

بحوث جامعية

مجلة فكرية تعنى بقضايا الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية
تصدر عن كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية بصفاقس

عدد مزدوج 10/9 – جوان 2012 / رجب 1433 هـ

قواعد النشر في المجلة

بحوث جامعية مجلة محكمة تصدرها كل 6 أشهر كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية بصفافس. وترحب المجلة بإسهامات الباحثين في القضايا التي تُعنى بها المجلة وهي قضايا الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية، وتُحيط الباحثين علماً بشروط النشر فيها:

1. يرفق البحث بتعريف وجيز بحياة الباحث الفكرية وعمله الحالي.
2. يتراوح حجم البحث بين 4000 و6000 كلمة، وأن يُرفق بملخص لا يتجاوز 50 كلمة باللغات العربية الفرنسية والإنجليزية. تنشر الخلاصة مع البحث عند نشره.
3. مراعاة الأسلوب الأكاديمي في التوثيق:
 - الإحالة على كتاب: اسم المؤلف، عنوان الكتاب (مع التّشديد على العنوان فحسب **en gras**)، دار النشر، مكان الطّباعة وتاريخها، رقم الصّفحة.
 - الإحالة على مقال منشور في مجلة: اسم كاتب المقال، عنوان المقال، المجلة (مع التّشديد على اسم المجلة فقط **en gras**)، رقم العدد وتاريخه، رقم الصّفحة.
4. يكتب البحث كتابة رقمية وفق المواصفات التالية:
 - ما يخصّ متن البحث: نوع الحرف: Simplified Arabic، حجمه 12 نقطة، التّباعد بين الأسطر: simple. تمييز العنوان بتكبير حجم الحرف نفسه بنقطة واحدة مع التّشديد (**en gras**).
 - ما يخصّ هوامش البحث: تأتي الهوامش في آخر المقالة مرتبة ترتيباً متوالياً بدءاً من رقم 1. وتكتب بالحرف نفسه المعتمد في المتن: Simplified Arabic، وبحجم: 10 نقاط، وتباعد بين الأسطر: simple.
5. يشترط ألا تكون المواد المرسلّة للنشر في المجلة قد نُشرّت أو أرسلت للنشر في مجلات أخرى.
6. تخضع المواد الواردة لتحكيم لجنة استشارية تعيّنّها هيئة التحرير.
7. يجري إعلام الباحث بقرار اللجنة الاستشارية خلال شهرين من تاريخ استلام النصّ. ولا يُعاد البحث إلى صاحبه في حال عدم نشره.
8. لا تدفع المجلة مكافآت مادية عمّا تقبله للنشر فيها، ويعتبر ما ينشر فيها إسهاماً معنوياً من الباحث في نشر الفكر العلميّ وتنميته. يحصل صاحب البحث المنشور على 3 نسخ من المجلة.
9. الآراء المنشورة لا تُلزم إلا أصحابها.
10. للمجلة الحقّ في نشر البحث المجاز في العدد المناسب، وفي ترتيب البحوث في العدد الواحد لخطة منطقيّة تضبطها هيئة التحرير.



بموت باامعيتة

RECHERCHES UNIVERSITAIRES ACADEMIC RESEARCH

عدد مزدوج 9 - 10 جوان 2012

مجلة فكرية تعنى بقضايا الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية
تصدر عن كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية بصفاس

كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية
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RECHERCHES UNIVERSITAIRES
ACADEMIC RESEARCH

PROJECTING OTHERS' SPEECH: LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES

Akila Sellami-Baklouti^(*)

ملخص

يعالج هذا البحث نسبة الذاتية التي تقترن بمختلف الوسائل اللغوية المستعملة في نقل خطاب الآخرين. تقدم الباحثة نموذج النحو النظامي الوظيفي (هاليدي، 1994 وهاليدي وماتيسين 2004) لنقل الخطاب وتعتمد على هذا النموذج لدراسة مدونة تتمثل في تمثيل ثلاثة شبكات إعلامية لشهادة دونالد رمسفيلد، وزير الدفاع الأمريكي السابق أمام الكونغرس على خلفية تسرب صور للتعذيب في سجن أبو غريب في العراق (2004). وقد أدى تحليل المدونة إلى الإشتتاج أنه بالرغم من تنوع الوسائل اللغوية بغرض إضفاء صبغة موضوعية على نقل الخطاب فإن هذه العملية تبقى ذاتية.

RESUME

Cet article vise à évaluer le degré d'objectivité des différents moyens linguistiques utilisés pour la représentation du discours des autres. Le modèle systémique fonctionnel (Halliday, 1994 ; Halliday et Matthiessen, 2004), qui distingue deux types de projections: le discours direct et le discours rapporté, est utilisé pour comparer la représentation du discours d'un politicien par trois réseaux d'informations. L'analyse de différentes techniques de représentation du discours dans le corpus étudié montre que cette représentation reste fortement affectée par les intentions du sujet parlant.

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the different techniques to represent other people's sayings. The framework adopted is Halliday's (1994), and Halliday and Matthiessen, (2004) functional study of projection which is one of two logico-semantic types of relation that may exist between two clauses. Halliday

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distinguishes two types of projection: paratactic quoting (i.e. direct speech) and hypotactic reporting (indirect speech). Although the basic patterns are 'quoting speech' and 'reporting thought', while projecting, speakers can also 'report speech' and 'quote thought'. It is this function of 'reporting speech' that this paper aims to focus on. Halliday (1994) argues that, although this function is treated as logically subsequent to quoting, it "is the normal way of representing what people say, in most registers of English today" (255). This 'abnormal' situation leads to the following questions: What motivates this linguistic choice? Why do people 'filter' other people's sayings and present them as meaning? Does this mean that a paratactic projection is an objective representation of speech? The paper tries to answer these questions through the study of a corpus of texts where the speech of a politician is projected by three news networks. The analysis of the corpus shows that whatever strategy is used, projection remains a highly subjective act.

It has been shown by many linguistic studies (for e.g. Talmy, 1976; Sellami-Baklouti, 1998, 2001a, 2003) that a given physical event may be linguistically represented differently by different people. It has also been argued by Triki and Sellami-Baklouti (2002) that this phenomenon is motivated by the speaker's intentions and enhanced by the richness of human languages offering their speakers a wide variety of linguistic choices. This paper tries to provide another piece of evidence for this hypothesis while dealing with a special linguistic experience i.e. the representation of other people's speech. The main argument in this study is that the option of the speaker for a given linguistic strategy among others to represent speech is motivated by an intention to

express his/her own attitude towards what has originally been said. After reviewing strategies of speech representation and providing evidence for the subjective dimension in this linguistic experience, an empirical study will be carried out on a corpus of texts representing the speech of a politician by three news networks. Relying on Halliday's functional framework of projection analysis, the paper will try to show the degree of objectivity displayed by different linguistic strategies.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To represent others' speech, people may resort to a variety of strategies. The first section deals with those different ways of speech representation focusing on the functional analysis of Halliday (1994), as it will be used as an

analytical framework in the case study. The second section tries to provide some evidence for the subjective dimension in the act of speech representation arguing that, like any other speech event, this act is motivated by persuasive intentions.

1.1 DIFFERENT WAYS OF REPRESENTING OTHERS' SPEECH

While representing other people's speech, a speaker/ writer has a variety of possibilities. Linguistic studies on reporting have each tried to make an inventory of different possible ways of reporting (cf. Triki, 1989; Short, 1996, Collins, 2001 reviewed by Triki, 2002, Semino and Short, 2004). Though a major finding in these studies was that "The varieties of RS present a continuum with indeterminate boundaries between the individual types" (Triki, 2002), this paper tries to focus on two main points of the continuum defined by Semino and Short (2004, 10) as DS (Direct Speech) and IS (Indirect Speech) i.e. the case where the reporter reproduces the exact words of the original saying and the case where s/he reports it using his/her own words.

Representing speech as it has been uttered by others is known in grammatical tradition as direct

speech which is contrasted with indirect speech. According to Short (1996, 286), direct and indirect speech differ from each other in their linguistic form as direct speech is represented between inverted commas whereas indirect speech is represented by a subordinate clause having the function of a direct object of the reporting verb. They also differ in their effect and function in the sense that in direct speech, what is between inverted commas is 'unmediated by the reporter' whereas in indirect speech, the propositional content is given 'through the words of the reporter'.

It may be useful to understand what a proposition is in order to grasp the pragmatic difference between direct and indirect speech. Kreidler (1998, 62), for example, defines a proposition as "consisting of a predicate and various noun phrases (referring expressions), each of which has a different role." Kreidler makes a difference between a proposition as defined and a sentence containing, in addition to the propositional content, 'certain kinds of modification' including tense, aspect and modality which he calls 'inflection'. It follows that, in indirect speech, the inflection of the reported utterance (i.e. tense, aspect and

modality) is assigned by the reporter, mediating thus the original saying. This mediation includes "both a paradigmatic selection of the reporting verb and a syntagmatic decision consisting in the positioning of the inquit, assigning a given tense and aspect to it, and changing the co-text which collocates with it" (Triki and Bahloul, 2002, 10-11).

Within the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar, Halliday (1994) treats both ways of representing others' speech as projection which he defines as "the logico-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation" (p.250). Projection, where the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause, correlates with the two types of interdependency between the two clauses, namely, parataxis i.e. the linking of elements of equal status, and hypotaxis i.e. binding elements of unequal status. Halliday argues that in the 'basic patterns of projection', parataxis combines with representing speech to yield quoting (i.e. direct speech) and hypotaxis combines with representing thought to yield reporting. However, to these basic

patterns, Halliday adds the possibilities of quoting others' thought and reporting others' speech.

Putting aside the representation of others' thought, the attention in this paper is focused on the two types of interdependency that may be used to represent others' speech, trying to show that they differ both grammatically and pragmatically. The first difference concerns the status of the projected clause; whereas in quoting, the projected clause is presented as independent having an equal status with the projecting clause, in reporting, the projected clause is presented as a subordinate one bound by the projecting clause which receives more discursive prominence given that it is the main clause in a complex structure.

In addition to this grammatical difference, Halliday argues that, in hypotactic reporting, there may be a difference between what is reported and what was actually said. Stating that: "the speaker is reporting the gist of what is said, and the wording may be quite different from the original" (p.254), Halliday, in a way, agrees with Short's argument that indirect speech is presented through the reporter's words.

The choice of words by the reporter concerns also the reporting verb as Halliday argues that there is a 'significant difference' in the use of the projecting verb. While in a quoted utterance the speech function is preserved, in a reported utterance, there is a need to convey the mood of the original saying by the reporting verb. This is because in reporting, only the propositional content of the original utterance is conveyed by the projected clause. The rest of the information i.e. tense, aspect and modality (or what Kreidler calls 'inflection') has to be conveyed by the reporter's words among which is the reporting verb. This explains why "Many *semantically complex* verbs for *elaborated speech functions* are used only in reporting" (Halliday, 1994, 255 [emphasis mine]). A semantically complex verb would include in its lexical decomposition the atomic predicate [SAY] plus another semantic predicate which conveys the function of the original speech as interpreted by the reporter; for example, a direct utterance projected by the neutral verb 'to say':

He **said** "If you don't do your job properly, you'll be fired"

may be indirectly reported by:

He **warned** to fire them if they didn't do their job properly.

And can also be reported by:

He **threatened** to fire them if they didn't do their job properly,

where the two reporting verbs convey different illocutionary forces (warning; threat). The choice by the reporter of one verb or the other conveys in itself an attitude towards what was said.

What is worth noting is that, though the combination of reporting with speech is secondary (as the basic pattern is quoting speech and reporting thought) it is, according to Halliday (1994, 255), "the normal way of representing what people say, in most registers of English today". This statement leads to two important issues. The first concerns the motivation behind people's choice of reporting, instead of quoting, what others say. The second issue, which is more practical, concerns the extent to which it is true that people resort to reporting in a specific register of English, i.e. language of the news. The first issue will be dealt with in the next section trying to show the subjective and persuasive dimensions of speech representation; and the second issue will be dealt with in the second part of the paper trying to closely examine how three news networks have represented the speech of an American politician.

1.2. SPEECH REPRESENTATION: SUBJECTIVITY AND PERSUASION

The major claim of this section is that speech representation is a subjective act which is strongly related to persuasive intentions. The subjective dimension in language has long been debated by linguists and psychologists. Some works date back to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Trudgill, 1995) which stressed the role of someone's language in framing his/ her view of the world. Though this hypothesis has been controversial, the discussion of its arguments is out of concern in this paper. What is of interest in this hypothesis is the claim that two individuals may be standing side to side, experiencing the same physical phenomenon and yet perceiving it differently. Sapir and Whorf argue that this may be due to their different languages; however, it may be more logically claimed that the world may be perceived differently by different people because of an intricate network of factors: linguistic, psycho-social, cognitive, ideological, etc. This has two implications; the first is that the projection of the physical world in the mind of each speaker is a unique representation; the second, and more important, is that the linguistic presentation of the same

physical phenomenon by different speakers will be different. This linguistic difference is enhanced by "the richness of human languages which offer their speakers a multitude of linguistic structures to express the same logical meaning" (Triki and Sellami-Baklouti, 2002, 217). Hence, the choice of a structure allows speakers to focus on and mould one aspect or the other of the physical experience.

This difference of perception and presentation which applies to experiencing physical phenomena may be extended to experiencing linguistic phenomena i.e. speech/writing uttered by others. The interaction becomes more complex in this scope as the relationship holds between three elements: 1) physical experience, 2) its presentation by speaker A, and 3) the representation of 2) by speaker B. This creates what Triki (2000, 38) calls "a confrontation of at least two egos". Apart from the deictic and perceptual components (Triki, 1991), the ego or the 'self' contains an ideocognitive constituent, which includes, among other components, emotions, purpose, motivation, ideology, world view, associations and evocations (Triki, 1991, 90).

The focus on the ideocognitive component of the self in the present paper is motivated by the fact that the corpus under study belongs to news reporting genre, where the expression of different ideologies is very important. In a reporting act, with the confrontation of two selves, there is an interaction between these components of the ideocognition of the original speaker A with that of the reporter: Speaker B. The phenomenon of reporting is a complex one as it includes two relationships (R1 and R2) that may be schematised as follows:

R 1: World Experience (non-linguistic) → Speaker A → Presentation (linguistic)

R 2: Presentation (linguistic) → Speaker B → Representation (linguistic)

In R 1, Speaker A experiences a non-linguistic event and presents it linguistically; then in R 2, Speaker B experiences a linguistic event (i.e. Speaker A's utterance) and represents it linguistically. Whereas in R 1, Speaker A may make the linguistic choices that express for the best his/her ideocognitive attitudes; in R 2 (as argued by Triki, 1989), it is Speaker B who has an upper hand over Speaker A

as far the expression of the attitude and its impact on the linguistic choices are concerned.

The analysis of R 2 constitutes the concern of the case study dealing with the linguistic strategies used by news networks to represent the speech of a politician and trying to show that the linguistic choices in this representation translate ideological attitudes. This leads to the second part of the argument in this section i.e. the strong link between reporting and persuasion. In fact, the presentation of an image X is closely related to an intention on the part of the entity presenting X to get the addressee persuaded. An addressee is persuaded if: "He likes what you promise, fears what you say is imminent, hates what you censure, embraces what you command, rejects whatsoever you built up as regrettable, sympathises with those whose wretchedness your words bring before his eyes, shuns those whom you admonish him to shun" (St Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, cited in Goodrich, 1990, 93). This implies that in presenting a world experience (R 1), Speaker A carefully adopts the linguistic strategies that help him/her achieve his/ her persuasive ends. What is said

about Speaker A in R 1 may also be said about Speaker B in R 2. Following the same argument, in representing another person's speech, Speaker B will opt for the linguistic choices that serve best his/ her persuasive intentions as Triki and Bahloul (2002, 14) argue, "Reporting is not a gratuitous act. It is a motivated speech event serving the speaker's ends".

The following part of the paper will try to illustrate this phenomenon through studying three projections of the same political speech with the aim of showing the relationship between the reporter's choice of a linguistic strategy and his/ her persuasive intentions.

2. CASE STUDY

In this part, different strategies of speech representation will be studied in a corpus of news reports adopting Halliday's (1994) framework of hypotaxis vs. parataxis [1.1]. Resorting to different strategies will be explained in terms of reporters' subjectivity and their persuasive intentions [1.2].

2.1. CORPUS AND ANALYTICAL TOOLS

As this part studies how different news networks represent

the same speech by a politician, it relies on two types of corpora. A primary corpus consists of the speech to be represented, it is entitled:

TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DONALD H. RUMSFELD BEFORE THE SENATE AND HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEES; MAY 7, 2004.

This testimony was delivered by the American Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in the scope of the hearings that the Senate and the House Armed forces Committees held with different members of Defense Department after the leaking of pictures of torture in Abu-Graib prison in Iraq and their making public by the press.

The secondary corpus consists of the representation of this speech by three news networks:

Al-jazeera:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C9C70360-0C6E-4292-E09-DA555DB24431.htm>

BBC:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3691823.stm>

CNN:

<http://edition.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/05/07/politics.abuse.main/>

The study adopts a comparative approach which holds that “in real life it is possible, at least in theory, to compare for accuracy what was actually said and what is reported to have been said.” (Short, 1996, 290). The comparison between the original speech and its representation by the three networks will be based on the linguistic framework suggested by Halliday and outlined in [1.1] i.e. paratactic quoting vs. hypotactic reporting.

Relying on Halliday’s statement that reporting is ‘the normal way of representing what people say’, more hypotactic structures are expected to be found in the corpus than paratactic ones. The next section will test this hypothesis.

2.2. ANALYSIS

The analysis follows two steps, the first concerns the titles used by the three reporters for their articles, and the second studies the types of interdependency of clause projection, i.e. the use of paratactic vs. hypotactic structures.

2.2.1. TITLES OF THE ARTICLES

The motivation behind devoting this sub-section to the analysis of titles is the importance that a title has in shaping the reader’s expectation. From a discourse analytic perspective, titles may be seen as “a particularly powerful thematisation device” (Brown and Yule, 1983, 139). As “titles are summaries of the texts they head” (Triki, 2000, 40), they lead the reader to the main topic of the piece of discourse they head and “encourage a given interpretation of the text” (ibid, 40). However, a text generally does have more than one topic, and only one of those topics is highlighted by the author through its representation in the title. In this sense, “the ‘title’ of a stretch of discourse should not be equated with ‘the topic’ but should be regarded as one possible expression of the topic” (Brown and Yule, 1983, 139). This implies that the choice of one possibility among others is determined by both subjective and persuasive factors, as the two dimensions cannot be easily separated.

The following table displays the titles and sub-titles ‘chosen’ by the authors for their articles:

| Network | Linguistic Features | Comments |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Al-jazeera:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Title: Rumsfeld sorry for outrages - Sub-title: US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has extended his "deepest apologies" to prisoners abused by US military personnel and told Congress he accepts full responsibility. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The title is presented as a fact as there is no projecting element. - The sub-title includes two hypotactic projections of statement (extend + tell). In this hypotactic structure, the reporter quotes the NP "deepest apologies" which is different from the NP in the original text ("deepest apology") | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The reporter builds on Rumsfeld's words to deduce a fact (that the latter was sorry). What we have here is a representation of a non-linguistic experience. - The two hypotactic projections do not have the same order which they have in the original text where the acceptance of the responsibility was stated by Rumsfeld before the presentation of the apologies. A possible reason behind this is that the reporter wanted to put more focus on the fact that Rumsfeld was sorry, which is already highlighted by the title and which is also put in focus by making plural the noun that is originally singular. It should be noted, however, that the reporter shows a certain degree of unfaithfulness in changing the linguistic features of a quoted string. |
| <p>BBC:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Title: Rumsfeld 'deeply' sorry for abuse | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The title is presented by BBC as a fact with an adverb quoted from the original text. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Like Al-jazeera, the title is presented by the BBC as a fact. To this, the BBC adds the intensifier deeply, quoted from the original text, to modify an adjective that does not exist in the original text. The lexeme 'DEEP' was used twice by Rumsfeld ('my deepest apology' and 'I deeply regret'). It is worth noting the difference between Al-jazeera and BBC in the use of the lexical items and NP structure to denote what happened to Iraqi prisoners. First there is a semantic difference between <i>abuse</i> (= ill-treatment) and <i>outrage</i> (= act of extreme violence or cruelty), in the sense that the word used by Al-jazeera is more loaded, it is what may be called in semantics an 'end-of-scale word' (Brinton, 2000, 137). This semantic effect is magnified by the plural inflection |

| Network | Linguistic Features | Comments |
|--|--|--|
| <p>- Sub-title: US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has offered his "deepest apologies" to Iraqi inmates mistreated by US troops.</p> | <p>- The sub-title is a projection of Rumsfeld's sayings in the form of a phrase.</p> | <p>added to the noun and the absence of modification, which, combined, give to the action expressed an unlimited dimension in time and space.</p> <p>- Contrary to Al-jazeera, only one projection is given in the BBC's sub-title with the same pluralisation of the quoted phrase. The fact that Rumsfeld accepts responsibility, presented by Al-jazeera as a secondary, element is totally omitted by the BBC.</p> |
| <p>CNN: - Title: Rumsfeld tells Congress of his 'failure'</p> <p>- Sub-title: Defense secretary grilled about Iraqi prisoner abuse</p> | <p>- The title is a projection in the form of a simple sentence, quoting the word 'failure'. The focus of CNN is different from the other two networks.</p> <p>- There is no projection but fact representation where a semantically complex word is use: grilled (e.g. of police question closely and severely)</p> | <p>- The reporter of CNN chooses another topic from the original speech to thematise as a title. Whereas the other two networks stressed Rumsfeld's apologies, CNN stressed the latter's failure.</p> <p>Rumsfeld is depicted as a 'defendant' that is questioned closely and severely. This image will be consolidated through the body of the article as will be shown later.</p> |

Table 1: Titles and sub-titles of the articles.

The three networks have chosen to thematise different aspects of the original speech. Both Al-jazeera and the BBC have focused on Rumsfeld's apologies, though the former has put more emphasis on the notion of responsibility than the latter, whereas CNN has focused on Rumsfeld's failure and on the

inquiry he is undergoing. This difference of focus will be further clarified through the analysis of projections in the text.

2.2.2. DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTED CLAUSES

This section presents a quantitative analysis of the

projected clauses in the corpus (including the titles and sub-titles). It should be noted that the three articles show a difference in length, that is why a computation of proportional percentages was thought to be necessary.

Table 2 displays the frequency distribution of projected clauses according to 1) news networks, 2) type of interdependency (The totality of occurrences along with the original statements may be seen in the Appendix):

| | Paratactic structure | Hypotactic structure | Facts | Total |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------|-------|
| Al-jazeera | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| BBC | 2 | 5 | 2 | 9 |
| CNN | 5 | 10 | 0 | 15 |
| Total | 8 | 17 | 3 | 28 |

Table 2: Distribution of projections.

The table shows that the CNN article displays the most important number of projected clauses. The table also shows that the hypotactic structures are more frequent than paratactic ones, in addition to three instances of fact presentation, that is a technique used only by Al-jazeera and BBC presenting Rumsfeld's words as a fact.

2.2.3. Interpretation

This section studies the distribution of projections in the

corpus according to two parameters: the three news networks and the type of interdependency.

2.2.3.1. Distribution of projections according to news networks

The fact that the number of projections is unevenly distributed among the three networks should be investigated by measuring the proportion of projections to the length of the articles. This yields the following table:

| Network | Number of projections | Number of words in projections | Total number of words | Percentage |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Al-jazeera | 4 | 59 | 520 | 11% |
| BBC | 9 | 151 | 249 | 61% |
| CNN | 15 | 305 | 1306 | 23% |

Table 3: Distribution of projections according to news networks

Though the CNN article presents the highest number of projected clauses, these projections represent only 23% of the articles. This goes against the expectations of the reader from the title of the paper. In fact, while reading the title "Rumsfeld tells Congress...", the existence of the verbal action 'tell' with its agent 'Rumsfeld', the reader may expect that the whole article would be built around Rumsfeld's sayings, which is not the case because these sayings constitute less than a quarter of the article. In addition to reporting Rumsfeld's speech, the CNN article also deals with the reaction of President Bush, some utterances by other Defense senior officials and, especially, the reaction of Senators to those statements. The writer of the CNN article seems less concerned with reporting Rumsfeld's sayings than with the reactions of others to Rumsfeld, as can be seen in these examples showing that the writer has little sympathy towards Rumsfeld:

1. "The **embattled** defense secretary and top Pentagon brass fielded questions that were at times **sharp** and **skeptical**..."
2. "Rumsfeld's exchanges with lawmakers were sometimes **combative** during the two sessions. And the Senate hearing **was interrupted** early

on by protesters who shouted "**fire Rumsfeld**" and "**war criminal**" before being escorted from the room."

3. "At one point, Sen. John McCain, R-Arizona, pressed Rumsfeld repeatedly on who was in charge of the interrogations at the prison. U.S. soldiers, private contractors and intelligence officers were all working there.

When a Pentagon aide began answering the question, McCain **interrupted** him:

"**Mr. Secretary, you can't answer these questions?**" McCain demanded."

Contrary to that, the BBC's article seems more objective by devoting 61% of the articles to reporting Rumsfeld's saying. Indeed, apart from some introductory sentences presenting the event, the majority of the article's words are Rumsfeld's sayings paratactically or hypotactically projected. It can even be said that the BBC reporter shows some sympathy to Rumsfeld by presenting two of his sayings as facts: "Rumsfeld 'deeply' sorry for abuse" and "and felt terrible". This absence of any projecting structure implies that the reporter endorses Rumsfeld's words and presents them as his/

her own showing thus a belief in what Rumsfeld said.

As far as al-jazeera article is concerned, it is the one that devotes the least words to reporting Rumsfeld's sayings whereas the rest of the article is devoted to the reaction of protestors, of the International Red Cross, calls from Democrats for his resignation and the declaration by Bush to keep him in his cabinet. It can also be noticed that the al-jazeera reporter projected only the first paragraph of the testimony where Rumsfeld says that he is sorry and that he bears

responsibility for what happened. It can even be said that the reporter stressed this idea of responsibility by projecting it twice in the text (see Appendix) once paratactically and once hypotactically. Apart from that, the same paratactic projection is presented as a heading of a photo of Rumsfeld in the middle of the page.

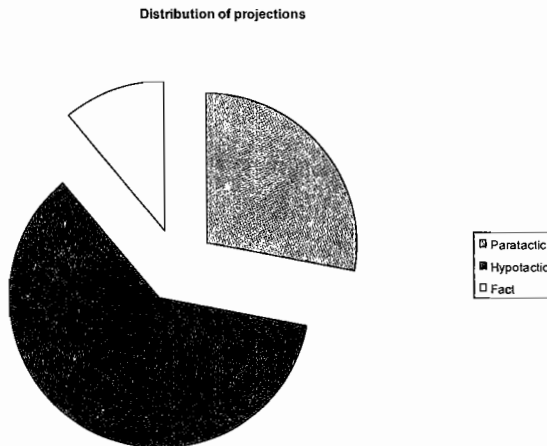
2.2.3.2. DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTIONS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF INTERDEPENDENCY

The projected clauses in the corpus are distributed among the types of interdependency as follows:

| Structure | Number of occurrences | Percentage |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Paratactic | 8 | 28% |
| Hypotactic | 17 | 61% |
| Speech presented as fact | 3 | 11% |

Table 4: Distribution of projections according to type of interdependency

This distribution may be visualised as follows:



Ranking these three types of projection on a scale of objectivity, we may obtain the following order:

Parataxis > Hypotaxis > Fact

A. FACTS

Fact presentation is a type of projection where “the projected clause is not being projected by a verbal or mental process with Sayer or Senser, or by a verbal or mental process noun, but comes as it were ready packaged in projected form” (Halliday, 1994,264). As in fact presentation, there is “no participant doing the projecting” (ibid., 266), it may be considered as highly subjective because the reporter shows a total endorsement of the projection by identifying him/herself to the original speaker and representing the latter’s words as the reporter’s. Explaining this in Triki’s (2000, 39) terms, the choice of this linguistic strategy presents a relationship of ‘support’, ‘sympathy’, ‘concord’, ‘harmony’ and ‘identity of interests’ in the confrontation that takes place in the act or reporting between the two egos (the reporter vs. the reported).

B. HYPOTACTIC PROJECTIONS

Hypotaxis is more objective than fact presentation because it leaves more room for interpretation by the reader of the

reporter’s attitude. Contrary to the previous strategy which translates an utterly positive attitude; in hypotaxis, the reporter may have a positive or negative attitude. Moreover, hypotaxis is not a uniform strategy, the reporter may use a hypotactic structure while repeating or even quoting original phrases and expressions or may paraphrase by presenting the ‘gist’ of the original speech. The study of these different techniques along with the semantic features of the reporting verbs may be used to evaluate the degree of objectivity in the reporting act. Studying the 17 occurrences of hypotaxis in the corpus, the following characteristics may be depicted.

i) QUOTING EXPRESSIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL SPEECH IN HYPOTACTIC STRUCTURES

Semino and Short (2004, 154) argue that the “quotation may constitute irrefutable evidence that supports the reporter’s own claims (especially if it is taken from a written text or from speech that has been recorded)”. In the corpus under study, there are 7 cases where different phrases from the original speech are quoted:

| Quoted expression | Phrase type | The way it is quoted | Comment |
|---|-------------|---|--|
| Deepest apology | NP | “deepest apologies”: al-jazeera + BBC “deepest apology”: CNN | Changing the noun to the plural form by Al-jazeera and BBC is contrary to the norms of objective quoting. The reporters may have an intention of exaggerating Rumsfeld's apology, implying the gravity of the situation. This translates a subjective attitude on the part of the reporters. |
| ...a CID investigation being conducted into allegations of detainee abuse | NP | ...an investigation had been launched into reports of “detainee abuse”: CNN | The exact NP is quoted and both NPs function the complement of a preposition in a nominal post-modifier, but the head noun that is post-modified is different. Rumsfeld originally used the noun ‘allegations’ which means ‘statement, especially one made without proof ’ ¹ , whereas the CNN reporter used the noun ‘reports’ which means ‘account of, statement about, something heard, seen, done There is a semantic difference between the two nouns, both are statements, but differ in their foundations (see highlighted words). This means that contrary to Rumsfeld who wanted to minimise the gravity of the situation, the CNN reporter wanted to highlight its seriousness. The technique used to do that is very subtle: while quoting a phrase that is exactly used by the original speaker giving the impression of being faithful to the original text, the reporter resorts to changing the context of the quoted phrase, resulting thus in an important semantic difference. |
| on my watch | PP | “on his watch”: BBC | The change in the quoted phrase can not be considered as important because it is imposed by deictic considerations resulting in the change of the pronoun. |
| ...acts that may be described as blatantly sadistic, cruel, and inhuman | AP | ...Mr Rumsfeld called such acts “blatantly sadistic, cruel, and inhuman”: BBC | The reporter quotes the exact phrase. Though there is a lexical difference in the use of the predicate verb, it may not be considered as an important semantic difference because one of the meanings of ‘to call’ is ‘to describe’. |

1 Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, Oxford University Press, 1974.

| Quoted expression | Phrase type | The way it is quoted | Comment |
|--|---------------------------|---|--|
| I failed to...x 4 Failing to...x 1 We failed to...1 hat was my failing. x 1 | Verbal expression/ gerund | Rumsfeld tells Congress of his 'failure': CNN | The word 'failure' used by the reporter has not been used by Rumsfeld. The reporter, in this example, has changed a verbal form into a nominal form. Considering all the effects of nominalisation (Fowler, 1991), this change is meant to give this 'failure' a wide scope by getting rid of the limitations of tense and aspect, though the participant is present through the use of the possessive determiner 'his'. |

Table 5: phrases quoted from the original speech

The analysis of these occurrences shows that the use of the quoted expressions should not be taken for granted by the reader as exact reproductions from the original speech. Contrary to the impression of faithfulness that such expressions may give, these forms translate a certain degree of subjectivity resulting from the persuasive intentions of the reporter. This subjectivity can be seen first in the selection of the

expressions to be quoted, second in the lexical and grammatical changes that the original expressions may undergo and third, in the manipulation of the context of the quoted expressions.

ii) LEXICAL CHANGES IN HYPOTACTIC PROJECTIONS

In some hypotactic projections, the reporter changes Rumsfeld's words by others, as is shown by the following examples:

| Original expressions | Expression used by Al-jazeera | Expression used by BBC | Expression used by CNN |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| mistreated | abused | mistreated | for the abuse |
| Members of U.S. armed forces | members of U.S. military personnel | U.S troops | their U.S. captors |
| Take full responsibility | Accepts full responsibility | Bore responsibility | |
| Allegation and the armed forces are obliged to follow them. | | | Reports the guards were instructed to follow the Geneva Conventions |

Table 6: Lexical changes in hypotactic projections

What can be noticed in these examples is that the reporter takes the liberty to change the lexical items used in the original speech resulting in more or less important deviations from the original meaning. In fact, as the table shows, this deviation is less important in the case of changing 'take' by 'accept/bear' responsibility than in the case where 'armed forces' is replaced by 'captors' (because the former is more neutral than the latter), or 'obliged' is replaced by 'instructed' (because the former has a more binding effect than the latter).

This power to change the lexis is given to the reporter by his superior status over the original speaker c.f. [1.2.1]. Triki (2000,

38) argues that the reporter and the original speaker "are to be seen in terms of superiority versus inferiority, control versus subservience". It is these superiority and control that give the reporter more persuasive power. In the case of the data under study, a person who has not read the original speech will read it through the reporter's filter consisting of the ideo-cognitive component of the reporter's self.

iii) REPRESENTING THE 'GIST' OF THE ORIGINAL SPEECH

In some hypotactic projections, the reporter does not represent all the content of the original speech, but instead summarises it by only presenting its 'gist'. Here are some examples:

| Original statement | Reported projection |
|--|---|
| 1. - I failed to identify the catastrophic... - I failed to recognize how important... - That was my failing. - One mistake we have made during our initial investigation into these charges, for example, was failing to sufficiently call to your attention... - We also failed to sufficiently call your attention and brief you... - I failed to identify the catastrophic damage ... - I failed to recognize how important it was | Rumsfeld tells Congress of his 'failure' |
| 2. Third, I am seeking a way to provide appropriate compensation to those detainees who suffered grievous and brutal abuse and cruelty at the hands of a few members of the U.S. military... The American people and members of the committee deserve an accounting of what has happened and what's being done to fix it. | Rumsfeld endorsed compensation for the Iraqi prisoners who were abused, and he vowed a full accounting of what led to their mistreatment. |

| Original statement | Reported projection |
|--|---|
| 3. I will be announcing today the appointment of several senior former officials who are being asked to examine the pace, breadth, and thoroughness of the existing investigations, and to determine whether additional investigations need to be initiated. | Rumsfeld said that several former senior officials were being appointed to investigate the Pentagon's handling of the matter. |
| 4. I wish we would have known more sooner and been able to tell you more sooner. | While Rumsfeld said he wished he had done a better job. |

Table 7: Representing the 'gist' of the original speech:

Those examples show that the reporter represents the 'gist' of the original speech, to use Halliday's (1994) terminology. This may be considered as an instance of summarising which is considered by Triki (2000, 44) as an act of interpretation which involves "the speaker's modal attitude to what is being reported". This attitude may be expressed through different techniques while summarising.

These techniques include lexical choices as displayed by example 4, where the reporter chooses the expression 'better job', implying that Rumsfeld was not doing his job properly. Another technique is displayed by example 2, and it consists in condensing two distant statements into two adjacent projections. The statement that Rumsfeld is seeking a way of compensation to the Iraqi prisoners and the statement that the Americans need an accounting of what happened are presented in the original

speech as two distant commissive speech acts with different beneficiaries i.e. the Iraqi prisoners in the first and the American people in the second. However, by representing these two speech acts in a compound sentence (utterance) while mentioning only one beneficiary i.e. the Iraqi prisoners, the CNN reporter insinuates that Rumsfeld's vow to account for what happened is addressed to the Iraqi people, which is not the case.

Another technique is shown by example 1 where the reporter replaces the verbal forms of 'fail' by a nominal form. This change has already been commented on above by pointing to the morphological differences between the two forms. However, more needs to be said about this example because it displays a play on the different meanings of the verb. In its first meaning, the verb 'fail' means to 'be unsuccessful' and the noun

'failure': 'lack of success' is derived from this meaning. However, the verb 'fail' is polysemous and when followed by an infinitive clause, it means: 'to omit, to neglect'. Except for the use of 'failing' (having a separate lexical entry in the dictionary and meaning: shortcoming), all the uses of 'fail' by Rumsfeld are followed by to-infinitive clauses meaning that he neglected/omitted to do actions at the right moment. However, by using the nominal form 'failure', the reporter means that Rumsfeld was unsuccessful, changing thus

not only the aspectual properties of the verb but also its substantial semantic properties by presenting a different meaning of the lexeme. This may be said to express a negative attitude on the part of the reporter towards Rumsfeld that s/he (the reporter) wanted to disguise in the form of a summary of the original statement.

iv) USE OF REPORTING VERBS IN THE HYPOTACTIC PROJECTIONS:

What follows is an inventory of the reporting verbs used by the three networks:

| Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
|----------------------|---|---|
| has extended told | has offered told revealed called recognised | offered admitted tells endorsed vowed said x 4 pointed to |

Table 8: Reporting verbs in the hypotactic projections

In addition to neutral reporting verbs i.e. *say* and *tell*, reporters

resort to 'semantically complex' as shown by the following table:

| Verb | Meaning: Say +... |
|-----------|---|
| Endorse | Approve, support a claim, statement, etc |
| Vow | Promise or declare solemnly |
| Admit | Acknowledge, confess, accept as true or valid |
| Recognise | Be willing to accept / acknowledge |
| Reveal | Make known |
| Point to | Direct attention to |

Table 9: Meaning of reporting verbs in the hypotactic projections

In addition to the functional approach adopted by Halliday dealt with in [1.1] above, Triki and Bahloul (2002, 11) argue that “the reporting verbs may carry more than one piece of information on the speaker’s attitude”. To explain the reporting relation in terms of power, it can be said that the control exerted by the reporter allows him/her the freedom of choice among a wide variety of reporting verbs; so, s/he will opt for a reporting verb whose semantic properties best serve the expression of his/her attitude. For example, the use of verbs like ‘recognise’ or ‘admit’ may stress that in these hearings, Rumsfeld is an ‘accused’ person. This legal dimension is enhanced by the use of verb like ‘reveal’ also borrowed from the legal jargon and insinuating that ‘the accused’ is making known things that he had the intention to conceal. The data also displays a semantic shift marked by the reporting verb; for example, the use of ‘endorse’: to approve/to support does not really mean the same thing as Rumsfeld’s statement that he is “seeking” a way ...which implies more effort than simply endorsing. Another example is when Rumsfeld says “The American people and members of the committee deserve an accounting of what has

happened and what’s being done to fix it”, which does not exactly mean that he promises or declares solemnly that he will give such accounting.

C. PARATACTIC PROJECTIONS

Parataxis is placed on the scale as more objective than the other two strategies because the reporter seems to take some distance from what is reported by representing it as independent text both in the form and structure, cf. [1.1.]. The question that is worth asking is whether this technique is totally objective.

Parataxis may be considered as an objective technique of representing others’ speech, if the reporter utters a reporting verb, then presents the whole speech. This is not the case in the corpus under study because a simple computation shows that Rumsfeld’s speech contains 2,941 words out of which 176 words were paratactically reproduced in the three articles representing about 5% of the original speech. This means that the reporters have intentionally decided to highlight the information presented by the 5% of the speech quantity and drop the 95%. This decision is strongly linked to the self (cf. [1.2.1]) of the reporter making the paratactic representation a similar process to summarising since the

ideo-cognitive component of the self will be reflected in the selection of the passages that are important 'enough' to be quoted. In the case of the data under study, it may be noticed that the three networks have focused on Rumsfeld's apology and his admittance of responsibility for

what happened. In fact, in two instances, Al-jazeera and CNN have even represented the same statement by Rumsfeld using both a hypotactic and a paratactic structure:

Example 1

| Original speech | Al-jazeera representation |
|---|--|
| These events occurred on my watch. As Secretary of Defense, I am accountable for them. I take full responsibility | 1. told Congress he accepts full responsibility. 2. "These events occurred on my watch. As Secretary of Defence, I am accountable for them. I take full responsibility," Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee on Friday. |

Example 2

| Original speech | CNN representation |
|--|--|
| Mr Rumsfeld told senators: "I failed to recognise how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including to the president and members of Congress." | 1. but admitted that he had failed to convey the gravity of the abuse at the Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad to either the president or Congress. 2. "I failed to recognize how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including the president and the members of Congress," Rumsfeld said. |

This apparent emphasis on one statement of the original speech instead of others diminishes the degree of objectivity in paratactic representation.

In addition to that, a thorough reading of paratactic projections

of the corpus shows that in four out of eight instances, the reporter does not reproduce the exact words of the original statement, as can be seen in the following table:

| Original statement | BBC | CNN | Comments |
|---|-----|--|---|
| Second, the individuals who took the photos took many more. | | "There are other photos -- many other photos -- | The reporter quotes while repeating the same noun phrase emphasised by the use of a quantifier. |

| Original statement | BBC | CNN | Comments |
|--|--|--|--|
| I failed to recognize how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including leaders in Congress. | Mr Rumsfeld told senators: "I failed to recognise how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including to the president and members of Congress. " | "I failed to recognize how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including the president and the members of Congress, " Rumsfeld said. | The reporters add an expression that is not present in the speech. Both networks mention "the president", whereas the original statement mentions only "leaders in Congress". |
| I wish we had been able to convey to them the gravity of this was before we saw it in the media | "I wish I had been able to convey to them the gravity of this before we saw it in the media." | | The reporter changes the first person plural pronoun to first person singular. It has been shown elsewhere (Sellami-Baklouti, to appear) that Rumsfeld in this speech uses the inclusive pronoun 'we' to lessen his responsibility for what happened. Through the use of the singular pronoun, the reporter neutralises Rumsfeld's intentions. |
| Judge us by our actions. Watch how Americans, watch how a democracy deals with wrongdoing and scandal and the pain of acknowledging and correcting our own mistakes and weaknesses. | | "Judge us by our actions," he said. "Watch how Americans, watch how \emptyset democracy deals with wrongdoing and scandal and the pain of acknowledging and correcting our own mistakes and, indeed, our own weaknesses." | The reporter deletes the indefinite article changing the reference of the noun: 'democracy' preceded by the 'a' means a government, i.e. the U.S; however, with the absence of the article, 'democracy' has a generic abstract meaning. The reporter also adds an emphatic adverb that is not present in the original speech. |

Table 10: Changing words in paratactic projections

It can be noticed from this table that the reporter takes the liberty of changing the original expressions and structures while quoting them. This seems even more surprising than in the case of hypotactic structures because between inverted commas, the quoted statement is 'unmediated' (cf.[1.1]) i.e. it reproduces the exact wording of the original speech. This shows that not only the subjective dimension is also present in paratactic speech representation but also it is more important because it is a greater degree of liberty that the reporter takes while changing a quoted statement and it has more persuasive ends because the reader does not expect what is between inverted commas is the reporter's words. Consequently, one may wonder how much a reader may trust any speech representation hypotactic be it or paratactic.

3. CONCLUSION

The paper started by showing the formal and pragmatic differences between linguistic strategies of speech representation i.e. paratactic and hypotactic projections, hypothesising that the act of speech representation as a speech event cannot be independent from the expression of the speaker's attitude. The

starting point in the analysis of the corpus was that paratactic projections may be considered more objective than hypotactic projections or fact presentation. The study has shown that the subjective dimension is present in the case of hypotaxis, and is manifested in different linguistic techniques, such as paraphrasing, quoting of expressions and the choice of reporting verbs. However, it has been found that this subjective dimension is also present, and is perhaps more dangerous because of its subtlety, in the case of parataxis. Based on the results of this corpus analysis, it may be said that one cannot speak about objectivity in the case of speech representation and that the self of the reporter interferes in reporting whatever linguistic media are used. In fact, reporters may vary their strategies to give their readers an impression of objectivity, but an in-depth reading shows that any speech representation is 'filtered' through the reporter's self.

This paper provides another piece of evidence to the close inter-relationship between linguistic choices and the speaker's persuasive intentions. This inter-relationship was shown elsewhere (Sellami-Baklouti, 2001, 2003, Sellami-Baklouti and Lejosne, 2000) as far as the

linguistic representation of physical events is concerned. This paper has shown that the same phenomenon tends to occur while representing a speech event uttered by others.

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APPENDIX

| Original text | Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
|---|---|---|--|
| I deeply regret the damage that has been done | FACT. Rumsfeld sorry for outrages | FACT. Rumsfeld 'deeply' sorry for abuse | |
| To those Iraqis who were mistreated by members of U.S. armed forces, I offer my deepest apology | US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld has extended his "deepest apologies" to prisoners abused by US military personnel | US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has offered his "deepest apologies" to Iraqi inmates mistreated by US troops | Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld offered his "deepest apology" Friday for the abuse of some Iraqi prisoners by their U.S. captors |

| Original text | Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
|---|--|---|---|
| These events occurred on my watch. As Secretary of Defense, I am accountable for them. I take full responsibility | 1. told Congress he accepts full responsibility. 2. "These events occurred on my watch. As Secretary of Defence, I am accountable for them. I take full responsibility," Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee on Friday. | He told Congress he bore responsibility for events that had taken place "on his watch", | "These events occurred on my watch," Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee. "As secretary of defense, I am accountable for them and I take full responsibility." |
| I feel terrible about what happened to these Iraqi detainees. | | FACT. and felt terrible | |
| Second, the individuals who took the photos took many more. | | He also revealed that he expected more photographs and a videotape of alleged prisoner abuse to emerge | "There are other photos -- many other photos -- |
| First, beyond abuse of prisoners, we have seen photos that depict incidents of physical violence towards prisoners -- acts that may be described as blatantly sadistic, cruel, and inhuman. | | In separate testimonies before the Senate and later the House Armed Services Committee, Mr Rumsfeld called such acts "blatantly sadistic, cruel and inhuman". | that depict incidents of physical violence towards prisoners, acts that can only be described as blatantly sadistic, cruel and inhuman," Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee. |
| Nonetheless, I know that we did not fully brief you on this subject along the way and we should have done so. | | Mr Rumsfeld recognised that his department had been slow to notify Congress about the allegations, | |
| I failed to recognize how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, | | Mr Rumsfeld told senators: "I failed to recognise how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the | 1. but admitted that he had failed to convey the gravity of the abuse at the Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad to |

| Original text | Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
|---|------------|---|---|
| including leaders in Congress. | | highest levels, including to the president and members of Congress." | either the president or Congress. 2. "I failed to recognize how important it was to elevate a matter of such gravity to the highest levels, including the president and the members of Congress," Rumsfeld said. |
| I wish we had been able to convey to them the gravity of this was before we saw it in the media | | "I wish I had been able to convey to them the gravity of this before we saw it in the media." | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I failed to identify the catastrophic... - I failed to recognize how important... - That was my failing. - One mistake we have made during our initial investigation into these charges, for example, was failing to sufficiently call to your attention... - We also failed to sufficiently call your attention and brief you... - I failed to identify the catastrophic damage ... - I failed to recognize how important it was ... | | | Rumsfeld tells Congress of his 'failure' |
| Third, I am seeking a way to provide appropriate compensation to those detainees who | | | Rumsfeld endorsed compensation for the Iraqi prisoners who were abused, |

| Original text | Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
|---|------------|-----|---|
| suffered grievous and brutal abuse and cruelty at the hands of a few members of the U.S. military. | | | |
| The American people and members of the committee deserve an accounting of what has happened and what's being done to fix it. | | | and he vowed a full accounting of what led to their mistreatment. |
| , I will be announcing today the appointment of several senior former officials who are being asked to examine the pace, breadth, and thoroughness of the existing investigations, and to determine whether additional investigations need to be initiated. | | | Rumsfeld said that several former senior officials were being appointed to investigate the Pentagon's handling of the matter. |
| Indeed, the U.S. Government recognized that the Geneva Conventions apply in Iraq, and the armed forces are obliged to follow them. | | | Rumsfeld said the guards were instructed to follow the Geneva Conventions in their treatment of the prisoners. |
| I wish we would have known more sooner and been able to tell you more sooner. | | | While Rumsfeld said he wished he had done a better job, |
| On January 20th, for example, CNN reported that a CID investigation was being conducted | | | he also pointed to a January 16 press release from U.S. Central Command in Baghdad that had |

| Original text | Al-jazeera | BBC | CNN |
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| <p>into allegations of detainee abuse at Abu Ghraib, and mentioned the possible existence of photographs taken of detainees.</p> | | | <p>said an investigation had been launched into reports of "detainee abuse.</p> |
| <p>Mr. Chairman, that is why this hearing today is important. And why the actions we take in the days and weeks ahead are so important. Because however terrible the setback, this is also an occasion to demonstrate to the world the difference between those who believe in democracy and human rights and those who believe in rule by the terrorist code.</p> | | | <p>Rumsfeld said the hearings and the ongoing investigations were a testament to the true character of the United States -- as opposed to the photographs of the abuse.</p> |
| <p>Mr. Chairman, I know you join me today in saying to the world: Judge us by our actions. Watch how Americans, watch how a democracy deals with wrongdoing and scandal and the pain of acknowledging and correcting our own mistakes and weaknesses.</p> | | | <p>"Judge us by our actions," he said. "Watch how Americans, watch how democracy deals with wrongdoing and scandal and the pain of acknowledging and correcting our own mistakes and, indeed, our own weaknesses."</p> |