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Culpability across borders: print media of the DSK affair from an SFL perspective

Michelle Tjondro*

Department of French Studies, The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia

This article explores the interactions between culture, linguistic choices and hard news journalistic practices, focusing on the Dominique Strauss-Kahn (DSK) affair of 2011 as the basis for a comparative analysis across three cultures: France, America and Guinea. The present study is motivated by the growing application of linguistic approaches to media studies and cross-cultural research, whose findings affirm the position that language is a resource capable of articulating and reproducing beliefs, judgments and even ideologies about social realities. Through the lens of systemic functional linguistics, patterns of linguistic choices that vary across the French and English language corpus are identified and then analysed with reference to the key discourses generated by the DSK affair. The results demonstrate the value of grammatical description in unveiling cultural, societal and individual ideologies that ordinarily have limited scope for expression in the hard news genre. Consequently, these findings suggest a tension between the presupposed neutrality of the legal process and the power of the media's rhetoric in its capacity as an additional yet covert trial participant.

Keywords: systemic functional theory; Dominique Strauss-Kahn; trial publicity; rape narrative; ideology

Notational Conventions

The corpus articles are comprised of a total of 852 clauses, beginning from clause 1 in Article 1 (American) to clause 413e of Article 9 (Guinean). The list of articles is presented at the end of this article.

Examples used in the analyses are accompanied by their assigned clause number and their functional label and/or the conventional notations for indicating taxis and logico-semantic relations, for example:

Clause	146	À tout moment,	une transaction confidentielle	peut	mettre fin	aux hostilités.
Experiential Metafunction		Circumstance: Time	Agent/Actor	Process: material: effective		Medium/ Goal
Interpersonal Metafunction		Adjunct: Circumstantial	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Adjunct
Textual Metafunction		Theme: topical (marked)	Rheme			

*Email: mtjo5021@uni.sydney.edu.au

1.   Introduction

This study evolved as a link between the increasing application of linguistic approaches to research on "media and multilingual audiences, cross-cultural and transnational perspectives, and the global-local articulation" (Wodak and Busch 2004, 112) on the one hand and studies of the language of the law on the other. The former recognises the syntactic contribution to textual cohesion, as compared to non-linguistic approaches that focus primarily on the semantic dimension of coherence (Wodak and Busch 2004). The latter references the pervasive role of language during the legal process (e.g. in the exercise of statutory interpretation) and beyond (e.g. how the language of external commentators may shape public opinion). Drawing from this, it is my aim to explore the interactions between culture, linguistic choices and media reporting practices, using the case study of the Dominique Strauss-Kahn (DSK) affair as the basis of a comparative analysis across three cultures: France, America and Guinea.

The point of departure for numerous studies including the present is "how media language might work ideologically" (Fowler 1991; Van Dijk 1998; Lukin 2005; Caffarel and Rechniewski 2009). A dominant perspective is based on the potential for journalistic writing to perpetuate the "deep acculturation of the individuals who produce it", just as much as its primary role is to cover the newsworthy event (Seymour 2006). That is, "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position" (Fowler 1991) – this is a fundamental basis for any examination into the means by which media texts articulate and reproduce beliefs, judgements and desires about a given social reality.

The chosen methodology is that of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) – a theory of language as meaning potential capable of demonstrating the association between reality and language. SFL is increasingly the framework of choice in news reporting analyses (Seymour 2006), for grammar is seen as realising the semantic system that itself realises contextual variables, thus enabling a holistic analysis of the relationship between culture, media reporting practices and the grammatical patterns in the corpus.

The organisational resource that Halliday proposes comprises three metafunctions with associated semantic and grammatical systems that are influenced by the contextual variables of field, tenor and mode. The resulting metafunctional diversification (Caffarel 2009) provides that every clause expresses three types of meaning. The **ideational** metafunction is divided into two – the experiential and the logical metafunctions. The former presents the clause as representation; it is concerned with experiences, processes and the participants involved in those processes, while the latter describes the nature of the meanings that arise between two clauses. The **interpersonal** metafunction presents the clause as exchange; it is concerned with the interaction and relationship between interlocutors. And finally, the **textual** metafunction presents the clause as message; it is concerned with how individual clauses are organised to facilitate the flow of discourse of a larger text. These metafunctions operate simultaneously and without any hierarchy, but they are separate concepts that contribute a different dimension to the overall meaning of the clause (Eggins 2004). The interpersonal metafunction will not be used in the present study for two related reasons: first, the complexity of the present study's focus limits the number of areas of SFL that can be used and satisfactorily discussed and second, the nature of the DSK affair leads us to concentrate more on journalistic representations of the interaction between participants, processes and the context (ideational metafunction) and on how those representations are organised (textual metafunction).

The corpus comprises nine French, American and Guinean news articles that covered the DSK affair. The case consists of a Guinean hotel maid's allegations of a

rape committed in America by a well-known French political figure. Each major participant from a legal perspective, that is, the victim, the accused and the territory in which the alleged crime occurred, is associated with a different culture, thus presenting an opportunity to examine culture as a variable. The articles are hard news rather than editorial pieces, so as to ensure to the greatest extent that culture is the dominant variable. Moreover, the focus on a single case study facilitates the investigation of any temporal influences on linguistic choices given that the legal process, reported in the media, unfolded over a period spanning more than a year. Future studies may focus on the temporal variable, since for the duration of the case's newsworthy lifespan and even beyond, the print media are not merely commentators but also contributors to the constant flux of public perception about the case. Thus, it will be of interest whether journalists' linguistic choices change in order to accommodate, or respond to, contemporaneous articles. Additionally, the high-profile nature of the case as well as the plurality of cultures represented in the facts occasion several legal complexities that will be discussed in the analyses.

This study serves neither to confirm nor to disprove the accuracy of what has been publicised of the DSK affair. It is a retrospective examination, substantiated by SFL analysis, of the cultural and linguistic aspects of the case. While the limited corpus precludes stronger conclusions, it is hoped that the findings will provide a linguistic evaluation of certain phenomena associated with cross-cultural news reporting. The implications of this research include pedagogical applications, such as whether knowledge of SFL could be useful for journalists in their understanding of media bias. Or, whether journalists should be sensitive to culture-specific legal processes when choosing which aspects of an event to publicise – these are complex issues in an era when news reporting is often scrutinised for alleged biases and/or misinformation.

2. The corpus and the media landscapes of France, the United States and Guinea

The corpus articles appeared in press and/or online[1] between the dates of 21 May 2011 and 18 May 2012, reporting on a spread of events from the early stages of the investigation up until DSK's filing of civil claims against Diallo on 14 May 2012, exactly a year after the maid brought forward her allegations of rape. Thus, the corpus does not include certain elements of the case, such as the unfolding of the civil process nor the validation of the civil settlement on 10 December 2012, which signalled the close of the affair. However, concentrating on a smaller set of articles has rendered it possible to perform a more thorough examination of these texts.

Beyond these cursory characteristics, it is worth noting in this study of culture and media that scholars of nationalism have proposed a "functional relation between the nation and modes of social communication" (Schlesinger 2000, 99; as cited in Skey 2009, 335). That is, the journalist, as a citizen, is influenced by the omnipresent representations of nationhood in everyday life, even perpetuating them in the texts they produce: "nationalism…is the endemic condition" (Billig 1995, 6). Li (2010) summarises the argument in Anderson's (1991) *Imagined Communities* in order to explain the role of newspapers as a site for nationalist thinking:

> Like a "nationalist novel", Anderson argues, the general characteristics of newspapers make it possible for people to engage in the national discourse and to think of themselves as a national community. This feeling of national community is produced in two main ways: first, the mass communication of ideas through newspapers; second, the shared experience as readers and the knowledge that people in the nation are performing the daily ritual of reading the same newspaper.

While newspapers as a mediating link between the individual and the national may be true of France and America, the same cannot be said for Guinea. Schmidt (2005) writes that mobilising the largely non-literate population of Guinea necessitated different forms of expression, namely songs, symbols and uniforms, which transmitted the nationalist agenda through more explicit means. The recent emergence of Guinean and African news sites thus signifies a changing media landscape in Guinea, opening new channels for nationalist communications. The remainder of this section briefly profiles the nine newspapers or news sites from which the corpus was acquired.

The French and American corpora consist of the major newspapers by circulation of those countries. *The Wall Street Journal* is the most circulated newspaper in America. It is right-leaning and well-respected, with an emphasis on business and economic news coverage. *The New York Times*, another daily, is the third most circulated in America although its primary locality is New York. It is perceived as left-leaning,[2] while the *Chicago Tribune* is perceived conservative. The three French newspapers represented in the corpus are generally considered the major newspapers of record in France. *Le Monde* is the largest national newspaper in France, generally a trusted source of news, having established a reputation for objective reporting (Atkins 2002). Traditionally, it has been associated with "re-asserting a French tradition of cultural as well as political integration" (Benson 2004, 111), but its present-day "defense of a more cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic France" combined with its 2002 initiative to begin including, in English, a selection of *The New York Times* indicates "a larger effort to assimilate *Le Monde* to what its managers perceive as a small elite of 'global newspapers' and a form of journalism that is market, rather than politically or ideologically, driven" (Benson 2004, 119). This suggested that a trend towards universal journalism could justify the presence, or lack thereof, of culture-specific ideologies in the articles. The two other French newspapers are *Le Figaro*, whose readership is "closer to the traditional, conservative, end of the political spectrum" while *Libération* is left-leaning, "in origin countercultural, suspicious of all governments, political parties and institutions", appealing to "a younger, more radical and urban readership" (Caffarel and Rechniewski 2009). I noted also the geographical correlation between newspapers and their readerships, i.e. rural populations comprising the readership of regional papers.

During the search for Guinean articles, a prevailing difficulty was not only the scarcity of sources but the lack of available information about the Guinean press. The project "infoasaid", whose objective is to enable humanitarian assistance by facilitating the exchange of information between crisis-affected populations and aid agencies,[3] developed media and telecoms landscape guides for 22 countries at risk of natural disasters and/or conflict, including Guinea. Infoasaid stated that the growth of Guinean print media is restricted by a number of factors, including high illiteracy levels, poverty that limits the operations of a printing press and difficulties in distributing newspapers outside of Conakry, the capital.[4] Guinea's only national daily newspaper is Horoya, although it is not generally circulated beyond government officials and civil servants based in Conakry. It has traditionally been seen as a propagator of government views and is owned by the Ministry of Information. However, in the absence of an online version, it was not possible to access articles from this source.

Instead, the Guinean articles were obtained from the online news sites *Slate Afrique, AfricaNewsmag* and *Guinéenews*. The last is based in Canada and like other websites about Guinea, *Guinéenews* targets a readership comprised largely of overseas Guineans, with the goal of mitigating the gap in news left by a lack of independent, Guinean, daily newspapers.[5] The website of *AfricaNewsmag* refers to its aim of contributing to the media landscape of Guinea and West Africa,[6] and similarly, *Slate Afrique* is a Paris-based online

news site that reports news related to Africa and its expatriates (Bryant 2012). Although there exist African news sites that publish in English, e.g. allAfrica.com,[7] I have chosen French language sources since French is the national language of Guinea. Generally, these sites are not as well-established as their American and French counterparts of the corpus (Slate Afrique was founded in 2011; *Guinéenews* in 1997), and there is therefore far less information about their perceived reporting style than is available for the American and French newspapers. However, a consequence of this is that the linguistic patterns in the Guinean articles potentially allow us to deduce and develop a preliminary profile of their ideological positions, although further studies are required to confirm any trends.

3. Discussion

3.1 *Interdependency and logico-semantic relations*

Tables 1 and 2 summarise the incidences of the different clause complex relations of the corpus.

Table 1.   Incidences of paratactic relations in the corpus.

	Parataxis					
	Expansion (%)			Projection (%)		
Article	Elaboration	Extension	Enhancement	Idea	Locution	Total
1	11.43	20.95	0	0	15.24	47.62
2	3.57	17.86	0	0	14.29	35.72
3	2.27	15.91	0	0	9.09	27.27
4	17.39	13.04	0	0	17.39	47.82
5	5.67	13.20	1.89	0	7.55	28.30
6	3.64	10.91	0	0	5.45	20.00
7	13.24	7.35	4.41	0	4.41	29.41
8	7.14	7.14	0	0	14.29	28.58
9	4.91	26.22	6.56	0	11.48	49.17

Table 2.   Incidences of hypotactic relations in the corpus.

	Hypotaxis					
	Expansion (%)			Projection (%)		
Article	Elaboration	Extension	Enhancement	Idea	Locution	Total
1	5.71	0.95	16.19	6.67	22.86	52.38
2	3.57	3.57	17.86	7.14	32.14	64.29
3	15.91	2.27	15.91	2.27	36.36	72.73
4	13.04	0	30.43	4.35	4.35	52.18
5	9.43	3.77	26.42	7.55	24.53	71.70
6	23.64	7.27	36.36	10.91	1.82	80.00
7	16.18	1.47	29.41	7.35	16.18	70.59
8	25.00	0	32.14	3.57	10.71	71.43
9	9.84	0	32.79	1.64	6.56	50.83

Hypotactic relations outnumbered paratactic ones in all articles. In his examination of scientific discourse, Martin (1996) established the correlation between hypotaxis and its capacity to convey complex meanings and communicate arguments. As hard news is a genre that seeks to identify sources of social-order disequilibrium (White 1997), inform and even persuade, this preference for grammatically complex clauses in the corpus helps achieve this, explaining the overall majority of hypotaxis. Interestingly, the extent to which it was a majority varied widely; for example, 80% of clause complex relations in Article 6 were hypotactic, compared to Articles 1, 4 and 9 which contained similar frequencies of hypotactic and paratactic relations.

The trend in Articles 1, 4 and 9 may be attested to the articles' greater use of paratactic relations which had the effect of "balancing out" the general tendency towards hypotaxis in journalistic writing. For example, 1 and 4 employed more paratactic elaborations than other articles (with the exception of Article 7). These specify or clarify the details of an event, fulfilling one purpose of the Event Story (White 1997):

(1)

3	1	× β			When the conversation was translated –
3a	= 2				**a job completed only this Wednesday –**
3b		α	1		investigators were alarmed:
3c		= 2	" 1		**"She says words to the effect of, [['Don't worry, // this guy has a lot of money. // I know [[what I'm doing]]]]"**
3d			2		the official said.

(2)

134	" 1	1			DSK, << >> « est libre: *DSK, << >> "is free:*
134a	2				<< note-t-il, >> *<< he notes >>*
134b	= 2	1			**il n'est plus directeur du FMI,** ***he is no longer head of the IMF,***
134c		= 2	1		**n'est pas candidat à une élection** ***is not an election candidate***
134d			+ 2	α	et n'est plus poursuivi par la justice américaine », *and is no longer pursued by American justice",*
134e				× β	même s'il reste l'objet d'une plainte au civil de Nafissatou Diallo, la femme de chambre du Sofitel de Manhattan. *although he remains the subject of a civil complaint by Nafissatou Diallo, the maid at the Sofitel Manhattan.*

Article 9 also displayed a greater incidence of paratactic extension, which we suggest corresponds to the "justification" relationship of specification under White's (1997) framework of how the body of a hard news story "refer[s] back to the headline/lead through a series of specifications". In an "Issues Report" (of which Article 9 is one), justification denotes the clauses providing "evidence or reasoning which supports the newsworthy claim presented in the headline/lead nucleus" (White 1997). And so given the

headline of Article 9, which orthographically "equates" Diallo with certain qualities (The Guinean victim of alleged rape by Strauss-Kahn at the Sofitel New York: "an honest, exemplary and good woman"),[8] many of the article's paratactic extensions correspond to this profiling. Paratactic extensions are the structural markers signalling the various justifications for Diallo's exemplary and honest nature; construing a rape narrative around the victimised protagonist Diallo who is consistently a model citizen and thus, it would appear, incapable of fault.

(3) **389**	1					ND est pieuse
						ND is pious
389a	**+ 2**	**1**				**et ne manque jamais ses prières**
						and never misses her prayers
389b		× 2	" 1	1		car << >> elle vient d'une famille « respectable »
						because << >> she comes from a "respectable" family
389c			2			<< dit-elle >>
						<< she said >>
389d				**+ 2**		**et ne veut pas attirer la honte envers [[ses parents, notamment sa mère, (son père étant décédé), // qu'elle vient d'envoyer dans un état voisin de la Guinée // pour se reposer.**
						and does not want to draw shame to her parents, especially her mother (her father is deceased), who she has sent to a neighbouring state of Guinea to rest.

(4) **391**	" 1	1			« ND ne sortait pas
					"ND did not go out
391a			**+ 2**	α	**et menait une vie exemplaire**
					and led an exemplary life
391b			× β		parce qu'elle tenait beaucoup à donner à sa fille une bonne éducation »
					because she was keen to give her daughter a good education"
391c	2				explique MD à Guinéenews ©.
					MD explained to Guinéenews ©.

(5) **410**	α				« Dire
					"To say
410a	" β	α	1		qu'un peul gambien venait de déposer des colas à sa famille
					that a Gambian Fula had filed colas to her family
410b		× β			pour l'épouser
					to marry her
410c			**+ 2**	**1**	**et avant ça, elle avait repoussé tellement de prétendants**
					and before that, she had rejected so many suitors
410d			× 2		car c'est une femme très belle, élancée typiquement guinéenne.
					because she is a very beautiful woman, slender and typically Guinean.

In Articles 4–9, hypotactic expansions occurred the most frequently. This is mainly due to the incidence of hypotactic enhancements, which were used more than any other taxis-dependency relationship. Similarly, there was a strong tendency for extension to be combined with parataxis. Several points can be made about these observations. First, they

correspond with Caffarel's (2006) finding that in the French narrative register, enhancement tends to be hypotactic and extension paratactic (although this was also true for the American articles of the corpus). Here, the notion of language as a system of choice has guided my analysis to focus on why certain linguistic choices are selected over others. However, Nesbitt and Plum (1988, as cited in Caffarel 2006) stress the equal significance of the linguistic system as one of probabilities, where instantiations should be "interpreted against the background of expectancies". The probabilistic nature of the clause complex system correlates with the availability of linguistic resources to realise those clause complex relations, i.e. an abundance of structural markers realising some logical relations raises its expected incidence (hypotactic enhancement) and the converse is true where there are limited options available to others (paratactic enhancement) (Caffarel 2006). So, it is not the minimal use of paratactic enhancement and hypotactic extension which is salient, but rather, that they occur instead of other relations within a framework of expectancies.

Second, the prevalence of hypotactic enhancements is unsurprising, since they express the logical causal meanings necessary to inform and persuade the readership of an ideology. It was noted that Issues Reports (Articles 2, 6, 8 and 9) used more hypotactic enhancements compared to the Event Stories of their respective cultures. Possibly, this is associated with an Issues Report's concern to present claims rather than facts about a "supposed reality" (White 1997), where the soundness of cause-and-effect sequences within the text is crucial to the credibility and persuasiveness of that journalist's claims/ideologies.

The final aspect of clause complex relations to be analysed here is the characteristic use of projection in journalistic writing. Since texts use language that is located on a cline from "casual talk to highly technical language" (Caffarel 2006), we can expect a news article to be positioned somewhere in the middle and exhibit elements of both written and spoken language. Typically, the spoken language of hard news articles is derived not only from direct quotes but also in the ways they address the readership.[9] Indeed, a main source of spoken text in our corpus arises from the quotations of the participants themselves, from witnesses or even external commentators on the newsworthy event. In logical metafunctional terms, these are the locutions, and I explain below their patterns of incidence.

Overall, the American articles contained the highest proportion of locutions; 49.72% of all clause complex relations were either paratactic or hypotactic locutions. That is, they included the highest incidence of direct or indirect quotes, reflecting an American press' tendency to practise a narrative format of reporting where quotes and details of participants are central to the construction of the news. Similarly, the French articles contained a significant proportion of locutions (38.17%), but as we will see below, this lower percentage compared to the American articles may stem from the debate format of French news, which integrates analyses and commentaries from various perspectives.[10]

In order to highlight how the journalistic formats of different cultures influence the depiction of an event, I look to Articles 3 (American) and 4 (French) since these both focus on DSK's first public interview about the 2011 affair and were published one day apart. First, locutions comprise 45% of Article 3's relations compared to 22% in Article 4. Opening with a locution taken from DSK's interview, Article 3 foregrounds from the outset that his comments will be given prominence, forming the crux of the text. By contrast, the first locution of Article 4 appears more than a third of the way in, and neither it nor any of the other locutions are attributable to DSK himself, even though the article's title "Mr Strauss-Kahn explains for the first time"[11] would suggest otherwise. Instead, the Sayers[12] are the lawyers of DSK and Diallo, such that the trial participants are commented on, rather than commenting themselves. It creates a degree of separation between the

reader and the event, as if to preserve the privacy and personal dignity of the trial participants – a tenet of the Continental media's practices[13] – even though the interview itself transpired publicly.

The absence of plaintiff and defendant in the article is indicative of how the debate has extended beyond the initial complaint to border on wider issues, such as cross-cultural legal differences, which is referenced in clause (139): *Faut-il expliquer l'état des procédures en cours aux États-Unis et en France?*. Although this study did not apply an interpersonal metafunctional analysis, it is still relevant to highlight that clause (139) is one of numerous interrogatives found in Articles 4, 6, 7 and 8. The prevalence of non-polar interrogatives,[14] particularly in Article 4,[15] would suggest an underlying purpose to solicit perspectives and interact with the reader (debate form). In contrast, except for clause (19a),[16] Article 3 (and all the American articles) are composed entirely of declaratives, demonstrating a predominant concern to inform (narrative form).

In the Guinean articles, 26.11% of clause complex relations were locutions in the Guinean articles – just over half of the incidence in the American articles. In itself, the difference does not reveal much, but drawing on White's (1997) classification of hard news reports into the sub-types of "Event Stories" and "Issues Reports", we may deduce that the lower percentage of locutions here is attributable to certain generic conventions. Articles 1 and 3 (American) are Event Stories since their aim is to provide a "first hand... largely unqualified, unmodulated account of what happened" (White 1997). Given the fact that the "nucleus" (White 1997) of these stories is Diallo's phone call to her boyfriend and DSK's television interview respectively, it becomes evident why locutions are prominent if a journalist is to replicate a past reality.

On the other hand, Articles 7–9 (Guinean) align with the "Issues Report" sub-type, which is characterised by a description of the "semiotic activity, the public controversies and debates which are triggered when some newsworthy event or state of affairs acquires the status of 'issue'" (White 1997). Unlike in Articles 1–3, the "Issues Report" nature of Articles 7–9 does not rely on locutions to realise the issue, since they are less concerned with the reconstruction of an event than with the organisation of the differing viewpoints in the debate. While incorporating more locutions would have constituted one method of embodying the various ideas, my argument is that the multiplicity of "voices" in the Guinean corpus is manifested alternatively: there is greater emphasis on Sayers other than Diallo and DSK.

Table 3 presents a summary of all the Sayers (including implicit Sayers)[17] of the verbal processes.

Table 3. Summary of Sayer in verbal processes of the corpus.

Article no.	Diallo (or referent, e.g. "the hotel maid")	DSK (or referent, e.g. "the IMF chief")	Legal official (e.g. "l'avocat Brafman")	Other (e.g. "un grand nombre de Guinéens")	Total
American	27	14	37	5	83
(Articles 1–3)	32.53%	16.87%	44.58%	6.02%	100%
French	8	3	15	15	41
(Articles 4–6)	19.51%	7.31%	36.59%	36.59%	100%
Guinean	7	0	4	28	39
(Articles 7–9)	17.95%	0%	10.26%	71.79%	100%

I identified four main categories: Diallo, DSK, legal official and other. Relative to Articles 1–6, the Guinean articles rarely placed Diallo, DSK or a legal official in the role of Sayer, whereas they were the Sayer in 93.98% of all verbal processes in Articles 1–3 (American) and 63.41% of those in Articles 4–6 (French). Instead, the Guinean articles employ participants such as newspapers or unofficial commentators (grouped as "Other") as Sayer in 71.79% of all verbal processes. Since the 28 instances which comprise this 71.79% should not be mistaken for 28 distinct locutors (there are repetitions, such as in Article 9 where Diallo's compatriot, "MD", dominates as Sayer), it could be argued that there is not actually greater diversity of Sayers. The journalist may therefore still be reporting particular viewpoints to the exclusion of others, and Article 9 would appear to be evidence for this.

Nevertheless, it is significant that Diallo, DSK and legal officials are denied a capacity to speak within the Guinean corpus, rendering the issues more accessible to the general populace by avoiding a debate that is mediated exclusively by those directly implicated in the affair – the victim, accused and high-ranking officials. This also aligns with the news sites' goal of founding a media source accessible to Africans and the African diaspora.

As the Sayer is the participant upon whom a journalist has conferred media space to "speak", selections of Sayer may be done strategically so as to embody and endorse particular perspectives of an event. However, the choices of Sayer and Verbiage[18] are often constrained by the facts of the reported event, leading me to consider that "critical analysis should pay particular attention to how what people say is transformed: there are clearly conventions for rendering speech newsworthy, for bestowing significance on it" (Fowler 1991; as cited in Chen, 2007b).

Chen's (2005) classification of Halliday's verbal process category into the subsets of positive, neutral and negative verbal processes illustrates how speech is "transformed" into news at the level of the verb choice. It is the first study proposing such a refinement, and the classifications nuance the ways in which a writer may reveal their attitude or purpose through the verbal process. Chen (2005) also draws a distinction between three sub-functions of negative verbal processes: material negative, attitudinal negative and relational negative verbal processes,[19] and I will focus my qualitative analysis on these because they had the lowest incidence and are a good starting point in revealing how verb choices influence representations of reality.

The classification of verbal processes and their relative occurrence in the corpus is tabulated (Tables 4–6).

Across all the three cultures, negative verbal processes had the lowest incidence. These are processes which insinuate "doubt or scepticism...about the veracity" of what is said, and which we trace back to a "certain negativity of feeling on the part of the writer towards the person whose words the verbal process is being used to introduce" (Chen

Table 4.   Summary of verbal process types in Articles 1–3.

American newspapers		
Type of verbal process	Occurrence	% of total verbal processes
Neutral	72	81.81
Positive	14	15.91
Negative	2	2.27
Total	88	100

Table 5.   Summary of verbal process types in Articles 4–6.

French newspapers		
Type of verbal process	Occurrence	% of total verbal processes
Neutral	10	20.0
Positive	38	76.0
Negative	2	4.0
Total	50	100

Table 6.   Summary of verbal process types in Articles 7–9.

Guinean news sites		
Type of verbal process	Occurrence	% of total verbal processes
Neutral	20	48.78
Positive	21	51.22
Negative	0	0.00
Total	41	100

2005, 30). The four instances of negative verbal processes were classified into sub-functions and are explained below.

| (6) | **31** | **α** | But she later **admitted** |
| | **31a** | " **β** | that that, too, was a lie, |

| (7) | **76** | **α** | Diallo, a maid at the Sofitel Hotel in midtown Manhattan, **claimed** |
| | **76a** | " **β** | Strauss-Kahn forced her to perform oral sex in his suite last year. |

Examples 6 and 7 from the American articles are both attitudinal negative verbal processes because they reveal the journalist's attitude towards Diallo. A neutral verbal process like "said" could have been employed without a material change in meaning. Instead, "admitted" connotes Diallo's reluctance or hesitance to correct her initial lie, and in this way, the journalist implies her resistance to cooperate with legal officials. In example 7, "claimed" weakens Diallo's case against DSK in the mind of the reader by casting doubt on the truth of her statements. At the same time, "claimed" is also a relational negative verbal process here since it relates the participants through their involvement in the dispute, and Chen (2005) argues that the selection of negative verbal process over the neutral is done to dramatise the event and "capture the richness of human relationships between participants". The low percentage of negative verbal processes across the corpus might therefore be unexpected, given the nature of the conflict at the heart of this newsworthy event. But we will see later that positive verbal processes are equally telling of the journalist's attitudes towards the speaker whose words are being reported.

(8)	**138**	**α**	Et puis faut-il **s'excuser**
			And should he apologise
	138a	**× β**	comme vient de lui suggérer Arnaud Montebourg lors du débat télévisé entre les candidats aux primaires socialistes ?
			as was suggested to him by Arnaud Montebourg during the televised debate between candidates for the Socialist primaries?

(9)	**178**	Mais elle **est revenue** sur sa déclaration devant les policiers.
		But she went back on her statement to the police.

Examples 8 and 9 differ in that they are material negative verbal processes. Chen (2005) likens this category to Halliday's material processes since they ascribe an action to a speaker. However, it is distinguished from the other sub-functions because the journalist is restricted in the choice of verb process, such that it remains unrevealing about their attitudes. The test is therefore one of agnation. Arguably, there are no other verbal processes which could have replaced "s'excuser" nor "est revenue" without materially altering the meaning. The journalist has presented the state of affairs as it stands, and we are unable to deduce any implicit viewpoints from these examples.

Overwhelmingly, the American articles preferred the use of neutral verbal processes such as "say", "told", "reported" and "mentioned", with these constituting 81.81% of verbal processes. The effect of neutral verbal processes is that the reader is unable to gauge the journalist's stance regarding what they are reporting (Chen 2005). This contributes to the sense of objectivity that is upheld as a journalistic ideal in America, since the Verbiage is being relayed as an act of human parlance without qualification on the part of the writer. Positive verbal processes, which "promote in the reader a feeling that the person whose words are being reported is wise, authoritative, benign or in some other sense positive" (Chen 2005), account for only 15.91% of verbal processes in the American corpus. Of the 14 instances which contribute to that percentage, only three are attributable to Diallo, and even then it is not Diallo's name but the referents of "the plaintiffs" or "a New York maid", which occupy the role of Sayer. Rather, it is various legal officials who are imputed authority through the positive verbal processes that precede their locutions. So despite the strong tendency towards neutral verbal processes, negative and positive verbal processes in the American articles still operate to reflect a journalist's attitude towards the Sayer.

The statistics are almost diametrically opposite for the French articles, where 76% of verbal processes are positive, compared to 20% neutral. As Chen (2005) argued for negative verbal processes, we can assume here that positive verbal processes also dramatise events. They also capture the interest of the reader by raising questions about which participants are represented as authoritative, and why this is so. Even before considering these questions, Boudana's (2010) study offers some rationalisation for this predominance of positive verbal processes in the French articles. Her interviews with 13 French war correspondents highlighted a "literary tradition of French journalism" where journalists "must demonstrate enough neutrality to prevent readers from taking offense to what is reported", but also avoid "excessive neutrality lest readers get bored" (Boudana 2010). The journalists there themselves recognised the value in a dramatic aspect to reporting,

and this is seen in our corpus through the positive verbal processes which dramatise the dynamics of the relationship between participants by establishing some kind of power disparity. In the 38 instances of positive verbal processes, there is no discernible pattern in who occupies role of Sayer. It is shared by a variety of participants including partisans of both DSK and Diallo, lawyers and even newspapers (The New York Post), suggesting that the use of such processes stems more from the aforementioned French journalistic tradition rather than a motive to uphold the authority of any one participant.

The Guinean articles contained a similar proportion of neutral and positive verbal processes (46 and 51%, respectively). I suggest that this greater balance as compared to the American and French corpuses is due to these news sites' strategy of accounting for the expectations of a more geographically diverse readership. Not only do they write for those based in Africa as well as the African diaspora around the world, they constitute a primary source for news about the African Continent and are easily spread and retrieved online. Many of these readers may be accustomed to foreign journalistic traditions as a result of their own migration and subsequent familiarisation with overseas media cultures. On the topic of the DSK affair, it is therefore possible that the Guinean corpus incorporated elements of the American canon of objectivity (constructed in part through neutral verbal processes) and the French tendency towards interpretive journalism (positive verbal processes) in order to present a format that aligns somewhat to readers' expectations, lest unfamiliarity with the journalistic voice leads to claims of media bias.

3.2   Transitivity and ideation

Across the corpus, material processes occurred most frequently, followed by verbal processes (Table 7). Article 3 proved the only exception, where verbal processes outnumbered material processes by one. These trends are expected of hard news articles: the use of verbal projection in this genre has already been discussed – whilst the sources quoted (Sayer) and whether they are representative of supportive and opposing perspectives are indicative of media objectivity, I demonstrated how their projected speech and the verb choice itself are revealing of cross-cultural differences in journalistic formats – and the predominance of material processes stems from its generic purpose to reconstruct and relate past and ongoing doings or happenings. Here, an ergative analysis is essential in helping to answer "Who does the journalist represent as having instigated the process?" – a grammatical expression of the media's attribution of blame. The majority of effective clauses[20] in the corpus were material processes, which is predictable in the context of a crime where there is a victim (the Goal/Medium[21] in functional terms) and a person responsible for that crime (Actor/Agent[22]). Agency analysis of these material effective clauses reveals how the relationships of cause and effect between participants were portrayed.

Four categories of agents were identified: DSK and his supporters, Diallo and her supporters, legal officials or documents and the alleged rape. Others (e.g. "le New York Post") did not occur frequently enough to establish any patterns in agency (Table 8).

Across the corpus, legal participants were more often specified as Agents of effective clauses. This is predictable from the judicial nature of the event, since DSK and Diallo are no longer the primary causers of the developments during the unfolding of the legal process; instead, it is various legal officials who have the capacity to instigate processes such as prosecution or sentencing. Furthermore, the

Table 7. Transitivity patterns across the corpus.

Newspaper	Process type						
	Material	Verbal	Mental	Relational	Behavioural	Existential	Total
1 (*The NYT*)	69 (39.2%)	52 (29.5%)	18 (10.2%)	27 (15.3%)	8 (4.5%)	2 (1.1%)	176
2 (*Chicago Tribune*)	21 (40.4%)	16 (30.8%)	5 (9.6%)	9 (17.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.9%)	52
3 (*The WSJ*)	22 (31.9%)	23 (33.3%)	7 (10.1%)	14 (20.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (4.3%)	69
4 (*Le Monde*)	20 (40.0%)	11 (22.0%)	9 (18.0%)	8 (16.0%)	2 (4.0%)	0 (0%)	50
5 (*Libération*)	36 (39.6%)	23 (25.3%)	14 (15.4%)	13 (14.2%)	4 (4.4%)	1 (1.1%)	91
6 (*Le Figaro*)	57 (47.1%)	16 (13.2%)	12 (9.9%)	28 (23.1%)	7 (5.8%)	1 (0.8%)	121
7 (*AfricaNewsmag*)	71 (50.0%)	23 (16.2%)	19 (13.4%)	22 (15.5%)	6 (4.2%)	1 (0.7%)	142
8 (*Slate Afrique*)	28 (50.9%)	7 (12.7%)	1 (1.8%)	16 (29.1%)	3 (5.5%)	0 (0%)	55
9 (*Guinéenews*)	53 (55.2%)	11 (11.5%)	9 (9.4%)	19 (19.8%)	3 (3.1%)	1 (1.1%)	96

Table 8. Agents of effective clauses.

Article	DSK		Diallo		Legal participant		The alleged rape		Other	Total number of effective clauses	Total number of clauses in articles
	Explicit	Implicit	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.	Exp.	Imp.			
								Agents of processes			
1–3	7 **15.8%**	2	5 **14.0%**	3	13 **24.6%**	1	1 **7.0%**	3	22 **38.5%**	57	297
4–6	1 **2.1%**	-	2 **8.7%**	2	10 **26.1%**	2	- **0**	-	29 **63.0%**	46	262
7–9	- **0**	-	6 **10.6%**	1	15 **30.3%**	5	1 **1.5%**	-	38 **57.6%**	66	293

Goal in these clauses is usually another participant of a legal nature; in this way the articles demonstrate the cause-and-effect relationship between the officials and the trajectory of the case:

(10)	15	In the end	it was	the prosecutor's assessment of the housekeeper's credibility	that	led	them	to downgrade	their confidence in the case
		Circumstance: Time		Agent 1		Process: causal	Agent 2	Attribute/ Process: material & effective	Carrier/ Goal

In the American articles, DSK and Diallo shared similar incidences of agency (they were Agents of nine and eight clauses, respectively), but this is only 2.6% of all clauses (effective and middle) of the American corpus. DSK and Diallo were Agents of even fewer clauses across the French and Guinean corpus; however, there was a tendency to position Diallo as Agent rather than DSK. A greater number of effective clauses had DSK (agent) impacting upon Diallo (Goal/Medium) than Diallo impacting upon DSK, reflecting the fact that DSK was the accused and therefore the alleged causer of the crime. Only one of those clauses left DSK as an implicit Agent and had this been a more consistent phenomenon, especially in the French articles, it might have represented an attempt to efface DSK's responsibility in the crime. With more empirical evidence, this potentially relates to the Socialist Party's narrative on sexual violence – one aspect of the discourse on transatlantic differences in sexual violence attitudes which could have been emphasised by the grammatical choice of effacing the Socialist Party leader's agency. Nevertheless, the scarce examples from the corpus render agency analysis of DSK and Diallo inconclusive. Compounded by the fact that there is no definite version of events and therefore no concrete "reality" to act as a point of comparison for what was portrayed in the articles,[23] it would perhaps be worthwhile to extend the focus of agency analysis towards determining if the DSK/ Diallo cause-and-effect relationship changed significantly over the 19 months it took to reach the civil settlement. A longitudinal study of the newspapers' coverage which concentrates on agency analysis may highlight whether culture-specific attitudes to sexual violence prevailed in attributions of causation, despite the fluctuating public opinion fuelled by revelations, conspiracy theories and the oversights at certain stages of the legal process.

Of the five occasions where the alleged rape (or other referent such as "the scandal") was Agent, four arise from the American articles and impact on the Goal of DSK or his expected bid for presidency. Interestingly, the repercussions of the crime itself extend only to DSK and aspects of his life:

(11)

77	**The scandal** Carrier/Medium	**made** Process: relational: attributive & middle	**headlines** Range/Attribute	**around the world,** Circumstance: Place

77a	[the scandal] [Agent/Actor]	**caused** Process causal…	**Strauss-Kahn** Goal/Medium	**to resign** …Process material & middle	**as head of the IMF** Circumstance: Role

77b	**and** [the scandal] [Agent/Actor]	**scuttled** Process: material & effective	**his expected bid for the French presidency.** Goal/Medium

Table 9.   Transitivity analysis of selected breaking headlines[26].

Actor/Agent	Process	Goal/Medium
IMF chief's arrest	Upends	Political scene in a shocked France
IMF chief's arrest	Boosts	French socialist candidates
Le départ du patron du FMI	bouleverserait	les négociations économiques mondiales
The departure of the IMF chief	*would disrupt*	*global economic negotiations*
L'inculpation de DSK	chamboule	la primaire du PS
DSK's indictment	*upsets*	*the Socialist Party primary*
Une inculpation qui	assombrit	l'avenir politique de Strauss-Kahn
An indictment that	*darkens*	*Strauss-Kahn's political future*
Une inculpation qui	bouleverse	la donne au PS pour 2012
An indictment that	*disrupts*	*the Socialist Party's political situation for 2012*

As further analysis, I compiled all breaking headlines concerning the affair from each of the chosen newspapers[24] to see how the event was introduced to the public in the immediacy of the accusation. As the reader's first orientation towards the content of the article, headlines are revealing of a generalised ideology which the journalist may then detail, argue and persuade within their ensuing article. First, it is striking that in the 62 headlines, the alleged victim is never even mentioned in her capacity as "accuser" or otherwise.[25] Yet this is not due to lack of confirmed details – other newspapers around the world used referents such as "a hotel chambermaid" (Swaine 2011) as Diallo's name had not been disclosed. In our newspapers, however, breaking headlines mainly referred to political and economic effects of the arrest (Table 9).

In the case of *The Wall Street Journal*, perhaps their emphasis on financial reporting would lead them to focus on the economic ramifications of DSK's arrest, at least until his resignation from the IMF on the 18 May 2011. That this was also the case for the other French and American newspapers of the corpus had the effect of detracting from the seriousness of sexual violence, by censoring participants to the effect of denying a potential rape victim to be impacted and have their story legitimised as a newsworthy event in the headline. Essentially, the same news story may run in two directions; congruent to the rape narrative is the one concerning lost political opportunity and fragile economic times, and yet the former is almost invisible since there is no mention of an accuser and an arrest/*une inculpation* is so general and could relate to any class of crime.

Viewed from another perspective however, the aversion to headlining rape within the first two days could reflect the French and American press' caution against contributing to a "trial by media" situation.[27] Each nation had an interest either to protect or to prosecute the accused, and this distinguished them from other cultures whose press was more specific in their classification of the crime (Gallagher and Willsher 2011; Sage, Naughton, and Pavia 2011).

3.2.1 Relational processes

Relational processes were generally the third most prevalent after material and verbal processes. The two sub-types are attributive and identifying, the fundamental difference being that between "class membership (attributive[28]) and symbolisation (identifying[29])"

Table 10. Attribute and Value in Article 8's relational processes.

Clause	Diallo	Clause	DSK	Clause	The alleged rape
(355)	• le tort [[d'avoir menti sur sa vie privée]]	(357) (357a) (369b)	• malade • besoin de soins • candidat à la préside-nce	(366)	• une plateforme de prédilection des divergences poli-tico-ethniques entre franges de l'opposition guinéenne et militants de la mouvance présidentielle.
(355b)	• des approxima-tions d'une vic-time [[choquée par la brutalité de l'agression.]]				
(369)	• pauvre victime				

(Martin, Matthiessen, and Painter 2010). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) explain that these construe static experiences of "being", rather than the dynamic experiences of "doing" in material clauses. Potentially, relational processes more covertly reflect ideologies, since the journalists ascribe a quality to participants or use them symbolically (constructed from attributes or identifying traits), thus omitting any active involvement from participants.

I considered only those relational processes which placed Diallo, DSK or the alleged rape in the role of Carrier[30] or Token,[31] and their respective Attributes[32] and Values[33] were tabulated. For example, Article 8 contained 16 relational clauses, of which seven fit the criteria above (Table 10).

Similar to what was revealed through the use of Circumstances of Viewpoint (this is discussed in section 3.2.2), the relational processes construct a coherent "profile" of Diallo and DSK.[34] Diallo is the unfortunate victim who may not have told the absolute truth, given the pressures of her ordeal, while behind DSK's powerful public image was an "illness". The headlined Guinean perspective is one of sympathy for Diallo, particularly in the light of an American legal system which might essentially allow Diallo's previous lies to exonerate DSK. At the same time, it is reserved in its characterisation of both DSK's involvement and the alleged crime itself, alluding only to DSK's purported illness and to how an indirect repercussion of the crime was to expose a divide in the Guinean political landscape. So while there are elements of the "virgin rape narrative" (Article 9 more clearly exemplifies this),[35] Article 8 does not then go on to create an opposition by characterising DSK more negatively. This suggests the avoidance of dramatising the rape narrative, but perhaps also the recognition of the detriment of a trial by media for DSK.

This analysis introduces relational processes as a discursive tool, but their low occurrence in the corpus prevents more definite conclusions about the extent to which they contribute to the media's rape narrative. Despite the obvious race and class differences in the DSK affair, these were seldom evoked through an Attribute or Value,[36] reflecting a conscientiousness to avoid details which may detract from the reality of a rape (Table 11).

Table 11.   Incidences of the various circumstance types.

Art-icle	Circumstance type											Total inci-dence
	Time	Place	Man-ner	Viewpoint	Matter	Extent	Accompani-ment	Cause	Comp-arison	Role	Condi-tion	
1	26	26	9	5	2	4	2	6	1	1	1	83
	31.3%	31.3%	10.8%	6%	2.4%	4.8%	2.4%	7.2%	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	
2	9	3	3	–	4	–	1	3	–	1	1	25
	36%	12%	12%		16%		4%	12%		4%	4%	
3	9	10	1	2	5	2	–	3	–	3	1	36
	25%	27.7%	2.8%	5.6%	13.9%	5.6%		8.3%		8.3%	2.8%	
4	8	7	3	–	1	2	1	1	–	–	1	24
	33.3%	29.2%	12.5%		4.2%	8.3%	4.2%	4.2%			4.2%	
5	19	11	7	1	1	5	1	3	1	–	–	49
	38.8%	22.4%	14.3%	2%	2%	10.2%	2%	6.1%	2%			
6	16	31	18	5	10	7	3	1	6	–	–	97
	16.5%	31.9%	18.6%	5.2%	10.3%	7.2%	3.1%	1%	6.2%			
7	19	34	12	4	5	2	1	–	1	2	–	80
	23.8%	42.5%	15%	5%	6.3%	2.5%	1.2%		1.2%	2.5%		
8	9	13	4	6	2	1	–	–	1	2	1	39
	23.1%	33.3%	10.3%	15.4%	5.1%	2.6%			2.6%	5.1%	2.6%	
9	9	20	9	2	5	2	2	–	1	1	1	52
	17.3%	38.5%	17.3%	3.8%	9.6%	3.8%	3.8%		1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	

3.2.2 Circumstantial elements

Again, generic conventions help to explain the dominance of temporal and spatial circumstances (Table 11). As in a narrative, hard news reports incorporate these circumstantial elements to orient readers by providing the immediate physical context of the doing or happening. They are usually specific in how they situate the event in time and place, and arguably, there is little scope for a journalist to manipulate these in favour of a given ideology, since, to give a few examples, there are few or no agnates for "twenty-eight hours after" or "dans un couloir du Sofitel".

By contrast, we would argue that the Circumstance of Viewpoint provides journalists with an implicit means of endorsing or criticising a point of view. This is because they may choose to include certain views to the exclusion of others; the logic is therefore similar to that which sustained our discussion of verbal processes. It also relates to Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) argument that most circumstances can be interpreted as "minor" processes, where the prepositions that typically mark the start of circumstance act to introduce the nominal group as an "indirect" participant. Viewpoints therefore correspond closely to the Sayer in verbal processes and Senser in mental ones, and this becomes evident if we reword the following examples:

(12) 21c	his companion	was	the woman [[involved in the Strauss-Kahn matter]],	according to another law enforcement official.
	Medium/Token	Process: relational: identifying	Range/Value	Circumstance: Viewpoint

Alternatively:

(13) α	Another law enforcement official		said	
	Medium/Sayer		Process: verbal & middle	
" β	his companion	was		the woman [[involved in the Strauss-Kahn matter]],
	Medium/Token	Process: relational: identifying & middle		Range/Value

(14) 370	Pour Amadou Barry, du comité « Justice pour Nafissatou »: *For Amadou Barry, of the "Justice for Nafissatou" committee:*	« les femmes [[habituellement soudoyées // pour faire tomber des personnalités]] *"the women [[usually bribed // to bring down personalities]]*	sont *are*	des profession-nelles. *professionals.*
	Circumstance: Viewpoint	Medium/Carrier	Process: relational: attributive	Range/Attribute

Alternatively:

(15)	1	**Amadou Barry, du comité « Justice pour Nafissatou »**		**pense**	
		Amadou Barry, of the "Justice for Nafissatou" committee		*thinks*	
		Medium/Senser		Process: mental & middle	
'	2	**« les femmes [[habituellement soudoyées // pour faire tomber des personnalités]]**	**sont**		**des professionnelles.**
		"the women [[usually bribed // to bring down personalities]]	*are*		*professionals.*
		Medium/Carrier	Process: relational: attributive		Range/Attribute

I will consider Articles 1 and 8 in more detail since they had the highest proportions of Circumstances of Viewpoint. While it may be journalistic convention to attribute reported speech to some participant (here this is realised by a Circumstance of Viewpoint), the American and Guinean articles appear to demonstrate differing motives behind their selections of circumstance.

Those in Article 1 were characterised by embedded nominal groups which all comprised legal participants[37] such as "a well-placed law enforcement official" and "a letter to the defense". The article centres on a recorded conversation between Diallo and her boyfriend, to which only investigators and translators had access, as well as other incidences when Diallo was untruthful to prosecutors. Despite the reality that, at that point in time, it remained Diallo's word against the officials', the reader's judgment is skewed in favour of the latter since the nominal groups are constructed with Epithets[38] carrying positive connotations ("well-placed"), Qualifiers[39] to enhance the status of the Thing[40] (a letter "to the defense from prosecutors") and Numeratives[41] to reinforce the solidarity of opinion ("two law enforcement officials"; "three people involved in the case") (Table 12).

Table 12. Circumstances of Viewpoint in Article 1.

Article	Clause no.	
1	2b	and had it translated from a "unique dialect of Fulani," a language from the woman's native country, Guinea, **according to a well-placed law enforcement official.**
	6a	she had lied about her immigration, about being gang raped in Guinea, about her experiences in her homeland and about her finances, **according to two law enforcement officials.**
	21c	his companion was the woman [[involved in the Strauss-Kahn matter]], **according to another law enforcement official.**
	30b	when recounting the incident," **according to a letter to the defense from prosecutors released Friday.**
	66e	and quickly take the case to the grand jury for an indictment, **according to three people involved in the case.**

Table 13.   Circumstances of Viewpoint in Article 8.

Article	Clause no.	
8	351	**Vu de Conakry**, le titre de DSK au moment de sa mise en cause dans la suite 2806 du Sofitel de New York et la fortune de son épouse, Anne Sinclair, seraient donc, **à leur avis**, des éléments assez considerable
	353	**Pour eux**, les droits d'accès à la justice de Nafissatou Diallo auraient été bafoués au cours de la procédure pénale
	356	**Pour certains Guinéens** [[qui suivent cette affaire]], DSK donnerait l'impression [[d'évoluer dans un monde // où il ne fixerait plus de seuil à la « satisfaction de sa libido ».]]
	367b	que « c'est une grande tristesse **pour nous**
	369	C'est ainsi que **d'un camp à l'autre**, Nafissatou Diallo est soit qualifiée de pauvre victime,
	370	**Pour Amadou Barry**, du comité « Justice pour Nafissatou »: « Les femmes [[habituellement soudoyées //pour faire tomber des personnalité]] sont des professionnelles.

Although the headline of Article 8 signals that the Guinean perspective is featured in this article, the journalist is able to construct a multifaceted perspective of the DSK affair by embedding various participants within the Circumstance of Viewpoint. The people of Conakry, partisans of DSK and of Diallo alike, bolded in the examples (Table 13) are all selected by the journalist to "project the social-order disruption" – here, it is the apparent unfairness of the American justice system towards Diallo – with which this Issues Report is concerned (White 1997). This array of indirect Sensers who bear witness to "a biased American justice system"[42] not only relates to the French debate format of journalism, but more significantly, strengthens the validity of their belief through the cohesion and unanimity in Guinean perspectives.

3.3   Theme and information flow

In this section, we focus on a micro-thematic analysis of the articles to explain how Theme-Rheme structures at the clause level affirm the "correlation between genre and thematic content" (Lavid, Arús and Moratón, 2012). Further studies may apply a macro-thematic analysis, based on Danes' (1974) theory of thematic progression, to reveal the thematic hierarchies and interrelations within a text, although previous studies only weakly support the hypothesis that thematic progression (as opposed to the thematic structure at clause level on which we focus our analysis) correlates with genre (Francis 1989, 1990; as cited in Fries 1995).

We often "define" genre in relation to its experiential content, e.g. hard news reports encompass "events or situations which are construed as threatening to damage, disrupt or rearrange the social order in either its material, political or normative guise" (White 1997, 3), and we have seen how patterns in the experiential metafunction analysis reflect the aims of news reporting genre. Here, we elaborate on the textual metafunction's role in presenting and ordering that experience, such that when combined with the previously discussed discursive phenomena typical of French and American journalistic formats, the reader is inclined to identify the text as a hard news article.

Table 14 compares the incidence of textual and interpersonal themes in the corpus with incidences from two analogous studies on English language hard news corpora.

Table 14.   Textual and interpersonal Themes by culture, alongside results from two comparable studies.

	Corpus			Shindo (2001)		McCabe and Heilman (2007)
	American Articles 1–3 (297 clauses)	French Articles 4–6 (262 clauses)	Guinean Articles 7–9 (293 clauses)	Example 1 (44 clauses)	Example 2 (38 clauses)	Example 3 –
Textual Theme	96 32%	107 41%	138 47%	18 41%	10 26%	43%
Interpersonal Theme	1 0.3%	11 4.2%	7 2.4%	0 0%	0 0%	3%

The prevalence of textual Themes was similar across the corpus. Their incidence ranged between 32 and 47% of clauses, which was consistent with the frequency identified in other hard news corpora (Shindo 2001; McCabe and Heilman 2007). Alongside visual methods of informational organisation such as the headline/lead nucleus (White 1997) and paragraphing, textual Themes organise the logico-semantic relations in order to "scaffold the text's argumentative structure" (Lavid, Arús and Moratón 2012). This could explain the higher rate of textual Theme in the French articles compared to the American ones, where the former's debate format necessitates a clearer organisation of complex ideas since there are multiple arguments interacting within the text.

Interpersonal Themes were rare across the corpus, reflecting a generic convention to exclude linguistic markers of authorial evaluation (realised through Comment Adjuncts)[43] and to inform rather than engaging in and soliciting dialogic exchange (realised through finites, a Wh-element or a Vocative).[44] The French language articles employed interpersonal Theme more frequently; the 11 instances were realised by a combination of Adjuncts (example 16) and Wh/Qu-elements (example 17). The former represents the journalist's evaluation of what ensues in the clause, while the latter requests information from the addressee, creating the debate format of French journalism which has already been evidenced by an experiential metafunction analysis.

(16) 154	**Certes**, *Certainly*, Theme: interpersonal	**les chefs d'inculpation** *the charges* Theme: topical (unmarked)	**ont été maintenus**, *were maintained*, Rheme

(17) 212	**Pourquoi** *Why* Theme: interpersonal & topical (unmarked)	**n'avoir pas consulté** *was not consulted* Rheme	**immédiate- ment**, *immediately*	**sur ordinateur**, *on the computer*	**le dossier d'immigration de la plaignante**, *the immigration file of the complainant*,

The Guinean corpus contained seven interpersonal Themes, and Article 7 displayed the highest incidence with four instances. Already atypical of hard news articles, the exclamative (302) *Allons !* and the minor clause in (283) *Une peccadille !* as well as the truncated polar interrogative (300) *Consentie ?* lead us to read the text as a kind of commentary – a genre where the journalist's evaluations and interjections would be less anomalous. Indeed, the article's title references the biblical narrative of David and Goliath, introducing the journalist's own comparison of present facts to a historical event.

From the same article, the interpersonal Themes in (18) and (19) are interesting in that they resemble thematic equatives, as in Article 9's (407) "*Ce qu'elle a dû dire aux policiers est la vérité absolue !*". However, (18) and (19) were analysed as interpersonal Themes because they are agnate with adverbial groups that typically realise the Adjunct subcategory, e.g. *[Évidemment]/Résultat, ils n'ont rien trouvé…,* and because they summarise the journalist's characterisation of the state of affairs.

(18)	271	**Résultat**,		**ils n'ont rien trouvé**
		Result,		*they didn't find anything*
		Theme: interpersonal		Rheme
	271a	**qui**		**puisse incriminer** **Nafissatou.**
		that		*could incriminate* *Nafissatou.*
		Theme: textual & topical (unmarked)		Rheme

(15)	305	**La preuve**,	**<< >>,**	**celui-ci**	**a décoré récemment le chef de la police de New York (NYPD) de la Légion d'honneur.**
		The proof,	*<< >>,*	*this one*	*recently decorated the head of the New York Police Department (NYPD) with the Legion of Honor.*
		Theme: interpersonal		Theme: topical (unmarked)	Rheme

Nevertheless, any subjectivity that the reader may associate with an interpersonal Theme is obscured by their resemblance to thematic equatives, whose structure situates the topical Theme in the experiential roles of Carrier or Token of a relational clause, thereby presenting the relation as an inalterable state of being. As a less explicit means of integrating evaluations, such a strategy adds to a sense of objectivity. Although we did not examine the incidence of modalised verbs, it is worth mentioning here that they are a source of interpersonal meaning, and that their position in the Rheme of the clause also contributes to the desired impression of objectivity.

Turning now to topical Themes, it was predicted of the news reporting genre that the majority of marked topical Themes are circumstantial elements. These temporal and spatial descriptors are accorded textual prominence in order to orient a reader who is reading an account of, rather than witnessing, the event. These marked topical Themes affix time and place in order to situate the clause in circumstantial relation to the wider context. On the other hand, some textual Themes, realised by conjunctions, indicate the temporal sequences within the text itself. Given that hard news articles are typically grounded in a single event occurring over a brief time span, they employed a combination of both – the marked topical Themes relating the event to external events (example 20),

while temporally oriented textual Themes nuance the sequence of happenings that constitute the newsworthy event (example 21).

(20)	262	**Après les folles semaines de la descente aux enfers de Dominique Strauss-Kahn (DSK),**	**ce**	**fut**	**au tour de Nafissatou Diallo [[de subir la brutalité de la justice américaine.]]**
		After the crazy weeks of the descent into hell for Dominique Strauss-Kahn (DSK),	*it*	*was*	*Nafissatou Diallo's turn [[to suffer the brutality of American justice.]]*
		Theme: topical (marked)		Rheme	

(21)	30	**She**			**cried**	
		Theme: topical (unmarked)			Rheme	
	30a	**And**	[she]		**became**	**"markedly distraught**
		Theme: textual	[Theme: topical (unmarked)]		Rheme	
	30b	**When**	**recounting**	**the incident,"**		**according to a letter to the defense from prosecutors released Friday.**
		Theme: textual	Rheme			

The prevalence of Sayer as a thematic head further adds to the textual distinctiveness of the journalistic genre and complements our findings on the prevalence of locutions and Sayers in the logical and experiential metafunction analyses, respectively. And so despite the semantic affinity of example (22) from the corpus and the constructed example (23), the predominant thematic structure of verbal processes across the corpus was the one seen in (22). Effectively, it prioritises the presence of the Sayer over their Verbiage, thus relegating the subjective presence of the journalist to a position of anonymity.

(22)	133	**Stéphane Fouks, grand horloger de la communication de M. Strauss-Kahn,**		**jure**
		Stéphane Fouks, communications advisor to Mr Strauss-Kahn,		*swears*
		Medium/Sayer		Process: verbal & middle
		Theme: topical (unmarked)		Rheme
	133a	**que**	**l'émission avec Claire Chazal**	**n'a « pas été préparée ».**
		that	*the show with Claire Chazal*	*had not "been prepared".*
			Actor/Medium	Process: material & middle
		Theme: textual	Theme: topical (unmarked)	Rheme

(23)	« L'émission avec Claire Chazal	n'a « pas été préparée ».
	"The show with Claire Chazal	had not "been prepared".
	Actor/Medium	Process: material & middle
	Theme: topical (unmarked)	Rheme

jure	Stéphane Fouks, grand horloger de la communication de M. Strauss-Kahn,
swears	Stéphane Fouks, communications advisor to Mr Strauss-Kahn,
Process: verbal & middle	Medium/Sayer
Theme: topical (marked)	Rheme

Several of the articles displayed a strong tendency to accord thematic prominence to the same participant. In Article 1, for example, Diallo (or a referent) was overwhelmingly the unmarked topical Theme (51 clauses) compared to DSK (1 clause). Consistently placing the alleged victim in Theme position could be interpreted as a strategy to circumscribe the involvement of DSK in the event, but we suggest it is likelier due to Article 1's ideational grounding in "Strauss-Kahn Accuser's Call" which necessitated reporting on Diallo's participation in the event. We therefore shifted our analysis to focus on the interaction between experiential roles and thematic structure, and the thematic prominence of alleged victim, accused and legal participants in their capacity as Agent or Goal was examined (Table 15).

Generally, neither an impacted victim (Diallo as goal) nor a causative accused (DSK as agent) was consistently conferred thematic prominence. Perhaps this would have been too obvious an attempt to inflect these participants with unconfirmed roles in the event, thereby perpetuating the trial by media phenomenon. Across the cultures, however, an agentive legal participant was most often the thematic head, reflecting their function as overseers of the legal process.

Table 15.   Agent and Goal experiential participants as thematic heads.

	Unmarked topical Theme					
Article	ND Agent	ND Goal	DSK Agent	DSK Goal	Legal Agent	Legal Goal
1	5	9	–	1	3	–
2	2	–	3	–	5	–
3	2	–	2	2	1	–
	9	9	5	3	9 (3.03%)	0
4	–	–	1	1	1	1
5	2	1	–	–	2	–
6	1	–	–	–	6	–
	3	1	1	1	9 (3.4%)	1
7	–	1	–	1	12	–
8	–	2	–	–	1	1
9	3	2	–	1	2	–
	3	5	0	2	15 (5.1%)	1

Finally, I considered the complexity of nominal groups in Theme position. The French language Articles 4–9 displayed a greater propensity for nominally complex Themes:

(24) 130	D'autant plus que	son arrivée tout sourire dans son appartement de la place des Vosges au côté de son épouse Anne Sinclair,	le 5 septembre, a suscité des réactions indignées.
	Especially since	*his smiling arrival at his apartment in Place des Vosges alongside his wife Anne Sinclair,*	*on September 5, sparked indignant reactions.*
	Theme: textual	Theme: topical (marked)	Rheme

This trend was particularly salient in Article 6, where lexically dense topical Themes packed together meanings which could otherwise have been realised through several clauses:

(25) 191	Ce fait divers [[mêlant dans un cocktail explosif pouvoir, sexe, argent // et qui a tenu en haleine les médias durant trois mois]]	a permis de mieux mesurer les différences entre deux mondes, deux systèmes judiciaires, deux conceptions du rapport entre vie publique et privée.
	This incident [[mixing an explosive cocktail of power, sex, and money // and which held the spellbound media for three months]]	*has allowed the differences between two worlds, two judicial systems, two conceptions of the relationship between public and private life to be measured.*
	Theme: topical (unmarked)	Rheme

Nominalisations operate within the wider discursive strategy of grammatical metaphor[45] (Lukin, Butt, and Matthiessen 2004), and I suggest that for Article 6, they not only help to realise certain generic conventions of hard news reporting, but also inscribe the text with a generic similitude to an information report. Nominalisations in Theme position succinctly introduce the legal and media phenomenon stemming from a cross-cultural affair like the DSK case:

(26) 202	La doctrine de Montesquieu de séparation des pouvoirs (exécutif, législatif, judiciaire)	fonde les deux démocraties.
	The Montesquieu doctrine of separation of powers (executive, legislative, judicial)	*underlies both democracies.*
	Theme: topical (unmarked)	Rheme

This confers a didactic character upon the text, helping to establish the complex argumentations which aim to inform not about the event, but on the academic discourse surrounding the event. Furthermore, heavily nominalised Themes are useful in news reporting, where media space is valuable and journalists are constrained by word limits.

4.   Conclusion

This study of French, American and Guinean news articles reporting on the DSK affair has sought to qualitatively examine the lexicogrammatical contributions to ideological constructions within texts. "Construction", because the analyses demonstrate that grammatical choices are far from arbitrary; they are culturally motivated and contingent upon the contextual variables of genre, field, tenor and mode which inform the journalist. While the French, American and Guinean corpus articles are united in their common interest to report a selected aspect of the DSK affair (field), they are also imbued with distinctive conceptions of the affair itself (tenor, mode) and of what constitutes hard news (genre).

Pursuant to the traditional model of Anglo-American journalism, the American articles are committed to the ideal of objectivity, which I contend is largely defined by the repression of a journalist's subjective presence. Although the articles' narrative format is concerned with informing about a happening in its immediate aftermath, they consign the role of narrator to the event's participants, witnesses and commentators, such that the reader is presented a seemingly unmodulated account. The articles also legitimise the impartiality of the American legal system, since the journalists avoid ascriptions of causation, and therefore responsibility, to either the victim or the accused. They rely upon the cultural assumption that legal officials and the legal process embody integrity and justice, foregrounding their presence more than any other participant in order to instil, by extension, that same objectivity in their texts.

Likewise, the French articles downplay the role of DSK and Diallo in the ordeal, demonstrating a shared belief in the value of a social order that is equitably regulated by legal authorities. Yet in the immediacy of the allegations, both the French and American articles circumscribed the fundamental question of what happened by neglecting to acknowledge either the existence of a victim or the fact of an alleged crime. This emphasises the distinction between objectivity and truth, and the risk of pursuing the former at the expense of displacing the latter. The common factor across all cultures was the consistent placement of legal participants in agentive position, mirroring the reality that, to a large extent, they control the direction and outcome of legal processes. Neither Diallo nor DSK was consistently portrayed as instigators of events or impacted participants, thereby avoiding overt attributions of blame. Rather, responsibility was more subtly insinuated by the use of relational processes to construct a protagonist conforming to an existing rape narrative.

In contrast to the American corpus, the French articles demonstrate a preference to open dialogic space between the media and its readership. Their concern is less to situate the DSK affair in its immediate, physical context than to accentuate its relation to the wider, pre-existing social, legal and gender issues. And although these debates may seem far removed from the quotidian, the French articles overcome this perceived distance by soliciting interaction from their readers, therefore establishing the relevance of events like the DSK affair to the everyday public.

Last, the Guinean articles were marked by the backgrounded presence of Diallo, DSK and legal officials. Rather, the Guinean portrayal of the affair in the corpus is informed by a multiplicity of Guinean voices who consistently portray their compatriot Diallo as a victim of both DSK and the American justice system. This dialogic expansion creates the impression that a single, localised event such as the DSK affair has transcended international borders without losing impetus, or newsworthiness. In this way, the articles propagate a sentiment of nationhood and solidarity amongst the Guinean diaspora. Their shared allegiance to the victim is emphasised by a characterisation of Diallo that

conforms to the pre-existing "virgin rape narrative", although they desist from a polarised representation of DSK and Diallo, lest it be identified as overt partisanship.

These findings are only indicative of the cross-cultural news reporting of French, American and Guinean media. Whether the results can be extrapolated as descriptors of the respective print media cultures is an empirical question. Foremost, this study demonstrates the value of a detailed grammatical description in unveiling cultural, societal and individual attitudes which, ordinarily, have limited scope for expression in the hard news genre. If, as White (1997) argues, hard news "acts to construct and to naturalise a model of social stability, morality and normalcy", then our cross-cultural study attests to the transnational variations of that model which arise despite the uniform parameters of a single newsworthy event.

Moreover, it highlights the sensitive nature of news that finds its basis in the climate of an ongoing legal process, where the language of the media is itself an additional participant; capable of accusing, defaming or incriminating. This study affords another perspective on the rhetoric of the law – often criticised for the way it segregates the general public from legal officials – by employing the DSK affair as a unique case study into the way language negotiates the tensions between the presupposed neutrality of the law and the salient features of class, culture and gender disparities in legal trials.

This study is also distinguished in its comparison of established (France and America) and developing media cultures (Guinea). Given the diversity of the multicultural, multilingual society the media must now address, it is important to identify journalistic differences as they exist at present. These constitute a point of reference for subsequent studies on the shifting configurations of world media landscapes, and especially on the convergence of journalistic practices (our analysis of the Guinean corpus would suggest its integration of both French and American media culture) that eventuate from the forces of globalisation. Consequently, it may be revealing of whether a particular media culture is being upheld as an exemplar for the increasing homogeneity of journalism. Or, depending on the social problem being addressed, the trend may be characterised by diverging media cultures, given the plurality of governmental policies regulating certain issues and the possibility for the media to act as a vehicle for governmental agendas.

The present study has enabled us to characterise some of the complex interactions between language, media and the law. To reveal the multitude of ways in which social problems such as rape are framed by the media for mass consumption is to invite additional perspectives on how these may be addressed legally, politically or otherwise. This study is also a point of departure for future research agendas engaging in similar linguistic approaches to media texts, whose findings may be employed pedagogically to assist journalists in their understanding of their discourse as the product of grammatical choices.

Above all, it stresses that the objectivity that we perceive the media to uphold is only as objective as the extent to which we recognise the latent yet powerful grammar, complicit in the construction of a desired message.

Notes

1. Articles 1–6 (American and French articles) were sourced online but likely appeared in press on the same day. In contrast, Articles 7–9 (Guinean articled) were necessarily sourced from online-only sources.
2. In a 25 July 2004 opinion piece, *"The Public Editor; Is the New York Times a Liberal Newspaper?"*, the New York Times' then public editor Daniel Okrent wrote that the paper

did reflect a liberal slant, particularly for certain social issues such as abortion and gay marriage.

3. http://infoasaid.org/what-we-do
4. http://infoasaid.org/guide/guinea/overview
5. http://infoasaid.org/guide/guinea/overview-0
6. http://www.africanewsmag.com/albums/Qui_sommes_nous__15.php
7. http://allafrica.com/
8. My translation: La victime Guinéenne du présumé viol de Strauss-Kahn au Sofitel de New York: « une femme exemplaire, honnête et sans histoire ».
9. An interpersonal metafunctional analysis, which approaches the clause as a move in the exchange of dialogue, would reveal how this operates.
10. Benson (2004, 121; citing Mancini 2000, 273) discusses journalistic differences of French and American media in terms of the concept of objectivity: "...the concept of objectivity makes some kind of sense a two-party system such as the United States or Britain; in these countries, one can conceivably stake out a middle, 'objective' position...But in Italy – and one could say the same for France – "objectivity is almost impossible within an intricate and fragmented panorama in which a greater number of political forces act and in which even the slightest shades of meaning in a story risk stepping on the positions of one of the forces in the political field"". See also Schudson and Sonnevend (2010), http://www.cjr.org/the_research_report/french_connections.php
11. My translation: "M. Strauss-Kahn s'explique pour la première fois".
12. A Sayer is "the participant responsible for the verbal process" and is usually, though need not be, a conscious participant (Eggins 2004).
13. The DSK affair highlighted the divergence of American and French journalistic culture regarding the choice of content. In France, the mediatisation of politicians' personal lives has traditionally been designated as off limits (Kuhn 2013); stemming from strict privacy laws geared towards protecting the sacrosanct right to privacy. Meanwhile, the American media is necessarily more autonomous in its role as "a check on the exercise of executive leadership" (Kuhn 2013).
14. Non-polar interrogatives elicit more information from the interlocutor than the "yes/no" response permitted by a polar interrogative. In English, they are also known as Wh-interrogatives as they are generally initiated with words like *who(m), who(se), what, where, which, why* and *how*, although there are exceptions where the question word does not necessarily occur in initial position, e.g. "Who ate what?". Similarly, the corresponding French Qu-element, e.g. *qui, que, quel etc.*, represents the "missing element of information" demanded by the interrogative (Caffarel 2006).
15. Amongst others, these include (125) *Quel visage afficher*; (126) *Comment réparer son image?* and (131) *Que pouvait-il faire d'autre?*
16. (19a) consists of a paratactic locution which reports what Diallo asked her supervisor soon after the alleged attack.
17. An implicit Sayer does not appear in the clause, but the Verbiage is still attributable to them, usually because they have been invoked in preceding processes, e.g. clause (25): "She described soldiers destroying the home [[where she lived with her husband,]] // and [she] said..."
18. The Verbiage is "a nominalized statement of the verbal process" (Eggins 2004), e.g. "*le pouvoir de DSK*" in clause (293a): *Nafissatou a certes évoqué le pouvoir de DSK*.
19. Similar classifications were established for positive verbal processes in Chen's (2007a) "Analysing Attitude: Positive Verbal Process Sub-Functions and Media Bias". Additionally, Chen identified six categories of positive verbal process: declarative, authoritative, exhortative, accusative, informative and predictive; these were distinguished according to the role that the verbal process imparted upon participants and relationships between participants. Such an analysis may elucidate how the power relations between states, legal officials and trial participants in the DSK affair were represented.
20. An effective clause allows for the feature of "Agency", the Agent being an additional participant who instigates the process.
21. Goal is participant at whom the process is directed; in traditional grammar it is the direct object (Eggins 2004).
22. Agent is the participant causing the process.

23. Compare, for example, studies on the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa) and its various committees, which were established to promote national unity and reveal the truth about the tragedies of the apartheid. Agency analysis was carried out on the testimonies of amnesty applicants who described their role in the killings, revealing that cause-and-effect relations were generally unambiguous, except for when the event involved the death or injury of a victim. The "powerful neutralising effect" of passive constructions and the effacing of agency in processes such as "had been shot" are "only one step away from transforming the process to a state, such as *was shot*" (Holopainen 2005), such that the event is conferred an element of inexorability – in the context of an amnesty application, it is interesting that admissions of guilt are absent despite public knowledge of killings and the overarching purpose to pardon these participants.

24. These were hard news articles published either on the 15 or on 16 May 2011; however, neither the Chicago Tribune nor any of the Guinean news sites published anything on the DSK affair on those dates.

25. There were only a few instances where the *lead* of the articles referenced the accuser or the nature of the crime, e.g. "Fund Chief Consents to Physical Exam by Police After Accusations He Attacked Maid" in El-Ghobashy et al. (2011); "L'inculpation de Dominique Strauss-Kahn dimanche matin par le parquet de New York pour agression sexuelle est un véritable séisme politique." in Du Limbert (2011)

26. In order of appearance in the table: Erlanger and Bennhold (2011); Moffett and Parussini (2011); Faujas (2011); Bourmand (2011); Agence France-Presse (2011); Fressoz (2011).

27. "Trial by media" describes the accompanying "media circus" that potentially shrouds the newsworthy event with irrelevant or even prejudicial details (Sellers 2008; Kosse 2007). In recent times, the court's restriction of publicity on a case-by-case basis has evolved into generalised prohibitions on extrajudicial statements. Hengstler (2008) argues that these court-imposed restrictions may have been proficient in an era when the equation of media and legal co-existence comprised the variables of journalists and court personnel, and them alone. Today, the plurality of media in the form of broadcast media stations, independent news websites and bloggers constitute a unique class of media who enjoy the option of Internet anonymity.

28. Attributive relational clauses use the transitive functions of Carrier and Attribute.

29. Identifying relational clauses use the transitive functions of Token and Value.

30. Carrier is the participant who is ascribed an Attribute.

31. Token is that which symbolises what is being defined.

32. Attribute is the "quality, classification or descriptive Epithet" assigned to the Carrier (Eggins 2004).

33. Value is that which defines the Token (Eggins 2004).

34. Past studies on rape coverage support the view that journalists appear to write in conformity with an existing rape narrative (Heaney 2012; Taslitz 1999; Benedict 1992), i.e. "the media provides the public with different rape narratives depending on the alleged victim's and accused rapist's race, class, or both" (Kosse 2007).

35. Article 9 profiles Diallo as being "pieuse" and "très belle, élancée". She symbolises "une travailleuse exemplaire" who could not be "une femme [[qui peut utiliser son charme//pour piéger quelqu'un]]".

36. Article 1 was the only exception, conferring upon Diallo the Attribute of "a very pious, devout Muslim woman".

37. In clause 66e, we can deduce from the clauses immediately preceding that the "three people involved in the case" were legal participants who played some role in guiding the case towards a quick indictment.

38. The Epithet indicates some quality of the Thing and is typically realised by an adjective.

39. The Qualifier follows the Thing and is realised by a phrase or a clause. It functions to characterise the Thing "in terms of some process within which the Thing is, directly or indirectly, a participant" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

40. The Thing is the semantic core of the nominal group (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

41. The Numerative denotes a numerical feature of the Thing, e.g. quantity or order.

42. *"Une justice américaine biaisée"*. In Sow and Niaré (2012). "Comment l'affaire DSK est vue en Guinée", SlateAfrique, 20 mars, http://www.slateafrique.com/78221/dsk-nafissatou-diallo-injustice-recuperation.

43. Comment Adjuncts are choices in the mood system of the interpersonal metafunction. Comment Adjuncts "express the speaker's attitude either to the proposition as a whole or to the particular speech function" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 129).

44. The Finite is "one of a small number of verbal operators expressing tense or modality"; the Wh-element at the beginning of a non-polar interrogative stands for a missing piece of information, e.g. *who, what, when, where, how*; and the Vocative enacts "the participation of the addressee or addressees in the exchange" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

45. Lukin, Butt, and Matthiessen (2004) details how in the context of high-impact events like war, grammatical metaphor and other linguistic strategies help construct a muted version of the war where human agency is eschewed and actions are instead construed as states of being.

Notes on contributor

Michelle Tjondro is currently a student at the University of Sydney, where she is completing a Bachelor of Laws at Sydney Law School. In 2013, she was awarded a Bachelor of Arts (Honours Class I) for her thesis under the Department of French Studies.

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