

Encapsulating Discourse Topics

Angela DOWNING
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

ABSTRACT

A situation or state of affairs in some possible world can be conceptualized and expressed linguistically in two major ways: it can be given full semantic and syntactic expression by means of a finite clause, or it can be condensed as an entity by nominalization. The former is likely to keep close to the speaker/hearer's experience of reality in terms of such features as chronological sequencing and agency, while the latter allows a presentation in terms of ideas, reasons and causality (Egins 1994).

Using a sample taken from three British daily newspapers of similar socio-economic readership, this study examines to what extent the clausal and nominalization options are availed of in a key area of news item presentation: the headline together with the lead.

Given the nature of the lead as a 'story in microcosm' (Bell 1991), it is hypothesized that in high-quality journalism nominalization may be used in order to encapsulate in the lead the global discourse topic of the whole news item.

I conclude by considering how far such nominalizations, when they occur, appear to be a mark of prestige and power (Halliday 1994, [1985]) and how far they appear to be text-based, motivated and related to the articulation of communicative goals in this type of discourse.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study takes as point of departure the functionalist insight (Halliday 1994 [1985]; Mackenzie 1987; Egins 1994) that a situation or state of af-

fairs in some possible world can be conceptualized and represented linguistically in two major ways¹. More transparently, the situation is given full semantic and syntactic expression in a finite active clause in which the participants, processes, circumstances and attributes are encoded by their typical clause functions, and display such features as agency, tense-aspect distinctions and chronological sequencing. This linguistic expression is likely to keep close to the language user's experience of the reality conceptualised as states of affairs².

Alternatively the situation may be presented as an entity expressed by a noun phrase (cf *She knew him* vs. *Her knowledge of him* (Givón 1993: 289). A nominalized form enables us to distance ourselves from experience and organize our text, not in terms of chronological sequencing, but in terms of ideas, reasons, causality (cf Eggins 1994:59). Seen as a process of syntactic nominalization the noun phrase represents the final stage in a 'nouniness squish' (Ross 1973) or 'scale of finiteness' (Givón 1993), in which the various types of non-finite constructions, standing on a scale between these two extremes, mark stages of syntactic nominalization from verbal to nominal morphology (*Knowing him, having known him, her knowing him, her knowledge of him. ibid*). In a narrower sense, lexical nominalization is defined as a process whereby a verb or adjective is converted into a noun (Givón 1993:287) and is associated with valency reduction (Mackenzie 1985). It is not relevant here to review the debate carried out in the generative models regarding the lexicalist vs. the transformational origin of nominalizations (Lees 1960; Chomsky 1970; Ross 1973; Levi 1978; Vendler 1978 among others). More relevant to my purpose is Halliday's concept of grammatical metaphor, of which nominalization is the chief resource (Halliday 1994 [1985], Halliday & Martin 1993; Downing 1987 and 1991), but the scope of this research precludes discussion of this wider concept.

In this study I shall be concerned mainly with the two extremes of the scale of finiteness: the finite clausal type on the one hand and the fully nominalized representations of (part of) a situation on the other. In addition, however, I will be taking into account moodless clauses (Halliday 1994; Downing & Locke 1992) in which all or part of the Finite element is omitted (*Priest robbed at knife point. Family to donate victim's organs*). These do not figure on the finiteness scale as specified in Givón (1993), but they are felt to be potentially relevant to the question in hand: the use and function of nominals and nominalizations in the headlines and leads of daily news items.

However, as well as nouns derived by the addition of nominalizing suffixes such as *selection*, and nouns arising by zero derivation such as *attack*, there are in English nouns which in themselves denote actions, states, events and processes, rather than things, but which are not perceivably derived from other parts of speech. These can be exemplified by *method, war, temperature*. In Lyons' typology they refer to second and third-order entities, as do nomi-

nalizations such as *selection* and nominals such as *attack*, all of which have in common the fact that they are «much more obviously perceptual and conceptual constructs» than for instance *cat*, *woman* and, in my data, *truncheon*, which belong to the prototypical, first-order class of entities (Lyons 1977:443).

In the conceptualization of situations as entities, nouns denoting things i.e. 'first-order nominals' such as *truncheon*, may enter freely into collocation with second-order nominals such as *attack* to form noun compounds such as *truncheon attack*, which express complex ideas or complex processes conceptualized as entities. In the present study the term *nominalization* will be used to refer to the derived type (e.g. *selection*), and *noun compound* to designate freely coined syntactic compounds such as *garden furniture* (Lyons, *ibid.*) or *truncheon attack* whose «meaning and distribution can be accounted for in terms of the productive rules of the language-system» (*op.cit.* 335). Such compounds may include a nominalization as one of their elements as in *selection method*. Leech (1981) notes the semantic openendedness of lexical rules and the vagueness of the semantic bridge connecting the two nouns, «allowing the language-user freedom to read into a new lexical entry whatever information he finds necessary to the understanding of it» (*op.cit.* 221). Leech concludes that «for many compounds it seems as if the most general rule 'X which has something to do with Y' is the only one broad enough to include all the idiosyncratic readings that are possible» (*ibid.*).

The conceptualization of entities is important in discourse in that entities constitute «the mental unit that the speaker, by using reference, wishes the addressee either to construe (in the case of first mention) or re-identify (in the case of subsequent mention)» (Mackenzie (in press.)) To this I will add a further function, stemming from the second: that of encapsulating topics or parts of topics. I take as my entity-representing unit the entire nominal group of which the nominalization or syntactic compound is head.

Mackenzie's definition is relevant to my purpose and leads me now to the aim of the research reported here, and to the relationship between nominalizations, syntactic compounds and topic management in this subgenre of journalism.

2. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of nominalizations, non-derived nominals and their compounds in a specific area of topic management in discourse: the relationship holding between a wider or global concern statable as a discourse topic (D-Topic) in the headline and the possible encapsulation of all or part of the D-topic within the first sentence of the text (the 'lead' in American terminology, adopted by Bell 1991:250).

The view of topic presented here attempts to combine three notions current in the literature: topic as 'aboutness', the hierarchization of topics and the sequentiality of topic organization. The first two have to do with the *what* perspective, the third with the *how* in Goutsos' terms (Goutsos 1997). Of these, my main concern in this study will be with the *how*. The *what*, in the sense of subject matter or actual content, is also considered important, however, since I am concerned with examining the degree of encapsulation achieved in the nominalized stretches of discourse under consideration, in comparison with non-nominalized or less nominalized stretches. In this respect the present study differs from that of Francis (1986) in two ways: firstly, using data drawn from expository texts, Francis excludes nominal groups on the grounds that they can be paraphrased as single nouns, concentrating instead on nouns used anaphorically such as *assertion, claim, aspect, issue*. Secondly, her anaphoric nouns «function metadiscursively as signposts in argument, independent of the subject-matter of a particular argument» (*op. cit.* 9).

Topic as aboutness is viewed as a psychological and pragmatic phenomenon which covers what a stretch of discourse is about (Reinhart 1982). Topic is kept separate from Theme, understood as initial constituent in the clause, and separate from Given information and Subject, although the realizations of two or more of these categories may conflate on a local level in one wording.

The hierarchization or layering of topics is seen here in principle on two levels: global discourse topics and local topics. Global discourse topics are sequentially organized and represent a wide concern which may involve a considerable stretch of discourse, while local topics are hierarchically structured under the «umbrella» of the D-topic which unifies them (Van Oosten 1985:19; cf. van Dijk 1977 and 1988, van Dijk & Kintsch 1983; Barnes 1985; Dik 1989; Biq 1990). Any element of a D-topic can be focused on to become a local topic, although, taking a prototypical standpoint as van Oosten does, the human beings in the scene, because of their egocentric bias, are the most likely to become a local topic (cf. *op.cit.*22). More precisely, I would prefer to claim that a participant in the scene can become a local topic, and consequently by means of nominalization the whole scene itself, or part of the scene can be accorded the status of participant and local topic. The question of how such local topics develop cannot be fully explored in the present study.

The sequentiality of topic organisation derives from the fact that in discourse «although everything is related... not everything can be said at once or in one big lump of language» (Goutsos *op.cit.* 43). Discourse must be segmented into manageable units and both continuities and discontinuities must be signalled. Such requirements respond to both interactional considerations and discourse goals (*ibid.*).

Ongoing empirical analysis of transcriptions of casual conversation carried out within the current project reveals that in that discourse type the global D-topics may remain implicit, without being given full linguistic expression. In addition, a global D-topic in conversation may be perceived both by participants in the conversation and by the analyst as a macro speech act, such as a macro request, or agreement, negotiated over a considerable number of utterances. By contrast, in perhaps most written genres, the D-topic is decided upon at the outset, and predictably will be given linguistic expression at the outset.

The hypothesis offered here is that, by virtue of the reconceptualization of a situation as an entity, a nominalization or non-derived nominal, or a combination of both, may be used by journalists to encapsulate a discourse topic or some relevant part of it, as a local topic. Once encapsulated, the information so expressed is likely to be treated as Given or presupposed and to be backgrounded; at the same time one could expect it potentially to provide a point of departure for the introduction of new information.

3. NOMINALIZATION, GENRE SELECTION AND DATA SOURCES

English is considered to be a nominalizing language (cf Fowler 1991), in that not only are nominalized forms integrated into the lexicon but, more importantly, the mechanisms for nominalization, which grammaticalise the conception of a non- entity as an entity, are in English clearly productive. To nominalize or not to nominalize can be viewed discursively, therefore, as options to be availed of by the language user.

Not all genres make equal use of the nominalizing option, however. Genres and registers in which nominalization is particularly prevalent tend to be situated at the written rather than the spoken end of the spectrum, and embrace scientific, academic and other professional discourse types, including journalism. The reason for this is obvious. Nominalizations tend to be abstractions, and unlike the ideational structure of clauses, bring the representation of reality to a higher level of abstraction, objectivizing and statifying the event (cf Maynard 1994). This objectivization and distancing from experience may be considered consonant with Popper's claim of an 'argumentative function' of language, essential for the handling of 'objective knowledge' or 'knowledge without a knower' (Popper 1979).

The sub-genre considered in this study, which forms part of a wider project, is that of daily news items. In order to keep constant at least a majority of the features within the 'field' and 'tenor' variables of this journalistic sub-genre (cf Goatly 1994), attention was restricted to daily news items in the

'upmarket' newspapers *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. Excluded, therefore, apart from tabloids and other 'downmarket' newspapers, are editorials, feature articles, reviews, obituaries, sport and business news and, because of their limited extent, news flashes and weather reports. More obviously excluded, within the macro-genre of journalism, is information presented in the form of lists rather than as texts, such as timetables, foreign exchange rates and television programmes. A sample of thirty news items was collected, of equal distribution among these three newspapers. Appendix I lists the headlines of the thirty news items according to the name of the newspaper in which they occur.

Justification for these choices of text can be formulated in terms of similarities of communicative purpose and textual organisation. The basic communicative purpose of the journalistic genre as a whole is, purportedly, to inform. More specifically, in one view, it is to convince the reader as to the truth values of the information supplied (van Dijk 1988). That is to say, the persuasive dimension underlying this genre makes for formulation of meanings in such a way that they are not merely understood but also accepted as the truth or at least as a possible truth (*op.cit.*). More covert factors in this domain include possible entertainment value, social control and ideological commitment together with formation of opinion and ideologies (van Leeuwen, 1987:209) and the creating of political discourse (Fairclough 1995).

Centring on the initial part of the news item which is the object of this analysis, the communicative function of the headline is to provide a summary of the news item in an impacting and distinctive form. It is the lead, however, that is in one view at least, 'the most distinctive feature of news discourse' (Bell 1991:174), 'a story in microcosm' which encapsulates the news event and the actors in it and the framing of which, in Bell's view, constitutes the journalist's primary writing skill (*ibid.*).

With regard to textual organization, the headline and the lead are segmented into separate chunks which, although related as regards aboutness, are textually discontinuous. The headline is a 'stand-alone unit' (Bell *op.cit.* 187) which is derived from the lead; it is constrained by limitations of space and house style and for this reason is written not by the journalist but by a sub-editor. A lead on the contrary is in Bell's term a '*directional summary*' (emphasis in the original) which, while it provides an abstract to the news story, is also a springboard for the further retelling of the story (*ibid.*). This characteristic segmentation of newspaper headlines and leads responds to certain features of 'mode' 3: the fact that processing time is greater for the addresser than the addressee, but the addresser (the journalist and other newswriters) are nevertheless working to severe time pressure and the addressee might skim (Goatly *op.cit.* 110). The segmentation of headline and lead are related therefore, «to both interactional considerations and the ar-

tication of the discourse goals» as Goutsos claims is the case in the segmentation of expository texts (*op. cit.* 43).

As regards topic management, it is of no consequence to the reader that headlines and leads are written by different members of the journalistic team. In terms of readers' expectations, headlines and leads together will be expected to provide an expression of the overall discourse topic, which for less persistent readers may make further reading unnecessary. Neither does possible ideological skewing of headlines invalidate the headline-lead relationship. This is because, if readers' expectations are to be fulfilled, relationships of coherence will be established between the overall topic expressed in the headline and its restatement in the lead.

4. METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Discourse topics in the sub-genre under consideration are stated at the outset, and can in principle be expressed as either clauses or nominals. Appendix II summarises the distribution of headlines in the sample according to structural class: finite clause, abbreviated clause, nominal group.

I start from the premise that for adequate textual development a relationship of cohesion must be established between the headline (H), (including a possible sub-headline (sub-H)) and the lead (the first sentence of the text, often constituting one short paragraph) (L). Furthermore, if the category of 'summary' proposed by van Dijk is to hold good, the initial part of a journalistic text should arguably provide what the reader will perceive as a restatement of the headline, or an expansion of it. As I have discussed in section 1, situations can be given full semantic and syntactic expression via a finite clause, or they can be nominalized and expressed as entities. Given that the journalistic text will necessarily be expressed by means of clauses, the question under examination is to what extent the nominalizing option is made use of as a possible encapsulating device. Also felt to be potentially relevant is the thematic status of the nominalization or noun compound when these occur, that is, whether they occur as theme or as part of the rheme.

In a dynamic written genre such as journalism, in which verbal creativity is high, especially in the creation of new syntactic compounds, the amount of variation observed makes classification difficult without resorting to an unwieldy number of subcategories. In attempting to capture at least some regularities of choices in this type of discourse, the following degrees on a scale were postulated, with no implication that all possible combinations are accounted for:

4.1. *Degrees of encapsulation (from high to low)*

- Type A: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Nominalization in lead encapsulates as entity
Status of nominalization: thematic/rhematic
- Type B: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Nominals in lead encapsulate/amplify as entity
Status of nominal: thematic/rhematic
- Type C: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Sense-related NG in lead partially encapsulates.
Status of NG: thematic
- Type D: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Encapsulation via nominals is greater in headline than in lead
Clausal reformulation as process in lead.
- Type E: Nominal headline summarises D-topic as entity
Lead develops clausally with little/no encapsulation
Thematic/rhematic linking less tight.
- Type F: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Little/No encapsulation in clausal development of lead

The number of categories could have been reduced by subsuming all types of encapsulating noun under the term 'nominalization' (as Hatim & Mason do in defining 'nominalization' as 'referring to whole processes by encapsulating them in a single noun' (1990:242)). For the present study, however, a more detailed classification was preferred as being potentially more revealing. Figure 1. summarises the distribution of the data within the types.

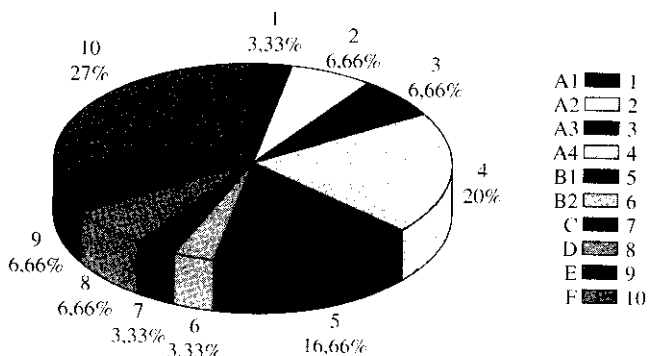


FIGURE 1. Graphical representation of the distribution of news items according to types.

5. EXEMPLIFICATION AND DISCUSSION

*Type A: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as event/process
Nominalization in lead encapsulates as entity
Status of nominalization: thematic or rhematic*

Four sub-types were discerned within Type A, depending on either the type of nominalization itself (whether or not related to a verb or adjective in the headline) and on the thematic status of the nominal expression:

- A1. Nominalization in lead related to verb in headline
- A2. Nominalization at Theme created by cognition or utterance noun
- A3. Nominalisation at Theme and Rheme
- A4. Nominalization at Rheme

A1. Nominalization in lead is related to verbal process in headline

- (1) H: *Rhino horns worth 3m pounds seized in London*
 L: **The world's biggest seizure of rhino horns, worth almost 3 million pounds**, was made by police in London yesterday after a tip-off to the RSPCA.

There is maximal 'fit' between headline content and that of the thematic nominalization. Encapsulation of the D-topic leads to new information in the Rheme.

A2. Nominalization at Theme is created by cognition or utterance noun

The nominalization in the text is not based on an element in the headline but is 'created' by means of a 'cognition' noun or an 'utterance' noun (Francis 1986) such as *decision*, *announcement*, respectively.

- (2) H: *America closes tourism office*
 L: **The decision to close the United States Travel and Tourism Administration** will mean more than three million Britons bound for America this year face a time-consuming hunt for information.

The nominalization at the beginning of the text spells out what is by now information known from the title, and in this illustration establishes a cause-effect sequence. The effect, presented as New information, is also partly expressed via a nominalization 'a time-consuming hunt for information'.

A3. *Nominalization in both Theme and Rheme*

In this type heavy nominalization at Theme in the lead is paralleled by further nominalization in the Rheme. Between them, they encapsulate the D-topic of the news item, taking in considerably more information than appears in the clausal headline. The ordering of the information is reversed from headline to lead, producing a 'cross-encapsulation'.

- (3) H: *Planners compete to rebuild bombed city.*
 L: **The multimillion pound rebuilding of central Manchester after the IRA bombing** will take a major step forward today with **the announcement of five national and international teams shortlisted to replan the area.**

Nominalizations in this illustration include the derived (*rebuilding*), the utterance noun (*announcement*) and the agentive (*planners*).

A4. *Nominalization at Rheme.*

- (4) H. *Clangers open surrogate election campaign*
 L. A surrogate general election campaign opened with **a display of confusion and fumbling self-contradiction** in Wirral South yesterday.

Here, as in (3) above, the Rheme of the headline provides the Theme of the lead, in this case in almost identical words. Conversely, nominalization in the Rheme of the lead elaborates the Theme of the headline.

Type B: Clausal headline summarises D-topic as process
Nominals in lead encapsulate /amplify as entity
Status of nominal: thematic

Two subtypes are distinguished:

- B1. Nominals derived by zero conversion
 B2. Non-derived nominals

The nominals in Type B1 are derived by zero conversion (*plan, strike, attempt*). Repetition in both headline and lead represents one type of lexical cohesion, as in items 6, 9 and 20 in Appendix III (*sale – sale, plan – plan, strike- strike*, respectively). By contrast, *attempt* (lead of item 6) and *drive* (lead of item 5) are metadiscourse nouns, used to talk about and interpret the event within the ongoing discourse (cf Francis 1986).

- (5) H: *Sale breaks last wish of widow*
 L: **A High Court attempt to halt the sale of a 1 million pound Jacobean house that contravened the owner's dying wishes** has failed. Fresden

- (10) H. *Parents tell how they lost children on beach*
 L: A couple yesterday described how they lost their children on a crowded beach at the start of a week-long holiday.

This type displays no lexical nominalization and no encapsulation of the D-topic. The first sentence of the text provides an almost identical version of the clausal headline with little new information. The Theme is maintained constant in both, by means of lexical variation (*parents/a couple*).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The scale proposed and discussed in the previous section seeks to illustrate the range of combinations revealed in the sample for the conceptualization and linguistic expression of a situation, as carried out in headlines and the first sentence of the news item.

The two main options as stated in section 1 – the clausal and the nominalizing – are availed of differently in headlines and in the immediately ensuing lead. Headlines are predominantly clausal in the sample; only two out of thirty were entirely nominal. Furthermore, with the exception of *warning* (item 21) suffixal nominalization appears not to occur in headlines, a finding supported by an informal survey of larger numbers of items in newspapers of a similar socio-cultural level. This is consonant with the hypothesis that nominalizations are used as potential 'encapsulators' of information previously made known in this type of discourse. Syntactic compounds, frequently containing second-order zero-derived nominals occasionally encapsulate part of the D-topic in the headline (*P.C.'s truncheon attack; road rage murder*) and occur occasionally as wholly nominal headlines (7%), but their frequency is greatly inferior to the clausal types. Of these, finite clauses accounted for 60% of the sample, abbreviated (i.e. moodless) clauses 26%, while a small number consisted of a combination of abbreviated and finite clauses (7%) (see Appendix II).

In the lead, two main trends were detected, corresponding to the two main options: to encapsulate (part of) the D-Topic as an entity or not to encapsulate in this way. Distribution slightly favoured at least some encapsulation. Thus, 53,33% of the sample, containing items listed under Types A and B and their subtypes (A1, A2, A3, A4) and (B1 and B2) respectively, evidenced a considerable degree of encapsulation of the D-Topic by means of nominalizations or noun compounds. Such encapsulations occurred thematically or rhematically, while in some cases the encapsulated information was distributed between the initial and final positions of the clause. In such cases virtually the whole D-topic was encapsulated into two nominals (see for instance items 2 and 9) connected by a verb which in some cases

helped sustain a cause-effect relationship. In all these instances the nominalizing choice raised the conceptualization and expression of the event to a considerable level of abstraction.

Those items listed under D, E, and F, 43,33% of the sample) made little or no use of the encapsulating option by means of nominalization in the lead. Instead, they restated the content of the D-Topic clausally, keeping close to experiential parameters of chronology, tense and agency.

The example listed under Type C (item 13,33%) represents a transition in that the fairly extensive noun group at Theme recovers certain details of the D-Topic omitted from the headline, but keeps close to the participants in the situation, avoiding abstraction.

The few nominal headlines were not followed by any but a minimum degree of encapsulation.

Overall, encapsulation via nominalization and noun compounds in the text is felt to provide the tightest cohesion between headline and text in comparison with all other combinations identified in the sample. Furthermore, such nominalizations provide not only retrospective cohesion, rephrasing information as Given; they also prospect (Sinclair 1992), that is look forward, guiding the reader towards New information. In some cases such information in its turn represents a restatement of the headline theme in the form of a nominalization, frequently containing considerable new detail which would be spelled out in the subsequent text. See for example (11) (item 9):

- (11) H. *Row greets plan for new ethnic labels in census*
 L. **Plans to include ethnic categories in the next census have fuelled an argument among politicians, academics and equal-opportunities advisers about the best means of classifying minority groups.**

Encapsulation by means of nominalization and noun compounds effected in the ways illustrated above is therefore text-based and motivated; it firmly establishes the D-topic in the most economical way, avoiding tedious repetition. It contrasts with the more jargonistic or ritual (Halliday & Martin 1993) uses of nominalizations and syntactic nominals in which the entities are not created by encapsulation throughout the text but are 'ready-made' and presupposed from the outset. Instances of such ritualistic uses also occur in the sample, some on the way to 'petrification' (Leech, 1981 [1974]) or 'solidification' (Lyons, 1977) such as *road rage murder*, others having already reached this stage (*at knife-point*). In a genre such as this, in which journalists work to strict time schedules, coinages such as these provide ready-made entities which can be used without previous explanation. Once solidified as a fixed expression, they can be stored in memory and retrieved for use; 'footballs to be kicked around cognitively and linguistically' Mackenzie (1987:104).

With news items, the choice and amount of nominalization early in the

lead appears to depend in part on the text type adopted for the development of the D-topic, and ultimately, perhaps, on the type of news item itself and on the assumed previous knowledge of the reader. A news item presenting previously unknown events in narrative form may keep closely to the chronology of the events and contain little nominalization. Conversely, if the consequences of the event are deemed more important, the event itself may be backgrounded via nominalization, and the consequences brought into focus, again by a nominalization, as in illustration (3) (*America closes tourism office*). Even presupposed information can be brought back into focus as in item 11 *US threatens to attack again*. In this news item *again* presupposes a previous attack, which in effect is picked up in the nominalization *widespread criticism of its cruise missile strike yesterday morning*.

A more argumentative or reflecting stance in the text may therefore tend to produce more encapsulating nominalization than in narrative. Even in narrative, however, simple nominalization occurs with two clear functions. The first is that of amplifying part of the D-Topic which had been presented somewhat telegraphically in the headline. The result is a complex entity, as in the case of the Jacobean house sold against the owner's wishes. The second function is to dramatise part of the narrative, as in '*the moment of panic*' derived from the back-formed '*I panicked*' which occurred seven paragraphs later in the text (item 24).

These considerations suggest that encapsulating nominalization fulfils an important function in the leads of news items. It can be used to restructure information derived from the headline as Given information, in thematic position, or as New in final position, or even as both.

This study has prioritized the encapsulating function of nominalization and noun groups based on zero-derived nominals. Various other relationships, such as partial synonymy (*parents- a couple*) and metaphor (*red faces – embarrassment*) have been barely mentioned. Similarly, thematic relations between headline and text, originally part of this study, have had to be excluded as beyond the immediate scope of this discussion. Particularly worth further exploration in this discourse type from the point of view of thematic progressions (Danes 1974) is what might be called 'cross-encapsulation', by which the Theme/Rheme content of the headline receives Rheme/Theme encapsulation in the lead (see for instance items 2 and 9). All in all, the sample suggests that encapsulating nominalization is a very real option in high quality journalistic writing.

NOTES

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² I am indebted to the referees Chris Butler and Pepe Simón for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

³ 'Mode of discourse' is the third variable in register analysis which, together with 'field of discourse' and 'tenor of discourse', claim to cover the whole range of language activity.

Departamento de Filología Inglesa
 Facultad de Filología
 Universidad Complutense
 28040 Madrid (SPAIN)
 Fax: 34 (9)1 394 54 78
 email: fling02 @ sis.ucm.es

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APPENDIX 1
Headlines of news items comprising the sample
(10 news items of each paper. Total 30)

The Times (T)

4/11/93

Priest robbed at knife point (p.8)
Sale breaks last wish of widow (p.5)
Mother tells of last hours on shopping trip with James (p.3)
Whitehall faces 75 million pound race bias claims (p.9)

4/09/96

US threatens to attack again (p.1)
Rhino horns worth 3m pounds seized in London (p.1)
Family to donate victim's organs (p.6)
Planners compete to rebuild bombed city (p.6)
Hong Kong's top judge to stand for Chief Executive (p.12)
Protesters at Pope's French visit plant bomb in church (p.12)

The Guardian International (G)

27/04/96

US halts Lebanon firefighting (p.1)
PC's truncheon attack costs the MET record damages (p.1)
No to grammars in Major's town (p.4)

6/12/96

Serb leader rejects way out of political crisis (p.2)
Woman held after road rage murder remains in hospital (p.2)
New test reveals girl has CJD (p.2)
Mothers and baby doing well (p.3)
Oldest life stories collected for 2000 (p.3)
Row greets plan for new ethnic labels in census (p.4)
Eurotunnel suffers wagons setback (p.5)

The Independent (I)

24/08/96

BBC under threat, warns Birt (p.1)
Tobacco is declared an addictive drug in US (p.1)
Strike dampens holiday spirit (p.2)
Parents tell how they lost children on beach (p.2)
Church warning on risks of exorcism (p.6)
130 years of history and the hope of 200 miners fail to save pit (p.6)

4/02/97

War of words over childcare (p.1)
Clangers open surrogate election campaign (p.1)
Red faces as Uefa admits World Cup backing for Germany (p.3)
Boy drivers saved from blazing car (p.4)

APPENDIX II
Distribution of headlines according to structural class

A. Finite clause

- Sale breaks last wish of widow (T)
- Mother tells of last hours on shopping trip with James (T)
- America closes tourism office (T)
- US threatens to attack again (T)
- Planners compete to rebuild bombed city (T)
- US halts Lebanon firefight (G)
- PCs truncheon attack cost the MET record damages (G)
- Serb leader rejects way out of political crisis (G)
- Row greets plan for new ethnic labels in census (G)
- Eurotunnel suffers wagons setback (G)
- Tobacco is declared an addictive drug in US (I)
- Strike dampens holiday spirit (I)
- Parents tell how they lost children on beach (I)
- Clangers open surrogate election campaign (I)
- New test reveals girl has CJD (G)
- Woman held after road rage murder remains in hospital (G)
- Whitehall faces 75 million pound race bias claims (T)
- 130 years of history and hope of 200 miners fail to save pit

TOTAL: 18 (60%)

B. Abbreviated clause

- Priest robbed at knife point (T)
- Rhino horns worth 3m pounds seized in London (T)
- Family to donate victim's organs (T)
- Hong Kong's top judge to stand for Chief Executive (T)
- Mothers and baby doing well (G)
- Oldest life stories collected for 2000 (G)
- No to grammars in Major's town (G)
- Boy drivers saved from blazing car (I)

TOTAL: 8 (26%)

A/B Abbreviated clause + finite clause

- BBC under threat, warns Birt (I)
- Red faces as Uefa admits World Cup backing for Germany (I)

TOTAL: 2 (7%)

C. Nominal group

Church warning on risks of exorcism (I)

War of words over childcare (I)

TOTAL: 2 (7%)

APPENDIX III

The sample: Headlines and leads in three daily newspapers

1. H: Rhino horns worth 3m pounds seized in London
L: **The world's biggest seizure of rhino horns, worth almost 3 million pounds, was made by police in London yesterday after a tip-off to the RSPCA.**
2. H: Planners compete to rebuild bombed city
L: **The multimillion pound rebuilding of central Manchester after the IRA bombing will take a major step forward today with the announcement of five national and international teams shortlisted to replan the area.**
3. H: America closes tourism office
L: **The decision to close the United States Travel and Tourism Administration will mean more than three million Britons bound for America this year face a time-consuming hunt for information.**
4. H: Hong Kong's top judge to stand for Chief Executive
L: **The announcement by Sir Ti Liang Yang, Hong Kong's Chief Justice, that he is a candidate for the post of Chief Executive to succeed Chris Patten, the Governor, on July 1, 1997, is the latest bizarre event in the run-up to China's resumption of sovereignty.**
5. H: Whitehall faces 75m pound race bias claims
L: **A two-year drive in Whitehall to increase the number of black and Asian people entering the higher echelons of the Civil Service threatens to land the Government with a 75m pound compensation bill.**
6. H: Sale breaks last wish of widow
L: **A High Court attempt to halt the sale of a 1m pound Jacobean house that contravened the owner's dying wishes has failed.**
7. H: US halts Lebanon firefight
L: **After ten days of merciless long-range warfare across the border between Israel and Lebanon by missile, airstrike and artillery, a ceasefire was announced simultaneously in Jerusalem and Beirut yesterday.**
8. H: Red faces as Uefa admits World Cup backing for Germany
L: There was **embarrassment** yesterday at the headquarters of Uefa - European football's governing body - as officials admitted that Germany's bid to stage the World Cup in 2000 had been supported ahead of an English claim, without **formal nomination, discussion, voting or competition.**
9. H: Row greets plan for new ethnic labels in census
L: **Plans to include ethnic categories in the next census have fuelled an argument among politicians, academics and equal opportunities advisers about the best means of classifying minority groups.**

10. H: Clangers open surrogate election campaign
L: A surrogate general election campaign opened with a **display of confusion and fumbling self-contradiction** in Wirral South yesterday.
11. H: US threatens to attack again
Sub-H: 27 Cruise missiles hit Iraq: No-fly zone is extended
L: America declared last night that it was ready to attack Iraq again in spite of **widespread criticism of its cruise missile strike yesterday morning**
12. H: Eurotunnel suffers wagons setback (G)
L: Eurotunnel is resigned to **the prospect of having to scrap or greatly modify its lattice-sided lorry wagons** as a result of last month's fire in the Channel Tunnel.
13. H: Serb leader rejects **way out of political crisis**
L: President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia appeared to turn his back on a face-saving compromise with anti-government protesters when the supreme court turned down **opposition appeals against the fixing of local election results in Belgrade.**
14. H: 130 years of history and the hope of 200 miners fail to save pit
L: One hundred and thirty years of mining history ended yesterday when coal production ceased at the last pit in North Wales following the workers' **decision not to press ahead with an employee buy-out.**
15. H: No to grammars in Major's town
L: **Parents in John Major's Huntingdon constituency have rejected his proposals for increasing selective education**, the head teacher of the big local comprehensive said yesterday.
16. H: Family to donate victim's organs
L: **The parents of a university student who died after trying to help a distressed woman** said their son's death would not be in vain and that his organs would be donated for transplant in accordance with his wishes.
17. H: Oldest life stories collected for 2000
L: **A record of national eating habits and the life stories of Britain's 1,000 oldest people** will be among the 72 projects in the Millenium celebrations.
18. H: **PC's truncheon attack** costs the Met **record damages**
L: A man struck over the head with a truncheon was awarded record damages of **302,000 pounds against the Metropolitan Police** yesterday.

The damages ruling comes.....

19. H: Woman held after road rage murder remains in hospital
L: Detectives investigating **the alleged road rage murder of Lee Harvey** last night refused to confirm that a 27-year-old woman arrested on Saturday in connection with **the killing** was his fiancée, Tracie Andrews.
20. H: **Strike dampens holiday spirit**
L: **A strike by train crews** and heavy rain disrupted travel plans for thousands yesterday as the August Bank Holiday weekend began.
21. H: Church **warning** on risks of exorcism
Sub-H: Cult-like healing centres see demons in women's rights and acupuncture
L: Fundamentalist Christians who see the devil everywhere can drive vulnerable people to suicide, according to one of the Church of England's most experienced exorcists.

22. H: War of words over childcare
 Sub-H: «**Mothers** are key figures for education talk, for talking about homework, for discussing what has gone on in the day.»
 Sub-H:«There isn't a scrap of evidence that putting children in day-care while mothers go to work is bad for health or education.
 L: Children who attend daycare centres have higher IQs and better social skills than those whose mothers do not work, according to a leading child-research institution.
- The findings**, which encompass eight major studies carried out since the 1960s, contradict research highlighted by the BBC's *Panorama* programme yesterday which claimed that children of working mothers are more likely to fail at school.
23. H: Parents tell how they lost children on beach
 L: A couple yesterday described how they lost their children on a crowded beach at the start of a week-long holiday.
24. H: Mother tells of last hours on shopping trip with James
 Sub-H: 'He had been at my side while I was served. I looked down and he had gone.'
 L: **The moment of panic** when James Bulger disappeared from his mother's side was described in her own words at Preston Crown Court yesterday.
25. H: New test reveals girl has CJD
 L: A 15-year-old Glasgow girl has been confirmed as the world's youngest victim of the strain of the fatal brain disorder, Creutzfeldt- Jakob disease, allegedly linked to BSE.
26. H: Mothers and baby doing well
 L: Three generations were doing well in a Darlington hospital yesterday - Britain's first surrogate grandmother, Edith Jones, her daughter, Suzanne, and their baby, Caitlin.
27. H: Priest robbed at knife-point
 L: Muggers in a tough inner city area robbed a Catholic priest at knife-point outside his church.
28. H: Tobacco is declared an addictive drug in US
 L: President Bill Clinton yesterday declared **an election campaign war on underage smoking**, with a host of new restrictions that promise trouble not only for the beleaguered United States tobacco industry but also for Bob Dole, his Republican challenger for the White House.
29. H: BBC under threat, warns Birt
 Sub-H: **Rise in licence fee** is essential, he warns
 L: John Birt, the activist Director-General of the BBC, last night launched an aggressive campaign to increase the licence fee, warning that the Corporation's very future was at risk.
30. H: Boy drivers saved from blazing car
 L: Two stepbrothers aged 12 and eight were pulled from a blazing car by police yesterday after a joyride which ended with the vehicle smashing into a pub after being driven the wrong way along a dual carriageway.