributed the cause of the war to the aggression of the Axis: Japan, Italy and Germany. They had been threatening international peace and order by their acts of conquest and aggression in Europe and Asia, and so the Americans concluded that they should take action to prevent their ambition (Benedict, op.cit.: 20-21). As we will see, such rhetorical differences will be manifested in language in the press, especially in the form of transitivity patterns.

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<sup>4</sup> It was renamed 'the Pacific War' after the war because of the imperialistic connotation of the former.

## 2.3. Press censorship in wartime Japan

In time of war journalists are the front-line fighters in the ideological war, and newspapers are the ideological bullets.

(Hoojyoo Seeichi of *The Nichi Nichi Newspaper*, Hoojyoo 1942: 2, cited in Shillony 1981: 98)

It is best to inform the people of the news that does not cause disturbance.

(Eeji Amoo, President of the Information Bureau, May 1943 cited in Shillony 1981: 91)

### 2.3.1. The wartime press in Japan

When Japan entered the Second World War, its mass media networks were among the most developed in the world. The most sophisticated media among them was the press. Shillony (1981: 91) reports that about nineteen million copies of different newspapers were sold daily in Japan, averaging more than one newspaper per household. In Shillony's survey, the newspapers were divided into the large national newspapers, which were published seven days a week twice daily, and the small or local newspapers. The national newspapers had a daily circulation of about seven million copies in total and provided for all classes<sup>5</sup> (ibid.). Japanese premier newspaper, the largest and the most influential was the *Asahi*. The second largest in circulation and influence were *Mainichi* newspaper of Osaka and its sister newspaper, the *Nichi nichu* newspaper of Tokyo. The third largest and most prestigious was the *Yomiuri*.

The production system of newspapers was quite advanced. The national newspaper hired hundreds of reporters in Japan and abroad, and they sent out their reports by telephone and telegraph. In addition, the large national newspapers published regional editions that were printed at the same time in different parts of the country

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<sup>5</sup> The estimated circulation of leading dailies in Japan (national pop. 72.9 million (1942))

|                    |           |                   |           |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| Tokyo: Tokyo Asahi | 1,100,000 | Tokyo Nichi Nichi | 1,000,000 |
| Yomiuri            | 1,000,000 | Chugai Shogyo     | 150,000   |
| Kokumin            | 150,000   | Hochi             | 300,000   |
| Osaka: Osaka Asahi | 1,300,000 | Osaka Mainichi    | 1,200,000 |

**Table 2.1. The circulation of newspapers in Japan, 1941-1942**

(*The Japan Year Book* 1941-1942, The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, The Japan Times Press, 721)

(ibid.: 91-92). Nevertheless, during wartime, there was not much difference between newspapers since most of them contained reports issued by The Imperial War Headquarters, which had the same highly nationalistic tone, and there was a nationally unified censorship system, as will be discussed below.

### **2.3.2. Government control of the press**

After 1937, following the outbreak of the China War, the government increased the control of newspapers and recommended the publishers of small dailies to stop their publication or to combine with a view to save newsprint, and to facilitate control (*The Japan Year Book*, 1941-1942: 719). In September 1940 the Tokyo and Osaka branches of *The Asahi Newspaper* were combined to create *The Asahi Newspaper*.

In October 1942, the government came to a decision to cut down further the number of local newspapers by restricting each prefecture to only one local newspaper. These local amalgamations increased the circulation of the national newspapers, with people switching from local newspapers to national ones, which provided more extensive coverage of the war (Shillony 1981: 92). In this way, the circulation of local newspapers decreased by one half, from about 12 million before the war to about 6 million in 1944 while the circulation of national newspapers, such as *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri-Hoochi* increased during the war although marginally. In December 1941, when Japan entered the Pacific War, the government directed the national newspapers to establish a joint distribution company. This restrained the competition that had been severe among newspapers until the war since the newly-established company divided the profits in accordance with the newspapers' share of total circulation (ibid.).

The press and the political and economic élite of Japan had collaborated intimately. Despite some conflict between them on fundamental problems such as foreign relations, the pre-war newspapers were inclined to back up the official government attitudes, and in this way formed a public consensus that supported the government policy. Because of this, the press and public opinion came to be 'united behind the nation-in-arms against the hostile West'. This process was enhanced by the outbreak of war with China, and later with the US and the UK (ibid.: 93).

Despite these intimate links between the government officials and the press, there had been laws for the government to censor newspapers since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 as follows:

|            |                                 |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1875       | Newspaper Ordinance             |
| 1893       | Publication Law                 |
| 1885, 1909 | Newspaper Law                   |
| 1899       | Military Secrets Protection Law |
| 1925       | Peace Preservation Law          |

(Mitchell 1976)

The government control over the press strengthened after the expansion of the Sino-Japanese conflict which took place in 1937 (Mitchell, 1976: 161). The collaboration of the press with the wartime regime was not only because of convictions but also coercion (Shillony, 1981: 97). The following is the chronology of major censorship regulations issued by the government as Japan moved towards the war, from late 1930s to early 1940s.

1937: All items concerning national economy and foreign relations were designated state secrets that could not be published without the prior consent of the government.

January 1941: The Newspaper and Publication Control Ordinance authorized the government to issue guidelines to newspapers, and punish them if they failed to abide by them.

March 1941: The National Security Law imposed severe penalties for revelation of any information which could help enemies of Japan.

19 December 1941: (eleven days after the outbreak of the Pacific War)  
The Press, Publications, Assembly, and Association Special Control Law passed in the Diet, which banned all unauthorized publications, assemblies or organizations.

(Shillony, op.cit.: 93)

Censorship of newspapers was supervised by several government departments, including the Foreign Ministry or the Ministry of Great East Asia, or the Censorship Department of the Home Ministry Police Bureau. Government policy for handling war reports had two functions: 1) concealing unwanted news, 2) exaggerating and disseminating 'positive' information and commentaries (ibid.: 93-94).

In September 1937, following the outbreak of the China War, the government established the Cabinet Information Office. At a meeting on 13 February, 1940, the Cabinet Information Office worked out plans to regulate the newspaper world. It decided to carry out the following points to make newspapers adhere strictly to the official government plans, by:

- (1) appealing to their moral sense
- (2) legal pressure
- (3) administrative disposition
- (4) using control of paper as a carrot and a stick

(Mitchell, 1983: 304-305)

The Cabinet concluded that as a matter of fact, 'the control of newspapers would be the most powerful weapon' (ibid.: 305).

### **2.3.3. The establishment of the Information Bureau**

On 5th December 1940, the role of Cabinet Information Office was radically expanded by the Imperial Ordinance No. 846 and the Office was upgraded into a super agency called the Cabinet Information Bureau (*Naikaku Jyohookyoku*). The government's intention here was to unite all the aspects of the censorship apparatus under the Cabinet's direct supervision by enlarging this agency's scale and functions, in order to effect total control of mass media and public opinion (ibid.: 306). The Cabinet Information Bureau was directed by a president who was responsible directly to the Prime Minister, and dealt with guidance of the media, public information and overseas propaganda. The Information Bureau supervised editors over 'what should be printed, how the news should be presented, and who could interpret it' (Shillony op.cit.: 94). War bulletins were nevertheless the responsibility of the Press Department of Imperial Headquarters (*Daihon'ee Hoodoobu*) since the Information Bureau handled mainly civilian matters. The

Press Department of the Imperial Headquarters was composed of the press sections of the army and the navy (ibid.).

The government wanted to control all newspapers 'through an umbrella organization' (ibid.) rather than handling each newspaper directly. Under official patronage, the Japanese Newspaper League was set up in May 1941. Most of the newspapers joined it. It was led by the major newspapers, and its main work was to allocate newsprint. In February 1942, the League was elevated into the Japan Newspapers Association (*Nihon Shinbun Kai*), where the Information Bureau was much more influential. This Association regulated the newspapers' management, editing, sales, newsprint allocation, and the accreditation of journalists throughout the war (ibid.: 95).

#### 2.3.4. Distortion of war news

The Information Bureau outlined the policy on censorship of war reports, and gave the following directives to newspaper publishers just after Tokyo was first bombed from the air by the Americans on 18 April 1942:

- (a) Do not report casualties other than those officially announced.
- (b) Do not report casualties which would be likely to give tragic and pessimistic impressions to public opinion.
- (c) Do not describe our losses in detail.
- (d) Do not describe victims from air raids in panic and confusion.
- (e) Do not display photographs of dead bodies or the wounded being carried away.
- (f) Do not display photographs of a dead body.
- (g) Do not write about rumours of the arrival of the enemy planes.
- (h) Do not write other things which would be likely to benefit the enemy.

(my translation; Strict Secrecy Censorship Report vol. 4 issued at Censorship Department in the Makeup Department, Asahi Newspaper Tokyo Headquarters, in April 1942, *Asahi Shinbunsha shi, Taishoo, Showa, Senzen Hen*: 1991: 586 see also, Yamanaka, 1989: 121-122)

The newspaper publishers abided by this policy throughout the war (Yamanaka, 1989: 22). With the spread of the war, the pressure on censorship became stronger from the military and the Imperial War Headquarters, and censorship increased (*Asahi shinbunsha shi*, 1991: 586-587). For example, when Tokyo suffered the first

American air-raids, no specific casualty figures were reported. The newspaper of that day simply reported as follows:

At the first air-raids, one million people excitedly opened their spirits  
Enemy's planes burned, fell and scattered  
People successfully protected themselves, saying 'we are determined to put  
out fires by ourselves!', and sang a triumphant song, looking up towards the  
sky. (my translation; *The Asahi Newspaper*)

Similarly, when Tokyo suffered a devastating air raid on 10 March 1945, which killed approximately 80,000 people and destroyed a quarter of a million houses, the government in fear of breaking down the public morale, forbade the circulation of metropolitan newspapers outside big cities, to conceal what had actually happened from people in other cities. But the tragic news was spread in the countryside by the millions of refugees who fled from the bombed cities (Shillony, op.cit.: 106).

The same information manipulation was exercised on the reporting of fighting overseas. Whilst the Japanese forces were winning, it was not necessary to distort the news. But when the retreat began, what happened was a gradual decrease in the reliability of the official statements. Clearly, the officials considered public morale to be more important than pursuing and reporting the 'truth', as is the case with most countries at war (ibid.: 95). This was exemplified in the official report on the battle of Midway in June 1942. This battle marked the turning point of the war for Japan. Despite Japan's disastrous losses in the battle, Imperial Headquarters reported the battle as a 'naval victory'. Another big defeat on Guadalcanal was also described as a 'military success' (ibid.: 96). But in February 1943, the public realised that the Japanese forces on the island had accomplished a 'sideward advance' called *tenshin* (ibid.). *Tenshin* is an example of obfuscating military terminology; it means that a garrison gave up a position in fighting, and moved to another position. The term can even suggest 'defeat' but it has a positive connotation on the surface. As another example to indicate the unreliability of wartime announcements, the death of well-known Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, who was shot down over the Pacific in April 1943, was reported as many as five weeks after his death. *The Asahi Newspaper* reported this death on 22 May 1943, in a glorifying style as follows:

Magnificent!

Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto died in action on the plane.

The way to the victory is certain.

His distinguished military dedication will not perish forever.

(my translation; *Asahi*, 22 May 1943)

In this way, defeat in battle or the deaths of major commanders were not directly or explicitly announced as defeat or loss. The first major defeat acknowledged by the government was the fall of the island of Attu in the Aleutians in May 1943. In it the entire Japanese garrison of about 2,000 soldiers perished. They fought to the last man against an American force that outnumbered them five to one (Shillony, op.cit.: 231). In the aftermath of the battle, a new expression, *gyokusai* was coined, which literally means 'smashing of the jewel', meaning 'heroic fighting to the end' (ibid.: 96). The term *gyokusai* derives from the Chinese classical language and refers to the moral quality of self-sacrifice. Specifically, this expression originates in a line in the sixth-century Chinese history *Chronicles of Northern Ch'i*, in which it was read that the man of moral superiority prefers to see his precious jade smashed rather than to compromise to save the roof tiles of his home (Dower 1986: 231). When that term was first introduced by the government, it was not a familiar word. But soon it was placed in the context of war discourse and became an item in the daily popular lexicon of war. The ethic which the term conveys is that choosing to die heroically in battle is an honourable act, while to surrender is a dishonourable, shameful act (ibid.: 232). The term *gyokusai* conveys the connotation that the dead are not conceived as having suffered a defeat, but as having conducted an honourable act. As the coinage of this term suggests, even the report on the defeat at Attu was presented as if the soldiers were not really defeated. The same was true of other defeats that followed.

By contrast, announcements about the war in Europe were likely to be more objective than those about the war in the Pacific for the simple reason that the outcome of the announcements would not seriously affect the public morale in Japan as much as that in the Pacific would. Despite the fact that 'the German announcements were given full display and credit', the Japanese newspapers also printed the Russian version since Russia was not an enemy country until the very last stage of the war (8th August, 1945). Correspondents stationed in Moscow or Kuibishev often had their reports printed. Thus, the Japanese people were aware of the Russian offensives in Eastern Europe and of American advances in the Western

Europe. Eyewitnesses reported the bombing of Berlin by the Allied forces, which involved the destruction of the Japanese embassy there in January 1944 (Shillony, 1981: 96). These reports on Japan's allies will be another dimension of my research, in comparison with those concerning Japan and the Pacific war.

It was considered to be taboo to propose surrender or even a negotiated peace because this 'war was to be fought until the end' (ibid.: 97). The following extracts from current newspapers indicate this mood.

- Victory is absolutely certain. (Asahi, 2 February, 1943)
- People entirely trust the government policy. (Asahi, 17 July, 1944)
- The Japanese spirit prevails over the Solomon Islands, which would intimidate the enemy. (Asahi, 13 February, 1943)
- The ambition of Britain and America is cleared away.

The ideal of the founding of the nation has been realized. (Asahi, 3 February, 1943)

Even when the Italians surrendered in September 1943, this mood did not change:

- Even if the Italians betray our treaty, Imperial Japan is firmly convinced of victory. One hundred million desire solidarity in one united spirit. (Asahi, 10 September, 1943)

The official attitude, as clarified in the newspapers was that if America dared to invade Japan, all Japanese people would fight to the last for the noble cause of protecting the homeland. It was believed that such a determined and united spirit would frighten and destroy the invaders (Shillony, op.cit.: 97). Thus, reports, commentary and criticisms could be accepted if they were oriented towards justifying or encouraging the war effort, but not if they doubted or opposed the need for war (ibid.: 101).

## 2.4. General introduction to the Japanese language: typological characterization of the Japanese language

Since data for my research are mostly drawn from Japanese newspapers in Japanese, it is essential to describe some of the basic characteristics of the Japanese language in contrast with the English language.

### 2.4.1. Basic word order: SOV construction<sup>6</sup>

As opposed to English which uses the SVO syntactic structure, Japanese has one of SOV (Greenberg 1966). Word order in the sentence is relatively free as long as verbs occur in sentence final position (the verb-final constraint) (Kuno 1978: 57-58). Examples of Japanese sentences, along with their word order, are presented below. After the Japanese word order, the canonical word order of English translation is given.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (2.2) <i>John ga hon o yonda.</i><br>John SB book AC read-PERF<br>'John read a book'                         | Japanese: SOV<br>English: SVO             |
| (2.3) <i>John ga Mary ni hon o yatta.</i><br>John SB Mary to book AC give-PERF<br>'John gave Mary a book'    | Japanese: S IO DO V<br>English: S V IO DO |
| (2.4) <i>John ga hon o Mary ni yatta.</i><br>John SB book AC Mary to give-PERF<br>'John gave a book to Mary' | Japanese: S DO IO V<br>English: S V DO IO |

(2.3) and (2.4) are identical in terms of their propositional content, but are slightly different in discursal presupposition. As is the case with English, constituents that express given information precede those that express newer information (ibid.). *Ga*, *o* and *ni* are postpositional particles that denote the nominative, accusative and dative case respectively.

### 2.4.2. Parts of speech<sup>7</sup>

The lexicon of Japanese language has been traditionally divided into two major categories, 'free words' and 'bound forms', as taught at school. Free words are independent units that can combine together to form a sentence, and include nouns,

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<sup>6</sup> See 'the list of abbreviations' at beginning of the thesis for abbreviations used.

<sup>7</sup> I base the description of parts of speech on Komai and Rohlich (1991: 1-4).

verbs and adjectives. Bound forms are those forms that are not used by themselves and those that are attached to a free word or another bound form. Examples of bound forms are particles and auxiliary verbs (also called inflecting suffixes). In the following sentence, free words are marked by underlining.

(2.5) Kyoo gakkoo no            taiikukan        de dansu o    odori-mashita.  
 today school GEN        gymnasium    in dance AC dance-PERF  
 'We danced in school gymnasium today.'

*Odori* is an inflected form of the verb *odoru*. Since 'odoru' is a free word, *odori* is a free word, too. Free words are further divided into two groups depending on the presence or absence of inflection. 'Free words with inflection' are words that may stand on their own to be the predicate of a sentence, such as verbs, adjectives and pseudo-adjectives. A definition of pseudo-adjectives in Japanese varies. Here pseudo-adjectives are defined as compound forms that consist of adjectival nouns and a copula. For instance, *shizukada* (quiet) can be considered as a compound consisting of an adjectival noun, *shizuka* (quietness) and a copula (*da*). Nevertheless, based on the traditional classification, such a compound form is treated as a single word, called a pseudo-adjective. It can be used as *Umi wa shizukada* (the sea is calm).

'Free words without inflection' are further divided by whether they may stand on their own as subjects of sentences. Those that can be subjects are called 'substantives' and this group is composed of nouns and pronouns. Those that can not be subjects are subdivided depending on function in a sentence or discourse, into adverbs, conjunctions, interjections and demonstratives.

Bound forms are further divided into 'inflecting suffixes' (or auxiliary verbs) and particles according to the presence or absence of inflection. Therefore, inflecting suffixes (auxiliary verbs) are 'bound words with inflection' whilst particles are 'bound words without inflection'. All free words and bound forms are subdivided further into small groups as represented with examples in Table 2.2.

## I. Free words

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| A. Words with inflection | examples                               |
| (a) verbs                | <i>suru</i> (do)                       |
| (b) adjectives           | <i>samui</i> (cold), <i>aoi</i> (blue) |

- (c) pseudo-adjectives      *shizukada* (quiet)  
                                       *rippada* (magnificent)  
                                       *kireida* (pretty)

## B. Words without inflection

### 1. Substantives

- (a) nouns                        *yama* (mountain)  
 (b) pronouns                    *watashi* (I)

### 2. Non-substantives

- (a) adverbs                      *totemo* (very)  
 (b) conjunctions                *dakara* (therefore), *demo* (but)  
 (c) interjections                *aa* (aa, oh)  
 (d) demonstratives              *ano* (that)

## II. Bound words

### A. Inflecting bound words: Inflecting suffixes (auxiliary verbs)

*nai* (negation)

### B. Non-inflecting bound words: Particles

- (a) case particles (case markers)      *ga* (subject marker)  
 (b) conjunctive particles                *moshi* (if), *keredo* (but)  
 (c) adverbial particles                  *sae* (even)  
 (d) emphatic particles                  *dake* (only), *koso* (emphasis)  
 (e) sentence particles                  *ne* (seeking for agreement: isn't it?)  
   *tai* (speaker's desire)

**Table 2.2. Vocabulary in Japanese**  
 (Komai and Rohlich 1991: 2-3)

### 2.4.3. Postpositional language

Japanese is a postpositional language and particles including case markers and auxiliary verbs follow the word classes (e.g. *Mary ni*: to Mary or by Mary; *denwa de*: by telephone). (Note that the case markers are particles and not elements of the words although auxiliary verbs are parts of the words.) This can be compared with English, a pre-positional language where prepositions are followed by word classes

(e.g. *to Mary, by telephone*). The use of postpositions is a characteristic of SOV languages as Greenberg (1966) says:

Language universal 4: With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

A relative amount of freedom of word order in Japanese is due to the use of particles such as case markers as grammatical elements of a word. This can be compared with English where the position of a word in the sentence is more restricted by grammatical rules.

The principle case particles are *ga* (nominative), *o* (accusative), *ni* (dative, locative of state or a agentive-marker in passive sentence), *de* (instrumental, locative of action), *e* (locative of direction), *kara* (source), *made* (goal), and *no* (genitive) (Jacobson 1992: 22). *Wa* has several functions, but its fundamental function is to set off a topic (what is talked about) from the rest of the sentence, which comments on the topic. In a technical sense, *wa* does not specify case such as subject or object, but practically it often (although not always) marks the subject of the sentence (Chino 1991: 10), which is normally marked by *ga* (nominative). In addition to marking the topic and subject of the sentence, *wa* can also function as a case marker normally expressed by *o* (accusative)<sup>8</sup> for instance, when the following verbs are stative verbs such as *like, hate, want*, etc., e.g.:

(2.6) *Koohii wa kirai da*  
coffee TP hate COP  
'I dislike coffee'

On the distinction of *wa* and *ga*, *wa* comes after the notional or judgemental subject (i.e. 'speaking of...', 'talking about...') and *ga* indicates the actual subject (i.e. a marker of neutral description of actions or temporary states) (Tsuboya 1990: 12, which is explained at greater length in chapter six).

#### 2.4.4. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is an important aspect of the structure of any language (Shaumyan 1989 cited in Tsuboya 1990: 15). Ellipsis takes place both in Japanese and English.

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<sup>8</sup> When the Object of a sentence is the Topic, it can be marked by *wa*, *ga* or *o*, depending on the meaning structure of the sentence. See Kuno (1973), Jordan and Noda (1987) for detailed discussion of the topic.

While most of the earlier studies dealt with the syntactic analysis of intra-sentential ellipsis, recent research treats ellipsis in discourse from cognitive, textual and pragmatic perspectives, such as in terms of theme, old-new information and continuity of discourse (e.g. Kuno 1980; Hinds 1978, 1983; Hinds and Hinds 1979; Maynard 1980, 1987, Makino 1980).

It is often the case that Subjects are omitted in Japanese (Ono 1979; Shibatani 1990), including first and second persons as subjects. In these cases, the subject is implied in the entire sentence or discourse structure. This means that even if the subject is omitted, the Japanese can identify the Subject from the discorsal context (Moore 1967).

Not only nominals but also particles can be omitted in Japanese under some circumstances, where what is omitted is clear to the reader from the context. Especially in the texts of classical style or casual conversation, the ellipsis of particles can sometimes take place. For example, *wa* and *ga* can be omitted in the following sentence from casual conversation:

(2.7) *Watashi (wa) kooiii (ga) hoshii* <sup>9</sup>  
I TP coffee SB want  
'I want some coffee'

Some other features of Japanese language are the following:

- Japanese is a left-branching language while English is a right-branching language
- There are no articles (a, the)
- There is no distinction between singular and plural in nouns
- There is no agreement; verbs, adjectives and copulas do not indicate number, person and gender agreements. Nevertheless, they do indicate agreement concerning the levels of honorificness and politeness (Kuno 1978: 68).
- Adjectives are not always followed by copular verbs (Kuno 1978: 66). That is, copular verbs can be omitted after adjectives whereas in English the copular verb is needed before the adjective, as in *The snow is white*.

---

<sup>9</sup> *Ga* is usually a nominative-marker (Subject-marker), but it can also mark the accusative (Object), too. Thus, it is placed after 'coffee' as an Object-marker.

- (2.8) *Yuki wa shiroi (desu)*  
 snow TP white COP  
 'The snow is white'

• In an interrogative sentence, what is being asked (person, thing, or event) comes first and is followed by *wa*, then optionally the interrogative pronoun comes next (*dare*: who, *doko*: where, *nani*: what), and is followed by the verb or inflected suffix (*desu* or *da*) and finally comes *ka*, sentence-final particle as a marker for an interrogative sentence (Yamagiwa 1942, Matsukawa 1975 cited in Tsuboya 1990: 12). The use of sentence-final question particles is a feature of postpositional language, as Greenberg stated:

Greenberg's Language Universal 9: With more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages, and if final, in postpositional.

The following are examples:

- (2.9) *Taroo wa doko ka?*  
 Taroo TP where Q 'Where is Taro?'

- (2.10) *Taroo wa iku ka?*  
 Taroo TP go Q 'Is Taro going?'

#### 2.4.5. Polite forms and honorific expressions

Next, a mention should be made of polite forms and honorific expressions in Japanese<sup>10</sup>. In brief, there are three kinds of polite forms or honorific expressions in Japanese based on the social role of the speaker or the hearer: (1) honorific-polite (*sonkeigo* — I express this with a raised arrow pointing upward '↑'), (2) humble-polite (*kenjyoogo* — I express this with a raised arrow pointing downward '↓'), and (3) neutral-polite (*teineigo*, for this a plus sign '+' is used). Additionally, there is a super-honorific form which is particularly reserved for directing towards or referring to the Emperor (for this, two raised arrows pointing upward '↑↑' is used).

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<sup>10</sup> I base the description and analysis of polite expressions and the use of special symbols indicating them on Jorden (1987: 19-21). For a more elaborated discussion of Japanese polite forms and expressions, see for example, Martin (1964), Jorden (1987), Shibatani (1990).

In explaining how honorific expressions work in Japanese, it is necessary to understand the distinction between 'in-group' and 'out-group', as explained in section 2.1.1. The 'group' implies family, workplace, school, clubs, etc.

(1) honorific-polite expressions are used to direct towards or to describe the action of a person whom the speaker wishes or needs to 'elevate'. These expressions are used only in reference to persons other than the speaker, who are the members of the out-group. So, for example, these can not be used in reference to your family members. (2) humble-polite forms are used to 'lower' the speaker or in reference to a member/members of the in-group in deference to the person to whom it is directed. Although honorific-polite forms are never used in reference to oneself or one's family, humble-polite forms are used for that function. (3) neutral-polite forms may be used in reference to the first, second, or third persons (Hinds 1986: iv). It is polite and deferential to the person addressed without the idea of exalting or humbling its referent (Jordan 1987: 20).

Linguistically, these polite forms can be expressed in various ways such as by special verbs, pronouns, by pre-fixes, suffixes auxiliary verbs or particles. Examples of respective patterns are as follows:

Special verbs included are:

- (1) *nasaimashita*—you did [it]<sup>↑</sup> — including members of your in-group
- (2) *irrasharu* — you come<sup>↑</sup>
- (3) *itashimashita*—I did [it]<sup>↓</sup> — including members of my in-group
- (4) *ukagau*—I come<sup>↓</sup>

Pronouns included are:

- (1) *kika* — you<sup>↑</sup>
- (2) *watakushi*—I+

Pre-fixes included are:

- (1) *go-shujin* - your husband<sup>↑</sup>
- (2) *gu-sai*—my wife<sup>↓</sup>
- (3) *go-han*—rice+

Suffixes included are:

- (1) *Yamada- sensei* — Dr. Yamada<sup>↑</sup>

(2) *watakushime*—I↓

Auxiliary verbs or particles included are:

(1) *ika-reru* — you go↑

(2) *mira-reru* - you see↑

(3) *iki-masu*—I go+

(4) *hana-desu*—It's a flower+

Only the basic features of the Japanese language have been introduced in this section. A deeper explanation of each topic will be provided at each relevant part of the following chapters.

#### **2.4.6. The traditional rhetorical patterns in Japanese**

Finally, a brief mention should be made of features of Japanese rhetorical patterns. Traditionally, it has been considered logical for a Japanese writer to develop a subject indirectly. A Japanese writer tends to begin the issue outside of the subject, develops the subject indirectly, and finally ends with the exact subject. In this way, Japanese writing is characterized by an indirect approach. The development of the paragraph in this type of writing may be 'turning and turning in a widening gyre', sometimes moving still further away from the main subject (Kaplan 1966: 10-11). This kind of writing presents a contrast with English writing, which is marked by 'direct development'. It is considered logical for a writer of English to develop a subject directly. A writer of English tends to begin with the exact subject, develop the subject directly with the illustrations of examples and specific facts, and ends with a summarizing sentence.

In Japanese wartime propaganda which I examine in this paper, a combination of traditional Japanese and English rhetorical patterns is used, depending on the content, as we will see later, especially in the chapter on Aspect. In expressing undesirable facts, the traditional Japanese rhetorical pattern is used, distancing the exact subject, for example, 'we worked hard together...and did this and that...but did not work'. But in expressing desirable facts (even if they are fabrication), direct development patterns as in English are used.

### 2.4.7. Problems of translation

The main features of the Japanese language have been discussed. It may now be important to point out some of the problems involved in translation, which have been briefly mentioned in the Introduction in relation to 'intertextuality' and 'intersubjectivity'.

Since translation 'is a cover term that comprises any method of transfer ... of a message from one language to another' (Newmark 1991: 35), it involves a 'struggle ... with grammar as well as words' (Newmark 1995: 79). Indeed, the issue of equivalence is one of the critical problems involved in translation. As Meetham and Hudson maintain:

Texts in different languages can be equivalent in different degrees (fully or partially equivalent), in respect of different *levels of presentation* (equivalent in respect of *context*, of *semantics*, of *grammar*...of *lexis*, etc.) and at different *ranks*... (word-for-word, phrase-for-phrase, sentence-for-sentence)... The more different the cultures of the *language-communities* of the two languages concerned, the harder it will be to find interlinguistic units on the level of context, especially at the rank of word (Meetham and Hudson 1969: 713, original italics).

Because of the gap in equivalence in levels or ranks between different languages, something can always be 'lost' in the translation process (Bell 1991: 6). It is particularly so with figurative language. For example, in Japanese, *nigirishimeru* (grasp tightly) as in *kyari o nigirishimeru* (lit. 'grasping gravel tightly') suggests a sense of determination or feelings of sorrow. In English 'grasping gravel tightly' means nothing more than its 'literal sphere of reference'<sup>11</sup>. In translation, an effort is commonly made to preserve the author's intention or 'communicative values'. Translation thus encounters difficulties in balancing the requirements of the two often opposing aims: (1) to be faithful to the original text, retaining its image and spirit, and (2) to have a natural, simple and explicit expression in English. Newmark (1995) refers to Gadamer (1976), who says:

no translation can replace the original ... the translator's task is never to copy what is said, but to place himself in the direction of what is said (i.e. in its meaning) in order to carry over what is to be said into the direction of his own saying (Newmark, 1995: 79).

---

<sup>11</sup> This phrase derives from Reddy (1980), who says that when something is stated to be metaphorical, it means that it refers to something that is outside its 'literal sphere of reference'.

In my own translation of Japanese articles used in this paper, attempts to retain the images, figurative language and linguistic artistry of the original texts, though compromises between faithfulness to the original and clarity in English have been constantly made. Therefore, even a free translation into English can sometimes reflect the structure of Japanese to convey enough Japanese meaning. On the other hand, there also are cases, especially with non-figurative language, where the original structure of Japanese has been altered to sound natural as English in free translation. For example, the literal translation of "'hissyoo' no minboo, sora ni gaika' (Asahi, 19 April 1943) is 'the public defence of "absolutely put out fires" sang triumphant songs in the sky', which does not make sense in English. It becomes comprehensible only when it is rephrased with explanatory or even 'circumlocutory' terms as 'people successfully protected themselves, saying "we are determined to put out fires by ourselves!", and sang triumphant songs, looking up towards the sky'.

Where a compromise is totally impossible, which takes place particularly with figurative language, literal translation is enclosed in square bracket [ ] along with free translation. For example,

(2.11) *Hitobito wa jyari o nigirishimeta.*

People expressed feelings of sorrow [by grasping gravel tightly].

Let us look at another example: how euphemisms for death in Japanese can be translated in English.

Death is the most sensitive but unavoidable aspect of war. New terms to refer to it were coined at the lexical level in Japanese as euphemisms, incorporating traditional cultural values. For example, *gyokusai* (lit. smashed jewels, discussed below in section 3.6.4.), is a citation from an ancient Chinese text about how a man of moral superiority prefers to see his precious jades smashed than to compromise with others. Another popular metaphorical term was *sanga* (lit. falling of cherry blossoms). Cherry blossoms had long been valued by the Japanese as much for their ephemerality as for their beauty; no sooner have they reached perfection than they fall. A song 'Companion Cherry Blossoms', composed in 1944, exemplifies this sentiment. In this song, the cherry blossoms are used to arouse patriotic spirit. Its lyrics were drawn from a composition in a school girls' magazine. The first of its four stanzas of the lyrics is as follows:

You and I, companion cherry blossoms,  
Flowered in the garden of the same military school.  
Just as the blossoms calmly scatter,  
We too are ready to fall for our country.

(cited in Dower 1986: 214)

Also *jiketsu* (lit. decide by oneself, meaning 'commit suicide') was used, which connotes the desirability of choosing one's own destiny rather than having it forced upon one by others.

These metaphors were lexicalized in Japanese; importantly, "the interest" or "relevance" areas of a language community are relatively densely lexicalised' because 'they become generally accepted and thus conventionalised' (Quirk and Stein 1993: 47-48). In other words, 'the ideational content is densely packed in nominal constructions' (Halliday 1994: 352). For example, in Japanese there are many distinctions for the term rice, which is the main, important food: *momi* (unhulled rice), *ine* (reap rice), *kome* (a grain of rice), *gohan* (boiled rice). In the same way, in Japanese it is observed that there a lot of words for the rain: *kirisame* (misty rain), *harusame* (spring rain), *hisame* (winter rain), *yuudachi* (summer afternoon shower), *niwaka ame* (same as *yuudachi*), *shigure* (a shower in late autumn and early winter), *samidare* (early summer rain, May rain).

It is no doubt that literal translations of these Japanese concepts such as 'smashed jewels', 'falling of cherry blossoms' and 'decide oneself' do not sound like natural English. But to retain the original positive connotation in expressing the death, they can be translated as 'lay down their lives', 'die a glorious death' or 'meet a heroic end' for *gyokusai* ('smashed jewels') and *sanga* ('falling of the cherry blossoms'), and 'contribute one's life', 'dedicate oneself to the country' or 'take one's life' for *jiketsu* ('decide oneself') respectively. Passive, negative-sounding expressions although straightforward, such as 'they were killed' or simply 'they died', or 'they committed suicide' should be avoided even in translation to preserve what is intended as 'communicative values' contained in the original text (in this case, 'to glorify death').

## **Part II**

### **Linguistic analysis**

Part I, consisting of chapters one and two, was background to my major argument. Part II which is composed of chapters three to eight, is concerned with the linguistic analysis of Japanese wartime propaganda. In the Introduction to this part, an overview of the theoretical model of Hallidayan Functionalism is presented, followed by linguistic analysis of wartime propaganda, from the perspectives of transitivity (in chapters three and four), theme (in chapter five), discourse coherence (in chapter six), modality (in chapter seven) and aspect (in chapter eight).

#### **Introduction: an overview of Systemic functional linguistics**

My research follows a general theoretical framework of Hallidayan Functionalism. I use his model principally because they take the view that language incorporates cultural, societal and political elements. Systemic functional linguistics 'has been evolved as a tool for participating in political processes' (Halliday and Martin 1993: 22). This section presents an overall picture of those of his theories which are relevant to my own research. In the first place, I introduce special features of Functional Grammar that make it effective for an exploration of political texts.

#### **Meaning potential**

Firstly, Functional linguistics treats language as a system for construing meaning rather than as a system of grammatical rules. Functional Linguistics 'is oriented to speaker's meaning potential (what they can mean) rather than neurologically based constraints on what they can say' (ibid.). Functional Grammar has its place as an antithesis to Chomsky's Generative Grammar, which views language as an autonomous system, emphasizing grammatical forms and the propositional meaning of sentences disregarding the context. Also Functional Linguistics considers language as 'a meaning-making system rather than a meaning expressing one' (ibid: 23).

A good example of this view, treating language as a resource for meaning and as a meaning-making system is given in Halliday (1970b), in which the sentence 'the

teacher taught the student English' can be interpreted differently — no less than five ways — depending on how the teacher grasps his/her approach or attitude to teaching. The five possible interpretations are as follows:

- (1) 'The teacher imparted English to the student'.
- (2) 'The teacher instructed the student in English'.
- (3) 'The teacher caused the student to learn English'.
- (4) 'The teacher caused the student to come to know English'.
- (5) 'The teacher caused the student to come to be able to speak English'.

Each of the five descriptions represents a possible interpretation of the key sentence 'The teacher taught the student English'. As we go from (1) (2) to (3), (4) and (5), it is suggested that the student participates actively in the process of learning because it is the student's cognitive activity that is involved, rather than the physical, material action of the teacher as in (3) (4) and (5). In this way, 'meaning is relative to ideology' and 'there is no single text with a single meaning' (Birch 1989: 29). Through the meaning-based analysis, we can recognize that the sentence and the process which it describes is many-sided (Halliday 1970b: 7).

### **Grammar as providing sets of choices**

Another important Hallidayan assumption is that a grammatical pattern or configuration used to encode an experience is a choice over some other, and it is always possible to describe or reconstruct the same phenomenon in different ways. This is because all linguistic usage encodes representation of the world, and the systematic use of different grammatical patterns encodes different points of view or authorial attitudes.

Simpson (1993) presents an example. If an employee is in the office of his/her boss, and accidentally breaks an expensive-looking vase, this dreadful experience can be grammaticalized in several ways as follows:

- (6) I broke the vase.
- (7) The vase was broken by me.
- (8) The vase was broken.
- (9) The vase broke.

The presence of the one who is responsible for this event is less and less directly implied as we go through (6) to (9) (see Simpson, *op.cit.*: 86-87 for details). In this way, Functional Linguistics views grammar as the system that provides sets of choices in representing the same phenomenon, based on one's point of view, attitude or ideology.

### **'Extravagance rather than parsimony'**

As a third main feature of Systemic Functional Linguistics, it may be pointed out that 'extravagance rather than parsimony' is given importance (Halliday and Martin 1993: 23). Systemic Functional Linguistics is intended to develop 'an elaborate model in which language ... can be viewed in communicative terms' (*ibid.*). This attitude is in the opposite direction from that of Chomskyan Linguistics, which is inclined to 'reduction' in the description of language. Contrary to this, Halliday says, referring to Trevarthen (1992) that 'there is usually enough power around for the deconstructive task<sup>1</sup> at hand; and if not, there is room, both theoretical and social, to invent it' (Halliday and Martin, *op.cit.*: 23). Thus, the Systemic Functional approach approves flexibility and delicacy and is in favour of subdivision. This position justifies the direction of my own analysis. For example, in transitivity analysis, I found that the data existing in the real world is too complex to fit into the theoretical model advanced by Halliday and other Functionalists. There is always delicacy and indetermination in classification, especially with borderline cases. So in some cases, I had to create my own terms, sub-divisions or compound roles. Here, Halliday's orientation towards 'extravagance' supports my own approach.

### **Text as the basic unit**

Fourth, Systemic Functional Linguistics is oriented to regard texts, rather than sentences, as the basic unit through which meaning is construed. It views grammar as the realization of discourse (Halliday and Martin, *op.cit.*: 21). In other words,

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Deconstruction' is a subversive intellectual movement that was started in the late 1960s by Jacques Derrida and others to challenge the Structuralist's approach which 'focuses on the study of the language of a text to the exclusion of the author's individuality, the social context, and the historical situation' (Crystal 1992: 234). One of the primary objectives of deconstruction is to 'de-construct a text, undermine its presuppositions' (Wales 1989: 108), with a view of language as 'a system whose values shift in response to non-linguistic factors' (Crystal, *op.cit.*: 234). They disprove 'the possibility of objectivity in textual interpretation' (*ibid.*) and they regard interpretation as disclosing or revealing what is usually suppressed.

forms of grammar can evolve 'naturally in response to pressure from the discourse' whether the writer or speaker is conscious or unconscious of the patterns of grammar (ibid.: 82). These ideas generated the concept of 'functional' grammar and 'text semantics' as opposed to Chomskyan autonomous syntax (ibid.: 22).

### **Text and context**

Finally, Systemic Functional Linguistics emphasizes relations between texts and social contexts rather than 'texts as decontextualized structural entities in their own right' (Halliday and Martin, op.cit.: 22). Text has a dynamic metafunction which attempts to realize social practices in social context.

It is necessary to explain the concept 'context of situation' under which text is construed and understood. Halliday's 'context of situation' involves three features that together characterize a passage of discourse. These three features are 'field' (what is going on), 'tenor' (who is taking part), and 'mode' (how the message is structured) (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 12). 'Field of discourse' is reflected in the ideational meaning, which is concerned with the transmission of ideas; how we interpret and represent reality in language. This ideational meaning is mainly realized by the transitivity patterns of the grammar (including 'lexis as delicate grammar') or the naming system in the text. 'Tenor of discourse' is reflected in the interpersonal meaning, which regulates interpersonal relations in society including modal attitudinal comments. The interpersonal meaning is typically expressed by mood and modality. 'Mode of discourse' is reflected in the textual function of the text, which is concerned with structuring the message of the text rather than the message itself as in the ideational meaning. The textual function of the text is mainly realized by the choice of themes, cohesive relations, conjunctions, discourse subordination. The main discussion here is summarized in Table 2.3.

| SITUATION:<br>Feature of the context              | realized by | TEXT:<br>Functional component of<br>semantic system             |
|---|-------------|---|
| Field of discourse<br>(what is going on)          |             | Ideational meanings<br>(transitivity, naming system)            |
| Tenor of discourse<br>(who is taking part)        |             | Interpersonal meanings<br>(mood, modality)                      |
| Mode of discourse<br>(how the text is structured) |             | Textual meanings<br>(theme, information,<br>cohesive relations) |

**Table 2.3. Relation of the text to the context of situation**

(Halliday and Hasan 1989: 26)

Matthiessen and Bateman (1991: 95) observe how these three functions operate in language by the sentence 'John, we'll fix the radio, won't we?'. From the ideational perspective, which encodes 'what is going on' or 'who does what to whom or what', it can be interpreted that 'John and I will fix the radio' in which 'John and I' are Actors, 'fix' is a process verb and 'radio' is Affected (an affected entity). From the interpersonal perspective, which is concerned with the interaction between the speaker and the listener, and the modal attitude, the key element in this sentence is 'we'll' and '... won't we?'. They function as weak modalizer or softener expression in asking someone to do something. What about the textual perspective? If the sentence is rephrased 'Tomorrow we'll fix it, won't we?', the time adverbial 'tomorrow' is placed at the initial position of the sentence and thus given emphasis. If John replies 'O.K. that sounds nice' to this question, 'that' functions as a textual cohesion marker of a reference indicator (e.g. *he, it, they*) that refers to the proposition of the previous sentence.

In this way, Systemic Functional Linguistics views texts as having 'metafunctions' (Matthiessen and Bateman 1991; Matthiessen 1992), which together simultaneously characterize a passage of discourse. Systemic Functional Linguistics is 'oriented to developing an elaborate model in which language, life, the universe and everything can be viewed in communicative (i.e. semiotic) terms' (Halliday and Martin 1993: 23).

Since Systemic Functional Linguistics accommodates a fairly comprehensive and semantically-sensitive functional approach, it has provided a useful framework for the analysis of literary stylistics, which attempts to correlate language with social and political assumptions. Fowler *et al* (1979), from the particular perspective of ideology, applied Halliday's functional model to the analysis of political texts. In the same way, I use Halliday's functional model, especially his major tripartite division into the ideational, the interpersonal and textual function of language, in the analysis of Japanese wartime propaganda from a semantico-functional point of view, based on the view that the text is a metafunctional construct.

Halliday's three metafunctions discussed in this introductory part will be discussed in more detail and applied to the text and dealt with in each chapter to follow. First, I expand Halliday's three metafunctions of text: Ideational, Textual and Interpersonal, in each subsequent chapter. I then show how these models can be relevant to the analysis of political discourse, incorporating the ideas of scholars other than Systemic Functionalists. I develop each model and apply it to the text about Japanese wartime propaganda, in the form of transitivity, theme, modality and aspect.

## Chapter three

### **Transitivity and international conflict discourse: Theory**

Halliday's transitivity theory provides a useful linguistic framework for uncovering the main linguistic features of a slightly 'slanted' political discourse. As mentioned earlier, my analysis of transitivity and its application to international conflict discourse in Japanese newspapers basically follows Halliday's theoretical framework. Topics and data to be dealt with within the linguistic terminology of transitivity are extensive, therefore, two chapters are devoted to the analysis of transitivity, which is a major topic of my thesis. Chapter three introduces the theory and chapter four has to do with the application of transitivity to its use in Japanese discourse in times of war.

#### **3.1. Point of view and transitivity**

Section 1.2 in Chapter one discussed the fact that Japanese wartime propaganda represented an internal perspective. To reiterate, internal focalization suggests that the story is mediated by the first person narrator's view, and often represents a subjective, fixed point of view as the source of the narration is the centre of consciousness of a narrator. What connection then can be made between point of view and the transitivity structure? In stories written with the internal perspective, the transitivity patterns should also indicate the subjective world-view of the participant's internal process involved in the story, 'framed by the authorial ideology', not the objective world perceived by the viewer whose existence and perspective are detached from the story (Fowler 1986: 138).

If this assumption is sound, certain patterns of transitivity should be found specifically in Japanese wartime propaganda, which is attributed to particular Japanese cultural values and pragmatic concerns (the censorship restrictions aforementioned). The patterns should be something unique both in diachronic and synchronic contexts.

#### **3.2. Transitivity as an Ideational function of language**

In Halliday's terms, 'transitivity' is a part of the ideational function of the clause. The ideational function of the clause is concerned with the 'transmission of ideas'.

Its function is that of 'representing "processes" or "experiences": actions, events, processes of consciousness and relations' (1985: 53). The term 'process' is used in a very extended sense, 'to cover all phenomena ... and anything that can be expressed by a verb: event, whether physical or not, state, or relation' (Halliday 1976: 159). Halliday further notes that the 'processes' expressed through language are the product of our conception of the world or point of view. He notes:

Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of 'goings-on': of doing, happening, feeling, being. These goings-on are sorted out in the semantic system of the language, and expressed through the grammar of the clause. ... (T)he clause evolved simultaneously in another grammatical function expressing the reflective, experiential aspect of meaning. This...is the system of TRANSITIVITY. Transitivity specifies the different types of process that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed (ibid.: 101).

The semantic processes expressed by clauses have potentially three components as follows:

- (1) the process itself, which will be expressed by the verb phrase in a clause.
- (2) the participants in the clause, which refer to the roles of entities that are directly involved in the process: the one that does, behaves or says, together with the passive one that is done to, said to, etc. The participants are not necessarily humans or even animate; the term 'participant entities' would be more accurate (Halliday 1976: 160). The participant entities are normally realized by noun phrases in the clause.
- (3) the circumstances associated with the process, which are typically expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases.

(Halliday 1985: 101-102)

Transitivity is an important semantic concept in the analysis of 'representation' of reality in that transitivity enables us to analyze the same event and situation in different ways. Although 'perceptually the phenomenon is all of a piece', when we represent the situation or event, subjectivity comes in because we must 'analyse it as a semantic configuration' based on our subjective point of view (ibid.: 101). In a simple example, if we express a certain phenomenon as *Birds are flying in the sky*, it is clear that this is not the only possible way of systematizing such a fragment of experience. It is possible to turn it into a meaning structure or 'semanticize' it in a different way... such as, *Birds are winging in the sky* (ibid.: 101-102). Thus, certain selection from the transitivity system can suggest a different mind-set or world-view.

### **3.3. The relevance of the transitivity framework to the analysis of political discourse**

Transitivity has been a popular part of the analytic tool within the critical linguistics tradition. It has been used to uncover how certain aspects of meanings are foregrounded while others are suppressed or concealed since it reveals how different patterns of transitivity manifestation are selected out of many choices. Thus, the transitivity model provides a means of discovering how certain linguistic structures of a text encode the particular 'world-view' or 'ideological stance' of a reader/speaker. As Fowler notes:

Linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally; they interpret, organize, and classify the subjects of discourse. They embody theories of how the world is arranged: world-views or ideologies (1986: 27).

Thus, selection from the transitivity system can suggest different mind-sets or world-view, including an unusual mind-set reflected in language that is deviant from the norm.

#### **3.3.1. Examples of various ways in which attitudes towards life are reflected in language**

As a pioneering example of non-standard usage of language expressing a world-view, Halliday's article (1971) 'Linguistic function and literary style: an inquiry into the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*' is an influential one. In this work Halliday discusses the patterns of transitivity including what processes, participants and circumstances occur in the clause. He proceeds to illustrate how they are used by Golding to imply 'cognitive limitation', a decreased sense of causation and an incomplete recognition of how human beings can control the world, as experienced by the main character, Lok, a Neanderthal man whose world is being taken control of by a more 'advanced people'. Also, there has been Kennedy's analysis (1982) of a scene from Conrad's *The Secret Agent* and Joyce's 'Two Gallants' from the collection *Dubliners*, and Burton's (1982) feminist stylistic analysis of a sequence from Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*. Burton, for example, reveals an 'unequal' power relationship between the medical staff (the doctor and a nurse) and a female patient, and thus shows that the 'helpless' patient could 'affect nothing' in a hospital while the doctor and nurse actively affected the material processes. Similar to this is Kies's (1992) 'The uses of passivity: suppressing agency in *Nineteen eighty-four*'.

which analyses the main linguistic features of George Orwell's *Nineteen eighty-four*. Kies's analysis reveals how the actions and thoughts of a man in a totalitarian state are passively and helplessly controlled by the power of the state. Simpson (1996) examines the transitivity and discoursal patterns and other linguistic devices employed for 'pornographising an alleged violent attack on a woman' which appeared in popular tabloid newspapers (ibid.: 20).

### 3.3.2. The transitivity framework in war discourse

War is a dynamic and intentional process of transformation of the reality that surrounds one's enemy. By enforcing consecutive, direct actions, each of the opposing sides tries to affect and manipulate the physical and mental resources of their enemy's for their own gain. If the first principle of a transitivity analysis is to uncover the principle 'who or what does what to whom or what?' (Simpson, 1993: 96), it could be said that transitivity operates more constantly and powerfully in wartime discourse than at any other period or social setting. They bomb enemy's warships, warplanes or cities. We defeat them in a battle. They defeat us in another battle. Put simply, transitivity refers to the relationship between the action of an *Actor* and its effect upon the *Patient*. However, unlike traditional grammar, and following Halliday's tradition, the term 'transitivity' is used here more as a semantic concept than simply as a syntactic description. In traditional grammar, 'transitivity' was purely a syntactic description; it was based on whether a verb takes an object or not. The former was called a transitive verb while the latter was an intransitive verb. Nevertheless, in my analysis of transitivity based on the semantic description rather than a purely syntactic one, as Halliday notes, the question is whether there is an implication of an animate individual (*Agent*) intentionally doing the action to another entity (*Affected*)\* (Halliday, 1985).

Transitivity patterns are also subject to social and cultural determination as well as any individual mind-set. Different social structures and value systems require different patterns of transitivity. In order to get a picture of what is happening from the point of view of any one's subjective reality involved in the story, the following process is helpful;

- (1) isolate the process *per se*, and find which participant (who or what) is 'doing' each process;

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Affected'.



Of course, it is possible to reverse Actor + Patient in a passive form, placing Patient at an initial position and Actor at the end of the sentence, such as:

(3.2)' The child was hit by the teacher.  
 Patient Pro: Mat. Actor

In Japanese, Actor is marked by post-position *-wa/-ga*, Patient by *-o* which is a Direct Object marker in traditional terms. In a passive form, Actor is marked by *-ni* (by) and Patient by *-wa/-ga*. For example:

(3.4) *John ga doa o aketa.*  
 John SB door AC open-PERF.  
 Actor Patient Pr: Mat.

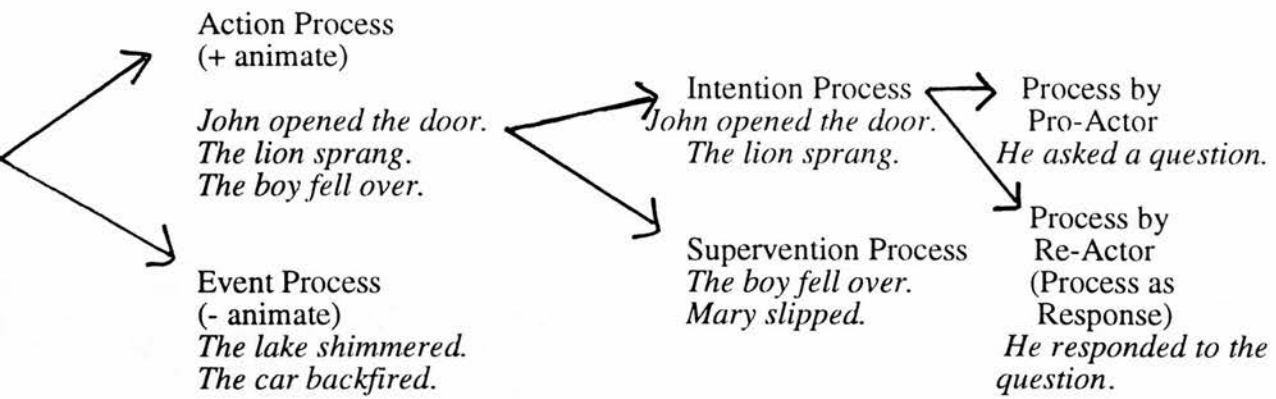
'John opened the door.'

(3.4)' *Doa wa John ni ake-rare-ta.*  
 door TP John by open-PASS-PERF  
 Patient Actor Pr: Mat.

'The door was opened by John.'

Material processes can be further sub-classified depending on whether the process is performed intentionally or spontaneously and whether by an animate Actor or inanimate Actor (for example, Berry 1977a, Halliday 1976, Kress 1976). The process performed by an animate Actor is called Action process (e.g. 'John opened the door', 'The boy fell over', while an inanimate Actor is referred to as Event process (e.g. The car backfired). Action process can be further divided into Intention Processes in which the animate actor performs intentionally (e.g. 'John opened the door'), and Supervention Process, where the process just happens to the Actor without his or her intention (e.g. 'The boy fell over'). It is important to add that the intention process should be further subdivided into the process performed by Prime-Actor ('Pro-Actor', henceforth) and that by 'Re-Actor'. Pro-Actor means 'prime mover' who initiates the action and Re-Actor is the one who takes an action purposefully but not necessarily willingly, in response to the Pro-mover's initiatives. An example of the Re-Actor is 'the soldier' in 'The soldier had to obey the general's command'. The categorization and subcategorization that have made insofar can be schematized as in the Figure 3.1.

**Figure 3.1 Material Processes**



(cf. Berry 1975, Simpson 1993)

However, it is important to stress that these sub-categorizations are not absolute or clear-cut things; the classifications become subtle, ambiguous and delicate as we move rightward on the chart. For example, the distinction of '+ intention/- intention' is 'relatively clear at the centre but there are many borderline cases' ("fuzzy edges") (Steiner 1985: 169). For example, a sentence such as 'The car appeared over the hill' (ibid.: 166) raises the question whether this is an intentional, action process or not.

There is a supplementary participant function called Beneficiary. Although Halliday uses the term in a broad sense, I use the term in a restricted sense, to refer to the participant to whom goods are given or to whom service is done. Beneficiary closely corresponds to an element which was traditionally called Indirect Object, and occurs in a sentence which is 'effective' (a sentence which involves two direct participants, see section 3.4.2.1. below), for example:

|         |           |             |         |
|---------|-----------|-------------|---------|
| (3.5) I | gave      | Mary        | flowers |
| Agent   | Pro.:Mat. | Beneficiary | Patient |

Halliday uses the term Beneficiary in an extended sense so that it includes the 'negative benefit', e.g. 'That gave John a great deal of pain', in which John is interpreted as Beneficiary. But to avoid confusion in meaning, I use the term Beneficiary only with the interpretation that the 'benefit' is 'beneficial' in a positive sense. In my analysis, I would rather term John in the above example the Patient. This is because in my research, whether something has a positive or negative effect upon the Patient in a semantic sense is very important.



In Japanese this construction is realised by 'Carrier-*wa* + Attribute + COPULAR (*da, de-aruu, desu*)'. However, in Japanese, adjectives (Attribute in this discussion) are not always followed by copular verbs (*da, de-aruu, desu*); the copular verbs can be omitted in Japanese, unlike English (explained in section 2.4.4.). So it is possible to say either way, with or without the copular verb, *desu* at the end of the sentence, as in:

(3.8) *John*                      *wa kashikoi (desu).*  
       Carrier                      TP Attribute COP

Although the most typical Intensive verb is *be* in English, various Attributive, Intensive synonyms are possible as the following examples illustrate:

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| She <u>kept</u> quiet.    | She <u>seemed</u> suspicious. |
| He <u>looked</u> puzzled. | He <u>became</u> ill.         |
| She <u>turned</u> angry.  | It <u>seemed</u> perfect.     |

One of the important characteristics of the Attributive Intensive processes is that they can not be passivised; the Subject commonly coincides with the Carrier, and rarely with the Attribute. The reason why 'an Attribute clause is not reversible' (Egins 1994: 257) in this way is that Attributive Intensive mode virtually involves 'only one independent nominal participant, the Carrier, with the Attribute functioning to encode the ascription assigned to the Carrier.' For example, it is impossible to reverse the following Intensive Attributive sentence, 'She became happy' to make ×'Happy was become by her'. However, there seem to be some exceptions, particularly when the Relational Process is analysed in combination with the Material Process, as in 'Their patriotism was manifested'. This will be discussed below (section 3.4.1.3.).

### 3.4.1.2.2. Intensive Identifying Processes

The Intensive Identifying Processes in Relational Processes differ from the Intensive Attributive Process in both semantic and grammatical senses. In a semantic sense, an Identifying Process is not concerned with 'ascribing or classifying, but defining'. So the Intensive Identifying process can be characterized as 'x serves to define the identity of y' (Egins 1994: 258) as in 'John is the leader'.

In a grammatical sense, unlike the Attributive process, which includes only one participant (Carrier), the Identifying Process contains two participants: a Token (holder, form, occupant that stands to be defined), and a Value (which defines the Token by giving the Token, 'meaning, referent, function, status or value'). Both the

Token and the Value are expressed by nominal groups. Unlike the Attributive Process, which contains only one autonomous participant (Carrier), the Identifying Process involves two independent nominal participants. Therefore, the Identifying Process is reversible. For example:

(3.9) John is the leader. ---> The leader is John.  
 Token    Value                    Value            Token

Normally, semantic judgement will suggest which part of the sentence is Token or Value. A useful test to distinguish these two may be:

Token will always be Subject in active clause  
 Value will always be Subject in a passive clause

(Eggs 1994: 260)

The commonest Identifying Intensive verb is *be*, but other synonymous Intensive verbs exist, such as:

|           |           |            |                 |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| stand for | UK        | stands for | United Kingdom. |
|           | Token     |            | Value           |
| make      | She will  | make       | a good wife.    |
|           | Token     |            | Value           |
| mean      | Nodding   | means      | Yes.            |
|           | Token     |            | Value           |
| express   | His smile | expressed  | agreement.      |
|           | Token     |            | Value           |

In Japanese, Token is marked by the postpositions *wa* or *ga* and Value by a copular verb. For example:

(3.10) *John wa leedaa da*  
 John TP leader COP  
 Token Value

Unlike the Attributive clause, the Intensive Identifying clause sounds a bit awkward if copular verbs (*da*, *dearu*, *desu*) are omitted except in some cases such as in poetic language. This is because in Japanese copular verbs which follow adjectives (Attribute) can be easily omitted but not those that follow nominal groups.

(3.11) *John wa kashikoi*    ->    *John wa kashikoi desu.*  
 John TP wise                    John TP wise                    COP  
 Carrier Attribute                Carrier Attribute

'John is wise'

(3.12) *John wa leedaa da*    ->    ? *John wa leedaa*  
 John TP leader COP                John TP leader  
 Token Value                            Token Value  
 'John is the leader.'

### 3.4.1.3. Relational Process combined with Material Process

Despite these theoretical contributions, Halliday's framework of Relational Processes needs further subcategorizations, incorporating participant roles in Material processes in some cases. Fawcett (1987) challenges Halliday, saying that 'a far larger share of the grammar of transitivity should in fact be included in the relational processes than Halliday does' (ibid.: 130). Specifically, Fawcett says that the presence of an Agent as well as an Affected\* is not a marker of Material Process only. These roles are, in fact, 'relevant across all these major process types, including Mental Process' (discussed in the next section) (ibid.: 131, 141). However, discussion here is limited to that in the Attributive framework in Relational Process, which is relevant to my analysis. (In fact, Fawcett treats the 'Identifying' process as the limiting case of Attributive Process (1987: 151), which is another subject of discussion.) The examples of the combination of Attributive Intensive mode in the Relational Process and the Material Process are 'John went mad' where 'John' is both Carrier and Affected\* (Fawcett 1987: 154), and 'Mary kept quiet in order not to disturb a sleeping baby', in which 'Mary' is a Carrier but also an Agent.

To account for these cases which have double participant roles, Fawcett presents the compound roles of Agent-Carrier and Affected-Carrier. Agent-Carrier has the quality of both Agent (an element containing volition, responsibility and energy-input) and Carrier. Examples of this type are:

(3.13) Mary                      kept    very quiet    in order not to disturb a sleeping baby.  
           Agent-Carrier      Pr.: Rel    Attribute

(3.14) John                      finally                      became                      a man of real learning  
           Agent-Carrier                      Pr: Rel                      Attribute  
           after eight years' hard work.

Another compound role of the Affected-Carrier has the quality of both Affected\* (an element that undergoes a change) and Carrier. Examples of this type are:

(3.15) John                      went                      mad.  
           Affected-Carrier                      Pr: Rel                      Attribute

---

\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Affected'.

|                    |                    |           |
|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (3.16) Mary's face | became/turned/went | white     |
| Affected-Carrier   | Pr: Rel            | Attribute |

at the sight of a ghost.

These constructions of the compounded semantic roles of Relational and Material Processes are frequently exploited in Japanese wartime propaganda as will be discussed in section 4.2.5..

### 3.4.1.4. Mental Processes

Mental Processes encode the meanings of feelings or thinking. They differ from Material Processes, which encode concrete, physical processes of doing. Mental Processes are 'internalized' processes in contrast with 'externalized' processes of doing and speaking (Simpson 1993: 91). Unlike with the Material Process, it is odd to ask 'what did X do to Y?' Grammatically, all mental processes involve two participants (Egins 1994: 242); these are Senser (the conscious human being who is involved in a Mental Process by feeling, thinking, or perceiving) and Phenomenon (that which is thought, felt or perceived by the conscious Senser). Mental Process verbs can be subcategorized into three types: Cognition (verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding), Affection (verbs of liking, fearing, hating) and Perception (verbs of seeing, hearing). Examples of each type are as follows:

|            |        |                                       |
|------------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| Cognition: | I      | don't know                            |
|            | Senser | Mental Process (Pr.: Ment, hereafter) |
|            |        | the facts.                            |
|            |        | Phenomenon                            |

|            |        |           |            |
|------------|--------|-----------|------------|
| Affection: | I      | fear      | ghosts.    |
|            | Senser | Pr: Ment. | Phenomenon |

|             |        |           |            |
|-------------|--------|-----------|------------|
| Perception: | I      | heard     | the noise. |
|             | Senser | Pr: Ment. | Phenomenon |

However, the participant roles of Senser and Phenomenon are not adequate in some cases: as previously mentioned, the presence of Agent and Affected\* are 'relevant across all three major process types including mental process' (Fawcett 1987: 131). For example, 'John' in 'John saw the picture' and 'John looked at the picture' exhibit different meanings; while John in the former may be purely a Senser (i.e. the picture came into John's view), 'John' in the latter example occupies the double-role

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Affected'.

of Agent-Senser, in the sense that 'John' consciously looked at the picture. Therefore, the presence of the compound roles of Agent-Senser and Affected-Senser (e.g. 'I was frightened by the ghost') should be recognized.

### 3.4.1.5. Verbal Processes

The Verbal Process is the process of saying and is the process which exists on the borderline of Mental and Relational Processes. Just like 'saying' and 'meaning', the Verbal Process expresses a relationship between ideas constructed in human consciousness and the ideas enacted in the form of language (Halliday 1994: 107). Examples of Verbal Processes are 'I said I am happy', 'The chairperson calls for the meeting'. Note that 'saying' is used in an extended sense and the 'speaker' need not be a conscious being unlike a Senser in Mental Process, hence the Verbal Process includes any kind of exchange of meaning, such as 'the book tells you how to climb the mountain', 'the clock says it is ten'. The participant who is speaking is called 'Sayer', the addressee to whom the process is directed is 'Target', and what is said is 'Verbiage', for example:

|        |               |           |                |                             |
|--------|---------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (3.17) | The committee | announced |                | that taxes will be reduced/ |
|        | Sayer         |           | Verbal Process | Verbiage                    |

|        |       |                |        |                            |
|--------|-------|----------------|--------|----------------------------|
| (3.18) | I     | told           | her    | how to climb the mountain. |
|        | Sayer | Verbal Process | Target | Verbiage                   |

### 3.4.1.6. Behavioural processes

Behavioural Processes are processes of physiological and psychological behaviour, and on the borderline between Material and Mental Processes. Behavioural Processes 'represent outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes of consciousness and physiological states' (Halliday 1994: 107). Behavioural Processes are the least salient of Halliday's six process types and the boundaries of Behavioural Processes are indefinite. The participant who is 'behaving' is called Behavior. Like the Senser, Behavior is usually a conscious being, but the process is more like one of 'doing' as in Material Processes (Halliday 1994: 139). For example:

(3.19) John                    is crying.  
      Behaver                Behavioural Process

Some other examples of Behavioural Processes are *sit, sing, dance, lie* (near Material Processes), *watch, look, listen* (near Mental Processes), *talk, gossip, grumble, chatter* (near Verbal Processes), *smile, laugh, cry* (physiological processes expressing states of consciousness), *cry, breathe, sleep* (other physiological processes).

### 3.4.1.7. Metaphorical and abstract expressions of Circumstance

As mentioned earlier, the Circumstantial elements consist of adverbs or prepositional phrases and express supplementary information such as place time, extent, manner, duration, condition, means, etc. It is important to mention abstract and metaphorical expressions of Circumstance. The elaborated registers of technical writing, poems or adult speech have developed far from their concrete origins into abstract and metaphorical terms. This is particularly prominent with spatial metaphor (ibid.: 160), e.g. 'We have now been introduced to a new topic' [Location: place], 'The problem lies in our own attitudes' [Location: place] (ibid.: 161). Some other examples from Halliday (ibid.) are as follows:

We learn from this experiment. [Manner: means]

The group will work through all these materials. [Extent: distance]

These products are made to a very high standard. [Manner: quality]

Consult the chart for the full operational details. [Purpose]

### 3.4.2. Voice system

Having discussed the major process types and sub-types involved in the transitivity paradigm which are relevant to my analysis, it is now necessary to consider the subject of the Voice system (i.e. active or passive in a simple sense) to give a deeper insight into the principal transitivity question: 'what does what to whom or to what?' or 'who is affected by who or how?'. The network of voice system has been developed by many grammarians (e.g. Halliday 1976, Steiner 1985), and they differ slightly or significantly from each other. I use a combined and revised version of models developed by Halliday (1976) and Davidse (1992) that best fits my analysis, which is systematised in Figure 3.2. Some sub-categorization and sub-

classifications in their model are very complex and overlap with what I have already discussed, so I employ those sub-classifications that are applicable to my analysis.

### 3.4.2.1. Three types of transitive constellations: EFFECTIVE, MIDDLE and PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures

Davidse presents three types of constellations of *Material Process*: EFFECTIVE, MIDDLE, and PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE constructions as clarified in a system diagram on figure 3.2. An EFFECTIVE construction involves two actual participants while a MIDDLE and PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE constructions include only one actual participant. (1) The EFFECTIVE Actor+Goal\* structure is effective in the sense that Goals are coded as to what is affected. The transitive EFFECTIVE structure is further divided into the goal-directed, intentional processes, such as *He kicked the ball*, and the goal-achieving, non-intentional process, such as in *The lightning hit the tree*. In the former pattern, the Actor is also an Agent which is the entity that performs a purposeful activity or brings about a change of state to the affected entity. Cruse (1973) further describes agentivity, which characterizes the definable sub-set of Actors, as typically involving (i) volition, (ii) active-energy investment in carrying out the action, and (iii) responsibility or 'culpability'. The Goal is an entity perceived as affected by the process. The EFFECTIVE structure has a passive form, in which Actor and Goal are reversed as in the Goal + Process + (Agent) construction (e.g. *The string is not tied*). (2) The MIDDLE-structure consists of Actor+Process constellations, which do not extend to a Goal. MIDDLE structure is further divided into superventive (e.g. *He fell, He died*) and non-superventive, controllable process (e.g. *The children are swimming*). The former (an uncontrollable, MIDDLE structure) is called the Ergative system, which will be a subject of the next section. (3) 'Metaphorical' PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures consist of Actor+Process+Range constructions where Ranges are coded as NON-AFFECTED. The examples of this structure include *They played games*, *He asked a question*, *He died an honourable death*, *The athlete jumped the hurdle*. In Halliday's terms, Range often means a continuation or restatement of process, which is insufficiently specified by the verb alone, and Ranges always consist of inanimate, abstract nouns (Halliday 1967a, 1994). For example, adding *a question* or *a favour* to the verb *ask* serves to differentiate between two different processes denoted by the verb: *questioning* and *requesting*. As for the contrast between the Process+Range structure (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) and the Process+Goal structure

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goals' and other terms.

(EFFECTIVE), it can be said that whereas the Process+Range structure contains just one meaning which is realised through two lexical items, the Process + Goal structure contains two meanings, that is, an action and the participant that action is mediated through (Martin 1992: 311). The PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structure is located between the EFFECTIVE and the MIDDLE structure in the sense that 'Ranged structures basically represent middle processes' since 'the Range is not a real participant in the process but simply specifies its scope' (Davidse 1992: 196). The Range element can not go into paraphrases with 'do to' or 'do with', whereas a Goal can, and it follows that a Range is a thing to which nothing is being 'done' to (Halliday 1967a: 58-59, 1985: 136). Nevertheless, the Ranged structure (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure) LOOKS like EFFECTIVE structure (Davidse 1992: 124). Put simply, nothing actually changes to an affected participant (in material reality), but it looks as if it did on the surface level since grammatically, Ranges are treated as if they were real participants (Goals\*). For example, in 'They crashed the plane', where 'the plane' is a Goal, it can be said that 'they did something with the result that the plane crashed'. But in 'He asked a question', it cannot be said that they did something with the result some change has taken place to 'a question'.

To make the distinction between the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE (process+Range) and the EFFECTIVE structure (process+Goal) more understandable, Martin (1992: 311) made a comparative analysis of these two constructions, using the same process verbs<sup>1</sup>. The following are some examples drawn from the chart he created for comparison:

| <b>Process + Range</b> | <b>Process + Goal</b> |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| play tennis            | play + the ball       |
| sing song              | sing + her X to sleep |
| score run              | score + some dope     |
| ask question           | ask + Mary X to tea   |
| tell story             | tell + him off        |
| take bath              | bathe + the baby      |
| do dance               | dance + her X over    |
| make friend            | befriend + John       |

**Table 3.1 Comparison between Goal and Range**

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goal' and other terms.

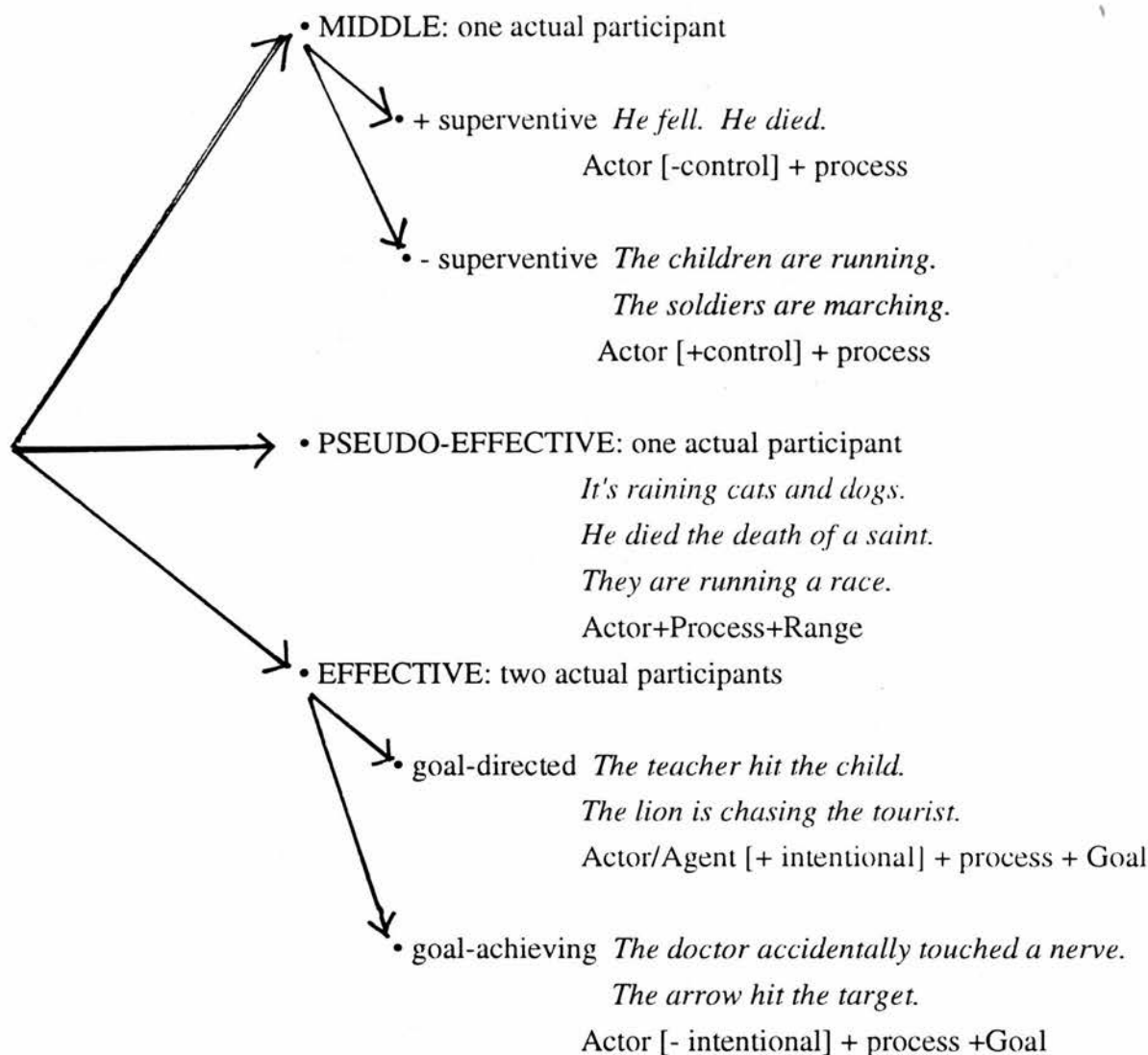
<sup>1</sup> Martin uses the term *Medium* instead of *Goal* in his analysis. See section 3.5.2. for the definition of the *Medium*.

Davidse's contribution lies in her setting this categorical concept of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE between EFFECTIVE and MIDDLE structures, which she terms 'metaphorical' (Davidse, 1992: 108).

Regarding the possibility of 'metaphorization' of this PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, Davidse maintains (ibid.: 127) as follows, drawing on Halliday (1967a: 59) (the single quotes mark Halliday's terms):

Within the transitive paradigm the *Actor* is the most nuclear participant; this participant cannot possibly be 'reduced' or 'metaphorized'. The central transitive variable is: will the action be extended or not to a *Goal*? ... The grammatical metaphor of 'ranging' operates on this area of variability within the model by creating a 'pseudo-extension' of the process. Cognate Ranges such as *sing a song*, *die a horrible death* restate the process: they represent 'an extension inherent in the process'.

This is why the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure is metaphorical in terms of grammaticalizing process and extension while EFFECTIVE and MIDDLE structures are more straightforward in the encoding of the processes selected. The PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which thus constitutes metaphorical extension, is extensively exploited in Japanese wartime propaganda, especially in critical stages of the war, because although it semantically represents a MIDDLE structure, it looks like an EFFECTIVE structure, which is useful in obfuscating undesirable reality. In particular, combined with the uses of superlative adverbs or adjectives, the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which is a semantically MIDDLE structure, can give the impression of being an EFFECTIVE structure of intentional, goal-directed process rather than a non-intentional goal-achieving process, thus adding a stronger positive connotation to the flow of discourse. Much more will be discussed in the illustrative section .



**Figure 3.2. Material Processes: primary transitivity systems**  
(cf. Davidse 1992: 130)

### 3.4.3. Transitivity and voice systems in the Japanese language

Japanese language displays a nominative-accusative pattern in its case-marking system, like most Indo-European languages (Jacobson 1992: 23). Participant role (case) is indicated in Japanese by a particle attached after the noun rather than by an inflection of the noun itself, as in many Indo-European languages. The main case particles are *wa* (topic), *ga* (nominative), *o* (accusative), *ni* (dative, locative of

state or an agent-marker in passives), *de* (instrumental, locative of action), *e* (locative of direction), *kara* (source), *made* (until). Of these, accusative *o* is the case marker mainly associated with the transitive structures (Jacobson 1992: 22). Palmer (1994) and Dixon (1979) argue that such semantico-syntactic categories as Subject, Agent, and Patient are applicable to all natural languages.

The aforementioned voice system in transitivity is realised in Japanese with the following particles.

- MIDDLE structure

+ / - control: NP1 *wa/ga* VP, - control: NP1 *ni* NP2 *ga*

(3.20) *Yamada san ga waratta.*

Mr. Yamada SB laugh-PERF

'Mr. Yamada laughed.'

(3.21) *Yamada san ni wa takusan okane ga aru.*

Mr. Yamada at TP much money SB exist

'Mr. Yamada has lots of money.'

- EFFECTIVE structure

Active: NP1 *wa/ga* NP2 *o* VP

(3.22) *Sensei ga seito o tatai-ta*

teacher SB student AC hit-PERF

'The teacher hit the student'.

Passive: NP1 *wa / ga* (NP2 *ni*) VP- *reru*

(3.23) *Seito ga sensei ni tataka-re-ta.*

student SB teacher by hit-PASS-PERF

'The student was hit by the teacher.'

- PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure

NP1 *wa/ga* NP2 *o* VP (same as the EFFECTIVE, active structure)

(3.24) *John wa shitsumon o shita.*

John TP question AC do-PERF

'John asked a question.'

#### 3.4.4. High and low transitivity

Hopper and Thompson (1980) propose scales of transitivity: high transitivity and low transitivity, depending on the effectiveness with which an action occurs, in terms of the conscious activity of the Agent/Actor, the degree of affectedness of the Patient and the punctuality and telicity of the verb involved. Hopper and Thompson

classified the following parameter scales of transitivity. Only those components of transitivity that are relevant to my analysis are shown and considered here.

|                                | High                                      | Low                           |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| A. Participants                | 2 or more participants<br>Agent & Patient | 1 participant                 |
| B. Kinesis                     | action                                    | non-action (state)            |
| C. Aspect                      | telic                                     | atelic                        |
| D. Punctuality                 | punctual                                  | non-punctual                  |
| E. Volitionality               | volitional                                | non-volitional                |
| F. Agency                      | Agent - high in potential                 | Agent - low<br>in potential   |
| G. Affectedness<br>of Patient  | Patient - totally affected                | Patient -<br>not affected     |
| H. Individuation<br>of Patient | Patient - highly individuated             | Patient - non<br>individuated |

**Table 3.2 High and low transitivity**

Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) say that 'each component of transitivity involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another'. Following is a brief explanation of each parameter based on Hopper and Thompson (ibid.).

(A) Participants: There is no transfer of the action unless at least two participants are involved in the process.

(B) Kinesis: Although actions can be transferred from one participant (Agent) to another (Patient), states can not, such as in the cases of Halliday's Mental or Relational Processes. For example, some change takes place to an apple in 'I ate the apple', but not in 'I like an apple'.

(C) Aspect: A telic action, or an action provided with an endpoint, is more effectively transferred to a Patient than the atelic action. For example, in the telic sentence, 'I used the paper', the activity is perceived as being completed, and the transferral of action is carried out in the entirety of the paper, but in the atelic sentence, 'I am using the paper', it is understood that the transferral is only partially carried out.

(D) Punctuality: Actions carried out with no apparent transitional phase between inception and completion have a greater effect on their Patients than on-going activities. For instance, there is a difference between *hit*, *shut* and *kick* (punctual) and *carry*, *paint* and *create* (non-punctual).

(E) Volitionality: When the Agent acts with volition or intention, the effect on the Patient is more obvious. Note the difference between 'I call your name' (volitional) and 'I forgot your name' (non-volitional)

(F) Agency: Action carried out by participants with agency can effect a transferral more forcefully than participants with low agency. Therefore, 'John startled me' represents a recognizable event with observable consequences (Material Process) whereas 'the sound of machine-gun fire startled me' does not represent a perceptible event and can be interpreted as an internal state (Mental Process).

(G) Affectedness of Patient: This concept refers to how completely the patient is affected or the degree to which an action is transferred to the Patient. For example, the Patient, 'pie' is more effectively affected in 'I ate up a pie' than in 'I ate some part of a pie'.

(H) Individuation of Patient: An action can be more effectively transferred to a Patient which is individuated than the one which is not individuated. Hopper and Thompson classify Patient in terms of the distinctness of Patient from the Agent. The Patient with the properties on the left below are more highly individuated than those with their counterparts on the right. (Only those components relevant to my analysis are listed).

| <b>Individuated</b>   | <b>Non-individuated</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (High transitivity)   | (Low transitivity)      |
| proper                | common                  |
| human, animate        | inanimate               |
| concrete              | abstract                |
| referential, definite | non-referential         |

**Table 3.3 The individuation of Patient**

Since an action can be transferred to an individuated Patient more effectively than to a non-individuated Patient, a definite Patient is considered to be more affected than an indefinite Patient. So 'I drank the milk' implies I finished the milk while 'I drank some milk' implies some milk is still left. With reference to the distinctions between concrete and abstract Patients, and animate and inanimate Patients, note that in 'I hit the dog' the effect upon the dog (concrete, animate Patient) is viewed as great while in 'I hit upon the idea', it is obvious that nothing happened to the 'idea' (abstract, inanimate Patient).

In this way, the transitivity system, a question of transferring or carrying over of an action from one participant to another, can be classified into its component parts, and each of them displays a different aspect of this transferral process (Hopper and Thompson, *op.cit.*: 253).

With regard to my research, (C) Aspect and (D) Punctuality are the main topics of chapter eight. (E) Volitionality and (F) Agency are central to my analysis of transitivity of Japanese wartime propaganda (see section 4.2.2). The two components which refer to the Patient: (G) Affectedness of Patient and (H) Individuation of Patient, are especially related to the Voice system — EFFECTIVE, MIDDLE and PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures explained in section 3.4.2.1, since these issues are particularly concerned with how the process is extended towards the Patient or how effectively the Patient is affected. In terms of (G) affectedness of Patient, the Effective structure is connected with High transitivity (Patient is totally affected) while the Pseudo-effective structure is connected to Low Transitivity (Patient is not affected). In other words, one propaganda tactic is to disguise Low Transitivity (Pseudo-effective structure) as High Transitivity (EFFECTIVE structure). (H) Individuation of Patient accords well with this idea. Hopper and Thompson say that an abstract (non-individuated) Patient displays the property of Low Transitivity while a concrete (individuated) Patient the property of High Transitivity. Since Range in the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure (Actor+Process+Range) consists mostly of abstract nominals, the Range construction is associated with Low transitivity in reality but it can disguise itself as High Transitivity. As far as (B) Kinesis is concerned, Halliday's Relational Process fits its analysis. Non-action (state), a component of Relational Process and Low Transitivity is exploited to create the illusion of action, a component of high Transitivity. e.g. 'people showed their spirit' ('spirit' is not affected) 'soldiers displayed courage' ('courage' is not affected, either). These things are discussed in detail in the analysis below (section 4.2.5.).

### **3.5. Ergative analysis**

Having discussed the transitivity framework and the voice system associated with it, I must introduce a supplementary analysis to the standard analysis of transitivity: ergative analysis. Halliday holds that 'all transitivity systems, in all languages, are some blend of these two semantic models of processes, the transitive and ergative' (1994: 167). In the same way, Davidse (1992: 107) says that 'the grammar of

material processes is "Janus headed", that it is governed by the two distinct systems of transitivity and ergativity'.

In the transitivity model, the central participant roles are Actor and Patient, and the interest is whether the process is directed by the Actor towards a Patient as in 'John kicked the ball'. It is not an immediate concern here whether the process is related to the Actor only as in 'The recruits marched', or whether the process contains an 'Initiator' or causer that is independent of the Actor (Morley 1993: 71). In the same way, in the transitivity model, 'the window' in the sentence 'the window broke' is labelled as an Actor although semantically it is an affected participant.

While the transitivity system realizes a PROCESS AND EXTENSION model (Halliday 1994: 162-163), 'the ergative paradigm is Affected centred, in contrast with the transitive paradigm, which is Agent centred' (cf. Davidse 1992: 115; Fawcett 1980: 142). The central participant roles of ergative are 'Causer' and 'Affected'\* , and the concern is whether the process is caused by a participant other than the one affected by it as in 'He kicked the ball' or 'The general marched the recruits' (Morley 1993: 71). The sentence can be a MIDDLE structure where the process is restricted within the affected participant (i.e. Actor without volition and control), as in 'The recruits marched' or a PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which includes a Ranged element as in 'They saw the scenery'.

The Patient is called Medium in Ergative analysis. The Medium is 'the entity through which the process comes into existence' as its name suggests (Halliday 1994: 163). Halliday defines the concept of Medium in the following terms:

... the Medium is the nodal participant throughout the system. It is not the doer, nor the causer, but the one that is critically involved, in some way or other according to the particular nature of the process (ibid.: 165).

Davidse slightly expands the definition of Medium as 'the generalized single participant which has neither true agency nor real affectedness associated with it' (Davidse, 1992: 132). If only the process and its central participant (Medium) are involved, it is a Medium+Process structure (e.g. 'The window broke', 'The boat sailed', 'The rice cooked') (ibid.: 109). This represents an ergative middle constellation: 'The Process and the Medium together form the nucleus of an English clause' (Halliday 1994: 164). The principal variable here is not extension as in the

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Affected'.

transitivity system but instigation - whether the process is 'self-instigated' or 'externally-instigated' (Davidse, op.cit.: 109). This MIDDLE structure in the transitive paradigm Actor + Process can be further divided into Actor + Process in which Actor is 'an intentional doer' as in 'John is running fast', 'John is eating', 'The recruits are marching', or Actor/Medium + Process where Actor is Affected (Medium), and the process is instigated by some external agency as in 'The window broke'. Here, external agency is implicitly implied in the 'breaking of the window'. In this way, the Medium is equivalent to the Actor in a MIDDLE clause, where the process is superventive as in 'He fell down', or a MIDDLE clause where the process is initiated by some external agency as in 'Prisoners marched' (The general initiated it). Halliday terms the type of Actor whose act is instigated and controlled by another, 'enforced Actors' (Halliday 1967a) since 'prisoners' are not the 'free' actors of the 'marching'. The Medium is also equivalent to the Goal\* in an EFFECTIVE structure as in 'He kicked the ball'. In this way, the ergative analysis is useful to make further semantic distinctions. If the process in 'the window broke' is 'externally instigated', it can also be expressed by an Agent+Process+Medium construction, as in 'The naughty boy broke the window.' Agent is the participant 'who initiates an action which "affects" or is "targeted at" the Affected\*' (Davidse 1992: 126), and is thus equivalent to the Actor in the goal-directed EFFECTIVE material process (Simpson 1993: 93) So 'the naughty boy' in the above example is an Agent. In addition to the role of Agent, who instigates a process (e.g. *The cat broke the vase*), it is necessary to introduce the role of an Initiator, who takes the executive role, and brings about the action performed by the Actor (enforced Actor) (Halliday 1994: 286); 'x makes y do something. A typical example of this is the aforementioned 'The general marched the recruits'.

Ergative structure creates its own PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE constellation which consists of Setting+Process+Medium, e.g. 'The cooling system burst a pipe'. This constellation looks like EFFECTIVE structure on the surface, however, 'Setting' is, like Range, merely a pseudo-participant with a functional resemblance to circumstantial elements or 'spatial or temporal expanses' (Langacker 1991: 345-347; Davidse 1992: 128). 'Settings' are non-Instigators with no initiative or 'responsibility' unlike Agents. They are named as such since they are paraphrased as Circumstantial elements. For example, 'the cooling system burst a pipe' and 'the truck broke an axle' can be paraphrased as 'pressure burst a pipe in the cooling system', and 'the crash broke an axle in the truck' respectively. This ergative

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goal' and 'Affected'.

pseudo-effective construction (Setting+Process+Medium) is just like a ranged structure, virtually a middle construction both in semantic and grammatical senses (Davidse 1992: 128). The only real participant involved is Medium such as a 'pipe' and an 'axle'. The Subjects, 'the cooling system', 'the truck' are merely the pseudo-participants called Settings.

### 3.5.1. Three-participant causative

An Ergative EFFECTIVE structure (e.g. *The cat broke the vase*, *The general marched the recruits*) also involves a 'three-participant causative' instigation pattern. The Instigator role appears in the causative structure with the verbs such as *make*, *have*, *allow*, *permit*, *force*, *require*, *get*, etc. (Halliday 1994: 286-287). The agency (enforced Actor's) can be extended further as in:

|                 |      |                              |      |             |
|-----------------|------|------------------------------|------|-------------|
| (3.25) Mary     | made | John                         | roll | the ball.   |
| Initiator/Agent |      | Goal* /Medium<br>Actor/Agent |      | Goal/Medium |

(ibid.: 286)

This type of causative structure is called 'a three-participant causative' since this involves three participants (i.e. *Mary*, *John*, *ball*).

### 3.5.2. Ergative verbs

I use the term 'ergatives' in a broad sense unlike the way Stubbs (1994) uses it. Stubbs defines 'ergative verbs' as those

- which can be transitive or intransitive; and
- which allow the same nominal group as object in transitive clauses and as subject in transitive clauses

Examples are 'factories have closed', 'air links have developed', 'grasslands and desert will expand',

-> Several firms have closed their factories. (transitive)

-> They developed air links. (transitive)

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goal'.

-> They expand grasslands and desert. (transitive)

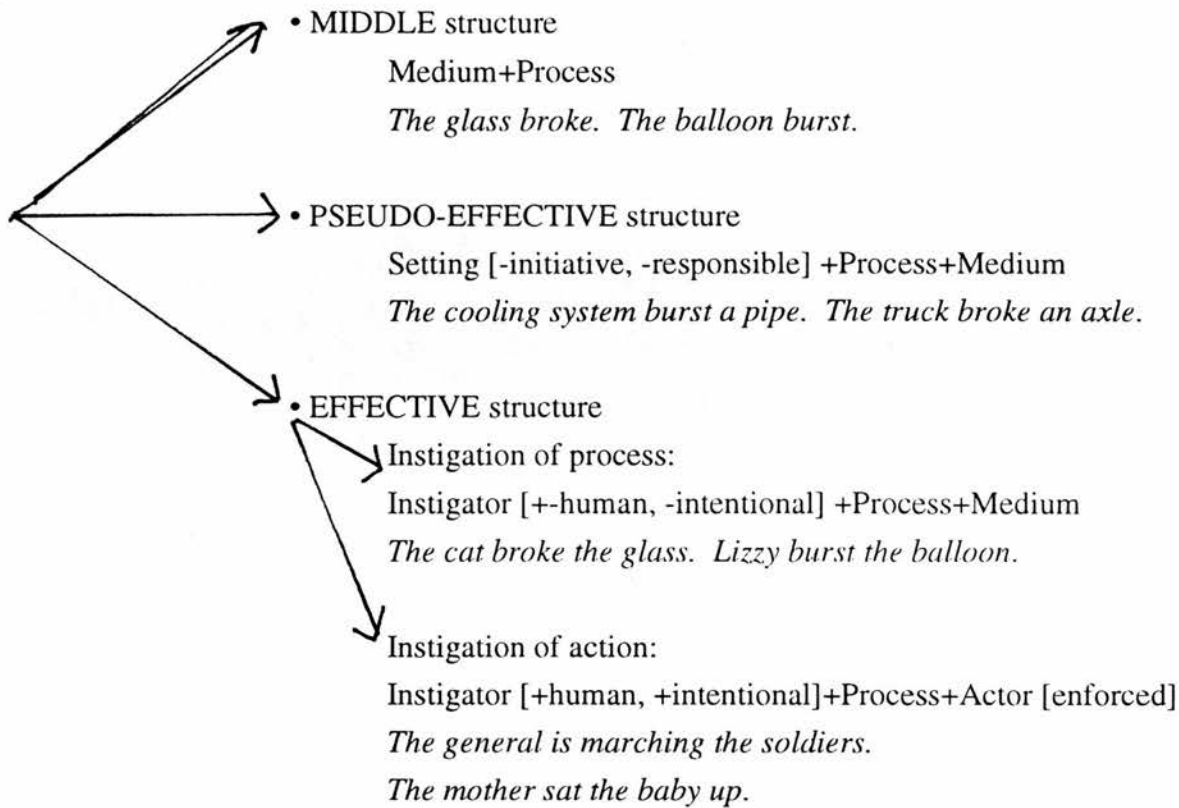
However, in my analysis, even those verbs that do not require Stubbs' set conditions are considered to be ergatives as long as the Actor (which is a non-intentional Medium in ergatives) fulfills the following conditions:

- (1) it is not a doer
- (2) it is affected
- (3) it is not a causer

Scholars such as Martin (1992), Matthiessen (1992) and Simpson (1993) also take a broader view of the definition of Ergatives than Stubbs. So even if a verb does not have both uses of transitive and intransitive (e.g. *develop*, *close*, *expand*), as long as the verb fulfills the above sets of conditions it is considered to be ergative. The following are some examples of these with Mediums underlined: 'They had a good time' (Martin 1992: 393), 'The boy died' (e.g. Simpson 1993: 107; Matthiessen 1992: 69), 'The policeman's gun went off' (Simpson 1993: 107), John fell down, 'Joseph Conrad was born in Russian Poland in 1857, and ... passed his childhood in the shadow of revolution' (Matthiessen 1992: 66-69), 'The Americans surrendered, Prisoners marched (since they were made to do so by the general).

Ergatives have agentive and non-agentive uses (Stubbs, *ibid.*: 206). Stubbs (1994: 206) says based on Halliday's (1985: 144ff) observation that 'after a passive but not after an intransitive [ergative], it is possible to ask "by whom?" or "by what?". Therefore, 'even agentless passives have an underlying agent: intransitives do not' (Stubbs 1994: 206). For example, in response to 'factories have been closed', it is possible to ask 'by whom?' but not in response to 'factories have closed'. The chart below (figure 3.3) schematizes the ergative model in the EFFECTIVE, PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE and MIDDLE structures respectively, which have been discussed.

As mentioned earlier, transitives are not 'a fully homogeneous group' but a blend of transitive and ergative systems. In my analysis, too, I use a mixture of these two systems; where an Actor performing an (effective) action is emphasized, I use transitive labelling (Actor/Agent, Patient), and where 'affectedness' or instigation are emphasized, I use Ergative labelling (Medium, Agent).



**Figure 3.3. The Ergative system**

(Davidse 1992: 130)

### 3.6. Lexis: 'lexis as delicate grammar'

So far we have seen the patterns of ideational realization from a grammatical perspective: structural and semantic relationship within a sentence. However, the structural realisation is not the only way of realizing ideation. Martin says that ideation (i.e. transitivity patterns) includes 'lexis as delicate grammar' as well. Grammar can be 'extended in delicacy to the point of dissolving lexis', where ideational contents 'are realised by lexical items rather than structures' (Martin 1992: 277-8, also Berry 1977b: 62, Fawcett 1980: 153, 218). Halliday says that 'no grammar has, it is believed, achieved the degree of delicacy required for the reduction of all ... items to one member class' (1966: 149). In some cases, 'the ideational content is densely packed in nominal construction' (Halliday 1994: 352). In 'The grammarians' dream: lexis as the most delicate grammar' (1987), Hasan presented an ideational analysis of nine Material Processes verbs: *gather, collect,*

*accumulate; scatter, divide, distribute; strew, spill, share.* However, it is not necessary to provide her complex, detailed analysis here.

By extension, the analysis of processes discussed above is not always adequate to account for an essential state implied by the processes. For example, Butler (1985) criticizes Halliday, arguing that Halliday fails to account for the relationship between pairs of sentences such as *The towel is dry* and *The towel dried*. The former is a relational clause with the Carrier *the towel*, and the process *be* and the Attribute *dry*. The latter is an event subtype of the action clause. However, in semantic terms, the two sentences have a close relationship, the one expressing a state and the other a change of state, but 'both refer to the same particular state, that of "dryness"' (Butler 1985: 171). Lexical analysis in these areas is very complex and is not necessary for my analysis. Since the main interest of my analysis is who is the doer and who is the affected, and how language is used to add positive connotation to discourse, only the analysis directly related to these questions is addressed. For example, in 'Enemy casualties total 5000', 'enemy' is a Token and 'total' is a Relational Process verb of Identifying mode, and '5000' is a Value. However, these labellings are not adequate in explaining whether the lexis 'enemy' is the Patient or the doer if the sentence is analysed purely from a grammatical perspective. Semantically, 'the enemy' is clearly an Patient since they were those who suffered casualties. For the analysis of this sentence, it is appropriate to assume that the following sentence is presupposed before this sentence:

(3.26) The enemy suffered casualties.  
Medium Pr: Material Range

(3.27) The enemy casualties total 5,000.  
Token Pr: Relational Value

It is understood in the process of text creation (sequence creation), (i.e. flow of sentence from (3.26) to (3.27)), that the 'enemy casualty' in (3.27) serves to summarize the information given about 'the enemy' in (3.26). This is a product of nominalization as grammatical metaphor which will be discussed in detail in the next section. Matthiessen (1992: 56) notes that 'the textual organization<sup>2</sup> is realized by the second-order resource of grammatical metaphor'. He further says that:

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<sup>2</sup> Matthiessen says that textual coherence is based on the second-order nature of the textual function (1992: 53). He defines the second-order reality as 'reality brought into existence by language itself' (ibid.: 42), that is, abstract nominals, which will be discussed in the next section.

Textual lexis operates in terms of the taxonomic organization of lexis created by the ideational metafunction: textual meanings are made by movement up and down this ideational taxonomy as a text is developed (Mathiessen 1992: 56).

It suffices to say that ideational content is realised in lexis as well as in grammatical relations. For labelling I use participant roles used in transitive/ergative analysis even with lexical analysis, where grammatical analysis alone is not adequate. For example,

|        |                        |                             |       |
|--------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| (3.28) | The enemy casualties   | total                       | 5,000 |
|        | <u>Patient</u> / Token | Pr: Relational, identifying | Value |

### 3.6.1. Nominalizing metaphor

Another reason why lexis is important is that it has a lot to do with grammatical metaphor or nominalization. Nominalization is a grammatical means of abstracting (i.e. transfer from a concrete to an abstract sense) and neutralizing causality or 'who does what to whom or to what'; so this transformation of verbs into nouns (Fowler 1981: 30) is useful in propagandistic discourse in that it can take the reader's thought away from the undesirable reality or can obscure causality. For example, the noun 'emancipation' derives from 'someone emancipates someone else'. Through this transformation, the transitive relationship, 'who does what to whom', or 'who emancipates whom' is neutralized or obscured. Nominalization involves abstraction as Lyons (1977b: 445) maintains:

Reference to both second-order entities and third-order entities<sup>3</sup> is made commonly, both in English and in other languages, by means of phrases formed by the process of nominalization.

To reiterate, referring to second and third-order entities by using nominalized forms involves a function of obfuscation (Fowler 1979, 1981).

Another function of nominalization is that it is possible to convert a process into a theme-like element, or to transfer non-participant meanings into participant-like ones. Halliday terms this process 'nominalizing metaphor' within a broader

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<sup>3</sup> According to Lyons (1977b: 442-443), first-order entities are 'discrete, physical objects'. Second-order entities are 'events, processes, states-of-affairs, etc., which are located in time and space, and which in English, are said to take place, rather than to exist'. Third-order entities are such abstract entities as propositions, reasons, theorems, etc., which are outside space-time.

framework of the 'ideational metaphor<sup>4</sup>' or grammatical metaphor. The nominalizing metaphor produces a high level of abstraction in a text (Martin 1992). The importance of nominalization in grammatical metaphor is widely discussed in the paradigm of systemic grammar (Jones 1988, Ravelli 1988, Martin 1992, Halliday 1989, Halliday and Martin 1992). According to Halliday:

Nominalizing is the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor. By this device, processes (congruently worded as verbs) and properties (congruently worded as adjectives) are reworded metaphorically as nouns; instead of functioning in the clause, as Process or *Attribute*, they function as Thing in the nominal group<sup>5</sup> (Halliday 1994: 352).

In regard to the noun-theme relationship, Halliday also says, 'dressing up as a noun is the only way to be thematic' (1989: 74). Thus, complex passages can be 'packaged' in nominal form as Themes (Halliday 1994: 353). Examples of this include:

there is no absolute truth -> the non-existence of absolute truth

they were able to enter the lab. -> their access to the lab.

the weather was getting better -> an improvement in the weather

Through metaphorical realisation which involves nominalization, 'the idea of processes is still encoded, and yet it is things [i.e. *non-existence*, *access*, *improvement*] which have been realised' (Ravelli 1988:135). In the transitive PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, *Ranges* often consist of processes, or second-order entities which have been thematized in this way. Matthiessen (1992: 56) also considers that grammatical metaphor is a second-order use of grammatical resources. When processes are replaced by (second-order) nominals through nominalization, some information is lost (Halliday 1994: 353). It is useful in the case of propaganda if process itself is thematized when it is necessary to efface or neutralize what was lost or gained, as in defeats in the war. This device can shift attention away from the central issue.

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<sup>4</sup> As 'ideational' refers to the interpretation and organization of experience (Halliday 1994: 179), 'Ideational metaphor' refers to how experience is metaphorically construed (see, especially, Martin 1992: 138-140, 327-329; Halliday, op.cit.: 342-353).

<sup>5</sup> A GROUP means 'group of words'; Halliday distinguishes a GROUP and PHRASE saying that 'whereas a group is an expansion of a word, a phrase is a contraction of a clause' (1994: 180). (see Halliday 1994: 179-180, 213 for further discussion).

Another aspect of nominalization is the 'greater potential that is open to nouns in contrast to verbs', for nouns can be modified in different ways and can be thus expanded more easily than verbs (Halliday 1989: 95; 1994: 147). As a specific example of the greater potential of nouns, it is difficult to replace nouns by verbs as in examples such as *make three silly mistakes*, *have a nice hot bath*, *make a vigorous final attack*, and *meet a heroic honourable death*, using the verbs, *mistake*, *bathe*, *attack* and *die*. In these cases, processes are represented by the combination of lexically empty process verbs (*make*, *have*, and *meet*) with nouns indicating the action or event (*mistake*, *bath*, *attack* and *death*) (Halliday 1989: 95). The resulting nominal groups (i.e. adjectives + nouns), such as *a vigorous final attack* and *a heroic honourable death* can then function as participants and not as process verbs (Halliday 1994: 147). These so-called nominal metaphors (i.e. densely packed nominals) were extensively used at critical stages of the (propaganda) war as will be discussed below (sections 4.2.3. and 4.2.5.).

### **3.6.2. The use of Attitudinal Epithets**

Epithets suggest some quality of an entity, and traditionally are called adjectives. They can refer to an objective quality of the thing such as *red*, *yellow*, *old*, *striped*, *windy*, or they can be expression of the speaker's subjective attitude towards it, such as *lovely*, *fantastic*, *beautiful*, *valuable*, *meaningless* (Halliday 1994: 184). Halliday terms the latter type of Epithets 'Attitudinal Epithets' and they represent an 'interpersonal element', serving an 'attitudinal function' (ibid.: 184).

These Attitudinal Epithets were abundantly used in Japanese wartime propaganda. As previously mentioned, the use of superlative adjectives and adverbs had been one of the distinctive stylistic features of the war reporting of the Japanese Army since the period of the Russo-Japanese War (Shiba 1978: 7-8). Epithets are used to modify or specify nominalized processes (often used as Ranges) for quantity or quality, as in *They played four good games of tennis* (Halliday 1994: 147-149). One function of Attitudinal Epithets in propaganda is that they can deflect the reader's attention to 'how' things are, from 'what' has really happened, in particular, when the situation is not very favourable. For example, 'the morale of our troop has been the most vigorous'. As for further details of function of Attitudinal Epithets with the nominalized processes, much more will be discussed in the application part, using data (see section 4.2.4.).

### 3.6.3. Lexicalization and nominalization in Japanese

In Japanese, lexicalization and nominalization are often made through *kango* (the words of Chinese origin, also called Sino-Japanese verbs or Sino-verbs). Sino-Japanese loan words were a by-product of the adoption of the Chinese writing system into Japanese. Japanese and Chinese differ structurally in that 'Japanese is highly inflecting in its verbal morphology', as opposed to 'the uninflected independent character of Chinese morphology' (Jacobson 1992: 205). To add to the lack of such forms in the original Chinese, inflected forms had to be adopted from Japanese, by affixing the Japanese verbs *suru* (do) to the uninflecting Chinese verb roots (ibid.: 205). In addition, *kango* verbs have no morphologically distinguished transitive and intransitive forms like Japanese verbs. *Kango* verbs do not even have a distinction between verbal and nominal morphology. 'The root of a Sino verb is in reality simply a noun which has been converted into a verb by virtue of the inflection-bearing capability of *suru* (e.g. *benkyoo* "study (noun)" versus *benkyoo-suru* "study (verb)")' (ibid.: 205). With the view that 'ideational content is lexicalized' in *kango*, the *kango* verbs can be grammatically categorized into five principal structural types as follows. In parenthesis is their translation into native Japanese counterparts which are morphologically distinct.

V-NP *kaiten suru* 'open a store' (*mise o hiraku*)

NP-V *rikoo-suru* 'travel by land' (*riku o iku*)

V-V *kanryuu-suru* 'burst and flow out' (*tsuranuite-nagareru*)

Adv-V *gekido-suru* 'move violently' (*hageshiku ugoku*)

Adj-V *jyakka-suru* 'weaken' (*yowaku kasuru = yowaku suru*)

(Jacobson 1992: 206)

### 3.6.4. Conventionalized and lexicalized items

There are cases in which topics which are of special interest to a speech community are marked by the fact that 'the ideational content is particularly densely packed into nominal constructions' (Halliday 1994: 352). Ordinarily "'the interest" or "relevance" areas of a language community are relatively densely lexicalized' because 'they become generally accepted and thus conventionalized' (Quirk and Stein 1993: 47-48). Such lexicalization is sometimes called 'overlexicalization'

(Fowler 1981: 40). The abundance of euphemisms for death is a case in point. Since death is the most sensitive but unavoidable aspect of war, new terms of reverence were created at the lexical level in Japanese as euphemisms, incorporating traditional values (discussed above in section 2.4.7.). For example, *gyokusai* (lit. smashing jewels), is an allusion to an ancient Chinese text about how a man of moral superiority prefers to see his precious jades smashed than to compromise with others (also discussed above section 2.4.7.). Another popular metaphorical term was *sanga* (lit. falling of cherry blossoms). Cherry blossoms had long been prized by the Japanese as much for their ephemerality as for their beauty; no sooner have they reached perfection than they fall (also discussed above in section 2.4.7.). Also *jiketsu* (lit. decide by oneself, meaning 'commit suicide') was used, which connotes the desirability of choosing one's own destiny rather than having it forced upon one by others. Thus, by the use of these lexicalized euphemisms, wartime leaders attempted to promote the acceptance of death, to incorporate the war discourse 'into our everyday understanding of the world, to legitimate them in terms of our past and cultural heritage' (Lee, 1992: 84).

One of the characteristics of such metaphors is that they can be explained or paraphrased with 'core' vocabulary; the term *gyokusai* cannot be explained without using the term *shi* (death), core vocabulary. As we shall see later, interestingly this metaphor was used only to refer to Japanese death during the war and was not used in peacetime discourse or in the wartime discourse to refer to Japan's allies, who were outside-group people (Germans, Italians), nor to speak of Japan's enemy. Once the war was over, death was referred to as *inu-jini* with a negative image (lit. 'dog's death', meaning 'useless death' used in reference to Japanese who died in the war).

As this example shows, war propaganda in Japan at the lexical level, as well as grammatical level, depended heavily upon traditional values (Mitchell, 1976: 192), using positive-sounding rhetoric, which is rooted in the Bushidoo spirit (the Japanese counterpart of the spirit of chivalry). It was widely believed that 'Bushidoo's essence was to die gallantly' as far as the spirit of the Bushidoo is concerned (*The Japan Times*, 7 December 1942). The metaphor based upon cultural heritage helped to reinforce the link between traditional values and propaganda and to avoid alienation from traditional values. This increased positive connotations in discourse. Japanese thought-control during wartime thus 'fitted

neatly with traditional values, and because this was so, it was the most effective, and also unique' (ibid.).

A positive sense of connotation is in this way condensed in lexical items. For example, linguistically, *gyokusai* and *jiketsu* are both Sino verbs consisting of noun + verb. The following is a transitive analysis of these lexical items.

(3.29) *gyoku*                      *sai*  
      jewel                        scatter  
      Patient                    Pr: Material

(3.30) *ji*                              *ketsu*  
      oneself                    decide  
      Range                    Pr: Mental: Cognition  
      'decide oneself' = 'decide one's destiny/death'

These analyses suggest that those who died chose to die bravely or willingly contributed their lives with good grace rather than being killed passively. Therefore, even if these kango verbs are used in a MIDDLE structured-sentence, as in the following example, goal-directed (process-goal) positive connotation is already lexicalized in the word *gyokusai*.

(3.31) *Butai wa gyokusai seri*  
      garrison TP scattering of jewels do-PERF  
      'The garrison laid down their lives'

All of the transitivity resources discussed in this chapter, which include some process types and sub-types, voice, ergatives, Attitudinal Epithets, and lexis as delicate grammar, were fully exploited in Japanese wartime discourse in order to maintain and enhance a positive flow of discourse as will be exemplified in the next chapter on application.

## Chapter four

### Transitivity in international conflict discourse: Application

This chapter discusses how the transitivity framework and various transitivity resources presented in the previous chapter can be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse. Firstly, the general discursive pattern of Japanese wartime propaganda is introduced and then analyses are made to illustrate how the various transitivity resources mentioned earlier are used to sustain that rhetorical pattern.

Japanese war propaganda during the Second World War reflected a particular attitude to the world which is deviant from the standard. If Golding's aforementioned Neanderthal man whose world is being taken over by a more advanced people lives in a world of *passivity* with decreased sense of causation and inadequate understanding of how human beings can affect and control the world, Japanese war propaganda during the Second World War exists in an opposite extreme position as far as the transitivity system is concerned. The participant role of the Japanese is always that of ACTOR/AGENT, who are consistently in the command of the whole situation. Even in defeats, no participant role was given to them as PATIENT. This consecutively Agent-oriented rhetoric is one of the important features of Japanese war propaganda.

In order to prevent break-down of morale and solidarity among the entire nation at war, even in the worst circumstances, the government through the press tried to reduce people's psychological anxiety by using the rhetoric that 'everything was going as had been planned and was under full control'. Dower says that in the Japanese mind, the 'desire for a controlled universe' was powerfully at work both at the individual and the collective level, and that the desire derives from superficial arrogance and self-confidence (Dower, 1986: 127). During wartime 'Japanese were literally driven psychologically to try to conquer the world'. Their attempt to 'control the world' may be accounted for by the observation that due to the way the Japanese are brought up and socialized, 'no Japanese can feel safe and secure unless the whole environment is understood and so far as possible controlled' (ibid.). Alien and unfamiliar or unexpected situations were threatening to the Japanese because there were no explicit rituals or rules of behaviour to follow, by which Japanese people usually behave and act in ordinary settings (ibid.: 126).

For example, during the war even under unexpected attack and in the circumstances of losing control, Japanese leaders obscured what was happening by using the following rhetoric that everything is under full control as Ruth Benedict explains:

[The Japanese people] were living still in a thoroughly known world... When Americans began bombing Japanese cities, the Vice-President of the Aviation Manufacturer's Association broadcast: 'Enemy's planes finally have come over our heads. However, we who are engaged in the air craft production industry and who had always expected this to happen *had made complete preparations to cope with this*. Therefore, there is nothing to worry about'. Only granted all was foreknown, all was fully planned, could the Japanese go on to make the claim necessary to them that *everything had been actively willed by themselves alone*; nobody had put anything on them. *We should not think that we have been passively attacked but that we have actively pulled the enemy towards us*'. 'Enemy, come if you wish'. Instead of saying, 'Finally what was to come has come', we will say rather, 'That which we were waiting for has come. We are glad it has come'. (italics added) (Benedict, 1946: 27-28)

Even when the Japanese were being passively attacked, they used such apparently irrelevant but convincing rhetoric. They never described themselves as playing Patient roles (those affected by the act of Agent), but always described themselves as playing the Actor/Agent role, which contained the elements of volition, responsibility and active energy investment (Cruse 1973). This rhetoric was used for the psychological manipulation of people to convince them into believing that it is we, not the enemy that are fully taking control of the situation.

The same rhetoric used to be adopted in previous wartime in Japan as Ikegami (1981) demonstrates. For example, a *samurai* (a warrior) preferred to employ the following rhetoric in a similar positive way 'when he was shot':

(4.1) (Ware wa)Teki ni (wagami o) i-sase-tari  
 I TP enemy by my body AC shoot - CAUS -PERF  
 Initiator Medium Patient  
 /Actor  
 'I made the enemy shoot me'  
 I: Initiator (three participants causative): Agent-role based

Instead of saying passively:

(4.2) (Ware wa) Teki ni (wagami o) i-rare-tari  
 I TP enemy by my body AC shoot-PASS-PERF  
 Patient Agent Patient  
 'I was shot'  
 I: Patient/Medium (passive): Patient-role based

Here also an agentive, causative expression is used for the honour of a warrior. In this way, 'the same phenomenon' is described quite differently in regard to 'who does what to whom', the first principle of transitivity analysis. Culturally speaking, the preference for this transitivity pattern derived from the same *Bushidoo* spirit (the Japanese counterpart of the spirit of chivalry; explained above in section 3.6.4.). It was publicly believed that 'Bushidoo's essence was to die gallantly' with regard to the spirit of the Bushido (*The Japan Times*, 7 December 1942).

Not only *samurai*, but also common people, were expected to use the same Agent-oriented rhetoric in wartime, hiding their real emotions, at least in public.

- (4.3) *sensoo de futari no musuko o shina-se-ta hahaoya*  
 war in two GEN son AC die-CAUS-PERF mother  
 Patient Initiator  
 'a mother who willingly and voluntarily sent her two sons to the war to be killed'

mother: Initiator, Agent-role based

Instead of saying passively:

- (4.4) *sensoo de futari no musuko ni shina-re-ta hahaoya*  
 war in two GEN son by die-PASS-PERF mother  
 Medium Medium

'a mother who saw her two sons killed in the war'

mother: Medium/Patient, Receptive-role based

Social pressure prevented people from expressing their true feelings as victims or a family member of the victim during the war because break-down of morale was dreaded. As the above examples indicate, even if one was a victim, she was expected to use the Agent-oriented rhetoric of the 'permissive causative' construction as in (4.3) which conveys the connotation that 'it is my great honour to have dedicated my son for the country and for the Emperor'. Control through language is thus exemplified in these usages.

By contrast, America's rhetoric went as far in the opposite direction as the Japanese did in their rhetoric as Benedict explains;

Americans threw themselves into the war effort *because* this fight had been forced upon us. We had been attacked, therefore let the enemy beware. No spokesman, planning how he could reassure the rank and file of Americans, said of Pearl Harbor or of Bataan, 'these were fully taken account of by us in our plans', (Benedict, 1946: 28) (original emphasis)

According to Benedict, Americans described themselves as *Patients* linguistically when they were *Patients* in reality while the Japanese displayed themselves as *Actors/Agents* linguistically even when they were *Patients* in an 'ordinary sense'. That is because wartime leaders were aware of Japan's overwhelming material scarcity as compared to America, and tried to hide their inferiority and compensate for it by advocating the ideology of the 'supremacy of spirit' over materialism (Benedict 1946: 26). This falsified idea led Japanese wartime leaders to adopt the aforementioned quite deviant rhetorical pattern of obfuscation.

#### 4.1. 'Card stacking' strategy in Japanese wartime discourse

Lee (1939) terms the rhetorical device of reporting 'defeat as victory' as *Card stacking*, which is the strategy of concealing or distorting negative facts. It is one of the seven propaganda devices<sup>1</sup> that Lee identified as persuasive techniques to gain people's compliance without referring to logic or evidence. As its literal meaning 'arranging cards' suggests, *Card Stacking* refers to the situation in which

the persuader... selects only the evidence and arguments that build a case [even falsifies evidence and distorts the facts]. Although there is a deliberate attempt to distort the available evidence or to select only that which would fit the speaker's conclusions, the 'evidence' is presented as being a fair and unbiased representation.

(Lee 1939, quoted in Devito 1986: 240)

The *Card stacking* strategy is most vividly observed in Japanese newspapers reports of Japanese defeats. It was one of the main factors, as far as the 'information war' was concerned, that contributed to the final defeat of Japan, misleading military and wartime leaders as well as the people (Takeyama 1994: 65-67).

These are the parts of social reality that were encoded in the language as we shall see shortly. To conform to these restrictions in war reporting, what linguistic devices were used to 'distort undesirable reality'?

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<sup>1</sup> Lee's seven propaganda devices quoted in Devito 1986: 239-240 include 'Name Calling, Glittering Generality, Transfer, Testimonial, Plain Folks, Card Stacking and Band Wagon.

## 4.2. The transitivity framework as applied to the discourse of Japanese wartime reporting: analysis

Applying Lee's ideas linguistically to the Functional Grammar developed by Halliday, Davidse and others, we can analyse the aforementioned process types and participant functions in some examples of Japanese wartime newspaper reports, to observe the *Card stacking* strategy. This produces the effect that even in the Japanese defeats, it looks as if they were in full control and shaping reality.

### 4.2.1. Actor and Patient in Intention Processes:

Even in defeats, the Japanese side is rarely described as the Patient, but in the majority of cases takes the positions of Actor, Agent (including the double functions of Agent-Carrier and Agent-Senser), Initiator and at worst, Re-Actor as if the Japanese were the controllers of the whole situation. They are almost always described with Intention Process where agentivity takes precedence over processes. It can also be said that the Japanese side displays the properties of High Transitivity (discussed in section 3.4.4.). The Japanese side is not described with an Event or a Supervention Process, in which process takes precedence over the Japanese intention even in defeat. An interesting linguistic pattern is that only the enemy's side takes the roles of Patient, Re-Actor or Medium in Ergative analysis (even in victory). Givón discusses in terms of volitionality, that a participant with volition is a foregrounded element or the one that is given prominence while a nonvolitional participant is a backgrounded component or the one pushed backward (Givón 1984: 288 quoted in McGarry 1994: 64).

It follows that the following linguistic manifestations do not appear in the official discourses, which encode the Japanese side as Patient. Below are hypothetical sentences. Real data examples from Olympic Games and international political disputes are in section 4.7.

(4.5) × Our garrisons were defeated in Okinawa.

        Patient      Pr: Mat

(4.6) × The enemy sank          our battleship.

        Agent      Pr: Mat      Patient

(4.7) × Iwo Island                      surrendered.  
                  Actor/Medium    Pr: Mat                      (Ergative)

When 'the enemy' takes the Actor's role in a few cases, 'the enemy' is in a subordinate clause (not in a main clause) or it is concerned with non-military matters where the enemy's action does not directly affect the Japanese. An example is 'The Japanese forces have been continuing heroic battles since the enemy landed on the island'.

#### 4.2.2. The uses of a PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE construction, creating an image of an EFFECTIVE construction

Naturally, nothing is gained in defeats since the defeated one is the 'loser'. However, to maintain the discursual coherency of agentivity (continuously doing something positively even in defeat), a transitive sentence with an 'apparent *Patient*' was called for as if 'the Japanese side did something to the enemy positively'. To construct or to 'fabricate' an 'apparent *Patient*' linguistically out of reality in which materially it does not exist, a PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure (Actor + Process + Range), which constitutes metaphorical extension, is a useful linguistic tool since although it semantically represents a MIDDLE structure (Actor + Process), it looks like an EFFECTIVE structure (Actor + Process + Goal\* ). This is because *Goal* as an independent entity and *Range* are often indistinguishable, on the surface at least (Halliday 1985: 136). In other words, since 'V+ NP' prototypically denotes 'process + Goal', the structure 'V+ Range NP' can be exploited to create an illusion that we have 'V+ Goal NP'. In particular, combined with the uses of superlative adverbs or adjectives, the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which is a semantically MIDDLE structure, can give the impression of being an EFFECTIVE structure of intentional, goal-directed process rather than a non-intentional goal-achieving process, thus adding a stronger positive connotation to the flow of discourse. To use Hopper and Thompson's distinction of High and Low Transitivity (discussed in section 3.4.4.), Low Transitivity (with abstract NP where only one real participant is involved) is used to disguise itself as High Transitivity structure which has a concrete NP where two real participants are included. In a word, propaganda discourse involves an effort to disguise Low Transitive reality as High Transitive reality and to present it as such. An example of this is 'Heroes met gallant deaths'; this is a MIDDLE

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goals'.

structure (i.e. heroes died), but looks like a goal-directed EFFECTIVE structure. Another example of this is 'The Imperial Army made a final attack', which is also a semantically MIDDLE structure. But this gives the image of being a goal-directed EFFECTIVE structure. These patterns were frequently used as headlines in reporting Japanese defeats in newspapers as will be discussed shortly.

To support this observation, Ryootaroo Shiba (1978: 8), the aforementioned historical novelist, notes that even from the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), unless a war report by the Army explicitly said, for example, 'we have conquered the fortress X', in the EFFECTIVE structure (Actor + Material Process + Goal\* (Goal here: first-order-nominals)), it could be inferred that the Japanese forces were losing.

#### 4.2.3. Nominalizing metaphor in Japanese war propaganda

We have seen the metaphorical and even obfuscating function of nominalization. In the transitive PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, Ranges often consist of processes, or second-order nominals which have been nominalized and thematized. When processes are replaced by (second-order) nominals through nominalization, some information is lost (Halliday 1994: 353). It is useful in the case of propaganda if process itself is thematized when it is necessary to efface what was lost or gained in the war, and draw the reader's attention to the process itself, which has been thematized, rather than to what has happened as a result to the enemy. Examples are 'make a vigorous final attack', 'inflict heavy casualties' and 'continuing heroic battles'. In these cases, processes are usually represented by the combination of lexically empty process verbs (*make, have, continue, cause* and *do*) with nouns indicating the action or event (Halliday 1989: 95). The resulting nominal groups (i.e. adjectives + nouns), such as 'a vigorous final attack', 'heavy casualties', and 'heroic battles' can then function as participants and not as process verbs (Halliday 1994: 147).

Another function of nominalizing metaphor is that through nominalizing and thematizing processes, the interactional relationship between an Actor and a Patient can be clouded. For example, in 'inflict casualties upon the enemy' or 'make a final attack against the enemy'. In these sentences 'the enemy' is given less prominence)

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goal'.

in a Circumstantial clause as a result of thematizing processes - i.e. 'the enemy' is an Indirect Object (b) rather than an Direct Object (a) in traditional terms.

Example 1:

(a) We destroyed 100 enemy warships and killed 30 enemies

'enemy and enemy warships': Patient, Direct Object ... hence there is a direct interaction between 'we' and 'the enemy'.

(b) We inflicted heavy casualties upon the enemy

'enemy': Indirect Object ... hence there is an indirect interaction between 'we' and the 'enemy'.

Example 2:

(a) We attacked the enemy. - EFFECTIVE structure,

High Transitivity (Patient is totally affected)

'enemy': Patient, Direct Object ... hence there is a direct interaction between 'we' and 'the enemy'.

(b) We made an attack against the enemy. - PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure,

Low Transitivity (Patient is partially affected, 'attack': abstract, non-individuated Patient)

'enemy': Indirect Object ... hence there is an indirect interaction between 'we' and the 'enemy'.

The pattern (b) is useful because it can obscure the interactional relationship between us and the enemy; how we affect them. (a) means that the 'totality' of the enemy is affected by the act of the Actor (us) whereas (b) indicates only 'part' of the enemy is affected. In (b) the enemy is represented in connection with a verb and a preposition that follows ('an attack against the enemy') rather than directly with an Actor (Ikegami 1991: 278). By contrast, the enemy as a 'direct participant' in (a) 'implies the interaction with the totality of that participant' (Davidse 1992: 126).

In this way, nominalizing metaphor has various functions:

- (1) By thematizing processes metaphorically, an image can be created that something exists although in reality it is only second-order entities that are referred to (abstract entities).
- (2) To deflect the reader's attention to processes which have been nominalized rather than on what has happened as a result.
- (3) To obscure the relationship between an Actor and a Patient by creating another participant (nominalized processes).

These so-called nominal metaphors were extensively used at critical stages of the propaganda war as will be discussed shortly.

#### **4.2.4. The uses of Attitudinal Epithets in Japanese war propaganda**

The Attitudinal Epithets, which were explained in the theoretical part (in section 3.6.2.), were abundantly used in Japanese wartime propaganda. As previously mentioned, the use of superlative adjectives and adverbs was one of the distinctive stylistic features of the war reporting of the Japanese Army from the period of Russo-Japanese War (Shiba 1978: 7-8). One of the important functions of Attitudinal Epithets is that since adjective and adverbs are usually concerned with 'how' things are rather than 'what' they are, the use of evaluative and emotive adverbs or adjectives can deflect a reader's attention from what actually happened to how things happened. 'They have been fighting gallantly', for example, only expresses how the battle is being fought, but shifts the reader's focus away from what actually is happening.

Then, more technically, what function do Attitudinal Epithets have in the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures (Actor+Process+Range) in question? One of the characteristics of Ranges that consist of nominalized processes is that they can be modified or specified by Epithets for quantity or quality, as in *They played four good games of tennis* (Halliday 1994: 147-149). The uses of Attitudinal Epithets which modify nominalized Ranges in PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structures contributed to the propagandists' effort to make PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures look like EFFECTIVE structures. Some examples are the word *glorious* in the sentence *He died a glorious death*, or the word *heroic* in the sentence *He died a heroic death*. Although Halliday says that Epithets consist of adjectives or verbs, I would suggest that in a broader sense, adverbs may be included as Epithets in the

sense that they serve the same 'attitudinal function' of representing the speaker's subjective attitude. A typical example from Japanese war propaganda would be the word *gallantly* in the sentence *They gallantly met death*. To say *They gallantly met death*, sounds more goal-directed than to simply say *They died*, although these two sentences share a certain core meaning or propositional content. 'Meet death' is goal-directed on account of the meaning of the verb *die* since *die* implies a process of supervention (i.e. a process outside one's control). With the use of these Attitudinal Epithets, along with nominalized process (e.g. 'death') a connotation of agentive, goal-directness is conveyed in sentences, with the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures. These sentences have the connotation that the soldiers went into war bravely knowing that their death would come soon.

#### 4.2.5. The use of Agent-Carrier+Attribute in Relational Process in Japanese wartime propaganda

The construction Agent-Carrier+Process+Attribute (Attribute here: second-order nominals) in the Relational Process is also exploited to create the impression of an EFFECTIVE structure (Actor+ Material Process + Goal\*) and High Transitivity, although Relational Processes usually merely represent abstract relationships between entities and qualities, or states rather than actions. The abstract relationships between entities and qualities or states are properties of Low Transitivity. Typical examples of these in Japanese wartime reporting include:

(4.8) The Imperial army manifested its spirit which would make even the devil cry. (*Kishin o nakashimuru koogun no shinzui o hakkishita.*)

(4.9) They demonstrated the true mettle of Japanese fighting men.

Here 'the Imperial army' and 'they' are Carriers, and 'spirit' and 'mettle' are Attributes, and 'manifest' and 'demonstrate' are Relational Process verbs in their respective sentences. Unlike the case of the Actor + Material Process + Goal construction, the physical world is not directly affected by Relational Processes. But it gives the image that this Relational Process construction positively creates or affects something as if it were an Actor + Material Process + Goal structure. This may be because 'spirit' and 'mettle' can give the impression of being discrete physical objects (Lyons' first-order entities) or Goals existing in the material world

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goals'.

although they are simply Attributes consisting of abstract second-order entities that are ascribed to Carriers. The uses of an accusative morpheme *-o* post-posed at *shinzui* (spirit) in the case of Japanese adds a goal-directed connotation as in *shinzui o* (spirit). The same can be said of the passive construction of this type in the Relational Process, that is, Attribute+Relational Process+(Agent-Carrier). For example, *True heroism was demonstrated*, or *The martial spirit was displayed by our Imperial garrison on Attu Island* (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition). 'Heroism' and 'martial spirit' are Attributes and 'our Imperial garrison' is Agent-Carrier. But these sentences create the impression of Goal\* +Material Process+(Agent) as if 'heroism' and 'martial spirit' were existing things in the physical world as first-order entities.

Also when Tokyo suffered the first American air-raids, a news paper reported the story with the following headline:

(4.10)

|  |                      |                  |
|--|----------------------|------------------|
| At the first air-raids, one million people excitedly | showed               | their spirits    |
| Circumstance   | <u>Agent-Carrier</u> | Circumstance     |
|  |                      | Relational       |
|  |                      | <u>Attribute</u> |
|  |                      | Process          |

(The Asahi Newspaper, 19 April 1942)

In this sentence, 'their spirits' is an *Attribute* (second-order nominal) in the Relational Process, which gives the image of being a Goal in an EFFECTIVE structure. Compare it with 'the gate' in 'the guard opened the gate', which is clearly a *Goal* and a first-order concrete object in the Material Process.

These types of sentences appear frequently in reporting defeats in Japanese newspapers. On the other hand, in reporting the Japanese victories, the *Patient* (what the Japanese gained, traditionally called *Object*) is clearly specified in an EFFECTIVE transitive structure (e.g. *The enemy's warship was destroyed*, *Guam Island is occupied*).

Even if the same outcome from international conflict occurs in peacetime, the same type of linguistic manifestation will not be used. That is, in peacetime 'non-critical' rhetoric, more clear-cut, less metaphorical transitivity patterns will be employed to describe Japanese defeats such as the following (hypothetical sentences):

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Goal'.

(4.11) × Our 5 warships            were destroyed.  
   Patient                    Material Process

(4.12) × Our main garrison on XXX Island was defeated  
   Patient                                    Material Process

(4.13) × Our main garrison on XXX Island surrendered  
   Medium                                    Material Process

### **4.3. Research method**

The transitivity patterns in Japan's major defeats expressed in Japanese newspapers will be analysed here. That transitivity patterns will then be compared with the same in non-official wartime discourse, that reports defeats and deaths of Japanese allies (Germans and Italians) and that of international conflicts and competition discourse in peacetime both from the pre-war and the post-war to avoid the problem of simple historical language change. Data from peacetime conflicts or competition will be drawn from the discourses of the Olympic Games, the East-West conflict (Communist nations versus Capitalist nations) which became pervasive after the end of the Second World War, and whaling.

A general hypothesis in this comparative analysis is that the unusual Actor-oriented rhetoric to represent the Japanese side, which is unique to Japanese wartime propaganda, and the particular transitivity patterns are found in the propaganda, and are not found in other discourses (e.g. peacetime non-critical discourse, non-censored wartime discourse, and the discourse reporting the defeats of Japan's allies) mentioned above.

Mainly the first stories appearing on the front page of each newspaper will be examined for detailed comparison. Particular emphasis will be paid to headlines since the headlines basically describe the main points of the story. The main headlines reveal the most important information as regards an event (Wang, 1993: 565).

## Exemplification

### 4.4. Analysis of war propaganda

To test how the above transitivity patterns are exemplified in illustrative texts, the data from three Japanese major defeats officially reported are analysed as follows:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) 29 May 1943                                | Attu Island   |
| (2) 19 February 1945<br>(reported on 22 March) | Iwo Island  |
| (3) 23 June 1945                               | Okinawa (after the post war occupation by the US,<br>returned to Japan in 1972) |
| (4) 15 August 1945                             | Japan surrendered as a nation   |

(1) The Attu battle was the first major defeat acknowledged by the Japanese government. In it the entire Japanese garrison, numbering about 2,000 soldiers, perished (Shillony 1981: 96).

(2) Another datum reports the battle of Iwo Jima (Iwo Island) which took place in February 1945. This is also one of the major battles fought during the Pacific War. In it U.S. casualties were six thousand killed and twenty-five thousand wounded, whilst the Japanese defense force of twenty thousand was actually annihilated (Dower 1986: 92). The data reporting this battle is in the appendix as supplementary data (as data 4.1.3) for further confirmation since conclusions to be made here are virtually the same as the cases of the battles of Attu island and Okinawa.

(3) Another datum from which deductions can be made reports a defeat in the battle of Okinawa. After the Americans landed on Okinawa on 1 April 1945, 110,000 combatants and 100,000 non-combatants were killed by 23 June, when the battle ended. Okinawa was not a part of the 'homeland' (*hondo*) yet, but already a Japanese prefecture then. Even now, after half a century, the presence of the American military bases there poses a number of controversial problems.

(4) Finally, data reporting Japan's final defeat or surrender on 15 August 1945 is analysed. Unlike the above three data, this report is not one of those issued by the Imperial War Headquarters. But quite interestingly, this report is full of references to the acts and words of the Emperor. To clarify how the report differs from those reports that describe the final defeat of the Germans and the Italians (Japan's allies), this data is placed at the end of section 4.6. on 'the friends'.

The linguistic features of war propaganda discussed so far include Actor-oriented rhetoric, the use of metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive constructions (including lexicalized use), nominalizing metaphor, Attitudinal Epithets and Mental Processes. Extensive and consistent use of all of these features in contemporary reports of the four events named above ensured that these major defeats did not appear to be defeats in the newspapers of the times. War reports of defeats followed the same discursual pattern throughout the war period in order to maintain people's morale.

First of all, a report of the fighting on Attu Island in May 1943 (1) from *the Asahi Newspaper* is presented.

#### 4.4.1. Japanese Defeat at Attu Island (May 1943)

The article reporting the defeat at Attu Island is given, translated (my translation) and semantically analysed below.

\*In the following English gloss, Voices (MIDDLE, EFFECTIVE, PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) concerned are specified after each relevant clause. The Processes are Intention Processes of Material Processes throughout with the Japanese side as Agent/Actor unless otherwise specified. Abbreviations are explained in 'a list of abbreviations' at the beginning of the thesis.

**Data 4.1.1.** (Appendix (hereafter, app.) A1-A5)

##### <Banner Headline>

(1)

|                 |           |                     |           |                  |                 |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Attu too</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>koogun</i>       | <i>no</i> | <i>shinzui o</i> | <i>hakki</i>    |
| Attu island     | in        | Imperial Army       | GEN       | spirit           | AC display      |
|                 |           | <u>Ag - Carrier</u> |           | <u>Attribute</u> | <u>Pr.: Rel</u> |

'The Imperial Army shows courage on Attu Island' (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE)

<Headline>

(2)

Yamazaki butaichoo ra zen shoohee, soozetsu, yashuu o  
 Yamazaki Commander others all soldiers magnificent night attack AC  
Actor Range

kankoo, gyokusai, teki 2 man songai 6000 kudara-zu  
 carry out scattering of the jewel enemy 20,000 damage 6000 go down-  
 NEG

Pr: Mat Pr: Mat Range Token / Patient Value Pr: Rel

'Commander Yamazaki and his men venture magnificent night attack (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) and lay down their lives (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, Nominalization), causing at least 6,000 enemy casualties (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE).'

<BODY>

(3)

Attu too shubibutai wa 5 gatsu 12 nichi ikoo kiwamete kon'nan-naru  
 Attu Island garrison TP May 12 th since quite difficult  
Actor

jyookyoo ka ni kahee yoku yuusee-naru teki ni - taishi  
 circumstance under in soldiers well superior enemy against  
Actor Patient

kessen keezoku chuu no tokoro, 5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
 bloody battle continue during GEN while May 29th night  
Pr: Mat

teki shuryoku butai ni - taishi saigo no tetsutsui o kudashi  
 enemy main garrison against final GEN hammer AC pass-do  
Patient Pr: Mental  
Range

*koogun no shinzui o hakki sen t o ketsui -shi*  
 Imperial Army GEN spirit AC display do-will COM determine -do  
Ag-Carrier Attribute Pr: Rel Pr: Mental

*zenryoku o agete sooretsu -naru koogeki o kankoo seri.*  
 all effort AC raise magnificent attack AC carry out do-PERF  
Range Pr: Mat

'The garrison on Attu Island had been continuing bloody battles against the superior enemy (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE). On the night of 29 May, reaching a final decision (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) to display the spirit of the Imperial Army, (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) they made a gallant attack with might and main (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE).'

(4)

*Jigo tsuushin mattaku tozetsu zeein gyokusai*  
 hereafter Press completely stop all scattering of the jewel  
Actor Pr: Mat  
Range

*seru mono to mitomu.*  
 do-PERF fact Comp recognise  
Pr: Mental

'After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped (MIDDLE), and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives(PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, Nominalization).'

(5)

*Shoobyoosha ni-shite koogeki ni sanku shi-e-zaru*  
 wounded or ill persons COP-and attack to participate do-can-NEG  
Actor

*mono wa koreni sakidachi jiketsu seri.*  
 people TP to this precede decide oneself do-PERF  
Actor Pr: Mat  
Range

'Those who were wounded or sick and could not participate took their own lives (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, Nominalization) preceding this final attack'.

(6)

*Waga shubibutai wa 2000 suuhyaku mee*  
 our garrison TP 2000 some hundreds people

Token Value

*ni -shite butaichoo wa rikugun taisa Yamazaki Yasuyo nari.*  
 COP-and commander TP Colonel Yamazaki Yasuyo COP  
Pr: Rel. Token Value Pr.:Rel

'Our garrison, consisting of 2,000, was led by Commander Yasuyo Yamazaki (EFFECTIVE)'.

(7)

*Teki wa tokushu yuushuu soobi no 20000 ni - shite*  
 enemy TP special superior military weapons GEN 20000 COP-and  
Token/Patient Value

*5 gatsu 28 nichi made-ni atae - taru songai 6000 o kudara-zu.*  
 May 28 th until give-PERF damage 6000 AC go-down-NEG  
Pr: Mat Range Pr: Rel

'The enemy, with superior military weapons, consisted of 20,000, and the damage we have inflicted on them (EFFECTIVE)by 28 May, at least 6,000'.

(8)

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports)... *Shubi seru zeein*  
 defend do-PERF all [people]  
Actor

*kotogotoku gyokusai shi, kakute Attu too wa*  
 consecutively scattering of the jewel do thus Attu Island TP  
Pr: Mat

Range

*koogun no shinzui hakki no seechi to-shite*  
 Imperial Army GEN spirit display GEN sacred place as  
Ag-Carrier Attribute Pr: Rel

*ee'en-ni rekishi no ue-ni shirusa-reru koto to narimashi-ta...*  
 forever history GEN on mark-PASS fact Comp become-PERF

'All the people who had been protecting the island (EFFECTIVE) laid down their lives (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, Nominalization), and thus Attu Island will remain in history as a sacred place, where the Imperial Army showed courage (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE)'.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 31 May 1943; my translation)

If we follow the basic principle of transitivity, 'who does what to whom', it can be concluded from this text that the Japanese side is described throughout as the *Actor*, and the processes are of the action type of 'intention'. The Japanese side is in control of everything they do or that happens around them. Nothing 'just happens' to them as a process 'outside their control'. In this discourse, the Agentive element always takes precedence over process. This can be observed in the sentences, as in (2) [*Commander Yamazaki and his men*] *Ventured a magnificent night attack* and (3) [*Commander Yamazaki and his men set out and*] *Made a gallant attack with might and main*. However, a closer observation may reveal that the whole passage makes extensive use of metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures (Actor + Material Process + Range or Carrier Agent + Relational Process + Attribute (nominals)), which give the impression of being EFFECTIVE structures and High Transitivity although being Low Transitivity in reality (since there is no directly affected Patient). As mentioned earlier, since the *Range* element and *Attributes* (nominals) can easily be confused with 'apparent *Patients*', it sounds as if the Japanese side did something or gained something even in their defeats. As for *Ranges*, since *Range* NP by nature always consists of an abstract NP, *Range* is often associated with metaphors or metaphorical extension of the processes. For example, 'magnificent night attack' and 'a gallant attack with might and main' are *Ranges* modified by Attitudinal Epithets, which indicate simply continuation of processes. Nevertheless, they are nominalized processes which look like 'theme-like' elements, so they give the illusion that something was achieved through their use in EFFECTIVE structures, particularly combined with the uses of Attitudinal

Epithets. In this way, process itself is thematized in the transitive PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure while what was lost or gained in the process is effaced. If (2) and (3) were phrased instead as, 'Imperial Army attacked the enemy', representing 'attack' not as a second-order 'nominal' but as a 'process verb', and foregrounding the 'enemy' as a Patient (Direct Object), the reader's attention might be 'what was the outcome?' Phrased as in (2) and (3), the reader is less likely to ask this question since their attention is focused more on what the Japanese did as process, than on what has happened to the enemy as a result. The same is true of 'the damage we have inflicted on the enemy' in (2) (7); 'the damage' is a Range which indicates simply the continuation of the process ('inflict') as there is no clear distinction between 'the damage' and 'inflict' as in 'make' and 'attack'.

Another example of metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures is the sentence (3) *Saigo no tetsutsui o kudashi* (passing the final decision). *Saigo no tetsutsui o kudasu* literally means 'passing down the iron hammer' and is used metaphorically to mean 'make a final decision', comparing 'decisions' with 'hammers'. This sentence also gives the impression of being an EFFECTIVE structure, combined with the use of the accusative morpheme *-o*, although the sentence is a metaphorical expression, which semantically represents a Mental Process (make a decision). Hence the material world is not really affected by the process.

Examples of the *Carrier-Agent + Relational Process + Attributes* (abstract nominals) construction include the sentence (1) *The Imperial Army shows courage* (with the connotation that it won the battles) with the same figure used in (3) and (8). The construction can also be a useful linguistic tool in that it can create the image that we have the EFFECTIVE transitive structure (Actor + Material Process + Patient\*) despite the fact that the Relational Process is simply concerned with abstract relationship between the *Carrier* and the *Attribute*, and the physical world is not really affected by the process.

To support this observation, as we have seen in section 4.2.2., Ryootaroo Shiba (1978: 8), the aforementioned historical novelist, notes that even from the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), unless a war report by the Army explicitly said, for example, 'we have conquered the fortress X', in the EFFECTIVE structure (Actor+ Material Process+Patient), it could be inferred that the Japanese forces were losing.

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Patient' and 'Goal'.

Also the negative images are effaced with lexicalized euphemisms, which have the structure of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, as in for example, avoiding direct references to 'death'. *Gyokusai* (lit. 'scattering of the jewel') as in sentences (2) and (4), and *jiketsu* (lit. 'decide by oneself', meaning 'commit suicide') in (5) gives the impression that the soldiers chose to die and were not killed passively. Here PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures are packaged into lexis, and an 'overlexicalization' strategy (Fowler 1981: 40) is at work to avoid such socially sensitive 'core words' as *shiboo* (die), where those who died are encoded as *Mediums* in Ergative analysis. In this way, the lexical level also functions to increase the sense of 'agentivity' or 'positivity' (see section 3.6.4. for metaphor at the lexical level). These functions all contribute to an overall conceptual framework which maintains a flow of *agentive*, goal-directed-sounding rhetoric for the Japanese side. Conversely, in spite of being the victors, the enemy's side always takes the *Patient* position as in the sentences (2), (3) and (7). In many cases 'the enemy' is pushed backward (in the case of Japanese, it is not necessarily pushed backward, but is certainly given less prominence) in a Circumstantial clause especially where the process is thematized — i.e. 'the enemy' is an Indirect Object as in (b) rather than a Direct Object as in (a) in traditional terms.

(a) We attacked the enemy. - EFFECTIVE structure

'enemy': Patient, Direct Object ... hence there is a direct interaction between 'we' and 'the enemy'.

(b) We made an attack on the enemy. - PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure

'enemy': Indirect Object ... hence there is no direct interaction between 'we' and the 'enemy'.

The pattern (b) is manipulative and useful because it can obscure the interactional relationship between 'us' and 'the enemy'; how 'we' affect 'them' while (a) can not (explained above in section 4.2.3. on nominalizing metaphor in Japanese wartime propaganda). In this way, the agentive flow of discourse is sustained while obscuring the critical interactional relationship between the Actor ('us') and the Patient ('the enemy') in reporting defeats.

Next, other data from wartime newspapers is presented, which reports Japan's defeat in Okinawa in June 1945.

#### 4.4.2. Japanese defeat at Okinawa in June 1945

The article reporting the final defeat at Okinawa is given, translated and semantically analysed below. The translation is from *the Japan Times* except headlines whose translation is mine.

Data 4.1.2. (Appendix A6, A7)

(Headline)

*Hatsuka teki shuryoku ni taihsi zeein saigo no koosee*

(Sub-headline)

*Sashyoo 8 man, gekichinha 600 seki*

*Daihonee hapyoo*

(1) *6 gatsu chuujyin ikoo ni okeru Okinawa hontoo nanbu chiku no senkyoo tsugi no gotoshi*

(a) *Waga butai wa koroku oyobi nabutoo Shimajiri chiku ni sensen o seeri shitaru nochi yuusee naru kookuu oyobi kaijyoo heeryoku shienka no teki 7 ko shidan ijyoo ni taishi, dai naru songai o ataetsutsu, zensen kantoo shi arishiga, 6 gatsu 16 nichi goro yori, chikuji teki no waga shujin chi nai shintoo o yurusuno yamunaki ni itareri.*

(b) *Oota Minoru shooi no shiki suru Koroku chiku kangun butai wa waga shuryoku no nanbu Shimajiti chiku tenshin engo ni ninjitaru nichi, 6 gatsu 13 nichi zeein saigo no kirikomi o kankoo seri.*

(c) *Okinawa hoomen saikoo shikikan Ushijima Mitsuru chuui wa 6 gatsu hatsuka teki shuryoku ni taishi zensenryoku o agete, saigo no koosee o jissshi seri.*

*Hatsuka ikoo jyookyoo kuwashika narazu*

(d) *Jigo waga shoohee no ichibu wa, nanbu too shimajiri chiku no kyoten o shishu kantoo shi aru mo 6 gatsu 22 nichi ikoo saibu no jyookyoo kuwashika narazu.*

(2) *Waga kookuu butai wa hikitsuzuki kooki o hokaku shi, dootoo shuuyuu no teki kansen oyobi kookuu kichi o koogeki suruto tononichi chijyoo sentoo ni kyooryoku shiari.*

(3) *Sakusen kaishi irai teki ni atae taru songai wa chijyoo ni okersu jin'in sahyoo saku 8 man, rettoo sen shuuhen ni okeru teki kansen gekichinha yaku 600 seki nari.*

(4) *Okinawa hoomen senjyoo no waga kan min wa teki jyooriku irai Shimada Akira chiji o chuukaku to shi, agete gun to ittai to nari, kookoku goji no tame shuushi kantoo seri.*

(Headline)

*Koogun no shinzui hakki*

(Sub headline)

*Bee, senshi rui naki shukketsu ni ononoku*

(The Asahi Newspaper, 26 June 1945)

<English gloss>

\* In the following English gloss, Processes are Material Processes of Intention with the Japanese side as Actor/Agent throughout, unless otherwise specified. Voices (MIDDLE, EFFECTIVE, PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE) concerned are specified after each relevant clause.

(Headline)

[Nippon forces] carry out final attack upon the enemy on the 20th - <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE>

(Sub-headline)

[Nippon forces] killed or wounded 80000 enemy, and sunk or damaged 600 enemy warships <EFFECTIVE>

The Imperial War Headquarters Communique follows:

(1) The War situation in the area south of Shimajiri on the main Okinawa Island after the middle of June follows:

(a) Our Forces after adjusting their firing line at Shimajiri <EFFECTIVE> have been valiantly fighting more than seven enemy divisions <EFFECTIVE> backed by numerically superior air and sea units, inflicting tremendous losses <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE> but on and around June 16 they had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions <Medium, Causative>.

(b) After supporting the deployment of our main strength to the southern sector of Shimajiri <EFFECTIVE>, all of the men of the Navy Forces in the Koroku area commanded by Rear Admiral Minoru Ota carried out their final shock attack on 13 June <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE>.

(c) With all his strength Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima, the Supreme Commander in the Okinawa area on 20 June launched the final offensive against the main enemy forces <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE>.

(d) Since then a part of our officers and men are fighting valiantly <MIDDLE> to defend the strongholds in the southern area of Shimajiri <EFFECTIVE> but the situation in detail has not fully been known on and after 22 June.

(2) Taking an opportune moment <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE>, our Air Forces are continually attacking the enemy war craft around the same island as well as the air bases <EFFECTIVE> and are cooperating in the ground battle <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE>.

(3) Losses inflicted upon the enemy <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE> since the commencement of the operations were about 80,000 killed or wounded <EFFECTIVE> on the island and about 600 enemy warships sunk or damaged <EFFECTIVE> in and around the Okinawa.

(4) Our officials and civilians on the battlefield in the Okinawa area with Governor Akira Shimada at their head united as one body <MIDDLE> with the Army have been bravely fighting for the defence of the Imperial land <MIDDLE> since the enemy landing.

(Headline)

Imperial Army shows courage <PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE, Relational>

(Sub headline)

Americans frightened by unprecedented bleeding in war history <EFFECTIVE, Mental>

Basically, the same transitivity patterns and resources are used as in the data 4.1.1. about the battle of Attu; it can be concluded from reading the text that the Japanese side, whether military or civilian, is always the 'doer', doing some purposeful action to some entity, despite the remarkable fact that they are in a totally defeated situation. All verbs expressing Material Process are those of 'doing', where the Japanese side is the Actor/Agent, and the processes are of the action type of 'intention'. They are firmly in control of everything they do. No event just happens to them as a supervention process or an event process, a process 'out of their control'. In this discourse, as well as that about Attu, the agentive element always precedes processes. By contrast, despite being victors, the enemy is always an affected entity and backgrounded semantically in underlying grammar. An exception to this is '... since the enemy landing' in (4). The 'enemy' here is clearly an Actor, but this is in a subordinate, backgrounded phrase, and besides this Actor ('the enemy') is not directly concerned with a military matter whose action directly affects the Japanese forces (i.e. the enemy simply 'landed'). Another interesting

exception to the finding that the Japanese always takes the Actor's role is the last part of 1(a), which reads that '(the Japanese forces) had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions<sup>2</sup>.' This is a causative and circumlocutory expression, which can be analysed as follows:

|                          |    |              |      |              |             |                    |
|--------------------------|----|--------------|------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1(a)                     |    |              |      |              |             |                    |
| ( <i>Waga butai wa</i> ) | 6  | <i>gatsu</i> | 16   | <i>nichi</i> | <i>goro</i> | <i>ori chikuji</i> |
| Our forces               | TP | June         | 16th | around       | since       | gradually          |
| <u>Medium</u>            |    |              |      |              |             |                    |
| <u>Initiator</u>         |    |              |      |              |             |                    |
|                          |    |              |      |              |             | <i>teki no</i>     |
|                          |    |              |      |              |             | enemy GEN          |
|                          |    |              |      |              |             | <u>Medium</u>      |
|                          |    |              |      |              |             | <u>Actor</u>       |

|                       |            |                |          |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>waga shujinchi</i> | <i>nai</i> | <i>shintoo</i> | <i>o</i> |
| our main positions    | inside     | infiltrate     | AC       |
|                       |            | Pr: Material   |          |

|                        |           |                         |                |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------------|
| <i>yurusu</i>          | <i>no</i> | <i>yamunaki ni</i>      | <i>itareri</i> |
| allow                  | GEN       | had to till             | came to        |
| Pr: Material/Causative |           | Pr: Material (ergative) |                |

'On and around 16 June, (our forces) had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions'.

In this example, 'the Japanese forces' are Patient without control over the process, in an Ergative analysis. Nevertheless, since this is an Ergative sentence, 'we had to allow the enemy', it does not induce a response 'by whom?' unlike passives. So this sentence effaces the fact that 'we' is an entity directly affected (more precisely 'defeated') by the enemy's action although in reality it surely was as an other-directed process. Rather than being directed by some external agency, this sentence gives the impression that it was a result of some natural course of events. The use of the adverb 'gradually' adds a connotation of the matter-of-course nuance. In general, undesirable processes and events are described with incompleted *aspect*, denoting uncertain duration of time (see Chapter 8 on *Aspect*). Very importantly, 'our forces' in the example is not only a Medium but at the same time, it has the Initiator's role in a causative construction who directs the action of the enemy as in 'allowed the enemy to infiltrate' although unwillingly as a Re-Actor (the Japanese). This critically suggests that 'we' are still taking control of the enemy's action despite the fact that it was a total loss for the Japanese. The enemy here is an Actor who 'was allowed to infiltrate into our main positions', which means that they 'were

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<sup>2</sup> The translation by *the Japan Times* is 'we were forced to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually into our main positions', but I changed it so that my translation reflects the original Japanese meaning and structure better.

given permission' to take that action by the Japanese who are still in control (Initiator/Agent). So even in this example, the Japanese forces are involved in an Intention Process — they are never involved in a Supervention or Event Process. The analysis of this interesting data from the perspectives of Modality and Aspect are given in the respective chapters below (chapters 7 and 8).

The 'enemy' continuously takes the role of Patient in an EFFECTIVE passive structure, such as (3) '80,000 (enemy) killed or wounded on the island and about 600 enemy warships sunk or damaged', and (2) 'continually attacking the enemy warcraft'.

The PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures are also used to give a goal-directed connotation. For example, in the headline (1), 'All carry out a final attack' is written in bigger print than the part, 'on the 20th, against the enemy'. Also a list of phrases and clauses in larger prints are:

- (1a) 'inflicting tremendous losses'
- (1b) 'carried out final shock attack'
- (1c) 'launched the final offensive against the main enemy forces'
- (2) 'cooperating in the ground battle'
- (headline 2) 'The Imperial Army show courage' (Relational Process)

The 'enemy' is also described as the Patient of a Mental Process as in (sub-headline 2) 'The Americans frightened by unprecedented bleeding in war history'. Mental Process is simply an 'internalized' process and so does not refer to what has happened in the material world, but still it gives the image that the 'enemy' was affected by 'us'.

Attitudinal Epithets are also used to add colours such as in (1a), (1d) 'have been valiantly fighting', and (4) 'have been bravely fighting for the defense of the Imperial land'.

Examples of nominalizing metaphor are (headline 1) 'final attack', (1a) 'inflicting heavy losses', (1b) 'final shock attack', 'supporting of the deployment' (*tenshin engo*), (2) 'opportune moment', (4) 'the defence of the Imperial land' (*kookoku goji*). These are Lyons' second-order nominals (abstract entities), not concrete first-order

entities, but they give the impression that something concrete was achieved through their uses even in Japanese defeats.

In this way, various transitive resources are included, Actor-oriented rhetoric on the Japanese side, PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE constructions, Attitudinal Epithets, Nominalizing Metaphor. They are exploited as in the case of report of the defeat at Attu (data 4.1.1.) - in fact, they are main features of Japanese wartime reporting throughout.

Unlike the report of Attu (1943), there is no reference to death in this Okinawa report. The matter of factuality is also at issue as well as its grammatical realisation. The battle of Attu, being the first major defeat acknowledged by the Japanese government, still reported death openly as in the aforementioned data, even if euphemistically. However, in the later stages of the war, the fact of death was not even openly announced; as casualties in the main battles in which the Japanese lost, such as the battles of Okinawa and Yiojima (1945) were not mentioned. It is obvious that casualties inflicted upon the Japanese forces and civilians were much greater in 1945 than in 1943, as the war situation became more desperate for the Japanese. For example, in Attu 2000 soldiers died, but in Okinawa, the only place in Japan where the ground battle was fought, a total of 200,000 combatants and non-combatants were killed. Despite all this, only the positive aspects of information were reported officially in the final stages of the war, avoiding the mention of death on the Japanese side. This may be because the censorship regulations were more institutionalized and, in a way sophisticated, to avoid the breakdown of people's morale as the war situation became worse.

### **4.3. Non-censored discourse in wartime Japanese**

The last section discussed the fact that the Japanese consistently used agentive rhetoric along with other linguistic resources (Attitudinal Epithets, nominalization, metaphorization of process or lexis), to reinforce the positive discursal flow in reporting their defeats in war reportage. These were important features of Japanese propaganda during the war. Nevertheless, in order to characterise its nature as propaganda, it is necessary to test that they are part of a 'deliberate', 'deviant' usage of language departing from the 'norm'; that Japanese language allows other 'standard', clear-cut ways of expressing defeats. One way to test this is to look at non-censored discourse written by those who are not involved in the activities of the

mass-media, and need not be so sensitive to public opinion. In a famous collection of diaries by soldiers during the war, *Kike wadatsumino koe*, the same phenomena of casualties or defeat is expressed in an EFFECTIVE passive voice in an Event Process, not an Intention Process by a soldier. The relevant verbs and particles have been underlined.

Data 4.2.1.

(1) *10 gatsu 14 kka (doyoobi) (Shoowa 19 nen)*

(2) ... *Issakijitsu kara tekki wa Taiwan o kuushuu shiteori, Okinawa mo yara-reta to iunoni...* (3) *Watashitachi wa aikawarazu shoono naikoto o butsubutsu ii, inemuriwo shi, uta wo utatteiru.* (4) *Bougainville too oki no kookuusen dewa sentooki wa 60 paasento, koogekiki bakugeki ki wa 95 kara 98 paasento, teesatsuki wa zenki yara-rete shimatte iru.* (5) *Hikooki nori to iumono no kakugo ga, watashitachiga kangaete iruyori, haruka ijyoo no monode nakereba naranai koto o imasarani kangae-sasera-reta...* (6) *Kookaigakko no maru 3 kagetsu no seekatsu, ato 2 kagetsu no 'ikoi' no hi o oetanaraba, watashi wa dai issen ni tobikonde iku.* (7) *Aikawarazu no shooshin sa to, shinkeeshitsu o gunjin seeshin no oburaato ni tsutsumikonde...*

<English gloss>

(1) Saturday, 4 October, (1944)

(2) ... Since the day before yesterday, the enemy's plane has been air-bombing Taiwan (ACC) (Japanese territory, then), and it is said that Okinawa has been destroyed...

(3) We are, as usual, rambling, sleeping and singing...

(4) In an air fighting off Bougainville Island (in the Solomon Islands), 60 % of battle planes, 95 - 98 % of offensive and bombing planes, and all reconnaissance planes have been destroyed. (5) It has made me realize after such a long time that the determination required to be a pilot is much greater than what I have expected...

(6) - (7) After three months in navigation school and two months' practicum, I will rush into the fighting front, wrapping my inherent cowardice and nervousness into the medicinal wafer of military spirits.

(Wada 1994: 292-293; my translation)

(2) and (4) encode 'our side' as Patient in an EFFECTIVE passive structure with the uses of the passive morpheme *-re* and an accusative morpheme *-o* on 'our' side in a straightforward way, as follows:

|                      |           |                  |                |                  |
|----------------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (2) ... <i>tekki</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>Taiwan o</i>  | <i>kuushuu</i> | <i>shiteori,</i> |
| enemy's planes       | TP        | Taiwan <u>AC</u> | air-bomb       | do - PROG-and    |
| Agent                |           | Patient          | Pr: Mat.       |                  |

*Okinawa mo yara-re-ta ...*

Okinawa also do-PASS-PERF

Patient Pr: Mat

|                         |           |                     |                              |                   |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| (4) ... <i>sentooki</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>60 paasento,</i> | <i>koogekiki</i>             | <i>bakugekiki</i> | <i>wa</i> |
| battle planes           | TP        | 60 percent          | offensive and bombing planes | TP                |           |
| Patient                 |           |                     | Patient                      |                   |           |

|                |                     |                       |           |              |                   |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>95 kara</i> | <i>98 paasento,</i> | <i>teesatsu ki</i>    | <i>wa</i> | <i>zenki</i> | <i>yara-re-te</i> |
| 95 from        | 98 percent          | reconnaissance planes | TP        | all          | do-PASS-PERF      |
|                |                     | Patient               |           |              | Pr: Material      |

*shimatte-iru*

complete-PERF

The Japanese side is clearly expressed as Patient: what is significant is the adopting of an EFFECTIVE passive construction with the use of the passive morpheme *-re* to describe the defeat of Okinawa in (2) and their casualties in (4). An accusative marker *-o* is used in (2) (Japan as a Patient). Besides, there are no uses of Attitudinal Epithets or nominalizing metaphor to glorify or obfuscate what has happened as in the official (censored) discourse. This kind of clear-cut linguistic manifestation, written with an Event Process, was not found in the wartime 'official' discourse in Japan, in which the whole discourse was based on the Intention Process.

#### 4.6. The friends: how the defeats of the 'allies' are expressed in wartime Japanese journalism

This section analyses how the defeat or death of the Germans and the Italians who were then Japan's allies were expressed in Japanese newspapers. As we have seen,

Japanese propagandistic use of language obscured their defeats based on the following principles. To reiterate them:

- (1) The Japanese side is consistently given the role of an active Agent/Actor who is in command of the situation in an Intention Process.
- (2) The enemy's side always takes the *Patient* role in an Event or a Supervention Process.
- (3) Attitudinal Epithets (i.e. evaluative and emotive adverbs and adjectives) were used to deflect a reader's attention from *what* actually happened (with verb effacing *Patient* on our side) to *how* things happened, and thus adds a positive goal-directed connotation to discourse.
- (4) Metaphorical expressions at process, extension, and lexical level, are often used to hide all the pessimism so that the overall rhetoric has a positive connotation about what the nation is doing.

Nevertheless, I have emphasized that in order to identify their characteristics as propaganda, it is necessary to test that the above mentioned linguistic features are 'deviant' usage departing from the norm; that the Japanese language allows other 'standard', non-propagandistic ways of expressing defeats and death, with direct pessimistic nuances, such as those found in the non-censored discourse of the soldier's diary, as we saw in the previous section.

Let us see how defeats of Germany and Italy, which were then Japan's allies were expressed in the same Japanese newspaper (*the Asahi Newspaper*). Germany and Italy were Japan's principal allies during the Second World War. To use Siegfried Kracauer's terms, they are adequately classified as 'in-group people' while the enemy may be termed 'out-group people' (Kracauer 1962: 274). Nevertheless, in spite of being Japanese allies, they are not strictly 'in-group people' in the sense that the Japanese were not directly involved in their defeats, and that their defeats would not have much effect on public opinion within Japan whereas their own defeats could directly affect national morale. So their negative outcome need not be hidden or obscured as seriously as Japan's own defeats. Therefore, according to my analysis, the aforementioned propagandistic features should not appear in describing the defeats of Germany and Italy in Japanese newspapers.

The following are some typical examples from headlines to describe the death of the Japanese leaders and soldiers, with Actor-oriented rhetoric of an Intention Process,

euphemisms, and Attitudinal Epithets, just for review. The participant functions are indicated within the square brackets [ ] and other important linguistic devices are underlined. When a garrison on Attu island was wiped out by the Americans in May 1943, the headlines carried as follows:

Data 4.3.1.

<Headline>

*Yamazaki butaichoo ra zenshoohее*

*Soozetsu, yashuu o kankoo gyokusai*

Commander Yamazaki and all his men [Actors] carry out a night attack and lay down their lives

(The Asahi Newspaper, 31 May 1943)

Similarly,

Data 4.3.2.

<Headline>

*Sooretsu, Saipan no gekitoo*

*Tanshin, shireebu kishuu*

*Sooretsu, tekizen de kappuku*

How heroic a fierce battle in Saipan is!

Commander [Actor] by himself gives a surprise attack

How brave! The commander [Actor] commits *hara-kiri* (took his own life) before the eyes of the enemy

(The Asahi Newspaper, 15 July 1944)

Data 4.3.4.

*Solomon hoomen shikikan*

*Soozetsu-naru jibaku*

Commander [Agent] bravely crashed his own plane against the target in Solomon area

(The Asahi Newspaper, 5 March 1943)

There are a few cases found describing the Japanese as Medium in the Ergative structure. However, in that case, they are used in collocation with Attitudinal Epithets (emotive, superlative adverbs or adjectives), such as *magnificent* or *gallant* and not used on their own without those Attitudinal Epithets. For example, when Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku was shot down over the Pacific in April 1943, the incident was reported as follows:

Data 4.3.5.

*Aa! Yamamoto Isoroku gensui*  
*Sooretsu, hikooki jyoo de senshi*

*Shoori no michi wa fudoo*  
*Gensui no bukun bandai fumetsu*

Oh! Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku [Medium] magnificently died (*senshi*) on the plane  
The way to the victory is certain  
His distinguished military services have won eternal fame

(The Asahi Newspaper, 22 May 1943)

It was considered to be humiliating for a Japanese soldier to accept defeat and the role of *Patient*. So, to produce the rhetoric of active agentivity in control, such metaphorical expressions or euphemisms as *gyokusai*, *sanga*, *chiru*, *kappuku* (*harakiri*), *jibaku*, which mean 'lay down one's life' or 'dedicate one's life' with the adverb *soozetsu* (brave, heroic) were frequently used. The idea behind this is that rather than being killed and becoming *Patient*, you kill yourself or are *Agent* of your own life and death. With these 'coloured' or highly defamiliarized expressions, the image of defeat or passivity is concealed.

However, these agentive, coloured expressions are not used to report the death of German and Italian leaders in Japanese newspapers. That is, those who die take the role of a Medium in an Ergative sentence or a Patient in an EFFECTIVE passive structure, both of them suggest the participant was not in control of events. While the Intention Process was used to encode Japanese people's death, with them being Actor/Agent, the deaths of Germans or Italians were expressed non-metaphorically, in an Event or Supervention Process, in which processes take precedence over intention. The following are the examples of the defeats of Japan's allies. The final

stages of German and Italian leaders such as Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and Mussolini are given below. The following data are from the Asahi Newspaper and the English translation is mine. The relevant parts are underlined and a participant function is given within brackets [ ].

#### 4.6.1. Hitler's death

First of all, the report on Hitler's death is given below.

Data 4.3.6.

*Hitler kooky su*

Führer Hitler [Medium] dies (*kooky su*) [Pr.: Mat] (Ergative)

<Berun> *Suisu hoosoo no tsutaeru tokoro ni yoreba, dokugawa ni nokosareta yuiitsu no hoosookyoku taru Hamburg radio wa, Hitler sootoo ga kooky shita mune Doitsu jikan tsuitachi gogo 9 ji 25 fun hoosoo shita to iwareru*

According to the Swiss broadcast, the Hamburg Radio, the only radio station left for the Germans, broadcasted at 9:25 a.m. on the first of May, that Führer Hitler [Medium] died.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 3 May 1945)

Data 4.3.7.

*Tsuitachi gogo Hitler sootoo ga buki o te ni sootoo kaidan o oriru saichuu, sekigun no hanatta ichidan wa sootoo no seemie o ubatte shimmatta.. Hitler sootoo wa Berlin no eeyuuteki booesha tachi no jintoo ni tatte sentoochuu ni taoreta.*

When Führer Hitler was climbing down the stairs with arms in his hand, one bullet from the Red Army deprived him [Patient] of his life. Hitler [Agent], while leading his heroic defenders of Berlin, (Hitler) [Medium] fell down in the battle<sup>3</sup>

(The Asahi Newspaper, 4 May 1945)

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<sup>3</sup> It is commonly believed that Hitler in fact, attempted to die together with his newly-married wife, Eva Braun. But that story was reported in a distorted way as in the Asahi newspaper. But still, his death is not idealized as much as reporting the deaths of Japanese leaders.

Hitler takes the roles of a Goal in an EFFECTIVE passive structure (one bullet took his life in data 4.3.7.) and a Medium in an Ergative structure (Hitler died, Hitler fell down as in data 4.3.6. - 4.3.7.). His death is described as the result of a Supervention Process in these examples. It means that Hitler died as one who was out of control of the situation unlike Japanese leaders and soldiers, who always chose to die in Intention Process, in their description.

*Kookyo* is a polite form for 'die', which is used for the Royal family members or those who are higher ranking than commoners. Politeness is a part of Halliday's Interpersonal Function of language rather than that of Ideational Function. Ideationally, *kookyo* is an Ergative verb with the Subject taking the Medium role (affected participant who was not in control of events, not a doer). The important point is that Hitler's death is not idealized or glorified in terms such as those used for Japanese leaders or soldiers along with Attitudinal Epithets (emotive, evaluative adverbs) or with highly metaphorical expressions (e.g. *gyokusai*, *sanga*). For example, the following grammatical patterns were not used to express Hitler's death:

Data 4.3.8.

× *Soozetsu, Hitler saigo no gokun o kazaru*

*Hitler gyokusai su, (sanga su or chiru)*

Heroic! Hitler [Actor] has made the final military achievement

Hitler [Actor] gallantly met death (or) Hitler [Actor] bravely laid down his life.

So the style actually used to report Hitler's death is straightforward where 'Hitler' takes the Patient role in a Supervention Process. In this way, death or the capture of other German and Italian leaders were reported in a direct, clear-cut way as a Supervention Process, not as an Intention Process. Unlike the cases of reporting Japanese death or loss, the Germans or Italians who lost or died take a Medium in an Ergative construction, a Patient in an EFFECTIVE passive, or an Actor in a MIDDLE structure but without euphemisms (e.g. *gyokusai* is euphemistic with the one who died expressed as an Actor). The following are some examples reporting death or loss of other German and Italian leaders.

#### 4.6.2. Göebbels's death

Data 4.3.9.

*Göebbels sendensoo jisatsu-su*

Propaganda Minister Göebbels commits suicide

<Moscow, futsuka happyoo> Soviet jyoohookyoku wa futsuka no koohoo ni oite 'Göebbels hakushi ga jisatsu shita' mune happyoo-shita.

<2rd May, Moscow> Soviet Intelligence Agency officially announced that Dr. Göebbels [Medium] committed suicide. (Ergative)

(The Asahi Newspaper, 4 May 1945)

*Jisatsu* (commit suicide) is a non-metaphorical, 'bare' expression, and never used for Japanese leaders during war. These incidents, when they took place, were concealed during war in Japan. Even when such incidents were broadcast, the expressions were 'coloured' along with such expressions as *harakiri*, *seppuku*, *jiketsu* or *jibaku* (lay down one's life or dedicate one's life).

#### 4.6.3. Göring's arrest

The following article reports Göring's arrest when Germany lost. Again, Japanese text below is from *The Asahi Newspaper*, and the English translation is my own.

Data 4.3.10

*Göring torawaru*

'Göring [Patient] captured' (EFFECTIVE, passive)

<Zurich> (1) *Bee dai 7 gun wa Göering gensui narabini Kesselring gensui o taiho shita.* (2) *Taiho-sareru ni saishi, Göering gensui wa 4 gatsu 24 kka 'yo wa Berchtes Garden kara denwa de sootoo ni taishi Doitsu shidoosha no chii ni shuunin shiyoo to mooshideta tame Hitler sootoo kara shikee o senkoku-sare, tsuitachi, shireetai ni taiho-sare taga, yo no buka no kuugun shoohee ni yotte kyuujoyo sareta noda' to katatta.* (3) *Göering gensui wa, Kitzubüher (Insburg toohoo) toohoo no dooro jyoo de fujin oyobi kodomo tachi to tomoni taiho-sareta no dearu.*

The translation and analysis of the relevant part are as follows:

(1) The American 7th Army [Agent] arrested Admiral Göring [Patient] and Kesselring [Patient]...

... ..

(3) Göring [Patient] was arrested together with his wife and his children on the road in the east of Kitzbühler (east of Innsbruck)

- (EFFECTIVE, passive)

(The Asahi Newspaper, 11 May 1945)

#### 4.6.4. Mussolini's death

Data 4.3.11.

*Mussolini toosui satsugai-saru*

Commander Mussolini [Patient] killed - (EFFECTIVE, passive)

<Zurich 29 nichi hatsu>

*29 nichi Reuter tsuushin ga Rome kara Partisan shihaika no Milan hoosoo to shite tsutaeru tokoro ni yoreba, Mussolini toosui wa taiho-sare-ta nochi, Como fukin no ichi sonraku de Partisan no te ni yotte satsugai-sare-ta. Nao Mussolini toosui no hoka ni Falinaci, Pavolini, Bufalini, Metsualia shoshi mo dooyoo shikee ni shose-rare-ta mune-dearu.*

... After being arrested, Commander Mussolini [Patient] was killed in a village near Lake Como by the hands of Partisans. In addition to Mussolini [Patient], Falinaci, Pavolini, Bufalini and Metsualia [Patient] were also condemned to death.

- (EFFECTIVE, passive)

(The Asahi Newspaper, 2 May 1945)

Thus, we can observe a world of passivity, which is rarely seen in Japanese discourse reporting about themselves during war. Also, when a Locative comes as a Subject, it is also passivised either as a Patient in an EFFECTIVE passive or a Medium in an Ergative sentence as in the data 4.3.12 - 4.3.18 below.

#### 4.6.5. The final defeat of Germany and Italy

The following data reporting the final defeat of Germany and Italy, have a Locative as a Subject such as 'Munich', 'Berlin' and 'Germany'. The Locatives are either Patient in EFFECTIVE passive structures or Mediums in Ergative structures in a world of passivity. The relevant parts are underlined to make my point.

Data 4.3.12.

Munich otsu

*Bee dai 7 gun totsunyuu*

Munich [Medium] fell

American 7th Army [Actor] rushed into the city

(The Asahi Newspaper, 1 May 1945)

Data 4.3.13.

Berlin kanraku

*Stalin gensui kanzen senryoo o fukoku*

Berlin [Medium] fell

Com. Stalin declared the complete occupation

*... Zhukov gensui shiki ka no dai ichi hakuro sensensha wa... Berlin o futsuka kanzen ni senryoo shita. Webring hoohee taishoo o shikikan to suru Berlin shubitai wa mikka gogo 3 ji teekoo o teeshi shi, buki o sute koofuku-shita...*

... The first White Russian tanks [Agent] under the command of Com. Zhukov occupied Berlin [Patient] completely on the 2nd of May. Berlin defenders [Medium] under the command of Com. Webling, (Berlin defenders) [Re-Actor] stopped its resistance and (Berlin defenders) [Medium] surrendered...

*Kancyoogai mo tsuini sooshitsu*

(Berlin's) Stronghold [Medium] (streets with government offices) finally lost

<Stockholm tokuden 2ka hatsu> Dokugun no teni aru Humburg hoosookyoku no tsutaetaru tokoro ni yoreba, Berlin no kancyoogai Wilhelm Strasse wa tsui ni Soren gun no te ni kishita to iwareru...

<Stockholm, 2nd May> According to Hamburg broadcast which belonged to the Germans, Wilhelm Strasse, [Medium] stronghold with Berlin's government offices, finally fell to the Russians' hands.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 4 May 1945)

Data 4.3.14

Doitsu haisen no michi o tadoru

Retracing the ruins of defeated Germany [Medium]

... Doitsu no koofuku wa tokuni waga kuni ni totte, ikan to surutokoro de atta. ... Kono kakan kyoojin naru Doitsu-jin ga nazeni yabure-ta-ka...

... The surrender of Germany was regrettable especially to our country... Why were such brave Germans [Patient] defeated?...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 17 May 1945)

Data 4.3.15

Denitz sootoo hoosoo

Nazi too wa shoometsu

Admiral Dönitz broadcasts, 'Nazi Party [Medium] vanished'

... Wareware wa (Denitz) zenka no jyoosee ni motozuku kakoku na genjitsu ni chokumen shinakereba naranai. Nazi too wa sude ni kiesatta. ... Doitsu ga senryoo-sareta kekka, yo to yo ga ninmeeshita Doitsu seefu no koodoo wa moppara senryoogun no kettee ni matanakereba naranai...

... We (Dönitz and the Germans) have to face the harsh reality under this situation. The Nazi Party [Medium] has already disappeared. ... As a result Germany [Patient] is occupied, and the action for the German government to take should be left to the decisions of the occupation forces.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 10 May 1945)

Data4.3.16.

*Ooshuusen tsuini shuuryoo*

*Doitsu no zengun koofuku su*

The war in Europe finally ends

All the German armed forces [Medium] surrender

<Stockholm> *Doku sootoo Denitsch teetoku ga Doku zengun ni taishi mujyooken koofuku o meeree shita mune happyoo shita*

<Stockholm> It was announced that German leader, Admiral Dönitz ordered German armed forces [Patient] to surrender unconditionally

(The Asahi Newspaper, 9 May 1945)

Data 4.3.17.

*Nazi no seeryaku koofuku*

Nazi's political strategy [Medium] failed

(The Asahi Newspaper, 8 May 1945)

Data 4.3.18.

(1) *Haisen Doitsu no jissoo*

(2) *Amasunaki tettee hakai*

(3) *Gareki no Berlin shi isshoku*

(1) - (2) Reality of defeated Germany [Patient] after complete destruction

(3) Berlin is full of heap of rubbles and dead bodies all over

(4) ... *Kondo no sensoo ga Doitsu kokumin ni ataeta hakai wa sorehodo kanzen de ari, amasu kotonaku tettee shiteita....*

(4) ...The destruction this war has brought to Germany [Patient] is thorough....

(The Asahi Newspaper, 5 June 1945)

Data 4.3.19.

*Itaria mujyooken koofuku*

Italy [Medium] unconditionally surrenders

.. *Itaria zengun wa mujyooken koofuku shitaru mune... ... Itaria seefu wa Bee Ee gun ni taishi, mujyooken koofuku shi, suujiku sensen yori datsuraku surukototo natta...*

... The Italian government [Medium] unconditionally surrendered to the British and American armed forces, and has been excluded from the Axis nations...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 10 September 1943)

As is obvious by now, *kanraku* (fall) as in *Berlin kanraku* or *München kanraku*, in which Subjects are encoded as Mediums or Patients in a broad sense, were not used to describe Japan's own defeats in Japanese newspaper. That means the following patterns did not appear in Japanese newspapers:

× (4.14) *Okinawa kanraku*      Okinawa surrenders

× (4.15) *Attu kanraku*              Attu Island surrenders

#### **4.6.6. How Japan's final defeat was reported in Japanese newspapers**

Even to report Japan's final defeat on 15 August 1945, when the Pacific War ended, the passivised style of *koofuku* (surrender) or *kanraku* (fall) were not used in Japanese newspapers. The whole discourse was still Actor-oriented to represent the Japanese side, and so there were no such uses as Medium in Ergatives or Patients in EFFECTIVE passives, as were used to describe the losses of the Germans or the Italians (Japan's allies). Therefore, the following grammatical patterns did not appear in Japanese newspapers:

× (4.16) *Tokyo*                      *koofuku*

'Tokyo [Medium] surrendered'

× (4.17) *Tokyo*                      *kanraku*

'Tokyo [Medium] fell'

× (4.18) *Tokyo*                      *haitai*

'Tokyo [Medium] lost'

Instead, the following Actor-oriented rhetoric on the Emperor's sacred act was used as appeared in headlines in the Asahi Newspaper on the day Japan surrendered. The politest forms are used to refer to the Emperor while humble-polite expressions are used to refer to his people, for the effect of elevating the Emperor and lowering his people. (See section 2.4.5. for the use of polite forms and honorific expressions). The English translation is mine.

Data 4.3.20. (app. A10-13)

*Shinbakudan no sangai ni oomi gokoro* [↑↑]

*Teekoku, yongoku sengen o jyudaku*

*Kashikoshi* [↑↑], *bansee no tame, taihee o hiraku*

(The Emperor) [Agent-Senser] was concerned [↑↑] about [Pr: Mental] the heavy damage [Phenomenon] inflicted by the new bomb (atomic bomb).

Imperial Nation (Japan) [Agent] has accepted [Pr: Mat] the proposal [Patient] by the four nations (UK, USA, USSR, China).

Awesome! [↑↑] (the Emperor) [Agent] has restored [Pr: Mat] the peace [Patient] for the entire world.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1945)

Data 4.3.21.

*Gyokuon o haishite* [↓] *kanrui oetsu*

*Ichioku no michi goshooji* [↑↑]

*Kashikoshi* [↑↑], *onmikara shoosho go-hoosoo* [↑↑]

*Gyokuon ni chikai tatematsuru* [↓] *ketsui*

People [Actor] listened [↓] to the Emperor's announcement, and were moved to tears [Pr: Mental].

He [Agent] showed [Pr: Mat] [↑↑] the way [Range] for a hundred million people.

Awesome! [↑↑] He [Agent] himself made [Pr: Mat] [↑↑] a proposal [Patient].

We [Agent-Senser] made a resolution [Pr: Mental] [↓] to do as he said.

*Tennoo heeka*

*Akago no ueni go-yuuryo* [↑↑]

*Senkyoku gokenen* [↑↑] *no gonichijyoo*

In his daily life the Emperor [Agent-Senser] was concerned [↑↑] about [Pr: Mental] his babies [i.e. his people] and the war situation [Phenomena]

(The Asahi Newspaper, 16 August 1945)

Data 4.3.22.

*Rekishiteki rongi no 6 ka*

*Seedan [↑↑] wa tsui ni kudaruru*

*Ichioku, oomi gokoro [↑↑] ni kiitsu sen*

*Tamajyari nigirishimetsutsu*

*Kyuujoyoo o haishi [↓] tada namida*

*Aa, munezoko yomigaeru 8 nen no tatakai*

*Mune yaku tsuufun tae nukan kunan no michi*

It took the Emperor [Agent] six days to make [Pr: Mat] the historical decision [Range].

The holy decision [Range] [↑↑] was finally made [Pr: Mat].

A hundred million will follow the will of the Emperor [↑↑].

People [Senser] only wept, with their hearts full of sorrow (grasping grave) [Pr: Mental], looking up [↓] towards the palace [Pr: Behavioural].

Oh, eight years' fighting that revives in hearts.

The pain burns in our hearts, but let us survive the journey along the road of hardship.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1945)

In this discourse of reporting on Japan's finally 'defeated day' or 'humiliation day', there is complete avoidance of negative terms or reference to something bad. The newspaper still did not want to say 'we lost', 'we were defeated' or 'we surrendered' directly in a Material Process. Throughout the discourse, the theme is the Emperor or his people, and the predicate is the Intention Process of the Emperor or Imperial Nation (Japan) in Material, Mental or Behavioural Processes. They are expressed in the politest form with the Actor-oriented rhetoric to represent the Emperor. Humble-polite forms are used to refer to his people to elevate him. Moreover, the discourse is entirely based on a high level of abstraction. PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE

structures are used. The following examples are drawn from the above data: 'the holy decision was finally made (by the Emperor)' (data 4.3.22), 'the Emperor showed the way for a hundred million people' (data 4.3.21), 'the Emperor has restored the peace for the entire world', 'it took him six days to make the historical decision' (data 4.3.22). Also abundantly used are Lyons' second order nominals or abstract entities, such as 'peace', 'the holy decision', 'the way', 'the will of the Emperor' and Mental Process verbs as in 'the Emperor concerned about his people and the war situation' (data 4.2.20), 'We made a resolution to do as the Emperor said' (data 4.3.21), 'People were moved to tears at the Emperor's announcement' (data 4.3.21). The use of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures and Mental Processes allows abstraction to obfuscate 'defeats'. It is almost impossible to tell from this discourse 'what actually happened' in the material world on that day.

#### 4.6.7. Summary

In this way, the defeat, death or capture of the Germans and the Italians leaders (Japanese allies then) were described clearly and directly with an Event Process (e.g. 'Munich fell') or a Supervention Process (e.g. 'Hitler died', 'Commander Mussolini was killed', 'Goering was captured'<sup>4</sup>). They are assigned grammatical roles explicitly as Mediums in Ergatives or Patients in EFFECTIVE passives, who were out of control of the situation. Process takes precedence over intention in this discourse, quite contrary to Japanese propaganda to describe themselves. Attitudinal Epithets or euphemisms were not used to idealize and glorify what had happened. So what had happened in the physical, material world is explained very clearly.

The Patient-orient rhetoric used for defeats of Germany and Italy, as well as for Japan's enemies, is 'the norm' even in Japanese language although this style was not used for reporting Japan's own defeats. It is suggested that with Germans and Italians, these clear-cut expressions as above were used since Japan was not directly involved in their defeats nor would their defeats have much impact on the readers of Japanese newspapers. Therefore, those 'coloured' expressions, i.e. propaganda, were used only to refer to themselves (the Japanese) to create positive image. Thus,

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<sup>4</sup> This may be an Intention Process from the point of view of the Agents (i.e. who captured Goering), but from the viewpoint of the person who was captured (i.e. Goering), it is still a Supervention Process, which took place beyond his control, unwillingly and unexpectedly. The same can be said for 'Commander Mussolini was killed'.

positive rhetoric is used in reference to the Japanese while negative aspects were not concealed where newspapers referred to nations other than Japan, even for their allies. The ethical concept of *haji* (shame) only operates in allusion to inside-group people (*uchi*), not with reference to the outside-group people(*soto*).

#### **4.7. Comparison with discourse of international conflicts in peacetime:**

##### **Competition for limited resources**

##### **Wartime versus peacetime**

As explained earlier, the Japanese wartime newspapers consistently used the Actor-oriented rhetoric to represent their side, often accompanied by metaphorical or euphemistic expressions and Attitudinal Epithets (evaluative adverbs or adjectives) even in defeats. Nevertheless, in order to characterise the language of wartime reporting as propaganda, it is necessary to show that the linguistic usage departed from the 'norm', in other words, that the Japanese language allows other 'standard' ways of expressing defeats, as I have emphasized and shown in data samples taken from a non-censored soldier's diary and newspapers reporting on Japan's allies at the time. For further confirmation of the existence of unusual linguistic and rhetorical patterns in war propaganda, a comparison with discourse in peacetime international conflicts or competition is desirable. To confirm it, a question may arise as follows:

**Question:** when Japan is in competition or in conflict with other countries in peacetime for limited resources as in wartime, do they still display the same linguistic manifestation as in wartime?

The hypothetical answer is NO, which could confirm the existence of war rhetoric.

A representation of the discourse of peacetime conflicts or competition to be compared with that of real wartime should meet the following conditions. The texts should be about something:

(1) of international significance.

(2) of national significance.

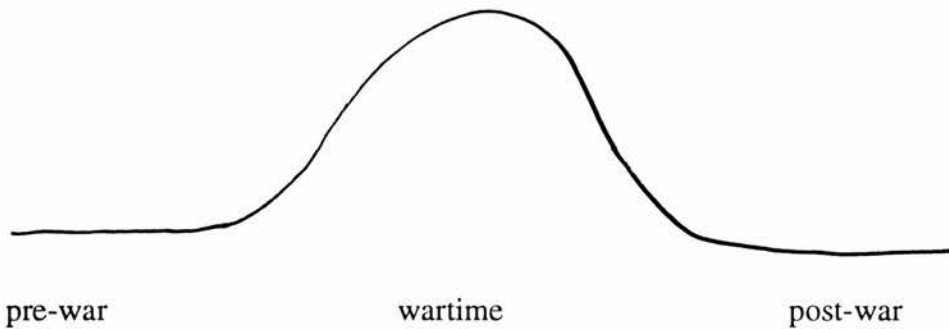
(3) nationalistic: where competitions exist for limited resources whether they are material or abstract, such as 'honour' as in the Olympic Games.

(4) drawn both from the pre-war and the post-war periods to certify that the expected differences in results between war and peacetime is not simply due to historical language change.

(5) that did not require a total mobilization of public opinion for certain national causes unlike wartime (since the nation is already formed as a 'nation' in peacetime).

(6) in which danger was not so imminently felt as in wartime in a large scale as a nation, so, it should be 'non-critical' peacetime rhetoric.

Through comparison, I should like to corroborate that certain linguistic phenomena (transitivity, naming and pronouns, topic development, modality, metaphor) are found predominantly in wartime discourse as the following chart shows:



**Figure 4.1. Comparison of particular language features between wartime and peacetime discourses**

As representation of peacetime international conflicts, the following cases are examined:

- (i) the Olympic Games (sports) - as a case of 'clash of honour' among nations
- (ii) whaling (as an example of trade friction)
- (iii) the incident of the shooting down of a Korean passenger plane carrying some Japanese passengers, by a Russian fighter plane (as an example of the incidents which reflect the East-West conflict but yet not a real war)

There is a spread of topics to give variety for much stronger confirmation. The data will be presented from pre-war to post-war periods, spreading over topics, to provide a coherent frame of content. Although topics have different situations of

conflicts or competition, there is the same realisation of 'ideational' content - that of victory or defeat. The question is how to 'perceive' and encode in the language the 'interaction' or 'transaction' between 'us' and 'them' ('our' adversary, i.e. enemy or opponent) in these international conflicts or competition.

#### **4.7.1. Comparison between real war and conflicts or competition in peacetime: an overview**

##### **Similarities**

- (1) They are both international events, something of national significance.
- (2) They are both nationalistic competition or conflicts for limited resources including national honour.

##### **Differences**

- (1) In wartime there is an urgent need to mobilize the whole public opinion since danger is imminent.

In case of peacetime there is no need to be conscious of public opinion as much as in wartime since the result does not seriously affect the course of a nation as much as in the period of real war.

- (2) In time of war *instrumental language*<sup>1</sup>, implying propagandistic, manipulative language is used.

In peacetime *expressive language*, including non-propagandistic, straightforward, informative language or factual messages are employed.

- (3) Wartime involves the process of nationality formation (e.g. Greater East Asia) which is actually an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983, 1991, discussed in section 1.3.).

In peacetime nationality is already formed.

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<sup>1</sup> This distinction of *instrumental* and *expressive language* originates in Kecskemeti (1973). Instrumental language is concerned with 'the message types designed to inculcate beliefs and attitudes in the recipient corresponding to the communicator's intent, or to stimulate some overt behavioural response'. By contrast, works of poetry and imaginative literature or daily messages such as 'what a nice day!' or 'it's raining' are expressive messages (Kecskemeti, *ibid.*: 858-959).

(4) In wartime nationalism is created by officially organized propaganda enforced from above.

In peacetime nationalism is the result of people's spontaneous desire for and common interest in a comfortable, secure life both socially and economically.

#### 4.7.2. Olympic Games

In *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (1979), Espy defines the nature of the Olympic Games in connection with politics and nationalism in the following terms:

The Olympic Games began as a forum for the youth of the world to unite in peaceful competition through sport... (Nevertheless) by identifying the athletes with their respective states, each athlete was subordinated to the states as its contestant. The athletes were not adjudged as individuals. Inevitably they were identified as representatives of their states. ... (The Olympic officials) structured their Games and organizations along nationalistic lines, thereby enhancing the inherent potential for nationalism. States merely capitalized on and supported an idea that was to their benefit (163-164) (emphasis added).

In this way, the system of the Olympic Games 'is also a stage upon which political forces are displayed in competition' (Espy, *ibid.*: 18). With these ideas in mind, specifically, the following games are chosen to be explored for the following reasons:

##### **Pre-war period**

1936 Berlin Olympic Games — after the games in Berlin, two games in 1940 and 1944 were not held because of the war

##### **Post-war period**

1952 Helsinki Olympic Games — the first Olympic Games Japan joined after the war (Japan did not join the one held in London in 1948)

1964 Tokyo Olympic Games — the first Olympic Games held in Asia, so the results were greatly to affect Japan's prestige. Ishida (1971) argues that for this Olympic Games, 'many people worked hard' and 'many felt pride' (41). Takao Sakurai, a Japanese boxer who won a medal in the Tokyo Olympic Games, said, 'since these games are being held in Japan, I thought it would be a shame (*haji*) if I

did not win a game at the very least' (my translation; 1996, NHK TV programme, *Olympic hyakunin no rekishi*: the history of the Olympic Games in the last 100 years).

**Analysis:** In the Olympic Games, as international competition in peacetime, the Japanese side is directly described as *Patient* in their defeats in an EFFECTIVE passive structure and High Transitivity construction unlike in wartime discourse. By extension, their opponents are described as *Agent* or *Actor* in their victories.

More specifically, in war propaganda, the Japanese side is described in the majority of cases as the Actor/Agent (including the double participant functions of Agent-Carrier and Agent-Senser), Initiator and at worst, Re-Actor in the Intention Process where agentivity takes precedence over process, and very rarely as Patient. However, in peacetime, non-critical discourse (e.g. the Olympic Games), Japan is clearly described as the Patient in EFFECTIVE passives or a Medium in Ergatives or a Re-Actor who responds to the processes. In defeat Japan is described as a Supervention or an Event Process, where process takes precedence over agentivity. Besides, processes leading to the defeat are clearly and directly expressed without fabrication or obfuscation as in war propaganda. The passive morphemes *-re*, *-sare*, or an accusative morpheme *-o* are abundantly used to describe Japanese, which were not used to refer to themselves in propaganda. Since the defeat and the process leading to it are expressed precisely, there are no metaphorical or euphemistic expressions, to obscure and idealize what has really happened, as is the case of war propaganda. Nominalizing metaphors are sometimes used, but with negative connotations in reporting defeats, such as in 'We can not help crying over the decline of the Japanese swimming team'. By contrast, in war propaganda, nominalizing metaphors were used as a linguistic tool for obfuscating and glorifying what had happened, as in 'we gallantly met death', or 'we made a final organized attack'. As for the uses of emotive adjectives and adverbs (Attitudinal Epithets), the same thing can be said. In contrast to war propaganda, in which they are used to add a positive connotation to discourse to glorify their acts, in peacetime rhetoric, they are used with negative connotations in defeats, accurately reflecting reality, as in 'Japan can not escape a tough game', 'it was regrettable', 'The team of Japanese swimmers are desolate', the '1500 meters' race, which we were hopeful about also turned out to be gloomy', and 'Kiyohara (a Japanese swimmer) is struggling pathetically'.

In short, the language use in peacetime rhetoric is straight-forward and simply informative and expressive, in contrast to the language of propaganda which is manipulative and instrumental, which is used for different purposes (i.e. mobilization) than simply informing.

Let us consider the data sample reporting Japan's defeats in some games, taken from the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, the 1952 Helsinki Olympic Games and the 1964 Tokyo Games. The source is *The Asahi Newspaper* and English translation is mine.

There is a slight shift of Voice and hence participant functions in the translation process from Japanese into English, in order for the translated English to sound as 'natural' as possible. In these cases, however, the assignment of a participant function which is given within the square bracket is based on that of the original Japanese. Where relevant, the Voice System (e.g. EFFECTIVE, Ergative) is specified within the bracket.

## Data samples

### Pre-war period

#### 4.7.2.1. Olympic Games in Berlin, 1936

Data 4.4.1.

##### <Headline>

*Nippon haitai tai Itaria shookyusen*  
 Japan lose against Italy soccer game  
Medium

Japan loses to Italy in soccer (Ergative)

##### <Body>

... *Waga chiimu wa zenhan 2-0 to koohan*  
 our team TP first-half 2 versus 0 as second-half  
Patient

*6-0 to riidosa-re 8 tai 0 de haitaishi-ta.*  
 6 versus 0 as overtake-PASS 8 versus 0 at lose-PERF

Our team was overtaken by the Italian team with a score of 2-0 in the first half, and 8-0 in the latter half, and was defeated. (EFFECTIVE, passive)

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper<sup>2</sup> 8 August 1936)

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<sup>2</sup> Tokyo Asahi Shinbun (The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper) was renamed Asahi Shinbun (The Asahi Newspaper) in June 1941 following the amalgamation of local newspapers in the process of the mobilization of a nation for the war.

Data 4.4.2.

<Headline>

*Yoshioka sekihaisu*

*Resuringu 2 kaisen*

Yoshioka (JPN) [Medium] was defeated by a narrow margin in the second round of the wrestling game - (Ergative)

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 8 August 1936)

Data 4.4.3.

<Headline>

*Kyoo no shumoku wa furi*

*Nippon kusen o manugarezu*

Today's event is a disadvantage [for the Japanese team]

Japan [Medium] can not escape a tough game

- (Ergative)

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 3 August 1936)

Data 4.4.4.

(the finals of 10000 meters race)

*Saishuukai ni nukaru*

*Oshiya ima hitoiki no Murayashiro*

... 16, 17, 18 kai to Asukola, Salminen, Isoholo no 3 nin ga Murayashiro o nuite riido shitaga Murayashiro wa 19 shuume ni hairi futatabi yuuzen sentoo ni tatsu. Finland no 3 nin to mooretsu na sentoo araso ni natta ga, Murayashiro ganbatte nakanaka mukasezu.... tsui ni ato 300 meetoru to iutokorode Finland no 3 nin ni nukareta...

(Murayashiro) (JPN) [Patient] was overtaken in the final round - (EFFECTIVE, passive)

It was regrettable that Murayashiro [Medium] needed further effort - (Ergative)

... In the 16th, 17th and 18th rounds, Asukola, Salminen, Iso-Hollo (Finnish) [Agents] beat Murayashiro [Patient], and got a lead. Murayashiro, in the 19th round, moved ahead again. With the three Finnish, Murayashiro [Re-Actor] competed fiercely, but he [Medium] could not overtake them... Finally at the 300 meters point to the goal, he (Murayashiro) [Patient] was overtaken by the three Finnish [Agents] ...

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 3 August 1936)

Data 4.4.5.

*Nawata koochi kataru*

*Murayashiro wa oshii kotowo shita... Finland senshu wa Murayashiro o in koosu ni irezu, auto kara nuka-se-te riido-sase tsukareru no o matte spaato shite nukihajimeta... aredake ijime nuka-re-te soto mawari o shite kyori ni shitemo aredake son o shi...*

Nawata, Coach talks

It was a regrettable race for Murayashiro. The Finnish athletes [Initiators] did not let Murayashiro in the inside lane, and made him overtake the Finnish athletes from the outside lane. The Finnish [Agent] waited for Murayashiro to exhaust himself and started to overtake him [Patient]... Murayashiro [Patient] was treated so harshly and had to run in the outside lane, which resulted in too long a distance to run (in total).

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 8 August 1936)

Data 4.4.6.

*Suijyoo Nippon Jin'ee sabishi*

*100 haiee Kiyokawa wa dai 3 i*

*Tanomu 1500 nimo yuushoku*

*Hiraoyogi ni kitai o tsunagu*

... ..

*Kiree na foomu de*

*Keifer ni eekan*

*Haiee Nippon chooraku ni namida*

*Iyo iyo waga Nippon ni totte furi na haieeda. Itto no Keifer wa sono rekoodo kara itte, ima no tokoro itashikatanai ga waga Kiyokawa wa Beekoku no torio o doredake kususuka ga shoojikina tokoro haiee no kyoomi daroo. Iyoiyo staato o kittaga Keifer no utsukushii foomu wa hayaku mo ichigun o riido shiteiru. Thuzuite Kiyokawa hisshi to natte Keifer o otte iru. 50 no tan dewa Kiva, Kiyokawa ga sukoshibakari hayaku ta wa hotondo onajide miwakega tsukanu. Keifer no migoto na eehoo wa sahodo ni muri na chikara o mochiizu ni spiido ga deruyooda. 70 meetoru ataride sude ni Keifer no ichiban wa kakujitsu 2 i o Kiyokawa to Vandeuur ga sakanni kissote iruga, Kiyokawa no sore wa miru mo kinodoku na hodo no ganbari da. Kaette foomu ga totonowazu, supiido ga omouyoo ni denai. Goorumaede tsui ni Vandeuur ni katte 2 chaku to nari Kiyokawa wa tsui ni 3 chaku de urami o nomu. Yoosuruni kakugo wa shiteitamono no Los Angeles de 3 bon no Nisshooki o uchitatetakoto o omoi awaseruto haiee Nippon no kono chooraku ni isasaka namida nashi niwa irarenai. Keifer no migotona foomu to tesabaki, sore ni 1 pun 5 byoodai no jitsuryoku o shiru toki, sore ijyoo o Kiyokawa ni, ina Nippon chiimu ni nozomukoto wa muri to iwaneba naranai.*

'Suijyoo Nippon' camp (excellent Japanese swimming team) is desolate

In the 100 meters backstroke race, Kiyokawa takes the 3rd prize

Our hoped-for 1500 meters race also looks gloomy

Our hopes are on the breaststroke race

... ..

To Keifer (USA) [Beneficiary] who swam in fair form goes the championship

The Japanese team [Medium], who have a great history of backstroke, were in tears

Finally, the backstroke swimming race, which was a weak point for the Japanese team started. The champion, Keifer, could not be easily beaten, considering his superior record. But Kiyohara was expected to beat three American swimmers. Finally the race started. Keifer [Agent] in beautiful form was always leading the first group [Patient]. Next, Kiyohara [Re-Actor] was desperately following Keifer [Patient]. At the 50 meters turn, Keifer and Kiyokawa, a little faster than the others, were almost on the same line. Keifer's excellent style of swimming [Actor] enabled him to speed without conscious effort. At the 70 meters point, Keifer's victory was already certain. As for the second, Kiyokawa and Wandeuur [Actors] were competing hard. Kiyokawa [Re-Actor] was struggling pathetically, he [Medium] could not show good form, so he [Medium] could not gain enough speed... Looking

back on our three victories in the Los Angeles (Olympic Games), this decline of the backstroke skills of the Japanese team was just pathetic. Considering Keifer's brilliant form, and his record (1 minute 50 seconds), it might be impossible to expect more than this of Kiyokawa and the Japanese team.

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1936)

Data 4.4.7.

<200 meters breaststroke>

*Giitas no mootsuiseki*

*Hamuro shirizokete yuushoo*

Gitas (German)'s hard chase [Agent] beat Hamuro (JPN) [Patient] and won the championship

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 16 August 1936)

Data 4.4.8.

*Hope Yoshioka o hajime*

*Waga 100 meetoru jin kaimetsu*

*Owens wa sekai kiroku*

.... *Yoshioka no staato wa reeno chooshi de nuitato mietaga tachimachi Aunce wa Yoshioka o nuite susumi, sonogo mo masumasu koochoo ni ichigun o danzen hikihanashi tsui ni 10 byoo 2 no sekai kiroku o tsukutte teepu o kiri daikanshuu no hakushubanraino gotoku okoru. Yoshioka wa koohan ni oite furuwazu 4 too to natte oshikumo rakusen no ukime o mi Nihon jin no shitsuboo hanhadashii.... Dai yonkumi de waga Suzuki wa dooryoo no kataki o utan monoto zenhan o ooini funtoo shitaga, yahari koohan niwa sukoshi bakari chikara ochite Doitsu no Bolhimeyer, Eekoku no Swini ni wa nuka-re-ta-ga, kanada no McFe to hotondo doochaku de... Suzuki wa tsuini oshikumo rakusen o senkoku-sare, Nippon senshu wa zenbu rakusen to iu, igai na kekka to nari, waga tankyori senshu wa zenbu rakusen to iu igaina kekka to nari, waga tankyorijin wa seki to shite koe naki jyootaida....*

Including Yoshioka, our hopeful, our 100 meters runners [Medium] got a death blow.

Owens (USA) [Agent] made the world record

... As usual, Yoshioka (JPN) [Actor] seemed to make a good start, but soon, Owens (USA) [Agent] overtook Yoshioka [Patient], and proceeded, got a long lead on

others [Patient] satisfactorily, and finally made the world record of 10 minutes 2 seconds. There was applause by the audience. Yoshioka [Medium], in the latter half, did badly, ended up in the fourth place, regrettably defeated. The Japanese [Affected-Senser] were terribly disappointed. ... In the fourth group, our Suzuki [Re-Actor], trying to revenge his colleague, struggled hard, but in the latter half, lost strength a little, and (Suzuki) [Patient] was overtaken by Bolhemeyer (German) and Sweeney (British) [Agents]... in the end, he (Suzuki) [Patient] was unfortunately pronounced to be defeated, which was an unexpected result... All our sprinters [Affected-Senser] were in depression...

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 3 August 1936)

Data 4.4.9.

*400 meetaa kesshoo*

*Saigo 25 meetaa made*

*Medica kuisagaru*

*Oumonono tsuyosa yo*

*... Staato wa kiou Medica mazu riido shite mizu ni tobikonda. 25 meetoru dewa Medica riido shite iruga 50 meetoru taan dewa Negami dete toppu....*

In the 400 meters' finals, Medica (USA) [Actor] holds on until the final 25 meters' point and showed the persistence of chasing swimmers

... At the start, Medica (USA) [Actor] jumped into the water fastest. At the 20 meters point, Medica [Agent] was leading others, but at the 50 meters turning point, Negami (JPN) [Agent] took the lead....

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1936)

Data 4.4.10.

*400 no haken Beekoku e*

*Suijyoo sai haken ni an'ee*

*Nippon ni fukushuu narazu*

*.... Uno, Makino, Negami ni kaketa nozomi no tsuna wa reesu mae ni iryoku o shimesu Medica no tame ni tatarete shimatta...*

The 400 meters' championship went to the US [Beneficiary]

A shadow was cast on Japan's re-conquest plan [Medium] of the swimming prizes

Japan's retaliation was not realized.

... The hope we placed in Uno, Makino and Negami (JPN) [Patient] was shattered by Medica (USA) [Agent] who showed strength (even) before the race started.

(The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1936)

## Post-war Olympic Games

### 4.7.2.2. The Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952

Data 4.5.1.

*Saigo no 1500 de yaburu*

... *Hashitsume wa yosoo sareta yooni staato kara Kon'no to hariiai 400 kara 500 to toppu de tsuuka, 1100 made riido shitaga, 1200 kara tsuini nuka-re-ta...*

Hashitsume [Medium] lost in the final race of the 1500 meters' free style

... As expected, Hashitsume (JPN) competed with Kon'no (USA, Japanese American name) from the start, passed the 400 meters' and the 500 meters' points at the top, and took the lead until the 1000 meters' point, but (Hashitsume) [Patient] was finally overtaken at the 1200 meters' point...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 3 August 1952)

Data 4.5.2.

*Hashitsume, Boiteaux ni yaburu*

... *Hajime no 100 meetoru dewa Hashitsume ga toppu o kitte itaga sugu seriai ni nari 200 de Boiteaux ni oitsuka-re-te gokaku. Sorekara ato wa Boiteaux ga tsuneni wazukanagara sentoo ni tachi kekkyoku saigo made sono yuui o mochi tsuzukete Hashitsume o yabutta...*

Hashitsume (JPN) [Patient] was defeated by Boiteux (French) [Agent]

... In the first 100 meters, Hashitsume (JPN) [Agent] was leading others [Patients], but soon he [Agent] competed against Boiteux, then he [Patient] was overtaken by Boiteux (French) [Agent] at the 200 meters' point. It became a close game. After

that, Boiteux [Actor] was always at the top. Until the end, he [Actor] kept the first position, and (Boiteux) [Agent] beat Hashitsume [Patient] ....

(The Asahi Newspaper, 10 August 1952)

Data 4.5.3.

*Hashitsume rikiee tsui ni oyobazu*

*Assetta tame shippai*

*'Suijyoo Nippon' ga saigo no kiboo shumoku datta 1500 meetoru jiyuugata kesshoo ni, America no Kon'no wa tsui ni Hashitsume o yabutta*

Hashitsume [Actor] swam with might and main, but (he) [Medium] could not do well eventually

Haste brought failure

In the final race of the 1500 meters' free style, on which 'Suijyoo Nippon' (Japanese swimming team) laid their final hopes, Kon'no [Agent] of America finally beat Hashitsume [Patient] ...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 3 August 1952)

Data 4.5.4.

*Tataikai ni yaburete*

*Furuhashi senshu no shuki*

*Watashi o semete kudasai*

*... Kurushimi mogaita ageku, ookiku yabureta kimochi wa hisoo sonomono deshita...*

Furuhashi wrote a note, 'I [Medium] lost in the race', 'Please blame me [Patient]...After a hard struggle, I felt sad [Affected-Senser] to have lost so badly'.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 2 August 1952)

Data 4.5.5.

*Furuhashi yaburu*

Furuhashi [Medium] lost

(The Asahi Newspaper, 11 August 1952)

Data 4.5.6.

*Wakasa ni maketa*

*Furuhashi senshu dan*

*Isshookeemee ni ganbatta ga makete zannen da...*

Furuhashi and Japanese team [Medium] lost out to the swimmers of a younger generation

Says Furuhashi, 'We [Actors] did our best. It is regrettable that we [Medium] lost...'

(The Asahi Newspaper, 29 August 1952)

Data 4.5.7.

*Haiin wa watashi no gosan*

*Takenaka marason koochi dan*

'The defeat is due to my miscalculation', says marathon's coach, Takenaka

(The Asahi Newspaper, 27 August 1952)

Data 4.5.8.

*Jitensha chiimu yaburu*

Bicycle team [Medium] lost

(The Asahi Newspaper, 11 August 1952)

Data 4.5.9.

*Jyoshi 400 jiyuugata*

*Tamura, Yamashita otsu*

In women's 400 meters free style race, Tamura and Yamashita [Medium] failed

Data 4.5.10.

*Takatobikomi*

*Moori wa rakusen*

In high diving game, Moori [Medium] lost

(The Asahi Newspaper, 1 August 1952)

Data 4.5.11.

*Hashitsume, saikoo kiroku de nyuusen*

*1500 meetoru jyunkesshoo*

*Kitamura no tsuuka, Aoki otsu*

... *Saisho kara Duncaan to Kitamura ga deta ga wazukani Duncaan ga riido 400 atari de Duncaan wa Kitamura o yaku 200 meetoru hanashi, Kitamura ni tsuzui te*

*ita Marshall wa 600 atari de Kitamura to narabu. 1200 ataride Duncaan, Kitamura tonosae 400 meetoru ni hiroge Marshall wa Kitamura yori yaku 1 meetoru okureru. Marshall 1500 atari kara Kitamura ni semari 1450 de nuite Duncaan, Marshaa, Kitamura no jyun de gooru.*

Hashitsume [Actor] won the prize with the world record in the 1500 meters' semi-final race.

Kitamura [Actor] passed but Aoki [Medium] failed

... Duncan (South African) [Actor] and Kitamura (JPN) [Actor] started fastest. Duncan [Actor] took the lead slightly, and at the 400 meters' point, Duncan [Agent] opened up a lead of 200 meters over Kitamura [Patient]. Marshall (Australian) [Agent] who had been chasing Kitamura [Patient], were in the line with Kitamura. At the 1200 meters' point, Duncan [Agent] opened up a lead of 400 meters over Kitamura [Medium] and Marshall [Medium] fell behind Kitamura by one meter. Marshall [Agent] drew near to Kitamura [Patient] at the 1400 meters' point, and overtook her (Kitamura) [Patient] at the 1450 meters' point. They reached the goal in the order of Duncan, Marshall and Kitamura.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 18 August 1952)

#### **4.7.2.3. The Olympic Games in Tokyo in October 1964**

Data 4.6.1.

*Kindai 5 shu*

*Nihon, Hungary ni zenpai*

*Fencing*

*... Hungary zee ga kaichoo no deashi de gogo 2 ji han genzai 44 shoo 11 pai no chiimu seeseeki wo ageteiru...*

Japan [Patient] was totally defeated by Hungary [Agent] in the fencing match

... The Hungary team [Actor] has made a good start, and up to this time, 2: 30 p.m., they have achieved a good record of 44 victories and 11 defeats....

Data 4.6.2.

*Nihon no futari furuwazu*

*Suiei*

Two Japanese swimmers [Medium] did badly

(The Asahi Newspaper, 12 October 1964)

Data 4.6.3.

*Nihon yabure, nyuushoo o nogasu*

*Sakkaa*

Japan [Medium] is defeated and lost the chance to win a prize

(The Asahi Newspaper, 21 October 1964)

Data 4.6.4.

*Kaminaga, kesagatame ni yaburu*

*Tai Hasing, hisshi no hangeki munashi*

*Jyuudoo*

In the *jyuudoo* match, Kaminaga (JPN) was defeated by the trick of *kesagatame* (a trick of *jyuudoo*)

The desperate rally against Hasing (Holland) is in vain

(The Asahi Newspaper, 23 October 1964)

Data 4.6.5.

*Beekoku zee ga medaru dokusen*

*Danshi 200 meetoru haiee*

*Grafe (USA) sekaishin de yuushoo*

... ..

*Gooru sunzen de nukaru*

*Fukushima, 0.1 byoo no sa de 4 i*

... *Yuushoo shita Grafe (Bee) rawa sasuga ni umai. 50 meetoru no orikaeshiwa Grafe to Daily (Bee) ga Fukushima ni karada hanbun no sa o tsukete orikaesu. 100 meetoru no taan dewa Fukushima wa sarani okurete 4 bante, 150 meetoru mo toppu guruupu ni 2 meetoru no sa o tsukera-re-te ita...*

The American athletic team [Actor] swept the medals (the first to the third prizes)

In the Men's 200 meters' back stroke race Grafe (USA) [Actor] won the championship with the world record

... ..

(Fukushima (JPN) ) [Patient] was beaten just before the goal  
Fukushima [Actor] won the 4th place by the gap of 0.1 second

Grafe from USA [Actor], who won the championship, as expected, did very well. At the 50 meters turning point, Grafe and Daily (USA) [Actors] made a turning, opening up a half a body length lead over Fukushima [Medium]. At the 100 meters' turning point, Fukushima [Medium] again fell behind, being in the 4th position. At the 150 meters' turning point, over Fukushima [Patient] a lead of 200 meters was again established by the top group<sup>3</sup>...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 14 October 1964)

Data 4.6.6.

*Nihon, shosen o ushinau tai Puerto Rico sen*

... (*Nihon wa*) *kanzen ni sa o tsukera-re-te shimatta...*

Japan [Medium] lost the first match against Puerto Rico

...(Over the Japanese team [Patient]) a lead was established...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 12 October 1964)

Data 4.6.7.

*Nihon, jyunkesshoo ni nokorezu*

*1-0 de ee ni yabureru*

*Hockey*

... *Nihon tai Igrisu sen de Nihon wa Igrisu ni 1 - 0 de sekhai*...

Japan [Medium] cannot proceed to the semi-finals

Japan [Patient] was defeated by Britain [Agent] by 1 : 0 in the hockey match

... In the game between Japan versus Britain, Japan [Medium] lost a close game to Britain by 1: 0...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 19 October 1964)

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<sup>3</sup> A natural English expression here may be 'Fukushima again fell behind the top group by 200 meters', or 'the top group established a lead of 200 meters over Fukushima'. However, with the former example, the participant function assigned to Fukushima will be 'Medium' rather than 'Patient'. The latter example obviously changes the theme structure. Therefore, in this translation, I have retained the original structure of Japanese, in which Fukushima is clearly expressed as a Patient (and a Topic). This is the same with data 4.6.6. 'Over the Japanese team a lead was established'.

Data 4.6.8.

*Suiee, bee no asshoo ni owaru*

Swimming races ended up with the American team's overwhelming victory

(The Asahi Newspaper, 19 October 1964)

Data 4.6.9.

*Nihon, Ghana ni sekihai*

*Sakkaa*

*... Mazu Komazawa kyoogi jyoo deno Nihon tai Ghana wa, Nihon ga saisaki yoi sakidori ten o ageta ga, koohan makikaesa-re 3-2 de sekihai-shita...*

Japan [Patient] was defeated by Ghana [Agent] by a narrow margin in a soccer (football) game

... First, in the game of Japan against Ghana held in the Komazawa Stadium, Japan [Medium] fortunately made a good start, but (Japan) [Patient] was counterattacked in the latter half, and (Japan) [Patient] was defeated by a narrow margin...

Data 4.6.10.

*Nihon, Soren ni zensen oyobazu*

*Basket*

*... Kulmin ni yara-re-ta Nihon. Konoatomo Nihon wa hageshiku semmattaga, kekkyoku Soren no gooru ka no tsuyosa ni shite-yara-re-ta. Nihon wa gakusen datta.*

Japan [Actor] fought well, but (Japan) [medium] was no match for Russia in a basket ball game

... Japan [Patient] was defeated by Kulmin [Agent]. After this, Japan [Actor] fought hard, but finally (Japan) [Patient] was beaten by Russia's strength (in a game played) under the goal. It was an unexpected result for Japan [Medium]...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 17 October 1964)

Data 4.6.11.

Japan [Patient] was defeated by Czechoslovakia [Agent] in the men's volleyball game

(The Asahi Newspaper, October 1964)

Data 4.6.12.

*Nihon no nyuushoo wa zetsubooteki*

*Yotto*

There is no hope of Japan [Medium] winning a prize in yacht races

*Yosooijyoo, gaikoku tonosai*

*Zenshumoku ni kanpaishita Nihon*

*Boat*

The level gap between Japan and foreign countries was much more than expected.

Japan [Patient] was beaten in all boat races.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 14 October 1964)

Data 4.6.13.

*Nihon, shootee de kanpai*

Japan [Patient] was completely defeated in the boat races

*Yotto*

*Nihon zee furuwazu*

... (*Nihon wa*) futokui na furii no koosu demo hanasa-re, oinuka-re-ta...

The Japanese team [Medium] did badly in a yacht race

... In free course, which the Japanese team is poor at, a long lead was established (over Japan ) [Patient] and (Japan) [Patient] was overtaken...

(The Asahi Newspaper)

Data 4.6.14.

*Fraser 3 renshoo*

*Jyoshi 100 jiyuugata*

Fraser (Australia) [Actor] won three continuous championships in the women's 100 meters freestyle race

Data 4.6.15.

*Danshi 200 haiee*

*Fukushima, oshikumo 4 i*

In the men's 200 meters backstroke race, Fukushima (JPN) [Medium] regrettably ended up in the 4th position

(The Asahi Newspaper, 14 October 1964)

These articles expressing Japanese defeats are normal reporting, unlike wartime propaganda. In these examples of Japanese defeats, Japan is clearly expressed as *Affected* or *Patient* in a Supervention or an Event Process: either as a Patient in EFFECTIVE passives with High Transitivity or as a Medium in Ergatives. This means that they are not doers or intentional Actors but those who are out of control (or the Japanese are expressed in an Indirect Object which is marked by *-ni*). There are a number of uses of the passive morpheme *-re* and the accusative morpheme *-o* or the dative morpheme *-ni* (traditional Indirect Object-marker) attached to Japanese athletes or swimmers' names or teams, and *-ni* (by) attached to their opponents as the agent-marker in passives. These morphemes are, nevertheless, often omitted in headlines. Unlike wartime propaganda, objective processes take precedence over intention processes in these discourses. Examples are '*waga chiimu wa ...riidoso-re... haitai-shita* (out team was overtaken and defeated) in the data 4.4.1., '*Murayashiro... tsuini, Finrando no 3 nin ni nuka-re-ta* (Murayashiro was finally overtaken by three Finnish athletes) in the data 4.4.4. Other examples of data in which Japanese athletes or swimmers are Patients and the opponents are Agents/Actors or Initiators are as follows. '*Finrando senshu wa Murayashiro o in koosu ni irezu, auto kara nuka-se-te, riido-sase...*' (The Finnish athletes did not let Murayashiro inside the lane, and made Murayashiro overtake the Finnish athletes from the outside lane...) in data 4.4.5., in which the Finnish athletes take the role of Initiators. Another example is '*Boiteaux (French) ... Hashitsume (JPN) o yabutta*' (Boiteaux beat Hashitsume(ACC)) and '*Hashitsume, Boiteaux ni yaburu*' (Hashitsume was defeated by Boiteaux) as in the data 4.5.2. Examples of Japanese as Medium is '*Takatobikomi Moori wa rakusen*' (In a high diving game, Moori failed) in the data 4.5.10, and '*Nihon no futari furuwazu, suiei*' (Two Japanese swimmers did badly in a swimming race) in the data 4.6.1. To sum up, reality is accurately described without fabrication in these peacetime international competition discourses.

### 4.7.3. Whaling

For much stronger confirmation of the existence of war propaganda, other peacetime discourse of international conflict/competition than the Olympic Games is presented for comparative analysis: the discourse of whaling. In July 1982, the IWC (International Whaling Commission) issued a total prohibition on whaling which came into effect three years later. This obviously meant 'defeat' to Japan, a whaling nation. How did the Asahi Newspaper reported this decision? The data from the newspaper are as follows. The English translation is mine.

Data 4.7.1.

*Hogee 3 nen go ni zenmenkinshi*

*IWC kaketsu*

*Seefu igi mooshitate e*

*<Brighton 24kka> Eekoku no Brighton de hirakarete ita ... IWC sookai wa... shoogyoo hogee o zenmen kinshi suruto iu teean o ... kaketsu shita. ... Korewa ... Bee, Ee, Fransu nado no oobeeshokoku, ... sarani sorera shokoku no seefu o jijitsu jyoo ugokashitekita korera oobeeshokoku ni konkyo o motsu kankyoo hogo dantaira ni totte ookina 'shoori' o imishi, Nihon wa jidoosha yushutsu mondai ya booeki masatsu ni kuwaete, kokodemo oobee no atsuryoku o uke, ookina haiboku o kishita...*

The IWC [Agent] ratifies the bill which totally prohibits whaling in three years  
(The Japanese) Government [Re-Actor] will file a protest against the decision

*<Brighton, 24th July> The IWC general conference which was held in Brighton, UK, ratified the bill deciding total prohibition of whaling... This means a 'big victory' to European and American countries [Beneficiary] and environmental protection groups [Beneficiary] which are based in these countries. In addition to automobile export issues and trade frictions, Japan [Patient] was again severely defeated by the pressure from the European and American countries...*

(The Asahi Newspaper, 24 July 1982)

Data 4.7.2.

*Hogekichi fuan to ikari*

*Zenmen kinshi 'seekatsu wa' 'shoku bunka wa'*

'Kujira o mamore' to ashinami o soroeta sekai kakkoku no hageshii koosee ni, 'hogeekichi Nippon' wa tsuini kusshita. Eekoku de hirakarete iru IWC no sookai de, 24 kka mimei (Nihon jikan) ni kaketsu-sareta 'shoogyohogee no zenmenkinshi'. Toohoku chihoo no sanriku engan ya Kii hantoo, Chiba-ken Wada-cho nado no hogekichi wa, seekatsu no shudan o ubawa-reru fuan to ikari ni tsutsuma-re, 'IWC dattai da' to sakebu. Keeniku no aji ni naganen shitashin de kita hito tachiwa 'kankyohogo to iu meemoku... de, kujira ga moo taberarenaku narunoka' to nageku. Kodai kara tsuzuite kita Nihon no hogeekichi ni kakerareta 'stoppu' no hamon wa ookii...

Whaling bases (in Japan) [Affected-Senser] are filled with the atmosphere of fear and anger.

People [Re-Actor] say 'What will happen to life?' 'What about dietary culture?' in response to total prohibition.

To the harsh offensive from countries which are united under the common slogan of 'let's protect whales', 'the whaling nation' Japan [Patient] was finally defeated. The General Meeting of the IWC, which is now being held in Britain, ratified 'a total prohibition on commercial whaling' on 24th July. Whaling bases [Affected-Senser] such as those in the Sanriku coast in the Tohoku area, Kii Peninsula, and Wada-cho in the Chiba Prefecture, are filled with the atmosphere of fear and anger that people [Patient] there will be deprived of their livelihood. They scream 'let's withdraw from the IWC'. People [Affected-Senser] who have enjoyed the taste of whale deplore that 'we can no longer eat whales in the name of environmental protection'. 'Prohibition' of Japanese traditional whaling which dates back to ancient times, have created a sensation.

(The Asahi Newspaper, evening edition, 24 July 1982)

Data 4.7.3.

*Nihon no shisee o hinan*

*EE kankyoo dantai*

<London 16 nichi> ... London ni honkyo o oku Ee kankyoo dantai 9 soshiki ga 15 nichi, London shinai no hoteru de IWC ni awaseta kishakaiken o okonai, 'hoge mondai ni taisuru Nihon no shisee wa nattoku dekinai' to, Nihon o hinan suru seemee o happyoo shita.

Shusseki shitanowa, IWC daihyoo ... no Peter Scott shi o hajime, IWC no kagaku menbaa ra. Hoge kinshi ni teekoosuru Nihon wa, konkyo no hitotsu to shite kujira wa zetsumetsu shinai to shuchoo shiteiu ga, sono giron no kagaku teki urazuke o megutte, Scott shi rawa, 'hoge o tsuzukete iru Nihon ga, kagakuteki choosa ni hitsuyoo na deeta no teekyoo o kyohi shiteiru no wa kiwamete ikan' nado no kenkai o nobeta.

The British environmental groups [Agent] criticize the Japanese attitude [Patient]

... 9 organizations based in London [Actor], had a press conference in a hotel in London..., and made an announcement which criticized Japan [Patient], saying that 'Japan's attitude toward whaling is not reasonable'...

Those who were present were, Mr. Peter Scott, representative of the IWC, and other Science Commission members of the IWC. Japan, in opposition to whaling prohibition, argues that whales will not be extinct.

In regard to the scientific relevance of that argument, Mr. Scott and others said, 'it is quite regrettable that a whaling nation, Japan, refuses to offer the data necessary for scientific research'.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 17 July 1982)

Data 4.7.4.

*Shanpan de hogo dantai iwau*

*Soozen, IWC sookai kaijyoo shuuhen*

*Chikara tsukihate, Nihon wa 'kokunanda'*

... 'Yara-re-chimattayo' to Yonezawa daihyoo...

*Daihyoodan no shokuin ya komon tachi mo 'haisen' no ben...*

Protection groups [Actors] celebrate (their victory) with Champagne

People are in a tumult around the hall where the IWC General meeting has been held

Japanese delegates [Medium] have been exhausted and say, 'this is a national crisis'

... 'We [Patient] are beaten' said Representative Yonezawa...

Staff members and advisors of representatives said, '(This is) a lost battle'...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 24 July 1982)

Data 4.7.5.

*Hogee yameneba seesai mo*

*Bee, Nihon no ugoki kensee*

'If whaling is not stopped, sanction will be taken', US checks Japan's moves

(The Asahi Newspaper, 27 July 1982)

Data 4.7.6.

*'Hogee zenmen kinshi o'*

*Moto Beatles uttae*

'Stop whaling completely', a former Beatle appeals

<London 10ka, jiji>

*1960 nen dai no Ee ninki rokku guruupu, Beatles no moto memnbaa de aru Paul McCartney wa shi wa 10ka, doojitsu kara Kyooto de hajimatta Kokusai Hogei Iinkai (IWC) sookai no sankasha ni muke, hogee no zenmen kinshi o uttaeru messeji o happyoo shita. Dooshi wa '21 seeki o mokuzen ni shita ima mo nao, bunmeekoku ga kujira o koroshite iru to wa shinjigatai. Motto shinji gatai no wa, ichibu shokoku ga yori ooku no kujira o korosu gooi o tassishiyou to shiteiru kotoda' to nobe, shoogyoohogee saikai ni iyoku o shimesu, Nihon seefu o an ni hihan shita.*

<London 10th May>

Paul McCartney, a former member of the Beatles, a popular British rock group during the 1960s, sent a message to participants of the IWC. He stated that 'it is unbelievable that a civilized nation is still killing whales, at this time just before the 21st century. What is more unbelievable is that some countries are trying to reach an agreement which permits killing more whales'. He implicitly criticized the Japanese government [Patient], who [Agent] are willing to resume commercial whaling.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 11 May 1993)

In these discourses of whaling, as a representation of peacetime discourse, 'Japan's defeat' is expressed in a straightforward way, just like the data from the Olympic Games, unlike in wartime propaganda. Japan is clearly described as Patient in a Supervention or an Event Process: either as a Patient in EFFECTIVE passives with High Transitivity or Medium in Ergatives. This means that the Japanese are not doers but those who are out of control, and it is expressed without manipulating the style. There is the absence of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures, for instance, to obscure 'defeat'. Examples are 'Japan [Patient] was again severely defeated', in data 4.7.1., 'the whaling nation, Japan [Patient] was finally beaten, 'the British environmental groups criticize the Japanese attitude [Patient]' in data 4.7.3. Unlike wartime propaganda, even pessimistic nuance is directly conveyed in these reports; 'whaling bases [Affected-Senser] are filled with the atmosphere of fear and anger. People [Re-actor] say "what will happen to life?" in response to total prohibition' as in data 4.7.2. These descriptions suggest that reality is beyond people's control. Perhaps, people felt the same anxiety during wartime especially when they received air-bombing and their houses were destroyed. Nevertheless, these types of linguistic manifestation in which people take the role of Patient including that of Affected-Senser, were not found in wartime official reporting. These findings accord well with those from the Olympic Games; in peacetime non-critical discourse, reality takes precedence over the intention process, while the opposite is the case in wartime propaganda.

#### **4.7.4. The shooting down of the Korean airliner: from the era of the East-West conflict in the 1980s**

Next a report is presented from *the Asahi Newspaper* on an incident that reflects the East-West conflict (i.e. Communism versus Capitalism after the end of the Second World War) when the conflict was still on in the early 1980s. On 1st September 1983, a Korean Airliner carrying 27 Japanese passengers was shot down by a Russian missile in Soviet airspace. This became a very controversial issue. *The Asahi Newspaper* represented this event as follows (translation is mine):

Data 4.8.1.

<Headline>

*Daikan kookuuki, Soren ga gekichin*

*Soogeki, misairu hassha*

*'269 nin zeein ga shiboo'*

<Body>

... New York hatsu Seoul iki no Daikankookuuki 007 bin Boeing 747 Janbo ki ... wa soogeki ni tobitatta Mig 23 to mirareru Soren gunki no misairu ni yotte gekichin-sare-te ita. ... Gozen 3 ji 26 pun ni Soren ki ga misairu o hassha, Daikan kookuuki ni mee-chuu, ... tsuirakushita.

... Dooki wa Mig 23 no misairu de issyun ni gekichin-sareta to mirareru.

*Kyokutoo ni shinkoku na eekyoo*

Soviet Union [Agent] crashes Korean airliner [Patient]

Russian fighter plane [Agent] waited to attack and launched a missile  
'269 all passengers [Medium] die'

... A Korean airliner 007, Boeing 747 Jumbo jet [Patient] departed from New York destined for Seoul, was crashed by Mig 23, Russian fighter plane [Agent] ... At 3: 26 a.m. the Russian fighter plane [Agent] launched a missile, hit the Korean airliner [Patient], ... and it [Medium] crashed. [The Korean airliner [Patient]] was crashed by Mig 23 missile [Agent] in a moment.

This will have a major impact on the Far East

(The Asahi Newspaper, 2 September 1983)

Data 4.8.2.

'Gekichin-shita' Soren suji mitomeru

<Moscow> Soren suji wa 4 kka, Daikan kookuuki no Boeing 747 wa ... misairu de bakuha-sare-ta koto o kakunin, hassha meeree wa Moscow no saikoo gunji kookan ni yori okonawa-re-ta, to katatta...

'(We) [Agent] Crashed it [Patient]', admits Russian source

<Moscow, 4th September, AP> The Russian source confirmed that the Korean airliner Boeing 747 [Patient] was exploded by a missile [Agent], and that the command for launching the missile was issued by the supreme military official [Agent] in Moscow...

(The Asahi Newspaper, 5 September 1983)

As in the previous cases of the Olympic Games and whaling, the world described here is that of passivity, where unexpected events take precedence over agentivity. 'The Soviet Union' takes the role of Agent/Actor throughout whereas 'the Korean Airliner' which was carrying passengers (civilian people) including Japanese passengers, takes the role of Patient. The Material Process is expressed with High Transitivity, e.g. 'Soviet Union [Agent] crashed Korean airliner' [Patient], 'Korean airliner Boeing 747 [Patient] was exploded by a (Russian) missile [Agent]' as in data 4.8.2. During the war, even if a Japanese fighter plane was crashed, this type of clear-cut linguistic realisation in High Transitivity with the Japanese side as Patient, was not used in reports in the official Japanese newspapers. Also 'death' is directly expressed without the use of euphemism, unlike in wartime, 'All 269 passengers [Medium] die'. Here 'All 269 passengers' take the role of Medium in an Ergative structure, people who were out of control of the events, and 'died' in an Event Process. There is no use of Pseudo-EFFECTIVE structure or Attitudinal Epithets to glorify 'death', e.g. 'soldiers met a gallant death' as observed in wartime propaganda. Just like the cases of the Olympic Games and whaling, and as opposed to wartime propaganda, the Supervention Process takes precedence over the Intention Process in this discourse of passivity.

#### **4.8. Conclusion**

The observation I have made in regard to peacetime discourses will lead us to the following findings;

(1) Even when the same type of situation of international conflict or competition occurs, in peacetime, reports do **not** exhibit the same linguistic patterns as in official wartime discourse. This is because the results of international encounters do not so seriously affect the course of a nation as a whole as in wartime.

(2) In peacetime international conflict or competition rhetoric in a Japanese newspaper, in describing Japanese defeats, 'process' or 'the unexpected event' takes precedence over 'agentivity' (i.e. 'things just happen out of their control' in an Event or a Supervention Process) unlike wartime rhetoric based on an Intention Process, where 'agentivity' consistently takes precedence over 'process'. Unlike wartime propaganda in which Japan was almost always Actor/Agent, peacetime discourse

encodes the Japanese as the Patient (Direct Object or Indirect Object) in EFFECTIVE passives or as Medium in Ergatives or as a Re-Actor who responds to the processes that took place outside their control and intention. In this way, the process leading to defeat is explicitly expressed. Thus, in peacetime rhetoric, 'who does what to whom', the first principle of transitivity is precisely and directly expressed unlike wartime rhetoric since the function of language here is just to be expressive or informative rather than manipulative or instrumental as in wartime.

(3) Even in wartime, agentive rhetoric in defeats is **not** used in all non-censored writing to express the 'defeats' of Japan's allies since their impact is not so serious (explained in sections 4.5. and 4.6.).

(4) Therefore, such linguistic realisation as agentive rhetoric was used only in reference to the Japanese, and thus it can be concluded that it was indeed a 'deliberate' usage departing from the 'norm'.

(5) In connection with the issue of point-of-view, it can be concluded that, a unique pattern of transitivity based on a certain ideology, which is the manifestation of a subjective world created by a participant whose perspective derives from the story (the internal point of view), was used specifically for wartime Japan. This type of transitivity system was unique both in diachronic and synchronic senses.

## **Chapter five**

### **Thematization and point of view**

The previous chapters three and four on the transitivity system characterized the unusual patterns of transitivity manifested in Japanese wartime propaganda and discussed how the same experience is encoded in language differently depending on the narrator's ideological stance or point of view. This chapter and chapter six, which are concerned with the textual function of language, investigate how the issue of transitivity is connected to the concepts of thematic structure, thematic prominence, Topic development and discourse coherence, and use these ideas to examine the difference between discourses about international conflicts/competitions in wartime and peacetime in Japanese newspapers.

Each of chapters five and six consists of theory and application. Chapter five discusses the textual function of language, the concepts of Theme, their relationship to transitivity structure and to the issues of discourse subordination and of point of view, applying these ideas to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses. Chapter six explores how the issues of thematization and point of view function in discourse development and discourse coherence, also applying them to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses. My fundamental assumption is that the choice of one grammatical structure or lexical item rather than another does not inhere in language structure, but is determined by the narrator's attitude, point of view or commitment to the mode of narration.

#### **5.1. Theory: Theme, transitivity and point of view**

##### **5.1.1. Point of view:**

##### **Internal, fixed versus external, floating perspective**

Since this chapter examines the subject of point of view more deeply, relating to the issues of Theme and discourse coherence, it is necessary, in the first place, to summarize the main points concerning point of view discussed in previous chapters.

In section 1.2. in chapter one, I discussed how the point of view adopted in newspaper writing differs between wartime and peacetime in Japan. Simply put, an internal, subjective viewpoint was used in wartime rhetoric, while an external and

more 'neutral' viewpoint was used in peacetime rhetoric. In a description through an 'internal' perspective, the events and participants are structured through the subjective, evaluative viewpoint of people *within* that community, society or nation. By contrast, the 'external' point of view describes the events and participants from an outside, more 'neutral' position. This basic difference of point of view between peacetime and wartime Japanese newspaper writing is, as we have partly seen, observable in the transitivity system and lexical choices. We saw in the previous chapters on transitivity, how events were 'constructed' through the subjective viewpoint of the consciousness of people *within* Japanese society.

In addition to the distinction between internal and external point of view, another distinction can be made between wartime and peacetime rhetoric as we saw: namely, fixed versus floating point of view respectively. In wartime, when the whole nation was under rigid state control, the point of view adopted for writing an official discourse was a fixed and internal one from top-down, as the term 'frozen will' signifies. By contrast, in peacetime, due to the dissemination of points of view arising from the free flow of information, the point of view in the press is more flexible, floating, not necessarily top-down as in wartime, but also bottom-up. This chapter approaches the issue of point-of-view more deeply including this floating versus fixed distinction through more 'explicit' devices of thematization and Topic and discourse development.

### **5.1.2 Textual function of language**

Transitivity, as an ideational function of language, is mainly concerned with how an experience is encoded in language, but such aspects as the thematic structure or information focus represent different features of the text from transitivity as an ideational function of the text. Halliday regards these aspects as textual meaning and says that 'the textual meaning is what makes it into a text, as distinct from an artificial or fossilised specimen of wording' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 23).

Just as the transitivity system as an Ideational function of the text is based on the context of situation, so is the Textual function of language. Halliday says:

Textual meaning is relevance to the context; both the preceding (and following) text, and the context of situation. The textual function of the clause is that of constructing a message [rather than the message itself] (Halliday 1985: 53).

### 5.1.3. Topic

Since this chapter discusses how the concepts of transitivity, Theme and point of view are interconnected, I first characterise the terms, Topic, which are the main components of the textual function of language. Unlike the other two terms (i.e. transitivity and point of view), I have not yet defined the concept of Topic.

In the simplest sense, Theme\* means 'what I am talking about (now)', or 'what is being talked about', and the 'point of departure' of cognition (Halliday 1967b: 212). Halliday says 'the Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned' (Halliday 1994: 37). Theme is commonly understood as opposed to the term Rheme, as advanced by the Prague School of linguistics. Theme generally coincides with Given information, and carries 'lowest degree of communicative dynamism'<sup>1</sup> (Firbas 1966: 272). Theme and Rheme are usually paraphrased as Topic (what is said) and Comment (what is said about a Topic), and Given and New information respectively. Grammatically, Theme and Rheme typically coincide with Subject and Predicate. The terms 'Subject' and 'Predicate' originated in the sense of Topic and comment. The Topic and Comment structure is 'the basic form of the organisation of the clause as a message' (Halliday 1985: 53). In everyday language, 'Topic' and 'Subject' can be used synonymously. Etymologically, the 'Predicate' is 'what is said about the Subject/Topic. Topic regularly occurs in initial position of a sentence. In unmarked declarative sentences, Actor = Subject = Given = Theme (Halliday 1967b: 216). Chafe (1976: 51) defines the Topic as 'the frame within which the sentence holds'. More specifically, he notes that the Topic is an element of sentences which 'sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds' (ibid.: 50).

Despite the slight differences in these definitions, from a discoursal point of view, the function of Theme is understood as an element to link the sentence or clause immediately to what has gone before; i.e., it contains Given information, recognisable to the reader, but it also prepares the reader for the addition of New information in the rheme (for example, Keenan and Schieffelin 1976, Givon 1984, Maynard 1994).

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'Theme'.

<sup>1</sup> 'The degree of communicative dynamism' means 'the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which it "pushes the communication forward"' (Firbas 1966: 270).

#### 5.1.4. Thematization in Japanese: *-wa* as a Topic marker

The commonest way to indicate the Topic of a sentence in Japanese is to mark the relevant NP with the particle *wa* just after the NP. Thus, *wa*, as a Topic introduction marker, functions to set off a Topic from the rest of the predication, which talks about the Topic (Hinds 1986: 157). Halliday says

in some languages ... the theme is announced by means of a particle: in Japanese, for example, there is a special postposition *-wa*, which signifies that whatever immediately precedes it is thematic (Halliday 1994: 37).

Although *wa* does not signify case (Subject, Object, etc.) in a technical sense, practically it often (though not always) comes after the Subject of the sentence (Chino 1991: 10). For example:

(5.1) *Watashi no ie wa, doobutsu-en no chikaku ni aru.*  
my GEN house TP zoo GEN near at is

'My house is near the zoo'.

The particle *wa* also marks other grammatical relations and semantic roles than Subjects: namely, Indirect Object, Direct Object, Time, Location and Source. The particle *wa*, as a Topic marker, can be omitted under certain conditions (see Kuno 1973, Hinds 1983, Martin 1975, for details). There is high frequency of its ellipsis, for example, in titles, headlines, colloquial speech, classical style of writing (for example, Sansom 1928, Ono 1978, Shibatani 1990), or in some archaic literary texts. Topics in Japanese commonly come in sentence initial position. In many cases, however, there are adverbs or interjections placed before the Topic as in the case of English. There are other particle-like constructions which may designate Topic. These include *nara*, *ieba*, which are not always interchangeable with *wa* (Hinds 1986: 160).

The so-called Topic construction in Japanese can be closely equated to the subject-predicate paradigm in English grammar both in structural and semantic senses (Shibatani 1990: 266, 280-81). The notional definition of the Subject or Topic in English as 'what we are talking about' (Chafe 1976, Halliday 1967b) also corresponds to the Japanese Topic as understood above. Kuno (1976) claims that

one of the important functions of *wa* is to mark the Theme of the sentence, which is characterised as 'what the rest of the sentence is about'. Using slightly different terminology, Hinds (1986), Maynard (1994) and Ueno (1987) argue that Chafe's (1976: 49-53) definition of Topic is applicable to the Japanese particle *wa*, which holds that a Topic functions to 'set up a spatial, temporal and individual framework within which the main predication holds'. In this way, Hinds and Ueno claim that the Japanese *wa* designates not only what the rest of the sentence is about but also functions to set the 'frame within which the main predication has to be interpreted' (Ueno 1987: 222). For example,

(5.2) *Taroo wa tsuri ga suki da.*

Taroo TP fishing SB like COP

Taroo like fishing./ As for Taroo, he likes fishing.'

(5.3.) *Tookyoo wa kuuki ga kitanai.*

Tokyo TP air SB bad

The air of Tokyo is bad./ Speaking of Tokyo, the air is bad.'

Both (5.2.) and (5.3.) allow two interpretations. In the first ones 'Taro likes fishing', and 'The air of Tokyo is bad' respectively, *wa* functions as so-called subject-marker. In the second interpretations, 'As for Taro, he like fishing' and 'Speaking of Tokyo, the air is bad', *wa* functions to set up the framework ('Taro' and 'Tokyo' respectively) within which the predication is interpreted.

It is not a main concern of this research to go into a technical discussion of the definition of 'Topic'. What matters is which participant in a sentence is made prominent, foregrounded, given salient 'empathy' or described as 'entrenched information' (see section 5.1.7). In Japanese this participant is often marked by *wa* or  $\emptyset$  (omitted). So in my research, Topic specifically refers to the human participant that appears first in the sentence.

### **5.1.5. The relationship between Topic, transitivity and point of view**

This section explores the relationship between the Textual function of language or thematic structure of the text, and the Ideational function which is mainly realised by transitivity as we saw in the last chapter.

Halliday maintains that transitivity patterns are intimately related to the thematic organization of the clauses. In unmarked declarative sentences, Actor (Agent) = Subject = Given = Theme\* (Halliday 1967b: 216). However, the roles of Agent and Theme are dissociated in the case of the passive, although the Theme is left unmarked as Subject such as 'John' in 'John was beaten by a dog' (ibid.: 215). The concept of Theme, like transitivity structure, falls within the domain of syntactic choice or information focus based on the speaker's point of view. These issues of Thematic structure and information focus are important components of Halliday's Textual meaning, that is, how the message is organised.

Halliday notes on the thematic variation as follows:

The concept of theme ... is based on the notion of choice: it represents an option on the part of the speaker, and any clause can be regarded as being in contrast with one or more others differing from it just in the selection of the theme.  
(Halliday 1967b: 220)

In this way, 'the Theme is what the speaker selects as his point of departure, the means of development of the clause' and so it can be said that an ideational component resides in the Theme structure as well as in the transitivity structure (Halliday 1985: 53). I will consider how the relationship between the transitivity patterns (the grammar of experience) and the thematic structure (the grammar of discourse) are exemplified differently in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse in describing the same phenomenon of defeat in section 5.2.1. of the application part. Some transitivity roles (Actor/Agent and Patient) discussed in the previous chapter constitute a certain message or information structure for producing the particular pragmatic effect of 'sounding positive' in order to observe the censorship policy in wartime.

In this chapter on Theme and transitivity, to make the main point clearer and simpler, the term 'Patient' is used in a broader sense than in the previous chapter which was specifically on transitivity, to mean those who are defeated in general (as affected participants), the ones not in control of their acts. This includes both of these participant functions: Patient in EFFECTIVE passives and Medium in Ergatives.

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\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'Theme'.

### 5.1.6. Topic and point of view

Why do the differences in thematic patterns (as shown in tables 5.1 and 5.2 in section 5.2.1.) arise? They are due to the difference in the narrator's point of view or attitude since the issues of Theme\* (Textual meaning), transitivity (Ideational meaning) and point of view are closely related. According to Halliday,

The Theme-Rheme structure is the basic form of the organization of the clause as a message. Within this, the Theme is what the speaker selects as his point of departure, the means of development of the clause. But in the total make-up of the Theme, components from all three functions may contribute. There is always an ideational element in the Theme. There may be, but are not necessarily, interpersonal and/or textual elements as well...

(Halliday, 1985: 53)

Therefore, the Theme, as 'what is being talked about' is the 'point of departure' of cognition or point of view for the clause as a message (Textual element). In this sense, it can be said that Theme possesses both Textual and Ideational functions, in the sense that what the speaker selects as Theme where there are alternatives, is based on his or her subjective choice.

### 5.1.7. Point of view, empathy and Topic

In regard to the issues of Theme and foregrounding as the 'point of departure' of the speaker's cognition, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) introduce the concept of 'empathy'. Their definition of 'empathy' is 'the speaker's identification, *with varying degrees*, with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence' (original italics, *ibid.* 1977: 628). On the relationship between Topic\* and empathy, they maintain:

Constituents whose referents the speaker empathizes with have a great deal in common with constituents that represent the theme of sentences because in many cases, what the speaker is talking about (i.e. theme) is also what he is empathizing with, and what he is empathizing with is what he is talking about.  
(*ibid.*: 656)

In the same way, McGarry (1994) discusses that the choice of what is to be thematized or given empathy (the entrenched information) is a cognitive and

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\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'Theme' and 'Topic'.

subjective concern of the speaker (i.e. the Ideational element, to use Halliday's terms):

When a topic is syntactically foregrounded, the writer is essentially expressing his or her attitude toward that participant. Consequently, the focus, or empathy, is directed toward the salient participant(s)... (I)f a certain participant appears with some constancy in foregrounded structures, the writer considers that participant to be more essential to the discourse than other participants in terms of initiating actions and events. **This is true even if other participants have played an important role in the event itself.** ... (W)riters underscore the saliency of certain topics while backgrounding others, even though those backgrounded topics may be contextually important to the event... (emphasis added)

(ibid.: 152, 154)

Empathy, just like point of view, implies 'camera angles', by which a writer chooses to focus on a certain participant in one context and another in a different one. This idea is a representation of the writer's attitude toward the participants in an event, and is important in understanding who the speaker is empathizing with. Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) list the following examples to explain the concept of empathy.

- (1) John hit Mary.
- (2) John hit his wife.
- (3) Mary's husband hit her.
- (4) Mary was hit by John/her husband.

(Kuno and Kaburaki, 1977: 627)

All the above sentences share the same propositional content. What differs is empathy or camera angles. In the example (1), the writer is reporting the event most *objectively* among the four sentences. The camera is placed at an 'equal' distance from John and Mary (ibid.). Here, neither participant is in closer focus than the other in any obvious way. However, in the example (2), 'John' is in sharper focus because he is referred to by name, while the reference to 'Mary' is made from the perspective of 'John'. The focus is inverted in the example (3). The writer puts Mary into closer focus by mentioning her by name as a possessive referent in the initial position. 'John' is viewed in terms of 'Mary' here. In (4), the camera is placed closer to Mary than John again, but this sentence indicates another device, which is the transformation called passivization. By passivization, the writer expresses his/her attitude toward the participants by making the Patient (Object) of the sentence the Topic in the initial position, now transformed into the Subject, and by backgrounding an Agent in a by-phrase, where the empathy is weakest.

### 5.1.8. Hierarchy of empathy in terms of transitivity roles and Topic

In relation to the question of point of view, Kuno (1976) proposes the concept of a 'hierarchy of empathy'. This idea is a representation of the writer's attitude towards the participants in an event, and is important in understanding who the speaker tends to empathize with. Specifically, Kuno says that there is a hierarchy in easiness in participant functions of transitivity roles (Agent, Patient, etc.) for the viewer to empathize with. Concerning the hierarchy of empathy in the transitivity roles, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 647-648) note:

It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the semantic agent; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the semantic patient; ... it is next to impossible for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the *by-passive agentive*:

Semantic Agent > Semantic Patient<sup>2</sup> > ... > By-passive Agentive

Because of this, for example, in 'John hit Mary', it is easier to empathize with John (Agent) than Mary (Patient). In 'Mary was hit by John', it is easier to empathize with Mary (Patient) than John (by-passive Agent).

Concerning the nature of empathy in discourse and the issues of Given and New information, MacGarry (1994: 53), drawing on Kuno's observation, maintains:

It is easier to empathize with arguments already in the active file of the writer (topicalized arguments) than with arguments just activated or introduced into the narrative:

discourse-topic > discourse non-anaphoric

In this way, syntactic or thematic structures, i.e. what is foregrounded or backgrounded (participants, processes) imply camera angle or point of view. These examples by Kuno and Kaburaki can readily be applied to the Japanese cases of war reporting, too (see 5.2.2.3 in the application part). Importantly Kuno and Kaburaki further propose a 'ban on conflicting empathy foci' (1977: 632). This means that a single sentence cannot contain more than one focus of empathy; if it does, that will indicate contradiction in terms of focus of empathy.

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<sup>2</sup> 'Semantic Agent' > 'Semantic Patient' means that it is easier for the speaker to empathize with the 'Semantic Agent' than the 'Semantic Patient'.

Examples of conflicting empathy foci are:

× (5.4.) Mary's husband hit his wife

In 'Mary's husband', the speaker empathizes with Mary, while in 'his wife', the speaker empathizes with 'Mary's husband'

× (5.5.) Japan's enemy attacked her enemy.

In 'Japan's enemy', the speaker's empathy is with 'Japan', while in 'her enemy', the speaker empathizes with 'Japan's enemy'

My analysis of thematization and points of view in international conflict discourses perfectly falls within the framework set up by Kuno and Kaburaki, and McGarry as we will see in the application part.

### 5.1.9. Topic continuity in discourse

Placing the subject of thematization in the context of Topic continuity in discourse, McGarry notes:

In the process of writing, reporters and their editors [place] the most highly or salient topic of the news story in initial position in the lead paragraph, ... as the story's **macrotopic**. Unless there [is] radical topic switching, ... the macrotopic [is] the most highly continuous and foregrounded topic throughout the scope of the narrative. By choosing one particular topic over another to be the macrotopic, the writer [is] in effect, presenting his topic to the reader as the most salient topic among all topics in the discourse. Other topics, deemed non-salient by the writer/editor, [are] embedded in medial or final position within the discourse... Positioning within the paragraph structure is a normative signal of topic continuity in discourse...

(McGarry, 1994: 152-153)

These ideas of 'empathy' and 'Topic continuity' can readily be applied to Japanese wartime propaganda as will be discussed in the application part (section 5.2.2).

From a syntactic point of view, the issue of thematization/non-thematization is intimately related to what a sentence presupposes or asserts. It is also important to examine the relationship between foregrounding/backgrounding and presupposition/assertion.

### 5.1.10 Presupposition/assertion and foregrounding/ backgrounding

Selecting which information to presuppose, and which to assert in a sentence, is closely connected with thematizing or non-thematizing certain elements in a sentence. Presupposition/assertion can be a useful linguistic tool in manipulating information. Usually, what a sentence presupposes is the backgrounded information, while what it asserts is the foregrounded message since what is presupposed goes unchallenged and is taken for granted. Short (1989: 147) maintains,

Because the information structure of sentences is arranged so that one is invited to challenge what a sentence asserts rather than what it presupposes, writers of persuasive prose sometimes place rather dubious presuppositions in the presupposed parts of sentences (for example in nominalized or relative clauses) in order to dupe their audience into accepting them without thinking.

Presuppositions are specifically realised by the following linguistic features: subordinate clauses (as backgrounded information) (Givon 1984: 288, Fairclough 1989: 131-132, 152), definite articles, nominalization, relative clauses (*that*-clauses), *wh*-questions, and the complements of certain verbs and adjectives (*regret*, *realize*, *point out*, *aware*, *angry*, etc.) (Fairclough 1989: 152, Short 1989:147).

Matthiessen says that subordination is one of the important features of Textual function of language (1991: 151). Fairclough (1989) points out the importance of subordination, in particular, in information management:

'Complex' sentences combine simple sentences together in various ways. A distinction is commonly made between *coordination*, where the component simple sentences have equal weight, and *subordination*, where there is a main clause and one or more *subordinate clauses - clause* is used for a simple sentence operating as part of a complex one. It is generally the case that the main clause is more informationally prominent than subordinate clauses, with the content of subordinate clauses backgrounded. Something to be on the lookout for is ways in which texts commonsensically divide information into relatively prominent and relatively backgrounded (tending to mean relatively important and relatively unimportant ) parts... (Fairclough, 1989: 131- 132) (italics original, underlining added).

The following is an example of presupposition/assertion: 'We cannot let our troops lose their edge below decks while Argentine diplomats play blind man's bluff round the corridors of the United Nations' (discussed by Fairclough 1989: 132). The first clause in this sentence (We cannot ... below decks) is the main clause while the second clause (while Argentine diplomats ... the United Nations) is a subordinate

clause. The main clause constitutes an asserted part, but the assumption of the subordinated clause is not asserted but simply presupposed or 'given' to readers so that this assumption ('Argentine diplomats are playing blind man's buff round the corridors of the United Nations') will go unchallenged by the reader.

In this way, subordination is one means of 'backgrounding' unfavourable facts. In contrast to this, equal weight is given to both favourable and unfavourable facts in non-critical discourse (e.g. data from Olympic Games will be analysed for comparison in section 5.2.2.- 5.2.4.).

## **5.2. Application to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse**

In this part, I shall apply the ideas discussed so far in this chapter to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses and clarify the differences between them: the relationship between transitivity patterns and thematic structure, 'empathy' and Topic continuity, Topic structure in discourse, and the use of presupposition and assertion in relation to foregrounding and backgrounding.

### **5.2.1. The relationship between transitivity patterns and thematic structure**

The relationship between transitivity patterns and the thematic structure (discussed in section 5.1.5) as applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses is summarized in table 5.1 and 5.2. The main transitive functions: Actor and Patient (the grammar of experience) constitute a certain message or information structure (the grammar of discourse) for producing the particular pragmatic effect of sounding positive in wartime propaganda. Specifically, the enemy is described only as Patient Topic and not as Agent Topic. 'We' is used only as Agent Topic and not as Patient Topic whether 'we' are winning or losing. By contrast, in peacetime, the opponent is described both as Agent Topic and Patient Topic, accurately reflecting reality. 'We' can be both Agent Topic and Patient Topic, as well.

### **Patterns of thematic relations in Japanese war-reporting discourse: which transitivity role (Agent and Patient) is thematized?**

#### **Abbreviations:**

× : no cases

√ : cases found

Br.: the British, Am.: the Americans, JPN: the Japanese

**Wartime:**

| pattern | Topic (person)     | situation | as Patient | as Agent |
|---------|--------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| 1       | enemy<br>(Br. Am.) | winning   |            | ×        |
| 2       | enemy              | losing    | √          |          |
| 3       | we (JPN)           | winning   |            | √        |
| 4       | we                 | losing    | ×          | √        |

Table 5.1 Thematic structure in wartime discourse

**Peacetime:**

| pattern | Topic (person) | situation | as Patient | as Agent |
|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| 1'      | opponent       | winning   |            | √        |
| 2'      | opponent       | losing    | √          |          |
| 3'      | we             | winning   |            | √        |
| 4'      | we             | losing    | √          | ×        |

Table 5.2 Thematic structure in peacetime discourse

Examples (English versions):

**Wartime:**

pattern (1): × The Americans defeated us.

pattern (2): √ The Americans were defeated (by us).

√ The Americans lost.

pattern (3): √ We defeated the Americans.

pattern (4): × We were defeated.

× We surrendered.

√ We made a gallant attack against the enemy.  
(‘We’ as Agent)

**Peacetime:**

pattern (1)': √ The Americans defeated us.

pattern (2)': √ The Americans were defeated.

√ The Americans lost.

pattern (3)': √ We defeated the Americans.

pattern (4)': √ We were defeated.

√ Japanese lost.

× We made a gallant attack against the opponents.

The main differences between wartime and peacetime exist in the pattern (1) versus (1)' and the pattern (4) versus (4)' in describing Japan's defeat. The adversary can be an Agent in peacetime discourse when they are winning as in (1)', but cannot be in Japanese war propaganda as in (1). 'We' are Patient in peacetime when we are losing as in (4)' but are described as an Agent in war propaganda as in (4) 'we made a gallant attack against the enemy'. This may be because there is no need for newspapers to fabricate on account of Japan's victory whether during war (pattern (2) (3)) or in peacetime (patterns (2) (3)'). Therefore, there is no big difference in linguistic realisation between (2) versus (2)' and (3) versus (3)'; the case of Japan's victory is directly and clearly expressed whether during war or peace unlike its defeat in wartime.

### **5.2.2. 'Empathy' and 'Topic continuity' in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse**

Next, an analysis is made as to how the ideas of 'empathy' and 'Topic continuity' developed by Kuno and Kaburaki, and McGarry can be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses.

#### **5.2.2.1. Wartime discourse**

In Japanese war discourse, what is being talked about, foregrounded, thematized or what is given 'empathy' as 'entrenched information' is predominantly 'we' or 'us'. This is closely related to the issue of point of view as I pointed out earlier. Even when 'what the enemy did to us' is expressed, it is simply in the form of a phrase (usually a nominalized phrase), and not in the form of a clause or sentence. The enemy's side is thematized only when they are expressed as Patients, who are doing badly (e.g. *Four of the enemy's battleships sank*). The rationale for this may be that a self-centred point of view (i.e. Japanese) is inconsistent with a long mention of the adversary's side when the adversary is doing well. Therefore, in mentioning Japan's own defeats, although 'what the enemy did to us' is a major cause of the event, the newspaper backgrounded this side of the story.

cf.

× (5.6.) *The enemy destroyed our village*

× (5.7.) *The enemy annihilated our troops*

Sentences such as the above, which foreground the enemy are few in proposition in the 'official' wartime discourses in Japan although in peacetime discourses these sentences occur freely. This phenomenon, which backgrounds the enemy's achievements may be a product of the rhetoric of the Japanese non-surrender policy during the war. Peacetime discourse exhibits different sentence patterns. American and British newspapers in wartime display more 'flexible' sentence patterns which were not found in newspapers in wartime Japan. For example:

Data 5.1

Japanese artillery and bombers were subjecting Corregidor and the other island forts at the entrance to Manila Bay to almost continuous heavy attacks...

(New York Times: 13 May, 1942)

Data 5.2

Japanese finally take Corregidor

(New York Times: 6 May 1942)

Data 5.3

Invaders (the Japanese) take over port

... The Japanese flag was unfurled on the aft mast of the Wake.

(New York Times: 9 December 1941)

In these examples from the wartime American newspapers, the enemy (the Japanese, in this context) is presented both as 'Topic', 'Agent', and foregrounded information, which is a linguistic manifestation rarely found in the official discourse in wartime Japan. As explained earlier, Japanese wartime newspapers report enemy as Patient and as backgrounded information. However, in peacetime, when the outcome of international encounters does not so seriously affect the course of a nation as in wartime, linguistic choices are much freer, not being bounded by certain ideology even in Japanese newspapers.

### 5.2.2.2. Peacetime discourse

In Japanese newspaper texts about peacetime conflicts, unlike those of wartime, the adversary's side is thematized alternatively with 'our side' being thematized. Unlike wartime discourse, 'what the adversary did' is expressed at greater length in the form of a clause or sentence, not merely in the form of a phrase as it is in wartime discourse when the adversary is winning. This is due to the fact that point of view in peacetime texts is more flexible, floating and often external if not completely objective as compared to that of wartime. Journalism is no longer subject to the rhetoric of a non-surrender policy. Therefore, what is thematized is often the 'adversary's side' as 'point of departure of cognition' in peacetime rhetoric unlike wartime rhetoric.

This difference in point of view may derive from the orientation of interest or attitude. In wartime the interest was 'what we are doing to win', and there is a fixed viewpoint, presupposing 'our victory'. By contrast, in peacetime, the interest is 'who is winning?' or 'who will obtain victory?', not necessarily assuming 'our victory', and there is a flexible and objective viewpoint in observing it.

### 5.2.2.3. Kuno's model of empathy in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses

In sections 5.1.7.-5.1.8, I introduced the model of empathy in connection to Theme developed by Kuno and Kaburaki (1977), and explained how the thematic structures (i.e. what is foregrounded or backgrounded) can suggest the narrator's camera angle or point of view (i.e. who he/she is empathizing with). The example sentences proposed by Kuno and Kaburaki ('John hit Mary', etc.) can readily be applied to the Japanese wartime discourse. The following can be cited as corresponding examples to Kuno and Kaburaki's. In these examples, 'Japan' is likened to 'Mary' while 'America' to 'John' because what is at issue here is whether Japan is accurately described as Patient (Mary).

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| (1) John hit Mary. ----- >   | (1)' America defeated Japan.               |
| (2) John hit his wife -----> | (2)' America defeated its (her?)<br>enemy. |

(3) Mary's husband hit her ---> (3)' Japan's enemy (*teki*)  
defeated her.

(4) Mary was hit by John/husband. -----> (4)' Japan was defeated  
by America/her enemy.

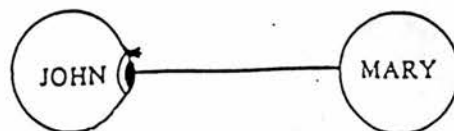
As explained in the theoretical part, (1) is the most objective description among the four examples. In peacetime international conflict/competition discourse in Japanese newspaper writing, (1)' and (4)' appear variously in accounts of Japan's defeats. This implies 'point of view transitions'. However, none of these four patterns appear in the official wartime discourse, that is, these types of linguistic patterns are not used in wartime reporting. The reason may be that, as previously mentioned, Topic or 'point of departure' of cognition, is always 'us' as Actor or Agent in a fixed, inflexible manner, in wartime rhetoric in Japan.


The model of 'empathy and camera angles' advocated by Kuno and Kaburaki is applied to clarify the difference of empathy between Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse in figures 5.1 and 5.2. which are shown later in this section. In this analysis, 'Japan' is likened to 'John' while its adversary to 'Mary' since Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) describe John as the source of point of view.

With regard to Topic or what comes at the initial position of a sentence as point of departure of cognition, it is recognizable that there are transitions in point of view in peacetime discourse while there is a fixed point of view in wartime rhetoric as the figures indicate. Predominantly pattern (A)' is used in wartime 'bureaucratic' discourse while patterns (B)', (C)' and (D)' are used variously in peacetime discourse in a flexible way.

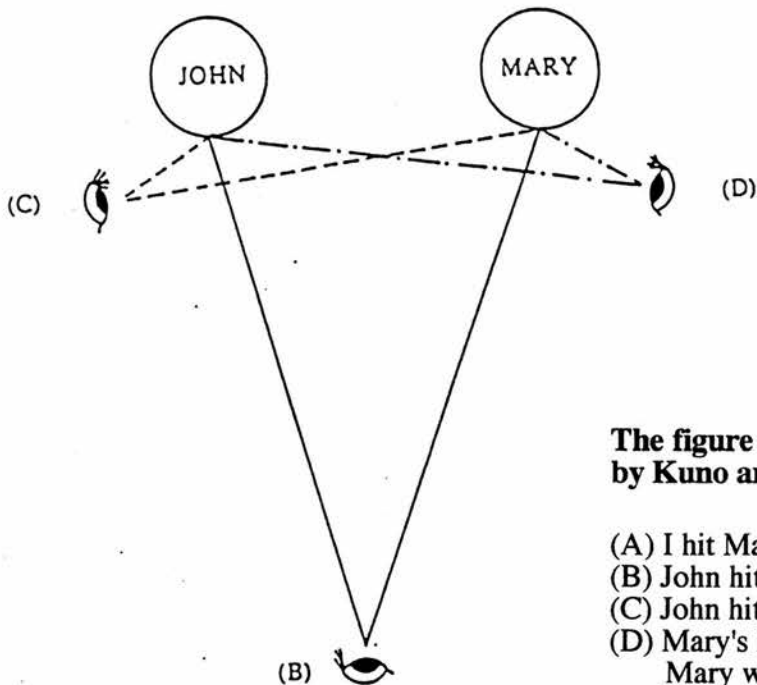
**Empathy and camera angles**  
**Total identification**

(A)



 : Speaker

**Partial or no identification**



**The figure 5.1 The model of empathy by Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 628)**

- (A) I hit Mary<sup>3</sup>.
- (B) John hit Mary.
- (C) John hit his wife.
- (D) Mary's husband hit her;  
 Mary was hit by John;  
 Mary was hit by her husband.

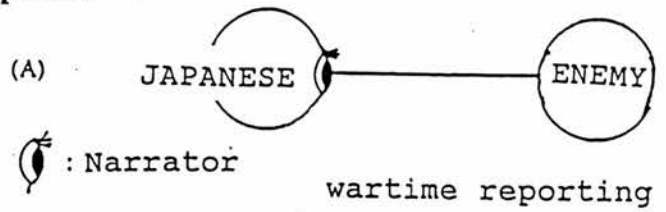
<sup>3</sup> This sentence does not derive from Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) but is my own.

**Figure 5.2 Kuno and Kaburaki's model in international conflict discourses in Japanese newspapers: wartime versus peacetime**

**Wartime pattern:**  
**Empathy totally with the Japanese**  
 (internal, fixed point of view)  
 (A)' We defeated the enemy.

(A)

*Empathy and Camera Angles*  
 a. Total Identification

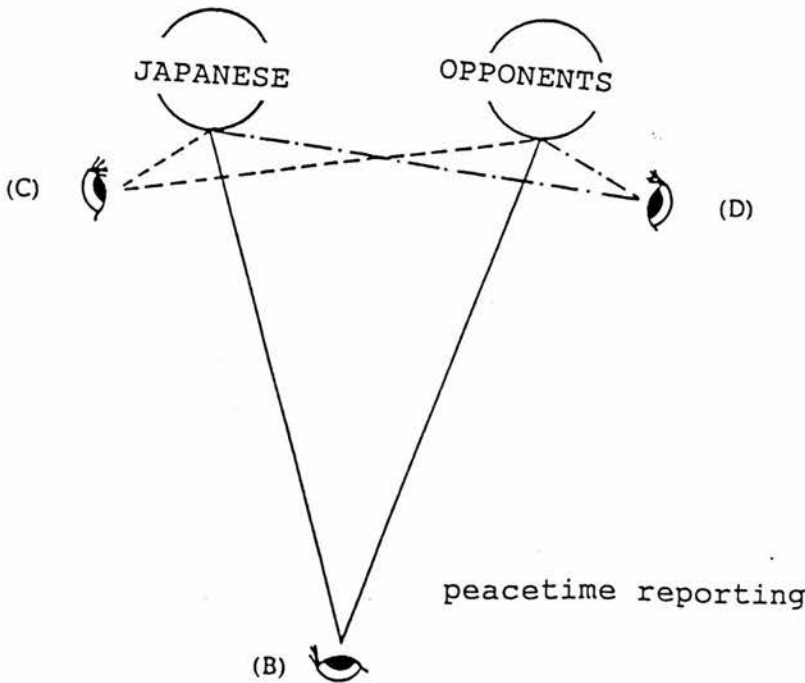


**Peacetime patterns:**  
 (external, floating point of view)

**Most objective:**  
 (B)' The Japanese defeated the Americans.  
 The Americans defeated the Japanese.

**Empathy with the Japanese:**  
 (C)' The Japanese defeated the opponents.  
 The Japanese were defeated by the opponents.  
 (The opponents were defeated).

**Empathy with the Americans (i.e. Japan's opponents):**  
 (D)' The Americans were defeated (by the Japanese/the opponents).  
 The Americans defeated their opponents/the Japanese.



### 5.2.3. Thematic structure of wartime and peacetime discourse

Next, I shall compare the thematic structure of wartime and peacetime discourses reporting Japan's 'defeats', by analysing the stories into major news categories of information: the circumstances of the event, conditions, outcome, causes, major participants (Actors, Patients), context and background, reactions and consequences (cf. Wang 1993: 567). Tables 5.3-5.7 organise Topics and Topic categories of Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses to cover and compare journalism's traditional five 'W' questions (who, what, when, where and why) and 'H' (how) (Wang 1993: 569, 572). The tables are taken from three passages in the Asahi Newspaper. The first two, 5.3 and 5.4 are taken from the Asahi Newspaper of 15 August 1936 and concern a Japanese defeat in the 100 meters backstroke swimming championships at the Berlin Olympic Games. These are representation of peacetime discourse. Statements relevant to the Topic categories and relationship of Agent and Patient to Topic have been selected for analysis here; the full text in translation is in the data 4.4.6. in chapter four. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 are taken from the Asahi Newspaper of 24 July 1982 (Evening Edition) and concern a Japanese defeat in the General Meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC). This is also an example of 'peacetime discourse' and the full text in translation is in the data 4.7.2. in chapter four. Tables 5.7 and 5.8. are taken from the Asahi Newspaper of 26 June 1945, as a representation of wartime discourse. They concern the Japanese annihilation in Okinawa, and the full text is in the data 4.1.2. in chapter four.

## Comparison of topic structure between wartime and peacetime discourse, reporting Japan's 'defeat'<sup>1</sup>

**Discourse of the official wartime reporting:** 'single-lined' structured story, told from an internal, fixed point-of-view. Only Japan's side is thematized. The enemy's side is thematized only when they take Patient roles.

**Discourse of international conflict in peacetime:** multi-dimensional story structure including more actors, processes, causes, consequences and reactions, told from a more external, floating point-of-view. Both Japan's side and their opponents' side are alternatively thematized.

The tables below abstracts topic category and a topic of each event to clarify 'who did what and how' and 'who is affected by whom and how' in the whole story.

### Peacetime discourse I: Olympic Games (Berlin, 1936)

| Topic category | Topic <sup>2</sup>   |
|----------------|--|
| Event went     | In the 100 meters swimming race (backstroke) the championship to Keifer (USA)  |
| Context        | (1) The champion, Keifer, could not be easily beaten because of his superior record<br>(2) Nevertheless, Kiyokawa (Japanese) was expected to beat Keifer and the American team |
| Event          | The race started   |
| Agent/Event    | Keifer in beautiful form was always leading the first group  |
| Agent/Event    | Kiyohara was desperately following Keifer  |
| Agent/Event    | Keifer's excellent style of swimming enabled him to speed without conscious effort   |
| Circumstance   | Keifer's victory was certain   |
| Agent/Event    | Kiyohara and Wandeuwer were competing hard<br>Kiyohara was struggling pathetically   |
| Patient        | The Japanese team who had a great history of backstroke (of swimming) wept in downfall   |
| Consequences   | The Japanese team was desolate   |

---

<sup>1</sup> I have applied the model of news analysis presented by Wang (1993) to my own analysis.

<sup>2</sup> 'Topic' here does not necessarily mean something which is marked by - *wa* or -  $\emptyset$ , but used in a more general sense which Jones (1977) calls the 'central idea', or what we are talking about.

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Reason     | It was impossible to expect more than this of Kiyohara and the Japanese team, considering the superior record of Keifer |
| Evaluation | The decline of the back stroke skills of the Japanese team was just pathetic  |

Data from the Asahi Newspaper, 15 August 1936  
(my translation)

Table 5.3. Discourse of Olympic Game I

| circumstances          | 'We' as theme = Actor/<br>Agent  | 'They' as theme = Actor/<br>Agent  |
|------------------------|--|--|
| the race started       |  | Keifer in beautiful form was always leading the first group                        |
|                        | Kiyohara was desperately following Keifer  |  |
| at the 50 meters turn  |  | Keifer's excellent style of swimming enabled him to speed without conscious effort |
| at the 70 meters point |  | Keifer's victory was already certain   |
|                        | Kiyohara was struggling pathetically, could not display good form, could not gain enough speed |  |
|                        |  | To Keifer went the championship <sup>3</sup>                                       |

Table 5.4. Discourse of Olympic Games II

### Peacetime discourse II: discourse of whaling (July 1982)

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Topic Category</b> | <b>Topic</b>  |
| Event                 | General Meeting of the IWC ratified 'total prohibition of commercial whaling'                                     |
| Event time            | 24 July 1982  |
| Context               | 1) Japanese people have enjoyed the taste of whale since ancient times<br>2) There was a slogan: 'Protect whales' |
| Agent                 | IWC (International Whaling Commission), non-whaling nations won   |
| Patient               | 'The whaling nation', Japan, was finally defeated   |

<sup>3</sup> Although a better English translation may be 'the championship went to Keifer', this changes the Theme. Hence I have retained the original word order of Japanese in translation.

Reason/cause (in the name of) environmental protection

Reactions Whaling bases (in Japan), filled with the atmosphere of fear and anger.  
'Let's withdraw from the IWC'

Data from the Asahi Newspaper, evening edition, 24 July 1982  
(my translation)  
Table 5.5. Discourse of whaling I

| 'We' as Theme = Patient   | 'They' as Theme = Actor/Agent                              |
|---|--|
| 'The whaling nation', Japan was finally defeated                          | The IWC ratified 'total prohibition of commercial whaling' |
| Whaling bases (in Japan) are filled with the atmosphere of fear and anger | The non-whaling nations won                                |

Table 5.6. Discourse of whaling II

### **Discourse of war propaganda: total defeat on Okinawa in June 1945**

| <b>Topic Category</b>   | <b>Topic</b>  |
|-------------------------|---|
| Agent                   | All the people (unified military, government and people in Okinawa)                                     |
| Event time              | 20 June 1945  |
| Event                   | All took the final offensive  |
| Agent                   | Shooryokuchi District Navy Corps, Admiral Ushikima Mitsuru  |
| Event                   | Made a final attack with might and main   |
| Initiators/<br>Affected | Our troops  |
| Event                   | Had to allow the enemy to penetrate into our main position  |
| Context                 | Our government and people in the Okinawa area have been fighting courageously, united with the military |
| Agent                   | The Imperial Army   |
| Event                   | Showed its fighting spirit  |
| Patient                 | Americans were overwhelmed by their unprecedented casualties  |
| Patient                 | Damage to the enemy: 8,000 wounded, destroyed 6,000 ships   |
| Damage<br>to 'us'       | N/A   |
| Cause/reason            | N/A   |
| Impact                  | N/A   |

Reaction N/A

Table 5.7 Discourse of war propaganda: total defeat on Okinawa I

| 'We' as theme = Agent /Actor  | 'They' as theme = Patient                              |
|---|--|
| unified military, government, and people took the final offensive   |  |
| Shooryoluchi District Navy Corps made the last attack<br>We had to allow the enemy to penetrate into our main position                        | Damage to the enemy: 8,000 wounded, sunk 6,000 ships   |
| Admiral Ushiima Mitsuru ... took the last offensive with might and main   |  |
| Our government and people in Okinawa have been fighting courageously all along united with the military as one to protect the Imperial Nation |  |
| The Imperial Army showed its fighting spirit  |  |
|   | Americans were overwhelmed by unprecedented casualties |

Table 5.8 Discourse of war propaganda: total defeat on Okinawa II

Data from the Asahi Newspaper, 26 June 1945  
(my translation)

Findings:

Most of the official war reports on defeat in Japanese newspapers follow this discourse structure, which consists of quite simplified, ritualized, single-lined topic structure, in which other topics covering more detailed circumstances, processes, contextual information, Actors, conditions or causes, reactions or consequences are not mentioned. This is because the story is told from an internal, fixed point of view, bounded by strict censorship policy. Yet it has quite a dramatic and appealing effect partly because of a continuous mentioning of certain 'heroic' participants of events as entrenched information. In general, in authoritarian or highly controlled domains of discourse, simplified yet highly ritualized discursal patterns are employed. Yuan *et al* (1990) argue quite interestingly that during a time of social upheaval of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, revolutionaries turned to simple uniform ritualistic patterns of language use to accomplish their revolutionary objectives (*ibid.*: 77). It could be said that propaganda in general, employs a context-free elaborated but abstract code (e.g. *The Imperial Army showed courage*),

while non-propagandistic domains uses a context-sensitive concrete and descriptive code as these examples show.

So far I have discussed the fact that propagandistic discourse tends to employ highly ritualized discursual patterns, in which principal characters are continuously highlighted as entrenched information while other characters are backgrounded no matter how important a role they play in reality. From a syntactic point of view, the issue of thematization/non-thematization is intimately related to what a sentence presupposes or asserts as I discussed in the theoretical part of this chapter. This section explores how the relationship between foregrounding/backgrounding and presupposition/assertion can be applied to the discourse of Japanese war propaganda.

#### **5.2.4. Presupposition versus assertion and foregrounding versus backgrounding in the discourse of Japanese wartime propaganda**

Applying the idea of presupposition/assertion discussed in section 5.1.10 to Japanese wartime reporting, we can observe the following patterns. Although the 'enemy's' offensive is what caused Japan's defeat, and so is contextually important to the event, this information is backgrounded in a pragmatic effort to devalue the enemy's achievements in order to observe the censorship policy. Although the 'enemy' played an important role in the event itself, in the discourse they are backgrounded by being mentioned in a prepositional phrase or a peripheral phrase, or in a subordinate clause (not in a main clause), where 'empathy' is least salient. Thus the writer chooses to express an empathy towards a participant by fronting the Object (the real Patient, i.e. Japan's side) into the grammatical Subject position, and by backgrounding the logical Subject (the semantic Agent) in a PP, Circumstantial clause, subordinate clause or peripheral clause in general.

Nominalization also functions as presupposition combined with subordination. Nominalization is inherently, potentially obfuscating; it allows habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power-relations (i.e. who is in command of the situation) or the transitivity structure (i.e. 'who does what to whom') (discussed in chapters three and four on transitivity). The human participants, *Agent* and *Patient* (i.e. who did what to whom) are clouded if not completely deleted as a clause turns into a noun. Nominalization even allows deletion of reference to the persons responsible for the action (*Agent*) and affected by the process described by

the verbs (*Patient*). This linguistic device of nominalization is used to 'neutralize' the activity by abstraction, and reduces the senses of transitivity and causality, as the example of *pacification* and *emancipation* indicate. Without nominalization, *emancipation* should be rephrased as 'someone emancipates someone else' clarifying Agent, Patient and even modality (for the definition of modality, see chapter 7). Nominalization can depersonalize and cloud the real issues in this way.

Thus, in order to neutralize defeats and to efface passivity, such nominalizations are frequently used combined with subordination in reporting Japanese defeats as in the texts below:

#### Data 5.4

The Imperial Navy and Army garrisoned on Tarawa and Makin Islands had been fighting courageously against 5000 enemy with 3000 soldiers since 21 November, counter-attacking the enemy's fire, fighting bravely ... But on 25 November, when (they) made the final attack, all laid down their lives.

(Asahi, 21 December 1943)

Here, the enemy's superiority is nominalized with its transitivity (i.e. 'the enemy fired at us') neutralized as in 'enemy's fire' in a subordinate noun phrase. By contrast, the underlined part could be instead expressed as asserted information in a main clause as follows:

× (5.8.) The enemy fired at us. So we counter-attacked them...

Some other examples are as follows:

#### Data 5.5

... Soldiers, under heavy bombing, defended the island for a month ...

(Asahi, 22 March 1945)

cf. × (5.9.) The enemy bombed us heavily...

#### Data 5.6

.... On the 18th our troops launched a counter-attack, but after that we received the enemy's counter-attack, and on the 20th our main force finally made an organized, final attack...

(Asahi, 26 June 1945)

cf. × (5.10) ... the enemy counter-attacked us...

The following examples are not nominalized. However, the enemy's superior aspect is not predicated or asserted but simply used as modifier of nouns (*superior*), prepositional phrases (*against...*, *with...*) or peripherals.

Data 5.7

The garrison on the Attu, had been continuing bloody battles against the superior enemy under difficult circumstances...

(Asahi, 31 May 1943)

By contrast, the unfavourable information could be asserted in a main clause:

× (5.11) The enemy is superior. Nevertheless, the garrison on the Attu, had been continuing bloody battles against them under difficult circumstances.

Data 5.8

The enemy, with superior military weapons, consisted of 20000, and the damage we have inflicted on them by 28 May... was at least 6000 ...

(Asahi, 31 may 1943)

cf. × (5.12) The enemy has superior military weapons...

The Enemy's superiority is nominalized with its transitivity (i.e. × 'enemy fired at us' sentence (5.8.)) effaced as in 'enemy's fire' (data 5.4.) either in a PP, (e.g. 'the enemy, with superior military weapons' (data 5.8.), 'against the superior enemy' (data 5.7.)) or in a subordinate clause (e.g. 'after we received the enemy's counter-attack...' (data 5.6.)). In this way, the enemy's superiority is expressed in peripheral clauses (i.e. prepositional phrases, Circumstantial clauses or in subordinate clauses) and not in the main clauses, and so not 'asserted' but 'presupposed'. Although the enemy is sometimes foregrounded as in the data 5.8, it is clearly expressed as Patient. As mentioned previously, in general, the enemy's side is thematized only when it is expressed as Patient as in the data 5.8. or, similarly: 'The Americans were overwhelmed by unprecedented casualties' (Asahi, 26 June 1945, report on Okinawa's annihilation).

That the Japanese side is foregrounded as Agent in an asserted clause whereas the enemy is backgrounded as Patient in a presupposed clause means that clearly 'the camera angle' or 'empathy' is closer to Japan's side than the enemy's unlike in

peacetime discourse. Note that it is easier to empathize with the semantic Agent than with the semantic Patient, and with the foregrounded elements than with the backgrounded elements.

In some cases, however, the enemy is expressed as a thematized Agent in minor news items of the press, although the Imperial War Headquarters, whose announcements were always printed as top news of the front pages of the paper, did not ever use this style for announcements. Clauses in which the enemy are described as the thematized Agents are again subordinated and represent a presupposed part, not an asserted part. For example, *Asahi*, citing the reports of the U.S. Commander in Chief Backner in Okinawa read:

Data 5.9

*Beegun wa Nihon gun booe jinchi ni-taishi, riku kai gun kara hoobakugeki o kuwaeta ga, sakusen no shinpo wa iyani naru hodo osoku, shikamo gisee mo sukunaku nai, Okinawa no Nihon gun wa seekyoo chuu no seekyoo de-aruu.*

Although the American army bombed Japanese defence positions from land, sky, and sea, the progress of the operations was awfully slow, and the damage to the Americans is not small. The Japanese army in Okinawa is the strongest of the strongest.

(Asahi, 26 June, 1945)

Here again, the unfavourable part for the Japanese army is expressed in a presupposed, subordinated clause (underlined) whereas the favourable part is an asserted clause (*the progress of [American] operations was awfully slow, and the damage to the Americans is not small*). What is amazing with this report is that it was issued three days after Okinawa was annihilated on 23 June 1945. The intended effect is still to sound positive so that the rest of the Japanese citizens will not be discouraged by the 'defeat' of Okinawa.

Due to the subordination and nominalization of the description of the enemy's behaviour, a general discursal pattern in wartime newspapers is connecting and compounding. By contrast, because of the relative free choice in theme (either 'our side' or 'enemy's side'), the discursal pattern in peacetime newspapers is additive rather than adversative with causal conjunctions. There is general lack of connectivity and causality between sentences in peacetime discourse.

Fairclough (1989: 132) points out the importance of subordination, in particular, in information management, saying that 'the main clause is more informationally prominent than subordinate clauses, with the content of subordinate clause backgrounded' (refer back to section 5.1.10 for a longer citation).

In this way, subordination is one means of 'backgrounding' facts that are undesirable to Japan in the course of the war. In contrast to this, equal weight is given to both favourable and unfavourable facts in international conflict discourse in peacetime in Japanese newspapers.

### **5.2.5. Summary**

This chapter has considered first, how some transitivity roles such as Agent and Patient constitute thematic structures to create and effect the highlighting of particular elements or participants (the Japanese side) while suppressing others (the enemy) in discourse. Secondly, this chapter demonstrated how the linguistic realisation of the thematizing or non-thematizing of certain elements reflects a particular perspective assumed by the writer or reporter. Finally, I have shown how the linguistic features of presupposition (subordination) versus assertion (main clause) contribute to foregrounding positive elements while backgrounding negative elements respectively in the discourse of propaganda.

Another important device for presupposition, besides the use of the subordinate clause, specific to the Japanese language is the use of the particle NP-*wa*. *Wa* as 'set (topic) anaphoric' presupposes a reference shared by the speaker/hearer (Miyagawa 1987: 190). So, *wa*, which requires a pre-determined, shared set of assumptions by the speaker and the hearer (ibid.: 214-215), is closely related to the discursual development and coherence. The tool of presupposition is not only used to presuppose or background negative information as we have seen in section 5.2.4.; it is also used to presuppose positive information. The next chapter will describe how positive information was consistently presupposed to achieve certain discursual effects, by focusing on the Japanese particle *-wa*, and relating its use to the critical issue of point of view.

## Chapter six

### Discourse coherence, character roles and point of view

In the last chapter we have seen that the discourse of wartime reporting is structured in a 'single lined' story told from an internal, fixed point of view, whereas peacetime discourses concerning international conflicts are structured as more multi-dimensionally viewed stories told from a more external, flexible point of view. In order to test these ideas, this chapter examines the texts from the perspectives of discourse coherence, theme, character roles and point of view in relation to presupposition. There are many grammatical ways of expressing textual meanings in more or less explicit ways. In this chapter, however, a particular emphasis will be placed on the assignment and distribution of the Japanese nominal post-positions (particles), in order to show how grammar (post-positions) reflects semantic analysis at the discursal level. This grammatical resource presents good examples of realising textual meanings. The first half of this chapter introduces theoretical background and the second half deals with its application to the texts.

#### 6.1. Theory

##### 6.1.1. *Wa* as a cohesion marker:

###### *Wa*-marking and thematic status at the discourse level

We have seen the function of NP-*wa* as the so-called topic-marker mainly at a sentence level. In recent studies, however, attempts have been made to identify the role of *wa* at the discursal, functional level going beyond the characterization of its sentence level functions.

Maynard (1980, 1987) made an analysis of the discursal functions of the topic-marker *wa*. Her basic claim is that *wa* as a topic introduction marker functions to define the thematic structure of a paragraph and to effect discourse cohesion. According to her:

In the words of Halliday and Hasan (1976: 11), the single most critical meaning relation for creating texture occurs when 'one element is interpreted by reference to another'. This semantic dependency between sentences is the indispensable ingredient for making a cohesive paragraph. The Japanese theme marker *wa* is indeed a useful device to meet this need. By attaching -*wa* to an NP, for example Tanaka ..., and thus identifying the central figure of the paragraph, the addressee can interpret the information in relation to the main character 'Tanaka'.

(Maynard 1980: 101-102)

This function of Japanese *wa* may be equivalent to the anaphoric reference of personal pronouns in English such as *he*, *it* or *they*. For example, consider the use of *he* as in the opening of Golding's *Pincher Martin* (discussed by Wales 1989: 24). It is used to let the reader know that it is the element (*he*) that the reader should conceptualize as being the thematic element/participant.

He was struggling in every direction, he was the centre of the writhing and kicking knot of his own body ...

In this way, the anaphoric reference of the personal pronoun *he* is used to mark the main character and to create the imaginary situation into which the reader is plunged.

To further the argument, Maynard discusses how the Japanese *-wa* functions to identify the participants which the writer has chosen as Theme\* from non-thematized ones in the paragraph. Thematized participant means the one who constantly remains on the stage and receives the spotlight while the non-thematized participant (the one who is not marked by *wa*) appears on the stage only in those instances when his/her actions become relevant to the response of the thematized participant (Maynard 1980: 106). Maynard calls the narrators' manipulation of thematization including non-thematization 'staging' (ibid.). If the first role of the 'staging' function of *-wa* is to identify the central participant in the narratives, another role is to organize and develop the story in terms of that thematized participant's point of view. As discussed in section 5.1.8, the reader tends to have more 'empathy' with a thematized participant than with a non-thematized one (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977). *-Wa* indicates that 'every piece of information is to be interpreted in relation to the main character' marked by *-wa* (Maynard 1980). Regarding the thematized participant and the thematic flow, Maynard explains:

.... the thematized participants are expected to remain on stage for a longer period of time and this serves to provide a point of reference for the development of the thematic flow. What the narrator wishes to accomplish through 'staging' is to discriminate the thematized participants from non-thematized ones in such a way that thematized participants remain activated, evoked, and stored in the reader's consciousness. In this way these participants serve to provide a flow of thought to which new and unexpected information may be integrated along the way.

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\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'Theme'.

Thus, the main character, who is constantly marked by *-wa*, functions to maintain a thematic line or 'plot cohesiveness' in a narrative discourse rather than being 'singled out' as is popularly believed (Maynard 1987: 64). The thematized participant 'remains in the total conceptual framework to maintain a flow of thought in the form of evoked, activated and stored information' (ibid.). Similarly, Hamada (1983) claims that 'the choice between NP-*wa* and NP-*ga* depends on thematicity'; *-wa* is used to indicate the participant the writer has selected as a salient/central participant, while *-ga* is used when the writer chooses to describe the story 'objectively' (quoted in Clancy and Downing 1987: 8). The following example illustrates the difference between *-wa* and *-ga*.

(6.1.) *Hi wa noboru*

The sun rises -> experiential judgement -> 'The sun is a thing that rises' -> a state of affairs is analysed into two units of subject and predicate with the connection between them in the light of the speaker's experience

(6.2.) *Hi ga noboru*

The sun rises -> the perceptual judgement -> 'It is the rising sun' -> a state of affairs is grasped as a whole without the distinction between subject and predicate in the speaker's cognition

(Shibatani 1990: 267-268)

In the same manner, Mio (1948 quoted in Maynard 1994: 235-6) proposes the concepts of *handan-bun* (sentence of judgement) and *genshoo-bun* (sentence of immediate description) depending on whether an NP is marked by *wa* or *ga* respectively. According to Mio, *handan-bun* is characterized by the structure of [NP *wa* VP] or [NP *wa* NP *da*], and expresses 'a judgemental proposition such as A equals B' (Mio 1948, quoted in Maynard 1994: 236). By contrast, *genshoo-bun* is characterized by the structure [NP *ga* VP], and has the following characteristics:

- (a) It is a sentence that represents a phenomenon as it is, and the phenomenon perceived and reflected is arrived at without the process of judgement.
- (b) There is no gap between the phenomenon and its descriptive expression.

(c) Since there is no subjective view to intrude between the phenomenon and the expression, there is no responsibility on the part of the user of *genshoobun* with regard to content.

(Mio 1948 quoted in and translated by Maynard 1994: 236)

Concerning the relationship among *wa/ga*, thematicity and point of view, Hamada claims that 'the narrator is likely to describe the episode from the central figure's perspectives and to treat him as theme (*wa*) and the others as non-theme (*ga*)'. Maynard also notes that 'NP *ga* is often used to describe the actions as observed from the point of view of the thematized participant' (Maynard, 1987: 62). NP-*ga* 'contributes to thematic development indirectly only through interaction with thematized participant', and such thematicity choice is based on the narrator's 'viewing position' (ibid.: 79).

It may be important to mention the issue of ellipsis relevant to my analysis. Kuno (1973a: 229) discusses the ellipsis of topic itself and of the particles that mark topic (-*wa*) or subject (- *ga*) in the following terms:

Hypothesis 2: In the main sentence<sup>1</sup>, 'NP + *ga*' as a Subject of the sentence cannot be omitted. If a subject is omitted on the surface, these sentences are all understood as containing the ellipsis of 'NP + *wa*', that is, it is an ellipsis of a topic.

Hypothesis 3: *Ga* marking a Subject in the sentence can not be omitted even in colloquial sentences. Therefore, Subjects that are not attached with a particle (i.e. NP- $\emptyset$ ) are all understood as ellipsis of *wa* not *ga*.

(my translation)

### 6.1.2. A model of discourse by Keenan and Schieffelin

Keenan and Schieffelin developed a model of discursal coherence which is helpful in clarifying the patterns of discourse in war propaganda and peacetime rhetoric. They introduced the concepts 'collaborating discourse topic' and 'incorporating discourse topic' as examples from 'continuous discourse'; and 're-introducing 'topic' and 'introducing topic' as examples of 'discontinuous discourse'.

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<sup>1</sup> The 'main sentence' is understood as opposed to a subordinate sentence such as in 'They told me that he had killed Brutus' (my footnote).

'Collaborating discourse topic' is a 'topic that matches exactly that of the immediately preceding utterance' (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976: 341). For example:

(6.3.)

Allison: 3 1/2 years old

a. Allison: (Looking into box) What's in here?

b. Allison: (reaching into toy box) It's a pig!

(ibid.: 344)

'Incorporating discourse topic' is a topic that takes some presuppositions and/or claims of the immediately preceding utterance. For example:

(6.4.)

a. Mother (trying to put too large diaper on doll, holding diaper on) Well, we can't hold on like that. What do we need? Hmm? What do we need for the diaper?

b. Allison: Pin.

c. Mother: Pin. Where are the pins?

d. Allison: Home.

(ibid.: 341)

'Where are the pins?' (c. above) presupposes the fact that 'pins exist and we need one for the diaper'. It is a presupposition that is also presumed in Allison's preceding claim, 'Pins/(are needed for the diaper)' (ibid.: 341). This new discourse topic is collaborated again on in (d) by Allison adding the new information requested by her mother (ibid.: 341). The stretches of discourse connected by topic collaboration or topic incorporation or both are called 'continuous discourse'.

By contrast, 'discontinuous discourse' refers to discourse where the discourse topics of each utterance are not connected in an explicit way, or in which the discourse of one utterance does not presuppose a claim of the preceding utterance (ibid.: 342). 'Discontinuous discourse topics' may be categorized into 'Reintroducing topics' and 'introducing discourse topics'. 'Re-introducing topics' means re-introducing a topic or a claim that 'has appeared in the discourse history at some point prior to the immediately preceding utterance'. Markers of this sort of discourse are 'as for',

'speaking of', 'concerning', 'as far as ... is concerned' (ibid.: 342). 'Introducing discourse topics', another type of discontinuous discourse topics, means introducing a discourse topic or a claim that is not connected to the preceding utterance at all, and does not draw on utterances produced earlier in the discourse history (ibid.: 342).

This model of discourse will be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourse below (see section 6.2.4.).

## **6.2. Application to Japanese wartime and peacetime international conflicts texts**

This section attempts to apply the ideas of Maynard, Hamada, Keenan & Schieffelin, and Kuno & Kaburaki on thematicity, discourse coherence and point of view, to the Japanese discourse of wartime and peacetime international conflicts or competition.

### **6.2.1. Analysis**

In wartime discourse the Japanese side is predominantly marked with *-wa* or  $\emptyset$  (omitted) and remains a central figure on the stage to contribute to the development of the thematic flow. Here, the events or the 'textual world' seemed to proceed centred around the Japanese people. It is as if the whole rhetoric is based on the kind of presupposition that Benedict and Dower maintain (discussed in the introductory part of chapter four); 'we are living in a thoroughly known world': 'everything is going as had been planned and is under full control'. Events that happen to the thematized participants (Japanese side) tend to be incorporated into the whole discourse line centred on the Japanese side rather than being described as 'unexpected, independent incidents'. Therefore, there are not many instances of *ga* which mark 'new', 'unexpected' or 'objective' events or phenomena in wartime discourse. The whole text sounds as though the events that happen to the Japanese side were expected in advance, although in reality this should not have been the case. (People had to face the 'unexpected final defeat' in reality.) By contrast, in peacetime discourse, with more frequent uses of *ga* and each side (Japan and her opponents) alternatively thematized, it seems that the world of unexpected events dominates over the subjective world perceived by the thematized participants. There is no consistent maintenance of a thematic line focused on a central figure,

and events that take place are described as independent incidents. The more frequent uses of *ga* and flexibility in alterations of thematized participants imply that the narrator has a more objective view in the peacetime discourses. To use Uspensky's (1973) terms, 'the sequential alteration of point of view' can 'take place in a scene'<sup>2</sup> in peacetime conflict/competition discourse in Japanese newspapers, as well.

Concerning the coherence of discourse, as we briefly saw earlier, the semantic dependency between sentences whereby 'one element is interpreted by reference to another' is an important aspect in creating a cohesive text. In the same way, Givón argues that 'zero anaphora' obtains when the 'thematic continuity' is very high. Anaphora is an important element for the cohesion or connectedness of discourse. Zero-anaphora indicates a 'missing' element through the writer's ellipsis, which can be recovered explicitly by the reader in his/her cognitive process from the co-text, as in for example, 'Once there was a king; he lived in a big castle and (he) loved to fish for trout' ('he' in the parenthesis is termed 'zero anaphora') (Givón 1984: 403). In Japanese the most prevalent device for creating and maintaining a topic framework through which 'one element is interpreted by reference to another' is the use of *-wa*, as will be seen in the text below. Japanese *-wa* functions as English equivalent to zero-anaphora in the sense that it creates and maintains a topic framework.

## **6.2.2. Exemplification**

### **6.2.2.1. Wartime discourse**

Now, the illustrative texts are given below to test the ideas discussed so far. I first examine the wartime discourse, especially focusing on the uses of *-wa* and anaphoric and elliptical elements to examine discourse coherence and to test how the world perceived by the thematized participant takes precedence over the 'objective' world consisting of unexpected independent incidents. I use the aforementioned text reporting the defeat on Attu Island (see text 4.1.1 in Chapter four). Omitted topics are specified within square brackets [ ]. The English translation is mine.

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<sup>2</sup> Uspensky (1973: 90) uses this phrase in his analysis of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.

Data 6.1. (app. A1-A5)

(1)

*Attu too shubibutai wa 5 gatsu 12 nichi ikoo kiwamete kon'nan naru*  
Attu Island garrison TP May 12 th since quite difficult-aux.  
Agent

*jyookyoo ka ni kahee yoku yuusee naru teki ni taishi*  
circumstance under in soldiers well superior-aux enemy against  
Patient

*kessen keezoku chuu no tokoro , 5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru*  
bloody battle continue during GEN while May 29 th night

[shubi butai wa]

garrison TP

*teki shuryoku butai ni taishi saigo no tetsutsui o kudashi*  
enemy main garrison against final GEN hammer AC pass-  
PERF

Patient

*koogun no shinzui o hakki sen t o ketsui shi*  
Imperial Army GEN spirit AC display do-will COM determined -do

[shubi butai wa]

garrison TP

*zenryoku o agete sooretsu naru koogeki o kankoo seri.*  
all effort AC raise magnificent attack AC carry out do-PERF

'The garrison on Attu Island (*wa*) had been continuing bloody battles against the superior enemy. On the night of 29 May, passing a final decision to display the spirit of the Imperial Army, they made a gallant attack with might and main'.

(2)

*Jigo*            *tsuushin mattaku tozetsu*    [*shubi butai no* ]  
hereafter    Press    completely    stop            garrison    GEN

*zeein gyokusai*  
all    scattering of the jewel

Agent

*seru*            *mono to*            *mitomu.*  
do-PERF    fact    Comp            recognise

'After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped, and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives'.

(3)

[*Shubi butai de*]

garrison    in

*Shoobyoosha*                    *nishite*            *koogeki ni sank*    *shiezar*  
wounded or ill persons    COP-and            Attack to participate do-can-NEG

*mono wa*            *koreni sakidachi*    *jiketsu*                    *seri.*  
people TP            to this    precede            decided by themselves do-PERF

Agent

'Those who were wounded or sick and could not participate (*wa*) continuously took their lives preceding this final attack'.

(4)

*Waga shubibutai wa*            *2000 suuhyaku*    *mee*  
our    garrison    TP            2000 some hundreds people

*ni shite*            *butaichoo wa*    *rikugun taisa*    *Yamazaki Yasuyo nari.*  
COP-and            commander TP    Colonel            Yamazaki Yasuyo COP

'Our garrison (*wa*), consisting of 2,000, was led by Commander Yamazaki Yasuyo'.

(5)

*Teki wa tokushu yuushuu soobi no 20000 ni shite*  
enemy TP special superior military weapons GEN 20000 COP-and  
Patient

*5 gatsu 28 nichi made-ni [shibi butai ga]*  
May 28 th until garrison

*atae taru songai 6000 o kudarazu.*  
give-PERF damage 6000 TP go-down-NEG

'The enemy (*wa*), with superior military weapons, consisted of 20,000, and the damage we [*ga*] have inflicted on them by 28 May, was at least 6,000'.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 31 May 1943; my translation)

In sentence (1), *-wa* in '*Attu too sububutai-wa*' sets up a thematic framework within which the predication is interpreted. At the same time, *-wa* functions to establish

a main character of the discourse segment on the thematic stage so that information provided across the sentential boundary may be interpreted in relation to it.

(Maynard 1980: 76).

Therefore, it is understood because of zero-anaphora or ellipsis, the rest of the predication in (1) is the act of these thematized participants (Japanese soldiers and men, not their enemy). It is appropriate to understand that the topic '*shubibutai wa*' (the garrison on the Attu Island [*wa*]) is omitted in the second and third clauses of sentence (1). (See the text which makes clear where the omissions are made.) As mentioned before, Kuno (1973a: 229) says that 'NP -*ga*' as a Subject of the sentence can not be omitted. Similarly, *zeein* (all the people [*wa*]) in sentence (2) is understood anaphorically as a reference to 'all the people in the garrison on the Attu Island'. Likewise, 'wounded or ill persons' in (3) refer to the members in that garrison and not the enemy's. Such uses of anaphoric references imply previous mention and existence and contribute to 'the illusion of a WORLD into which the reader is dramatically thrust' (Wales 1989: 24) as discussed in section 6.1.1. As the Japanese equivalent to the English anaphoric references such as *it*, *they* or *he*, *-wa*

functions to create a thematic framework within which the predication and the rest of the discourse are understood.

Throughout this discourse, 'our side' is marked with a cohesion marker *-wa* or  $-\emptyset$  (an ellipsis of *-wa*, as discussed in section 6.1.1), which secures its place as a main participant in the discourse and receives the spotlight. Going back to the issue of thematization and empathy, since the thematized participant (the NP marked by *-wa* or  $-\emptyset$ ) is the one the reader readily has empathy with, and the story tends to be narrated from the perspective of the thematized participant (the Japanese side in this text), the story is told from an internal point of view (the reporter sides with the thematized participants). The continuous uses of *-wa* contribute to the development of the thematic flow centred around the central figures. Events that happen in the story tend to be merged into the overall structure of discourse in which these salient figures play a dominant role, rather than be illustrated as objective independent incidents. The enemy (non-thematized participant) is marked by *-wa* in sentence (5), but as the naming *teki* (enemy) makes clear, this thematization also represents the internal perspective (seen from 'our' point of view), and so sustains a continuity in the reader's line of thought. It should be made explicit that the lexical choice of *teki* (enemy) describes the participant(s) from the point of view of the reporter, as well as the thematized participant's (i.e. 'the enemy' means 'our enemy').

There is an ellipsis '*shubibutai ga*' (our garrison *ga*) in the middle of (5). This is because at the beginning of (5) the thematic staging is the 'enemy' as Patient. So to return to the mentioning of 'our side', it may be marked (omitted) by *-ga*. But still, the reader's flow of thought conceives 'us' as Actor/Agent as main 'discourse topic' not 'the enemy', and so the semantic topic '*teki*' (enemy) in (5) and its predication will be incorporated into a chain of events that the discourse topic ('we'/'us') go(es) through. As mentioned before, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 654) maintain there is a 'topic empathy hierarchy' (repeated for convenience):

It is easier for the speaker to empathize with an object (e.g. person) that he has been talking about than with an object he has just introduced into the discourse for the first time.

Discourse-topic > Discourse-Nonanaphoric

Another reason why this sentence implies the internal perspective is related to another observation by Kuno that it is easiest to empathize with the semantic Agent

while it is next easiest to empathize with the semantic Patient (1976: 432). In (5), the 'enemy' is clearly the Patient, because of which the empathy focus is still on 'us'.

In general, there are very few instances of *-ga*, the neutral description marker, being used in the official wartime discourse. This may be because there is no objective, birds-eye view, from an openly detached perspective, nor incidents of 'unexpected', or 'unpresupposed' events. This is because the rhetoric in wartime in general, is an 'everything is presupposed' rhetoric from a highly limited, 'narrow-minded' internal perspective, in which what is disclosed was severely regulated.

#### 6.2.2.2. Peacetime discourse

Next, let us turn to a text from the Olympic Games, to illustrate how in contrast to the wartime discourse, independent events (objective material processes) in peacetime discourse take precedence over the 'subjective' world as conceived by the thematized participant, focusing on the ways in which human participants are marked by particles. Particles *ga* or *wa* are inserted within round brackets ( ) in English translation (my translation) just after the participants marked by these particles in the original Japanese text to clarify my argument. Particles within square brackets [ ] mean omitted particles.

Data 6.2

(1)

*Saisho kara Duncan to Kitamura ga deta ga wazuka ni Duncan ga riido 400 atari de Duncan wa Kitamura o yaku 2 meetoru hanashi, Kitamura ni tsuzui te ita Marshall wa 600 atari de Kitamura to narabu.*

Duncan (South African) and Kitamura (JPN) (*ga*) started fastest. Duncan (*ga*) took the lead slightly, at the 400 meter point, Duncan (*wa*) built up a lead on Kitamura (*o*) by 2 meters. Marshall (Australian) (*wa*) closely following Kitamura, was now parallel to Kitamura.

(2)

*1200 ataride Duncan [wa], Kitamura tonosae o 4 meetoru ni hiroge Marshall wa Kitamura yori yaku 1 meetoru okureru.*

At the 1200 meter point, Duncan [*wa*] opened up a lead of 4 meters on Kitamura, and Marshall (*wa*) was behind Kitamura by 1 meter.

(3)

*Marshall [wa] 1500 atari kara Kitamura ni semari 1450 de nuite Duncan, Marshaa, Kitamura no jyun de gooru.*

Marshall [*wa*], drawing near to Kitamura at the 1400 meter point, overtook her at the 1450 meter point. Duncan, Marshall and Kitamura reached the goal in that order.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 18 August 1952)

The sentence (1) *Saisho kara Duncan (South African) to Kitamura (JPN) ga deta ga, wazuka ni Duncan ga riido* (Duncan and Kitamura started fastest, but Duncan took the lead slightly) in which *ga* marks neutral description, presents the objectively observable actions of the two swimmers as a new event. *Ga* as a descriptive marker can 'indicate an exclamatory expression of the speaker' since the *ga*-marking expression 'depends totally on the speaker's direct perception' (Makino 1987: 300). The point is that the existence of what is marked by *-ga* is not thematized or presupposed unlike the NP marked by *-wa* in this opening sentence. The reporter is describing the situation from his own openly detached viewpoint, without assuming who will take the lead. In the second reference, Duncan who was first marked with *-ga* has established itself as a topic, so it is marked with *-wa* in *Duncan wa Kitamuea o yaku 200 meetoru hanashi* (Duncan (*wa*) built up a lead on Kitamura (*o*) by 200 meters) in the middle clause of sentence (1). Here, the focus is on Duncan as revealed by the use of *o* (accusative particle) attached to Kitamura (Kitamura *o*). Kitamura (JPN) is now an Object (Patient) of Duncan's action. In this part of the reporting, it sounds as if Duncan is a protagonist, while Kitamura is Duncan's antagonist. In the final clause of the sentence, Marshall (Australia) is topicalized as in *Kitamura ni tsuite ita Marshall wa 600 atari de Kitamura to narabu* (Marshall (*wa*), closely following Kitamura, was now parallel to Kitamura (*ni*) at the 600 meter point). It is important to note that in coordinate sentences, it is possible to switch empathy focus within a sentence (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977: 632). In sentence (2), Duncan (NP- $\emptyset$ ) is topicalized in the first clause, and Marshall in the second clause. In sentence (3) Marshall is topicalized (NP- $\emptyset$ ) as the use of *ni* (dative particle) attached to Kitamura shows; *Marshall [wa] 1500 atari kara*

Kitamura *ni semari 1450 de nuite...* (Marshall [*wa*] drawing near to Kitamura (*ni*) at the 1500 meter point, overtook him at the 1450 meter point). If written from Kitamura's perspective, it could be rewritten as follows:

× (6.5.) Kitamura *wa* Marshall *ni*      *sema-rare*                      *nuka-re-ta*  
 Kitamura TP Marshall by      approach-PASS              overtake-PASS-PERF  
 Patient                      Agent

'Kitamura (*wa*) was followed by Marshall and overtaken by him'

As McGarry (1994: 53) said, supporting the finding of Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) (repeated for convenience):

It is easier to empathize with argument already in the active file of the writer (topicalized arguments) than with arguments just activated or introduced into the narrative.

Thus, 'us' and 'them' are alternatively thematized, and we can recognise that the 'objective' world takes precedence over the subjective world perceived by the thematized participants. This is because peacetime reporting is narrated from a more objective 'bird's eye view' unlike wartime reporting.

Let us examine another text from the Olympic Games as a sample of peacetime discourse.

Data 6.3.

(1)

*Yoshioka no staato wa reeno chooshi de nuitato mieta ga tachimachi Owens wa Yoshioka o nuite susumi, sonogo mo masumasu koochoo ni ichigun o danzen hikihanashi tsui ni 10 byoo 2 no sekai kiroku o tsukutte teepu o kiri daikanshuu no hakushu banraino gotoku okoru.*

As usual, Yoshioka (JPN)'s start (*wa*) seemed good and overtook others, but soon, Owens (USA) (*wa*) overtook Yoshioka (*o*), and got ahead, gaining a long lead on the others (*o*), and broke the tape, making the world record of 10'2". There was applause from the audience.

(2)

*Yoshioka wa koochan ni oite furuwazu 4 too to natte oshikumo rakusen no ukime o mi Nihon jin no shitsuboo hanhadashii...*

Yoshioka (*wa*), in the latter half, did badly, ended up in fourth place, regrettably defeated. The Japanese were terribly disappointed.

The first sentence begins with *Yoshioka (JPN) no staato wa* (Yoshioka's start (*wa*) ) being topicalized, but in the next conjunct, Owens (USA) is topicalized as is exemplified with the accusative particle *o* being used as in *Owens wa Yoshioka o nuite susumi... ichigun o danzen hikihanashi ...* (Owens (*wa*) overtook Yoshioka (*o*), ... and got a long lead on others (*o*) ). The reporter, still in empathy with Owens, reports how he was applauded by the audience when he broke the tape towards the end of the sentence (1). The reporter's eyes turn to Yoshioka in sentence (2), describing how badly he did and how he was 'defeated'.

These differences between wartime and peacetime discourse derive from a difference in attitude; while the main concern is 'what we are doing to win' in wartime, in peacetime there is a more objective interest in 'who is obtaining victory by winning'.

Finally, let us look at the report of the incident of the shooting down of the Korean Airliner as another sample of 'peacetime' discourse.

Data 6.4.

<Headlines>

(1) *Daikan kookuuki, Soren ga gekichin*

Soviet Union (*ga*) Attacks and Crashes Korean Airliner

(2) *Soogeki, misairu hassha*

Soviet Union Wait to Attack, Launching Missile

(3) *'269 nin zeein ga shiboo'*

269 All (*ga*) Die

<Lead>

(4)

*New York hatsu Seoul iki no Daikankookuuki 007 bin Boeing 747 Janbo ki ... wa soogeki ni tobitatta Mig 23 to mirareru Soren gunki no misairu ni yotte gekichin-sa-re-te ita. ....*

... Korean flight 007, a Boeing 747 Jumbo jet from New York bound for Seoul...(wa), had been shot down by a Mig 23, from the Russian military.

(5)

*Gozen 3 ji 26 pun ni Soren ki ga misairu o hassha, Daikan kookuuki ni mee-chuu, doo 3 ji han, dooki wa 5000 meetoru no koodo made sagari, doo 3 jyuppun gurai, Soren gun no reedaa no sukuriin kara mo kie, tsuirakushita.*

At 3: 26 a.m. Russian plane (ga) launched a missile, hit the Korean airliner (ni), and at half-past three, the plane (wa) went down to an altitude of 5000 meters, and disappeared even from the screen of the Russian Army's radar, and crashed.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 2 September 1983)*

The uses of *ga* for neutral description as in headlines (1) *Soren ga* (the Soviet Union (*ga*)) and (3) *269 nin zeein ga shiboo* (all 269 passengers (*ga*) die) suggest the nuances of unexpected occurrences as opposed to presupposed events. The use of *ta*, the past tense or the perfective marker in sentence (4) to describe what happened to the plane, implies the temporal and psychological distance between the reporter and the object or event. Sentence (5) is very significant; it illustrates the process by which the plane was shot down in a most 'objective' manner as an 'unexpected' event, clarifying 'who/what did what to what/whom, when'. *Soren* (the Soviet Union) is marked by *ga* as a neutral description marker. To reiterate, *Ga* as a set-creating<sup>3</sup> marker, does not assume or presuppose a predetermined set, but rather creates a set of its own. A *Ga*-sentence does not function as a predicate of a pre-determined set (Miyagawa 1987: 215).

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<sup>3</sup> 'Set' means a class of identifiable assumptions shared by the speaker and the hearer in the context the utterance was made (Miyagawa 1987).

During wartime, following the censorship policy in fear of the breakdown of national morale, the Imperial War Headquarters did not make such 'straightforward' or 'plain' announcements based on direct perception like:

× (6.6.)12 *gatsu*    *XXX nichi*, *gogo 3 ji*    *han*,    *tekki*    *ga*  
           12 month    *XXX date*    *PM*    3 o'clock half-past    enemy's plane    *SB*

*waga kantai o koogeki shi gekichin shita*  
 our warship AC attack do shot down do-PERF

'The enemy's plane (*ga*) attacked and shot down our plane (*o*) at half past three on *XXX* (date) of December.'

### 6.2.3. The model of discourse by Keenan and Schieffelin in Japanese discourse

Applying these discursal patterns to a slightly revised model of Keenan and Schieffelin's (1976) model which was discussed in section 6.1.3, the difference between wartime and peacetime reporting can be summarized as follows:

| Discourse                                     |   |
|---|---|
| wartime                                       | peacetime   |
| mainly continuous                             | mainly discontinuous  |
| collaborating & incorporating discourse topic | introducing discourse topics<br>re-introducing discourse topics |
| Empathy                                       |   |
| internal, fixed                               | external, floating  |

**Table 6.1. Schematization of continuous and discontinuous discourse patterns in Japanese discourse**

Such discursal differences between war propaganda and peacetime international conflict/competition discourse are due to the difference of the purpose or reason behind each description between the two different settings. In war propaganda, the central issue is 'what we are doing', presupposing 'our victory', in a subjective way,

so discourse is developed centred around 'us' as Actor or 'what we are doing' as established discourse topic, attached by *-wa* or  $\emptyset$  (omitted). Therefore, the discourse tends to be continuous with collaborating and/or incorporating discourse topics about 'us' as Actor. By contrast, in peacetime international conflict/competition rhetoric, for example, in the Olympic Games, what is important is 'who is winning?' or 'who will obtain victory?' from an objective point of view. Thus, either 'we', including not only 'what we do' but also 'what happens to us unexpectedly' or 'the opponents', including 'what they do' and 'what happens to them unexpectedly' can be thematized with the particles *-wa*, *-ga*, or none at all (ellipsis of *wa*) from an objective, detached perspective. Therefore, the discourse tends to be discontinuous, introducing or re-introducing topics or both, where what will happen is not assumed in any obvious way.

### **6.3. Summary of chapters five and six**

Chapters five and six, which are concerned with the Textual function of language, have considered first, how some transitivity roles compose thematic structures to create an effect of highlighting certain elements while shadowing others (cf. chapter five). Secondly, expanding the findings to the discoursal level, I have presented how the thematizing of certain elements or the non-thematizing of others, promotes discoursal coherence (cf. chapters five and six). As a third main point of these chapters, I have shown that this linguistic realization of thematizing reflects a particular perspective or point of view adopted by the writer/reporter whether consciously or subconsciously (cf. chapters five and six). This is because a certain viewing position reveals the writer/reporter's personal commitment to the mode of narration (Maynard 1987: 57).

The table below summarizes the specific points discussed in chapters five and six.

|                          | thematized<br>(empathy-foci) | non-thematized     |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| feature                  | foregrounded                 | backgrounded       |
| syntax                   | main clause                  | subordinate clause |
| case roles               | Actor/Agent                  | Patient            |
| activity                 | active                       | passive            |
| character roles          | protagonist                  | antagonist         |
| discoursal sequentiality | in-sequence                  | out-of-sequence    |

(cf. Givon 1984: 288; McGarry 1994: 64)

**Table 6.2. Schematization of thematized and non-thematized elements**

In Japanese war reporting by the Imperial War Headquarters, the Japanese side is foregrounded throughout, and continuously receives the spotlight or empathy-foci. Reports on Japan are marked by the features in the left column (expressing 'thematized' elements) in the table above. On the other hand, Japan's 'enemy' was backgrounded and viewed from a distant point of view. Reports on the enemy include the features in the right column (expressing 'non-thematized' elements) of the table. By contrast, in peacetime reporting, Japan and her opponents are variously foregrounded and backgrounded, and thus can have the features associated with either 'thematized' or 'non-thematized' components. All these elements are essentially textual in that they are concerned with presentation or organisation of message rather than the message itself as in the Ideational analysis.

Nevertheless, Halliday maintains that the text is a 'metafunctional construct', which involves 'a complex of ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings' (Halliday 1985: 48). By extension, control through language can be enforced by exploiting all these functions: ideational, textual and interpersonal. So far, we have explored the first two elements in a text and how they function in the context of propagandistic discourse; first, how the sentences represent reality or some recognisable phenomenon (ibid.: 19), secondly, how the thematic structure and information focus hang together to create a text based on the idea that a text is characterised by coherence. Nevertheless, a sentence is not only a representation of our experience or a component of a coherent text, but also social exchange of meanings since it is a 'piece of interaction between speaker and listener' (ibid.: 20)

or a writer and a reader. Discourse analysis includes pragmatic elements since it necessitates an integrative approach to text and context. Van Dijk maintains that 'discourse is not just text but a form of interaction' since 'the use of a discourse in a social situation is at the same time a social act' (Van Dijk 1988: 29). This is associated with what Halliday calls the interpersonal function of language, and this concept will be a main theme of the next chapter on control through language by means of modality and point of view.

## Chapter seven

### Modality and point of view

In the previous chapters, attempts have been made to identify a wartime register in Japanese journalism during the Second World War by examining the patterns of transitivity and thematic structures for uncovering a certain point of view or authorial bias. This chapter attempts to clarify the special features of the wartime register in Japanese newspapers from the perspective of 'modality' as related to 'point of view', and to survey the use of modality in uncovering ideologies. 'Modality' is interpreted fairly broadly as a speaker's means of expressing an attitude towards the propositional content of the sentence he/she utters. The following issues are considered in this chapter in relation to or as a part of modal functions: point of view, certainty and probability, deontic and epistemic modality, the use of classical style, and we shall see how modality functions to regulate interpersonal relations in a language community. To demonstrate the special features of modality in the wartime register, a diachronic comparison is made with texts from peacetime discourse

#### 7.1. Modality as an explicit device of control

According to Fowler (1986: 132), there are two major areas of linguistic evaluations in ideological analysis. They are (i) explicit evaluation and (ii) implicit evaluation. The first is a variety of modal evaluations which make 'explicit announcements of belief', and the second is a number of other evaluations which, 'indirectly or implicitly but nevertheless convincingly, may be symptomatic of world-view' (ibid.).

The devices of transitivity and thematization which I presented in the previous chapters belong to the second category above i.e. they are recognised in implicit evaluation; syntactic or lexical selection or foregrounding particular elements imply a certain slant on the presentation of 'reality' (Halliday 1985), and hence the ideology. However, control through language is not merely through such 'implicit devices' of language. This chapter deals with another important means of control: namely, explicit devices as in the first category above. As an example of the constructions mentioned under the first category, we shall look into the aspect of

'modality' as a means to realise interpersonal functions and the social exchange of messages.

## **7.2. Modality and the interpersonal function of language: language to create and regulate interpersonal relations in the language community**

Halliday and Hasan maintain that interpersonal, social meaning is encoded in language, and text is 'a social exchange of meanings' (1985: 11). They note that this interpersonal function of language is partly realized by modality:

The sentence is not only a representation of reality; it is also a piece of interaction between speaker and listener. Whereas in its experiential (ideational) meaning language is a way of reflecting, in its interpersonal meaning language is a way of acting; we could in fact use that terminology, and talk about LANGUAGE AS REFLECTION and LANGUAGE AS ACTION as another way of referring to experiential and interpersonal meaning (ibid.: 20).

Modality is a form of participation by the speaker in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of its status and validity in his own judgment; he intrudes, and takes up a position. Modality thus derives from what we call the 'interpersonal' function of language, language as expression of [social] roles (Halliday 1976: 197-198).

## **7.3. Modality: definition of the term and epistemic and deontic modality**

Since modality is, thus, a social role component in language, for examining the relationship between a writer, characters, and a reader, the theory of interpersonal features of language within Halliday's social-semiotic framework will be helpful. It is, in the first place, necessary to define the term *modality*, since it is an important linguistic tool for realising the interpersonal function of text. Modality refers to the process whereby speakers or writers intrude upon their speech acts (Halliday, 1970: 335). Modality is a broad expression for a speaker's attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence or about the proposition expressed by the sentence. Modality is used in this study in an extended sense and can be defined as follows:

Modality is the grammar of explicit comment, the means by which people express their degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions they utter, and their views on the desirability or otherwise of the states of affairs referred to (Fowler 1982: 216).

Thus, in short, modality indicates the means by which speakers/writers express judgments on the truth of the propositions they utter/write. This type of modality is called epistemic modality, and the judgment refers to, for example, the degree of

probability (*possibly, probably, certainly*) or usuality (*sometimes, usually, always*) (Carter and Simpson, 1989: 287). Modality is also the criterion by which speakers decide what future events are necessary, possible, desirable, etc. This type of modality is called deontic modality. Most modal expressions can be used in both ways: epistemically and deontically. Halliday (1970, 1976) gives a detailed account of this problem. For example, there are ambiguities or semantic blends in the interpretation of the following sentence:

(7.1) John must have a bath every day.

This sentence has two possible interpretations: (i) 'it seems obvious to me that John has a bath every day' epistemically, and (ii) 'John is required to have a bath every day' deontically. In the same way,

(7.2) The president must be Jim.

This sentence allows the epistemic interpretation, (i) 'it seems obvious to me that Jim is the president', and the deontic interpretation, (ii) 'we demand that the president be Jim'<sup>1</sup>. In Japanese wartime propaganda, for example, this type of semantic ambiguity is exploited in reports on Japanese defeats, as will be explained in 'the use of deontic modals' in section 6.9.5.

Another important feature of modal verbs has to do with the verbs that express a varying degree of commitment. They range from low-value modality (*could, might*) through median-value modality (*would, should*) to high-value modality (*must, need, has to*) (Carter and Simpson 1989: 287). It is important to note that there are various forms of modal expressions other than these auxiliary verbs. Although there is a tendency to overemphasize modal auxiliaries, nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives can also be means of expressing modality. For example, sentence adverbs such as *possibly, probably, certainly, obviously, presumably* and *perhaps*, and evaluative adverbs such as *drastically, magnificently, and fortunately* can be modalizers. Examples of verbs as modalizers are *allow, force, permit* and *supposed to*; examples of adjectives are *possible, certain, sure, doubtful, likely*. Nouns such as *possibility, chance, likelihood* and *presumption* can be modal

---

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Halliday (1976) analyses these two 'ambiguous' systems as being different and yet in a sense, semantically identical phenomena (1976: 209). He presents and distinguishes the terms 'modality' and 'modulation' (quasi-modality); the former realizes the interpersonal function of language, while the latter, the ideational function of language.

expressions. Tense and aspect can express modality as well, since tense represents more than simple time-reference, as will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter. Nevertheless, in this study I restrict my attention to auxiliary verbs as the main tool for realizing modality.

The hypothesis on modality is that the more critical the war situation became, the more high-value modality was used in wartime discourse in Japanese newspapers. Modality shows how much the utterer wants the hearer/reader to think a report is true or reliable, etc. In addition to that, modality also expresses the mode within which propositional content is presented as authoritative (Hodge and Kress 1979: 85). Modality also functions as a manifestation of power and 'establishes the degree of authority of an utterance' (ibid.: 122). This function of modality was particularly salient in the cases of the Nazi and Japanese wartime propaganda.

#### **7.4. Nazi propaganda and Japanese wartime propaganda: modality and power**

##### **7.4.1. Deontic and epistemic modalities**

Japanese propagandistic use of language as a war weapon constructed by 'an active press' has much in common with that of Nazi propaganda during the Second World War. First of all, the wartime leaders of both countries used language for persuasion and coercion to make people react as the leaders wanted them to react. In Hitler's speeches, therefore, 'the audience is not being informed, it is made to perform' (Stern 1975: 37). Stern, in fact, discusses how Hitler's speeches were meant as 'perlocutionary acts' to achieve such results on those addressed as *persuasion, intimidation, fright, entertainment*, etc. Hitler himself proclaimed that 'revolution is made solely by the power of words', and used language deontically, not passively, as the following excerpts from his speeches show:

(7.3) Rise up for our Germany!

(7.4) Devote yourself to the German Empire and the Fuhrer!

(7.5) [When German troops went into Austria, Hitler said] We will make this area in the east a new fortress of the German Empire.

(7.6) We wipe out anything that is associated with the humiliation of 1918.

(7.7) The rule by Germany is not a thing that naturally comes from heaven, but it is a thing that should be achieved by our will, devotion, diligence and loyalty.

(Hitler, 1996 TV programme, Japan Broadcasting Corporation)

The first part of (7.7) expresses a weaker modality: 'a thing that naturally comes from heaven', which Hitler denies in the second part of the sentence. The latter part of the sentence is a deontic expression 'it...should be achieved by our will ...'. Hitler's aim, of course, was to mobilize people.

Japanese wartime leaders also used language deontically or to express strong epistemic commitment, and rarely to represent a weak epistemic commitment. A deeper analysis of this use of language constitutes a major part of the application portion of this study.

#### **7.4.2. Classical style and modality**

Another important similarity between Nazi and Japanese propaganda is the use of classical, academic styles of language. Sauer says that, 'Nazism cultivated a very specific manner of handling the tradition of the German language of the nineteenth century, especially that style which, as the so-called academic written style, pervaded many popular works and speeches' (1988: 83-84). The same device of employing classical style is frequently observed in the wartime register in Japanese newspapers during the Second World War, in particular in the reporting of major war events by the Imperial War Headquarters as my study reveals. The classical style used by the Japanese Imperial Headquarters refers to the old-fashioned written form commonly used in the Heian period (9th-12th centuries). The use of the classical style of language is prevalent in the area of function words such as particles and auxiliary verbs originating in the Heian period as well as in content words such as verbs and nouns that were especially coined from ancient texts as we shall see below.

Because of the powerful image of certainty and the high-flown rhetorical flavour the classical linguistic style creates, the use of classical style is considered to be an expression of modal function, as well. My basic assumption is that, as Foucault says, 'it was not knowledge that gave the text its signifying function, but the very language of things ... from the seventeenth century onward, the whole domain of the sign is divided between the certain and the probable' (ibid.). The use of classical language is related to 'certainty' or a strong form of modality, whereas use of a modern style would give a feeling of a 'probable' or a weaker form.

George Orwell said in 'Propaganda and Demotic Speech' that propaganda in general is inclined to adopt a 'bombastic style with a tendency to fall back on archaic words' or 'stilted bookish language which is remote from the popular everyday language' (1944: 7). In fact, 'the deader the written language - the farther from the speech - the better' (Anderson 1991: 13) when it comes to controlling people and their ideas through language. The features of wartime register, which may be typical of authoritarian domains like Germany or Japan of the 1940s, can be illustrated by comparing wartime and peacetime registers as I did in the previous chapters on transitivity and thematization.

Japanese war reports were issued mainly as announcements by the Imperial War Headquarters, the Army, or the Navy, or by way of special telegraphs from local correspondents. These announcements were published as lead stories on the front pages of newspapers, in the particular style of the classical Japanese language. This was particularly so at critical points. The high-flown rhetorical style bears the modal effect of certainty, powerfulness and authority. So in this sense, the use of classical style is part of the modal function of the texts we are concerned with.

If modality is an interpersonal feature of language, it can be suggested that classical language was used to manipulate the hierarchical structure of Japanese society. Through the connotations of 'certainty', 'heaviness' or 'bookishness', the point of view implied is one that emanates from above (the Emperor and the government) down to the ordinary people as 'commands'. The use of classical language had a 'distancing' or obfuscating effect that was designed to control people by 'an intellectual snob who was to "talk down to" the masses' (Orwell 1944: 20). In contrast to this 'language of hierarchy', peacetime language can be defined as 'the language of solidarity', with fewer connotations of heaviness and certainty since peacetime language uses a less official and more informal, casual style.

Taking the assumption that social, cultural and psychological factors are closely related to linguistic changes (Fodor 1965), Higa (1972) shows how postwar democratization in Japan transformed the function of the Japanese language from 'a means of exhibiting authority and an instrument of social control' into 'a means of communication even with the masses' (50). He specifically argues that the use of the imperative mood changed when those who had possessed the authority to command the nation, students and children, i.e. the political and military leaders, teachers and parents became less authoritative and more or less powerless after the

war. Higa argues that they 'lost the authority to use the imperative mood' (51). This supports my argument that is, the function of language changed from one of maintaining hierarchy to one of maintaining solidarity.

Kecskemeti (1973: 847) clarifies the difference between the democratic educator's and the propagandist's views (or the view of people in power) with regard to social relationships. He says, quoting Barlett:

Contrasting with the ideal type of the democratic educator, the undemocratic propagandist is described as looking down upon his audience, viewing it as a 'poor lot [who] are, and should stay, at a low level of intellectual development' (Barlett, 1956: 464). Such elitist contempt for the common people is widely considered as a hallmark of Fascist and Nazi propaganda.

Such a difference of attitude in the context of interpersonal relationships derives from a difference in point of view. The problem of point of view in relation to modality is considered below.

### **7.5. Modality and point of view**

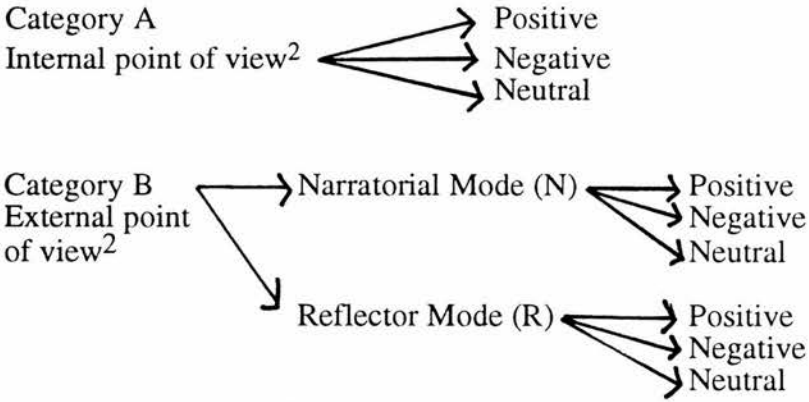
Modality and point of view have an inseparable relationship. Simpson systematized the relationship between these two topics by developing Fowler's original model of 'point of view'. According to Simpson (1993), 'much of the "feel" of a text is attributable to the type of point of view it exhibits' (46). Modality, as a major component of the interpersonal function of language, contributes important data for the analysis of point of view, as well. As we saw, modality can be epistemic and deontic; epistemic modality is concerned with 'epistemic commitment' to the basic proposition, or 'the speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed' (Simpson 1993: 48). On the other hand, deontic modality is the means by which speakers decide what future events are necessary, possible, desirable, etc. (As a supplement to deontic modality, boulomaic modality expresses the desire or wishes of the speaker, as in 'I hope...', 'I wish..', 'I regret...'.) Coates (1983: 32) says a statement that expresses strong obligation is subjective whereas a statement that expresses weak obligation is objective as far as the speaker's involvement is concerned.

Figure 7.1 schematizes the relationships between modal systems and the non-linguistic concepts that each of the modal systems realises.

| Modal system      | Non-linguistic concepts represented |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| DEONTIC ----->    | obligation, duty and commitment     |
| BOULOMAIC ----->  | desire                              |
| EPISTEMIC ----->  | knowledge, belief and cognition     |
| PERCEPTION -----> | perception                          |

**Figure 7.1. The relationship between the modal system and non-linguistic concepts (Simpson 1983: 51)**

The following is a slightly simplified and revised model of point of view realized by modality, as developed by Simpson:



Positive shading:  
deontic, boulomaic systems foregrounded; generics and *verba sentiendi* present

Negative shading:  
epistemic and perception systems foregrounded; supplemented with generalized 'words of estrangement'

Neutral shading:  
unmodalized categorical assertions dominant; few *verba sentiendi* and evaluative adjectives and adverbs

(Simpson 1993: 56, 75)

**Figure 7.2. A model of point of view**

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<sup>2</sup> Simpson (1993) uses the terms 'homodiegetic' and 'heterodiegetic' instead, with slightly different meanings from 'internal' and 'external' points of view respectively.

Category A stories represent stories written with an internal point of view and Category B stories indicate stories written with an external point of view. Category A stories are subdivided on the basis of three patterns of modality: positive, negative and neutral shadings.

### **Category A: Positive shading**

Category A positive stories are characterized by the rich use of evaluative adjectives and adverbs (e.g. *happily, vain, terrible*), verba sentiendi or Mental Process verbs to use Halliday's term (e.g. *feel, suffer*) and the deontic and boulomaic modalities of obligation, desire, duties and opinions (*you must..., I want ...*). By contrast, the use of the epistemic and perception systems are rare (*possibly, probably, maybe, perhaps, apparently, evidently, might have been, must have been*). To put it simply, the use of 'words of estrangement' or the more 'alienating' forms of epistemic and perception modality is suppressed, and 'the resulting narrative is more cooperatively oriented towards the reader through its clear realization of obligation, duties and desires' (Simpson 1993: 56-58).

### **Category A: Negative shading**

Category A stories with negative shading are characterized by the use of epistemic and perception modalities that are not found in Category A stories with positive shading. This type of point of view exhibits the following linguistic features: epistemic modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, and modal lexical verbs such as *I wonder, I think, I assume, I imagine, I suppose, I reckon* ; perception adverbs such as *evidently, perhaps, apparently* ; human perception verbs such as *it looked like (as if), it seemed, it appears*. Since this type of point of view is basically internal, 'the bewilderment and estrangement devices from within a participating character's consciousness' signify his/her uncertainty about events or characters in the story (Simpson, op.cit.: 58).

### **Category A: Neutral shading**

A third Category A story is the neutral-shading one. The criteria for the recognition of such a story is the absence of narratorial modality, which means that the narrator/reporter suppresses subjective evaluation, opinions or judgements on events or characters in the story, and tells the story only through 'categorical assertions' (i.e. 'something is or is not') (Lyons 1977: 763, 809). Categorical

assertions are 'epistemically non-modal' assertions or propositions (Simpson 1993: 49), and express the strongest degree of speaker's commitment to the factuality of the proposition (Lyons opp.cit.: 808-809). For example, 'it is raining' is epistemically stronger than modalized 'it must be raining' (ibid.: 808). So the style of neutral shading in Category A exhibits the 'flat, unreflective, cool, distanced and detached' narration of the first-person pronouns (Simpson 1993: 62, 75). There are few uses of *verba sentiendi* and evaluative adverbs and adjectives. This type of text displays 'extended sequences of straightforward physical description with little attempt at psychological development, and not surprisingly, such texts are rare' (ibid.: 62, 65).

### **Category B stories**

Category B stories are a little more complicated than Category A stories. First, Category B stories are subdivided into two modes: narratorial and reflector. The former implies a viewing position 'outside the consciousness of any of the characters' while the latter indicates a position that is 'mediated through the consciousness of a particular character' (Simpson 1993: 62). The term 'reflector' was taken up to identify a character whose psychological perspective is expressed in a text. The two Category B modes occur in three subcategories: positive, negative and neutral, producing a total of six types of Category B stories.

#### **Category B: Narratorial mode, positive shading**

This type has a lot in common with its Category A counterpart: it has evaluative adjectives and adverbs and generic sentences, and a foregrounded deontic and boulomaic modality. The difference from its Category A counterpart lies in 'externality'; the narration is in a third-person voice that adopts a position outside the consciousness of any of the characters.

#### **Category B: Narratorial mode, negative shading**

This type of narration is recognized by 'words of estrangement' and the absence of detailed description of the thought of characters. It has a lot in common with Category A negative stories in that epistemic and perception modal systems are given prominence and a sense of 'alienation' is conveyed. In addition, there are words of estrangement to distance the reader with an external perspective or a

modalizer for negative shading. Maynard (1993) calls them 'quotative explanation markers'. These markers include, for example, 'it may be that...', 'it will be that...', 'it is said that...', 'it appears that...', 'it is supposed to be that...', 'to say...'. These 'quotative explanation' markers express varying degrees of uncertainty or commitment on the writer's part regarding the proposition to be made. For example, by saying in Japanese *to iwarete iru* (it is said ...), it is understood that the speaker 'represents a view accepted by others, shows little commitment of the speaking self; a certain level of objectification' of the propositional content is realised (Maynard 1993: 251). So these 'quotative explanations' pragmatically and interactionally function as devices to 'accommodate to others and to show sensitivity' to the certainty of the proposition and the reader's or hearer's feelings. Maynard says that these quotative explanations, including '*to yuu*' ('to say') or weaker modalizers, suggest the existence of a detached point of view or plural voices, where a multitude of voices proliferates. Maynard notes, especially in relation to Japanese,

the availability of the quotative explanation offers an environment conducive to mixing different voices intrasententially. ... [T]he Japanese language producer and consumer alike are likely to have easy access to the fluidity of viewpoints as expressed by different voices within a single utterance (Maynard 1993: 252).

### **Category B, Narratorial mode: Neutral shading**

This narratorial mode is the most impersonal, as a narrator uses little or no modalized language. There are few *verba sentiendi* or evaluative adjectives and adverbs. It lacks direct description and analysis of the thought and feelings of characters. This corresponds to Rimmon-Kenan's 'objective' (neutral, uninvolved) focalization as opposed to 'subjective' (coloured, involved) focalization (Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 80). This narratorial mode is supposed to be the ideal journalistic style 'in terms of its factuality and objective approach' to the events and characters that journalists are trying to describe (Simpson 1993: 68).

### **Category B: Reflector mode**

As this type of narration is not as important in this study as Category A stories and Category B stories in the narratorial mode, only a brief explanation is given here. Each of the three subcategories of Category B reflector mode has much in common with its counterpart in the Category B narratorial mode and Category A stories

when it comes to the use of modal expressions. The main difference is clearly that, in Category B reflector mode, the story is 'mediated in the third person through the consciousness of a Reflector' (Simpson 1993: 69). In the case of positive shading of this style, 'action is located within viewing positions of characters, offering their opinions and judgements' (ibid.: 75). In the case of negative shading of this type, 'estrangement' is located in the minds of characters, and so 'spatial distance between viewer and object' is implied (ibid.). In the neutral shading of this mode, 'action is situated in the viewing position of a passive character, though evaluative modalities are still withheld' (ibid.).

The theoretical model and tools presented in this chapter — modality in relation to the use of classical language style and point of view — will be applied to systematizing the difference between wartime and peacetime international conflict discourses in Japanese newspapers in section 7.8.2.

## **7.6. Method of analysis of diachronic comparison**

Characterization necessitates comparison. The existence of an explicit aspect of wartime register, as well as an implicit aspect, is confirmed by looking at, and comparing, the styles of newspapers of three different but proximate periods: pre-war, wartime, post-war (just after the war). Comparison of these three periods is necessary to demonstrate that the emergence of a wartime register is due purely to the demands of a wartime society, to the need to consolidate state power and control people, and not due to simple language change resulting from historical change as we observed in the previous chapters on transitivity and thematization (discussed in (4) in section 4.7.1.). In other words, to prove the main points about the existence of a wartime register (regardless of time), an analysis of newspapers of the pre-war and post-war periods must be included in the study. The 'pre-war' period will be further divided into two categories: reportage on China issues, and reportage on US and UK issues, for the following reasons. In general, in Japan the 'pre-war' period refers to the time up until December 1941, when it entered all-out war with Britain and America in addition to China. Even during this 'pre-war' period, however, Japan was actually at war with China. It is of interest to us to note that, even in this period, we can find the existence of a wartime register used in reports about the China front, but not in reports about America and Britain. So the following generalizations may be made:

- (1) A wartime register is used to report dealing with the 'enemy';

- (2) A wartime register is more likely to be used in authoritarian states such as Germany and Japan during the 1940s than in 'democratic' states like America;
- (3) At critical junctures, in particular, the use of a wartime register increases.

Nevertheless, unlike the grammatical aspect of language (transitivity or Topic analysis) as I have examined in the previous chapters, such language use as of classical language (modality), are commonly believed to be more subject to historical change. It is not relevant to compare wartime discourse with that of the 1964 Olympic Games, for example. Rather, it is more appropriate to compare wartime discourse with the peacetime discourse of just before and after the war so that there is not much of a time gap.

I will analyse texts from the following periods for the purpose of comparative analysis:

|   |  |                        |
|---|--|------------------------|
| June 1941 to December 1941  | 8 December 1941 to August 1945                                   | 15 August 1945 to 1946 |
| pre-war<br>'peacetime'  | war period   | post-war<br>peacetime  |
| (1) war with China --><br>wartime register<br>(2) 'prelude' to war with US and UK --><br>peacetime register | all-out war with US, UK, China, and USSR --><br>wartime register | peacetime register     |

**Table 7.1. Register types in news articles in Japanese newspapers in the 1940s**

**7.7 Auxiliary verbs, particles and verbs used in the analysis of Japanese modal expressions**

The following is a list of the main auxiliary verbs, particles and verbs (in both modern and classical Japanese) that appear in my data for the analysis of modality. Their modal meanings and tense and aspectual meanings are listed. The topics of tense and aspect will be dealt with separately and analysed in detail in the next chapter. But here all the meanings, including modal, tense and aspect, are listed because the use of particles and auxiliary verbs (suffixes) used in classical Japanese itself can be modally important as a means of exerting control regardless of

meanings.<sup>3</sup> Also, some auxiliary verbs have both modal and tense and aspectual meanings. For example, *tari* is used both for expressing 'completion' (aspectual meaning) and 'assertion' (modal meaning). Note that in Japanese, auxiliary verbs come at the end of a sentence attached to a verb, since Japanese has a basic SOV sentence structure.

### Modern Japanese

|  |  |
|--|--|
| - ( <i>de</i> ) <i>aru</i>               | copulative, assertion  |
| - ( <i>te</i> ) <i>iru</i>               | present progressive<br>continuative perfect <sup>4</sup>               |
| - ( <i>te</i> ) <i>aru</i>               | continuative perfect   |
| - <i>suru</i>                            | <i>do</i>  |
| - <i>da</i>                              | copulative, assertion  |
| - <i>ta</i>                              | past, perfect, assertion   |
| - <i>naranai</i>                         | <i>has to</i> : permission, obligation,<br>prohibition, responsibility |
| - <i>nai</i> , - <i>nu</i> , - <i>zu</i> | negation   |
| - <i>seru</i> , - <i>saseru</i>          | causation  |
| - <i>reru</i> , - <i>rareru</i>          | passive, potential   |
| - <i>to yuu</i>                          | <i>to say</i>  |
| - <i>no yoo da</i> , - <i>aroo</i>       | <i>it seems</i> : inference, conjecture                                |
| - <i>naroo</i>                           |  |
| - <i>yurusu</i> (verb)                   | <i>allow</i> : permission  |

### Classical Japanese

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| - <i>semu</i> , - <i>sen</i> | <i>will, shall</i> :<br>intention about future event |
| - <i>nu</i> , - <i>zu</i>    | negation   |
| - <i>ari</i>                 | copulative   |

<sup>3</sup> Maynard (1993), in chapters called 'Style as Discourse Modality: *Da* and *Desu/Masu* verb forms' and 'Interactional Particles: *Yo* and *Ne*', discusses how stylistic differences in verb-ending forms (plain versus polite style) and in sentence-final particles (those expressing mutual agreement versus assertive attitude) respectively, contribute to aspects of Discourse Modality and Modal Contextualization (her own phrases).

<sup>4</sup> In the continuative perfect, the verb phrase denotes the remaining result of the completed action rather than the action itself. For example, by saying 'the window is open', it means that 'the window opened and as a result it is now open' (Komai and Rohlich 1991: 222-223).

|  |   |
|--|---|
| - <i>yamunashi</i>   | <i>has to</i> : obligation, responsibility, propriety   |
| - <i>yurusu</i> (verb)   | <i>allow</i> : permission   |
| - <i>seri</i>  | <i>has done</i> : perfect   |
| - <i>seru</i><br>(abbreviation of <i>-shiseri</i> , meaning <i>have done</i> ) |   |
| - <i>nari</i>  | copulative: may be used in any situation where a copulative expression is called for  |
| - <i>tari</i>  | (i) copulative: used only to describe a temporary state<br>(Komai and Rohlich, 1991: 230)<br>(ii) perfect<br>(iii) continuative perfect |
| - <i>seshimeru</i> < - <i>shimu</i>  | causative: <i>make someone do something</i>   |
| - <i>naranu</i>  | <i>have to</i> : obligation, responsibility, propriety  |

## 7.8. Application: the use of modal structure in Japanese newspaper discourse

The theoretical ideas discussed so far are now applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses in newspaper texts.

### 7.8.1 Analysis of modality

The basic findings on the subject of modality are as follows. In wartime propaganda, deontic or strong epistemic modality is frequently used, for example through classical forms, to express an assertive attitude, and this is related to an underlying intention of the writers of the texts (propagandists) to influence the public through the words expressed. In peacetime non-critical discourse, by contrast, weaker epistemic modality is standard, since the principal purpose of news articles in newspapers is to report what has happened without obfuscation. In wartime the function of language is *instrumental* ; in peacetime it is simply *expressive* (the terms were explained in section 3.16).

## 7.8.2. Modality and point of view in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses

This analysis of modality may be deepened by applying Simpson's (1993) idea of modality and point of view. The fundamental difference between points of view in wartime and peacetime texts as expressed through the modal systems is now clarified.

### 7.8.2.1. (A) Wartime propaganda in newspapers:

Consistently Category A (internal perspective), fixed point of view, and positive shading of commitment is expressed through the following features:

- (a) a foregrounded deontic and boulomaic modality (e.g. 'we shall never surrender');
- (b) modality of strong epistemic commitment realized by the use of classical auxiliary verbs or particles (e.g. *-seri*, *-tari*) and the absence of the more 'alienating' form of epistemic and perception modality;
- (c) uses of deixis: we versus them or the enemy as pronouns or other namings for interpersonal markers (first-person narration);
- (d) uses of evaluative adverbs and adjectives (e.g. *triumphantly*, *valiantly*, *our powerful troops*);
- (e) The Japanese side almost always takes the role of Actor/Agent while the enemy is Patient, so that the whole discourse has a positive connotation (the transitivity pattern in wartime propaganda has been explained in chapter four).

### 7.8.2.2. (B) Peacetime rhetoric in international conflict/competition discourses in news articles in newspapers:

A Category B (external perspective), floating perspective, and a neutral or negative shading of narratorial mode of non-commitment (although it shifts to 'internal point of view' in an extremely 'nationalistic' context) is expressed by means of the following features:

- (a) use of weaker epistemic and perception systems, and unmodalizers supplemented by 'words of estrangement', which produce a cool and distanced tone (e.g. *it seems...*, *it may be...*);

- (b) non-deixis: use of objective reference (e.g. nation's names such as 'Japan' or the 'US') instead of subjective references such as we or them (i.e. the third-person narration);
- (c) less use of evaluative adverbs and adjectives;
- (d) The Japanese side can take the role of Patient while their opponent Agent when the Japanese are losing; roles are assigned explicitly without obfuscation (explained in chapter four).

These findings accord well with Coates's observation that a statement that expresses strong obligation is subjective (i.e. the internal point of view) whereas a statement that expresses weak obligation is objective (i.e. the external point of view) as far as the speaker's involvement is concerned (previously mentioned in section 7.5., theoretical part). The former may be a case of wartime propaganda while the latter may be a case of peacetime non-critical discourse.

## 7.9 Exemplification

Now we can look at the illustrative data from newspapers that provided the grounds for these findings. As we noted earlier, three periods were examined. Firstly, let us consider the data from the so-called pre-war period before Japan entered an all-out war. As I previously mentioned, my analysis of this period is divided into reports from the China front and reports on US and UK issues.

### 7.9.1 Texts from the pre-war period: reporting from the China front when Japan was at war with China only

During the period from June 1941 until December 1941, Japan was directly at war only with China. War reports from the China front used the classical style, of which the most prominent feature was the abundant use of classical auxiliary verbs (marked by [CL] after the relevant part), as in the following examples:

Data 7.1

<Headline>

*Sooretsu-na shigaisen o tenkai*

*Teishuu o kanzen senryoo*

<Body>

*10gatsu 2ka mimei, kooga narabini shinkooga o kishuu tokoo, shingeki-seru waga butai wa teki o otte Teishuu shuuhen ni sono shuryoku o gekimetsushi 4kka gozen 10ji doodoo Teishuu ni nyuujoo-seri [CL].*

<Headline>

Heroic street fighting waged  
Chengchow [in China] fully occupied

<Body>

At dawn on 2nd October, our troops attacked and crossed the Yellow River and the New Yellow River. Our advancing troops have destroyed the enemy's troops, and made a triumphant entry into the city of Chengchow at 10 o'clock on the morning of 4th October.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 5 October 1941)*

*(Translation from The Japan Times and Advertiser of the same day)*

Data 7. 2

*Kantee, Dooteko o seiatsu*

*Suunichirai rikugunbutai to kyooryoku Dooteko hokugan no teki o issoo shitsutsu-ari-taru [CL] yuuryokunaru [CL] kaigun Yoosukoo butai no ichibu wa 17 nichi yahan totsujyo koodoo o okoshi, rikugun butai to kyoodoo shitsutsu Dooteko o oodan, hangekisuru teki o tachimachi ni seeatsu shite nangan chiten ni see-ee butai o jyooriku-seshimetari. [CL] Hikitsuzuku kaigunrikusentai mo hokano ikkaku o senryoo, mokka kassosuru teki o tsuigeki chuu-nari [CL].*

War vessels captured Dongting Hu [Tungting Lake]

In the past few days, in close cooperation with the army, the invincible Navy air forces of the Yangtze River, destroying the enemy at Tungting Lake, launched a surprise new offensive at night on the 17th. They crossed that lake, gained mastery over the counter-attacking enemy, and effected a landing of the highly efficient field troops on the southern shore of the lake. Consequently, the land troops of the Navy have occupied another division and are pursuing the fleeing enemy.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 20 September 1941)*

*(Translation from The Japan Times and Advertiser of the same day)*

Data 7.3

*Chuuseebu taichoo no shikisuru kaigun kookuu butai wa sakuya yori hongen ni watari yakee o tsuite Jyuukee (Chong ging) kuushuu o kekko, shigai sho-shisetsu o bakugeki, kaimetsu-seshimetari [CL].*

[A squadron of] naval aircraft, led by a commander from the mid-west (of China), conducted the air raids on Chongking late last night and early this morning. Defying the prevailing darkness, [the squadron of naval aircraft] bombed ground establishments in the city proper and heavily damaged them.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 7 June 1941, evening edition)

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

These reports from the China front exhibit typical features of the wartime register; they are positive-shading stories of an internal perspective. Classical auxiliary verbs and particles denoting 'assertion' or 'causation' are used, such as *seru, seri, taru, nari, naru, seshime-tari*; these give a sense of strong commitment. There is a noticeable absence of the alienating forms of perception modality (such as *maybe* or *seems*) and of particles or auxiliary verbs in their modern forms. The first-person narration is recognized by the uses of deixis, 'our troops', and 'the enemy'. Evaluative adverbs and adjectives like 'triumphantly' (in data sample 7.1) and 'invincible' troops (in data sample 7.2) are used. Of course, 'our' side is always Actor/Agent, as shown by the causative expression in the classical auxiliary verb '*seshimetari*'.

### **7.9.2 Texts reporting on the US, UK and other countries before Japan was engaged in all-out war with them and was at war only with China**

The modal expressions and points of view adopted for war reports on Britain, Germany, America and the Soviet Union for the same period are now examined. Unlike China, these countries were not yet directly at war with Japan.

Examination of these texts reveals that features of the wartime register are not used here; unlike reports on the China front, negative shading of narratorial mode based on an external point of view now we find. First, as opposed to the uses of auxiliary verbs and particles of classical style, used in reporting about the China front in order to create an effect of strong modality, expressing certainty, those of the

modern language were used to describe situations **other than Japan's direct involvement in war**. It appears that the greater the involvement, the less the ordinary usage of language in reports.

Data 7.4 to 7.6 report on fighting involving the UK, Germany and Russia in the Middle East and Russia, in which Japan was not directly committed.

Data 7.4

<Headline>

*Eigun Chirusu<sup>5</sup> senryoo*

British army captured Tyre

<Body>

*Eigun, De-Gaulle rengoogun no Syria sakusen wa chakuchaku shinkoochuu de genzai made mo senkyoo tsugi no toori:*

The operation in Syria by the Allied Forces of the British army and De Gaulle is making steady progress, and producing the following war gains:

(1) *Syria, Trans Jordan kokkyoo o toppa shita rengoogun wa kokkyoo fukin ni yoosho Teramo o senryoo-shita.*

(2) *Mata hoka no ittai wa Damascus toonan 40 mairu no Murzug o kooryaku-shita.*

(3) *Rengoogun wa 8ka gogo Syria gun no teekoo o haijyo shite, chichuukai ni mensuru Lebanon nanbu no yoochi Chirusu o kooryaku-shita.*

*(The Asahi Newspaper 10 June 1941)*

(1) The Allied troops of the British Army and De Gaulle [*sic*, although not in Japanese original] passed beyond the border between Syria and Transjordan, and captured Teramo, an important strategic city around the border.

(2) Another army troop [*sic*, i.e. unit] captured Merajayoun, 40 miles southeast of Damascus.

---

<sup>5</sup> This is a place 70 kilometers southwest of Beirut in Syria (now Lebanon), on the Mediterranean coast.

(3) The Allied forces swept aside the resistance of Syrian army, and captured Tyre, a strategic city facing the Mediterranean in the southern part of Lebanon in the afternoon of the 8th June.

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

Data 7.5

<Headline>

*Dokugun 10 kiro ni semaru*

The German army reaches a point 10 kilometers from Moscow

<Body>

(1) *Toobu sensen ni okeru dokugun sakusen wa seikoori ni shinpo-shiteiru.*

(2) *Dokugun wa Leningrad hooi o keizoku, Leningrad shi wa sudeni dokugun hooka no motoni obiyaka sarete-iru.*

(3) *Estonia no tekigun sookoo wa kanryoo-shita.*

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 6 September 1941)

(1) German operations on the Eastern Front are making successful progress.

(2) German forces continue to encircle Leningrad, and the city is being menaced by German artillery fire.

(3) Wiping up operations against the enemy forces in Estonia have been completed.

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

Data 7.6

<Headline>

*Sekito e 6 ri ni semaru*

*Dokugun kikoobutai mooshingeki*

Now 6 ri (14.6 miles) from the heart of Red Capitol (Moscow)

German mechanized Army smashing on towards Moscow

<Body>

(1) *Chuubu Moscow zenmen no sensen ni oite dokugun wa 25 nichi no sentoo de tasuu no chiiki o senryoo zenshin-shita.*

(2) *Hokua sensen de wa Dokui rengoogun no koogeki wa sarani sono senka o kakudai-shita Eigun no koogeki o haijyoshi dokugun wa mizukarano kiten o kakuho shitsutsu-ari, Tobruk no Eigun no hooisen dasshutsu keekaku wa futatabi tonza-shita.*

(3) *Moscow sensen no Soren heeshi wa sen'i o ushinai zokuzoku dokugun ni tookoo shitsutsu aruga, Stalin wa sekigun no shiki gekiree no tame, sekigun horyo ni taisuru dokugun no kakokunaru toriatsukai o happyoo-shita.*

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 28 November 1941)

(1) In fighting along the whole front in central Moscow, the German army occupied many areas and advanced in the battle on 25th November.

(2) On the Northern-Asian Front, the Italy-German axis attacks repulsed the British who had made further military achievements. The German army, who have been securing their strategic points, held up the British escape plan again from a besieging line in Tobruk (by Axis forces).

(3) Russian soldiers on the Moscow Front have lost their fighting spirits and have surrendered to the German army one after another. Stalin announced the cruel treatment of prisoners from Red Army by German Army in order to raise the morale of the Red Army.

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

The point of view adopted in these discourses is external with negative shading. There is no use of classical particles, such as *nari*, *tari* or *shiseri*, to give a strong sense of commitment. The use of proper nouns (*German forces*, *the British Army*, *the Soviet Union*, *De Gaulle*) also supports the idea of the presence of the external point of view.

There is another news story from the 'pre-war' period that reports President Roosevelt's ordering of the freezing of Japanese assets in the US in July 1941, when the relationship between the US and Japan deteriorated just before the war. The point of view assumed here is also external and negative-shading.

Data 7.7

*Eibei, Nihon shisan o [ACC] tooketsu*

*Roosevelt Daitooryoo wa, daitooryoo ree ni yori 25 nichi yoru zaibei nihonshisan no tooketsu o meeji-ta. Migi hooree wa 26 nichi kara kooryoku o hassuru, migi ni taishi howaito hausu kara tsugi no gotoki setsumee ga hasse-rareta....*

Britain and US freeze Japanese assets [ACC]

President Roosevelt issued an executive order freezing Japanese assets in America on the evening of 25th July. This act will take effect on 26th July .... The following explanation was given from the White House....

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 27 July 1941; my translation)*

The point of view adopted here is also external and negative-shading for the same reasons as in the previous examples (Data 7.4-7.6): (1) the use of proper nouns ('Japan', 'US') instead of 'we' and 'enemy', (2) the use of modern particles (*ta*, *rareta*) instead of classical ones, which have weaker modal functions; unlike news on the China front, classical auxiliary verbs are not used for reports on countries not directly at war with Japan. This means that somewhat weaker epistemic modalities are used toward countries not directly fighting with Japan. (3) Japan's side is Patient here, as exemplified by the use of the accusative particle, *o*, as in '*Nihon no shisan o*' (Japanese assets (ACC)). Hence here the words are used to describe occurrences or changes in the world, rather than to make changes to the world.

Since Japan was not directly at war with Britain, America, or the Soviet Union around this period, reports describing war activities of these countries sometimes employed weaker modality, as manifested in the use of *-de aroo*, *-daroo* (it may be that...), *-to naroo*, (it will be that ...), *-to iwarete iru* (it is said that...), *-to mirarete iru*, *-to omowarete iru*, ... *moyoo de aru* (it seems that..., it appears that...), ... *hazu de aru* (it is supposed to be...); i.e. 'modal words of estrangement' to distance the reader, with the use of an external perspective (Fowler, 1977: 93-95; Weber, 1989: 97; Simpson, 1993: 42). As explained in section 7.5, these so-called 'quotative explanation' markers express varying degrees of uncertainty or commitment on the writer's part as to the proposition to be made. For example, by saying '*to iwarete iru*' (it is said...; heresy), it is suggested that the speaker 'represents a view accepted by others, shows little commitment of the speaking self; a certain level of objectification' of the propositional content is realised (Maynard 1993: 251). Maynard further says that these quotative explanations, including '*to yuu*' (to say) or

weaker modalizers, imply the existence of a detached point of view or plural voices, where a multitude of voices proliferates. This represents an external point of view or a negative shading in which weaker epistemic and perception systems are given prominence, accompanied by 'words of estrangement', e.g. *it may be that..., it is said that....*

The following are texts that contain examples of these quotative explanations, weaker modals, or 'words of estrangement' from peacetime discourse.

Data sample 7.8

<Headline>

Waga tai ee saku chuushi

EE taishi chikaku gaisoo hoomon

<Body>

*Konoe shin naikaku ni yotte tenkai sareru Nihon no gaikoo hooshin wa zen naikaku irai kakuritsu sareta konponsaku ni kichoo o oki, Nihon no Eebee ni taisuru taido wa henka o minai de aroo to Eekoku wa mite iru ga,.... Shikashi Ee seefu to shitewa izen to shite Nihon no dookoo ni gishin anki no katachi de, Nihon no shin i ha'aku ni tsutomete ori, Kluge taishi wa kono Ee seefu no i o ukete, saikin no kikai ni Toyoda gaisoo to kaiken o okonai Eekoku gawa no kyokutoo jyoosee ni taisuru kenkai o tsutae, katsu Nihon no tai Ee saku dashin o okonau koto ni naroo...*

<Headline>

[Britain] eyes our policy towards Britain

British ambassador to visit [Japanese] Foreign Minister in near future

<Body>

Japan's new foreign policy under the new Konoe Cabinet, follows the established policy of earlier cabinets. Britain sees that there will be no change in Japan's attitude towards Britain and USA...

But the British government is still suspicious of Japan's move, and is trying hard to probe Japan's intention. Ambassador Kluge, responding to such a request from the British government, will have a talk with Foreign Minister Toyoda, and will report British views on Far East policy and probe Japan's British policy....

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 22 July 1941; my translation)

This is an example of an external, negative (words fit world) point of view. In addition to weaker modals such as *aroo*, *naroo* (it may be that...; it will be that...), non-deictic naming such as *Ee*, *Eekoku* (Britain) and *Nihon* (Japan), instead of saying 'us' and 'them', are used, with one exception in the headline. The following are examples of similar patterns of point of view (external, negative-mode).

Data 7.9

Futsu Ei kaisen hisshi no keesee

Eigun Syria kokkyoo e shuuketsu

Fighting between France and Britain imminent

(as) British troops massed at Syrian border

*Haifa (Palestine) yori Beirut ni tasshita jyoohoo ni yoreba, eigun wa mokka... Jordan gawa keekoku ni idoo shuuketsu shitsutsu aru moyoo de aru. Nao, De-Gaulle shoogun oyobi Catoru shoogun mo chikaku Jerusalem no eikokugun, shireibu ni toochaku no hazu de aru to iwareru...Doitsu wa kikaika butai shinchuu no uwasa ni taishi...izen chinmoku o mamotte iru ga, Eigun ga koreijyoo Syria shin'nyuu no kisee o misereba, tokui no dengekisen o kankoo subeki to seesan o yuushite orumono to omowareru... Toruko no taido wa mottomo chuumoku sare,... Syria ni sensen kaishi no bawai wa Girisha no sai to onajiku chuuritsu o genshu surumono to mirarete iru.*

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 6 June 1941)

British soldiers are presumably gathering in Northern Palestine and the northern valley district of Transjordan, according to a report from Haifa (Palestine) reaching Beirut. Also, it is said that General de Gaulle and General Catre are soon to join the British headquarters at Elsalem [*sic*, i.e. Jerusalem]. Germany is keeping silent as to the rumor that German mechanized forces entered Syria, but is believed to be well prepared to make a lightning movement in the event of the British showing signs of invading Syria. The attitude of Turkey is now keenly watched, and in case fighting starts in Syria, Turkey is expected to remain neutral, as in the case of Greek operations [*sic*, i.e. operations in Greece].

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

Similarly,

Data 7.10

<Headline>

*Iraq, tsuini ei ni kussu Ei kyuusen mooshiire o jyudaku*

Iraq finally surrenders to Britain

Britain accepts the Iraqi request for armistice

<Body>

*AP Beirut den ni yoreba Iraq ni okeru eigun kikoo butai wa 31 nichi Baghdad koogai ni toochaku, Baghdad no gunsee chookan Sebart keizaisoo wa jishoku shi Iraq domin butai wa koofuku shita to iwareru.*

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 1 June 1941)*

AP Beirut dispatch reported that Suwaidi, Military Governor and Finance Minister, resigned and Iraq auxiliary troops surrendered when British motorized units penetrated the suburbs of the Iraq capital, it was reported here.

*(Translation from The Japan Times and Advertiser, 1 June 1941)*

These data include 'modal words of estrangement' that are typical of negative-shading (underlined). The use of these 'modal words of estrangement' means that the propositional content of a report is not guaranteed. These texts report on a conflict in which Japan was not directly involved; these are events that took place outside the sphere of Japan's commitment. In war discourse about conflicts in which Japan is involved, there are very few examples of such 'words of estrangement' even when the certainty of the propositional content of a report is not guaranteed by the writer or reporter, just as in the peacetime discourse in the above examples. By contrast, during wartime, from a simple physical point of view, the information network is easier to cut off or simply restrict, because of material scarcity. Therefore, the relative reliability of information becomes shakier than in peacetime. Despite all this, ironically, the frequency of stronger modality increases in wartime. This may be because during war, as examples below show, dramatic, strong assertion is needed to mobilize the people of the nation. Care for the certainty of the news is subordinated to the emergent demands of war discourse. To use Grice's (1975) term, 'the maxim of strikingness appears to be more important' in war discourse 'than the maxim of quality' or credibility. This is possibly because less direct forms are less persuasive. Hitler says in *Mein Kampf* (My Battle) that

'as soon as the wavering masses find themselves confronted with too many alternatives, objectivity at once steps in, and the question is raised whether actually the choice of their leaders is right while all other alternatives are wrong' (quoted in Burke 1984: 63). Weaker modal verbs imply that there may be other possibilities that the nation can take, and hence objectivity comes in, and thus the compelling force becomes weaker. Objectivity is a challenge to or even an enemy of a nation when a government attempts to mobilize or unify a nation. Only an external point of view can admit the existence of diversity and alternatives. By contrast, 'certainty' is a product of narrow-mindedness or a positive, internal point of view.

### **7.9.3. Texts from wartime newspapers when Japan was at all-out war with the UK, the USA and China**

Once Japan starts war with the U.S. and Britain, the use of such weaker modalizers or low-value modals dramatically decreases in reports of battles with the US and UK; instead, strong modalizers or high-value modals, including the use of classical auxiliary verbs, increase in reports of major events, just as they did in reports about the China front when Japan was at war only with China. The use of modals such as these implies that in war discourse, there is no shift or 'fluidity' of viewpoints as expressed by different voices. If Maynard's observation is correct (Japanese language has easy access to a fluidity of viewpoints), the phenomenon of the lack of weaker modalizers in war discourse suggests how this style 'deviates' from the 'normal' usage of the Japanese language.

The hypothesis can be drawn that 'the language of hierarchy' with strong modalizers is a product of war discourse, whereas 'the language of solidarity' with weaker modalizers is characteristic of peacetime discourse. The following are typical examples of texts issued by the Imperial War Headquarters, written with an internal point of view of positive-shading. They contain classical auxiliary verbs (underlined and marked by [CL]), which create an image of strong assertion or certainty, and hence a strong epistemic commitment to the proposition of the war reports. They use first-person narration as typicalized by the use of *waga*, *ware* (we) and *teki* (enemy).

Data 7.11. (app. A14-16)

<Headline>

*Bei taiheeyoo kantai wa zenmetsu-seri [CL]*

<Body>

... ..

*Teki riku kaigun kookuu heeryoku ni atae-taru [CL]songai  
Zenkuu bakugeki ni yori enjyoo-sehimetaru [CL] mono yaku 450 ki, gekichin-  
serumono 14 ki, kono hoka gekiha-serumono [CL]tasuu, kakumune 16 too o  
enjyoo-sehime [CL]2 too o hakaisu [CL]*

<Headline>

US Pacific Fleet is Wiped Out!

<Body>

... ..

Damages inflicted over [*sic*, i.e. on] the Enemy's army and naval air forces:  
approximately 450 planes were set on fire either by bombing or machine-gunning,  
and 14 shot down; besides the foregoing [*sic*, i.e. in addition], many planes were  
destroyed; sixteen hangars were set afire and two destroyed.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 19 December 1941)

(translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

Data 7.12. (app. A17-19)

[Headline]

*Kuala Lumpur senryoo*

[Body]

*... Nishi kaigan hoomen o shingeki chuu no teekoku rikugun senpoo butai wa saku  
11nichi gozen 11ji 30pun Kuala Lumpur ni totsunyuu-seri [CL].*

[Headline]

Kuala Lumpur Occupied

[Body]

... The Imperial Army vanguard advancing along the west coast entered Kuala Lumpur in a swift drive at 11:30 a.m. of 11th January.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 13 January 1942 evening edition; my translation)

Data 7.13. (app. A20-21)

[Headline]

*Phillipine too shuto Manila kanzen ni senryoo*

*Bei no tooa kyoten kaimetsu-su* [CL]

[Body]

*Teekoku rikugun Hitoo senryaku butai wa 2ka gogo shuto Manila o kanzen ni senryoo shi, sarani Corregidor too yoosai oyobi Bataan hantoo no yoosai ni yoru teki ni yaishi koogeki o shinkoochuu-nari* [CL]. *Teekoku rikugun butai wa saku futsuka gogo irai zokuzoku Manila shinai ni totsunyuu shitsutsu-ari* [CL].

[Headline]

Manila, the capital of the Philippines, fully occupied;  
American base in East Asia destroyed

[Body]

The Imperial Army forces operating in the Philippines completely occupied Manila, the capital of the islands, in the afternoon of 2 January, and they are now keeping up their onslaught upon the enemy in Corregidor and Bataan, the enemy's strongholds near Manila. Imperial Army units have been entering the city of Manila one after another since the afternoon of 2 January.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 4 January 1942; my translation)

Data 7.14. (app. A23 - 24)

[Headline]

*Daiee Teekoku no ikkaku kuzuru*

*Hong Kong no Eegun koofuku-su*

A corner of the British Empire crumbles  
British Army in Hong Kong surrenders

[Body]

... ..

*Hong Kong too no ikkaku ni yotan o tamochitsutsu-arishi [CL]teki wa waga chuuya o watazaru [CL]mookoogeki ni yori hon 25nichi 17ji 50pun tsuini koofuku o mooshi idetaru [CL]o motte gun wa 19ji 30pun teesen o meeji-tari [CL].*

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 26 December 1941)*

... ..

The enemy, who had been offering vain resistance [*original Japanese text: to our unremitting attack*] after being cornered in one section of Hong Kong Island, finally proposed surrender to the Japanese troops [*original: to our troops*] at 5:50 p.m., Thursday, being unable to further withstand the furious onset of the Imperial Army. As a result, an order to cease firing was issued to our fighting forces at 7:30 p.m.

*(translation from The Japan Times and Advertiser, 26 December 1941;*

*translation of headlines is mine)*

Data 7.15. (app. A25-27)

<Headline>

*Gilbert ni senka kakudai*

*Tarawa too ni gekisen tsuzuku*

Further military achievements made on Gilbert Islands

Fierce battles continue on Tarawa Island

<Body>

*(1) Teekoku sensuikan wa 25nichi mimee Makin too seehoo kaimen ni oite, teki kookuubokan isseki o koogeki shi kore o taiha seshime-tari [CL].*

*Dai ni ji Gilbert shotoo oki kookuusen*

*(2) Teekoku kaigun kookuu butai wa 26nichi yuukoku Gilbert shotoo seehoo kaimen ni oite tekki -kidoo butai o koogeki shi kookuu bokan ni seki o gekichin-seri [CL].*

*Waga hoo no songai: mikanki ikki nari [CL].*

*Dai sanji Gilbert shotoo oki kookuusen*

(3) *Teekoku kaigun kookuu butai wa 27 nichu yuukoku Gilbert shotoo seehoo kaimen ni oite sarani raishuu shi koreru tekki-kidoo butai o koogekishi hidari no senka o e-tari* [CL].

*Gekichin: kookuubokan 2 seki (uchi oogata kookuubokan 1 seki goochin), jyun yookan 2 seki*

*Gekiha: jyun yookan (moshikuwa senkan) 1 seki (taiha enjyoo)*

*Waga hoo no songai: mikanki go ki nari* [CL].

*Hon kookuusen o dai 3 ji Gilbert shootoo oki kookuusen to koshoo-su.*

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 30 November 1943)

(1) An Imperial submarine at dawn on November 25 attacked an enemy aircraft carrier in the sea area west of Makin Island and heavily damaged it. (Its sinking is almost certain).

(2) Imperial Naval Air Units attacked an enemy mobile force in the sea area west of the Gilbert Islands on the evening of November 26 and sank two aircraft carriers (one of them instantaneously).

Loss on our side: one plane which [*sic*, i.e. that] has not yet returned.

(Note): This aerial battle shall be called the Second Aerial battle off the Gilbert Islands.

(3) Imperial Naval Air Units also attacked another enemy mobile force which [*sic*, i.e. that] came attacking in the sea area west of the Gilbert Islands on the evening of November 27 and achieved the following war results:

SUNK: two aircraft carriers (whereof [*sic*] a large-sized carrier instantaneously); two cruisers

DAMAGED: one cruiser or battleship (heavily damaged and set ablaze)

Loss on our side: five planes which [*sic*, i.e. that] have not yet returned.

(Note): This aerial battle shall be called the Third Aerial Battle off the Gilbert Islands.

(Translation from *The Japan Times*, 30 November 1943;  
translation of headlines is mine)

In this way, the propositions containing classical auxiliary verbs such as *nari*, *tari*, *seri* (copular, assertion or completive markers), *ari* (copular), *zaru/zari* (negation), *seshime* (causative) with the Japanese side as Actor/Agent, suggest epistemically stronger commitment based on positive-shading; thus they add a powerful, positive

connotation to the discourse. As this suggests, there are no classical auxiliary verbs in war propaganda used to denote weaker modality or 'words of estrangement': presumption/hearsay (*nari*) or conjecture or probability concerning an action or state in the present as well as in the future (*mu, ramu*), or supposition (*meri, rashi, mashi*). So it can be stated that the point of view implied in the above data is an internal point of view of positive mode. Of course, the uses of *waga, ware* (we), and *teki* (enemy) indicate the presence of the internal point of view.

#### 7.9.4. Use of deontic modals to prescribe future events

Some examples are now given of deontic modality, by which the speaker or the writer decides which future events are necessary, possible or desirable. Deontic modality is important in war propaganda in order to regulate the behaviour of the populace. It is commonly used in wartime propaganda to prescribe future events while in peacetime discourse epistemic modality (e.g. 'it will be...', 'it may be...', 'it is expected that...') is used. The following are reports written with an internal point of view of positive-shading with deontic modality.

When the battle of Okinawa was close to total defeat, the following report appeared in the newspaper:

Data 7.16

*Okinawa hontoo ni koogun to tomoni teki taigun o gekigeki, kesshi kantoo o tsuzukeru dooken jyuumin tachi no arukoto o wareware wa wasuretewa naranai.*

We should not forget the Okinawan people, who have been continuing to fight bloody battles in cooperation with the Imperial Army against a big enemy army.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 14 June 1945; my translation)*

In fact, this report was made when the situation in Okinawa was extremely bad. Only nine days after this report, on 23 June 1945 Okinawa was conquered by the Americans.

The use of the deontic modal verb, *We should not...* is a typical example from Simpson (1993)'s 'internal, positive perspective.' The use of the first-person pronoun 'we' also confirms the presence of this perspective.

Other examples of deontic use of language are:

Data 7.17

*Kono tatakai kanarazu katsu*

*Ichioku ni kaku sentoo no kiriyoku (motomareru)*

We shall definitely win this war (i.e. This outcome is inevitable.)

Each one of a hundred million people should have fighting spirit

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 9 April 1945; my translation)

Data 7.18

*Mazu ban'nin no mini nare*

*Motto hoshii atatakai shinsetsushin*

Put yourself in the place of ten thousand people

More caring heart is needed

(*The Asahi Newspaper* 6 May 1945; my translation)

Even a big defeat was reported with deontic modality, which expresses a strong obligation to the people of Japan, rather than with weak epistemic modality. In relation to point of view, these findings accord well with Coates's observation that a statement that expresses strong obligation is subjective (i.e. the internal point of view of positive-shading), whereas a statement that expresses weak obligation is objective (i.e. the external point of view with negative-shading) as far as the speaker's involvement is concerned (previously mentioned in section 7.5.). The former may be a case of texts of wartime propaganda from which these examples are drawn, while the latter may be a case of peacetime non-critical discourse texts.

There is an interesting example of deontic modality in the data that reports the final defeat of Okinawa. The ambiguity or neutrality of modal expressions discussed in section 7.3 is exploited here.

Data 7.19 (previously cited in data sample 4.1.2 ) (app. A6-7)

*[Waga shubi butai wa] teki no waga shujinchi nai shintoo o yurusu no yamunaki ni itareri.*

We had to allow the enemy to penetrate into our main position.

There is a double instance of deontic modality here. 'Allow' presupposes causation and volition on the part of the Subject (i.e. 'we made it possible for the enemy to penetrate into our main position.'). 'Had to' seems to imply a Patient role. However, 'had to' (= 'it was necessary, inevitable') is neutral as between a Patient or Agent Subject. For example, it is not clear in 'I had to visit my mother' whether the necessity was decided (or created) by me, by my mother, or by circumstances. So the example in this data 'allows' the deontic interpretation of positive-shading; 'We decided it was necessary to let the enemy penetrate into our main position'. These examples of modality again confirm the presence of the internal, positive perspective in which 'we' are in command of the whole situation.

### 7.9.5. Texts from the post-war period

Once the war ends in August 1945 and there is no more war reporting by the Imperial War Headquarters, the use of modality returns to what it used to be in the pre-war period:<sup>6</sup> from high-value modality to low-value modality (terms explained in section 7.3.), from stronger modality to weaker modality, from classical style to the modern style that was used before the war (ex. *-seri*, *-tari*, *-nari* -> *-aru*, *-aroo*, *-(shi)ta* ; *-su* -> *-suru* ), and which is quite similar to usage in modern style, even in reporting critical issues on international relations. The point of view adopted here is an external, negative-shading one. Below are examples of texts about issues with the U.S. and Britain after the war. They report on the administrative plans for Japan by the allied nations (the occupation forces) after the war.

Data 7.20

<Headline>

*Jiyuu shugi o jyochoo shooree*

*Futoo na kanshoo okonawazu*

*Ma(Carthur) gensui kanrihooshin o happyoo*

Liberalism is encouraged

---

<sup>6</sup> In nonwar reporting during the war period such as city news, the newspapers did not use the same type of modality as they used in the war reporting texts. No classical forms were used in nonwar reports. This supports my observations.

No unreasonable interference into Japanese affairs will be made by the U.S.  
General MacArthur announced the occupation plan

<Body>

(1) MacArthur gensui wa Nihon kanri hooshin ni kanshi hidari no seeshiki seemee o happyoo-shita.

(2) Senryoogun wa omoto shite MacArthur gensui ga sono siree ni taishi fukujuu o kyooyoo suru hitsuyoo ga aru toki ni shiyoo sareru kikan to shite sonzai-suru.

(3) Ten'noo heeka oyobi Nihon seefu wa MacArthur gensui no shiree o kyooyoo sareru koto naku jisshi surutameno arayuru kikai o teekyoo-sareru.

(4) Nihon no gunkoku shugi oyobi gunkoku teki kokka shugi no konzetsu wa sengo no daiichi no mokuteki de aru ga, senryoo gun no ichi no mokuteki wa jiyuu shugiteki keekoo o shooree suru koto de-aru. Genron, shinbun, shuukyoo oyobi shuukai no jiyuu wa senryoogun no gunjiteki anzen o iji-suru tame no hitsuyoo ni yotte nomi seegen sareru.

... ..

(5) Nihon kokumin ni taishite wa rengoo koku ni taisuru sonkee oyobi shinrai o zoodai suru ga gotoku taiguu-suru.

(6) Nihon kokumin wa... shikashi MacArthur gensui no shiree ni motozuki Nihon seefu kara hasse rareru issai no hooritsu, fukoku, meeree ni shitagau hitsuyoo ga-aru.

(7) Senryoo gun wa koofukubunsho no jyookoo o jisshi suru, Potsdam sengen ni noberareta sho mokuteki ga tasse sareru hi made senryoogun wa Nihon ni todomaru de- aroo.

(The Asahi Newspaper, 11 September 1945)

(1) General MacArthur issued an official statement outlining the Allied policy concerning the occupation of Japan as follows.

(2) The Allied Occupation Forces would exist to act primarily as an agency upon which the Supreme Commander might call to enforce his order effectively if such action should become necessary.

(3) Every opportunity would be given the Emperor and the Japanese Government to carry out the orders of the Supreme Commander without further compulsion.

(4) The abolition of Japanese militarism and military nationalism is the primary objective in the postwar period. The primary aim of the Occupation Forces is encouraging liberal tendencies. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of

religion and the right of assembly will be restricted only upon the necessity of insuring military security by the Occupation Forces.

(5) [The Allied Forces] will treat the Japanese people (AC) in a manner aiming at developing their respect for and confidence in the Allied nations.

(6) The Japanese must obey all orders, proclamations and laws issued by the Allied Supreme Headquarters to the Japanese government. [sic] [*the original Japanese text says: The Japanese must obey all orders, proclamations and laws issued by the Japanese government at the command of General MacArthur.*]

(7) The Occupation Forces will carry out the aims outlined in the statement for surrender. The Occupation Forces will be stationed in Japan until the day when objectives outlined in the Potsdam Proclamation [sic, i.e. Declaration] are attained.

(Translation from *The Japan Times*, 12 September 1945)

Data 7.21

<Headline>

Eigun, Nihon shinchuu kettee

Soren, Chuugoku ryooGUN wa fusanka

British Commonwealth set to send forces to occupy Japan;  
Soviet Union and China will not participate

(1) ... Nihon senryoo ni kanshi Beekoku seefu oyobi Eeteekoku o daihyoo suru Gooshuu seefu tonoo aida ni kyootee ga seeritsu shi Eikoku gun ga Nihon senryoo ni sankaa shi, Nihon ni shinchuu suru koto ni kettee-shita.

(2) ... Kono Ei shinchuugun wa MacArthur gensui o saikoo shireekan to suru Nihon senryoo no ichibu o nasu mono de-aru.

(3) Eigun shinchuu ni taishi MacArthur gensui wa seemeesho o happyoo shi Eigun no shinchuu ni kangee no i o hyoo-shita.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 2 February 1946)

(1) Regarding the occupation of Japan, the agreement was reached between the US government and the Australian government, acting on behalf of the British Commonwealth Government concerned. It was agreed upon that the British Commonwealth Forces will participate in the occupation of Japan.

(2) The British Commonwealth Occupation Forces will form part of the occupation forces in Japan under the Supreme Command of General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

(3) General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, made a statement concerning the employment of British Commonwealth Forces in the occupation of Japan. He extended the heartiest possible welcome to the British Commonwealth Forces who are about to be stationed in Japan.

(translation from *The Japan Times*, 2 February 1946)

These texts from the post-war period just after Japan's final defeat contain totally different discursal and modal patterns from wartime propaganda. These texts describe defeated Japan that is at the mercy of the Allied nations after its acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. The whole discursal pattern is based on Simpson's 'negative shading', in which weaker epistemic and perception systems are foregrounded, added with words of estrangement (e.g. *de aroo*: it will be that), and so the words seem to reflect the world (Japan's situation). There is use of a deontic modal, as in (6) 'The Japanese must obey...' in data 7.20. But here, General MacArthur is the person who gave the order, and the Japanese are simply *the Patient who are supposed to take the order*. So, seen from the perspective of the Japanese, the world (Japan's situation) is described on the basis of negative-shading. This is apparent in several features.

In the first place, no classical auxiliary verbs are used the way they were in wartime reports issued by the Imperial War Headquarters. This conveys a lower degree of certainty, powerfulness and authority. The following are hypothetical examples.

cf.

× (7.7) ... *Waga kuni ni shinchuu suru koto ni kettee-seri* [CL].

They have decided to advance into and be stationed in Japan.

× (7.8) ... *Eigun'no shinchuu ni kangee no i o hyoo-seri* [CL].

He expressed the heartiest possible welcome to the British Commonwealth forces who are about to be stationed in Japan.

× (6.9) *Ten'noo heeka oyobi Nihon seefu wa MarCarthur gensui no shiree o kyoo-yoo sareru koto naku jisshi surutameno arayuru kikai o teekyoo-saru* [CL].

Every opportunity will be given the Emperor and the government to carry out the orders of the Supreme Commander without further compulsion.

In addition, the point of view is understood as more external and objective, as shown by non-deictic naming of countries: 'Japan', 'Japanese people', 'British Army', 'China', 'Soviet Union', and 'US Government', instead of the 'we', 'our people', and 'the enemy nations' that were commonly used in wartime propaganda. Also, future events are predicted with a weaker modal, such as '*de aroo*' (it will be that') as in the data 7.20 and 7.21. This differs from wartime propaganda, where future events are prescribed with deontic modals such as 'we should ...'. Finally, as discussed in Chapter three on transitivity, Japan's side is described with passives in which Japan is the Patient, such as '*Nihon seefu wa ... sareru*' (the Japanese government will not be forced ... and be provided with ...) and the dative-marker (traditionally called Indirect Object) *ni* is attached to Japan, as in '*Nihon kokumin ni taishite*' (towards the Japanese people; see (5) of text 7.20). Through such linguistic expressions, the whole discourse is based on the negative shading of the external point of view, where words are used to describe the world (Japan's situation), which is just the opposite of war propaganda, where words are used to make changes to the world.

## 7.10. Conclusions

The findings in this chapter lead to the following conclusions.

(1) Strong modality is employed toward a country directly at war with Japan (regardless of the period of time), with abundant use of classical stylistic features. (data samples 7.1-7.3; 7.11-7.19)

**Table 7.2. Differences in modality between wartime and peacetime discourses**

|                             |  |   |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Modality used in general    | <u>peacetime</u><br>weaker,<br>epistemic modality,<br>negative-mode (words to world), distance observed between the viewer and phenomenon,<br>use of modern style  | <u>wartime</u><br>deontic, strong<br>epistemic modality,<br>positive-mode (world to words)<br><br>much use of classical style   |
| prediction of future events | <b>epistemic</b><br><i>-de aroo, daroo</i><br>(it may be that..., it will be that...)<br><i>-to naroo</i><br>(it will be that...)<br><i>-to mirarete iru</i><br><i>-to naru moyoo de aru</i><br>(it is expected that...) | <b>deontic</b><br><i>- de arubeki,</i><br><i>- subeki,</i><br><i>- o nasubeki,</i><br><i>- neba naranai</i><br>(we should..., it should be...)<br><i>We <u>should</u> win</i><br><i>We <u>should not</u> forget about soldiers who are fighting hard...</i> |
| reports of past events      | <b>weaker epistemic</b><br><i>- ta</i><br><i>- aru, - suru</i>   | <b>strong epistemic</b><br><i>- seri, -seru [CL]</i><br><i>- tari, -nari, -su [CL]</i>  |

(2) In terms of Simpson's theory on the relationship between modality and point of view as applied to Japanese war discourse, the point-of-view from which it was written was an internal, fixed and positive one (in the sense that the world should change to fit the words expressed), as shown by the type of modality employed. In Japanese war discourse, as opposed to peacetime discourse, modalities of deontic and strong epistemic commitment are foregrounded.

Table 7.2 summarizes these observations. It shows that modality, a realizer of the interpersonal function of language, and point of view are closely interrelated.

## Chapter eight

### Aspect and point of view

This final chapter examines the relationship between aspect and point of view and describes the underlying ideology in Japanese journalism during the Second World War. In the studies of ideology, neither aspect nor tense is considered as an objective or a neutral way of making a reference to the temporal situation. Rather, they are seen as conveying ideological meanings. First, a brief explanation is given concerning tense and modality from the perspective of ideological studies, and next, a mention is made of aspect.

Fowler and Kress (1979) suggest that tense and modality are often inseparable in the sense that 'temporal "distance" nearly always conveys modal "distance" ' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 207). Lyons (1977b: 809-823) discusses tense or temporal reference, in relation to modality. He assumes a tripartite distinction of past, present and future does not inhere in the structure of language and hence that tense 'is part of the propositional content of an utterance' (1977b: 809). Halliday also says that tense or a system of time reference 'belongs to the experiential or ideational component, those meanings that reflect the 'field', and express one's own experience of the world around us and inside us' (Halliday 1985/1989: 31-32). In the same way, but more technically, Lyons presents the view that past, present and future are all located (in memory, observation or anticipation) in the experiential present (Lyons op.cit.: 821). Fowler and Kress say in connection to ideological analysis, the 'present tense' for example, is not a modally neutral form... it is a particularly powerful tense which signals certainty, unquestionableness and universality' (Fowler and Kress 1979: 207). Therefore, the modal function of the present tense is often exploited in narratives or propaganda.

Like the modal function of the present tense, aspect is also a component of modal and ideational functions. Aspect is not considered as an objective or a neutral way of dividing time. Rather than simply a reference to the temporal distinctions or constraints of an activity or event in a neutral sense, I consider aspect as a reflection of the perspective from which a story is viewed by a reporter or a narrator, as Todorov (1966, cited in Wales 1989: 38) suggested, and hence a subjective commitment to the narration is implied. So in a broad sense, aspect is regarded as a part of modal and ideological functions, too. As we will see, as another important

linguistic tool, aspect was extensively used for obfuscation in wartime Japanese newspapers.

### 8.1. Definition of the term 'aspect'

Aspect can also be a useful linguistic tool for ideological manipulation. First, it may be important to define the term 'aspect'. 'Aspect' is defined as a grammatical category which is concerned with a 'particular way of viewing the temporal constraints of an activity or event' (Wales 1989: 37). More technically, Comrie (1976: 3) defines aspect as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. or 'different ways of conceiving the flow of the process' or states, based on the definition provided by Holt (1943: 6 cited in Comrie 1976: 3). The two kinds of aspects are generally considered to be important:

(1) the progressive which suggests whether an action is in progress, such as *she is eating*.

(2) the perfective aspect, which designates whether an action is completed, such as *she ate them up*.

#### 8.1.2. Progressive and perfective aspect in Japanese

In Japanese, the so-called tense markers *-ta* and *-ru* with a non-stative verb denote the perfective and progressive aspect<sup>1</sup>, respectively, 'regardless of the time relationship between speech time, reference time and event time' (Soga 1983: 117)<sup>2</sup>. Modern *-ta* corresponds to classical Japanese *-tsu*, *-nu*, *-tari*, *-ri* while modern *-ru* corresponds to classical *-u* or *-ri*. Because time relationship is inseparable from aspectual meaning, here, *-ta* may be used even for a future event if it is expressed as being completed, and *-ru* may be used even for a past event if its completion is suggested. Conversely, if the verb is stative, both *-ru* and *-ta* signify an incomplete situation since the aspectual concept of completion is not applicable to stative verbs (ibid.).

---

<sup>1</sup> *-ru* has other use than marking progressive aspect. However, the main focus of this study is to contrast the progressive and perfective aspect. Hence the meaning of *-ru* is restricted to the meaning of progressive.

<sup>2</sup> For a more elaborated discussion of Japanese aspect, see, for example, Kindaichi (1976) and Soga (1983, 1984).

In modern Japanese, the present progressive aspect is expressed by the phrase *-te iru* attached to non-stative durative verbs. It expresses on-going actions, events, or processes. In classical Japanese, this is expressed by *-shitsutsu ari*, *-tari* or *-ri*. (Oh-no, 1980: 45-46, 90). The situations described by progressive aspect are assumed to have already started (i.e. post-inceptive) but not to have been completed (i.e. pre-terminative). It is impossible to describe these situations with punctual or non-durative verbs since such verbs are used in situations where the beginnings and endings are simultaneous. Nevertheless, progressive aspect is possible even if the verb itself expresses a non-durative event in cases where its repetition or succession is conveyed (Soga 1983: 118).

### 8.3. Progressive aspect and point of view

In relation to ideological studies, it can be said that perfective and progressive aspect are manipulated for ideological operation through foregrounding and backgrounding. Toolan (1990) explains the functional difference between progressive and perfective aspect in the following terms:

... In fact the connotational tendencies that we attribute to the progressive are evidently interrelated and, to a degree, mutually entailing. Thus the most general impression of imperfective state, or incompleteness, naturally gives rise to an emphasis on ongoingness: that which is not completed, we assume, is still in progress. And the fact of having especially reported on the incompleteness of an activity, we again assume, implies that the reporter has been particularly struck (has observed with the vividness of the intrusive perspective) by the ongoingness of the activity. That intrusive perspective, and the greater immersion in the scene described that it entails, means that progressives gives an attenuated sense of the temporal limits of activities: in remarking upon the internal progress of an activity, they necessarily neglect to convey a sense of terminal points, its understood points of onset and termination. This lack of distinct temporal boundaries, in progressivised predicates, [gives the strong impressions that] the activities rendered in the progressive temporally overlap all adjacent others. Allen (1966) claims that overlapping is the chief function of expanded forms, being a device for indicating that a significant and more-than-usual interrelation exists between one event and another). ... (I)t is clear that many non-progressive predicates can express limited duration — particularly in the past tense. In fact it is probable that the pastness expressed by the use of past tense in narratives is itself sufficient expression of limited duration: past tense reports of past-time events are thereby reported as of limited duration... [thus, the progressive] form usually indicates that the action or event described is perceived by the speaker as occurring not as a unified and clearly bounded particle, but as a multi-phase wave of activity without sharply defined points of origin and termination... progressive verbal forms imply disruption of the conventional linear succession of events - of the kind that a sequence of clauses reporting actions in simple past tense would suggest. Because of a progressive's indefinite boundaries of application, it is likely to overlap, temporally, one or more of the non-expanded verbs adjacent to it in a text (Toolan, 1990: 101- 103).

In this way, the progressive verbal forms do not always 'express any "neutral" facts about a situation, but reflect the character's (narrator's) intense involvement and subjective perspective on the situation' (Toolan, 1990: 97). Progressive aspect does not clarify the inception and the completion of an event, and so is vague about the results or what has happened. It is, therefore, useful when there is no particular achievement. Consider the following example of continuative perfect:

(8.1)

Mother: Have you done your homework?

Son: Well, I have been working on it.

By saying this, the son does not need to clarify when he started his work and when his work is going to be completed; there is only an implication that it is not done. Another possibility may be:

(8.2)

Son: Well, I will be starting it soon.

[or]

Son: Well, I will be working on it.

By using these statements, the son does not need to clarify when exactly he will start doing the homework, much less, when it should be finished. Tomioka (1996) suggests how the '*will + progressive*' construction can be ambiguous in interpreting whether a certain act is aspectually completed since this construction designates a certain length of time, not a punctual situation, e.g.:

(8.3.) John will be waiting for you at the gate very soon.

(Tomioka 1996: 87)

In times of national emergency as in war, a sense of 'involvement' with the readers is necessary for mobilization purposes: 'we are in the middle of the situation or in unlimited time duration, so we have to be prepared for any challenge.' The 'present' should always be emphasized in such discourse. A sense of 'remoteness' toward what is happening is the enemy of mobilization effort. For this purpose, the progressive aspect can be usefully employed when there is no clear war achievement, but still a need to leave vivid impressions on the reader to mobilize

the reader, such as 'we are fighting gallantly'. Winston Churchill adopted this grammatical advantage quite wisely when he made a speech after the British retreat from Dunkirk in 1940 during the Second World War. He said:

(8.4.)

This is not the end [of the war]; it is not the beginning of the end; it is the end of the beginning [i.e. the first battle]

Winston Churchill did not say 'we were defeated in Dunkirk' clearly and directly with perfective aspect, foregrounding the 'British defeat'. By using the progressive aspect in an intelligent way as in 'this is the end of the beginning', he tried to make people prepare for subsequent battles rather than cry over their past failure.

#### **8.4. Aspect and foregrounding/backgrounding: the use of the progressive aspect for 'distancing' from undesirable situations**

The progressive aspect, denoting activity, was also used to create distance from unfavourable war situations whereas the perfective aspect were used in reporting victories or clear war achievements in Japanese newspapers. In regard to the foregrounding/backgrounding paradigm from the viewpoint of the perfective aspect or punctuality, Hopper (1979) and Givón (1984: 288) argue that the perfective aspect is associated with foregrounded elements whereas the progressive aspect is considered to imply backgrounded, secondary or subordinated information. Hopper states that his observation is universally applicable. Soga (1983, 1984) points out that this idea can be applied to narratives in Japanese. He discussed how the main event in a narrative is expressed with *-ta* (marker of perfective or punctual aspect) while the secondary important event is expressed with *-ru* (marker of progressive, durative aspect). Soga (1983: 219) notes:

- i. Foregrounded events tend to be in the *-ta* form, and backgrounded events in the *-ru* form.
- ii. For the purpose of 'vividness' effect, even foregrounded events may sequentially be stated in the *-ru* form.

Additionally, Kunihiro (1967) observes that *-ta* as a perfective marker expresses objectively that an event is completed at a certain moment. By contrast, *-ru* as a non-perfective marker, expresses a subjective judgement. Compare the following two sentences:

(8.5.) *Kare wa dooro o wata-tta.*

'He crossed the street'.

(8.6.) *Kare wa dooro o wata-tteiru*

'He is crossing the street'.

(8.5.) expresses objectively that the whole action of his crossing the street is completed. On the other hand, (8.6.) indicates that someone sees him crossing the street as a momentary phenomenon. In short, (8.5) expresses an objective fact while (8.6.) implies a subjective observation. In this way, the use of the *-ta* form makes the whole discourse sound objective.

### 8.5. Aspect and volitionality

In relation to high and low transitivity, 'punctual actions possess a high degree of Agent volitionality and Patient affectedness' (McGarry 1994: 62 based on Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). For example, in 'John kicked the ball', the action of John kicking the ball is punctual<sup>3</sup> in that 'there is no reported time elapsing between the inception of the act of kicking and its completion'. In contrast to this, in 'John carried the ball to the basket across the field', the verb 'carry' indicates an 'action over a span of time, from a specific inception point to a point of completion' (McGarry op.cit.: 62). Since it is easier to empathize with volitional, active initiators of actions (Agents), McGarry suggests that perfective, punctual elements are foregrounded, while incomplete\*, durative elements are backgrounded as far as durativity is concerned (ibid.: 64). What has been discussed can be summarized as in table 8.1.

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<sup>3</sup> Punctuality is understood as 'actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion' (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252, discussed in section 3.4.4.).

\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'incomplete'.

| Feature      | Foreground  | Background    |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| durativity   | punctual    | durative      |
| perfective   | completive* | incompletive* |
| definiteness | definite    | indefinite    |

(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252; Givón 1984: 288; McGarry 1994: 64<sup>4</sup>)

**Table 8.1. Aspect in relation to foregrounding and backgrounding**

The following example clarifies the point in question:

(8.7.)

Dismissing completely this petition and ordering Bi Otieno to be given court costs, Judge Shields told a full court that neither Mr. Ougo nor Mr. Siranga had any legal standing or reason to enforce the wishes of the late Mr. Otieno.

(McGarry 1994: 103, underlining added)

In this sentence, the clause containing the progressive aspect, 'Dismissing completely ... court costs' is noted but put aside from the main story (ibid.). This clause is coded as backgrounded information in the sense it should be interpreted with secondary importance to the participants or events in the foreground, which are expressed with the perfective aspect (Judge Shields told a full court ...the late Mr. Otieno).

The theoretical framework presented so far in this chapter — aspect and point of view — will be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses in newspapers.

## 8.6. Japanese main auxiliary verbs and particles expressing tense and aspect

The following is a list of the main Japanese auxiliary verbs in both modern and classical Japanese that appear in my data, functioning as important tense and aspectual markers. In Japanese verbs occur in sentence final position (SOV) and

\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'completive'.

<sup>4</sup> The features of 'durativity' and 'perfectivity' in relation to foreground and background are the findings of Hopper and Thompson (1980), and later developed by Givon (1984), McGarry (1994), etc. The feature of 'definiteness' in relation to foreground and background was formulated by McGarry (1994).

the auxiliary verbs follow the main verbs (i.e. auxiliary verbs come at the end of a sentence). Some of these overlap with those already mentioned in section 7.7. But only those expressing tense and mainly aspectual meanings are restated here.

### **(1) Main auxiliary verbs and particles of the modern Japanese language expressing tense and aspect**

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| - ( <i>te</i> ) <i>iru</i> | present progressive<br>continuative perfect (explained in section 7.7) |
| - ( <i>te</i> ) <i>aru</i> | continuative perfect   |
| - <i>ta</i>                | perfect, past  |
| - <i>ru</i>                | progressive <sup>5</sup>   |

### **(2) Main auxiliary verbs and particles of the classical Japanese language expressing tense and aspect**

|  |  |
|--|--|
| - <i>shitsutsu-ari</i>   | present progressive  |
| - <i>seri</i>  | perfect, <i>have done</i>  |
| - <i>seru</i><br>(abbreviation for <i>-shiseri</i> (have done) ) |  |
| - <i>nari</i><br>situation<br>for                                | (1) copulative: may be used in any<br>where a copulative expression is called<br>for   |
| - <i>tari</i>  | (1) copulative: used only to describe a<br>temporary state<br>(Komai and Rohlich 1991: 230)<br>(2) perfect<br>(3) continuative perfect: 'may indicate<br>continuative perfect rather than<br>completed perfect'. |

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<sup>5</sup> *-ru* has other use than marking progressive aspect; it can express incompletive but not progressive situation. However, the main concern of this study being contrasting the progressive and perfective aspect, the meaning of *-ru* is restricted to the meaning of progressive aspect.

## 8.7. Application: the use of aspect in Japanese newspaper discourse

This section will discuss how the theoretical ideas discussed so far can be applied to Japanese wartime and peacetime texts from newspapers. A comparative method will also be adopted here, showing differences in aspectual patterns which appear in texts of wartime propaganda and those of peacetime international encounters.

### 8.7.1. Analysis

My basic findings on the subject of aspect are as follows: the progressive aspect is used for reporting undesirable aspects of events or defeat or in cases where there is no specific achievement of war aims. It is used in reporting these kinds of events because it has the effect of backgrounding these undesirable events. By contrast, the perfective, punctual aspect is used to report only favourable aspects of events and even fabrications. This is possibly related to the issue of presupposition/assertion discussed in chapter 5. The progressive aspect is also used to create a vivid effect. This observation is also supported by the fact that in an earlier stage of the war (December 1941 to early 1942), just after Japan entered the total war with the US and UK, when Japan was doing well and capturing territories in Asia, the perfective aspect appears frequently to foreground specific war achievements. Texts 8.4 to 8.7 below show this point clearly.

In contrast to wartime, in peacetime, even negative events for Japan are reported with the perfective, punctual aspect as foregrounded information. The combination of the use of the perfective aspect to foreground the war achievements and the use of the progressive aspect to background information when there is no specific achievement of war aims, such as 'soldiers and people are fighting gallantly', which is found in wartime propaganda, is relevant to the rhetorical flavour of Japanese culture. Japanese traditional social convention encourages people to work hard for the good of the country or the good of the company united as a collective social entity, and often places heavier emphasis on the process of doing rather than the result (discussed above in section 2.1.1. on 'group orientation and conformity'). This means that if people 'work hard and try hard for long hours, they will find approval by the society even if the results of their work are mediocre'. This demonstrates a contrast with English-speaking societies, in which 'the amount of time or labour [people] spend doing the job are not as important as the success or

failure of the activity' (Fromm 1988: 60). So the process between beginning and end is of secondary importance compared to the 'end product' or 'finished product'. Thus, a 'hard worker' is not as prized as a 'doer' in English speaking cultures, where the results are given more importance than processes. (ibid.). This aspect of Japanese culture is also reflected in wartime propaganda, with the progressive aspect to describe 'we are working hard and making an effort', but sometimes with the perfective aspect such as 'united as one body' (*Asahi*, and *The Japan Times*: 26 June 1945). Similarly, the Japanese appreciation of process rather than result may be seen in '... Okinawa people who have been continuing to fight valiantly more than seven enemy divisions' (*Asahi*: 14 June 1945). Much more on this topic will be discussed in data analysis (see the analysis of text 8.3. in section 8.6.3.).

## Exemplification

### 8.7.2. Aspect in wartime discourse

First, the data from the prewar period - from June 1941 up to December 1941 are given. During this period, Japan was directly at war only with China. Let us focus our attention on which aspect (perfective or progressive) is used. The data are drawn from *The Asahi Newspaper* followed by English translation as appeared in *The Japan Times and Advertiser* and *The Nippon Times*. (War reports from the China front used the classical style as manifested by the abundant use of classical auxiliary verbs, as we saw in the previous chapter on modality).

Data 8.1. (app. A28-A30)

<Headline>

*Kaigun butai kakukaku no senka*

*Zenshi no kaijyooofuusa kanpeki*

*121 kki gekiha zanzon teki kuugun o kaimetsu*

The Navy has made the following achievements

Naval forces gained complete control of China waters,

destroying 121 planes and remnant enemy air forces

<Body>

- (1) Teekoku kaigun shina hoomen sakusen butai wa sakunen ni hikitsuzuki. rikugun butai to kinmitsunaru renkei n moto ni, zenshi engan oyobi okuchi tekigun no yoosho ... itaru tokoroni tadai no senka o osametsutsu-ari.
- (2) Hokushi butai wa kaku sono sen'nin kuiki no keikai kanshi ni ninji fuutatsu o okashi, genzen to tatakai mitsuyu keikatsu no rinken hizoku no toobatsu ni jyuuji shi rikugun butai to kyooryoku shite, teki no seesoo ni tsutome-tari.
- (3) Yoosukoo butai wa Chookoo ryuuiki Isenri ni watari shibashiba raishuu suru koogan no zanteki o soosoo shi, zuisho ni rikusentai o yooriku shite, tekihi no konkyo o tsuki, aruiwa mitsutu sen no kanshi ni ninzuru to tomoni, kiken o okashite zanryuu kirai no seesoo ni ninji, aruiwa, rikugun butai o engo shite, suiro no kyookoo teisatsu natabi ni keikaijyudoo ni ninji, tekizen jyooriku o engo shite, jindainaru seeka o age-tari.
- (4) Shukoo butai wa koowa no sokuryoo, suiro no seisoo, rikusentai yooriku, zanteki soosoo o jisshi shi, rikugun butai to no kyoodoo sakusen ni yori, datai no seika o osame sakusoo- seru suiro no kakuho ni nin-jitsutsu-ari
- (5) Kaijyoo fuusa butai wa ikuta no kon'nan o kokufuku shite zenshi engan ni okeru Shina senpaku no kootsuu o shadan shi teki yusoo sen no kinzetsu narabi ni shuuyoo koowan no heisoku o jisshi suru to tomoni ...kaijyoo fuusa no kansee o kishitsutsu-ari
- (6) Toku ni Nanshi butai wa enjyogunjyuhin yusooro to shite riyoo seraretaru Homg Kong ruuto ni taishi 2gatsu 4ka tekizen jyooriku shadan sakusen o jisshi shi, tsuzuute 3gatsu 3ka Futsurin rikugu butai ni kinmitsu naru kyoodoo no motoni, totsujyo Raishuu hantoo hoomen engan enchoo 400 kiro ijyoo ni watari jyooriku sakusen o kankoo shi datai no senka o age-tari.
- (7) Sarani 4 gatsu 19 nichi 20 ka Settoo sakusen ni saishite wa suiro no keikai nami ni yusoogorui ninji, mata rikusentai o hensee shite, settoo engan nami ni fukushuu fukin ni tekizen jyooriku o kankoo shi, misettsunaru kairiku kyoodoo sakusen no moto ni toomen no teki o gekiha shi, enjyo hokyuuro oyobi sono shisetsu o shadanfukumetsu shite, datai no senka o osame teki no kantee narabi ni gunyoobusshi tasuu o hokaku-seri.
- (8) Konokan kaigun kookuu butaiwa renjitsu tekichi o bakugeki shite zenshi no seiatsuken o kakuho shi jyuuoo mujin no katsuyaku o tsuzuke, rikujyoo butai, kaijyoo butai no sakusen ni zenfuku no doryoku o nashi, mata chooku teki shuto Jyuukee mata wa Seito, Chinshuu, Konmee no yoosho o hajime to shit sono okuchi kyoten shinkyuu kookuu kichi ni taishi aku tenkoo sono hoka no shoogai o haijyo shi rwnzoku bakugeki o kankoo shi, tsuneni waga koogeki yori suuhini seeryoku no hozen ni kyuukyuu-taru zanzon teki o hokaku gekimetsu shi motte teki kuugun no

*saiken o funoo ni itara-shimuru to tomoni, teki no gunji kankee shishisetsu narabini gunyookootsuushoshsetsu o bakuha shite, sono shinkan o samukara-shimetari.*

(9) *Sarani Kokumen kooro no saikai o miruya, waga kookuu butai wa tadachi ni sono rojyoo ni aru Keitsuu, Kooka ryoo bashi ni taishi shiba shiba bakudan o toojite koreo hakai shite sono kootsuu o shadan suru ni ita-reri*

(1) Continuing the action started last year, the naval forces in China, working in harmony with the Army, conducted various types of operations along the entire coast of China and against enemy positions in the interior of that country, and have been achieving great results.

(2) The naval forces in North China patrolled the areas under their jurisdiction. In spite of high seas and biting cold, they visited and searched Chinese junks engaged in illicit traffic. They also endeavoured to make a clean sweep of the enemy in cooperation with the Army.

(3) The naval forces in the Yangtze area mopped up the remnants of the Chinese forces in an area extending 1,000 nautical miles along the Yangtze River. Sometimes they attacked enemy positions in conjunction with the units of the Army which they had helped to effect a landing. They also took the danger [*sic*, i.e. risk] of searching the waters for mines. They also reconnoitered waterways, and opened channels for the transportation of ground forces.

(4) The naval forces in the area along the Pearl River surveyed ports and harbours, cleared waterways, and helped ground forces to land in the face of enemy fire. They are now being engaged in securing the complicated system of waterways in the area in which they are operating.

(5) The forces which are being engaged in the enforcement of the blockade of the coast of China out traffic by Chinese vessels along the entire Chinese coast, while enforcing a blockade of the principal ports of China... [The navy] is making certain that the waters of China are isolated completely.

(6) The naval forces in South China on February 4 landed a force in the face of enemy fire. The landing party presently started operations against the Hong Kong - Shaokwan route of supply to Chungking. On March 3 they landed another large force on the Liuchow peninsula, and have made great war achievements.

(7) They also participated in the campaign conducted in east Chekiang Province on April 19 and 20. The naval forces which landed on the eastern coast of Chekiang Province and near Foochow helped considerably the military forces in their campaign in this part of South China. It was these landing parties which cut routes of supply to the enemy and captured vessels and large quantities of war vessels.

(8) The naval air forces attacked enemy positions daily. As result, the Navy has complete mastery of the air over China. In its operations it maintained close contact with ground and sea forces. Unfavourable weather conditions did not prevent the air force from visiting Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming and other points far in the interior. The blow it dealt to the Chinese air force was so severe that its reorganization cannot be thought of.

(9) As soon as the Burma route was re-opened squadrons of naval planes attacked the highway, destroying the Huitung and Kungkuo bridges. The result is that traffic by these important routes of supply to Chungking is at a standstill. A total of 533 mines have been disposed of by the Navy since the first of the year.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 1 June 1941)

(Translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day;  
translation of headlines is mine)

Regarding aspect expressed in the auxiliary verbs and particles of classical Japanese, we find a combination of those that signify perfective and progressive. Below are some examples of progressives from the above text:

(1) *tadai no senka o osame-tsutsu-ari*

[We are] achieving remarkable war gains

(4) *suiro no kakuho ni ninji-tsutsu-ari*

[We are] being engaged in securing our marine route

(5) *kaijyoo fuusa no kansee o kishi-tsutsu-ari*

[We are] blockading the enemy's seaborne supply route

*Tsutsu-ari* is a combination of the particle, *tsutsu*, and the auxiliary verb, *ari*, which together denote the progressive aspect in classical Japanese. As noted before, *-tari* and *-seri*, *-reri* denote continuative perfect in classical Japanese. As noted in section 8.3, the progressive verbal forms do not always 'express any "neutral" facts about a situation, but reflect the character's (or narrator's) intense involvement and subjective perspective on the situation' (Toolan 1990: 97). The progressive aspect does not clarify the inception and the completion of an event, and so is vague about the results or what has happened as in the examples above. It is, therefore, useful to create a vivid effect when there is no particular achievement. The progressive aspect backgrounds information, and still gives the image of vividness, and hence is useful when there is not a specific war achievement. To reiterate Toolan (1990:

101), 'progressives give an attenuated sense of the temporal limits of activities' hence 'the most general impression of imperfective state, or incompleteness, naturally gives rise to an emphasis on ongoingness'.

The progressive aspect is useful in the discourse employed in the time of national emergency such as wartime (explained above in section 8.2). Winston Churchill was quite aware of this, too.

### 8.7.3. Aspect, and foregrounding/backgrounding in war propaganda

As discussed earlier in the theoretical part (section 8.3.), the progressive aspect, denoting 'activity' was also used to obscure undesirable war situations although perfective aspect were used in reporting victories or clear war achievements in Japanese newspapers. In regard to the foregrounding/backgrounding from the viewpoint of perfective aspect, Givón (1984: 288) argues that the perfective aspect is associated with foregrounded elements whereas progressive aspect is used to background information (discussed earlier in section 8.3). By the same token, as far as duration is concerned, a punctual element is regarded to be foregrounded, while a durative element is backgrounded, to reiterate the ideas of Givon and McGarry (mentioned above in section 8.4).

This holds true for Japanese wartime propaganda. For example, when fighting at Okinawa was close to total defeat, a report was made in the newspaper:

(8.8.)

*Okinawa hontoo ni koogun to tomoni teki taigun o gekigeki, kesshi kantoo o tsuzukeru dooken jyuumin tachi no arukoto o wareware wa wasuretewa naranai.*

We should not forget the Okinawa people, who have been continuing to fight bloody battles with the Imperial Army against a big enemy's army.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 14 June 1945; my translation)*

In fact, this report was made when the situation in Okinawa was extremely bad. Only nine days after this report, on 23 June 1945 Okinawa was conquered by the Americans.

As explained, the progressive aspect can obscure reality, i.e. what has actually happened, because it gives the impression of 'involvement' while effacing the result of undesirable events. Therefore, the use of the progressive aspect in the above example 'Okinawa people who have been continuing to fight the bloody battles' effaces what really happened, but still gives a vivid image.

Many sentences in reports by the Imperial War Headquarters adopt the combination of progressive and perfective: favourable events are reported with perfective aspect, but to express the unfavourable part of an event or when there is no particular war achievement, perfective aspect is used as in the table below (repeated for convenience).

|            |                                 |                                   |
|------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| feature    | foreground<br>favourable events | background<br>unfavourable events |
| durativity | punctual                        | durative                          |
| perfective | completive*                     | incompletive*                     |

**Table 8.1. Aspect in relation to foregrounding and backgrounding in wartime discourse** (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252; Givón 1984: 288; McGarry 1994: 643)

Another report describing Okinawa's final defeat is presented below from the perspective of aspect to confirm the findings summarized in Table 8.1. Perfective or progressive aspect is indicated within < >. English translation is given as appeared in *The Nippon Times*.

Data 8.3. (app. A6-A7)

English version (the original Japanese version appears in data 4.1.2. in chapter four):

(Headline)  
[Nippon forces] carry out final attack against the enemy on the 20th - **<perfective, punctual>**

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\* Please see page xvi for the use of 'completive' and 'incompletive'.

(Sub-headline)

[Nippon forces] killed or wounded 80000 enemy, and sunk or damaged 600 enemy warships <perfective, punctual>

The Imperial War Headquarters Communiqué follows:

1. The War situation in the area south of Shimajiri on the main Okinawa Island after the middle of June follows:

(a) Our Forces after adjusting their firing line at Shimajiri <progressive, durative> have been valiantly fighting more than seven enemy divisions <progressive, durative> backed by numerically superior air and sea units, inflicting tremendous losses <perfective, punctual> but on and around June 16 they had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions <durative>.

(b) After supporting the deployment of our main strength to the southern sector of Shimajiri <progressive, durative>, all of the men of the Navy Forces in the Koroku area commanded by Rear Admiral Minoru Ota carried out their final shock attack on 13 June <perfective, punctual>.

(c) With all his strength Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima, the Supreme Commander in the Okinawa area on 20 June launched the final offensive against the main enemy forces <perfective, punctual>.

(d) Since then a part of our officers and men have been fighting valiantly <progressive, durative> to defend the strongholds in the southern area of Shimajiri <progressive, durative> but the situation in detail has not fully been known on and after 22 June [*sic.* i.e. since 22 June].

2. Taking an opportune moment <progressive>, our Air Forces are continually attacking the enemy war craft around the same island as well as the air bases <progressive, durative> and are cooperating in the ground battle <progressive, durative>.

3. Losses inflicted upon the enemy <perfective, punctual> since the commencement of the operations were about 80,000 killed or wounded <perfective,

**punctual**> on the island and about 600 enemy warships sunk or damaged  
<**perfective, punctual**> in and around the Okinawa.

4. Our officials and civilians on the battlefield in the Okinawa area with Governor Akira Shimada at their head united as one body <**perfective, punctual**> with the Army have been bravely fighting for the defence of the Imperial land <**progressive, durative**> since the enemy landing.

(Headline)

Imperial Army shows courage <**perfective, punctual**>

(Sub headline)

Americans are frightened by unprecedented bleeding in war history <**perfective, punctual**>

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 26 June 1945)

(English translation is from *The Nippon Times*: 26 June 1945;  
translation of headlines is mine)

In sentences from this text, we notice the strategic combination between perfective, punctual aspect and the progressive, durative aspect; the former is used to report war achievements even if they are fabrication or just minor positive elements of the war gains (e.g. '[The Imperial Army] killed or wounded 80000 enemy', '[The Imperial Army] carry out final attack', '600 enemy warships sunk or damaged', 'Americans were frightened by unprecedented bleeding'), and the latter (progressive, durative aspect) is used where there is no clear war achievement such as in 'our Air Forces are continually attacking the enemy war craft', 'Our forces ... have been valiantly fighting more than seven enemy divisions'. 'Our officials and civilians... have been bravely fighting for the defence of the Imperial land', '...cooperating in the ground battle'. Thus, the tendency of Japanese culture that prizes hard work for the cause of the nation in an united body is reflected in language, using the progressive aspect. This is combined with the perfective aspect to foreground war gains or the positive events of the war even if they are minor positive incidents, such as '[The Imperial Army] carried out their final shock attack'. Sometimes as in sentence (b), the progressive aspect is used to show that they are making an effort and working hard ('after supporting the deployment of our main strength to the southern sector of Shimajiri') in a subordinated clause or phrase, and perfective

aspect in the main clause<sup>6</sup> ('all of the men of the navy forces ... carried out their final attack') to foreground that part of the sentence. This sentence pattern matches Japanese rhetoric with the sense that 'we are working hard, and have done this and that ... but failed'.

In this way, the flow of discourse becomes positive and stronger. There is no such instance in which 'our loss' is expressed with the perfective and punctual aspect as foregrounded information such as in:

- × (8.9.) The enemy defeated our main forces.
- × (8.10.) The enemy attacked our garrison.
- × (8.11.) The enemy inflicted heavy casualties on us.

The most interesting and critical example as far as aspect and duration are concerned, may be again:

1(a) '... but on and around June 16 they [our forces] had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions'.

This is clearly expressed with the durative aspect, allowing the process a long span of time. In fact, as many as three process verbs are used: 'had to', 'allow', and 'infiltrate', giving a sense of a long duration of time. Interestingly, the use of the adverb 'gradually' adds to the sense of durativity. Alternatively, this could be expressed with the perfective aspect as:

- × (8.12) Our main positions were occupied by the enemy.

There are other examples which also express a huge gap between language and the real world as far as aspect and duration are concerned. But this example seems to be just the opposite case to the above in the sense that a process that usually has a

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<sup>6</sup> There is no essential restriction on the choice of aspect, completive or incomplete, when a sentence is composed of a subordinate and a main clause, hence the following four combinations are freely possible:

|   | <b>subordinate clause</b> | <b>main clause</b> |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | completive                | completive         |
| 2 | completive                | incomplete         |
| 3 | incomplete                | completive         |
| 4 | incomplete                | incomplete         |

(Okutsu *et al.*: 1990: 95; please see page xvi concerning the use of 'completive' and 'incomplete')

long duration in the real world is expressed linguistically as a process of short-span. For example, 'making an attack' or 'inflicting tremendous losses' have the perfective and punctual aspect. But in the real world, the actions of 'making an attack' or 'inflicting tremendous losses' take a long span of time, involving various sorts of processes. However, by expressing these processes with the perfective aspect in the language form, a powerful connotation is added since these processes become foregrounded elements.

In this way, the combined uses of the perfective and progressive aspect, are adopted despite the huge gap between what is expressed in language and what actually went on in the real world, in order to maximize positive elements of the war achievements and to minimize its negative aspects.

Some further examples from wartime propaganda confirm this observation. The data samples 8.4 to 8.7 below are from the 'best time' of the Japanese war effort from December 1941 to early 1942, when Japan occupied various territories in Asia. In these examples, the perfective aspect, to foreground positive information, is used abundantly to clarify Japanese war gains.

Data 8.4. (app. A14-A16)

<Headline>

*Bei taiheeyoo kantai wa zenmetsu-seri*

<Body>

... ..

*Teki riku kaigun kookuu heeryoku ni atae-taru songai*

*Zenkuu bakugeki ni yori enjyoo-seshimetaru mono yaku 450 ki, gekichin-serumono*

*14 ki, kono hoka gekiha-serumono tasuu, kakumune 16 too o enjyoo-seshime 2 too o*

*hakaisu*

<Headline>

US Pacific Fleet is Wiped Out! <perfective punctual>

<Body>

... ..

Damages inflicted over [*sic*, i.e. on] the Enemy's army and naval air forces <perfective, punctual>: approximately 450 planes were set on fire <perfective, punctual> either by bombing or machine-gunning, and 14 shot down <perfective, punctual>; besides the foregoing [*sic*, i.e. in addition], many planes were destroyed <perfective, punctual>; sixteen hangars were set afire and two destroyed <perfective, punctual>.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 19 December 1941)

(translation from *The Japan Times and Advertiser* of the same day)

Data 8.5. (app. A17-19)

[Headline]

*Kuala Lumpur senryoo*

[Body]

... *Nishi kaigan hoomen o shingeki chuu no teekoku rikugun senpoo butai wa saku 11 nichi gozen 11ji 30pun Kuala Lumpur ni totsunyuu-seri.*

[Headline]

Kuala Lumpur Occupied <perfective, punctual>

[Body]

The Imperial Army vanguard advancing along the west coast <progressive, durative> entered Kuala Lumpur in a swift drive <perfective, punctual> at 11:30 a.m. of 11th January.

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 13 January 1942 evening edition; my translation)

Data 8.6. (app. A20-A22)

[Headline]

*Philippine too shuto Manila kanzen ni senryoo*

*Bei no tooa kyoten kaimetsu-su*

[Body]

*Teekoku rikugun Hitoo senryaku butai wa 2ka gogo shuto Manila o kanzen ni senryoo shi, sarani Corregidor too yoosai oyobi Bataan hantoo no yoosai ni yoru*

*teki ni yaishi koogeki o shinkoochuu-nari. Teekoku rikugun butai wa saku futsuka gogo irai zokuzoku Manila shinai ni totsunyuu shitsutsu-ari.*

[Headline]

Manila, the capital of the Philippines, fully occupied <perfective, punctual>  
American base in the East Asia destroyed <perfective, punctual>

[Body]

The Imperial Army forces operating in the Philippines completely occupied Manila, capital of the islands, in the afternoon of 2 January <perfective, punctual>, and they are now keeping up their onslaught <progressive, durative> upon the enemy in Corregidor and Bataan, enemy's strongholds near Manila. Imperial Army units have been entering the city of Manila one after another since the afternoon of 2 January <progressive durative>.

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 4 January 1942; my translation)*

Data 8.7. (app. A23-24)

[Headline]

*Daiee Teekoku no ikkaku kuzuru  
Hong Kong no Eegun koofuku-su*

A corner of the British Empire crumbles <perfective, punctual>  
British Army in Hong Kong surrenders <perfective, punctual>

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 26 December 1941; my translation)*

These examples also demonstrate well-combined uses of perfective aspect and progressive aspect. The former is adopted to report war achievements such as 'US Pacific Fleet is wiped out', 'damage inflicted on the enemy's army', '14 (enemy planes) were shot down' (Data 8.4) 'occupied Kuala Lumpur in a swift drive' (Data 8.5). The progressive aspect is used not to refer to specific war achievements but to let the reader know that the military is making an effort and fighting to win, thus creating a vivid effect. Such an Asian work ethic, working hard as a united body for a certain aim is very much valued (discussed above in sections 2.1.1. and 8.6.1.). This is exemplified in 'The Imperial Army vanguard advancing along the west

coast' (Data 8.5), '[the Japanese forces] are now keeping up their onslaught' (Data 8.6).

In general, in an earlier stage of the war (December 1941- early 1942), when Japan was winning, it was possible to report specific war gains with the perfective aspect with specific place names such as 'Hong Kong', 'the Pacific', 'Manila', 'Kuala Lumpur', e.g. 'a corner of the British Empire crumbled', 'British army in Hong Kong surrenders' (Data 8.7), 'occupied Kuala Lumpur in a swift drive' (Data 8.5), 'Manila, the capital of the Philippines, totally occupied, US base in East Asia is destroyed' (Data 8.6), 'American Pacific fleet is wiped out' (Data 8.4). However, in later stages of the war (1943-45) when Japan continuously lost places, the uses of the progressive aspect increased to obscure what had happened as in the report on Okinawa's total defeat (Data 8.3), e.g. 'we had to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually in our main positions', 'our forces have been valiantly fighting', 'cooperating in the ground battle', '... have been bravely fighting for the defence of the Imperial land'.

#### 8.7.4. Aspect in peacetime international conflict and competition discourse

In contrast to these patterns, in peacetime discourse concerning international encounters, the perfective aspect is used for foregrounding even in reporting undesirable events; unlike English, the same auxiliary verb (-*ta*) is used to express the perfective aspect. Data 8.8. from a game in the Olympic Games which Japan lost, is a good example. The report is drawn from the Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952, reporting a Japanese swimmer's defeat in a swimming race.

Data 8.8.

*Saigo no 1500 de yaburu*<sup>7</sup>

... Hashitsume wa yosoo sareta yooni staato kara Kon'no to hariai 400 kara 500 to toppu de tsuuka, 1100 made riido shi-ta-ga, 1200 kara tsuini nuka-re-ta...

Lost in the last game <perfective, punctual> of 1500 meters free style

... As expected, Hashitsume (JPN) competed with Kon'no (USA) from the start, passed <perfective, punctual> the 400 meter and the 500 meter point at the top, was taking the lead until the 1000 meters point <progressive, durative>, but was finally overtaken at the 1200 meter point <perfective, punctual>...

(*The Asahi Newspaper*, 3 August 1952; my translation)

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<sup>7</sup> The particle *ru* in *yaburu* is a short form for *yabureru*. It expresses the perfective aspect.

-*ta* as a marker of past tense and the perfective aspect in Japanese, is used as in '*nukare-ta*' (Hashitsune was overtaken). The use of *-ta* implies a sense of completion in the foregrounded information. As we can observe from the data, even events undesirable for Japan are reported with the perfective aspect as foregrounded information, such as in '[Hashitsune] lost' or '[Hashitsune] was overtaken'. In this discourse, Japan's defeat is thus, clearly and directly reported as foregrounded information, using the perfective aspect. This linguistic realisation was not found in newspaper texts of wartime official reports.

Another example from peacetime discourse (pre-war period) reports President Roosevelt's order freezing Japanese assets in America, when the relationship between America and Japan deteriorated before the war (originally used as text 7.7)

Data 8.9

*Eibei, Nihon shisan o tooketsu*

*Roosevelt Daitooryoo wa, daitooryoo ree ni yori 25 nichi yoru zaibei nihonshisan no tooketsu o meeji-ta. Migi hooree wa 26 nichi kara kooryoku o hassuru, migi ni taishi howaito hausu kara tsugi no gotoki setsumee ga hasse-rareta....*

Britain and US freeze Japanese assets

President Roosevelt issued an executive order freezing Japanese assets in America on the evening of 25th July. This act will take effect on 26th July .... The following explanation was given from the White House....

*(The Asahi Newspaper, 27 July 1941; my translation)*

Unlike war propaganda, even a negative fact for Japan is foregrounded here with the perfective aspect with the use of the perfective-marker *ta*. This linguistic pattern represents a clear contrast with wartime 'official' discourse.

## 8.8. Conclusions

As we have seen, in wartime propaganda there are strategically well-combined uses of the perfective and progressive aspects. That is, the progressive aspect is often

used in Japanese wartime newspaper texts as a means to background negative information. This form implies a sense of duration or span of time which obscures reality when the situation is not desirable or when there is no special war achievement to report. This discourse gives a vivid impression that suggests that the reporter has 'observed with the vividness of the intrusive perspective.' The use of the progressive aspect in Japanese wartime newspaper texts implies an intrusive perspective and a 'greater immersion in the scene' (Toolan, 1990: 101; mentioned above in section 8.2). By contrast, the perfective aspect as a means to foreground information is used to report military achievements even if they are fabrications or just minor aspects of war gains. There is a connection between aspect and transitivity or volitionality as previously noted as 'punctual, completive\*' actions suggest 'high transitivity' since they possess a high degree of agent volitionality and patient affectedness' (MacGarry 1994: 62; discussed above in section 8.4). In this way, the perfective aspect adds a positive connotation in discourse, especially in reporting 'our military achievement'. This pattern was particularly prevalent in reports from an earlier stage of war (1941-42), when Japan was doing well and gaining territories.

In peacetime discourse, even undesirable incidents are reported with the perfective aspect as a means of foregrounding information since there is no need to create such a distance from undesirable events linguistically as in wartime. There is a general tendency that peacetime discourse adopts perfective aspect much more than wartime propaganda.

In this way, the use of *aspect* again confirms the internal or intrusive point of view in Japanese newspapers during war. The relatively high frequency of use of the perfective aspect or past tense in peacetime newspapers indicates that 'the action or event described is perceived by the speaker as occurring ... as a unified and clearly bounded particle' (Toolan 1990: 103; mentioned above in section 8.2), which implies that the point of view is more external and detached. Thus, aspect and point of view are intimately interrelated as also modality and point of view are closely connected.

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'completive'.

## Chapter nine

### Conclusions and implications for future research

#### 9.1. Conclusions

This research was initiated to demonstrate the existence of a wartime register in Japanese journalism during the Second World War, and to characterize its main linguistic and stylistic features, using such linguistic features as transitivity, thematization, modality and aspect, through a contrastive analysis with peacetime international conflict or competition discourses. I hope that the studies undertaken in this thesis have attained the original objectives and confirm several specific findings enumerated below.

First and foremost, I believe I have demonstrated that there IS such a register as wartime propaganda in 'the official' Japanese press, resulting from a point of view that becomes extremely fixed and internalized. The world described in war propaganda is a linguistically constructed world, by 'an active press' rather than by a passive press. Active press reporting constructs a reality far removed from that reported upon by a passive press.

In wartime journalism, the Japanese side is always foregrounded or given prominence as an active doer in order to strengthen the connotational value. The systematization of foregrounding/backgrounding features in discourse as developed by Hopper and Thompson, Givon and McGarry, discussed in earlier chapters, is helpful as a summary and review of the main linguistic and stylistic patterns of Japanese wartime propaganda (see Table 9.1., slightly revised from the originals).

| Feature                  | Foreground  | Background         | chapter reference |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| syntax                   | main clause | subordinate clause | 5                 |
|                          | assertion   | presupposition     | 5                 |
| case roles               | subject     | object             | 3-4               |
| activity                 | active      | passive            | 3-4               |
| discoursal sequentiality | in-sequence | out-of-sequence    | 6                 |
| volitionality            | volitional  | nonvolitional      | 3-4               |
| causation                | causative   | stative            | 3-4               |
| object affectedness      | affected    | unaffected         | 3-4               |
| definiteness, certainty  | definite    | indefinite         | 7                 |
| durativity               | punctual    | durative           | 8                 |
| perfectivity             | completive  | incompletive*      | 8                 |

**Table 9.1. The elements of foregrounding and backgrounding in discourse**

(cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252; Givon 1984: 288; McGarry 1994: 64)

Note: The final column indicates where each feature has been discussed.

To sum up, in Japanese wartime propaganda, reports on the Japanese are almost always marked by the features of the Foreground column of the table, and reports on the enemy are marked by the features of the Background column of the chart. However, in peacetime conflict or competition discourse reporting Japanese defeats, the Japanese side and their opponents' side are sometimes foregrounded and sometimes backgrounded, and thus the reports on the Japanese and their opponents include features from either of these columns. The following is a summary of Table 9.1.

Chapters three and four discussed the patterns of transitivity structure, case roles, volitionality and Object affectedness that are manifested in Japanese wartime and peacetime discourses. On the basis of the foregrounding and backgrounding schematization in transitivity by Hopper and Thompson and later developed by Givon and McGarry, it could be stated that the Japanese are always foregrounded as actors who possess volitionality and causality even in their defeats. As far as 'Object affectedness' is concerned, the enemy is foregrounded only as Patient and rarely foregrounded as Actor in wartime propaganda, even in their victories.

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\* Please see page xvi concerning the use of 'incompletive' and other terms.

Besides being the Patient, the enemy is also backgrounded as a stative element and rarely presented as the causative element. However, in peacetime conflict/competition discourses reporting Japan's defeats, the Japanese side and the opponents' side are sometimes foregrounded, sometimes backgrounded, either as active elements or affected or stative elements.

Chapters five and six, (on thematization and discourse development, respectively) discussed what is thematized or non-thematized in relation to transitivity roles. The main findings are that the Japanese as Actors are consistently coded as the 'gist, backbone or the main line of the description' (Givon 1984: 287-288). This consistent use of Japanese as Actors maintains a connected and coherent discourse. The Japanese as Actors are always protagonists. The enemy, on the other hand, as Patient, provides a supportive or supplementary role in the story as the background element of the discourse. There are cases in which the enemy is described as Actor, but then they are backgrounded in a subordinate clause or are presupposed and do not constitute a main clause or a definitely asserted part of the sentence. Moreover, the description of the enemy as Actor is usually associated with a non-military matter that does not directly affect the Japanese. By contrast, in peacetime conflict/competition discourses, both the Japanese and the opponents' side are alternatively thematized either as Actors or Patient in out-of-sequence discourse, and variously backgrounded and foregrounded in the main or a subordinate clause, since the interest of peacetime discourse is which side will win from an objective perspective, whereas in wartime propaganda the victory of the Japanese is presupposed.

Chapter seven examined the topics of modality, definiteness and certainty. In wartime discourse, strong modality is employed, with abundant use of classical stylistic features. That is, the modality of deontic and strong epistemic commitment that expresses the definiteness of propositions is foregrounded in combination with the use of classical stylistic features to refer to future and past events. By contrast, in peacetime discourse, weaker modality is used. This suggests that weaker epistemic modality, expressing uncertainty concerning the occurrence of events, is used as backgrounded information to refer to future and past events. This confirms Givon's observation: 'events that have actually happened' or that ought to happen, 'should be more salient for coding and retrieval than hypothesized events' (Givon 1984: 289).

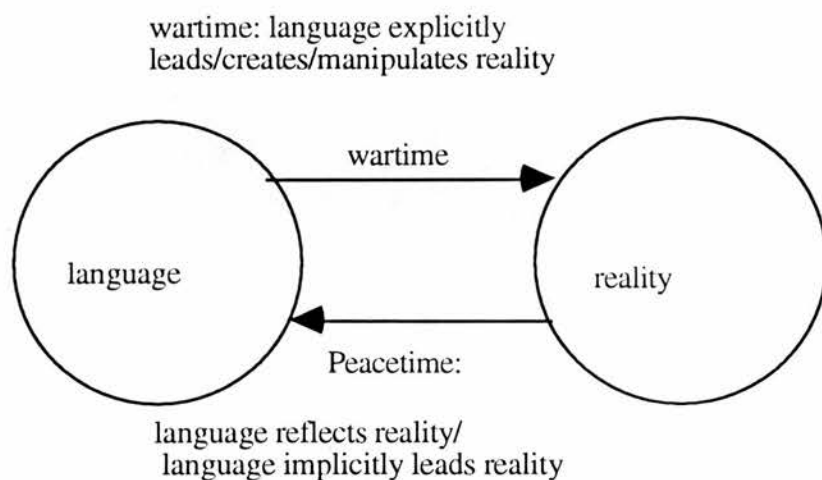
As far as 'durativity' and 'perfectivity' discussed in chapter eight on Aspect are concerned, the undesirable aspects of an event for the Japanese side are backgrounded with progressive aspect, while military achievements (even if they are fabrications) are foregrounded with a perfective aspect in war propaganda. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the progressive aspect is used to foreground the information for vividness. By contrast, even negative aspects of the story for the Japanese are foregrounded with perfective punctual aspect in peacetime discourse. By the same token, the opponents' achievement or victory is foregrounded with perfective aspect in peacetime discourse.

The topics discussed in this thesis: transitivity, thematization, modality, aspect and point of view, seem in this way to be comprehensively interrelated in the light of the foregrounding/backgrounding paradigm. These topics are all combined to create a vivid, strong image throughout the whole discourse of propaganda by foregrounding the Japanese side and backgrounding the enemy's side.

Another major finding is that a war register is not a newly created phenomenon. It is created in the line of continuation from past experience. A war register takes shape by exploiting the already existing historical, cultural or institutionalized heritage of a people. A war register is what exploits these 'pools of symbols' (discussed in section 1.3.1.) in the form of language. For example, a traditional warrior ethic that did not accept defeat, and Japan's subsequent 'non-surrender' policy and 'everything is presupposed' rhetoric, are encoded in the transitivity patterns, with the Japanese side always the Actors or the initiators of an event in a causal relationship, possessing the elements of volition in an assertive clause. To further convey the strong, masculine image of a traditional warrior and create an impression of definiteness, the completive and punctual aspect is used to express Japanese military achievements, which is combined with the use of classical linguistic features, as we saw in chapter seven on modality. The use of classical linguistic features also has the function of awakening a people's past heritage. This was also prevalent in the areas of 'lexis as delicate grammar', especially in the use of euphemisms to refer to death: 'the falling of cherry blossoms' and 'the scattering of jewels' were examples of an effort to incorporate a people's common cultural heritage into war discourse in order to make the population accept the actual situation.

Finally, with reference to the initial discussion of the relationship between language and reality (argued in section 1.1), it could be said that, while language in peacetime more or less simply 'records' what has happened (process takes precedence over language) or language implicitly leads reality (as in the form of advertising), language in wartime attempts to lead or manipulate reality in an explicit way (language takes precedence over process), as illustrated in Figure 9.1.. Here, language may function as a 'perlocutionary act', as in the case of Nazi Germany (Stern 1975; discussed in section 7.4.1.). Of course, in peacetime there are also instances in which language plays a perlocutionary role, most notably in advertising where language is used to *persuade* people to buy commercial products or commodities. Nevertheless, what should be stressed here is that wartime language, as **total** propaganda, exhibits more explicit features of a perlocutionary act than language in any other context in peacetime, when only **partial** propaganda or manipulation through language is required.

Therefore, with reference to the validity of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis discussed in chapter one, it is necessary to revise the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that suggests that language form structures reality or language structure has an all-powerful role in imposing a world-view. This strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis leads to the even more radical view that we are easily trapped by language (cf. Lee 1992). More appropriate would be that language is used so as to match the social conditions or demands of each given period of time and situational context, with which 'people order and justify their lives' (Fowler 1991: 92).



**Figure 9.1. The relationship between language and reality: wartime versus peacetime**

Finally, it may be important to point out the current criticisms regarding the theory and practice of Critical Linguistics / Critical Discourse Analysis. Widdowson (1995) questions the validity of the approach in the sense that Critical Discourse Analysis presents only a partial and subjective interpretation of the text from a particular point of view and does not provide a rigorous, disinterested analysis of linguistic data. He says:

[I]f critical discourse analysis is an exercise in interpretation, it is invalid as an analysis.

(Widdowson 1995: 159)

What is actually revealed is the particular discourse perspective of the interpreter. This may be convincing perhaps, but it has no more authority than any other. To the extent that critical discourse analysis is committed, it cannot provide analysis but only partial interpretation.

(Widdowson op. cit.: 169)

Widdowson's criticism is sound in a sense. Indeed, subjectivity enters into any act of analysis. However, in an extreme form, his criticism could be taken to invalidate all instances of analysis in the humanities. Perhaps one way of overcoming his criticism is to adopt comparative techniques in order to demonstrate that there is some objective evidence in the text for a particular interpretation. I hope that the approach I have taken in this study has made a contribution in this respect. For example, the existence of a wartime register can in part be established by showing that phenomenon of 'defeat' is expressed differently between wartime and peacetime texts. Also the way in which the war situation is represented differs between official war reports in the newspapers and diaries written by civilians which were not written for publication.

Another recent controversy surrounding Critical Linguistics /Critical Discourse Analysis concerns how useful the approach is to non-specialists or in the classroom. For instance, what is the pedagogical application? I initially said in the Introduction to this thesis that part of the significance of this study is to show that people as citizens have to have critical attitudes towards language so that they will not be so easily deceived by the use of language if similar events happen in the future as in Germany or Japan during the 1940s. One of the advantages of adopting comparative analysis is that it does not depend on technical terms and theoretical frameworks. For example, in the classroom, a teacher shows students a picture or a videotape which displays the destructive situation of war and asks them to write an essay describing the situation; houses are destroyed, people get injured, etc.. It might also be a good idea to have the students write hypothetically - how would they feel if the same events happened to them? For instance, in the summer of 1996, BBC Scotland showed a documentary video named 'suicide island'. It displayed the brutality of the battles on Okinawa in June 1945 and how the civilian people were affected by them. This may be a source of appropriate exercise material for the classroom. After the students write their own compositions, they could compare them with the official reports issued by the Imperial War Headquarters at the time and discuss the differences and why such differences arise. In this way, the teacher can develop a critical awareness of language among the students. Therefore, even without using special academic tools, there is a way to transmit to non-specialists or students a practical method of uncovering patterns of ideological significance.

## 9.2. Implications for future research

This research was intended to characterize the linguistic features of wartime propaganda as compared with those of international peacetime discourse, using such linguistic tools as transitivity, theme and modality. As with any research of relatively small scale, this one suggests various interesting possibilities for future research. Of particular interest would be a methodologically similar comparative study between peacetime and wartime, but using different analytic tools and different data. Topics briefly covered in this study but deserving more attention would be metaphor, honorific expressions, and tense.

Another interesting way to extend this research would be a comparative study with other languages. Although this study was essentially a diachronic comparison between different periods within one language, a synchronic type of comparison, for example, with British newspapers of the same period, would be rewarding. There is always some doubt about the validity of any cross-linguistic comparative studies because of the fact that each language has its own way of manifesting things and phenomena. One way to overcome this problem is to find out how the relative place a certain linguistic phenomenon holds in language changes when a society switches from peace to war, or vice versa. That is, to compare cross-linguistically the diachronic changes of each language. For example, through observation of *The New York Times* and *The Scotsman*, I found that the deviations from the 'norm' in the topics of transitivity, thematization and modality that occurred in Japanese newspapers during wartime were not so salient in these British and American newspapers of the same period. Thus, for example, in the latter newspapers the *passivised* transitivity pattern, with the Japanese side as Theme and Agent, is a frequent occurrence.

(9.1.)

Japanese [Agent] occupy Manila [Patient]

(*The Scotsman*, 3 January 1942)

(9.2.)

As confirmed by Mr. Churchill in his broadcast last night, Singapore [Patient] has fallen to the Japanese [Agent].

The Japanese [Agent] ... succeeded in ... capturing the British Empire's greatest strategic bases [Patient] in the Far East.

(*The Scotsman*, 16 February 1942)

(9.3.)

Japanese forces [Agent] attacking from the Bataan Peninsula have forced the surrender of Corregidor and other United States island fortresses at the entrance to Manila Bay ... The end came in the second day of the final Japanese assault [Agent] launched at midnight Tuesday Manila time, with landings from Bataan Peninsula after Corregidor [Patient] had been pounded again and again by Japanese big guns and aerial bombs [Agent]. Corregidor [Patient] alone had 300 air raids ...

(*The New York Times*, 6 May 1942)

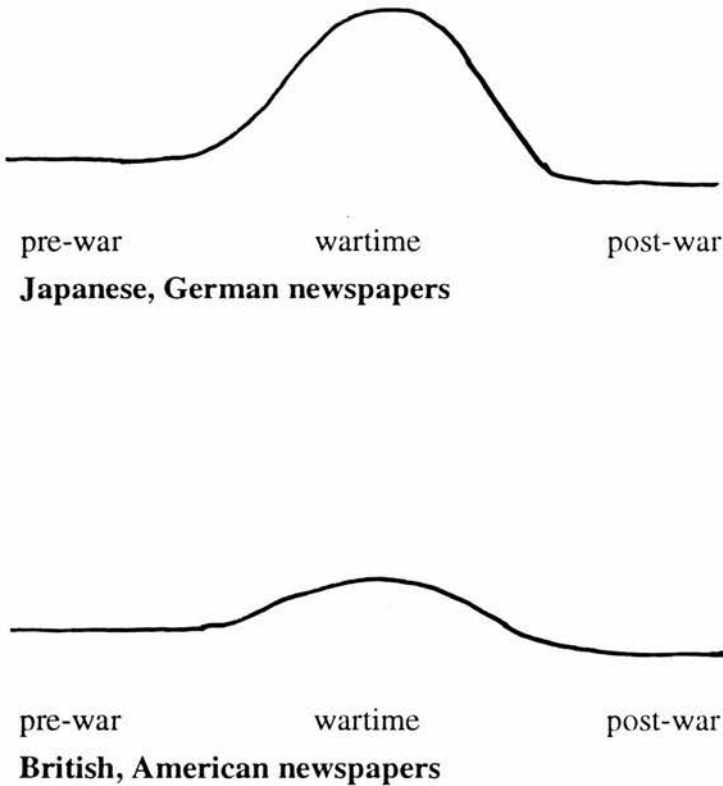
It is noticeable that references to the enemy as Agent like those found in these news articles did not appear in Japanese official newspapers of the same period. This suggests that the point of view from which these English newspapers was written is more 'objective' than that of Japanese newspapers during wartime — although no mass media is purely 'objective' in a strict sense. The reason may be because their societies were much more 'democratic' and there was a much 'freer' flow of information than in Japanese or German societies. In other words, the style of Japanese war reporting is based on 'literary' models rather than being factual or prosaic in an objective way. The style of British and American newspapers, on the other hand, was prosaic rather than literary in the sense that they were committed to transmitting objective, factual information. As a matter of fact, the British did not put as much emphasis on the importance of propaganda during the war as the Germans did. According to Aldgate (1983):

There were ... important people in the (British) government who doubted the need for wartime propaganda at all. Chamberlain, for example, showed little interest in it. ... Before the war, however, Chamberlain had actually contemplated closing down broadcasting altogether should war break out. Again, when war did come, he seriously considered closing down the Ministry of Information by the end of 1939. He finally chose not to, but he did subsequently fail to give any support or direction to its ministers in charge. ... Even Churchill, however, who knew better than most how to use at least radio to best advantage, showed, like Chamberlain, a distinct lack of interest in the nature and administration of propaganda. Duff Cooper later said of Churchill that he was for the most part 'not interested in the subject. He knew that propaganda was not going to win the war'.

The fact that people in Britain seemingly did not respond to direct calls to action, except during moments of crisis, finally dawned on the Director of Home Intelligence as well. In October 1941 he expressed the opinion that 'given the facts, [the British people] will listen to and accept explanations, but not exhortations'.

This feature of British society is apparently reflected in language in the press as well. Thus, more highly manipulative propagandistic language was used in the Japanese press, and possibly the German one as well, in wartime. The following chart will illustrate the situation.

**Figure 9.2. Frequency of certain linguistic features of war propaganda: comparison of Japanese and German newspapers versus British and American newspapers during the 1940s**



Cross-linguistic comparative studies will contribute to a stronger confirmation of the existence of wartime propaganda in Japanese newspapers. Of course, not only the Second World War, but also other wars, modern wars even, can be sources for the analysis, if the same diachronic or synchronic comparative method is applied as

was applied in this research. Other languages, such as Chinese, Arabic or Russian could be analysed, as well.

Finally, I should add that findings in this research will benefit not only the studies of language and politics but also other fields, as well. A good instance may be politeness studies. For example, the analysis of foregrounding and backgrounding from the perspective of transitivity, thematization, modality and aspect can be used as a politeness strategy in order to express undesirable things without foregrounding them. Communication studies and rhetorical studies may also benefit from the approach or findings of this research.

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## **Appendices**

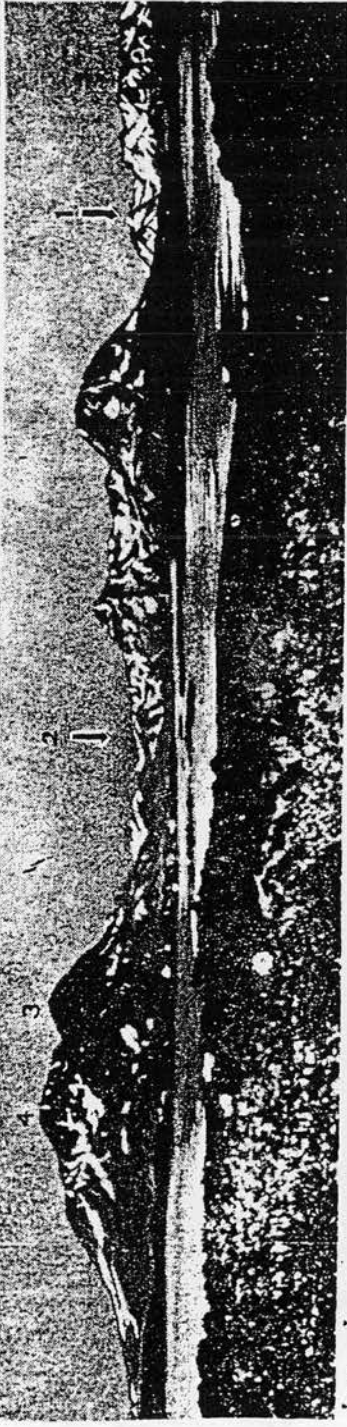
### **Appendix A Data samples from wartime texts**



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重社元創

本誌の宗旨 国民の啓蒙  
新聞の発展 社会の進歩



# 揮發を隨神の軍皇に島ツツア

島ツツアの地 戦血の皇軍

## 山崎部隊長ら全將兵 壯絶夜襲を敢行玉碎 敵二萬損害六千下らず

【大分県大分市】五月二十一日、アタラ島守備隊は五月十三日以来極めて困難なる状況下に置かれ、殊に敵の増援に對し、島嶼中の五月二十九日夜敢行部隊に對し、最後の一兵一草の奮戦を遂げ、遂に全隊を犠牲にして、壯絶なる夜襲を敢行せり。戦後通信を以て報告するものと知り、傷者にして攻撃に参加し得ざるものは之に先づ死す。我が守備隊は三千餘名にして、敵ははたまた山崎隊長なり、敵は特別攻撃隊の約二萬にして五月二十八日まで、興へたる損害六千を下らず。

### 一兵も増援求めず

谷恭親遺烈々戦陣訓を實踐

【大分県大分市】五月二十一日、アタラ島守備隊は五月十三日以来極めて困難なる状況下に置かれ、殊に敵の増援に對し、島嶼中の五月二十九日夜敢行部隊に對し、最後の一兵一草の奮戦を遂げ、遂に全隊を犠牲にして、壯絶なる夜襲を敢行せり。戦後通信を以て報告するものと知り、傷者にして攻撃に参加し得ざるものは之に先づ死す。我が守備隊は三千餘名にして、敵ははたまた山崎隊長なり、敵は特別攻撃隊の約二萬にして五月二十八日まで、興へたる損害六千を下らず。



山崎隊長の遺照



山崎隊長の遺照

# BRAVE JAPANESE SOLDIERS AT ATTU MEET HEROIC END; ALL COMMUNICATIONS CUT

Commander of Garrison  
Was Colonel  
Yamazaki

FOUGHT AGAINST ODDS

Defenders Made Final Assault  
On May 29 and Died in  
Shower of Glory

All officers and men of the Imperial Forces on Attu Island are believed to have died a glorious death after making a daring assault on the enemy on May 29, the Imperial Headquarters announced at 5 p.m. Sunday.

Communications with Attu have been completely cut off, the Imperial Headquarters indicated, adding that the enemy forces numbered more than 20,000 while the Japanese garrison consisted of little over 2,000 men under the command of Colonel Yasuyo Yamazaki. The enemy losses numbered over 6,000 dead.

The Imperial Headquarters' communique follows:

"1. The Japanese garrison which since May 12 had been continuing heroic fighting against an overwhelming number of enemy forces under extremely difficult conditions, on the night of May 29 effected the most daring assault against the main enemy force in order to inflict the final blow on them. Since the night of May 29 all communications have been entirely cut off and it is believed that all officers and men of the Imperial garrison died a glorious death for the country. Those who were wounded and sick and could not participate in the attack are believed to have disposed themselves prior to the final assault. The Imperial garrison in Attu totaled 2,000 odd men under the command of Colonel Yasuyo Yamazaki. The enemy forces number about 20,000 and are equipped excellently. The damage inflicted on the enemy up to May 28 totaled not less than 6,000.

"2. Kiska Island is held securely by the Japanese Forces."

The Nippon Times, 31 May 1943,  
evening edition; data 4.4.1 and 6.1

# Nippon Times

## Evening

All for Greater East Asia,  
Makes a Greater East Asia  
for All

No. 15,868

TOKYO, MONDAY, MAY 31, 1943

### Attu: Landmark of Supreme Japanese Heroism



The Japanese people, still in mourning over the loss of Fleet-Admiral Yamamoto, were electrified by the sudden announcement issued by the Imperial Headquarters yesterday evening that the entire Japanese Forces on Attu Island had met glorious death. Tears of sympathy and gratitude for the heroic sacrifices made by those officers and men for the nation's cause welled in many a home as details of the brave resistance offered by Colonel Yasuyo Yamazaki and his men against overwhelming odds, fully manifesting the spirit of the "Battle

Instructions" (Senjinkun) were related by Major-General Nakao Yahagi. But with the sorrow, a greater resolve now burns in the hearts of Japan's one hundred million people not to stop their struggle till the enemy is thoroughly beaten. The action of those men on Attu Island will remain vividly forever on the pages of the history of Japan and East Asia. (Above: A view of Attu Island where the valiant Imperial defenders made new war history. A-Middle Peak; B-East Peak; C-Chichagov Bay; D-Holz Bay. By courtesy of War Ministry)

# NEWS

Wartime Is Worktime,  
Fight, Fight, Fight and  
Win

第三種郵便物認可 昭和十五年十二月二十七日 Price 8 Sen

## FINAL, SUPREME CHARGE LAUNCHED BY JAPANESE ON OVERWHELMING FOE

### Defenders Grimly Unyielding Till Last As Enemy Massed Attacks From Sea, Air And Land--Americans Pay Costly Toll

The valiant men of the Japanese defense garrison on the Attu Island, according to the statements of Major-General Nakao Yahagi, Chief of the Army Press Section of the Imperial Headquarters, as given out on May 17 and 22, obviously fought daringly and courageously against an enemy force ten times their own. Vision obliterated by heavy fogs, battling with the vicissitudes of the Arctic weather, the swirling snow and pelting rain, the men of the Imperial Force stood their ground to the very last man under the fury of the enemy fire.

Following is a brief resume of the fighting on Attu:

A large and well-equipped unit of American forces, convoyed by a powerful fleet and protected by the air force, made a landing on Attu, on the north and south. Toward evening, the enemy attempted a landing on the eastern shore, but were severely repulsed by the Japanese defense forces, who pushed the landing forces to the shoreline and completely annihilated them. The detachment landing on the south seemed to comprise the main force, but the Japanese Forces daringly launched a night attack and pushed the enemy back to the beach.

The enemy forces from the north advanced toward the Japanese positions. Fierce encounters took place. However, the men of the Imperial Force did not budge an inch though confronted by a vastly superior number. The enemy had to resort time and again to desperate fighting, as made clear by reports from the enemy side.

Striking against the staunch bulwark of Japanese resistance, the enemy resorted to furious bombardment from warships and intense attacks from the air. Reinforcement after reinforcement strengthened the enemy force. Tanks, heavy artillery, and other heavy armaments continued to be landed. The front line of the enemy force, incessantly reinforced, persistently and stubbornly pushed against the Japanese line.

By May 16, the enemy force landed numbered 20,000, a whole division. The northern and southern enemy forces attempting to join pressed closer and closer toward the Japanese. Superiority in number and arms was on the enemy side. Finally on May 16, deploying the outpost guards back to a prepared position, the Japanese carried out a concerted charge against the enemy, many times their number, and fought defiantly and bravely engaging in a hand-to-hand fighting with hand-grenades and bayonets.

In spite of the persistent enemy pressure and no matter how small the terrain held, the men of the Imperial Force would not yield. They held their ground to the very last man. During the two weeks of violent fighting, Corp Commander Yamazaki showed no sign whatever of yielding. The men, with fighting spirit high, carried out their Commander's order with wonderful precision and courage.

However, on May 29, the survivors of the Imperial Force led by their gallant Commander, hurled themselves against the enemy in a final offensive, displaying to the world the daring and indomitable spirit of men of the Japanese Force.

Though pounded and battered by the dastardly firing of the enemy, the Japanese troops inflicted a heavy loss of 6,000 men on the enemy. The embodiment of the undying spirit of the valorous men of the Imperial Force, inspired from the beginning to the end with absolute loyalty to His Majesty the Emperor, will be remembered forever in the hearts of the Japanese people.



## NIPPON FORCES CARRY OUT FINAL ATTACK ON OKINAWA

### Gallant Fighting Still Raging Against Invaders, Imperial Headquarters Reveals

The war situation in the southern sector of Shimajiri on the main Okinawa Island after mid-June when the Imperial Japanese Forces commanded by Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima and Navy Units led by Rear Admiral Minoru Ota launched their final offensive against the invasion forces has been clarified in the Imperial Headquarters communique issued at 2:30 p.m. on Monday.

The communique follows:

**IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS'  
COMMUNIQUE**  
2:30 p.m. June 25

"1—The war situation in the area south of Shimajiri on the main Okinawa Island after the middle of June follows:

(a) Our Forces after adjusting their firing line at Koroku and the area south of Shimajiri have been valiantly fighting more than seven enemy divisions backed by numerically superior air and sea units, inflicting tremendous losses but on and around June 16 they were forced to allow the enemy to infiltrate gradually through our main positions.

(b) After supporting the deployment of our main strength to the southern sector of Shimajiri, all of the men of the Navy Forces in the Koroku area commanded by Rear Admiral Minoru Ota carried out their final shock attack on June 13.

(c) With all his strength Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima, the Supreme Commander in the Okinawa area on June 20 launched the final offensive against the main enemy forces.

(d) Since then a part of our officers and men are fighting valiantly to defend the strongholds in the southern area of Shimajiri but the situation in detail has not fully been known on and after June 22.

"2—Taking an opportune moment Our Air Forces are continually attacking the enemy warcraft around the said island as well as the air bases and are cooperating in the ground battle.

"3. Losses inflicted upon the enemy since the commencement of the operations were about 80,000 killed or wounded on the island and about 600 enemy warships sunk or damaged in and around the Okinawas.

"4. Our officials and civilians on the battlefield in the Okinawa area with Governor Akira Shimada at their head united as one body with the Army have been bravely fighting for the defense of the Imperial land since the enemy landing."

#### Air Assaults Continued

Imperial Japanese Forces on the main Okinawa Island are continuing their gallant fight and have inflicted heavy casualties on the Army.



朝日新聞 社本東京 発行所 東京 印刷所 東京

日本新聞社 東京 印刷所 東京

# へ手敵に遂島黃硫

## 最高指揮官陣頭に 壯烈・全員總攻撃

### 敵の損害二萬二千

一、硫黄島の我軍は敵上陸以來約一箇月に亘り敵陣を繰繰し殊に三月十三日頃以降北西部及東山附近の嶺脚陣地に陣取り遂に敵を横行中なりしが敵司令部に最後の陣頭に直面し「十七日夜半を期し最高指揮官を陣頭に擧げるの必勝と安泰とを祈る」つゝ全員壯烈なる強攻撃を敢行す」との打電あり、爾後激戦の二、敵兵同島上陸以來三月十六日夜迄に陸上に於て之に與へたる損害約三萬三千名なり

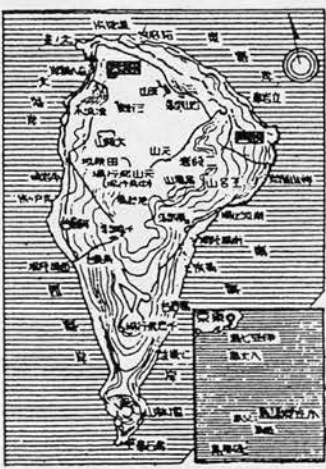
### 敢闘一箇月 十七日夜半 通信絶ゆ

### たとひ魂魄となるも 栗林中將・最後の無電

硫黄島の我軍は敵上陸以來約一箇月に亘り敵陣を繰繰し殊に三月十三日頃以降北西部及東山附近の嶺脚陣地に陣取り遂に敵を横行中なりしが敵司令部に最後の陣頭に直面し「十七日夜半を期し最高指揮官を陣頭に擧げるの必勝と安泰とを祈る」つゝ全員壯烈なる強攻撃を敢行す」との打電あり、爾後激戦の二、敵兵同島上陸以來三月十六日夜迄に陸上に於て之に與へたる損害約三萬三千名なり



栗林中將の遺像



硫黄島の地形と陣地

## 断乎戦ひ抜かん 活かせ硫黄島勇士の魂

断乎戦ひ抜かん 活かせ硫黄島勇士の魂

断乎戦ひ抜かん 活かせ硫黄島勇士の魂

# JAPANESE AT YIOJIMA LAUNCH FINAL DRIVE AGAINST U.S. TROOPS

**Lt. General Kuribayashi Leads  
Forces; Enemy Casualties  
Total 33,000, I.H.Q. Says**

Imperial Japanese Forces on Yiojima after engaging in bitter fighting for about one month since the American troops landed on the island finally launched a general attack with Lieutenant General Tadamichi Kuribayashi at the head at midnight of March 17, the Imperial Headquarters announced in its communique issued at noon on Wednesday.

All the communications were interrupted following the receipt of a telegram stating that all the officers and men with the Supreme Commander in the lead directed a fierce general attack at midnight of March 17 in praying for Japan's sure victory and tranquillity of the Fatherland, the communique disclosed.

The Japanese Forces on Yiojima have inflicted about 33,000 casualties on the American officers and men since the enemy landed on the island up to March 16, the communique added.

The communique follows:

**IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS:  
COMMUNIQUE  
At Noon, March 21**

"(1) Our Forces on Yiojima continued to fight gallantly for about one month since the enemy's landing and particularly on and after March 13, they had been ceaselessly engaged in bitter fighting holding their re-entrenched positions at North Village and in the neighborhood of Higashiyama. But as the war situation turned to a grave phase, a telegram was dispatched from Yiojima stating, 'All the officers and men with the Supreme Commander at the head launched a dauntless general attack at midnight of March 17 in praying for Japan's sure victory as well as the tranquillity of the Imperial Land.' Since then, communication was interrupted.

"(2) Losses inflicted upon the enemy forces in the ground battles since the enemy's landing on the said island up to March 16 are about 33,000."

## Launch Final Attack

Under the direct command of Lieutenant General Tadamichi Kuribayashi, the Imperial Japanese Forces garrisoned at Yiojima finally launched a vigorous general attack against the American invasion troops at midnight of March 17 after engaging in bitter fighting for nearly one month.

Following the enemy's landing on the island on February 19, the Japanese Forces united as one body with the iron determination to defend the island to the last fought valiantly day and night in severe battles with the numerically superior invasion forces after overcoming many obstacles and hardships in defiance of the heavy shelling and bombing operations.



第三千四百九十四号 昭和十五年八月二十七日

Price 35 Sen

# HIS MAJESTY ISSUES RESCRIPT TO RESTORE PEACE

Joint Declaration of U.S., Great Britain, China and Soviet  
Union Accepted—Continuation of Hostilities Would  
Only Mean Obliteration of Japanese Empire

His Majesty the Emperor on August 14 graciously issued an Imperial Rescript to bring the war to an end and to restore peace once again to the world. He ordered the Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union that the Japanese Empire accepts the provisions of their Joint Declaration.

The full text of the Imperial Rescript follows:

# IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

---

To Our good and loyal subjects:

After pondering deeply the general trends of the world and the actual conditions obtaining in Our Empire today, We have decided to effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure.

We have ordered Our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union that Our Empire accepts the provisions of their Joint Declaration.

To strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations as well as the security and well-being of Our subjects is the solemn obligation which has been handed down by Our Imperial Ancestors, and which We lay close to heart. Indeed, We declared war on America and Britain out of Our sincere desire to ensure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia, it being far from Our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement. But now the war has lasted for nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of military and naval forces, the diligence and assiduity of Our servants of the State and the devoted service of Our one hundred million people, the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest. Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should We continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization. Such being the case, how are We to save the millions of Our subjects, or to atone Ourselves before the hallowed spirits of Our Imperial Ancestors? This is the reason why We have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the Joint Declaration of the Powers.

We cannot but express the deepest sense of regret to our Allied nations of East Asia, who have consistently cooperated with the Empire towards the emancipation of East Asia. The thought of those officers and men as well as others who have fallen in the fields of battle, those who died at their posts of duty, or those who met with untimely death and all their bereaved families, pains Our heart night and day. The welfare of the wounded and the war-sufferers, and of those who have lost their home and livelihood, are the objects of Our profound solicitude. The hardships and sufferings to which Our nation is to be subjected hereafter will be certainly great. We are keenly aware of the inmost feelings of all ye, Our subjects. However, it is according to the dictate of time and fate that We have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable.

Having been able to safeguard and maintain the structure of the Imperial State, We are always with ye, Our good and loyal subjects, relying upon your sincerity and integrity. Beware most strictly of any outbursts of emotion which may engender needless complications, or any fraternal contention and strife which may create confusion, lead ye astray and cause ye to lose the confidence of the world. Let the entire nation continue as one family from generation to generation, ever firm in its faith of the imperishableness of its divine land, and mindful of its heavy burden of responsibilities, and the long road before it. Unite your total strength to be devoted to the construction for the future. Cultivate the ways of rectitude; foster nobility of spirit; and work with resolution so as ye may enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State and keep pace with the progress of the world.

(Imperial Sign Manual)

(Imperial Seal)

The 14th day of the 8th month  
of the 20th year of Showa



# U.S. PACIFIC FLEET IS WIPED OUT! ARMY PUSHING IN ALL DIRECTIONS

## 464 American Planes Destroyed in Battle Of Hawaii

### 3 ENEMY SUBS SUNK

The Pacific Fleet of the United States and U.S. air forces in Hawaii have been totally destroyed by the Imperial Japanese Navy, according to a revised official announcement made by the Navy Department of the Imperial Headquarters at 3 p.m. Thursday regarding the signal victory won by the Japanese Navy. The revised announcement reads:

I. With respect to the war results of the Battle of Hawaii, the news had been announced from time to time upon receipt of confirmed reports. However, the eyewitness accounts taken by the forces which carried out the attacks and photographic records subsequently obtained prove that our naval forces attained

more brilliant, combined results than hitherto announced, totally destroying the United States Pacific Fleet and air forces in Hawaii. The combined results follow:

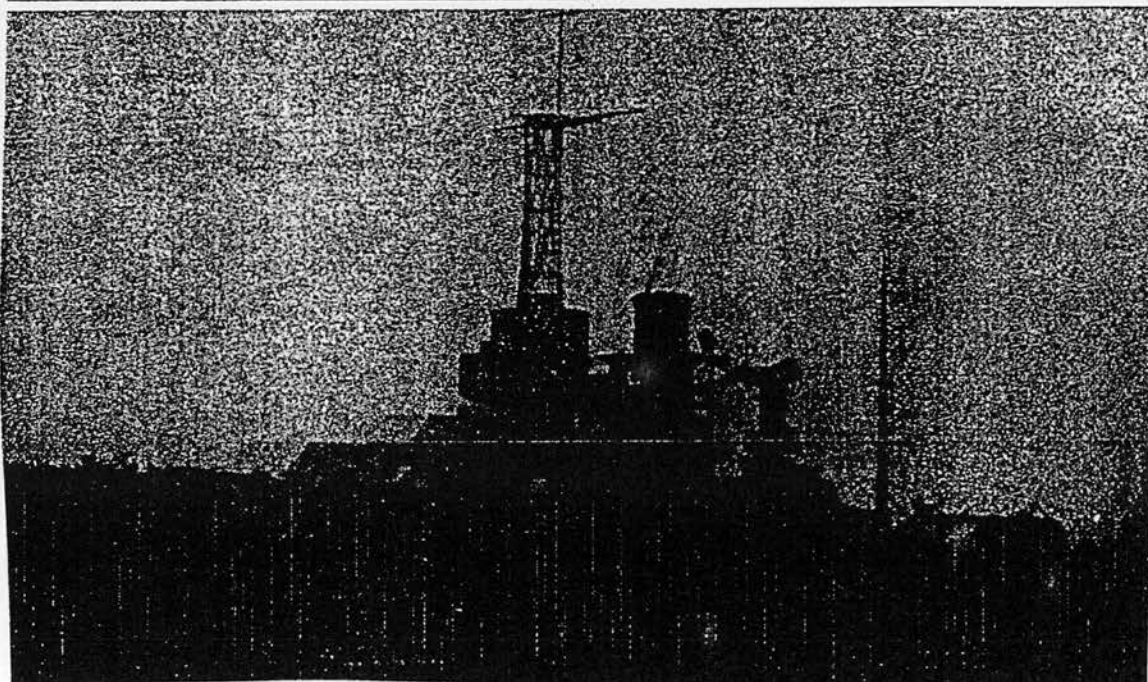
1. **Warships Sunk:** Five capital ships (one California type, one Maryland type, one Arizona type, one Utah type and one unknown type). Two cruisers of A or B categories. One oil tanker.

2. **Ships Seriously Damaged** (impossible or very difficult to repair): Three battleships (one California type, one Maryland type and one Nevada type), two light cruisers and two destroyers.

3. **Ships Partly Damaged** (considered possibly repairable): One battleship (Nevada type) and four B category cruisers.

4. **Damages Inflicted over the Enemy's army and naval air forces:** Approximately 450 planes were set on fire either by bombing or machine-gunning, and 14 shot down. Besides the foregoing, many planes were destroyed. Sixteen hangars were set afire and two destroyed.

#### Blown to Bits





# JAPANESE FORCES LAND IN D.E.I.; KUALA LUMPUR, OLANGAPO TAKEN

## Imperial Units Only 300 Kilometers From Singapore

### BURMA CITIES RAIDED

Closer and closer come the fast-stepping soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Forces to Singapore. Another base in the Malay Peninsula has been taken by the Japanese who like volcano lava from the north of the peninsula have been flowing down toward the sea to Singapore.

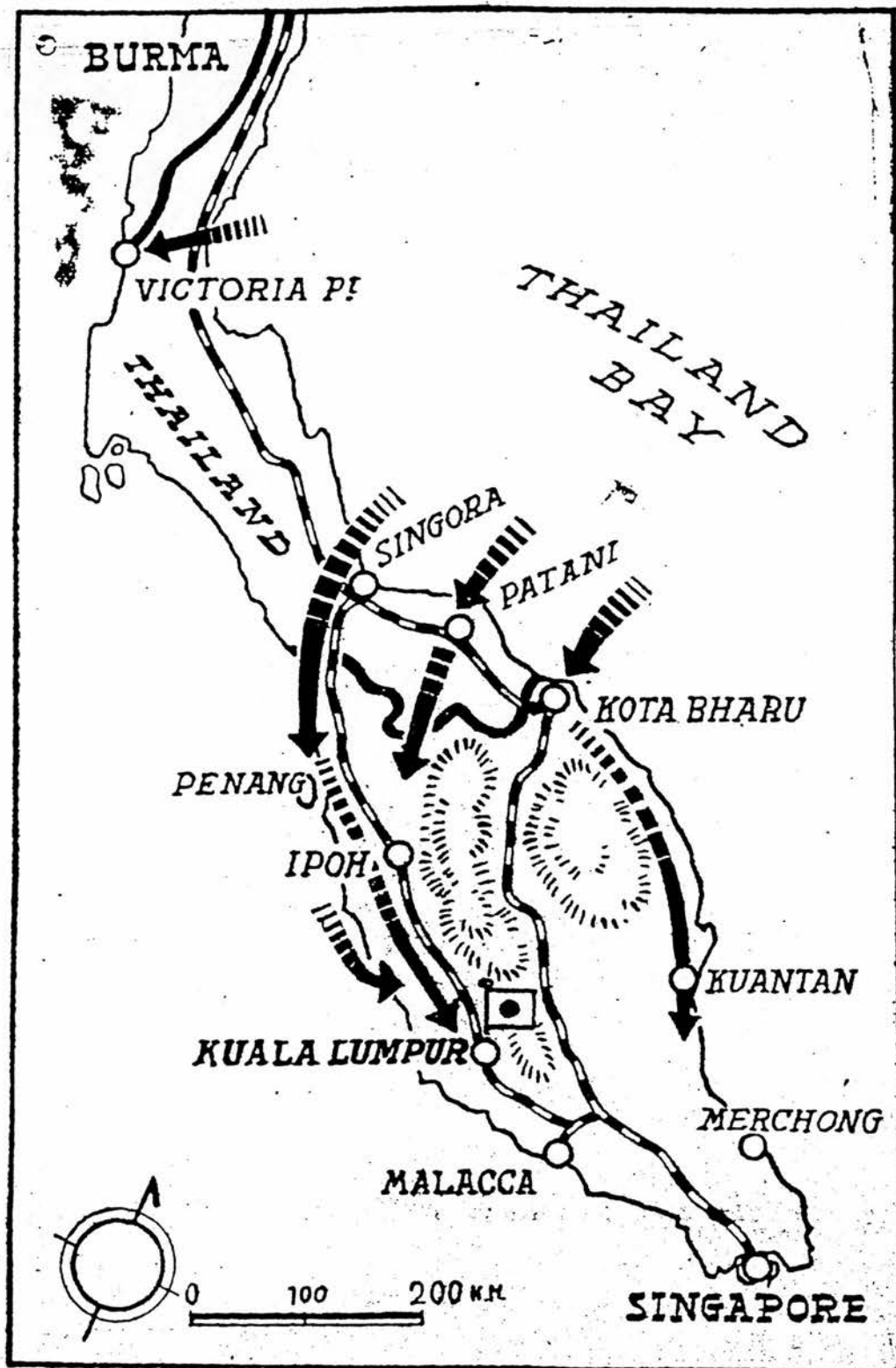
Kuala Lumpur, the capital of the Federated Malay States, has been occupied by the Japanese Forces. The Japanese are now only 300 kilometers from their objective. This rapid advance has been done in a month only.

The Imperial Headquarters Monday at 1:15 p.m. announced:

“The vanguard of the Imperial Army Force which has been pursuing the retreating enemy in the sector on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula penetrated into Kuala Lumpur at 11:30 a.m. on January 11.”

The entry of the Japanese Forces into Kuala Lumpur, point of critical importance to the enemy defending the Malay Peninsula, whose complete occupation is now a matter of hours, represented a remarkable success of the Japanese operating in the Malay sector.

# Kuala Lumpur Captured





*The Japan Times and Advertiser*, 4 January 1942; data 7.13 and 8.6

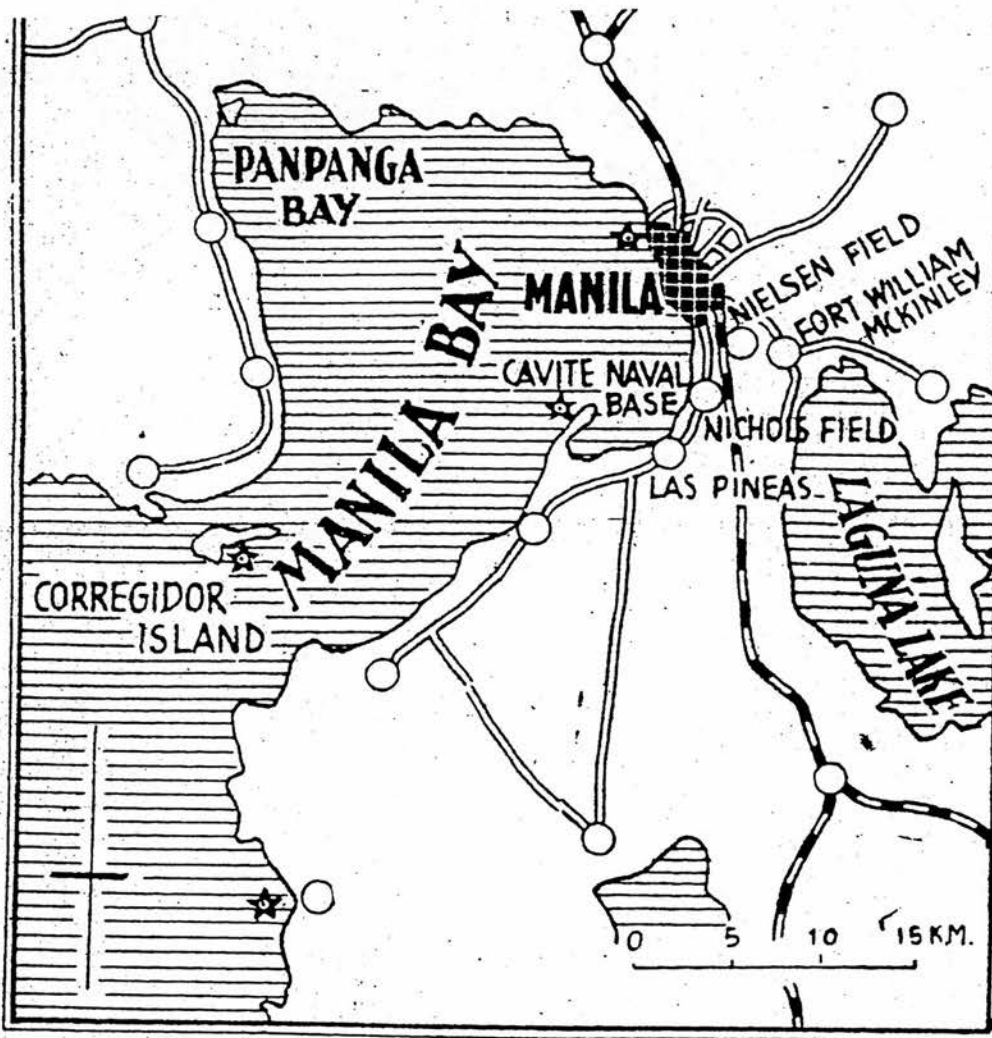
# JAPANESE ENTER MANILA

## *Capital Completely Occupied By Troops, Friday Afternoon, Says Official Announcement*

The Japanese Army forces operating in the Philippines completely occupied Manila, capital of the islands, Friday afternoon, according to the communique issued by the Army Section of the Imperial Headquarters at 4:45 p.m. Saturday.

The Japanese forces are now keeping up their onslaught upon the enemy in Corregidor and Baptang, enemy's strongholds near Manila, the communique adds.

## Arena of New Victories



With the occupation of Manila by the Imperial Forces on Saturday, the last American stronghold in East Asia has ended its existence. Shown in the map above are key areas surrounding the Philippines capital which have fallen one by one before the furious onset of the victorious Japanese Army. At the entrance to Manila Bay is Corregidor Island, now facing fierce pounding by the Imperial Fleet.

# 香港の英軍降伏す



酒井隆重最高指揮官

## 大英帝國の一角崩る 我猛攻に全要塞悉く陥落

### 昨夜七時卅分停戦命令

大本營陸海軍部發表(二十五日午後九時四十五分) 香港島の一角に余喘を保りつゝありし敵はわが晝夜を分たざる猛攻撃により本二十五日十七時五十分(午後五時五十分)遂に降伏を申出でたるをもつて軍は十九時三十分(午後七時卅分)停戦を命じたり

### 無条件降伏を申出づ

【香港にて通譯特派員二十五日發】香港島イギリス防衛軍は二十五日つひに我が軍に屈服した。自らの降伏を自覚し、自らわが軍を攻撃し難い状態に陥つた。我々の猛攻撃により、敵軍は全要塞を陥れ、残存兵力は僅かにあつた。我々の猛攻撃により、敵軍は全要塞を陥れ、残存兵力は僅かにあつた。我々の猛攻撃により、敵軍は全要塞を陥れ、残存兵力は僅かにあつた。

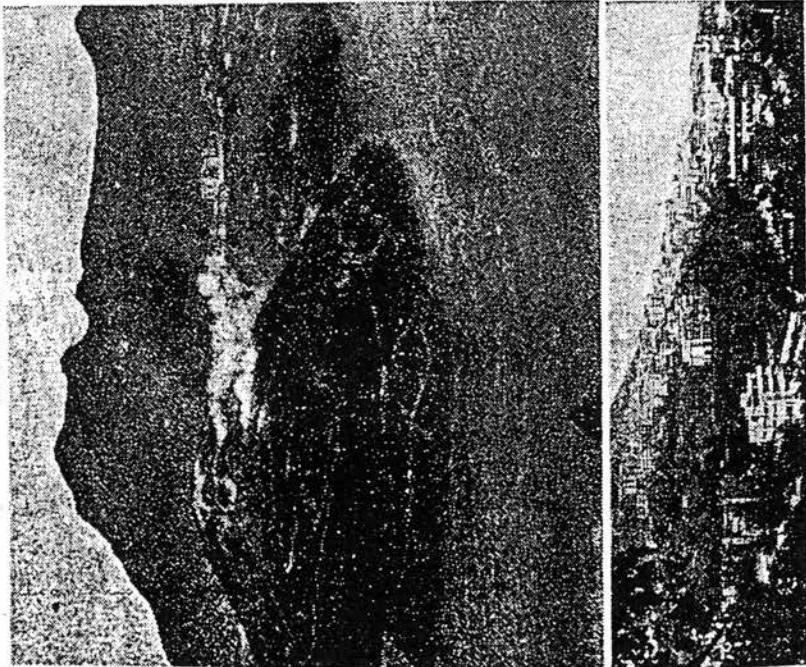
【香港にて本田特派員二十五日發】二十四日午後、香港島の中央部モリソン山に進入した我が軍が市街攻撃部隊は二十五日正午頃には占領、市内の掃蕩完了、またさらに進撃部隊は二十五日午前、時モンネット山に進入、一部はアリック・ヒル半島を占領、午前九時までに同半島の完全掃蕩を了した。アリックヒル半島には敵軍は三、四千人、残存兵力を数えた、また陸軍部は敵軍は約二千人と推定した。

### 日英兩軍首脳會見

【上海特電二十五日發】上海に達した情報によれば二十五日午後五時ヤング香港總督はイギリス軍最高指揮官と會見し、正式に降伏を申出た。

### 我陸海軍最高指揮官 酒井隆重 陸中將 海軍 新見政一 中將

大本營陸海軍部發表(二十五日午後九時四十五分) 香港方面陸軍最高指揮官は陸軍中將酒井隆、海軍最高指揮官は海軍中將新見政一なり



我が爆撃に炎上する香港デビッド砲台(地盤)上と香港市街

南支陸軍部  
地に凱旋  
敵軍は約二千人と推定した。また陸軍部は敵軍は約二千人と推定した。

### ホ

大本營陸海軍部發表  
つあり、昨二十四  
一、香港方面  
る敵軍最後の残  
二、比島方面  
に大軍上陸せよ  
て前進しつゝあ  
はラモン嶺に上  
殘存空軍に對し  
(二)ミンタナ  
三、馬來方面  
河に渡航し長谷  
は午首クアラ  
きて敵軍の  
四、英領ボル

# HONG KONG SURRENDERS! ENEMY ASKS FOR ARMISTICE AT 5:50 P.M. THURSDAY

## JAPANESE ISSUE ORDER TO CEASE FIRE

The British colony of Hongkong finally capitulated on Thursday evening, it was jointly announced by both the Army and Navy Departments of the Imperial Headquarters at 9:45 p.m. Thursday. The announcement follows:

"The enemy who had been offering vain resistance after being cornered in one section of Hongkong Island, finally proposed surrender to the Japanese troops at 5:50 p.m., Thursday, being unable to further withstand the furious onset of the Imperial Army, Navy and Air forces. As a result, an order to cease firing was issued to our fighting forces at 7:30 p.m."

# 大擴張戦にトーバルギ

## 攻猛を隊部動機敵空海

# 撃墜百廿五機

## ギルバト綜合戦果

十一月廿五日、我が軍は、大規模な空襲を遂行し、敵艦隊を撃破し、空母五隻を撃沈し、巡洋艦二隻を撃破し、航空母艦二隻を撃沈し、艦隊を撃破し、戦果を挙げた。

撃破 大和型艦 三隻、中和型艦 一隻、戦艦もしくは巡洋艦 二隻(大破炎上)、輸送船一隻(大破炎上)。

撃墜 百二十五機(内百三十三機は地上、十二機は海上)。

我方の損害 未帰還五機なり。

注 本航空戦を第三次「ギルバト」諸島沖航空戦と呼称す。

# 幸に行大に陸ふ

野々 文相閣下は、文相の幸に行大に陸ふ。大規模な空襲を遂行し、敵艦隊を撃破し、空母五隻を撃沈し、巡洋艦二隻を撃破し、航空母艦二隻を撃沈し、艦隊を撃破し、戦果を挙げた。

山崎 閣下は、山崎の幸に行大に陸ふ。大規模な空襲を遂行し、敵艦隊を撃破し、空母五隻を撃沈し、巡洋艦二隻を撃破し、航空母艦二隻を撃沈し、艦隊を撃破し、戦果を挙げた。

# 破沈撃を隻艦巡戦

# す沈撃を隻母空

# く續戦に島ワラタ

大本営発表 十一月二十五日午後五時「ギルバト」諸島方面其の後の戦況左の如し

一、帝國潜水艦は二十五日未明「マキン」島西方海面に於て敵航空母艦一隻を攻撃し之を大破(沈没概ね確實)せしめたり

## 第二次ギルバト諸島沖航空戦

二、帝國海軍航空部隊は二十六日夕刻「ギルバト」諸島西方海面に於て敵機動部隊を攻撃し航空母艦二隻を撃沈(内一隻轟沈)せり

我方の損害 未帰還一機なり

注 本航空戦を第二次「ギルバト」諸島沖航空戦と呼称す

## 第三次ギルバト諸島沖航空戦

三、帝國海軍航空部隊は二十七日夕刻「ギルバト」諸島西方海面に於て更に來襲し來れる敵機動部隊を攻撃し左の戦果を得たり

撃破 巡洋艦 一隻  
航空母艦 二隻 (内大型航空母艦 一隻 轟沈)  
巡洋艦(若くは戦艦) 一隻(大破炎上)

我方の損害 未帰還五機なり

注 本航空戦を第三次「ギルバト」諸島沖航空戦と呼称す

四、「タラワ」島及「マキン」島の戦況に就ては同島守備部隊との連絡絶え状況詳かならざるも「タラワ」島に於ては尚激戦續行中のもの如く海軍航空部隊は同島敵陣地を連續爆撃中なり

注 十一月二十日の「ギルバト」諸島西方海面に於ける航空戦を第一次「ギルバト」諸島沖航空戦と呼称す

# 給補け抜ち勝

## に一月が僅

十一月廿五日、我が軍は、大規模な空襲を遂行し、敵艦隊を撃破し、空母五隻を撃沈し、巡洋艦二隻を撃破し、航空母艦二隻を撃沈し、艦隊を撃破し、戦果を挙げた。

# OUR NAVAL FORCES SINK FIVE AIRCRAFT CARRIERS OF FOE IN GILBERT AREA

## IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS ANNOUNCEMENT

The Imperial Headquarters issued the following communique at 3 p.m. on Monday:

"The war situation in the Gilbert Islands area since last reported follows:

"(1) An Imperial submarine at dawn on November 25 attacked an enemy aircraft carrier in the sea area west of Makin Island and heavily damaged it. (Its sinking is almost certain).

"(2) Imperial Naval Air Units attacked an enemy mobile force in the sea area west of the Gilbert Islands on the evening of November 26 and sank two aircraft carriers (one of them instantaneously).

"Loss on our side:

One plane which has not yet returned.

"(Note): This aerial battle shall be called the Second Aerial Battle off the Gilbert Islands.

"(3) Imperial Naval Air Units also attacked another enemy mobile force which came attacking in the sea area west of the Gilbert Islands on the evening of November 27 and achieved the following war results:

"SUNK:

Two aircraft carriers (whereof a large-sized carrier instantaneously).

Two cruisers.

**"DAMAGED:**

One cruiser or battleship (heavily damaged and set ablaze).

"Loss on our side:

Five planes which have not yet returned.

"(Note): This aerial battle shall be called the Third Aerial Battle off the Gilbert Islands.

"(4) With regard to the war situation on Tarawa Island and Makin Island, communications with the Garrison Forces on these islands have been interrupted and the situation is not ascertained. But fierce fighting seems to be proceeding on Tarawa Island and the Navy Air Units are bombing the enemy positions on this island continuously.

"(Appendix): The aerial battle in the sea area west of the Gilbert Islands as previously reported on November 22 shall be called the First Aerial Battle off the Gilbert Islands."



# imes & A

TOKYO, SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1941

## NAVAL FORCES GAIN COMPLETE CONTROL OF CHINA WATERS

Activities of Past Five Months  
On Sea and Over Land  
Reviewed in Summary

ENTIRE COAST COVERED

Air Units Bomb Enemy Daily  
And Gain Mastery of  
Wide Territory

The progress of naval operations in China during first five months of this year is explained in a statement issued by the naval press section of the Imperial Headquarters at 5 p.m. Saturday.

The statement indicates that the Japanese forces have now gained complete mastery of the air over China.

The gist of the statement is as follows:

"Continuing the action started last year, the naval forces in China, working in harmony with the Army, conducted various types of operations along the entire coast of China and against enemy positions in the interior of that country, and achieved great results.

### Patrolled Areas

"The naval forces in North China patrolled the areas under their jurisdiction. In spite of high seas and biting cold, they visited and searched Chinese junks engaged in illicit traffic. They also endeavored to make a clean sweep of the enemy in cooperation with the Army.

"The naval forces in the Yangtze area mopped up the remnants of the Chinese forces in an area extending 1,000 nautical miles along the Yangtze River. Sometimes they attacked enemy positions in conjunction with the units of the Army which they had helped to effect a landing. They also took the danger of searching the waters for mines. They also reconnoitered waterways, and opened channels for the transportation of ground forces.

"The naval forces in the area along the Pearl River surveyed ports and harbors, cleared waterways, and helped ground forces to land in the face of enemy fire. They are now engaged in securing the complicated system of waterways in the area in which they are operating.

"The forces which are engaged in the enforcement of the blockade of the coast of China cut traffic by Chinese vessels along the entire Chinese coast, while enforcing a blockade of the principal ports of China. They got rid of

the remnants of the Chinese forces which were active on islands in the area under Japanese occupation.

"The commander-in-chief of the naval forces in China repeatedly issued statements prohibiting traffic in waters around important points in South China. This is evidence of the firm determination of the Navy to make certain that the waters of China are isolated completely.

#### South China Forces Active

"The naval forces in South China on February 4 landed a force in the face of enemy fire. The landing party presently started operations against the Hongkong-Shaokwan route of supply to Chungking. On March 3 they landed another large force on the Liuchow peninsula. In this operation the Army closely cooperated with them. They also participated in the campaign conducted in east Chekiang Province on April 19 and 20. The naval forces which landed on the eastern coast of Chekiang Province and near Foochow helped considerably the military forces in their campaign in this part of South China.

"It was these landing parties which cut routes of supply to the enemy and captured vessels and large quantities of war materials.

"The naval air force attacked enemy positions daily. As a result, the Navy has complete mastery of the air over China. In its operations it maintained close contact with ground and sea forces.

"Unfavorable weather conditions did not prevent the air force from visiting Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, and other points far in the interior. The blow it dealt to the Chinese air force was so severe that its reorganization cannot be thought of. As soon as the Burma route was re-opened squadrons of naval planes attacked the highway, destroying the Huitung and Kungkuo bridges. The result is that traffic by this important route of supply to Chungking is at a standstill. A total of 533 mines have been disposed of by the Navy since the first of the year.

This brings the number of mines dealt with by the Navy since the China affair to 6,151. A total of 121 Chinese planes have been destroyed during the first five months of the year. The enemy planes which have been accounted for by the Navy since the China affair is 2,049."

## Appendix B: Publications related to the research

**EDINBURGH WORKING PAPERS  
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## THE ANALYSIS OF WARTIME REPORTING: PATTERNS OF TRANSITIVITY

Noriko Iwamoto (DAL)

### Abstract

*This paper is an attempt to explore the relationship between linguistic structure and socially constructed reality. This research takes the view that the language in a certain text structures its own 'fictional' reality. In order to clarify this process, the theory of transitivity in Functional Grammar will be applied to Japanese wartime newspaper reporting; thus I intend to demonstrate how an unconventional or 'deviated' world is shaped by language in response to certain social demands. This study is an attempt to examine an area where systemic grammar, pragmatics and sociolinguistics meet.*

### 1. Introduction

This paper on language and politics explores the use of language for propaganda purposes during the Second World War in Japan'. I examine, principally from a semantico-syntactic point of view, how linguistic resources are used to systematise, transform, and sometimes mask reality. In wartime, a strong form of solidarity and control is essential as a device for unification and for maintaining a people's morale. For this purpose, mystification is utilised to reconstruct reality and to obscure unwanted aspects of reality or threats to national goals. Language plays a significant role in this. Hitler proclaimed that 'revolutions are made solely by the power of the word'. To provide an analysis of the range and complexity of propagandistic language', transitivity theory within the framework of Functional Grammar will be used to examine the wartime newspaper texts of Japan.

#### 1.1 'Linguistically constructed world'

My analysis of language and politics is primarily based on the idea that, as suggested by the structuralists Sapir (1956) and Whorf (1956), 'the world is linguistically constructed'. This assumption implies that language not only reflects reality, but also acts as a 'barrier' to reality, and constrains our perception of it. It follows, as a result, that language constitutes, and even manipulates, our thought and world-view. Nevertheless, it is important not to adopt an extreme version of Whorfianism or linguistic determinism, for speakers are not so naive or uncritical as to be passively constrained by their linguistic constructions. It would also be misleading to overemphasise the role of language in perceiving reality, which can even be taken to mean that there is no world outside the self, a type of solipsism.

In the specific case of journalistic reports, however, which are the subject of this paper, it is only through language that past events are reconstructed and presented to us (Kress 1983). In this sense, 'the world is linguistically constructed' in journalism, and it follows that there are alternative ways of describing 'reality' (Burton 1982:200). Such subjective representation of the external world is variously termed as 'projection' or 'presentation' (Halliday 1985), speech and thought presentation (Leech and Short 1981) and 'discourse representation' (Volosinov 1986, Fairclough 1989). As Volosinov (1986) notes, 'journalism possesses semiotic values, has its own kind of orientation toward reality, to refract reality in its own way' (cf. Wang 1993:560). By these means, journalists or propagandists, whether consciously or subconsciously, take advantage of linguistic resources, exploiting certain grammatical constructions or naming systems to 'manipulate' people's thought and behaviour. As an example, let us look at how two British newspapers reproduced the same event so differently, based on Trew's (1979) analysis. Trew

examines the following news coverage of 2 June 1975, which reported an event of civil disorder in pre-independent Zimbabwe:

< Headline >  
Police Shot 11 Dead in Salisbury Riot

< Body >  
Riot police shot and killed 11 African demonstrators and wounded 15 others .....

(The Guardian)

< Headline >  
Rioting Blacks Shot Dead by Police as ANC Leaders Meet

< Body >  
Eleven Africans were shot dead and 15 wounded when Rhodesian police opened fire on a rioting crowd of about 2,000 .....

(The Times)

(Trew 1979:98)

In the first place, lexical selection in these texts clearly reflects the difference of political stance of each newspaper: the 'African demonstrators' of the *Guardian* are expressed as 'rioting blacks' and a 'rioting crowd' in the *Times*. Syntactically, as well, the *Guardian* adopts active constructions, thereby foregrounding the 'police' as an element directly responsible for the 'killings'. By contrast, the *Times* employs passive constructions, thereby placing 'rioting blacks' in a prominent position while backgrounding the 'police' (the causer of killings) in a less focal position. In addition, the causal transaction (who did what to whom) is more vaguely expressed in the body part of the *Times*. Such clear-cut constructions as 'X shot and killed Y' are not used there as in the *Guardian*; instead, the construction 'Y were shot dead when X opened fire' is used, thereby weakening the causal relationship between the 'firing' and the 'killings'. Trew contends that these differences in lexical and syntactic choices result from the political orientation of each newspaper: the *Guardian* is more sympathetic to 'African demonstrators', the *Times* to the 'police'. Here, we can recognise how two different worlds are linguistically created out of the same reality. Thus, language not only reflects reality, but also manipulates reality. In wartime Japan, information sources were severely restricted and so the degree of reliance on the press as the citizens' source of world knowledge was heavier than during any other period. People were, therefore, required to build their own reality from whatever elements they could find, especially in newspapers.

The main theme of this paper is to analyse how a certain 'world' was deliberately built up in the wartime press in Japan. Specifically, I shall look at the process by which an undesirable reality or 'defeat' was transformed and presented in the newspaper, as if it had been a victory in order to avoid a breakdown of national morale. For this purpose, the concepts of *Ageny*, *Patient*, and *Range* from the transitivity theory of Functional Grammar are used as analytical tools.

In section 1.2, the situation of the Japanese wartime press and the social reality behind it are described. In section 2, after defining the term 'Transitivity' and introducing concepts such as *Ageny*, *Patient* and *Range*, I shall discuss briefly how the theory is relevant to political discourse in general and to the analysis of Japanese wartime reporting in particular. For the exemplification in section 3, I shall examine data from newspaper texts to show how these analytic tools can be used in this type of text analysis.

## 1.2 Wartime press censorship in Japan

The study of language and politics falls within the domain of pragmatics in the sense that it analyses the 'relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language' (Levinson 1983:9, original emphasis). Let us now look at the 'context' part of social reality that is encoded in a language structure.

With the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, in fear of breakdown of morale, a great effort was made to bar unwanted news while exaggerating and scattering 'positive' information. The Information Bureau, which controlled newspapers' editing and management, gave orders to each newspaper office and news agency as follows:

1. Suspend the publication of news not permitted by the Imperial War Headquarters.
2. Do not issue news disadvantageous to us.

(*Centron Shoowa-shi* 1938:133)

Following the first air raids on Tokyo on 18 April 1942, the Information Bureau introduced a more specific censorship policy on war reports. The Bureau gave the following orders to newspaper offices. To summarise their main points:

1. Do not report casualties other than those officially announced.
  2. Do not report casualties which would be likely to give tragic and pessimistic impressions to the public.
  3. Do not describe our losses in detail.
  4. Do not describe victims from air raids in panic and confusion.
- [ ..... ]
7. Do not write about rumours of the arrival of enemy planes.
  8. Do not write any other thing which would be likely to benefit the enemy.

Censorship Report vol. 4

(*Asahi Shinbunsha-shi, Taishoo, Shoowa Senzen Hen*: 586)

Takekura Ogata, vice-president of the *Asahi* newspaper, later State Minister in charge of the Information Bureau, declared before the Diet, that 'an active press was essential for maintaining the fighting spirit of the people' (*Asahi*, 9 Sept. 1944). This meant that newspaper writers even had to report defeats as if they had been victories. The newspaper publishers abided by these policies throughout the war. With the spread of the war, the army and the Information Bureau increased censorship (*Asahi Shinbun sha-shi, Taishoo, Shoowa Senzen Hen*: 586-7).

Lee (1939) terms the rhetorical device of reporting 'defeat as victory' as *Card Stacking*, which is the strategy of concealing or distorting negative facts. It is one of the seven propaganda devices that Lee identified as persuasive techniques to gain people's compliance without logic or evidence. As its literal meaning 'arranging cards' suggests, *Card Stacking* refers to the situation in which

the persuader ... selects only the evidence and arguments that build a case (even falsifies evidence and distorts the facts). Although there is a deliberate attempt to distort the available evidence or to select only that which would fit the speaker's conclusions, the "evidence" is presented as being a fair and unbiased representation.

(Lee 1939, quoted in Devito 1986:240)

The *Card Stacking* strategy is most vividly observed in Japanese newspapers' reports of Japanese defeats. It was one of the main factors, as far as the 'information war' was concerned, that contributed to the final defeat of Japan, misleading military and wartime leaders as well as the people in the wrong direction (Takeyama 1994:65-67).

These are the parts of social reality that were encoded in the language as we shall see shortly. To conform to these restrictions in war reporting, what linguistic devices were used to 'distort unfavourable reality'?

## 2. Relevance of the transitivity framework in political discourse

### 2.1 Definition of transitivity

Halliday's transitivity theory provides a useful linguistic framework for analysing how undesirable reality is transformed. In Halliday's terms, transitivity plays a key part in the ideational function of the clause. The ideational function of a clause is concerned with 'the transmission of ideas': the role of the ideational function is to represent the patterns of 'experiences' or, in the broadest sense, 'processes', which typically include 'actions or events of consciousness and relations' (1985:53). The factors involved in this semanticization of processes in the clause are 1) the *process* itself, which is expressed by the *Verb* phrase in a clause, 2) the *participants* in the clause, which are normally realised by the noun phrases in the clause, and 3) the *circumstances* associated with the process, which are typically expressed by adverbial phrases or prepositional phrases (101-102). Transitivity is mainly concerned with the first two elements. To put it simply, the primary principle of transitivity is how to express 'who or what does what to whom or what?' (Simpson 1993:106). Transitivity is an important semantic concept in the analysis of the 'representation' of reality in that transitivity enables us to analyse the same event and situation in different ways. Although 'perceptually the phenomenon is all of a piece', when we represent a situation or event, subjectivity comes in because we must 'analyse it as a semantic configuration' based on our subjective point of view (Halliday 1985:101). Thus, a writer's selection of one pattern of grammaticalization or configuration from among alternative ways has the effect of foregrounding certain meanings (*process, participant*) while suppressing or concealing others. So transitivity has been a useful tool in uncovering the particular mind-style or world-view encoded in the structure of a language (see Halliday 1971, Burton 1982, Kennedy 1982).

### 2.2 Some participant functions: Agent, Patient and Range

The participant functions refer to the roles of entities that are directly involved in the process: the one that does, behaves or says, together with the passive one that is done to, said to, etc. In this research, the following functions in particular will be of relevance as analytic tools: namely, *Agent, Patient and Range*. These concepts are used here with the following definitions.

*Agent*: the entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state to the affected entity. Cruise (1973) further describes agency, which characterises 'the definable sub-set of doers', as typically involving 1) volition, 2) active energy investment in carrying out the action, 3) responsibility or 'culpability'.

**Patient:** an entity perceived as affected or effected by the process; literally, an element that 'suffers' or 'undergoes' the process (cf. Blake 1994:68, Halliday 1985:103).

**Range:** the element (abstract NP) that indicates the range or scope of the process (see Halliday 1967:58-62, Halliday 1985:134-137 for the discussion of *Range*). Examples are: *games* in *They played games*, a *question* in *He asked a question*, a *favour* in *He asked a favour*, the *race* in *He ran the race*. The main function of *Range* NPs is to specify the extent of relevance of the process, which is insufficiently specified by the verb alone. For example, adding a *question* or a *favour* to the verb *ask* serves to differentiate between two different processes denoted by the verb: *questioning* and *requesting*. The *Range* in a material process usually occurs in clauses in which there is only one directed participant: *Agent*, only and no *Patient*. The most notable thing about *Range* NPs is that semantically, they do not refer to participants at all and always consist of inanimate, abstract NPs. However, grammatically, *Range* NPs are treated as if they were participants (*Patients*.) So it is easy to confuse a *Range* with an 'apparent *Patient*' in the surface structure. The *Range* element cannot enter into paraphrases with *do to do with*, whereas the *Patient* can, and it follows that a *Range* is a thing to which nothing is being 'done', so it does not have a resultative attribute as a *Patient* does (Halliday 1967:58-59, Halliday 1985:136). For example, in *They crashed the plane*, where the *plane* is the *Patient*, it can be said that 'they did something with the result that the plane was crashed'. But in *They showed courage*, where *courage* is a *Range*, it cannot be said that 'they did something with the result some change has happened to courage'. To put it simply, nothing actually changes as an affected participant in material reality, but it looks as if it did on the surface level. The way in which this 'grammatical manipulation' was exploited in Japanese wartime discourse will be discussed below.

### 2.3 Transitivity as applied to the discourse of Japanese wartime reporting

As discussed in section 1.2 on wartime censorship policy, Japanese defeats were reported in a highly distorted mode, whose rhetorical device Lee termed *Card Stacking*. It is most vividly observed in Japanese newspapers' reports of Japanese defeats. Applying Lee's ideas linguistically to Halliday's Functional Grammar, we can analyse the aforementioned participant functions', *Agent*, *Patient* and *Range* in some examples of Japanese wartime newspaper reports, to observe the *Card Stacking* strategy.

#### Analysis

##### *Agent and Patient:*

Even in defeats, the Japanese side is never described as the *Patient*, but always takes the *Agent* position as if they were the controllers of the whole situation. Only the enemy's side takes the *Patient* role (even in victory).

##### *Range:*

Naturally, nothing is gained in defeats - since the defeated one is the 'loser'. However, to maintain the discursive coherency of agentivity (continuously doing something positively even in defeat), a transitive sentence with an 'apparent *Patient*' was called for as if 'the Japanese side did something to the enemy positively'. To construct or to 'fabricate' an 'apparent *Patient*' linguistically out of reality in which materially it does not exist, *Range* is a useful linguistic tool since *Patient* as an independent entity and *Range* are often indistinguishable, on the surface at least (Halliday 1985:136). My main point here is that since V + NP prototypically denotes 'process + *Patient*', the structure 'V + *Range* NP' can be exploited to create an illusion that we have 'V + *Patient* NP'. A typical example of this in Japanese wartime reporting is *Kishin o nakashimuru koogun no shinzui o hokkushital*. (The Imperial army displayed its spirit which would make even the devil cry). This type of sentence appears frequently in reporting defeats in Japanese newspapers.

### 3. Exemplification

Now, let us see how these transitivity patterns are exemplified in an illustrative text. For this purpose, I use a report of the fighting on Atsu Island in May 1943 from *Asahi*, one of the leading newspapers in Japan. The Atsu battle was the first major defeat admitted by the Japanese government. In it the entire Japanese garrison, numbering about 2,000 soldiers, died (Shillony 1981:96). Interestingly, even though this was a major defeat, with the consecutive use of *Agent* and *Range*, from reading the text it does not sound as if the Japanese side was defeated. War reports of defeats followed the same discursive pattern as this throughout the war period in order to maintain national morale.

Note that in Japanese, a pro-drop language, a subject can be deleted, and *Agent* may be marked with the position *-wa* or *-ga* or may have no position at all. It is not a main concern here to go into grammatical detail about NP-*wa* and NP-*ga*, which are the so-called topic-marker and subject-marker respectively. Nevertheless, the important thing to stress is that, as in English, topic and subject NPs are typically but by no means always *Agents*, and that because of this there is a temptation for the reader to interpret NPs with *wa* / *ga* agentively.

- defeat at Atsu Island (May 1943)

#### ABBREVIATIONS

|      |                     |
|------|---------------------|
| AC   | accusative particle |
| COM  | complementizer      |
| COP  | copula              |
| GEN  | genitive morpheme   |
| NEG  | negative morpheme   |
| PASS | passive morpheme    |
| PERF | perfect             |
| TP   | topic particle      |

#### examples

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| • o                                |  |
| • in                               |  |
| • <i>-daran, -da, -nari, -suri</i> |  |
| • no                               |  |
| • <i>-nai, -nu, -zu</i>            |  |
| • <i>-re, -taru,</i>               |  |
| • <i>-ta, -ri</i>                  |  |
| • nu                               |  |

#### < Banner headline >

|     |             |    |               |     |              |    |         |
|-----|-------------|----|---------------|-----|--------------|----|---------|
| (1) | Atsu 100    | ni | koogun        | no  | shinzui      | o  | hakki   |
|     | Atsu Island | in | Imperial Army | GEN | spirit       | AC | display |
|     |             |    | <i>dazai</i>  |     | <i>Range</i> |    |         |

Imperial Army shows courage on Atsu Island

#### < Headline >

|     |                    |                         |                |             |              |      |             |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|------|-------------|
| (2) | Yamazaki butaichoo | ra                      | zen shootee,   | soozetsu,   | yashuu       | o    | AC          |
|     | Yamazaki Commander | others                  | all soldiers   | magnificent | night attack |      |             |
|     | <i>dazai</i>       |                         |                |             |              |      |             |
|     | kankoo,            | gyokusai,               | teki           | 2 man       | songai       | 6000 | kudara-zu   |
|     | carry out          | scattering of the jewel | enemy          | 20,000      | damage       | 6000 | po down-NEG |
|     |                    | <i>Range</i>            | <i>Patient</i> |             |              |      |             |

Commander Yamazaki and men venture magnificent night attack and lay down their lives, causing at least 6,000 enemy casualties

<Body>

(3)

Atu 100  
Atu Island

shubibutai wa  
garrison TP  
dgezai

5 gatsu 12 nichi ikoo  
May 12th since

kiwamete kon'nan-naru  
quite difficult

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

kyoobyoo  
circumstance

ka ni  
under in

kahee  
soldiers

reki  
enemy

Paizai

5 gatsu 29 nichi yoru  
May 29th night

The garrison on Atu Island had been continuing bloody battles against the superior enemy. On the night of 29 May, reaching a final decision to display the spirit of the Imperial Army, they made a gallant attack with might and main.

(4)

Jigo  
hereafter

tsuwashin  
Press

mono  
fact

to  
Comp

mitomu.  
recognise

After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped, and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives.

Jigo  
hereafter

tsuwashin  
Press

mono  
fact

to  
Comp

mitomu.  
recognise

After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped, and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives.

Jigo  
hereafter

tsuwashin  
Press

mono  
fact

to  
Comp

mitomu.  
recognise

After that, the correspondence from our troops completely stopped, and the press recognised that all had laid down their lives.

(5)

Shoobyoosha  
wounded or ill persons

ni-shite  
COP-and

koreni  
to this

Paizai

koogeki ni sanku  
attack to participate

jiketsu  
decide by themselves

seri.  
do-PERF

Shoobyoosha  
wounded or ill persons

ni-shite  
COP-and

koreni  
to this

Paizai

koogeki ni sanku  
attack to participate

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seri.  
do-PERF

Shoobyoosha  
wounded or ill persons

ni-shite  
COP-and

koreni  
to this

Paizai

koogeki ni sanku  
attack to participate

jiketsu  
decide by themselves

seri.  
do-PERF

(6)

Waga  
our

shubibutai  
garrison

wa  
TP

2000  
2000

suuhyaku mee  
some hundreds

Those who were wounded or sick and could not participate committed suicide preceding this final attack.

Waga  
our

shubibutai  
garrison

wa  
TP

2000  
2000

suuhyaku mee  
some hundreds

Those who were wounded or sick and could not participate committed suicide preceding this final attack.

ni-shite  
COP-and

buaitchoo  
commander

wa  
TP

rikugun taia  
Colonel

Yamazaki Yasuyo  
Yamazaki Yasuyo

nari  
COP

Our garrison, consisting of 2,000, was led by Commander Yasuyo Yamazaki.

(7)

Teki  
enemy

Paizai

wa  
TP

tokushu  
special

yuushuu  
superior

soobi  
military weapons

no  
GEN

2000  
2000

ni-shite  
COP-and

Teki  
enemy

Paizai

wa  
TP

tokushu  
special

yuushuu  
superior

soobi  
military weapons

no  
GEN

2000  
2000

ni-shite  
COP-and

Teki  
enemy

Paizai

wa  
TP

tokushu  
special

yuushuu  
superior

soobi  
military weapons

no  
GEN

2000  
2000

ni-shite  
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wa  
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tokushu  
special

yuushuu  
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soobi  
military weapons

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tokushu  
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yuushuu  
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military weapons

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tokushu  
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soobi  
military weapons

no  
GEN

2000  
2000

ni-shite  
COP-and

Teki  
enemy

Paizai

wa  
TP

tokushu  
special

yuushuu  
superior

soobi  
military weapons

no  
GEN

2000  
2000

ni-shite  
COP-and

The enemy, with superior military weapons, consisted of 20,000, and the damage we have inflicted on them by 28 May, at least 6,000.

(8)

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

(Correspondent Tanihagi reports) ..... Shubi  
defend suri  
do-PERF zetin  
all (people) dgezai

All the people who had been protecting the island laid down their lives, and thus Atu Island will remain in history as a sacred place, where the Imperial Army showed courage.

(Asahi, 31 May 1943)

If we follow the basic principle of transitivity, 'who does what to whom', it can be concluded from this text that the Japanese side is described throughout as the Agent, and the processes are of the action type of 'just happens' to them as a process 'outside their control'. In this discourse, the Agentive element always takes precedence over process. This can be observed in the sentences, as in (2) *Ventured a magnificent night attack* and (3) *Made a gallant attack with might and main*. Since Range NP always consists of an abstract NP, Range is often associated with metaphors. Examples include the sentence (1) *The Imperial Army shows courage* (with the connotation that it won the battles) with the same figure used in (3) and (8). The sentence (3) *Saigo no retsutai o kudashi* (passing the final decision), *saigo no retsutai o kudaru* literally means 'passing down the iron hammer' and is used metaphorically to mean 'make a final decision', comparing 'decisions' with 'hammers'. As mentioned earlier, since the Range element can easily be confused with an 'apparent Patient', it sounds as if the Japanese side did something or gained something even in their defeats. Also the negative images are effaced with euphemisms, as in for example, avoiding direct references to 'death'. *Gyokusai* (lit. 'scattering of the jewel') as in sentences (2) and (4), and *jiketsu* (lit. 'decide by oneself', meaning 'commit suicide') leave the impression that the soldiers chose to die and were not killed passively. *Heten* 'overlexicalization' strategy is at work to avoid such socially sensitive 'core words' as *shiboo* (die). In this way, the lexical level also functions to increase the sense of 'agentivity' or 'positivity'. These functions all contribute to an overall conceptual framework which maintains a flow of agentive rhetoric for the Japanese side. Conversely, in spite of

being the victors, the enemy's side always takes the *Patient* position as in the sentences (2), (3) and (7). In these wartime discourses there is no instance in which defeat is openly acknowledged, unlike the following example from peacetime discourse, a report of a soccer game in the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936, in which Japan was defeated by Italy:

<Headline >  
 (9)  
 Nippon *haijari* *tai* *Itaria* *shokkyuuzen*  
 Japan lose against Italy soccer game  
*Paitenz*

Japan loses to Italy in soccer.

<Body >  
 (10)  
 .... *Waga* *chiimu wa* *zenhan* *2-0* *to* *koothan*  
 our team TP first-half 2 versus 0 as second-half  
*Paitenz*  
 6-0 *to* *riidosa-ta* *8 tai 0* *de* *haijishi-ta*  
 6 versus 0 as overtime-PASS 8 versus 0 at loss-PERF

Our team was overtaken by the Italian team with a score of 2-0 in the first half, and 8-0 in the latter half, and was defeated.

(Tokyo Asahi ' 8 august 1936)

Japan is clearly expressed as *Patient*; what is significant is the adopting of the passive construction with the use of the passive morpheme *-re* in (10) to describe themselves. This kind of linguistic realisation was not found in the wartime 'official' discourse in Japan. The reason is simply that a different social reality requires different linguistic structures. In peacetime, the results of international encounters do not so seriously affect the course of a nation as in wartime. So there is no need to fabricate results and to deliberately construct a 'deviated world' in peacetime discourse; thus 'who does what to whom' is more clearly and directly expressed in the press in peacetime. This linguistic manifestation is the 'norm' from which a 'deviation' (wartime linguistic realisation) has diverged.

#### 4. Conclusion

As proposed at the beginning, using the framework of Functional Grammar, we have seen how a 'deviated' world can be linguistically constructed. It is 'deviated' in the sense that the Japanese side is presented as actively 'shaping reality' despite the fact that they were in a 'passive' situation on the real battlefield. What the enemy did affected nothing. To conform to the aforementioned press restrictions policy, which can be termed *Card Stacking*, a 'false' reality is shaped with these linguistic devices.

Here, I have presented how the language or style or a certain text creates its own 'fictional' reality (Burton 1982:211); i.e. how 'the most desirable' reality is constructed by language to respond to a certain social demand of a given period of time in history. This study attempted to explore the links which mediate between language structures and representations of reality. To systematise the networks that connect language structure and socially constructed reality requires a more integrative approach to semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics than the one I have given here, but I hope that I have at least outlined a way in which a more comprehensive analysis may be built on.

#### Notes

1. I would like to thank the following people for reviewing an earlier version of this paper and making valuable suggestions: Keith Mitchell, in particular, Phil Morrow, William Naoki Kumai and an anonymous EWPAL reviewer. My thanks also go to Susumu Oh-ishi for his help in analysing Japanese language. I alone am responsible for the shortcomings of this paper.
2. The definitions of propaganda vary. Lee (1939) quoted in Devito 1986:239 characterises it as 'organised persuasion; the spreading of ideas and values through a variety of persuasive devices'.
3. Lee's seven propaganda devices quoted in Devito 1986:239-240 include 'Name Calling, Glittering Generality, Transfer, Testimonial, Plain Folks, Card Stacking and Band Wagon'.
4. Halliday uses the terms *Actor-Goal* instead of *Agent-Patient* respectively. However, in the interest of simplicity, it would be desirable to explain *Range* in contrast to *Agent* and *Patient*, treating these two roles, at least for my present purposes, as equivalent to Halliday's *Actor-Goal*. cf. 'The *Agent* will ... be equivalent to the *Actor* in goal-directed material processes' (Simpson 1993:93).
5. Palmer argues that whereas 'grammatical marking is essentially language-specific, ... notional or semantic characterisations are applicable to any or all languages' (1994:5).
6. Lexis plays a significant role, as well, in signalling discourse of ideology (see, for example, Carter 1987:92-96).
7. *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* (Tokyo Asahi Newspaper) was renamed *Asahi Shinbun* in June 1941 following the amalgamation of local newspapers.

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# CONSTRUCTING REALITY THROUGH METAPHORIZING PROCESSES IN WARTIME REPORTING

Noriko Iwamoto (DAL)

## Abstract

This paper considers the relationship between the 'context of situation' and 'metaphorically construed' reality within the transitivity paradigm of Systemic Functional Grammar. Employing the transitivity model advanced by Davidsen (1992), it examines the discourse of Japanese wartime (World War II) reporting in newspapers from the perspective of grammatical metaphor. It concludes that there is a tendency for processes as well as entities to be metaphorized at critical junctures in the course of the war for the purpose of obscuring reality.

## 1. Introduction

Transitivity is a linguistic means of representing social reality by grammaticalizing the participants and processes involved in phenomena or experiences. One of the notable contributions of transitivity theory is that it provides sets of choices in grammaticalizing the same non-linguistic phenomena or experiences. The choice of grammatical patterns used to encode experience naturally affects the content significantly. Halliday notes that 'the different encodings all contribute something different in total meaning' (1994: 344). Similarly, Hodge (1990, quoted in Wang 1993: 580) argues that 'form is content, and style affects meaning' in text. Fairclough (1993: 114), from a sociolinguistic point of view, notes that 'there are always alternative ways of wording any social practice, ...[and] such alternative wordings and categorizations often realize different discourses'.

Japanese wartime (World War II) propaganda exhibited highly actor-oriented rhetoric, in order to sound positive and be persuasive, where, of course, alternative encodings were possible (Iwamoto 1995). This paper focuses on how 'PROCESS and EXTENSION' (Halliday 1994: 162) within the transitivity paradigm are projected and metaphorized in war propaganda, in order to maintain or even reinforce the positive connotation of rhetoric in highly critical domains of discourse such as those expressing death. Whether at the lexical or process level, 'choice of metaphor may be a key factor in differentiating representations in any domain, literary or non-literary' (Fairclough 1995: 114). Moreover, I will take the view that discourse in critical situations, such as those reporting death or obscuring defeats, involves a high degree of metaphorically constructed processes and entities, where more straightforward, non-metaphorical encodings are possible.

The organisation of this paper is as follows. Firstly, the 'context of situation' encoded in the texts will be introduced, including a brief history of the Pacific War and a description of the situation of the wartime press. In section 1.2, there is a description of the English-language newspapers in wartime Japan, which will be used as data for this study. Section 2 explains the model of the transitivity paradigm systematized by Davidsen (1992), putting special emphasis on the metaphorization of processes in the transitivity paradigm. In the illustrative part of section 3, that theoretical model will be applied to the analysis of newspaper texts, to demonstrate how transitivity processes are metaphorized for the purpose of obfuscation. In the first part of the exemplification section, I shall show how the transitivity process expressing the critical issue of death is metaphorized as euphemism in wartime discourse by comparing it with how it is manifested in peacetime discourse. In the second part of the section, I shall examine transitivity patterns from a diachronic perspective, comparing texts from the earlier stage of the war when Japan was doing well with other texts from the latter stage when Japan was doing badly in its war effort. The paper concludes that where the necessity for propagandistic discourse is greater, the metaphorization of processes increases.

## 1.1 The Pacific War and the wartime press as 'field of discourse'

Halliday maintains that language is understood in its relation to the 'context of situation' (Halliday and Hasan 1989), and that the 'field of discourse' or 'what is happening', which is one of the three features of the 'context of situation', is reflected in the ideational meanings. Ideational meaning is concerned with how we interpret and represent reality in language. This ideational meaning is mainly realised by the transitivity patterns of the grammar. First, let us briefly review the history of the Pacific War and the situation of the wartime press as a 'field of discourse' that is encoded in language structure.

After Japan entered the war with the U.S. and Britain on 8 December 1941, it won battles and kept conquering territory in Asia until 1942. After the devastating defeat of Japan's combined fleet at Midway in June 1942, which proved to be a turning point in the war against Japan, the whole war situation started to deteriorate for Japan. Following this, Japan continuously lost battles and suffered heavy casualties in various places. Guadalcanal in February 1943, in which 24,600 died, Attu in the Aleutians in May 1943, the first defeat recognised by the government, where the entire Japanese garrison, totaling about 2,000 soldiers, died, Saipan in July 1943, and Iwo Island in February 1945. In March 1945, the Americans landed at Okinawa, and 110,000 combatants and 100,000 non-combatants perished. On 15 August 1945, the Emperor finally accepted the Potsdam Proclamation and officially surrendered.

Several laws were enacted to expand government control over the press, particularly after 1940 (cf. Shillony 1981, Mitchell 1983). As long as Japanese forces were victorious, there was little need to distort the news, but when the retreating began, the reliability of the official statements generally declined, and even defeats were reported as victories with bombastic language style (Shillony 1981, Yamana 1989, *Asahi shinbun shu-shi* 1991). As in many countries at war, maintaining public morale was considered to be more important than pursuing the truth.

Ryoutaro Shiba (1978: 7-8), a historical novelist, discusses how the inflated bombastic, ornamental style in war reporting of the Japanese Army historically, dates back to the period of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 to 1905. The features of this style include, for example, the use of superlative adjectives such as 'the morale of our troops is the most vigorous'. The Army's reports, in general, were lacking in objectivity which is supposed to be very important in war reports. After this war, this style became established as one of the distinctive features of their war reports, and it was very pervasive during the Pacific War.

This social reality of an institutionalized system for maintaining people's morale through the press is the 'field of discourse' that was manifested in language. As will be discussed, the changes in war reporting over time, as Japan moved from winning to losing, are clearly configured in the transitivity patterns in propaganda.

## 1.2 English-language newspapers in wartime Japan

Since English was the language of Japan's enemy nations, it had to be banished from the life of Japan during the war. However, the Japanese people faced a dilemma here: English had been the principal foreign language in Japan for a long time, particularly in the area of science and technology. Moreover, it was the only language through which Japan could communicate with the occupied nations in Asia (Shillony 1981: 148). English-language newspapers such as *The Japan Times and Advertiser*, which contained the same highly propagandistic and nationalistic discourse as Japanese-language newspapers, continued to appear throughout the war along with *Contemporary Japan*, *Nippon Today* and *Tomorrow and Cultural Nippon*. Nevertheless, vernacular newspapers and magazines that had foreign titles were encouraged to 'Japanize'; thus the English daily *The Japan Times and Advertiser* became the *Nippon Times* (now the *Japan Times*) in 1943 (Shillony 1981: 148).

As data for the analysis I have used the *Japan Times and Advertiser*, later called the *Nippon Times*, which was 'the English mouthpiece of the Foreign Ministry' (Reynold 1991: 109). They were written and edited by the Japanese, and reflected Japanese positions and world-views. These English-language newspapers addressed themselves to foreigners in Japan and to English-speaking readers in the occupied territories, but

they were also read by many Japanese for the purpose of practicing English (Shillony 1981: 149). Thus, Japan's propaganda activities were pervasive and not restricted to publications in the Japanese language, despite the fact that English was the language of the enemy nations and its use for other functions was discontinued.

## 2. Transitivity paradigm

My analysis of Japanese wartime propaganda is based on the model of transitivity paradigm for *Material Processes*, which was developed by Davidsé (1992). *Material Process* is concerned with process of doing in the physical world. A simplified version of Davidsé's system network is presented in figure 1, employing sub-categorizations or sub-classifications that are relevant to my analysis.

### 2.1. Three types of transitive constellations: EFFECTIVE, MIDDLE and PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures

Davidsé presents three types of constellations of *Material Processes*: (1) the EFFECTIVE *Actor-Goal* structure - effective in the sense that *Goals* are coded as what is affected. Transitive EFFECTIVE structure is further divided into goal-directed, intentional process, such as *He kicked the ball*, and goal-achieving, non-intentional process, such as *The lightning hit the tree*. (2) The MIDDLE structure consists of *Actor-Process* constellations, which do not extend to a *Goal*. MIDDLE structure is further divided into supervenient (e.g. *He fell, he died*) and non-supervenient, controllable process (e.g. *The children are swimming*). (3) 'Metaphorical' PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures consist of *Actor-Process-Range* constructions where *Ranges* are coded as NON-AFFECTED. The examples of this structure include *He died an honourable death*, *The athlete jumped the hurdle*. In Halliday's term, *Range* means a continuation or restatement of process (1967, 1994). The PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structure is located between the EFFECTIVE and the MIDDLE structure in the sense that 'Ranged structures basically represent a middle process' since 'the *Range* is not a real participant in the process but simply specifies its scope' (Davidsé 1992: 196). Nevertheless, the Ranged structure (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure) looks like an EFFECTIVE structure (Davidsé 1992: 124). Davidsé's contribution lies in her setting this categorical concept of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE between EFFECTIVE and MIDDLE structures, which she terms 'metaphorical' (108).

Regarding the possibility of 'metaphorization' of this PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, Davidsé maintains (1992: 127):

'Within the transitive paradigm the *Actor* is the most nuclear participant; this participant cannot possibly be 'reduced' or 'metaphorized'. The central transitive variable is: will the action be extended or not to a *Goal*? ... The grammatical metaphor of 'ranging' operates on this area of variability within the model by creating a 'pseudo-extension' of the process. Cognate *Ranges* such as *sing a song, die a horrible death* restate the process: they represent 'an extension inherent in the process' (Halliday 1967: 59).

This is why the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure is metaphorical in terms of grammaticalizing process and extension while EFFECTIVE and MIDDLE structures are more straightforward in the encoding of the processes selected. The PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which thus constitutes metaphorical extension, is extensively exploited in Japanese wartime propaganda, especially in critical stages of the war, because although it semantically represents a MIDDLE structure, it looks like an EFFECTIVE structure. In particular, combined with the uses of superlative adverbs or adjectives, the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, which is a semantically MIDDLE structure, can give the impression of being an EFFECTIVE structure of intentional, goal-directed process rather than a non-intentional goal-achieving process, thus adding a stronger positive connotation to the flow of discourse. An example of this is *Heroes met gallant deaths*; this is a MIDDLE structure (i.e. heroes died), but looks like a goal-directed EFFECTIVE structure (discussed in 2.3). However, in peace-time 'non-critical' discourse (defined in 3.2), fewer metaphorical patterns are used; for instance, in describing death, the one who died constitutes an *Actor* in the transitive MIDDLE structure, who is 'out of control' in a 'supervenient' event (e.g. *He died*). Alternatively the one who died may be encoded

as a *Goal* or *Affected* in an EFFECTIVE passive structure (e.g. *He was killed*) (See Figure 1). I return to this point in section 3.

Of course, the grammatical feature of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure should not always be equated with euphemism and obfuscation. A structure of this type can be used for very different purposes, for example, *He died a horrible death, They declined into insignificance*. My point is that the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure is one of the useful grammatical features that is likely to be exploited for euphemism or obfuscation in the 'critical' discourse of war propaganda because of its abstraction and metaphorization functions. It can be used to reinforce a positive connotation in discursive flow.

### • MIDDLE

• + supervenient *He fell. He died.*  
*Actor* [- control] - *Process*

• - supervenient *The children are running.*  
*The soldiers are marching.*  
*Actor* [+ control] - *Process*

• PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE *It's raining cats and dogs.*  
*He died the death of a saint.*  
*They are running a race.*  
*Actor - Process - Range*

### • EFFECTIVE

• goal-directed *The teacher hit the child.*  
*The lion is chasing the tourist.*  
*Actor* [+ intentional] - *Process - Goal*

• goal-achieving *The doctor accidentally touched a nerve.*  
*The arrow hit the target.*  
*Actor* [- intentional] - *Process - Goal*

Figure 1 Material Processes: primary transitive systems (cf. Davidsé 1992: 130)

## 2.2 Nominalizing metaphor and thematization within the transitivity paradigm

In relation to the abstraction (i.e. transfer from a concrete to an abstract sense) associated with metaphorization discussed here, it is important to consider the issue of nominalization. Lyons (1977: 445) maintains:

Reference to both second-order entities and third-order entities<sup>1</sup> is made commonly, both in English and in other languages, by means of phrases formed by the process of nominalization.

Nominalization is a grammatical means of abstracting and neutralizing causality or 'who does what to whom or to what'; so this transformation is useful in propagandistic discourse in that it can take the reader's thought away from the unfavourable reality. To reiterate, referring to second and third-order entities by using nominalized forms involves a function of obfuscation.

Another function of nominalization is that it is possible to convert a process into a theme-like element, or to transfer non-participant meanings into participant-like ones. Halliday terms this process 'nominalizing metaphor' within a broader framework of the 'ideational metaphor', or grammatical metaphor. The nominalizing metaphor produces a high level of abstraction in text (Martin 1992). The importance of nominalization in grammatical metaphor is widely discussed in the paradigm of systemic grammar (for example, Jones 1988, Ravelli 1988, Martin 1992, Halliday 1989, Halliday and Martin 1993). According to Halliday:

Nominalizing is the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor. By this device, processes (congruently worded as verbs) and properties (congruently worded as adjectives) are reworded metaphorically as nouns; instead of functioning in the clause, as Process or Attribute, they function as Thing in the nominal group (Halliday 1994: 352).

In regard to the noun-theme relationship, Halliday also says, 'dressing up as a noun is the only way to be thematic' (1989: 74). Thus, complex passages can be 'packaged' in nominal form as Themes (Halliday 1994: 353). Examples of this include:

there is no absolute truth → the non-existence of absolute truth  
they were able to enter the lab. → their access to the lab.  
the weather was getting better → an improvement in the weather

Through metaphorical realisation which involves nominalization, 'the idea of processes are still encoded, and yet it is things (i.e. non-existence, access, improvement) which have been realised' (Ravelli 1988: 135). In the transitive PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure, Ranges often consist of processes, or second-order entities which have been thematized in this way. Matthiessen (1992: 56) also suggests that grammatical metaphor is a second-order use of grammatical resources. By 'second-order' reality, Matthiessen refers to 'the reality brought into existence by language itself' (1992: 42). When processes are replaced by (second-order) nominals through nominalization, some information is lost (Halliday 1994: 353). It is useful in the case of propaganda if process itself is thematized when it is necessary to efface what was lost or gained, as in defeats in the war.

Another aspect of nominalization is the 'greater potential that is open to nouns in contrast to verbs', for nouns can be modified in different ways and can be thus expanded more easily than verbs (Halliday 1989: 95, 1994: 147). As a specific example of the greater potential of nouns, it is difficult to replace nouns by verbs in examples such as *make three silly mistakes, have a nice hot bath, make a vigorous final attack, and meet a heroic honourable death*, using the verbs, *mistake, bathe, attack and die*. In these cases, processes are represented by the combination of lexically empty process verbs (*make, have, and meet*) with nouns indicating the action or event (*mistake, bath, attack and death*) (Halliday 1989: 95). The resulting nominal groups (i.e. adjectives + nouns), such as *a vigorous final attack and a heroic honourable death* can then function as participants and not as process verbs (Halliday 1994: 147). These so-called nominal metaphors were extensively used at critical stages of the propaganda war, as will be discussed shortly.

### 2.3. The uses of Attitudinal Epithet

Epithets suggest some quality of an entity, and traditionally are called adjectives. They can refer to an objective quality of the thing such as *red, yellow, old, striped, windy*, or they can be expressions of the speaker's subjective attitude towards it, such as *lovely, fantastic, beautiful, valuable, meaningless* (Halliday 1994: 184). Halliday terms the latter type of Epithets 'Attitudinal Epithets' and they represent an 'interpersonal element', serving an 'attitudinal function' (Halliday 1994: 184).

These Attitudinal Epithets were abundantly used in Japanese wartime propaganda. As previously mentioned, the use of superlative adjectives and adverbs was one of the distinctive stylistic features of the war reporting of the Japanese Army since the period of the Russo-Japanese War (Shiba 1978: 7-8). Which function do they have in the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures (Actor-Process-Range) in question? One of the characteristics of Ranges that consist of nominalized processes is that they can be modified or specified by Epithets for quantity or quality, as in *They played four good games of tennis* (Halliday 1994: 147-149). The uses of Attitudinal Epithets which modify nominalized Ranges in PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structures contributed to the propagandists' effort to make PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures look like EFFECTIVE structures. Some examples are the word *glorious* in the sentence *He died a glorious death*, or the word *heroic* in the sentence *He died a heroic death*. Although Halliday says that Epithets consist of adjectives or verbs, I would suggest that, in a broader sense, adverbs may be included as Epithets in the sense that they serve the same 'attitudinal function' of representing the speaker's subjective attitude. A typical example from Japanese war propaganda would be the word *gallantly* in the sentence *They gallantly*

*met death*. To say *They gallantly met death*, sounds more goal-directed than to simply say *They died*, although these two sentences share a certain core meaning. With the use of these Attitudinal Epithets, a connotation of goal-directedness is conveyed in sentences, with the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures.

### 2.4. Agent-Carrier and Attribute in Relational Process

It is not only PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures in Material Process that are exploited to create the image of EFFECTIVE structures; a construction in Relational Process is often used to metaphorically present a process as if it were a transitive EFFECTIVE structure (Actor-Process-Goal), although Relational Processes usually merely represent an abstract relationship between entities and quality.

Relational Process is concerned with process of being in the world of abstract relations. One of the dominant constructions of Relational Processes is the *Carrier-Process-Attribute* structure in the attributive mode. The attributive mode means the condition where 'an entity has some quality ascribed or attributed to it'. This quality is called the *Attribute*, and 'the entity to which it is ascribed is called *Carrier*' (Halliday 1994: 120). For example, in *She is happy*, *she* is the *Carrier* and *happy* is the *Attribute*. Fawcett (1987) presents the compound role of *Agent-Carrier*, which has the quality of both *Agent* and *Carrier*. Examples of this include *she in She kept very quiet not to disturb a sleeping baby*, and *John in John finally became the boss after eight years' hard work* (Fawcett 1987: 154).

What is relevant to my analysis of war propaganda is that the construction *Agent Carrier-Process-Attribute* (abstract second-order nominals) in Relational Process with Attitudinal Epithets is also exploited to create the impression of *Actor-Material Process-Goal* (transitive EFFECTIVE structure). For example, *The soldiers manifesting superb spirit or They demonstrated the true mettle of Japanese fighting men*. Here the *soldiers* and *they* are *Carriers*, and *spirit* and *mettle* are *Attributes*, and *manifest* and *demonstrate* are Relational Process verbs in respective sentences. Unlike the case of the *Actor-Material Process-Goal* construction, the physical world is not directly affected by Relational Processes. But it gives the image that this Relational Process construction positively creates or affects something as if it were an *Actor-Material Process-Goal* structure. This may be because *spirit* and *mettle* can give the impression of being physical discrete objects (Lyons' first-order entities) or Goals existing in the material world although they are simply *Attributes* consisting of abstract second-order entities that are ascribed to *Carriers*. The same can be said of the passive construction of this type in Relational Process - that is, *Attribute-Relational Process-(Agent-Carrier)*. For example, *True heroism demonstrated*, or *The martial spirit displayed by our Imperial garrison on Atsu Island* (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition). *Heroism* and *martial spirit* are *Attributes* and *our Imperial garrison* is the *Agent-Carrier*. But these sentences create the impression of *Goal-Material Process-(Actor)* constructions as if *heroism* and *martial spirit* are existing things in the physical world as first-order nominals.

This construction in Relational Process appears a lot especially in later stages of the war, as will be discussed in the following section.

### 3. Exemplification

This section analyses, as examples of war propaganda, illustrative texts from *Japan Times and Advertiser* and the *Nippon Times*, using Davids's transitivity model combined with Halliday's nominalizing metaphor and Attitudinal Epithets. It then compares the data with that from *Japan Times* (as examples of peacetime discourse). Firstly, I will consider how death is represented euphemistically within the transitive paradigm, and secondly, look at the diachronic changes in transitivity patterns during wartime. It should be emphasized that the significance of the grammatical data is in the choice of one form rather than another to represent the same non-linguistic events or processes. Of course, differences in expression are not 'random accidental alternatives' (Fowler 1991: 4). The choice of grammatical patterns used to encode the same experience carries ideological significance (Fowler 1991: 4).

### 3.1 Euphemisms for 'death' and transitivity metaphors

Death is the most sensitive but unavoidable aspect of war. New terms of reverence were created at the lexical level in Japanese as euphemisms, incorporating traditional cultural values. For example, *gyokuzai* (lit. smashed jewels), is an allusion to an ancient Chinese text about how a man of moral superiority prefers to see his precious jewels smashed than to compromise with others. Another popular metaphorical term was *sango* (lit. falling of cherry blossoms). Cherry blossoms had long been valued by the Japanese as much for their ephemerality as for their beauty; no sooner have they reached perfection than they fall. Also *jizetsu* (lit. decide by oneself, meaning 'commit suicide') was used, which connotes the desirability of choosing one's own destiny rather than having it forced upon one by others.

Notice that these metaphors were lexicalized in Japanese; importantly, the "interest" or "relevance" areas of a language community are relatively densely lexicalized, because they become generally accepted and thus conventionalised' (Quirk and Stein 1993: 47-48). To use Halliday's terms, 'the ideational content is densely packed in nominal constructions' (1994: 352) in referring to some relevant areas of a language community. Now, the question is how English-language newspapers used these lexicalized euphemisms.

One of the critical problems involved in translation is the issue of equivalence. As Meetham and Hudson (1972: 713 quoted in Belt 1991: 6) maintain:

Texts in different languages can be equivalent in different degrees (fully or partially equivalent), in respect of different levels of presentation (equivalent in respect of context, of semantics, of grammar, of lexis, etc.) and at different ranks (word-for-word, phrase-for-phrase, sentence-for-sentence).

Because of the gap in equivalence in levels or ranks between different languages, something can always be 'lost' in the translation process (Belt 1991: 6). No doubt, literal translations of concepts such as *smashed jewels* or *falling of cherry blossoms* do not sound like natural English. Nevertheless, an effort is commonly made to retain the author's intention or 'communicative values' (in this case, 'to glorify death'). In this instance, what was lexicalized in Japanese as euphemism was expressed, exploiting certain PROCESS-EXTENSION types in English to maintain the same communicative values: specifically, by using the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structures, which constitutes metaphorical extension, as one kind of euphemism.

In referring to death, PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures are widely used in collocation with Attitudinal Epithets, such as *heroic*, *glorious*, and *unflinchingly*. Nominalized processes such as 'death' or 'end' are thematized so that the reader's attention may be focused more on 'process' (what they did) than on the results. Consider some examples from a text reporting Japanese total defeat at Atsu Island:

#### Abbreviations

*Pr.* = *Process*    *Mat.* = *Material*    *Rel.* = *Relational*    *Cir.* = *Circumstance*  
*Ag.* = *Carrier*    *Agnt.* = *Agent-Carrier*

- (1) BRAVE JAPANESE SOLDIERS AT ATTU MEET HEROIC END  
*Actaz* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range*  
 (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943)
- (2) HEROES DIE GLORIOUS DEATH  
*Actaz* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range*  
 (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition)
- (3) ... Colonel Yasuyo Yamazaki, the commander, and brave men of the Attu Japanese  
*Actaz* *Agnt.* *Rel.* *Range*  
 garrison corps    the most heroic and glorious death in a fight  
*Pr.* *Mat.* *Range*

against heavy odds ...

(Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition)

(4) ... the defending forces, ... met their heroic deaths.  
*Actaz* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range*

(Nippon Times, 11 June 1943)

(5) ... They (soldiers at Attu) gallantly met death.  
*Actaz* *Cir.* *Mat.* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range*

(Nippon Times, 4 September 1943)

(6) ... 2000 defenders of Attu island ... met death unflinchingly  
*Actaz* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range* *Cir.* *Mat.* *Range*

with a smile on their faces  
*Cir.* *Mat.* *Range*

(Nippon Times, 4 September 1943)

(7) ... the men of the Imperial Forces stood their ground to the very last man.  
*Actaz* *Pr.* *Mat.* *Range* *Cir.* *Extaz*

(Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition)

These sentences constitute metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE patterns (*Actor-Process-Range*). In (2) and (3), *Range* simply restates the process as in 'die a glorious death'. 'Death' here exemplifies 'an extension inherent in the process' (Halliday 1967: 59). It is a characteristic of *Ranges* consisting of nominalized processes that they can be modified or specified for quantity or quality (Halliday 1994: 149), such as in (3) 'died the most heroic and glorious death'. Nominalized *Ranges* (*death*, *end*) thus modified or specified by Attitudinal Epithets (*heroic*, *glorious*, *gallantly*, *unflinchingly*) in PSEUDO-TRANSITIVE structures, which Halliday terms *Quality Ranges* (*glorious death*, *heroic end*) connote voluntary, courageous acts of dying chosen by the soldiers themselves in propagandistic discourse. The words 'death' and 'end' have to do with nominalizing metaphor in the sense that they are nominalized processes (second-order entities) rather than objects (first-order entities) (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 19). These nominalized processes are 'dressed up as Themes' so that PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures which semantically represent MIDDLE structures, give the impression of EFFECTIVE structures. In this way, a positive, goal-directed connotation increases.

The expression 'meet death' in (1), (4), (5) and (6) can be considered metaphorical in a double sense, if we extend the term to involve a transfer of meaning from material to mental processes, as in 'I cannot grasp it' or 'I don't follow' (Halliday 1994: 340). The words 'death' and 'end' are already metaphorical because the process of dying is packaged in nominal forms in these words (i.e. nominalizing metaphor). There is a second metaphorical transference: material process is used like mental process. 'Meet' is usually used in material processes, but here by saying 'meet death' or 'meet heroic end', it also connotes a mental process that took place within the consciousness of a person. In this way, these two steps of metaphorical transference are involved.

(7) implicitly suggests that all the men of the forces died. But this example also connotes positive, goal-directed, intentional action of the soldiers. 'Their ground' in 'stood their ground' is a *Range* of second-order nominal, and specifies the scope of the process verb 'stood'; 'stood' and 'their ground' lie along a single continuum since they do not exist independent of each other as in the relationship between 'Process + Goal'. But 'their ground' looks like a *Goal* (i.e. a Thing, a first-order nominal) in the Effective structure, which the soldiers obtained or positively acted upon. A pessimistic expression 'to the very last man' is pushed backward in a circumstantial clause, and positive connotation is maintained in this way.

In discussing 'death', the matter of propriety is also at issue as well as its grammatical realisation. The Battle of Attu, being the first major defeat recognised by the Japanese government, still reported 'death' openly as in the above examples, even if euphemistically. In later stages of the war the fact of death was not even openly reported as casualties in the main battles in which Japan lost (see section 3.3.2 for further discussion).

### 3.2 Possible transitive alternatives to encode death: comparison with peacetime transitive patterns

Let us consider how peacetime discourse exhibits less use of metaphorical transitivity patterns than wartime propaganda, to refer to the same phenomenon of death, in order to characterize the nature of the data as propaganda more clearly. Characterization necessitates comparison, and so 'if something is stated metaphorically, it should be metaphorical by reference to something else' (Halliday 1994: 342). For comparison with peacetime discourse, it is necessary that the treatment of death in peacetime discourse be further divided into two sub-categories: 'critical' peacetime disaster stories and 'non-critical' disaster stories. The former refers to events which could be interpreted as a sort of national crisis in which the authority's or administration's credibility is likely to be questioned; for example, the speech written for Ronald Reagan after the explosion of the 'Challenger' space shuttle in January 1986. The latter refers to inevitable events that take place beyond control of the authority, such as natural disasters. In reporting events of the latter type, the media need not be so sensitive to their effect on public opinion or morale as in wartime or as in the case of 'critical' peacetime disaster events. For comparison with wartime discourse, 'non-critical' disaster stories are used in this analysis since it is expected that they exhibit more clear-cut, less metaphorical grammatical forms than peacetime 'critical' stories in describing death. In 'non-critical' peacetime stories, death can be expressed in a straightforward way, directly and clearly without relying on euphemism, in transitive EFFECTIVE or MIDDLE structures without using the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures or Attitudinal Epithets. The following are some examples from 'non-critical' peacetime discourse. (8) reports on deaths from drug use, (9) on typhoon casualties, (10) on a massacre in a place far-away from Japan, and (11) reports on the shooting down of a South Korean civilian airliner by Soviet fighters.

(8) 20 DIED FROM SIDE EFFECTS OF DRUG IN 1982  
*Actaz* [-control] *Pr.:Mat* *Cir.:Cause*

---- MIDDLE structure  
 (The Japan Times, 13 September 1983)

(9) At least 1,400 persons were killed in addition to 5,200 injured ...  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat* *Pr.:Mat*  
 throughout Japan in the typhoon ...  
*Cir.:Location*

--- EFFECTIVE structure  
 (The Japan Times, 22 September 1934)

(10) WAR SPREADS IN LEBANON; 70 CHRISTIANS MASSACRED  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat*

--- EFFECTIVE structure  
 (The Japan Times, 12 September 1983)

(11) ... 269 people (were) killed when Soviet fighters shot down  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat* *Cir.:Time*  
 a South Korean civilian airliner

--- EFFECTIVE structure  
 (The Japan Times, 12 September 1983)

(8) is a clear-cut non-metaphorical expression of dying.<sup>9</sup> In (8) '20 (people)' constitutes an *Actor* in the transitive MIDDLE structure, who is 'without control' over the process and died from a 'superventive' event - at least, such an impression is given, especially since there is no use of Attitudinal Epithets to 'glorify' death. Unlike in war discourse, the process of dying is described as something beyond human control. (9), (10) and (11) encode the victims as the affected who were passively killed in the non-metaphorical, EFFECTIVE structure of passive construction (*Goal* - *Process*), and they encode the killing as the result of an effective action performed by some external agency. If in war discourse, deaths were reported simply as 'Japanese soldiers died' in a MIDDLE structure with no Attitudinal Epithets, or passively as 'the Japanese

soldiers were killed in action' in an EFFECTIVE passive structure in which those killed are represented as the affected, only negative and receptive tones would be produced.

Thus, what was lexicalized in the Japanese language as euphemism (e.g. *tanga*, *gyokusai*, *jikeisu*) was realized at process level in English, using metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structures, retaining the writer's original intention of glorifying death in war propaganda.

The use of this grammatical form is the choice rather than another to encode the same event of death. But 'the different encodings contribute something different to the total meaning in discourse' (Halliday 1994: 344). The choice was not necessarily due to grammatical awareness of propagandists about grammatical metaphor, nominalization or the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE construction, but rather to the pressure from propagandistic discourse which favoured the selection of certain forms. Halliday and Martin (1993: 82) maintain that certain grammatical forms in discourse evolve rather 'naturally' in response to pressure from the discourse'. Specifically, concerning grammatical metaphor or metaphorical significance of 'they met glorious deaths', instead of simply saying 'they died', there was no necessity for them to be intentional in their grammatical use or choice. But the flow of discourse which intends to 'glorify death' preferred to use the former rather than the latter form.

### 3.3 Diachronic changes in transitive patterns during wartime: from EFFECTIVE to PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE

Since the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE construction has the advantage of looking EFFECTIVE although it is semantically MIDDLE, it was broadly used particularly in the later stages of the war, in describing Japanese defeats. When Japan was successful in the earlier stages of the war (1941-1942), there was no need to resort to a propagandistic, ornamental language style. Since Japan was winning and gaining territory, the results were reported in a straightforward way, using EFFECTIVE structures. Therefore, headlines of war reports in newspapers in 1941-1942 were full of transitive EFFECTIVE structures: *Actor-Process-Goal* (*Goal* here: Lyons' first-order nominals), ((12), (13), (15), (16) and (18)), or passives, *Goal-Process-(Actor)* ((13), (14), (15) and (17)) as illustrated in the examples below.

#### 3.3.1. When Japan was doing well: early stages of the war

(12) JAPAN TAKES OVER ENEMY PROPERTIES  
*Actaz* *Pr.:Mat* *Goal*  
 (Japan Times & Advertiser, 9 December 1941)

(13) JAPANESE DOWN 202 U.S. PLANES ON PHILIPPINES  
*Actaz* *Pr.:Mat* *Goal*  
 Entire Area Is Blasted by Air Force on Thursday  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat* *Actaz*  
 (Japan Times & Advertiser, 12 December 1941)

(14) KOWLOON OCCUPIED BY JAPANESE ARMY IN TERRIFIC BATTLE  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat* *Actaz* *Cir.:Manner*  
 City Fully Occupied By Imperial Army on Friday  
*Goal* *Cir.:Manner* *Pr.:Mat* *Actaz* *Cir.:Time*  
 (Japan Times & Advertiser, 13 December 1941)

(15) ARMY RAIDS MALAY, BURMA BASES; PHILIPPINE AIR FORCE WIPED OUT  
*Actaz* *Pr.:Mat* *Goal* *Goal* *Pr.:Mat*  
 MANILA PARALYZED; BRITISH MECHANIZED DIVISION IS DESTROYED  
*Goal* *Pr.:Mat* *Goal* *Pr.:Mat*

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 15 December 1941)

(16) JAPANESE UNITS TAKE KUCHING; ARMY OCCUPIES IPOH, MALAYA  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Goal* *Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Goal*

SUBS SINK 10 SHIPS IN PACIFIC  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Goal*

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 30 December 1941)

(17) HONG KONG FULLY OCCUPIED  
*Goal* *Cir.:Manner* *Pr.:Mal.*

(18) ARMY CRUSHING ENEMY IN LUZON; OCCUPIES BASE IN WEST MALAYA  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Goal* *Pr.:Mal. Goal* *Pr.:Mal. Goal*  
(Japan Times & Advertiser, 16 December 1941)

These are some typical examples of headlines that commonly appeared in an early stage of war, 1941-1942. They generally represent EFFECTIVE transitive structures since Japan was winning, and occupying new territory in those days, and thus it was possible for Japan to use *Actor-Process-Goal* or *Goal-Process* (*-Actor*) constructions (where the *Goal* is a concrete, first-order nominal, and hence a lesser degree of metaphorization involved) which represent roles explicitly.

### 3.3.2. When Japan was doing badly: later stages of war

However, when the war situation became unfavourable for Japan, the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures started to appear, which sounded goal-directed and positive. For example, total defeats in Okinawa and Iwo Island in 1945 were expressed as follows.

#### • Japanese defeat at Iwo Island

(19) JAPANESE AT YOIJIMA LAUNCH FINAL DRIVE AGAINST US. TROOPS  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range*

(20) The Japanese Forces on Yiojima have inflicted about 33,000 casualties on the American officers and men ... up to March 16.  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range*  
*Cir.:Extent*

(21) All the officers and men with the Supreme Commander at the head, launched a dauntless general attack at midnight of March 17 ...  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range* *Cir.:Time*

(Nippon Times, 22 March, 1945)

#### • Japanese defeat at Okinawa

(22) NIPPON FORCES CARRY OUT FINAL ATTACK ON OKINAWA  
*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range* *Cir.:Loc.*

(23)

... the Imperial Japanese Forces commanded by

*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal.*

Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima and navy units led by Rear Admiral Minoru Ota launched their final offensive against the invasion forces

*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range*

(24) USHIJIMA, OTHER UNITS WIN SUPREME HONOR

*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Range*

FOR GALLANT DEFENSE ACTION IN OKINAWA

*Cir.:Cause*

(25) ... The Ushijima Unit and other Units attached thereto, manifesting superb

*Actoz* *Ag.:Carrier* *Pr.:Rel.*

fighting spirit and superior fighting technique, inflicting heavy losses on the

*Attribute* *Pr.:Mal. Range*

enemy forces, since their invasion of the Okinawa area on March 25 of this year, thus demonstrating the sterling quality of Japanese fighting men, had been

*Pr.:Rel. Attribute*

previously granted a citation...

(26) The above (the Ushijima Unit and other Units attached thereto) under the command of

*Actoz* *Ag.:Carrier*

Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima has maintained a heroic stand ... thus demonstrating

*Pr.:Mal. Range* *Pr.:Rel.*

the true mettle of Japanese fighting men.

*Attribute*

(27) Not only have they manifested the superb might of the Japanese Forces

*Ag.:Carrier* *Pr.:Rel. Attribute*

but they have facilitated operations by Japanese Air Units ...

*Actoz* *Pr.:Mal. Goal*

(Nippon Times, 26 June, 1945)

Headlines in the final stage of war, reporting total defeats, commonly consisted of PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structures, *Actor-Process-Range*. The *Range* here is a second-order nominal and thus abstraction is involved much more than in the early stages of war, when Japan was doing well, and it was possible to use clear-cut EFFECTIVE (*Actor - Process - Goal*) structures. This may be because the censorship regulations institutionalized and unified the content of reporting as the war situation worsened. To support this observation on diachronic changes in grammatical patterns, Shiba (1978: 8), the aforementioned historical novelist, notes that even from the time of the Russo-Japanese War, unless a war report by the Army explicitly said, for example, 'we have conquered the fortress X', in the EFFECTIVE structure (*Actor - Process - Goal*), it could be inferred that the Japanese forces were losing. 'Final drive' in (19), 'casualties' in (20), 'a dauntless general attack' in (21), 'final attack' in (22), 'final offensive' in (23), 'supreme honor' in

EFFECTIVE structure, which constitutes metaphorical extension, is used especially in critical situations such as in reporting death, and the frequency of its use increased particularly at the later stages of the war. The uses of Attitudinal Epithets contribute to disguising the PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures as EFFECTIVE structures. Nominalized metaphors as *Ranges* also contribute to the creation of Theme-like elements which can function as PSEUDO-Goals.

*Agent Carrier - Process - Attribute* (abstract nouns) in Relational Process in collocation with Attitudinal Epithets can also be a useful linguistic construction in that this can create the impression that we have EFFECTIVE transitive structures despite the fact that Relational Process is simply concerned with abstract relations between the *Carrier* and the *Attribute*, and the physical world is not really affected by the process.

It is also important to emphasize that the significance of the grammatical data from war reporting is the choice of one form rather than another, and not that given meanings inhere in given structures. The choice was not necessarily made because of conscious grammatical planning by propagandists, but rather because the pressure from the discourse of propaganda favoured the selection of certain patterns. It becomes clearer, as this study has hopefully revealed, how certain grammatical patterns and metaphor associated with them were exploited to achieve what the propagandists aimed for, when the discourse of propaganda is analysed from the Systemic Functional point of view.

#### Notes

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the following people: Keith Mitchell, Phil Morrow, Jean Urc, Tatsuaki Tomioka and an anonymous EWPAL reader.
2. For a general description of the transitivity model used in this analysis, please see Berry (1975), Eggins (1994), and Halliday (1994). Montgomery (1986) includes a more simplified version of the transitivity system.
3. Fairclough defines a 'discourse' as a 'particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice' (1995: 76).
4. Halliday's 'context of situation' involves three features that together characterize a passage of discourse. These three features are 'field' (what is going on), 'tenor' (who are taking part), and 'mode' (how the message is structured) (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 12).
5. Davids also presents an Ergative framework along with the Transitive paradigm. While the transitivity system realizes an Actor-Process and Extension model (Halliday 1994: 162), the Ergative system signifies an *Navigation of Process* model (Halliday 1994: 163). To put it simply, transitive analysis is Actor-oriented, while the Ergative analysis is Process-oriented. But in this research, because of the fundamental characteristic of the Actor-oriented rhetoric on the Japanese side of Japanese wartime discourse (Iwamoto 1995), and for the sake of simplicity, I have restricted my analysis to the transitive interpretation.
6. Stubbs (1994) discusses how the insight into Ergative analysis can be illuminating in the ideological interpretation of texts; according to Stubbs, the Ergative constructions are extensively used in texts to obscure the causal relationship between the actors and those affected by events.
7. First-order entities are 'discrete, physical objects'. Second-order entities are 'events, processes, states-of-affairs, etc., which are located in time and space, and which in English, are said to occur or take place, rather than to exist'. Third-order entities are such abstract entities as propositions, reasons, theorems, etc., which are outside space-time (Lyons 1977: 442-443).
8. As 'ideational' refers to the interpretation and organization of experience (Halliday 1994: 179), 'ideational metaphor' refers to how experience is metaphorically construed (see, especially, Martin 1993: 138-140, 227-229; Halliday 1994: 342-353).
9. A GROUP means 'group of words'; Halliday distinguishes GROUP and PHRASE saying that 'whereas a group is an expansion of a word, a phrase is a contraction of a clause' (1994: 180). (See Halliday 1994: 179-180, 213 for further discussion).
10. Simpson (1993) provides an explanation based on Transitive - Ergative interpretation of how the construction 'X (+ human) died' represents an event which is agentless and out of human control relating to the discourse of ideology in the news coverage.

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(24), and 'loss' in (25) are *Ranges* modified by Epithets which indicate simply continuation of processes. Nevertheless, they are nominalized processes which look like 'theme-like' elements, so they give the illusion that something was achieved through their use in EFFECTIVE structures. In this way, process itself is thematized in the transitive PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures while what they lost or gained is effaced. 'Supreme honor' in (24) conveys the image of having won although it was a loss in reality. 'Final attack' in (22) is also a *Range*; if (22) were instead phrased as, 'Nippon Forces Attacked the Enemy', representing 'attack' not as a second-order 'nominal' but as a 'process' (verb), the reader's reaction might be 'what was the outcome?'. Phrased as in (22), the reader is less likely to ask this question. The same can be said of (19), (20), (21), (23) and (25), which represent PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structures where process itself is thematized, and where the reader's attention is focused more on what the Japanese did as process, than on what has happened as a result. There are no corresponding verbs for 'casualty' or 'offensive', but these can be replaced by other verbs.

*Agent Carrier - Process - Attribute* in Relational Process is also exploited to give the impression that there is 'Actor - Process - Goal' (transitive EFFECTIVE structure) as in (25), (26) and (27). The uses of Attitudinal Epithets, 'superb', 'sterling', 'superior', 'heroic' contribute to disguise the *Agent Carrier - Relational Process - Attribute* construction as the *Actor - Material Process - Goal* structure. *Attributes* here also consist of abstract, second-order nominals, such as 'spirit', 'the (sterling) quality', 'the (true) merit', 'the (superb) might', '(superior, fighting) technique'. 'Operations' as *Goal* in (27) is different in nature from *Goals* found in (12) to (18) in that they signify clear-cut, physical first-order nominals (the enemy's properties or territory), whereas 'operations' in (27) is a second-order abstract entity on 'our' side (not the enemy's).

Note that these sentences can be restated as EFFECTIVE structure-sentences (i.e. The possible transitive alternatives, encoding Japanese 'defeats' in the EFFECTIVE structure, clarifying 'Goals' (what Japan lost, i.e. first-order nominals), which do not appear in the official newspapers) as follows:

(28) \* Enemy Takes Over Okinawa (29) \* Enemy Conquers Yiojima

Actor Pr...Mat Goal Actor Pr...Mat Goal

(30) \* All Japanese Garrisons Defeated

Goal Pr...Mat

(31) \* All Japanese Warships Destroyed

Goal Pr...Mat

(32) \* Okinawa Island Pounded All Day

Goal Pr...Mat Cir...Duration

Again, regarding propriety in referring to 'death', it seems that death as Japanese casualty is not openly reported even euphemistically at the final stage of war (1945) unlike in the data of the Battle of Atiu in 1943, where it was reported in expressions such as 'heroes died glorious deaths'. It is obvious that the casualties inflicted upon the Japanese forces and people were much greater in 1945 than in 1943, as the war situation became more desperate for Japan. Despite all this, only the positive aspects of information were reported officially in the final stage of war, such as 'win honour' or 'made a final attack', avoiding the mentioning of death on the Japanese side. This may be because the censorship regulations were more institutionalized and, in a way, sophisticated, to avoid the breakdown of people's morale as the war situation became more pessimistic.

#### 4. Conclusion

As the above discussion has indicated, the metaphorical PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE transitive structure in Material Process can be a useful linguistic tool in obscuring unfavourable reality because this construction signifies a MIDDLE structure but looks like a goal-directed EFFECTIVE structure. The PSEUDO-

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