

Intertextuality as a Textual Strategy: Explorations In Its Modes and Functions (Part two)*

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Abstract

Defining intertextual strategies as textual strategies linking the host-text (henceforth: H-text) to the semantic realms of other texts/discourses, and believing that any variations in the textual strategies are discursively motivated, the present study would investigate variations in textualization of intertextual elements and their discursive value in widening the 'meaning potential' of the H-texts across different genres. The dimensions of textual variations, under investigation in this paper, were variations in rank dimension, semantic distance, depth of embeddedness of textual elements, degree of physical integration as well as the degree of necessity of the elements for the further unfolding of the H-discourse across various text-types. Sample texts from three different genres of scientific, journalistic articles, and advertisements were selected to be analysed in terms of variations of their guest (henceforth G) elements considering these various dimensions of textualization and their discursive values. The study would reveal that the same mode of intertextual strategy has different functions across different genres. It has also been revealed through this study that there are no generic conventions determining and governing the way of textualization of G-elements. Rather, it is the communicative intention and attitude of the discourse producer vis-à-vis the topic which determine the mode of manifestation of the G-elements.

Key words: Host-text (H-text), guest element (G-element), intertextual elements, degree of embeddedness (DE), physical integration (PI), G-text.

***Editorial Note:** As this paper was too long to be printable in one volume, it was divided into two parts. Part one, which focused on scientific text-type, was published in Vol 4, No 2.

To help the readers who have not read part one of this paper to grasp the overall framework of the whole paper, the sub-topics discussed in Part 1 will be listed below:

1. Introduction
2. Text & Intertext
3. A historical account of the origin of the theory of intertextuality
4. Modes of intertextuality
5. The purpose and the scope of the study
6. Methodology
7. G-elements in the scientific text-type

Part Two

G-elements in the journalistic text-type

In this section we attempt to look at the textual variations and discursal functions of 'direct quotation' as a mode of intertextual element in journalistic articles. Attempts are made to explore the motivations underlying the selection and arrangements of G-elements in this text-type.

Variations in rank dimension of G-element in journalistic articles

As Table 3 below illustrates the G-elements may be textualized in different ranks in this text-type.

Table 3

Rank	F	P%		
Text	1	3	74%	above clause
Clause-complex	21	60		
Clause	1	3	26%	below clause
Vp	1	3		
Np	7	22		
Adj-clause	2	6		
Individual words	1	3		
	Σ for N=34	100		

As the table shows, in journalistic articles, 63% of the total percentage of G-elements is above the clause rank (60% is the frequency of occurrence of G-sentences and only 3% is frequency of G-texts). The frequency of occurrence of G-elements below the clause, in this text-type is 37% of which 22% is devoted to G-NPs. As a whole, we can suggest that if a G-element is realized in an H-text, in this text-type, it has a tendency to be actualized mainly in two ranks: either in sentence rank or noun group rank

G-sentences in journalistic text-type

As we mentioned above, the most frequent G-element occurring in journalistic texts is G-sentence. We believe that the tendency of G-element in journalistic articles to be actualized in the H-text as a sentence provides the opportunity for the producer of the articles to persuade the readers to accept his ideas, to impose his own personal and in many cases ideologically biased attitude on the readers, to direct their minds and have them see the world from the same angle he desires them to see.

Seeing language as a 'reality creating' process, critical linguists believe that language is not an innocent mirror to reflect the realities of the external world, but it is a strong instrument in the hands of those in power to preserve and maintain inequalities and social differences in the society. They believe that power relations and social differences are not natural and objective but they are artificial and socially constructed realities (Fowler, 1985) and argue that "the kind of language people use determines the way they see themselves and the way they see their realities" (Ryan, 1991). Adopting this line of thinking, the aim here is to examine how the writers of journalistic texts employ 'direct quotation' as a textual strategy to produce subjective and ideologically biased texts and how by doing so they help the social system and ideological institution to remain intact.

We argue the presence of somebody-else's speech in a journalistic host text does not usually increase the accountability and reliability of the H-text. The high frequency of occurrence of G-sentences in this text type makes the texts ideologically biased and subjective ones. Our reason for this claim is that, according to modern trends in linguistics,

the unit of meaning and communication is text rather than sentence. It is through text that the meanings are negotiated. There is no speaker meaning for isolated sentences divorced from their contexts of use. Every sentence derives its meaning from other sentences within the text, taking into consideration the situational and extra-linguistic factors. In journalistic text-type, the writer, in order to give the readers a sense of accountability and truthfulness of his text, usually brings in some G-sentences. But there is no guarantee that the meanings added through G-sentences to the journalistic host texts increase the truthfulness and reliability of the text. G-sentences rather than and more than reflecting the meaning of their pretext, contribute to the meaning of the host text. What is transferred to the universe of the host text is the propositional meaning of the G-sentences not their illocutionary force. The average readers of the journalistic texts can never find out where, why, in what context, and under which circumstances the speaker of the pretext has uttered the pretext of which an isolated sentence is taken and inserted into the H-text. As it was mentioned, the isolated sentences can rarely transfer the pre-text's speaker meaning into the H-text. What is transferred to the H-text is propositional meaning which can be modified to fulfil and activate the functions completely suited to its new environment.

The discursal function of G-sentences in the journalistic text-type is to contribute to the degree of indirectness of H-texts. By adding G-sentences to the H-text and by special arrangement of them in the textual hierarchy of the H-text, the writer can express something which he cannot express directly with his own words.

In this section we actually analyze a journalistic article in terms of G-elements to illustrate how the presence of G-elements contribute to the discursal function of indirectness.

The text is adopted from "Newsweek" magazine (Sept. 9, 1991, p. 24). The referent of a pronoun and a deleted subject are presented in []. The G-elements are referent presented in « ».

One Man Is an Island

Castro hasn't a friend in the post-Soviet world

One of the most popular planks in Russian President Boris Yeltsin's campaign platform this year was his promise to end aid to Cuba. After he was elected in June, the Cuban government swallowed hard and declared him a "friend of the Cuban leadership". But when Yeltsin's hard-line Communist foes tried to stage their putsch two weeks ago, Fidel Castro's government didn't exactly rush to his defense. Officially neutral in the coup, Cuban officialdom was privately horrified by its failure. "They were speechless with shock", says an executive who visits Havana frequently. Castro's 32 year old regime soon recovered its defiant voice. "We will not move away from the path we have chosen", the Cuban party said last week. "We will continue with our independent, Cuban, socialist line."

That line is fraying. Well before the coup, a reduction in Soviet subsidies from an estimated \$ 4.1 billion in 1989 to \$ 3.5 billion last year, and a drop believed of equal magnitude this year had left Cuba an economic orphan mired in a virtual preindustrial state. Soviet oil deliveries, which account for almost all of the island's fuel supply, were slashed by 23 percent last year. As a result, Havana traffic consists largely of bicycles. In August, Cuba inaugurated carrier-pigeon mail service to replace postal trucks. Most citizens line up each day to receive a single loaf of bread made from Soviet-supplied grain. Yet the Cuban government vows it is ready to live through a "zero option"—no oil at all.

Even Castro's harshest enemies are not sure it will come to that. As Cuban officials point out, the Moscow-Havana connection is something of a two-way street. Russians still need the 4 million tons of sugar that Cuba sends annually to put in their tea. According to Jorge Dominguez, a Cuba expert at Harvard University, Havana could continue limping along even if Moscow cut the price it pays for Cuban sugar by 25 percent. Such a move would reduce the price from the current 24 cents per pound to the 18 cents the U.S. government guarantees its producers.

Castro's secret yearning for a hard-line Communist comeback in Moscow has long been rumored in Havana and in Miami's Cuban exile community. Earlier this year hard-liners in the Kremlin prevailed on Gorbachev to resist a demand by President Bush that the Soviet Union cut off aid to Cuba altogether. The coup's top military man, Gen. Dmitry Yazov, then the defense minister, was in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis and remained a longtime advocate of keeping Cuba a militarily defensible post. Vladimir Kryuchkov, the KGB chief who joined the putsch, spent a week in Havana three months ago. "At the upper level of the [Soviet] military, you hear, 'We must not abandon our allies, our friends,'" Yelena Goroveya of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations told NEWSWEEK shortly before the coup. Now, says Gillian Gunn of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Cubans "couldn't in their wildest dreams hope to convince Yeltsin that they hoped the coup would fail".

Don't count Castro out yet. By outlasting the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe by two years, Fidel has proved he is a master at turning adversity to his advantage. And decades of political policing, party and Army purges, and the safety valve of immigration to the United States have eliminated potential sources of opposition from within Cuba itself. But Castro has never faced such a difficult combination of economic and political forces as he does now. The angry mood on Cuba food lines could easily explode into riots. Would Castro's soldiers use force to subdue such crowds? Over the summer, midlevel Army and security officers assured a Cuban-American visitor that troops would not open fire on citizens. Perhaps they would follow the example of the Soviet military men who trained and equipped them: they refused to follow orders rather than spill the blood of civilians.

- G-element 1:** [The Cuban government] declared him [Yelstin] a «**friend of the Cuban leadership**».
- G-element 2:** «They [Cuban officials] were speechless with shock» (after coup's failure).

G-element 3: (After the failure of coup, Castro's regime recovered its defiant voice) saying: «**We will not move away from the path we have chosen** ».

G-element 4: «**We will continue with our independent, Cuban, socialist line** ».

G-element 5: The Cubans «**could not in their wildest dreams hope to convince Yelstin that they hoped the coup would fail** ».

In this text, the writer's selection of the G-elements is strategic and goal-oriented contributing to the discursal function of the text. Through this strategy, i.e., bringing in G-elements, the writer can speak indirectly. He expresses, in an indirect way, what he cannot express or does not want to express directly.

We notice that according to the text, the Cuban government apparently and officially declares Yeltsin '*a friend of the Cuban's leadership*'. This point is strategically brought into the foreground by expressing it through 'direct speech representation' or 'direct quotation.' As the point becomes more prominent through being a G-element, it has more cognitive effect on the minds of the readers. That is to say, the reader's attention is, unconsciously, directed to that point which indeed is very central to the message the writer tries to convey. Then in the text it is expressed that the Cuban government, in spite of its claim, is indeed an enemy to Yeltsin and it is horrified by the coup's failure. This point is again highlighted by being expressed through a G-element: '*horrified by its failure (they were speechless with shock)*'. Here again the recallability of the point is increased. Then, according to the text, after the coup's failure, Castro's regime tries to convince Yeltsin that it is unwilling to be an enemy to him. This point is highlighted by bringing in the G-elements # 4 & 5. But Castro cannot convince him that he is a friend. Intertextual element # 5 foregrounds this point.

What is implied is that: Castro is a foe to Yeltsin. But he does not dare to show his defiance directly. It means that Castro's regime is not powerful enough to fight against Yeltsin directly. Hence he appeals to 'hypocrisy'. In the text, it is not expressed directly that Castro is a

hypocrite. Nor is it said that he is not powerful. But these points are implied through the *strategic* use of the G-elements. The discorsal value of the G-elements in this text is to contribute to the indirectness of the text.

Degree of embeddedness of G-elements in journalistic articles

We argued before that, in the scientific text-type, the depth of embeddedness of a G-element within a host text is determined and governed by the ideational function. But in journalistic articles, the depth of embeddedness of a G-element is determined basically by the attitude of the writer vis-à-vis the topic. The arrangement of a G-element in textual hierarchy, in the journalistic text-type, in collaboration with other textual strategies, reflects the attitude of the writer vis-à-vis the topic of the discourse. For elaborating more on this point, we have chosen two texts to be analyzed here: Text A (Newsweek, Sept. 2, 1991) & Text B (Time, Oct. 22, 1990).

Text A

The People vs. the Plotters

On the barricades and behind
the scenes, a dramatic hour-by-hour account

A FAILED COUP

"Yeltsin! Yeltsin! Yeltsin!" The chant roared across Moscow last week, sweeping away all the old Bolshevik rules for plotting a coup and seizing power. Outside the parliament of the Russian Republic, the people rose, linked arms and dared the State Committee for the State of Emergency to send its tanks against them. Inside, Boris Yeltsin played Mark Antony to Mikhail Gorbachev's Julius Caesar, denouncing traitors, calling presidents, pulling down the derelict house of Marx and Lenin. The plotters couldn't shoot him. They couldn't arrest him.

They couldn't even disconnect his phone. Two days into the coup, Yevgeny Primakov, a troubleshooter for Gorbachev, walked into the Kremlin office of Gennady Yanayev to find the plot's ostensible leader in tears. With a groan, Yanayev wondered aloud how he'd gotten himself into such a mess.

Text B
Fighting for a Comeback

PAKISTAN:

Bhutto has an uphill chance to win next week's elections

Benezir Bhutto is exactly where she wants to be. Riding through the countryside of Punjab province in a four-wheel-drive Mitsubishi Pajero, she waves at small crowds along the roadside that are chanting "O Allah, O Prophet, Benazir is innocent!" She passes most of them, but stops briefly to talk to larger groups even though she is hoarse from addressing rally after political rally. Magnetic and compelling as ever, wrapped in a white shawl embroidered with the red-black-and-green symbols of her Pakistan People's Party (P.P.P.), she presents herself as the archangel of democracy, a woman wronged by the military leadership and by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who dismissed her government on Aug. 6 on charges of corruption and incompetence. "The people are outraged by what the President has done," declares Bhutto "I don't think it is right for one man to say that the verdict of the people [in the 1988 election] is wrong."

Two months ago, those words would have sounded hollow: when her government was discharged after 20 months in power, hardly a word of complaint was heard across the land. Most Pakistanis believed the President when he cited the alleged corruption and ineptitude of the Bhutto government in a televised speech, then promised

that he would demand full and quick “accountability” from all politicians. So far, however, though the authorities formally charged Bhutto and three of her former ministers with corruption and last week had her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, arrested on criminal charges, there have been no convictions.

With national elections scheduled for next week, Bhutto claims that the affair is an elaborate attempt to stifle democracy in Pakistan— and she has started to win some sympathy. Says a Western diplomat in Islamabad: “The President has not been able to prove his case quickly and so she has turned this into a case of victimization.”

Bhutto’s strategy is working. Diplomats and journalists assessing the campaign almost unanimously think the People’s Democratic Alliance, a coalition of Bhutto’s P.P.P. and three smaller parties stands a good chance of emerging as the single largest bloc in parliament. It will probably fall short of an absolute majority, but may be within striking distance of power if it can pick up another coalition partner. That would place Bhutto on a collision course with the President, who will be deeply humiliated if she returns to power, and General Mirza Beg, the army chief of staff. As a result, the country is rife with rumors that Ishaq Khan and Beg will find some excuse to cancel the elections, perhaps by forcing a conviction of Bhutto on the corruption charges. Says Maleeha Lodi, a leading journalist: “They have really boxed themselves in, and there is no easy way out.”

The two texts have a common theme: ‘the struggle for seizing power’. But the attitudes of the writers of these two texts are very different in terms of the people’s role and function in the society. While the writer of text A regards people as active forces having ability in participating in the social process of power distribution, the

writer of the text B regards people as passive persons unable to determine their fate. These two different attitudes regarding the role of people in the society are achieved through the depth of embeddedness of the G-elements as well as in terms of other grammatical choices employed in the texts.

The first sentence in text A is a G-sentence. Its discoursal function will be elaborated on later. The second and third sentences have people as the Actor of Material processes such as: sweep, rose, linked etc. This shows the high degree of effectuality (cf. Hasan, 1985) of the people and their power and abilities to change their social conditions. In text A, people are struggling with plotters. But they are more powerful than plotters. Because the plotters "*couldn't shoot him. They couldn't arrest him. They couldn't even disconnect his phone.*" In other words, the plotters could not do anything because the people are more powerful. In the last sentence of the paragraph we have: '*with a groan, Yanayev [as a plotter] wondered aloud how he had gotten himself into such a mess*'. In this sentence the process is a Metal process, showing little degree of 'effectuality of plotters' in contrast with people who have more dynamic role in the society.

But in text B, the people do not have any power. They are only a means in the hands of those who fight for power. This passive role of people is represented in the grammatical choices of text B. In text B, the Actors of Material processes are either *Benazir Bhutto* or the *President*. This reflects the more dynamic roles of these two persons in the struggle for seizing power. Pakistanis have a passive role, not being able to contribute to determining their fate. So in the text, Pakistanis are rarely the doer of any process. Indeed, in the whole text, the role of people is expressed only in three sentences:

- Case 1:** She [Benazir Bhutto] waves at small crowds along the roadside that are chanting «O Allah, O Prophet, Benazir is innocent».
- Case 2:** «The people are outraged by what the President has done», declares Bhutto.
- Case 3:** Most Pakistanis believed the President when he cited the alleged corruption and ineptitude of the Bhutto government.

In case 1, the transitivity structure of the sentence is: Actor ^ Process: Material ^ Goal. In this sentence *Benazir Bhutto* is the Actor of the sentence and people are the goal of the process. According to Hasan (1985), the most dynamic role is that of Actor of a Material process which has a human being as its goal. Here Bhutto's effectuality and ability in changing the conditions of the society is reflected through grammatical choices in the text. Instead the people, in this sentence, are shown to have a passive role through being the goal of a process.

In case 2, the passive role of the people is shown again: "*The people are outraged by what the president has done.*" Moreover the passive role of the people is reflected by considering the fact that they do not speak themselves. It is somebody else, Benazir Bhutto, who speaks instead of them: "*The people are outraged by what the president has done*" declares Bhutto.

In case 3. People, Pakistanis, are the Senser of a mental process: (believe). This also shows the passive role of the people. Pakistanis are not doers. They are the senser of processes. In other words, they do not have the ability to do anything or bring any changes to their social conditions.

We suggested that the arrangement of G-elements in textual hierarchy of the H-text is determined by the writer's attitude vis-à-vis the topic. We noticed that the writers of the texts A and B have different attitudes in terms of the role of the people in the society. While the writer of text A regards people of the society in a position to determine the social conditions, the writer of text B gives a passive role to the people. This is reflected in the position devoted to the people's chants in the textual hierarchy of the two texts. While in text A the chant of people is textualized as a sentence with a high degree of embeddedness (0) and with a high degree of visibility; in text B, the chant of people is textualized as a clause embedded within a host sentence with less degree of visibility. The writer of text A by giving zero DE to the chant of people and bringing it to foreground, indirectly represents the active and dynamic role of people in the society. While the writer of text B, by arranging the chant of people in deeper level of

textual hierarchy indirectly says that the people have a passive role in the society. So in journalistic texts, the textual function, i.e. the degree to which the writer wants to be indirect in representing his view, determines and governs the textual arrangement of G-elements in the hierarchical organization of the H-text.

To conclude this section, we suggest that the G-elements in the journalistic text-type mostly contribute to the discoursal function of indirectness. While in the scientific text-type, the G-elements contribute to the ideational meaning of the text (what is said), in journalistic texts, the G-elements contribute to the textual function of the text (i.e. the way something is said). The producer of the journalistic texts by selecting and special arrangement of the G-elements in most cases produces ideologically biased and subjective texts.

G-elements in Advertisements

As the Table 4 illustrates, the most frequent G-elements occurring in the advertisements are clause complexes with the frequency of occurrence of 64% of the total percentage of the G-elements in this text-type.

Table 4

Rank	F	P%	74%	Above Clause
Text	2	10		
Clause-complex	12	64	26%	Below Clause
Adv-complex	1	5		
Np	3	16		
Individual Words	1	5		
	Σ for N=19	100		

Semantic distance of G-elements from the subject matter of H-text

In advertisements, 63% of the total number of G-elements belonging to different ranks is completely irrelevant to the subject matter of the H-text at the semantic level. That is to say, there is no direct or implied relation between the G-elements and the message of

the text. The degree of necessity of the G-elements for the unfolding of the H-text is approximately zero. The Gricean maxim of relevance is to some extent violated in this text-type. As far as G-sentences are concerned, more than 60% of the total number of G-sentences does not have any semantic relation to the H-text in terms of the speaker meaning or in terms of the propositional meaning. We argued that in journalistic articles, the speaker meaning of G-sentences is not usually transferred into the semantic realm of the H-text. But, the propositional meaning of the G-sentences is transferred into the H-text and gains another speaker meaning (that of the H-text's writer). Average readers of the journalistic articles never suspect that there may be a clash between the values of the G-sentence in the pretext and the new values it takes in the host text.

But, in advertisements even the propositional meaning of G-sentences does not have any direct or implied meaning relations with the semantic realm of the H-text. Consider this G-sentence.

Example 1: "I wear out a pair of toe shoes every day", she says.

What kind of semantic relation can one find between this G-sentence and the topic of the H-text which is advertising about a watch i.e. Rolex? The act of violation of the semantic relevance between G-sentences and the semantic universe of the H-text is strategic, i.e. to attract the attention of readers. Consider two other examples of G-elements in advertisements and their functions:

Example 2: [Killy says] «In life, as in skiing, timing is every thing. I cannot spend time with people who make me wait».

Example 3: As a recent profile of Killy noted, «As the master of the Olympics, the chances are that he will have everything ready on time to the second».

These two examples are taken from an advertisement under the title of "*Killy's Race Against Time*." The text's main function is to advertise a watch i.e. Rolex

Taking the G-element and its H-text into consideration, we come to the result that in advertising texts, the relations between G-elements and their H-text may be at a formal and surface level. Here in example 2 the mere occurrence of words: "timing" and "time" and in example 3 the mere occurrence of the group "on time" establish a loose relation between these G-elements and the topic of the advertisement text which is a "watch" (an instrument for measuring time). These strategies are added to H-text to increase its textual function, that is, to attract the reader's attention.

While in scientific texts and journalistic articles the relations between G-elements and the subject matter of H-text are at semantic level, in advertisement either there is no relation between the G-elements and the H-text or if there is any, it is at the formal and surface level such as the examples 2 and 3.

Summary

The higher frequency of core G-elements, the close semantic relation between G-elements and the topic of the H-texts and also using paralinguistic features in the scientific text-type make this text-type an information-oriented genre. We noticed that in the scientific text. The G-elements below the clause rank (G-NPs & G-words) can be considered as core G-elements because of their high degree of necessity for the unfolding of H-discourse. The text producer by bringing in G-elements below the clause rank increases the information load of the texts as well as the degree of recallability and comprehensibility of the texts. This is because the textual contrast created by paralinguistic feature (e.g. quotation marks) makes the new elements added through G-elements more prominent and hence forces the reader to focus upon them; and this boosts the degree of comprehensibility and recallability of the scientific texts.

As far as the G-elements above the clause rank are concerned, in the scientific texts, the most frequent G-elements, as mentioned above are G-texts. We argued that the degree of necessity of the G-texts for

the scientific H-texts is at a lower level compared with G-NPs & G-words. This is because the information contained in G-texts is redundant to the texts. The G-texts in this text-type, while fulfilling 'reiteration strategy' and hence increasing the comprehensibility of the text for some readers seem to be added to the text to increase the accountability and fruitfulness of the text for some other readers.

Our investigation also revealed that the position and arrangements of the G-elements in the scientific text-type are determined by the topic and topic elaboration factors.

As far as journalistic texts are concerned, the most frequent G-element is G-sentence. And this makes these texts ideologically biased and subjective ones. The main discursial function of G-elements in the journalistic text-type is indirectness.

According to our data in the journalistic text-type the arrangement and positions of the G-elements are mostly governed by the attitude of the discourse producer vis-à-vis the topic of the discourse.

As far as the advertisements are concerned, there is no relation between the G-element and semantic realms of the host text and the G-elements are added to the host texts to attract the attention of the readers.

Conclusion

On the basis of our investigation, we can suggest that it is not modes of intertextual strategies which distinguish the text-types from one another. Rather, it is the meaning negotiated through the modes of intertextuality that are different across different genres. That is to say, the dimensions of meaning added to the meaning potential of the H-text through the same mode of intertextuality (in this case, direct quotation) would vary across different text-types and are determined mostly by the overall function of the H-text. In information oriented text, the value of the G-elements is mostly to increase the information load of the host-text or to increase the degree of comprehensibility of the text. While in a journalistic text, the G-elements mostly contribute to discursial function of indirectness. G-elements in advertisement text contribute to the form (i.e. the way of saying) of the H-texts. In

advertisements, the G-elements through violating the quantity maxim assume prominence and get the attention of the readers. So, we can suggest that the same mode of intertextuality is employed to fulfill different functions in different genres.

Implication(s) of the study

We defined intertextuality as a theory of text which looks at the interrelations between language and other semiotic systems of the society. The findings of studies on intertextuality and intertextual strategies would be useful to deepen our understanding of the true nature of text and its function in the society. Especially those who are interested in the study of interrelation between language and ideology, i.e. the critical linguists, may use the findings of such studies to react against attempts at using language for an unequal distribution of power in the society (cf. Fairclough, 1990).

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