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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the relationship between the "context of a situation" and the "metaphorically construed" reality within the transitivity paradigm of Systemic Functional Grammar. The research employed the transitivity model advanced by K. Davidse (1992) to examine the discourse of Japanese wartime (World War II) reporting in Japanese newspapers from the perspective of grammatical metaphor. First, the context of situation encoded in the text is introduced, including a brief history of the Pacific War and a description of the situation of the wartime press. Also discussed is a description of English-language newspapers in wartime Japan, which are used as data for the study. Section 2 explains the model of the transitivity paradigm, putting special emphasis on the metaphorization of processes in the paradigm. In section 3, the theoretical model is applied to the analysis of newspaper texts to demonstrate how transitivity processes are metaphorized for the purpose of obfuscation. This section also: (a) shows how the transitivity process of expressing death is metaphorized as euphemism in wartime discourse by comparing it with how it is manifested in peacetime discourse; and (b) examines transitivity patterns from a diachronic perspective, comparing texts from different stages of the war. The paper concludes that where the necessity for propagandistic discourse is greater, the metaphorization of processes increases. (Contains 33 references.) (NAV)

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Constructing Reality Through Metaphorizing Processes in Wartime Reporting

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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 Davidse (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 experiences¹. 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 (1995: 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 discourses²'.

Japanese wartime (World War II) propaganda exhibited highly actor-oriented rhetoric, in order to sound positive and be suasive, 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 Davidse (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, Yamanaka 1989, *Asahi shinbun sha-shi* 1991). As in many countries at war, maintaining public morale was considered to be more important than pursuing the truth.

Ryootaroo 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 in '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 reportage 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 Davidsen³ (1992). *Material Process* is concerned with process of doing in the physical world. A simplified version of Davidsen'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

Davidsen presents three types of constellations of *Material Process*: (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 in *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 superventive (e.g. *He fell, he died*) and non-superventive, 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 honorable 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' (Davidsen 1992: 196). Nevertheless, the Ranged structure (PSEUDO-EFFECTIVE structure) looks like an EFFECTIVE structure (Davidsen 1992: 124). Davidsen'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, Davidsen 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 *singing 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 peacetime '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 'superventive' 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 discursal flow.

• MIDDLE

• + superventive *He fell. He died.*
Actor [- control] - Process

• - superventive *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. Davidse 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 entities⁵ 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'⁶ 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 Attribute⁷, they function as Thing in the nominal group⁸ (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-directness 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 verus 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 Attu 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 Davidsen'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, *gyokusai* (lit. smashed 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. 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. 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.

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 Attu Island:

Abbreviations

Pr. = Process *Mat.* = Material *Rel.* = Relational *Cir.* = Circumstance
Ag. - Carrier = Agent-Carrier

- (1) BRAVE JAPANESE SOLDIERS AT ATTU MEET HEROIC END
Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Range*
 (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943)
- (2) HEROES DIE GLORIOUS DEATH
Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Range*
 (Nippon Times, 31 May 1943, evening edition)
- (3) ... Colonel Yasuyo Yamazaki, the commander, and brave men of the Attu Japanese
Actors
 garrison corps died 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.
Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Range*

(Nippon Times, 11 June 1943)

- (5) They (soldiers at Attu) gallantly met death.
Actor *Cir.: Manner* *Pr.: Mat.* *Range*

(Nippon Times, 4 September 1943)

- (6) 2000 defenders of Attu island ... met death unflinchingly
Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Range* *Cir.: Manner*
with a smile on their faces
Cir.: Manner

(Nippon Times, 4 September 1943)

- (7) ... the men of the Imperial Forces stood their ground to the very last man.
Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Range* *Cir.: Extent*

(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
Actor [-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.* *Goal* *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.⁹ 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. *sanga*, *gyokusai*, *jiketsu*) 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

Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Goal*

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 9 December 1941)

(13) JAPANESE DOWN 202 U.S. PLANES ON PHILIPPINES

Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Goal*

Entire Area Is Blasted by Air Force on Thursday

Goal *Pr.: Mat.* *Actor*

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 12 December 1941)

(14) KOWLOON OCCUPIED BY JAPANESE ARMY IN TERRIFIC BATTLE

Goal *Pr.: Mat.* *Actor* *Cir.: Manner*

City Fully Occupied By Imperial Army on Friday

Goal *Cir.: Manner* *Pr.: Mat.* *Actor* *Cir.: Time*

(Japan Time & Advertiser, 13 December 1941)

(15) ARMY RAIDS MALAY, BURMA BASES; PHILIPPINE AIR FORCE WIPED OUT

Actor *Pr.: Mat.* *Goal* *Goal* *Pr.: Mat.*

MANILA PARALYZED; BRITISH MECHANIZED DIVISION IS DESTROYED

Goal *Pr.: Mat.* *Goal* *Pr.: Mat.*

(16) JAPANESE UNITS TAKE KUCHING; ARMY OCCUPIES IPOH, MALAYA

Actor Pr.: Mat. Goal Actor Pr.: Mat. Goal

SUBS SINK 10 SHIPS IN PACIFIC

Actor: Pr.: Mat. Goal

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 30 December 1941)

(17) HONG KONG FULLY OCCUPIED

Goal Cir.: Manner Pr.: Mat.

(Japan Times & Advertiser, 27 December 1941)

(18) ARMY CRUSHING ENEMY IN LUZON; OCCUPIES BASE IN WEST MALAYA

Actor Pr.: Mat. Goal Pr.: Mat. 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 YIOJIMA LAUNCH FINAL DRIVE AGAINST US. TROOPS

Actor Pr.: Mat. Range

(20) The Japanese Forces on Yiojima have inflicted about 33,000 casualties on

Actor Pr.: Mat. Range

the American officers and men ... up to March 16.

Cir.: Extent

(21) All the officers and men with the Supreme Commander at the head, launched

Actor Pr.: Mat.

a dauntless general attack at midnight of March 17 ...

Range Cir.: Time

(Nippon Times, 22 March, 1945)

• Japanese defeat at Okinawa

(22) NIPPON FORCES CARRY OUT FINAL ATTACK ON OKINAWA

Actor Pr.: Mat. Range Cir.: Loc.

(23)

.... the Imperial Japanese Forces commanded by

Actor

Pr.: Mat.

Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima and navy units led by Rear Admiral Minoru

Actor

Actor

Ota launched their final offensive against the invasion forces

Pr.: Mat.

Range

(24) USHIJIMA, OTHER UNITS WIN SUPREME HONOR

Actor

Pr.: Mat. Range

FOR GALLANT DEFENSE ACTION IN OKINAWA

Cir.: Cause

(25) The Ushijima Unit and other Units attached thereto, manifesting superb

Actor/Ag - Carrier

Pr.: Rel.

fighting spirit and superior fighting technique, inflicting heavy losses on the

Attribute

Attribute Pr.: Mat. 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

Actor/Ag - Carrier

Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima has maintained a heroic stand ... thus demonstrating

Pr.: Mat.

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

Actor

Pr.: Mat. 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

(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) mettle', '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 Attu 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-

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

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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.

2. Fairclough defines a 'discourse' as a 'particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice' (1995: 76).

3. 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 1989: 12).

4. Davids also presents an Ergative framework along with the Transitive paradigm. While the transitivity system realises an *Actor-Process and Extension* model (Halliday 1994: 162), the Ergative system signifies an *Instigation 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.

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.

5. 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).

6. 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, 327-329, Halliday 1994: 342-353).

7. 'Attribute' means a quality ascribed to an entity in question (Halliday 1994: 120). See section 2.4 for discussion of how 'Attribute' is exploited in the context of war propaganda.

8. 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).

9. 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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