Texture in Text: A Discourse Analysis of a News Article Using Halliday and Hasan's Model of Cohesion

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1. Introduction

The study and analysis of actual language in use is the goal of text and discourse analysis. Michael Halliday, one of the linguists credited with the development of systemic linguistics and functional grammar, defines text as any authentic stretch of written or spoken language. According to Halliday (1994: xiv) the historical study of linguistics first involved studying the morphology of language followed by studying the meaning of words at the sentence level. Ultimately the goal of such analysis was to find the meaning of the forms of language. However, in Halliday's view, the reverse approach is more meaningful: "A language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be expressed." Beyond the grammar and lexis of language, understanding the mechanisms for how text is structured is the basis for his work. What makes any length of text meaningful and coherent has been termed texture. Texture is the basis for unity and semantic interdependence within text and a text without texture would just be a group of isolated sentences with no relationship to one another.

Eggins (1994: 85) refers to the term put forth by Schegloff and Sacks

(1973/74) "sequential implicativeness" which proposes that language follows a linear sequence where one line of text follows another with each line being linked or related to the previous line. This linear progression of text creates a context for meaning. Contextual meaning, at the paragraph level is referred to as "coherence" while the internal properties of meaning is referred to as "cohesion". Coherence has both "situational" coherence when field, tenor, and mode can be identified for a certain group of clauses and "generic" coherence when the text can be recognized as belonging to a certain genre. Cohesion relates to the "semantic ties" within text whereby a tie is made when there is some dependent link between items that combine to create meaning. Therefore, texture is created within text when there are properties of coherence and cohesion, outside of the apparent grammatical structure of the text.

Using the Newsweek article *Ruins With A View* as a basis, the textual aspect of meaning through cohesion will be analyzed. The principles of referencing, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion put forth by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Bloor and Bloor (1995) will be applied to the article and analyzed to demonstrate the relevance of the cohesive elements that are present in texts which contribute to the overall meaning of the text. Understanding how cohesion functions within text to create semantic links could be beneficial to students of English as a second or foreign language to help "decode" meaning.

2. Principles of Cohesion

Structure in text is provided by grammar therefore cohesion is considered to be outside of the structure. Cohesion refers to the "non-structural text-forming relations" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 7). The concept of cohesion in text is related to semantic ties or "relations of meanings that

— 132 —

exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (ibid: 4). Within text, if a previously mentioned item is referred to again and is dependent upon another element, it is considered a tie. Without semantic ties, sentences or utterances would seem to lack any type of relationship to each other and might not be considered text. Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 4) refer to this intertextual link as "the presupposing" and "the presupposed". Using the authors' example, "Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish.": The word "them" presupposes "apples" and provides a semantic tie between the two sentences, thus creating cohesion. Cohesion creates interdependency in text.

2.1 Referencing

Referencing functions to retrieve presupposed information in text and must be identifiable for it to be considered as cohesive. In written text, referencing indicates how the writer introduces participants and keeps track of them throughout the text. (Eggins 1994: 95) There are three general types of referencing: homophoric referencing, which refers to shared information through the context of culture, exophoric referencing, which refers to information from the immediate context of situation, and endophoric referencing, which refers to information that can be "retrieved" from within the text. It is this endophoric referencing which is the focus of cohesion theory. Endophoric referencing can be divided into three areas: anaphoric, cataphoric, and esphoric. Anaphoric refers to any reference that "points backwards" to previously mentioned information in text. Cataphoric refers to any reference that "points forward" to information that will be presented later in the text. Esphoric refers to any reference within the same nominal group or phrase which follows the presupposed item. For cohesion purposes, anaphoric referencing is the most relevant as it "provides a link with a

— 133 **—**

preceding portion of the text" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 51).

Functionally speaking, there are three main types of cohesive references: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. Personal reference keeps track of function through the speech situation using noun pronouns like "he, him, she, her", etc. and possessive determiners like "mine, yours, his, hers", etc. Demonstrative reference keeps track of information through location using proximity references like "this, these, that, those, here, there, then, and the". Comparative reference keeps track of identity and similarity through indirect references using adjectives like "same, equal, similar, different, else, better, more", etc. and adverbs like "so, such, similarly, otherwise, so, more", etc. (ibid: 37–39).

2.2 Substitution and Ellipsis

Whereas referencing functions to link semantic meanings within text, substitution and ellipsis differs in that it operates as a linguistic link at the lexicogrammatical level. In Bloor and Bloor (1995: 96), substitution and ellipsis is used when "a speaker or writer wishes to avoid the repetition of a lexical item and is able to draw on one of the grammatical resources of the language to replace the item". The three types of classification for substitution and ellipsis: nominal, verbal and clausal, reflect its grammatical function. When something in text is being substituted, it follows that the substituted item maintains the same structural function as the presupposed item. In nominal substitution, the most typical substitution words are "one and ones" and they substitute nouns. In verbal substitution, the most common substitute is the verb "do" and is sometimes used in conjunction with "so" as in "do so" and substitute verbs. Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 125–126) point out that "do" often operates with the reference items "it" and "that" but still have the main function as a verbal substitute because of

— 134 **—**

its grammatical role. In clausal substitution, an entire clause is substituted and though it may seem to be similar to either nominal or verbal substitution, the difference is the presupposed anaphoric reference.

Though substitution and ellipsis are similar in their function as the linguistic link for cohesion, ellipsis differs in that it is "substitution by zero". (ibid: 142). Ellipsis refers to a presupposed anaphoric item although the reference is not through a "place-marker" like in substitution. The presupposed item is understood through its structural link. As it is a structural link, ellipsis operates through nominal, verbal and clausal levels. Halliday and Hasan further classify ellipsis in systemic linguistic terminology as deictic, numerative, epithet, classifier, and qualifier.

2.3 Conjunction

Conjunction, as described by Bloor and Bloor (1995: 98) acts as a "cohesive tie between clauses or sections of text in such a way as to demonstrate a meaningful pattern between them", though Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 227) indicate that "conjunctive relations are not tied to any particular sequence in the expression". Therefore, amongst the cohesion-forming devices within text, conjunction is the least directly identifiable relation. Conjunction acts as a semantic cohesive tie within text in four categories: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. Additive conjunction acts to structurally coordinate or link by adding to the presupposed item and are signaled through "and, also, too, furthermore, additionally", etc. Additive conjunction may also act to negate the presupposed item and is signalled by "nor, and...not, either, neither", etc. Adversative conjunctions act to indicate "contrary to expectation" (ibid: 250) and are signaled by "yet, though, only, but, in fact, rather", etc. Causal conjunction expresses "result, reason and purpose" and is signaled by "so, then, for, because, for

— 135 **—**

this reason, as a result, in this respect, etc.". The last conjunctive category is temporal and links by signaling sequence or time. Some sample temporal conjunctive signals are "then, next, after that, next day, until then, at the same time, at this point", etc.

2.4 Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion differs from the other cohesive elements in text in that it is non-grammatical. Lexical cohesion refers to the "cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary" (ibid: 274). The two basic categories of lexical cohesion are reiteration and collocation. Reiteration pertains to the repetition of a lexical item, either directly or through the use of a synonym, a superordinate or a generally related word. Collocation pertains to lexical items that are likely to be found together within the same text. Collocation occurs when a pair of words are not necessarily dependent upon the same semantic relationship but rather they tend to occur within the same lexical environment (ibid: 286). The closer lexical items are to each other between sentences, the stronger the cohesive effect.

3. Text Analysis of a News Article

A reprint of the article *Ruins With A View* from Newsweek, is provided in Appendix 1 with line numbers, which is the basis for this text analysis. Newsweek, a weekly news magazine, covers topics ranging from U.S. affairs to world affairs, society and the arts, business and health. The article appeared in the international edition for September 4, 2000 in the "Europe" section. The article focuses on the changing European countryside due to the "migration" of urban professionals either buying old homes and farms in rural villages as second homes or buying them as primary residences. The style of writing is journalistic and presents facts as well as the advantages

-136 -

and disadvantages of the trend. It was written to be read, therefore much of the relevant information the reader might need is either contained within the text or in supplementary maps, photos, and charts. Overall, the article is informative, entertaining and relatively easy to read. The text is very cohesive, mainly due to lexical cohesion and referencing. As previously stated, cohesiveness in text creates texture and texture is due to the semantic ties that exist between clauses and sentences. Halliday and Hasan (ibid: 297) refer to texture in text as either being "tight", which means that there are many cohesive ties, or "loose", which means that there would be fewer cohesive ties, with variances of both in the same text within and across paragraph boundaries. Starting with referencing and finishing with lexical cohesion, the textual analysis will prove that cohesion is an important aspect for creating meaning within text.

3.1 Text Analysis: Referencing

In the article, there were eighteen incidences of personal references, twenty-four incidences of demonstrative references, and five incidences of conjunctive references. Of the personal references, fourteen of them were through the use of personal pronouns and four were "it" references of either facts or things. All of the examples listed in Appendix 2 are examples of anaphoric reference, the most relevant kind of referencing for cohesion within text. All of the examples of personal references cited exist as ties to presupposed participants and occur outside of the referring clause. Halliday attests that this type of referencing is the most cohesive (Halliday 1994: 312). Personal referencing in text acts to keep track of participants throughout the text. For example, in line 7, the "his wife and four children" refers back to Peter Rockwell in lines 5–6. In line 8, the reference "fix them" refers back to line 6 to indicate the stone houses that

— 137 **—**

Peter Rockwell purchased in Italy. In line 11, "they" refers back to the local people in line 10.

Halliday refers to demonstrative referencing as "verbal pointing" to indicate a "scale of proximity" to the presupposed reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 57). With regards to the use of "the" as a demonstrative reference, seventeen out of twenty-four demonstrative references were noted. The use of "the", commonly referred to as a definite article, acts to specifically identify and therefore is "semantically selective" (ibid: 71). Because the text is written, the references are mostly endophoric and in all but one case, anaphoric, which creates a cohesive textual environment. In line 8, "the Rome-based artist" refers back to Peter Rockwell in lines 5–6. In lines 37–38, "the urban migrants" and line 42, "the urban rich", both refer back to line 27 to identify the urban professionals who are buying up rural properties. In line 51, "the change" refers back to the demographic shift in line 49, which includes the modernizing, mechanizing and enlarging of farms which caused farmers to quit farming after World War II.

There were only five incidences of comparative referencing in the article. The role of comparative references acts to show similarity or likeness, which in itself, is a referential property (ibid: 78). Of the examples cited, all of them are non-structural and therefore cohesively significant. In line 5, "the newer sounds" compares the traditional sounds of rural life, that of tractors, cicadas, and cows to the modern sounds of the start-up chime of a computer and the sound of an artist sculpting in lines 1–2. In line 30, "so many British" refers to the 90% increase in the number buying rural properties in France and Italy as compared to a year earlier in lines 28–29.

— 138 —

3.2 Text Analysis: Substitution and Ellipsis

Substitution and ellipsis are very characteristic features of spoken text and is usually confined to "contiguous passages" (Halliday 1994: 310) but of course exist within written text so that the presupposed reference is not unnecessarily repeated. Because of this anaphoric referencing function, it creates a sense of cohesion throughout the passage. In the article, there was only one notation of substitution. In line 131, "do that" was interpreted to be a substitution for "ask that the church bells not be rung so early in the morning" in line 130. Regarding ellipsis, something is left "unsaid" in the passage and the reader must supply the missing information. Because most cases of ellipsis are anaphoric to something written in a previous clause, the effect is highly cohesive. For example, in lines 16–17, "coming back" refers to line 16 in which the elliptical reference to the children of farmers are returning to the farms that their parents quit. In line 37, "the stampede" can be interpreted as an elliptical reference to the preceding paragraph that conveys the feeling that there is a rush to buy up rural European properties. In lines 115–116, "local employees" refers to the employees of the four high tech companies mentioned in line 114. (See Appendices 1 & 3)

3.3 Text Analysis: Conjunction

Halliday defines conjunction as "a clause or clause complex, or some longer stretch of text, (which) may be related to what follows it by one or other of a specific set of semantic relations" (ibid: 310). In the article, there were nine notations of conjunction. While referencing, substitution and ellipsis are cohesive because of their specific anaphoric references, conjunction is different in that it does not necessarily create a semantic tie with just one part of the text. Conjunction acts to link meaning across a

— 139 —

larger boundary of text. However, in this article, the retrieval of conjunctive information does not require the reader to go back too far in the passage to identify the presupposed reference. For example, in line 2, "But there are other sounds..." links back directly with the sounds of the tractor, the cicadas, and the cows in the preceding sentence. In line 34, "And developers are buying up the countryside..." links back to lines 27–35 in which "millions of white-collar professionals" are buying up the countryside. Overall, though conjunction functions extremely well to create cohesion in text, it was not used very often in this article. (See Appendices 1 & 3)

3.4 Text Analysis: Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion differs from the other cohesive devices of referencing, substitution, ellipsis and conjunction in that it is a non-grammatical function. Through the use of vocabulary, cohesion exists when ties between lexical items can be identified. In the article *Ruins With A View*, this proved to be the most cohesive element. Whether it was through the different forms of reiteration or through collocation, a clearly identifiable choice of lexical patterns is very apparent. Reiteration refers to the repetition of a lexical item though the repetition may not exactly match the presupposed lexical item. Reiteration can take the form of repetition of the same word or through the use of a synonym, antonym, meronym, or hyponym. Collocation differs from reiteration in that it refers not to a semantic relationship between words but rather it refers to the tendency of words to "share the same lexical environment" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 286).

In Appendix 4, a general word list is used to generalize the overall patterns of lexical cohesion from the article. Over 21 general categories of lexis were identified. Of the categories, the largest in terms of quantity of either reiterated or collocated lexis seems to be agriculture, nationalities,

— 140 —

countries, regions, communities and temporal expressions. Because of the inexact nature of collocation, some lexical items appear across different categories, depending on their function within the text. For example, "rural" appears in the "communities" category because of its reference to rural communities while it also appears in the "rural" category which includes lexis like rustic, quaint, and hamlet. This categorization is purely subjective. The first lexical patterns relate to sound. "Drones", "chirp', "lows", "chime", "chink", and "snatches of chat" were identified as hyponyms of "sound". "Summer" was identified to be a collocation of "August heat" which appeared in the previous sentence. "Sculptor" appears twice within the same paragraph so repetition was the notation. Later, "artist" appears and that was identified to be a hyponym of "sculptor". Another lexical pattern that sets up the general theme for the article are the agricultural references. "Tractor", "countryside", "farms" and "ex-sharecropper" all appear to identify what will become a reoccurring theme throughout the text of the article.

From the lexical cohesion analysis of this article, a very tight pattern of cohesion was identified. The topic of the article, that of urban professionals buying up rural properties in Europe, is clearly organized through the lexical selection. Repetition through synonymous lexical items and collocation is very dominant and creates what Halliday and Hasan call texture in text.

4. Conclusion

Cohesion analysis has shown what principles exist that create semantic links within text between sentence and paragraph boundaries. Cohesion in texts creates one kind of texture through the ties that coordinate ideas and experiences and texture is one of the three meta-functions for creating meaning within language. Implications for cohesion analysis in the foreign

— 141 —

language classroom, in particular, a reading comprehension class, seem to exist. In Japan, many students have a firm grasp on the theoretical structural (i.e. grammatical organization) elements of the English language however seem to lack the ability to coordinate functional usage of this knowledge with semantic patterning. With systemic linguistics as a basis and a focus on lexicogrammar, students might become more proficient in the identification and application for meaning in English through cohesion principles to find such semantic patterns.

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Appendix 1:

Ruins With A View by Carla Power

Newsweek International Edition, September 4, 2000

Urban professionals are buying up Europe's rustic properties.

And they don't like the smell of pigs.

1	In the August heat on a Tuscan hillside, a tractor drones, cicadas
2	chirp, and the odd cow lows. But there are other sounds of summer
3	in the Italian countryside- the Windows 98 chime as a laptop boots
4	up, the chink of a sculptor's chisel on stone and snatches of chat
5	in English. The newer sounds came after American sculptor Peter
6	Rockwell bought a few 14th-century stone houses abandoned by
7	farmers after World War II. With his wife Cynthia and four children,
8	the Rome-based artist started to fix them up as a place for vaca-
9	tions. The earlier summers felt like camping trips- the houses had
10	medieval plumbing and no electricity. "The local people considered
11	us insane for buying the place," recalls Rockwell. "They were busy
12	building cement things in towns."
13	Twenty-one years ago the Rockwells were practically the only
14	non-Italians for miles. Today Americans, Britons, and Germans
15	have bought ruins with views all over Tuscany. Wealthier Italians
16	whose parents quit farms for the cities in the 60's are coming
17	back. Hardscrabble poverty has given way to relative wealth- both

18 international and local. The newsstand in the tiny town near the 19 Rockwells now sells the International Herald Tribune, and the 20 ex-sharecropper down the mountain cooly ticks off the merits of 21 Thailand as a holiday destination. 2.2. Globalization has shrunk the world, and that includes the distance 23 between Europe's countryside and cities. Today the quest for quaint 24 rubble amid olive groves is practically a rite of passage: a strong 2.5 economy, new technology and budget air fares have turned the dream 26 of clean air, cheap wine and a stress-free lifestyle into a reality for 27 Europe's urban professionals. Millions of white-collar professionals 28 are buying properties in no-collar zones. In the past year, the number 29 of Britons buying second homes in France and Italy has risen by 30 90 percent, according to the Abbey Nationalbank. So many British 31 have settled in the winegrowing region outside Florence that wags 32 have dubbed it Chiantishire. Germans have purchased 20 percent 33 of the homes on the Balearic island of Mallorca. Americans are 34 thronging to Umbria, Tuscany and Provence. And developers are 35 buying up the countryside to build golf courses, hotels and leisure 36 centers. 37 The stampede has triggered debates about whether the urban 38 migrants will help or hurt rural Europe. Small-town mayors and 39 shopkeepers argue that new blood from the city boosts the local 40 economy, improves local services and helps preserves local build-41 ings and culture. But others worry that Europe's countryside has 42 become a playground for the urban rich. Countryside advocates and 43 farmers' unions argue that rich city folk drive up house prices and 44 don't make for a sustainable rural economy. Says Jim Connolly,

who founded Resettlement Rural Ireland, an organization devoted

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46 to repopulating the Irish countryside: "A new summer home is like 47 another nail in the coffin of [a rural] community." 48 The new urban migrants are reaping the rewards of one of the great 49 demographic shifts of the past century. After World War II, Europe's 50 agricultural sector radically reformed by modernizing, mechaniz-51 ing and enlarging farms. The change meant a drastic reduction in 52 the need for semiskilled agricultural labor and triggered a mass 53 migration to Europe's cities. Forty years ago one in five people 54 of Europe's labor force worked the land. Today farmers and farm laborers make up a scant 5 percent of the European Union's work 55 56 force. Those who still work the land rely on subsidies from their 57 governments or the European Union, or turn to agrotourism, catering 58 to visitors who want farm holidays. In Ireland the average farm 59 income during the late 1990s was £11,000, with four in 10 farmers 60 surveyed earning less that £5,000. In Britain, a mere 2 percent of 61 the labor force works the land. In Spain, the Spanish Environmental 62 Ministry estimates that there are some 3,000 abandoned villages 63 whose residents have given up on farming and moved to cities. Who 64 will fill all these tumbledown villages in the Algarve or Umbria if 65 not the Brits, Dutch or Americans? Now the middleclass are buying 66 fixer-uppers with three bedrooms for prices that would barely buy a 67 closet in New York or London. "The only problem now is that we 68 don't have enough houses," says Homard Townsend, a real-estate 69 agent in Luberon in the south of France. 70 Urbanites who make a break with the cities encourage others to 71 come. Peter Mayle's "A Year in Provence" lingered at the top of 72 the best-seller lists for months, and Francis Maye's book on fixing 73 up an old villa in Tuscany spawned not only a sequel, but its own

74 desk calendar. Laura Skoler, a New York philanthropist who has 75 been coming to Luberon for the past decade, organizes trips for 76 other Americans keen on discovering Provence- but she doesn't 77 want them all to move there. "I hesitate to bring people here," she 78 says. "It's so wonderful that I want to keep it a secret." 79 The Umbrian hill town of Todi was one secret that spread quickly, 80 particularly among Britons and Americans. When New Yorker Laura 81 Richardson came to Todi in 1985, the village shops didn't sell 82 Kleenex and there were two real-estate agents in town. Five years 83 later there were 14 of them, some whose "offices" were a car and 84 a mobile phone. Many locals obligingly sold up, using the money 85 to move to modern apartments on the outskirts of town. "Today it's 86 rare that an Italian from Todi could ever get the scratch together to 87 buy where their grandparents lived," says Richardson. 88 Paradoxically, it's sometimes the city folk who may help protect 89 the landscape and culture. Tuscany and Umbria's strict preserva-90 tion laws stipulate that if you buy a historic structure, you must 91 restore it faithfully to its original design. Alessandro and Chiara 92 di Paola, a Roman couple who bought a hamlet outside Todi "for 93 nothing", lovingly restored it; today aging couples come back to 94 see the restoration. In Luberon, Laura Skoler throws bouillabaisse 95 parties. Andrew Currie, a retired British apple farmer, has taken to 96 giving lectures to local olive growers on cultivation. "[The foreign-97 ers] become guardians of the local heritage," says Roland Baud of 98 SAFER, a French demographic institute. "They take French culture 99 on as their own." 100 The tech revolution has also helped skilled professionals move 101 from town to rural areas. High-speed trains mean that money 102 managers can commute daily from jobs in skyscrapers to dream 103 cottages. E-mail lets CEOs send memos from Umbrian hamlets 104 to Manhattan. Some Britons buying second homes in France have 105 taken to bringing their own SkyTelevision decoders so that they 106 can get their cable favorites. 107 Pierre Pages of the chamber of commerce in Mende, in the 108 southern French region of Lozere, hopes the Internet revolution 109 will help level the inequities in rural and urban economies. He 110 estimates that around 20 percent of new IT companies won't have 111 to rely on urban infrastructures. That's an encouraging statistic for 112 regions like Lozere, which, with 14 people per square kilometer, 113 has the the sparsest population in the country. In the last eight 114 months four high-tech companies have moved from Paris to "The 115 Green Desert," lured by cheap rents and lovely countryside. Lo-116 cal employees who don't want to leave the region have a vested 117 interest in the business's success. Lionel Boudoussier, CEO of the 118 online accounting firm AGT, was born in Lozere and wanted to 119 stay, but moved when he couldn't find a decent job. After seven 120 years working in the financial sector in Paris, he took a 50 percent 121 pay cut and moved back to set up his business. Now he does all 122 his work- with 650 clients all over Europe- on the Internet. From 123 his offices outside town, he can see cows. 124 But as some new migrants have discovered, not all is peaceful 125 in the country. In Britain, some recent migrants have sued farmers 126 over the smell of their pigs, or complained to neighbors about the 127 early rooster's crow. The German expatriates who bought derelict

farmhouses by the sea in the Mani region of Greece didn't ap-

preciate the timing of pieties at the local church. "The Germans in

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130 Horioudaki have asked that the church bells stop ringing so early 131 in the morning," complains one Mani resident. "They can do that because they're all German." The locals are quick to fight back. 132 133 Last year residents on Mallorca passed out pamphlets urging fellow 134 Spaniards to say "No to German Colonialism" and started an As-135 sociation for the defense of Majorca. In 1998 the Balearic Islands' 136 regional parliament passed laws requiring businesses advertising or 137 labeling products in foreign languages to provide parallel labels 138 in Spanish or Catalan. And earlier this summer environmentalists 139 picketed model Claudia Schiffer's holiday home with CLAUDIA 140 OUT! signs, claiming her villa blocks access to a 16th-century 141 fortress on the Mediterranean. 142 When big money gets involved, the sense of being colonized 143 by outsiders can become even more blatant. The 4,000 odd golf 144 courses that now dot Europe were frequently built on what was 145 once farmland. In Kinsale, County Cork, developers paid £250,000 146 for the Old Head, a craggy peninsula jutting off the Irish coast with 200 acres of scrub grazing land and fields. A farmer owned 147 148 that land and grazed his sheep there, and locals used to freely 149 ramble through the remains of a 13th century castle to the bluffs. 150 Since developers spent millions to create the Old Head Golf Links, 151 the land is off-limits not only to the ramblers and farmers but to 152 everyone else. It's open only to overseas residents – 90 percent of 153 who are American – who pay \$50,000 for lifetime membership in 154 addition to annual fees. An American flag flies at the main gate, 155 and Americans don't even have to change money; the bar takes 156 dollars. Says fisherman Jerome Lordon, "The developers just swept 157 in with their permits, burned off the heather and dumped tons of soil over all that life and history."

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159 But even as the old way of rural life fades, there remains a 160 collective memory of the European countryside that won't seem to 161 die. Even American companies like Disney are working to preserve 162 it. Minutes from the main entrance to Disneyland Paris in the Val 163 d'Europe, the company has underwritten the expansion of nearby 164 hamlets amid rolling cornfields and crumbling churches, develop-165 ments that are scheduled to be home to 38,000 people by 2015. Only 166 40 minutes from Paris, there 's the pastel-pretty "French village" of 167 Apollonia, purpose-built, complete with apartments, town houses, a 168 boulangerie and a Thai restaurant. Anglophiles can opt for "English 169 cottages"; shoppers will soon be able to frequent La Vallee, modeled 170 on villages in the Brie region but housing 70 factory outlets. Country 171 life, however bowdlerized, seems to suit Jean-Jacques Maillot. "In 172 Paris, it's metro, boulet, dodo [subway, work, sleep]," says Maillot, 173 who has a place in the Disney-spawned development at Serris. Up 174 the street Jean Marx is playing petanque in front of the brand-new 175 house he bought last November. "It's good to be out of the cite." 176 He hesitates. "Well, I guess they've sort of made a cite here. But 177 it's more flat." Maillot has a point. With more and more city types 178 fleeing for the country, it's getting harder and harder to tell where 179 the city ends and the countryside begins.

Appendix 2:

Referencing Summary

Personal references

Reference	Line Reference	Referenced item
his (wife and)	5–6	Peter Rockwell
(fix) them	6	stone houses
us	7	Rockwell family
they	10	local people
their (governments)	54–55	farm laborers
I/she	74	Laura Skoler
it	75	Luberon
them	82	real estate agents
they/their (own)	96–97	the foreigners
he	107	Pierre Pages
he	117	Lionel Boudoussier
his (business)/his (work)	117	Lionel Boudoussier
his (offices), he	117	Lionel Boudoussier
they/they're	129	the Germans
It's (open)	150	Old Head golf links
(preserve) it	160	countryside
he	174	Jean Marx
it's (more flat)	173	Serris
	his (wife and) (fix) them us they their (governments) I/she it them they/their (own) he he his (business)/his (work) his (offices), he they/they're It's (open) (preserve) it he	his (wife and) 5–6 (fix) them 6 us 7 they 10 their (governments) 54–55 I/she 74 it 75 them 82 they/their (own) 96–97 he 107 he 117 his (business)/his (work) 117 his (offices), he 117 they/they're 129 It's (open) 150 (preserve) it 160 he 174

Demonstrative references

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Referenced item
8	the Rome-based artist	5–6	Peter Rockwell
11	the place	6	stone houses
13	the Rockwells	7–8	Peter Rockwell family

Demonstrative references (continued)

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Referenced item
37	the stampede	27–36	land purchases/development
37–38	the urban migrants	27	urban professionals
42	the urban rich	27	urban professionals
48	the new urban migrants	27	urban professionals
51	the change	49	demographic shifts
56	those who	54-55	farmers and farm laborers
64	these tumbledown villages	62	abandoned villages
77–78	here/there	75	Luberon
111	that'sstatistic	110	20 percent of new IT companies
113	the country	112	France (French region of Lozere)
114–115	"The Green Desert"	112	Lozere
117	the business's success	114	four high tech companies
132	the locals	131	one Mani resident
132	the locals	133*(cataphoric)	residents on Mallorca
148	that land/there	146	the Old Head
151	the land	146	the Old Head
156	the developers	150	developers
158	that life and history	147–149	farming/13th century castle
163	the company	161	Disney
175	the cite	172	Paris

Comparative references

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Referenced item
5	the newer sounds	3–5	Windows 98 chime/chink of achisel
9	the earlier summers	13*(cataphoric)	Twenty-one years ago
30	So many British	28-29	the number of Britons
76	other Americans	74	Laura Skoler
177	it's more flat	173	Serris is flatter than Paris

Appendix 3:

Substitution / Ellipsis / Conjunction Summary

Substitution

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Substituted information
131	do that	130	ask that the church bells

Ellipsis

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Ellipsed information
16–17	coming back	16	to the farms they quit
17	Hardscrabble poverty	16	on the quit farms
37	the stampede	27–36	to buy and develop land/property
68	not enough houses	66	fixer-uppers (to buy or sell)
70–71	to come	70	urbanites (with themcities)
89	the landscape and the culture	entire article theme	rural Europe/rural villages
99	their own	98	culture
115-116	local employees	114	of the four high tech companies
118-119	wanted to stay	118	in Lozere
119	a decent job	118	in Lozere
124	discovered	general	after moving to the countryside
125	migrants	general	from urban areas
142	big money gets involved	general	in the develop. of the countryside
154	main gate	150	of the Old Head golf links
156–157	swept in	145	to the area
177	But it's more flat	173	Serris is flatter than Paris.

Conjunction

Line	Reference	Line Reference	Conjunction reference
2	But there are	1–2	a tractor drones, cicadas chirp
34	And developers are	27–35	Millions of professionals
41	But others	38–39	mayors and shopkeepers
65	Now the middle class	48-53	The demographic shift villages.
82-83	Five years later	80-81	When in 1985
121	Now he does	119–120	After seven years working
138	And earlier this summer	133-135	Last year/ In 1998
159	But even as the old way	general	migration urban professionals
176–177	But it's more flat.	172-173	Serris and Paris

Appendix 4:

Lexical Cohesion Summary

(NOTE: Repetition of lexis is due to repetition in the text.)

Sounds:

drone/chirp/low/chime/chink/snatches of chat/crow/ringing/

Ruins:

ruins/rubble/derelict farmhouses/abandoned/tumbledown/remains/crumbling

Rural:

rustic/quaint/rural/rural/rustic properties/stone houses/hamlet/villages

Agriculture:

farmer/farmer's unions/agricultural sector/agricultural labor/farmers/farm laborers/ work the land/work the land/farm income/farmers/farming/apple farmer/olive growers/ cultivation/farmers/farmland/rustic/tractor/cow/farmers/cows/pigs/rooster/work force/ farm laborers

Holidays:

vacations/camping trips/agrotourism/farm holidays

Vacation homes:

second homes/summer home/dream cottages/second homes/holiday home/villa

Nationalities/ people:

Americans/Britons/Germans/Italians/Britons/British/Irish/Spanish/Brits/Dutch/Americans/Americans/Britons/Americans/New Yorker/Italian/Roman/British/French/Britons/French/German/Germans/German/Spaniards/German

Europe/ countries:

Europe/France/Italy/Europe/Europe's/Ireland/Europe's/Europe's/Spain/France/France/

Britain/Greece

Area/ regions:

Tuscany/Umbria/Provence/Algarve/Umbria/Provence/Tuscany/Provence/Umbrian/Tuscany/Umbria/Umbrian/Manhattan/Lozere/Lozere/regions/"The Green Desert"/region/Lozere/Europe/Mani/Mani/Mallorca/Majorca/the Balearic Islands/

Cities/ towns:

Florence/New York/London/Luberon/New York/Luberon/Todi/Todi/Todi/Luberon/Manhattan/Mende/Paris/Horioudaki/Kinsale

Buildings:

houses/villa/farmhouses/second home/dream cottages/fortress/castle/stonehouses/skyscapers/villa/

Purchase:

buying/buying/buying/buying up/buying/buy/sell/sold up/buy/buy/

Communities:

countryside/cites/countryside/rural/small/town/city/countryside/countryside/cities/villages/cities/villages/cities/villages/hamlets/rural/urban/urban/countryside/outside town/countryside/local/local/local/locals/rural/local employees/locals/hamlet

Temporal expressions:

today/today/today/after WWII/21 years ago/in the 60's/in the past year/after WW II/past century/forty years ago/for the past decade/in 1985/in the last eight months/earlier this summer/

Urban people:

urban professionals/white-collar professionals/no-collar zone/urban migrants/ urban rich/rich city folk/new urban migrants/urbanites/city folk/migrant/migrants/ expatriates/foreigners/outsiders/urban migrants/migration/

Business:

skilled professional/money managers/CEOs/big money

Technology:

tech revolution/high speed trains/email/Internet revolution/IT companies/high tech companies/the Internet

Economy:

economy/economy/farm income/middle class/prices/house prices/ rural and local economies/big money

Leisure:

golf courses/hotels/leisure centers/playground/golf courses/Old Head Golf Links

Restore:

fix up/fixer-uppers/fixing up/restore/restoration/preserve

Family:

wife/children/couple/couple/

Other:

real estate agent/real estate agents/
best seller list/book/sequel
make a break/move/
secret/secret/
the quest/discover/discovered/
the money/the scratch/big money
historic structure/restore/restored/restoration/
for nothing/cheap/
culture/culture/(cultivation)
job/working/pay cut/work/work force/labor force
Colonialism/colonized