SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE RECONTEXTUALISATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS IN THE 2016 PUBLIC PROTESTS IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASES IN THE REPORTAGE OF THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD AND THE REPORTER

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ABSTRACT

This paper aimed to critically analyse how social actors were recontextualised in the discourses of news articles on selected public protests in 2016 in Ethiopia. To this end, the paper analysed the linguistic ways in which the public protests were represented during the recontextualisation of social actors in the reportage of two newspapers, namely the Reporter and the Ethiopian Herald. News articles from the two newspapers were selected purposively. The analysis revealed that different representations were employed in the two newspapers. Among the different representations were inclusion and exclusion of social actors in the public protests, and the use of different referential strategies to represent them as protestors. In this regard, the Ethiopian Herald was identified to be reproducing the structure within which determination of discourse by ideologies is located and delegitimising the public protests, but the Reporter tended to criticise and attempt to transform the same structure during its representation and had recurring tendency to legitimise the public protests during the representation.

Keywords: Systemic functional linguistics, recontextualisation, social actors, public protests

INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that language is a social practice used across almost every social context in the social world. Human beings use language mostly to represent the world, represent their experience and express their views. However, in each social practice, and by different individuals, language is used differently, to serve various functions, depending on the principles and concerns of each practice and each individual. However, common to all practices and individuals is the fact that they all use language to represent the world or construct social reality, although the representation may vary from practice to practice and from individual to individual. The focus of this study is on how language is used to represent the world in general and social actors in particular in different social practices. In this regard, the modern world we live in has transformed significantly in terms of its structuring of social practices and the social reality it represents through language.

73

Among the practices in which language is pervasively used to represent reality is the mass media, which newspapers are part of. The mass media[1] today plays an indispensable role in providing 'information' and in updating 'knowledge' through the representation of events, stories, and social actors by using language. The mass media have also been the focus of scrutiny in various academic fields. Most importantly, the increasing focus of the social sciences and humanities on the study of mass media had resulted in the investigation of the social, political and psychological influences of the language of news in the media (van Dijk, 1988).

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Although newspapers are considered storytellers of the real world we live in, van Dijk (1988) recommends that one should not conform to the popularly accepted assumption that news reporting is objective and without any attachment to other social aspects. This assertion appears to justify the fact that there are varying representations of the same event in different newspapers. Had news been objective and neutral, there would have been, almost universally, the same representation of a given story across various newspapers.

The central assumption in studying recontextualisation is that representation, which is concerned with the way human beings make meaning of experiences, reality, etc. using language or any semiotic system, involves a set of principles known as recontextualising principles based on which it takes place. In other words, recontextualisation is concerned with how certain social practices are represented in a transformed way when they are incorporated into the discourse of other social practices or when they are being talked about or written about in other social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008).

The issue is that recontextualisation involves certain representational choices. Regarding representational choices in the media, O'Neil and Harcup (2009) state that representation of events in the media is dependent upon the news values and selectivity criteria set up by the institutions/agencies in particular and by the professional conventions of journalism in general. Media representations involve cutting or reducing, adding to, and condensing aspects of the story that is being represented so that it can be consumed as news (O'Neil & Harcup, 2009). Moreover, selectivity criteria are determined by wider social structures to which the agency in focus belongs (Fairclough, 1995). Newspaper, often viewed as a text, is a form of mediated discourse. Of course, it can also be seen as an element of media discourse. A newspaper is also composed of different texts with different linguistic structures. Applied to this study, it can be said that representation of public protests in newspapers has to be an important area of research because representation involves selection criteria and choices, which are either conscious or unconscious and serve some social purposes as desired by the newspaper agencies.

Especially, in a society where competing discourses exist, there is a lot of competition in ways of representing the world. Particular aspects of the social world, a public protest for example, may be represented differently in competing discourses and people are put in the position of considering the relationship between those competing representations (Fairclough, 2003). In Ethiopia's context, the presence of private and governmental media can be seen as competing practices of representing the social world.

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[1] Mass media falls into print, broadcast and new media categories. In Ethiopia's context, the press began at the beginning of the 20th century when 'aemero' (intelligence) became the first handwritten medium in 1902. Later on, Emperor Haile Selassie I established the first printing press in Ethiopia known as Birhanena Selam printing press in 1923. Then, the first official Amharic newspaper appeared as Birhanena Selam newspaper. On May 5, 1941, another Amharic newspaper called Addis Zemen appeared. Later on the English newspaper Ethiopian Herald appeared as a weekly newspaper in 1943. During the EPRDF period, starting from May 1991, the country saw the rise of private press. Among such private sectors, The Reporter and 'Tobya' were the most influential as they had networks and also wide circulations. However, the biggest constraint for the development of freedom of expression and free media has been the relationship between government and private media outlets (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2003).

Related to the existence of varying world representations in this age of information overload, readers are confronted with a vast amount of information from different media outlets (e.g. newspapers as one of such media outlets are our focus) thereby leaving the readers with the choice to decide which is relevant or which is not. These decisions can affect people's actual lives. As Fairclough (2003) concluded ''texts are influential in shaping opinions, values and ideologies. Texts can also start wars, or contribute to changes in education, or to changes in industrial/social relations, and so forth'' (pp. 8-9).

A focus on recontextualisation widens the linguistic analysis of social actors as one aspect/element of the social event (the public protest) by starting from socio-semantic categories (role, agency, reference, etc.) of representation and proceeding to their linguistic realization (active or passive, agentialisation or deagentialisation, nomination or categorisation, etc.) (van Leeuwen, 2008). This move from a sociological perspective to linguistic perspective is well rationalised by van Leeuwen (2008) who states that representational meanings stem from culture rather than from language itself and hence the meaning cannot be tied to any specific linguistic form but to a specific culture realised in specific linguistic forms. This is also helpful in understanding and explaining the social significance of linguistic forms.

To this end, this study applies Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a theoretical and analytic framework. SFL views language as a socially structured system. That is, language is structured according to the social functions it is intended to achieve. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) state that any form of language use serves three functions termed as 'metafunctions'. These are the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions. The ideational metafunction is concerned with the representation of experiences and the material world around us. The interpersonal function is concerned with the building relationships between others. The textual metafunction is concerned with the overall connection between text elements (ibid.).

These metafunctions are realised linguistically through grammatical systems. But due to the nature of our study, we are confined to analysing the interpersonal function of language and hence to understand how social

actors/protesters are represented through text producers/media workers. To this end, we apply the transitivity system (as described in the following paragraph) to our study because it is through this grammatical system that representation is realized linguistically in different ways.

Transitivity is a system concerned with experiential meaning, that is, with how the world and what is going on around us is represented in the language. In simplified terms, transitivity in Systemic Functional Grammar (as opposed to generative grammar where it refers to whether a verb has an object or not) is a way of finding out who did what to whom.

According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), SFL is believed to have various concepts in common with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and useful if applied in CDA research. More specifically, SFL relies on understanding the relationship between texts and changes in the social world (in writing something, one is attempting to achieve a certain social goal). And it is used as a lens to look into the potential power of texts in bringing about social change (every text has a social purpose).

Against the backdrop of such theoretical explanations, this study will be advantageous in terms of providing critical insights into the discourse of newspapers in our national context. Besides, a linguistic analysis of recontextualisation in competing newspapers is rarely touched upon. Therefore, with the aim of contributing additional insights to the body of knowledge regarding the representational aspects of newspaper discourse, the study aimed to analyse the recontextualisation of social actors in the 2016 public protests in Ethiopia. To this end, emphasis is paid to analysing the linguistic strategies employed to represent the social actors in the discourses of news articles from the two newspapers (one government and one private newspapers).

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted based on a qualitative methodology. The rationale behind this is well illustrated by Dornyei (2007), who states ''in applied linguistics there has been an increasing visibility and acceptance of qualitative research since the mid 1990's. This is related to

75

the growing recognition that almost every aspect of language acquisition and use is determined or significantly shaped by social, cultural, and situational factors, and qualitative research is ideal for providing insights into such contextual conditions and influences'' (pp.31).

SOURCES OF DATA

The English newspaper called the Ethiopian Herald, which is one subject of study, was founded in 1943. It is a daily newspaper that is owned by the government. It served as the main press agency of the state and source of information for literate people in the past and in the present. This newspaper usually carries the English version of the Amharic newspaper, Addis Zemen. The second subject of the study is Ethiopian Reporter, which is a private weekly newspaper located in Addis Ababa. It was founded 26 years ago, in 1991 and is currently privately owned by the Media Communication Centre. It has both English and Amharic versions. Only the English versions of the two newspapers were investigated. The English versions are in focus here because the analytical tools for studying recontextualisation as proposed by Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (2008) are based on the representational values of the English language. The criteria for the selection of these newspapers as sources of data for our study lies in the fact that they are among the most widely circulated newspapers in the country.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUES AND SAMPLE SIZE

The news articles for the study were selected using purposive sampling technique. Since the focus is on the analysis of recontextualisation of the public protests, the intentional selection of news articles was of relevance here, because it allowed us to identify and select those reports that are directly related to the public protests. The time frame from which the publications were selected is from June, 2016 to January 30, 2017. The reason for the selection of this time period is that it involved the occurrence of numerous public protests from different parts of the country. After a detailed look at the publications of the two newspapers within the aforementioned time frame, we found out that the major protests reported were the protests that took place across the Amhara Region and the protests that occurred across the Oromia Region. Hence news articles about these occurrences were selected.

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The source of data for this study involved newspapers as secondary sources. Thus, document analysis is the major source of data. The data for the study were taken from the two newspapers already mentioned above. Different editions that included news about the various public protests were selected.

METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

As a qualitative approach is focused, data analysis involved language-based tools, i.e.,   analysis was conducted using words. The data analysis relied primarily on linguistic categories. The selection of linguistic categories that were investigated depends on the issue in focus. In the context of this study, the issue to be studied is therefore recontextualisation of social actors and the approach that was used to study it is van Leeuwen's (2008). van Leeuwen (2008) focused on the representation of social actors and social actions in discourse. He proposed a tool for the investigation of how participants of social practices (social actors) and their respective actions (social actions) can be represented in discourse.

The main theme of van Leeuwen's approach is recontextualisation. Recontextualisation is concerned with the way socially dominant groups and their advocates represent certain social practices in certain ways to provide ideological support for the existing unequal social relations (van Leeuwen, 2008). When representing a social event, the representing agent is incorporating that social event within the context of another social event or recontextualising it. In other words, the study of recontextualisation is concerned with how social events are represented in a transformed way when they are incorporated into other social practices (e.g. how a certain social action, as an element of a certain social practice, is represented in a different way in the social practice of the media).

Van Leeuwen's tool for analysing representation is very vast. But then we adopted his analytical tool and investigated the ways in which social actors (as participants

76

of a social practice[2]) can be represented as listed by van Leeuwen (2008:23-54). At this juncture it is worth mentioning we did not list the dimensions of his analytic tool due to space limitations.

FINDINGS

Not all participants in a given event are represented equally. Some are included and others are excluded. When included, participants are represented by allocating them certain roles and assigning them certain references. When excluded, participants can be backgrounded or suppressed.

DELETION: THE EXCLUSION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Exclusion of social actors that carried out negative actions serves as legitimation for the act of that actor. Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be redundant, details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are assumed to be irrelevant to them; others relate closely to the ideological concerns of the recontextualising practice, or to hide the negative actions of in-group social actors of the recontextualising practice (van Leeuwen, 2008). Some exclusions leave no traces in the representation, i.e., they exclude both the social actors and their activities. Such radical exclusion can play a role in a critical comparison of different representations of the same social practice, but not in an analysis of a single text, for the simple reason that it leaves no traces behind. Some

do leave traces. Instances of these can be seen in the following analyses.

ELISION AND BACKGROUNDING

Eliding and backgrounding, in the Reporter, of protestors to mitigate and de-emphasise the negative connotations of their actions prevails. In Elision, the excluded participant can be found elsewhere in the same clause or clause complex[3]. However, in backgrounding, the excluded social actor/participant can occur somewhere else in the text but not in the same clause or clause complex. Below is an instance of backgrounding from the Reporter.

> **Extract 1**   According to the company, one of its buses *was attacked* recently, this week, while it was en route from Addis Ababa to Harrar. Such *damages* have been common place on Selam's buses in the past few months. However, the most serious *damage* that is sustained by Selam Bus, which is ***complete burning down of the transportation vehicle***, happened in July during the protest held in Gondar, which forced the company to suspend its services on that route (The Reporter, Saturday, September 10, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1044).

According to van Leeuwen (2008), backgrounding is realised through nominalisation, process nouns and passive agent deletion. In the case of passive agent deletion, a passive construction removes the actor as in the above extract. A transitivity analysis of the above extract can reveal this.

Table 1: Transitivity Analysis of an Agentless Process

One of its buses	was attacked	recently
Goal	**Material Process: Passive**	**Circumstantial: Temporal**

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[2] Social practices are socially regulated ways of doing thing. A social practice first of all needs a set of participants in certain roles (principally those of instigator, agent, affected, or beneficiary). Hence, the participants in a social practice are called social actors whereas the things they do in the social practice are referred to as social actions. In a given text about a certain social practice, not all the

participants are given equal emphasis. Some may be included and others may be excluded (van Leeuwen, 2008).

[3] Clause complexes refer to the formation of logico-semantic relations when clauses are linked to one another (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Here, the actor who is responsible for the attack is backgrounded. However, we cannot have a complete certainty about the backgrounded participant. In this extract, damage is represented as something that occurs rather than as something that is brought about by human agency. The process noun '**damage**' backgrounds the responsible social actors. A striking feature of this extract is its use of the nominalisation '**burning down of** ...'. In this case, the social actor who is responsible for the burning down is backgrounded and one cannot guess who did the burning. According to van Leeuwen (2008), during backgrounding, the participant is not radically excluded but de-emphasised and pushed into the background implying that the author believes it was not important to foreground the participant(s).

Remember that when backgrounding is employed, the participant is mentioned elsewhere in the text. For instance, another extract below, which is taken from the same article as the above extract, explicitly mentions the social actors.

Extract 2   However, transport services **have been halted** in some places after **several vehicles were attacked by protestors who threw stones at mass transportation vehicles passing through these protest areas** (The Reporter, Saturday, September 10, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1044).

Table 2: Transitivity Analysis of Agentialised Process

Several vehicles	were attacked	by protestors who	threw	stones	At mass transportation vehicles
Goal	**Material Process: Passive**	**Actor**	**Material Process: Active**	**Goal**	**Recipient**

Hence, in the above extract, the first clause elides the participants responsible for the process of halting but its following clauses indicate the protestors as active participants in the attack. This is an instance of elision whereby the excluded participant is present in the clause complex of the same extract. However, we cannot actually infer that the protestors were involved in halting transport services. All we have here is protestors attacking vehicles. Besides, the semantic relation between the two clauses is one of temporal rather than causal. Temporal enhancements, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), are realised by words such as after, before, until, etc. and denote time sequences of actions rather than causation between actions. Hence, it is not totally inferable as to who halted transport services. Another tendency to background social actors is identified in the extract below as well.

Extract 3   The Government of Ethiopia is set to deploy a team of experts to conduct the second round of damage assessment, ***which is inflicted upon*** a mix of foreign and local firms ***by the recent protest*** in the Amhara and Oromia Regional States, the Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC) said this week (The Reporter, Saturday, October 1, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1047).

Here too, the agency of the damage inflicted is assigned not to human social actors in the protest but to the event (protests) itself. Hence, no human agency is assigned to the damage. A transitivity analysis of the clause can reveal this.

Table 3: Transitivity Analysis of an Agentless Process (2)

which(the damage)	is inflicted upon	a mix of foreign and firms	by the recent protest
Goal	**Material Process: Passive**	**Recipient**	**Actor: Nonhuman realized circumstantialisation**

Here, agency is not assigned to human participants but to the activity in which these participants get involved. This type of reference to social actors is known as objectivation. Backgrounding and elision of social actors who directly involved in the protests are very common in the Reporter. The following extract is an instance of elision.

Extract 4   Last month, over 12 investment schemes and farm *were severely damaged* in the Bahir Dar and Gonder areas of the Amhara Regional State including the highly publicized Esmeralda Farms, a Dutch flower farm, which *was torched by protestors* (The Reporter, Saturday, October 1, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1047).

Similar here is also the agentless passive construction that elides the participants responsible for the action of damaging over 12 investment schemes. Although the participants were explicitly stated in the clause *'was torched by protestors'*, their agency is only assigned to the torching of the Esmeralda Farms, and not to the rest of 11 investment schemes. As mentioned earlier, we can only infer the participants but there is no absolute certainty about them.

As is evident in the above extract, the protestors were not mentioned in relation to the damaging of the 12 investment infrastructures. They were mentioned only in relation to the Esmeralda Farms. Hence, their responsibility in the damaging of the 12 infrastructures cannot be certainly asserted but can be reasonably probable. Perhaps a transitivity analysis of the clauses in the aforementioned extract can better elaborate this case.

Table 4: Transitivity Analysis of Agentialised and De-agentialised Processes

Last month	over 12	investment schemes and farm	*were severely damaged*	in the Bahir Dar and Gonder areas of the Amhara Regional State
Circumstantial: Temporal Location	**Numerative**	**Goal**	**Material Process: Agentless Passive Adverbial: Manner (severely)**	**Circumstantial: Spatial Location**
including	the highly publicized Esmeralda Farms, a Dutch flower farm, which	*was torched*	*by protestors*	
Extension	**Goal**	**Material Process: Passive**	**Actor: Realised by Prepositional Circumstantial**	

Besides passive agent deletion, nominalisations were also used in backgrounding social actors in the Reporter, which is the case in the following extract.

79

Extract 5   There have also been reports of *looting* around the protest-hit areas. Furthermore, some 20 vehicles of the same company were fully and partially damaged by the protestors (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048).

The nominalisation of the verb to 'loot' as *looting* hides the social actors engaged in that action. In the second sentence, however, the protestors were assigned responsibility for damaging vehicles. Nonetheless, this cannot be enough to conclude that the protestors were also involved in the looting. In sum, the most prevalent forms of backgrounding and elision in the Reporter took place through passive agent deletion (PAD henceforth) and nominalisations (NN henceforth).

On the other hand, in the Ethiopian Herald, the same social actors who were backgrounded and elided in the Reporter became included and were represented as actively engaged in the same social actions. Since the social actors were included in the Ethiopian Herald and this section is on exclusion, it is better to discuss this issue in the section on rearrangement (see page 14).

Suppression

Whereas backgrounding and elision leave clues as to the identity of social actors, suppression completely excludes the participants and only their actions are represented, in which case, we can question the identity of the participants. Transformations is like suppressions as resources of a language pave the way for constructing different versions of social reality based on ideological motivations. Such transformations, according to them, serve the distortion of knowledge and reality.

Suppression can be realised through passive agent deletion, beneficiary deletion (BD), nominalisations, process nouns (PN henceforth), adjectivalisation (AN henceforth) and medio-passivisation (MPN). Suppression of protestors to de-emphasise the negative connotations of their actions was employed in the Reporter as can be understood below.

Extract 6   Apart from *damages(NN)* to government property, there were also reports of *Attacks(NN)* on private property including those owned by foreign investors such as Dangote Cement (The Reporter, Saturday, February 20, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1015).

The words 'damages' and 'attacks' are nominalised versions of their verb equivalents to 'attack' and to 'damage'. Such nominalisations suppress the social actors who performed the action of damaging and attacking. This can be observed in the extract below as well.

Extract 7   The recent clashes were widely observed in Shalla, Siraro and Shashemene woredas in West Arsi zone causing *destruction (NN)*of various properties (The Reporter, Saturday, February 20, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1015).

In this extract as well, we cannot fully infer who the agents of destruction are. Since the action is nominalised as '**destruction'**, no human agency was mentioned. The cause of the destruction was also assigned to nonhuman agent, which is the clash itself, rather than human agents. These constructions are widely observed in the Reporter. The table below summarises the extracts in which suppression of social actors was employed in the Reporter.

Table 5: Suppression of Social Actors in the Reporter

Extracts	Linguistic Explanation

Extract 8 The official said the Ethiopian Investment Commission is also working closely with the Ethiopian Insurance Corporation (EIC). "EIC was asked to estimate the property **damages** (**NN**) incurred and how much of the properties were covered by insurance policy and those that were not covered by insurance policy (The Reporter, Saturday, March 12, 2016 Vol. XX No. 10).	The use of the nominalized form 'damages' to represent the action of damaging as an event also suppresses the participants involved in that action.
Extract 9 More than 140 people have lost their lives in the riots fomented in different towns of Oromia since last November. Factories, flower farms, and trucks that belong to private companies ***have been burnt down (PAD)***. Residential houses, police stations and government administration offices ***have been ransacked (PAD)*** (The Reporter, Saturday, March 12, 2016 Vol. XX No. 10).	Again in this extract, agentless passive construction was employed leaving the social actors responsible for the action suppressed and they were mentioned nowhere else in the article.

In the Ethiopian Herald, suppression was also realised in PAD but mostly eventuation (the representation of action as an event in the form of intransitive verbs) was employed throughout. The following extracts are instances of different realisations of participant suppression identified in the Ethiopian Herald.

Extract 10   Dr. Addisu said that as a result of the unrest in Oromia state 173 people of which 14 were members of the security forces ***have died*** and 856 people ***were injured*** while governmental institutions, public and private property ***were also destroyed*** (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXII No. 235, 11 June 2016).

In this extract, there are two realisations of suppression. The first one (***have died***) suppresses social actors by way of eventuating the action and it is impossible to question agency here as the process itself is intransitive. The second ones (***were injured, were also destroyed***) suppressed social actors by way of agentless passive construction. The extract below also has the same feature.

Extract 11   Briefing journalists, the Council said Ethiopians have been living by sharing happiness, sorrow, and challenges together for years. However, since recently, the precious human life ***has been lost*** due to violence in different parts of the country (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 023, 11 October 2016).

The same case of deagentialisation (representation of actions as happening without human involvement) by eventuation was employed in this extract as well. Those actors who are responsible for the killing are unknown to the reader as the action is represented as involuntary action. In fact, questioning the identity of the agent as to who caused or was responsible for the death is impossible because the action here is intransitively represented.

Rearrangement: As Realised in the Allocation of Roles to Social Actors

According to van Leeuwen, social actors can be assigned either active or passive roles when they are represented. The socio-semantic categories for the assignment of these roles are activation and passivation. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, passivation when they are represented as "undergoing" the activity, or as being "at the receiving end of it" (van Leeuwen, 2008). To whom active role or passive role is assigned is determined by the ideological stance of the recontextualising agent. In role allocation, actors become goals or goals become actors. It is up to the

81

recontextualising agent (the writer in the newspapers) to decide their role in representation.

Activation (AN) is firstly realised by participation when the participant is assigned the –er role in SFL (actor, sayer, senser, etc.). In this case, the active role of the social actor in question is most clearly foregrounded. In extract 12 below, demonstrators take the role of the **Sayer** and the **Actor** of the **Processes** 'chant' and 'display' respectively.

Extract 12   Though there were claims that the protests had ethnic elements in them, it was observed on videos circulated on social media, which was later confirmed by the regional government's communications office, that ***demonstrators*** (sayer, and actor) were chanting and displaying placards conveying messages that their discontent was with the government, not the people of Tigray (The Reporter, Saturday, August 6, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1039).

Extract 13   The incident also involved some riots that claimed the destruction of property, mostly targeting members of other ethnic groups with an aim of fuelling tension in that part of the state," he added (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 26, 16 July 2016).

The two extracts above are about the same incident. In the first one, which is from the Reporter, active role was allocated to demonstrators by participation where the participant role they take is that of the 'Sayer' and 'Actor' and the action in which they were playing active roles were 'chanting' and displaying placards. However, in the second extract, the demonstrators were not mentioned. Only the event was allocated active role in causing the destruction of properties and targeting members of other ethnic groups. Accordingly, the active roles assigned to the demonstrators are different in that the Reporter delegitimises the claim about the ethnic tendency of the protestors while the Ethiopian Herald assigns active role to the objectivated reference 'incident' as involved in the ethnic targeting.

Secondly, activation can be realised by circumstantialisation (that is, by prepositional circumstantial ***by*** or ***from***). This is the case in the extract below.

Extract 14   However, transport services have been halted in some places after several vehicles ***were attacked by (circumstantialisation) protestors*** who ***threw stones (active participation as ACTOR)*** at mass transportation vehicles passing through these protest areas. Due to these attacks, several people who travel to and from Addis Ababa mainly for holidays and other business have suffered due to the lack of safety and guarantee of security (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048).

Here, the passive construction 'were attacked' is followed by the prepositional circumstantial 'by protestors' indicating the active involvement of the protestors in the act of attacking vehicles. Although they were represented as attacking vehicles, there is one interesting feature about this extract. The representation of the location as 'protest areas' and the fact that vehicles were crossing such ''protest areas'' removes to some extent the negative connotation embedded in the clause 'after several vehicles ***were attacked by (circumstantialisation) protestors*** who ***threw stones (active participation as ACTOR) at mass transportation vehicles'.*** Hence, the action of attacking is generalised as protest.

What is insightful from the analysis of the above extract is the expressive values of the word 'protestors' because an attack by protestors carries less negative connotation than an attack by negatively represented social actors. This is what was exactly identified in the Ethiopian Herald where the expressive value assigned to the protestors is mostly negative as can be understood below.

Extract 15   Workers employed by local and foreign companies in Sebeta town said they were left jobless following the violent ***attack by*** anti-peace elements. President Dr. Mulatu Teshome yesterday visited the damaged investment infrastructure in the area (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 030 (1), 15 October 2016).

The circumstantialised nominalisation (attack by) indicates the active role of the participants labelled as 'anti-peace elements', who were given the role of actors.

Extract 16   The destructive activities carried out ***by anti-force elements*** in various parts of the country were ***targeting economic infrastructure*** as well as

instigating hatred among different ethnic groups and followers of different religions, he said (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 036, 22 October 2016).

The participants called 'anti-peace elements' were referred to by way of objectivation 'destructive activities' and this objectivation is represented as Actor of the processes 'targeting, and instigating'. Negative expressive value was attached to the representation of protestors in the following extract as well.

Extract 17   However, the Irreechaa festival, which is one of the elements of the Gada System, was interrupted by *intruders* changed the event to fatal one (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 020/2, 04 October 2016).

Active role here was assigned to the negatively functionalised 'intruders', who are the same social actors referred as 'anti-peace elements' in the earlier extract.

Extract 18   While Aba Geda's were leading the festival in a peaceful manner, *people* who were ready for anti-peace move interrupted the festival raising anarchy and clamor. Due to this anti-peace move, people died in stampede (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 020/2, 04 October 2016).

The extract above assigns active role to the generalised reference 'people' realised by participation where 'people' (explicitly evaluated negatively in the relative clause 'who were ready for anti-peace') is the Actor of the process 'interrupted'. Similar above is also the active role allocation to the negatively appraised social actors 'anti-peace elements' in which these actors were represented as performing the action of interrupting and causing chaos.

The critical relevance of role allocation is that roles are socially determined and different newspapers can assign different roles even to the same social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008). Presented below is the comparison between the Reporter and the Ethiopian Herald in representing the same social actors as active agents and passive agents respectively.

Extract 19   The task force said that the individuals were wanted for crimes, while the *supporters* of the movement countered by saying that it as a political

crackdown which later caused the killings of eleven security officers and five *civilians* (The Reporter, Saturday, August 6, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1039).

Here the voice of supporters was included and the supporters were assigned the Actor role in the Process of 'countering' but this is not the case in the Ethiopian Herald's report on the same event as elaborated below.

Extract 20   According to Getachew, the incident also followed by some chaotic situation which unfortunately involved a number of *supporters who were led to believe* that he is being attacked for his personal views which was not the case (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 265, 16 July 2016).

While the supporters were assigned active roles in the Reporter as performing the action of 'countering', they were assigned passive role in the Ethiopian Herald as 'being led to believe' which indicates their passiveness. In the views of van Leeuwen, social actors who are given passive roles are mostly thought to be powerless and those with active roles are thought to be more powerful by the author.

To summarise, in the Reporter, active role allocation was assigned to protestors mostly through circumstantialisation and participation to represent the protestors as directly involved in various actions. In the Ethiopian Herald, however, the same social actors were assigned active roles mostly through participation but the action in which they were assigned active roles were not only damaging properties but also various negatively connoted actions such as causing death of humans, triggering ethnic conflicts, etc. Not even once were these social actors assigned active roles in relation to the death of people in the case of the Reporter.

Substitution: The Assignment of Referential Strategies to Social Actors

Linguistically, references are realised by the nominal group in SFL. There are various ways of representing participants referentially.

Nomination and Categorisation

Nomination and categorisation are among the referential strategies that can be used to represent social actors.

Categorisation occurs when social actors are represented in terms of their identities and the functions they share with others. There are two types of categorisation, i.e., functionalisation (by reference to what actors do) and identification (by reference to what actors are) (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Functionalisation is realised firstly by a noun formed from a verb through suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee; second, by a noun which denotes a place or tool associated with an activity by suffixes such as -ist, -eer; third, by the compounding of nouns denoting places or tools closely associated with an activity and highly generalized categorizations (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Below is an extract followed by explanation of how functionalisation was realised.

Extract 21   Following the ongoing protests in the Oromia and Amhara regional states, which have resulted in great loss of life and properties across the two regions, reports are emerging which indicates that a total of 22 foreign companies have so far been vandalized, looted and set on fire by ***protestors***

(***functionalisation)*** and angry mob in the two regions (The Reporter, Saturday, September 17, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1045).

The word that realises functionalisation here is that of ***protestors (those who protest).*** Functionalisation allows social actors to be represented as performers of the action. Just like writers write, actors act and teachers teach, protestors protest. Functionalisation is the most prevalent form employed in the Reporter to represent protestors as social actors.

Identification on the other hand is realised in terms of three categories known as classification, relational identification and physical identification. In classification, social actors are represented based on differentiation assigned to classes of people in society which the social actors are part of. Relational identification takes place through reference to social actors' personal relations with others (e.g. father, son, co-worker etc.). In physical identification, social actors are represented in the qualities and characteristics of their body. The extract below is an instance of classification employed in the Reporter.

Extract 22   **The predominately young (classification)**, who were in attendance, were relentless in sounding their opposition to OPDO.... (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048ID).

Table 6: Phrase Analysis of Classification

The	predominantly	young
Deictic	**Epithet**	**Thing**
Specific Determiner	**Adjective: Experiential**	**Noun**

Just as various linguistic choices are socially determined and serve different purposes, choices in functionalisation are also found to be employed differently serving different purposes in the two newspapers when representing the same social actors. The analysis of the extracts below can further elaborate this point.

Extract 23   Meanwhile, ***activists*** accuse the government of firing more than tear gas and go to the extent of claiming that the accident was caused by the coordinated ground and air attack employing "helicopters and live rounds" on protestors resulting in people falling in the lake, ditches and/or caught in middle if a deadly stampede (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048).

Extract 24   According to the Deputy Chief, the ***organized intruders*** claim that security forces were responsible for causalities is totally baseless as families of victims, survivors and the general public witnessed the reality (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No 021, 05 October 2016).

What is socially and linguistically significant about the above extracts is that the same social actors were

84

represented differently in the two newspapers. In the first one, the functionalised reference 'activists' was used to represent the social actors who accused the government but the same social actors were represented as 'organised intruders' in the second one. Although both are forms of functionalisation, the expressive values assigned are different. 'Activists' are professionals and more credible than 'intruders', which carries a rather negative connotation.

Whereas categorisation is based on identity and function of social actors, nomination is based on their unique identities realised in their names. Nomination can be either formalised or informalised, titulated or detitulated (with or without title), and when titulated, it can be either honorified (as Dr., Colonel, etc.) or affiliated (addition of personal or kinship relation terms as in sister, father, etc.). Nomination is usually realised linguistically by proper nouns (van Leeuwen, 2008). In the Reporter, all political figures, experts, and leaders are nominated and titulated and there is no need to list them here. However, the Reporter also nominated social actors other than the above. The extracts below are cases of nomination in the Reporter of 'ordinary' social actors, who were never included, let alone being nominated, in the Ethiopian Herald.

Extract 25   A new clash between security forces (functionalisation) and protestors (functionalisation) reignited yesterday in Gonder town of the Amhara Regional State in connection with what sources said is because of a delayed court case of *Demeke Tsegaye (Col.) (honorification),* one of the prominent members of the Welkait Amhara Identity Committee, who has been under police custody (The Reporter, Saturday, August 6, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1039).

Extract 26   Sources told The Reporter that *Demeke (informalisation)*, who was due to appear before court this week did not and since the court will go on recess for a month the public outrage erupted. (The Reporter, Saturday, August 6, 2016 Vol. XX No. 1039).

Here, the social actor 'Demeke' was nominated but this never happened in the Ethiopian Herald. According to van Leeuwen (2008), nameless characters fulfil only passing, functional roles and do not become points of identification

for the reader or listener. He noted that similar tendencies also occur in the press, in which case, a middle-class newspaper tended to nominate only a high-status person, a government minister (the case of Ethiopian Herald mostly), while a working-class-oriented newspaper, in an article on the same topic, tended to nominate "ordinary people" as well as high status persons (which is the case in the Reporter as presented in the extracts above).

Besides nomination, the classification schemes used during the representation of social actors are also of great critical importance as they can tell us about the viewpoints of the author about the social actors being represented (van Leeuwen, 2008). For instance, three extracts below, taken from the Ethiopian Herald, employed the same kind of identification known as relational identification, where social actors are represented by way of reference to their relationship with other people or entities.

Extract 27   Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn expressed deep sorrow over the death of innocent *civilians* while attending the Irreechaa festivity at Arstedi Lake, Bishoftu Sunday (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No 020/1, 04 October 2016).

Extract 28   The Government Communication Affairs Office expressed deep condolence on the death of *citizens* and interruption of Irrechaa festival, Thanksgiving Day of Oromo people (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 020/2, 04 October 2016).

Extract 29   However, as *Oromo citizens* and tourists from around the world were celebrating the popular Irreechaa festivity which depicts peaceful and tolerance has been interrupted by anti-peace elements (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 020/1, 04 October 2016).

These are forms of identification known as relational identification in which social actors are identified by means of reference to who they are in terms of their relationship with others (van Leeuwen, 2008). The relationships set up here are between the country (Ethiopia) and the social actors therein as in 'citizens'. Hence, social actors here are represented in relation to their relationship with the state, i.e., citizens or with the military as in 'civilians' (those who are not members of the police or military, the general public). The major insight here is that of the classification scheme that is used. Different practices embody different

85

classification schemes. The above schemes are common to genres of governance and genres of politics. That is, being a civilian and citizenship are concepts that are mostly associated with administrative practices. To further support this premise, analysis on an extract on the report of the same event from the Reporter can be insightful as it uses different classification schemes as shown below.

Extract 30   The protest started to spread across towns in the Oromia Special Zone, following the deadly Irreechaa stampede that claimed the lives of at least *53 people* and injured hundreds *more*. The tragic incident came after a heated protest at the annual Irreechaa festival interrupted and after the region's Special Forces have decided to use tear gas to disperse *the protest*. The firing of tear gas resulted in *the public* rushing off to safety causing heightened commotion and stampede around the scared grounds of Lake Hora, where Irreechaa is celebrated every year (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048).

The classification scheme here is that of assimilation by collectivisation wherein social actors are referred as groups generally as in '*people*' or '*the public*'. Whereas in the Ethiopian Herald these participants were specified, in the Reporter they were genericised. Another distinct referential strategy used in the above extract is that of objectivation in which the same social actors were represented by means of reference to the action that they were involved in, i.e., the region's Special Forces have decided to use tear gas to disperse *the protest,* where the protest refers to the gathered people.

Another prevalent means of reference used in the Ethiopian Herald involves the combination of functionalisation and negative appraisement, i.e., represented by reference to what they do but with added negative connotations. Below is an extract with such feature.

Extract 31   He said against to the Oromia culture, *the intruders* disrespect AbaGadas and caused the death of 52 innocent civilians (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. LXXIII No. 020/1, 04 October 2016).

This is a form of functionalisation with negative appraisement. The activity in which the social actors are represented as being involved in is that of 'intruding'. This

is also a rather different form of classification compared to the Reporter's representation of the same social actors. Take a look at the extract below from the Reporter.

Extract 32   That was when *the young man* who slipped through to stage and mixed with stage organizers *got a hold of the microphone*. This was indeed significant since nobody anticipated what this *young man* was going to do next (The Reporter, Saturday, October 8, 2016 Vol. XXI No. 1048).

What was referred to as 'intruders' in the Ethiopian Herald is represented here by means of classification which is not negative. The negative representation of social actors is called negative appraisement.

According to Fairclough (1995), differences between discourse types in the expressive values of words are ideologically significant. A speaker expresses evaluations through drawing on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types. This is the case between the representation of social actors in the Reporter and the Ethiopian Herald as was shown already earlier.

CONCLUSIONS

In the course of the analysis, it was revealed that the two newspapers recontextualised the social actors in the public protests in almost entirely different ways. The transformations that occurred during the recontextualisation were in most cases distinct and realised in linguistically different ways. The analyses of the extracts therefore indicated that there were major differences in the inclusion and exclusion of the social actors and in the referential strategies employed to represent the social actors as well. Regarding exclusion, protestors were backgrounded and suppressed in the Reporter to de-emphasise the negative connotation of their action and emphasise on the legitimacy of their actions. On the contrary, the Ethiopian Herald rarely included social actors labelled as 'protestors' performing the action of protesting against the government. But instead, protestors were represented by active role allocation in relation to actions of damaging properties and human casualty with the focus being on delegitimising their actions. The same act of

damaging properties was represented in the Reporter as a form of protest and as a demand for change. These are just some of the variations. The rest can be found in the analysis section and the point here is that it can be concluded that both newspapers employed distinctive ways of recontextualisation, which are socially shaped. Common to both newspapers is their attempt to have effects, reproductive effects (in the case of the Ethiopian Herald) and transformative effects (in the case of the Reporter), upon the social world through recontextualising the protests differently. Such differential effects are likely to result from the influence of ideologies on recontextualisation. In other words, the determination of discourse results from the ideological underpinnings held by the two newspapers.

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