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Analysing Genre: The Colony Text of UNESCO Resolutions

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Brno 2017

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	List of figures and tables	IV
	Acknowledgements	V
1	Introduction	1
2	Preliminaries: Key terms and methodological issues	3
2.1	Discourse, text and context	3
2.2	Defining genre	6
2.3	Style markers of a genre.....	9
2.4	Colony texts	10
2.5	Analytical framework and aims of the study	13
2.5.1	Genre analysis.....	14
2.5.2	Previous research on style markers of related varieties	22
2.5.3	Applying the analytical framework	29
3	Introducing UNESCO resolutions.....	31
3.1	The UNESCO context.....	31
3.1.1	Aims and purposes of UNESCO.....	32
3.1.2	Governing bodies and rules of procedure	33
3.1.3	The genre set of the UNESCO discourse community	35
3.1.4	Resolutions: discourse processing procedures.....	36
3.1.5	Situational context	37
3.2	Material under investigation	47
4	Analysis of the genre of resolutions.....	51
4.1	The <i>Resolutions</i> volumes as an instance of a colony text	51
4.2	Historical development of resolutions	57
4.2.1	The 1947 <i>Resolutions</i> volume.....	57
4.2.2	The 1999 <i>Resolutions</i> volume.....	66
4.2.3	Comparison of the initial and current state of development of the genre as represented by the 1947 and 1999 <i>Resolutions</i> volumes ...	72
4.3	Generic structure of resolutions	79
4.3.1	Generic structure potential	79
4.3.2	Structure of rhetorical moves	83
4.3.3	Intrageric variation: preparatory and executive resolutions	85
4.4	Style markers of resolutions.....	94
4.4.1	Resolutions as a specimen of formal written institutional discourse.....	94
4.4.2	Recurrent syntactic patterns in adverbial structures	97
4.4.3	Clause patterns and verb complementation	111
4.4.4	Information processing, cohesion and coherence	124
4.4.5	Clause relations.....	134
5	Conclusions.....	141
	Glossary of Terms.....	147
	References	153
	Index	162

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Figure 1 – A model for contextual analysis of a genre	15
Figure 2 – Contextual analysis of the genre of resolutions.....	37
Figure 3 – Structure and organization of a <i>Resolutions</i> volume colony text	54
Figure 4 – The structure of the colony text of the 1947 <i>Resolutions</i> volume	65
Figure 5 – The structure of the colony text of the 1999 <i>Resolutions</i> volume	72
Figure 6 – Structures of the colony texts of the 1947 and 1999 <i>Resolutions</i> volumes	72
Figure 7 – Sequence of the structural elements of resolutions	83
Figure 8 – Sub-genres within the genre of resolutions	86
Figure 9 – Generic structure of preparatory and executive resolutions	87
Figure 10 – Sub-types of preparatory resolutions.....	91
Figure 11 – Rhetorical moves and structural components of preparatory resolutions.....	92
Figure 12 – Rhetorical moves and structural components of executive resolutions.....	93

Tables

Table 1 – Frequency of occurrence of preparatory and executive resolutions.....	88
Table 2 – Frequency of occurrence of the preamble component in executive resolutions	89
Table 3 – Syntactic realizations of adverbials in resolutions.....	99
Table 4 – Distribution of semantic categories of non-clausal circumstance adverbials	100
Table 5 – Semantic categories of non-clausal circumstance adverbials	101
Table 6 – Semantic roles of supplementary adverbial clauses.....	104
Table 7 – Structural patterns of supplementary clauses with regard to their semantic role....	105
Table 8 – Position of adverbials according to realization types and semantic categories	106
Table 9 – Semantic role and position of homosemantic and heterosemantic series of adverbials	109
Table 10 – Distribution of main-clause patterns	112
Table 11 – Complementation of non-performative monotransitive verbs	114
Table 12 – Complementation of performative monotransitive verbs	117
Table 13 – Complementation of ditransitive verbs	121
Table 14 – Complementation of complex-transitive verbs	123
Table 15 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a monotransitive clause pattern.....	129
Table 16 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a ditransitive clause pattern.....	131
Table 17 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a complex-transitive clause pattern.....	132
Table 18 – Weak matching relations between randomly selected colony components	135
Table 19 – Matching relations between adjacent resolutions	137
Table 20 – Matching relations between distant clauses connected by topic.....	138

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1 INTRODUCTION

A study of discourse is an investigation into the process of human interaction in which participants rely on established social practices in a particular context while striving to achieve their communicative intentions by the use of language. Social, cultural and contextual constraints, such as the relationship between the participants, and their social identities and goals, shape the interaction process and influence the organization, structure and surface properties of texts. Conceived as genre-based research, this book is about the way discourse is constructed and interpreted in the context of a specific kind of social interaction used by a discourse community to achieve specific communicative goals. It explores the set of linguistic features which are typically associated with the genre under scrutiny, such as text organization, lexicogrammatical and semantic choices, information processing and cohesive relations.

In this study I endeavour to consolidate and expand my long-term research into UNESCO resolutions. The genre of resolutions is used extensively in diplomatic communication in the United Nations system; however, as far as I am aware, there are no studies that address this kind of discourse from the viewpoint of discourse analysis, stylistics or pragmatics. In addition, as Donahue and Prosser (1997:1) note, diplomatic interaction in general remains a relatively neglected field of research in communication and discourse studies. It is therefore the aim of this research to explore the specific features of this unexploited genre of diplomatic discourse.

Diplomatic communication is the site of an intricate multi-cultural institutional dialogue that opens a path towards the solving of international conflicts and the reaching of agreement in international affairs. The discourse of international governmental organizations emerges from a complex process of encoding and decoding context-dependent hidden meanings, intentions and ambiguities, in which text-production is the result of careful negotiation between the members of a collective authorship. The linguistic acts performed form and promote a certain world-view and social organization and regulate the relationships and positions of the participant social groups with a focus on future behaviour. The language used in such cross-cultural institutional communication reflects the established social practices in a highly specific kind of historical, political and legal context and typically displays a strong tendency towards explicit internal organization, conventionalization and stability of form to the detriment of variation.

The present corpus-based research is undertaken primarily from the viewpoints of sociolinguistics, stylistics and pragmatics; it aims at the study of text typology and stylistic variation in association with the contextual constraints on discourse production and processing. Thus the main objective of my research is to consider the impact of situational context on generic structure, while concentrating on how language reflects and shapes social relations

in cross-cultural interaction. The analysis of the style markers of the genre is related to some pragmatic issues, such as speech acts and politeness phenomena.

The study is carried out from both the synchronic and the diachronic points of view in an attempt to characterize a genre and its development over a sixty-year period. As such a time span preconditions the existence of an extensive amount of language material which one cannot process adequately in its breadth, a corpus of representative texts was selected which, in my opinion, yield enough grounds for conclusion. The diachronic research focuses on the development and changes the genre has undergone from its implementation in the United Nations system up to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Since the *Resolutions* volumes are categorized as an instance of the colony text type, their structure and distinctive features are related to the specificity of this kind of written discourse. The investigation into the current state of the genre explores the generic structure of resolutions and their style markers.

The organization of this book reflects my primary concerns in this study. After dealing with a definition of theoretical concepts and methodological issues, I firstly investigate how the socio-cultural context of an international governmental organization shapes discourse structure and preconditions generic variation. Secondly, I explore the impact of the colony text-type on discourse organization and changes the genre of UNESCO resolutions has undergone over the sixty-year period of its existence. Thirdly, I study how generic structure enables language to reflect the meanings intended in the cross-cultural context of institutional communication and motivates a preference towards the use of particular language means. Finally, I endeavour to characterize typical or conventional language features used in the genre of UNESCO resolutions in an attempt to identify the most salient style markers of this professional variety of English, while considering the degree of variation allowed by the conventionalized institutional context of communication.

2 PRELIMINARIES: KEY CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

When undertaking linguistic research, it is essential to clarify the perspective from which language is being analysed. This chapter provides theoretical premises for the study of genre, discusses previous research relevant to the analysis of the discourse of international governmental organizations, and outlines the analytical framework applied in this investigation. As the use of terminology in the fields of genre and discourse analysis, stylistics and pragmatics that the present study builds upon tends often to be quite idiosyncratic, it is also essential to define the basic terms to be used.

2.1 Discourse, text and context

Discourse, text and context are concepts central to any investigation of language in use; however, the definitions of these terms are far from clearly established, and while the delimitation between the first two often seems to be fuzzy, the scope of the last one “seems almost impossible to come to terms with” (Fetzer 2004:3).

As Tárnayiková (2002:20) points out, “the use of the terms text and discourse is generally based on the theoretical framework adopted”. While many researchers in the field of text and discourse analysis tend to use text and discourse interchangeably, stressing that “both terms may refer to a unit of language larger than the sentence” (Chafe 1999[2003]:439), others consider these as distinct but interdependent phenomena (Widdowson 2007:4) and apply different criteria for the delimitation between the two concepts. For instance, Brown and Yule (1983:26) see text as a product of the process of text production termed discourse, while Coulthard (1985:6) draws the distinction between the two concepts on the basis of the medium used, i.e. written language is associated with text, spoken language with discourse; Leech (1983:59) regards discourse as a sequence of utterances forming a transaction by which a message is transmitted by means of text, Schiffrin (1994:41) considers discourse as inherently contextualized units of language production, Van Dijk (1990:164) defines discourse as text in context, and some critical discourse analysts (e.g. Lemke 1995:7, Wodak 2008:6-7) regard text as a unique realization of a discourse, defining discourse as ideologically loaded social actions which since they are related by meaning and governed by habit imply patterns and commonality of knowledge and structures.

In this study text and discourse are approached from a functional viewpoint. Since language can be seen as a system of meaning potential (Halliday 1978:39), text is regarded here as a

functional-semantic concept realized by a particular set of lexicogrammatical choices performing a specific communicative intention (Tárnyiková 2002:23). Thus text is defined as a unit in the process of social interaction, functioning as an autonomous whole from a communicative, structural and semantic point of view and characterized by a number of basic categories such as informative value, completeness, integrity and recurrence. Within the interpretative process affected by the background and cultural knowledge of the participants, the meaning of a text is negotiated and recreated by the interactants (Mey 1991:404, Miššíková 2005:85). It is this instantiation of the 'interpretation potential' (Sarangi 2004) of a text in context that I refer to as discourse. Thus, in agreement with Fowler (1986:86) and Hoey (2001:11), in the present study discourse refers to the purposeful interaction via verbal and non-verbal means between a speaker/writer and a listener/reader which takes place in a certain context and in the process of which discourse is derived from a text (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 1997:207). This approach assumes the potential of discourse to construct a representation of reality which is affected by the point of view of the interactants, i.e. in the process of a particular interpretative decoding the hearer/reader creates his/her own discourse from the text by assigning it intentionality (not necessarily the one intended by the speaker/writer) and recreating its meaning. It should be noted that, as used in this study, the term discourse may refer to a single interaction or to a type of interaction, instances of which need not be sequentially or thematically related, but occur in a similar context, e.g. written discourse, political discourse, academic discourse.

This understanding of discourse, however, entails a problem which each analyst has to face – if deriving discourse from a text is a constitutive-of-reality process (Wodak 1996, Miššíková 2007) in which discourse interpretation is affected by the point of view of the receiver, then the discourse analysis carried out by a researcher is necessarily at least to some extent affected by his/her point of view. The degree of bias can be restricted through an extensive study of contextual factors affecting discourse interpretation.

Different approaches to text and discourse make different assumptions about what aspects of context should be delimited in the analysis of language in use. The present research takes into consideration four types of context traditionally acknowledged in linguistic studies: linguistic, cognitive, social and socio-cultural.

The linguistic context, also termed co-text (Halliday 1978:133, Brown & Yule 1983:46-50, Mey 2001:134), refers to the language material surrounding the object of investigation. The extent of the co-text which should be taken into consideration in the interpretative process may vary in accordance with the needs of anaphora resolution, e.g. the scope of retrievability span (Firbas 1992:21-26), and the constraints of type of (macro) speech act, genre and text-type, thus problematising the borderline between linguistic, social and socio-cultural context. In addition, in the present thesis, I refer to a much broader intertextual understanding of the term co-text, which may be defined as "all the other relevant prior texts which the various textual clues in

a given utterance conjure up for a given language user on a given occasion to use” (Hatim 1997:200).

The three extra-linguistic types of context are multifaceted and hence extremely complex and closely interwoven. The cognitive context covers mental representations, assumptions, intentions and cognitive efforts of the participants involved in discourse interpretation. The social context refers to situational factors, such as the interactants, spatio-temporal settings and knowledge of the general ‘types’ of situation (Shiffrin 1994:373), while the socio-cultural context is a broader notion comprising the total set of meanings available to a discourse community, including routines and activity types, associated communicative intentions and goals, and general background knowledge, i.e. its semiotic potential (Hasan 1989a:99). Consequently, the socio-cultural context may be seen as a “filter mechanism which allows us to interpret social context in accordance with particular socio-cultural constraints and requirements” (Fetzer 2004:10). Thus in the process of communication the members of a discourse community perform choices from the set of options offered by the semiotic potential, the various options providing the environment for the realization of mental models and intentions through actual lexico-grammatical selections used to achieve specific communicative goals in a particular social situation (Hatim 1997:214). Since this study focuses on a context-sensitive use of language and its social practice in particular settings, the discussion of its findings will take into consideration all contextual factors as a basis for explanation of the generic structure and the set of style markers.

2.2 Defining genre

As stated above, a functional approach to language scrutinizes linguistic facts in dynamic interaction with contextual factors that influence the organization and choice of language means. It studies language as discourse, expressing “by extra structure, the functions and circumstances of the interactions it mediates. [...] When choices of characteristic discourse structures consistently correlate with similar communicative circumstances, we speak of distinct ‘styles’ and ‘genres’” (Fowler 1986:70-71). Two of the most influential frameworks for the study of context-sensitive discourse are register analysis (as understood by, e.g. Halliday 1978, 1985; Fowler 1986; Biber 1994), which explores the correlation between contextual and linguistic features, and genre analysis, which differs from register analysis by setting structural parameters in terms of ‘constituents’ (Hasan 1989b) or ‘moves’ Swales (1990, 2004) to the analysis of discourse. This research adopts a genre-based approach to the study of the language used by a discourse community to achieve specific communicative goals in particular socio-cultural settings.

Despite the numerous publications dealing with the analysis of different genres of spoken and written discourse which have appeared in the last two decades, defining the concept of genre remains a challenging enterprise and there are different disciplines and views which have contributed to the approach to the study of discourse currently referred to as ‘genre analysis’.

Genres are well-established units for the study of literature and related disciplines, rhetorics and linguistic analysis¹. While in traditional literary studies the concept of genre is associated primarily with text structure and historically identifiable textual forms, a more dynamic view is suggested by Todorov (1978), who regards genres as institutionalised discursive practices. This understanding locates genres in social groups and cultural contexts, thus relating genre development to intertextuality² as understood by Kristeva (1969:85), who builds upon Bakhtin’s (1975) concept of the dialogical character of discourse. Rhetorics shares with literature an interest in the categorization of generic forms; however, it also contributes “an approach to genre knowledge as a dynamic social activity” (Conor 1996:129) which regards genres as means of social action for achieving a communicative goal.

Developments in linguistic analysis over the last thirty years also associate genre with communicative norms which form part of the general communicative competence of a speaker/

¹ For a more extensive review of the use of the term in these and other related fields, see e.g. Swales (1990), Bhatia (1993), Corbett (2006).

² Drawing on Kristeva (1969), intertextuality is used here to refer to two phenomena: (1) the culture-dependent relationship between a text and previous similar texts which affects text production and the receiver’s expectations and is regarded as the basis of the evolution of genres; (2) the relationship between texts based on inter-text communication via reference, allusions and citations. This meaning of ‘intertextuality’ is similar, but not identical to the meaning of ‘interdiscursivity’ as used by CDA analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1992, 2003, Wodak 1996, Reisigl and Wodak 2001) which indicates a relationship between institutional discourses, in particular, the penetration of one discourse into another or the encapsulation of one discourse by another.

hearer of a given language (Sebeok 1986:283). This investigation draws on several approaches, which though they differ to some extent share a common functional-interactional point of view. In the framework of the systemic-functional approach (e.g. Hasan 1989b, Martin 1985), generic forms are regarded as displaying a generic structure potential, which may be predicted on the basis of the contextual configuration of the text reflecting the type of social situation in which the language is used. Competence in generic text production is considered to be a matter of social experience (Hasan 1989b:68). Specific contextual configurations predict the optional and obligatory elements of text structure, the generic structure being staged and defined by the obligatory structural elements, thus allowing for some variation (Hasan 1989b:64). This approach makes an important contribution insofar as it combines text-external and text-internal criteria, i.e. it recognizes the importance of text /discourse structure as a decisive component in the delimitation of genres, and together with the communicative intention of the speaker and the social situation in which language is used, it permits the delimiting of the concepts of genre and register. Thus, while register correlates a typically co-occurring set of forms of expression with a particular situational configuration of field (topic), tenor (interpersonal relations) and mode (discourse features), genre is a culture-dependent “linguistically realized activity type” (Martin 1985:250) correlating with a particular discourse structure. The importance of discourse structure is further highlighted in the framework of interactional discourse analysis in terms of clause relations (Winter 1984, Hoey 1996, 2001), which assume that text production and reception form an interpretative process in which meaning is negotiated by the interactants, while discourse can be seen as structured in patterns such as the problem-solution model.

The approach currently most influential in genre analysis combines socio-cultural, cognitive and interactional considerations in order to explain form-function correlations as manifested in different discourse forms, and considers genres as conventional communicative events recognized by an occupationally or institutionally defined discourse community as associated with particular types of social occasions, and which have a specific set of communicative purposes which serve to impose constraints on the choice of content and style (Swales 1990:46-58, Bhatia 1993:13). Within this approach, the most important criterion for genre delimitation is the communicative purpose(s) that the users expect discourse to fulfil in a particular context; however, a genre may allow for internal variation, i.e. sub-genres reflecting difference in specific communicative goal(s) and associated discourse strategies (Bhatia 1993:21). Genres, characterized by communicative purpose(s), content, discourse structure, style, intended audience and medium, are seen as part of the knowledge and communicative competence of the members of a particular discourse community based on a shared experience of co-occurring content, form and contextual configuration (Johnes 1997:35). Different genres impose various constraints on the freedom to alter the generic pattern and to interpret the meaning potential of texts; thus while some genres allow for free variation and numerous interpretations (e.g. most literary genres), others, especially those characterized by conservatism and formulaicity,

enforce a very restricted range of structural and lexicogrammatical choices and interpretations (e.g. bills of parliament, resolutions, contracts).

When producing and interpreting discourse, interactants reproduce and modulate the existing generic patterns, which eventually may lead to a change in the discourse form or the appearance of a new genre. It should be stressed that while genre analysis supports a categorical discrimination of discourse forms, adherence to a strict definition of genre seems to be problematic as the boundaries between discourse types are fuzzy and, as Swales (2004:61) points out, it may be a hindrance in the study of newly emergent or unexplored genres. While stressing that generic boundaries are difficult to draw within and across disciplinary and professional cultures, Bhatia (2004:58) claims that genres can be identified at different levels of abstraction, and suggests the concept of 'genre colony' to refer, on the one hand, to hybrid forms, which combine features of two previously distinct genres, and, on the other, to groupings of closely related genres which share the same communicative purpose but differ in other respects (e.g. audience, discipline, participants' relationship). The latter meaning of genre colony is similar, but not identical, to the term 'discourse/text colony' discussed below in section 2.4.

2.3 Style markers of a genre

Style is another term which, though frequently used, has proved to be difficult to define. While in rhetorics and literary criticism style refers to a distinctive way of speaking or writing and often has evaluative connotations, in linguistic studies, it is typically associated either with variation in the level of formality in discourse, especially by authors who approach language from the perspective of sociolinguistics such as Holmes (1992) and Wardhaugh (2002), or with variation against a background of broader or narrower contexts (cf. Halliday 1971, Mathesius (1942[1982]), Fowler 1986, Whales 2001, Verdonk 2002, Urbanová 2008) which are typically referred to as functional styles (Havránek 1983, Čechová et al. 1997), registers (Halliday 1985a, 1989, Biber 1994) or genres (Swales 1990, 2004, Bhatia 1993). Drawing on the latter, functional point of view, in the present research style is defined as a selection of language means from the alternatives offered by the repertoire of language as a system and the organization of these language means in discourse for the expression of meaning with reference to topic, context, audience and intention.

Genres, as communicative events used to realize a specific set of communicative goals associated with particular types of social occasion, are carriers of meanings which “become firmly established in the minds of the members of a society in so far as they are coded in conventional, often used and familiar forms of expression” (Fowler 1986:8). The set of typically co-occurring linguistic features reflecting the constraints the genre imposes on discourse content, structure and style may be referred to as style markers (Enkvist 1989:128). While expected and common within a particular genre, these markers are perceived as salient, i.e. foregrounded (Havránek 1983, Mukařovský 1983, Leech & Short 1981), compared to their frequency of occurrence and patterning in other varieties of language. From the perspective of the analyst then, an investigation into the style markers of a genre faces a two-fold task: firstly to describe the formal features characterizing the genre, and secondly to evaluate and interpret the value and function of these language devices in relation to the intentions of the speaker/writer and the context in which the interaction takes place (Coulthard 1987; Short & Van Peer 1989, Short 1996).

The style markers of a genre are institutionalized by cultural habits and traditions and become predictable and reproducible for the members of the discourse community, i.e. they become a norm which is constructed continuously through intertextuality, i.e. the relationship of each token of the genre to previous discourses (Kristeva 1969, Fairclough 1995). Therefore the production of texts and related discourses as representatives of a genre is based on the principle of attainment of a norm (Halliday 1971, Leech & Short 1981), i.e. they have to approximate to the standard set of linguistic features and discourse structure typically co-occurring with the genre. It is therefore the aim of the diachronic aspect of my research to show how the development of a genre is reflected in the text structure and the set of linguistic features with which it is associated.

2.4 Colony texts

Discourse can be derived from text units larger than an individual text. An essentially written text-type “whose components do not derive their meaning from the sequence in which they are placed” (Hoey 1986:1) and in which the reader chooses the selection and order of elements to be accessed has been termed in previous research discourse colony (Hoey 1986, 1988), text colony (Tárnyiková 2002) and colony text (Hoey 2001, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2006, 2007, Tomášková 2008). In this book I will refer to this phenomenon as colony text, i.e. a meaning potential realized by a particular set of linguistic choices enabling a specific set of communicative intentions, from which each reader can derive a different discourse motivated by his/her communicative goals and relevant contextual factors.

This neglected type of text prototypically consists of relatively autonomous components related paradigmatically (e.g. shopping lists, cookery books, telephone books, dictionaries, classified advertisements, newspapers, codes of law, resolutions volumes) and is thus opposed to mainstream texts, i.e. texts taking the form of continuous prose composed of cohesive and coherent parts (e.g. novels, anecdotes, essays). Hoey (2001) discriminates between mainstream and colony texts on the basis of differences in their structure and strategies adopted in their processing. Drawing on Winter’s (1994) approach to discourse interpretation, he analyses text structure in terms of clause relations holding between text components, defining a clause relation as “the shared cognitive process whereby we interpret the meaning of a clause or group of clauses in the light of their adjoining clauses or groups of clauses” (Winter 1994:49). Clause relations may be of two major classes: sequence relations, i.e. horizontal relations “representing selective changes in a time/space continuum from simple time/space change to deductive or causal change, which is modelled on the real world time/change” (Winter 1994:52), and matching relations, i.e. vertical relations existing between the components of a “larger semantic field which is characterized by a higher degree of systemic repetition between its clauses, and by the semantics of compatibility and incompatibility” (Winter 1994:50). While mainstream texts are characterized by both sequence relations and matching relations holding between clauses and groups of clauses, colony texts manifest mainly matching relations dependent on various kinds of repetition devices. Owing to the specificity of the cognitive processes involved in text interpretation, and to the active role of the reader in choosing the selection and order of constituents to be accessed when deriving discourse from a colony text, it is obvious that the structure and style markers of genres which may be processed as colonies are affected by the properties of this text-type. Since resolutions are typically presented and accessed as a colony, it is necessary to discuss in greater detail the distinctive features of this peripheral text-type.

Hoey (2001:75-87) specifies the characteristic features of colony texts with regard to nine basic properties; however, drawing on previous research, e.g. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005c,

2006, 2007), Hoey (1988, 1996), Östman (1997), it seems reasonable to identify a tenth property of the text-type – the use of controlled language, i.e. language use characterized by considerable restrictions on text organization, and grammatical and lexical choice. Therefore, the distinctive features of a colony considered in the present research are:

- 1) the meaning is not derived from the sequence of the components
- 2) adjacent components do not form continuous prose
- 3) one component may be used separately without referring to the others
- 4) textual components may be reprinted or reused in subsequent works
- 5) there is a framing context providing conditions for the interpretation of the text or a characterization of the colony
- 6) the author of the text is not named (or multiple) or anonymous
- 7) textual components may be added, removed or altered
- 8) many of the components serve the same function
- 9) text organization is based on alphabetical, numerical or temporal sequencing
- 10) the use of controlled language

Texts pertaining to the colony text-type are “homogenous in respect of their discourse characteristics but highly heterogeneous in respect of their appearance and use” (Hoey 2001:72). It is therefore possible to apply several criteria for their categorization. The first classification criterion is related to the potential addressee, who is supposed to derive a coherent discourse from the colony. Thus two types of colony text can be differentiated:

- a) private colony texts, where the addressee is the individual who prototypically creates the colony intended for personal or restricted-group use (e.g. shopping list, address book, list of recipes)
- b) public colony texts, where the addressee is the general public (e.g. dictionary, classified advertisements, cookery book, *Resolutions* volume).

The second classification criterion, which is related to the potential of colonies to form hierarchies, concerns the presence or absence of mainstream components, i.e. a colony may be made up of mainstream texts, a mainstream text may be embedded in a colony, a colony may be embedded in a mainstream text, or a colony may be embedded in another colony (Tárnyiková 2002:63). There are two sub-types of colony according to this criterion:

- a) simple (colony components only), e.g. dictionary, telephone book
- b) complex (colony and/or mainstream components), e.g. academic journal, newspaper, *Resolutions* volume

This classification is similar to the one suggested by Tomášková (2008:69), who remarks that complex colonies may be considered as mainstream texts divided into components or arranged

so as to meet the expectations of the receiver. Hierarchical colonies, i.e. colonies in which further colonies are embedded, such as newspapers, journals, resolutions and encyclopedias, are easily transformed into hypertext as defined by Jucker (2002:29), i.e. “a non-linear text that consists of nodes, that is to say textual units, and links between these nodes”. Such hypertexts may be accessible online to readers as sources of information (e.g. newspapers, timetables, TV programmes, resolutions) and in some cases readers can be involved in co-authoring the text (e.g. the Wikipedia project, the dictionary of urban slang).

2.5 Analytical framework and aims of the study

Since this study undertakes to analyse the genre of resolutions – a specific kind of institutional interaction used by the UNESCO discourse community to maintain or change the relationships between interactants and to achieve specific communicative goals – it is necessary to clarify the approach adopted to the description of contextual factors influencing the communicative purposes the genre is expected to realize, and to the analysis of the rhetorical structure of the genre and linguistic features which can be regarded as its style-markers.

The present research draws on the discourse analysis tradition, considered to be “one of the most vast and least defined areas in linguistics” (Schiffrin 1994:406) and which shares with text linguistics the tenet that the choice of language means is a reflection of the contextually bound intentions and expectation of the participants in the act of communication (Van Dijk 1977). Originally linked with the approach of the Birmingham School (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975, Coulthard 1977), discourse analysis is concerned with the study of language in use, the communicative strategies used in interaction and their contextual motivation in the communicative event, and it applies different approaches to the linguistic analysis of discourse, such as speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation analysis. Drawing on concepts such as context of situation (Malinowski 1923), structure of communicative events (Hymes 1975), speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, Bach & Harnish 1979, 1992), politeness (Brown & Levinson 1978, Levinson 1983, Leech 1983), cohesion and coherence (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Hasan 1989b, de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981), clause relations (Winter 1994, Hoey 1996, 2001) and intertextuality (Kristeva 1969, Bakhtin 1975, Fairclough 1995), which are central to my research, discourse analysis uses the tools of systemic-functional grammar (Halliday 1985a) to study how texts are constructed to communicate the ideological perspective of the sender encoded in such features as modality, transitivity, thematic structure, cohesion and coherence.

The social and institutional aspects of the analysis of discourse are explored by critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (cf. Hodge & Kress 1979, Fowler 1986, 1991, Fairclough 1989, 1995, Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996, Van Dijk 1993, 2002, Wodak 1996, 2008). While seeking to relate social groupings to institutional and discourse practices, critical discourse analysis focuses on the linguistic representation of ideology, social relations and institutional practices expressed by language means, and in particular on the relations of power between participants. The connection between the nature of social processes and the properties of language texts is conceptualised by Fairclough’s (1989, 1995) approach to discourse as text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice, involving the description and explanation of the relationship between textual features, discourse processes and socio-cultural processes (Fairclough 1995:97-98).

Since the aim of this book is to analyse a genre – a conventionalised form of rule-governed use of language associated with a particular type of communicative event – the analytical approach adopted should have the potential to explain how discourse is constructed and interpreted in the context of a specific kind of social interaction. Such a framework is provided by the genre analysis approach, which is discussed in more detail in the following subsection.

2.5.1 Genre analysis

Genre analysis, conceived as a multidisciplinary framework for the analysis of language use in social interaction (cf. Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993), draws on several traditions in language studies and can be best seen as a multifaceted approach aimed at describing and explaining rhetorical, formal and functional choices in context-sensitive discourse. The present research adopts a situation-driven procedure for genre analysis (Swales 2004:73), while drawing on the analytical model outlined by Bhatia (2002), which, similarly to Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional approach, studies discourse from three complementary perspectives – the socio-critical perspective, the socio-cognitive perspective and the textual perspective. Within this framework, a study of discourse as social practice takes into consideration the socio-cultural context in which language is used, focusing on the social roles and identities of the participants in the communicative event and the social structures and professional relationships the genre is intended to establish, maintain, or change. When analysing discourse as genre, the focus shifts to the rhetorical structure and the interpretative potential of a text activated in a particular social, institutional and situational context in which the genre is used to achieve specific goals and communicative purposes. The last perspective approaches discourse as text and studies features of the phonological, graphological, lexico-grammatical, semantic and textual levels, such as information structure, cohesion and clause relations. What follows endeavours to outline the procedure used in the actual analysis of resolutions from these three perspectives, while relating the genre analysis framework to several other approaches relevant to this study.

Analysing the context

In this investigation, the description of contextual factors affecting the set of meanings which correlate with the genre of resolutions as used by the UNESCO discourse community is influenced by Firth's (1957), Hymes's (1975), Halliday's (1978) and Biber's (1994) categorizations of situational components. However, while Hymes's speaking grid undertakes to provide a theoretical background for the description of speech events as used by a speech community defined on the basis of a shared language, cultural background and group solidarity, and Halliday's and Biber's analytical models focus on register classification, the aim of the framework suggested in the present study (Figure 1) is to specify the situational variables, institutional relations, communicative conventions and communicative purposes which a discourse community, defined in terms of shared occupational/professional interests, common

goals and conventional forms of interaction among its members, associates with a genre. The framework includes closed-set parameters as well as parameters which are not specified as closed-set; in the closed-set parameters possible values are provided in brackets.

Figure 1 – A model for contextual analysis of a genre

SITUATIONAL PARAMETERS

- 1) Spatio-temporal setting – public/private, (not) shared deictic centre by all discourse participants
- 2) Scene – presence/absence of explicit definition of shared cultural and institutional knowledge
- 3) Subject area

DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS

- 1) Identity of the participants
 - a. addresser (personal/professional/institutional)
 - b. addressee (personal /professional/institutional/unspecified)
- 2) Presence/absence of (un)specified audience
- 3) Social roles of the participants (including status and power)
- 4) Extent of shared knowledge (high/medium/low)
 - a. shared professional knowledge, including content and terminology
 - b. shared knowledge of institutional/professional communicative conventions and discursual expertise
 - c. shared cultural knowledge

COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSES

- 1) Communicative purposes
- 2) Speech act performed
 - a. Participation (group speech acts/‘monologic’ speech acts)
 - b. Type of speech act (performatives/non-performatives; directives/declarations/ commissives/representatives /expressives)
 - c. Directness (direct/indirect)
- 3) Attitude of the participants towards the discourse and the message (purported to be based on fact, speculative, imaginative, symbolic, mixed)

COMMUNICATIVE CONVENTIONS

- 1) Medium (written/spoken), channel and type of transmission (taped/transcribed/typed/ printed/ handwritten/e-mail/other; published/unpublished)
- 2) Level of interactiveness (high/medium/low)
- 3) Simple or complex discourse type (genre/text-type blending of mixing)
- 4) Institutional/professional norms of interaction and interpretation, conventions of discourse production, processing mechanism and circumstances, based on prior experience with specimens of the genre

As the framework presented in Figure 1 indicates, the situational parameters identify the subject area of the communication and specify the relationship between the participants with regard to the spatial and temporal setting of the communicative event. The scene component, i.e. the institutional, psychological and cultural dimensions of the context (Hymes 1974:55), allows us to account for different aspects of the shared cultural knowledge and knowledge of institutional/professional norms of interaction and interpretation, whose indication is vital for

disambiguation in the interpretation of the communicative intentions of the speaker (Akman 2000:751), especially in the context of cross-cultural communication.

Since discourse meaning can be properly interpreted only after the assigning of participants' identities, social roles and attitude to the message, the expansion of the Jakobsonian participant dyad addresser-addressee (1990[1960]) into several categories, as suggested by Hymes (1974) and Goffman (1981), has proved to be an efficient tool for a more detailed description of participants' commitments and mutual relations. This is of particular importance for the analysis of intergovernmental institutional interaction, where the actual 'speaker' often assumes an institutional identity representing an institutional ideology³, which may interact with his/her professional identity and personal views (Van de Mierop 2007). The presence of a larger audience is also taken into account in order to stress the extended social context of the interaction, which is intended to affect the structure of social forces and the power relations in the society. The extent of shared cultural and professional knowledge, as well as knowledge of communicative conventions and discourse expertise, may vary according to the level of involvement of the participants with the discourse community; thus, especially in the case of highly specialised types of professional communication, a larger audience including the general public may lack sufficient background knowledge to understand all discourse implications.

Although the definition of the concept of 'communicative purpose' is complex, multiple and variable (cf. Askehave & Swales 2001, Swales 2004), most approaches to genre analysis still consider it a key means of assigning genre membership (cf. Swales 1990, 2004, Bhatia 1993, 2002, Martin 1985). In the present research, in agreement with Trosborg (1997a) communicative purposes are related to communicative functions of discourse identified in relation to speech acts intended to establish, maintain, or change institutional, professional and social relations. The addresser's intentions, viewed in terms of means-ends analysis, may imply the use of direct or indirect illocutions, the indirectness being a matter of degree (Leech 1983:36-38). In the discourse of international governmental organizations, indirectness is usually associated with formality and politeness phenomena (Brown & Levinson 1987, Grice 1975, Holmes 1995).

The institutional, professional, social and cultural communicative conventions associated with a genre, which include the norms of interaction and interpretation preconditioning the participants' attitude to and understanding of the discourse (Duranti 1985:221), are part of the shared knowledge of the members of the discourse community, and therefore not always easy to access. In a slight modification of Hymes's understanding of these concepts related to "knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (Hymes 1974:51), norms of interaction refer here to discourse conventions and production and processing rules and

³ Drawing on the understanding of this concept by critical linguists, ideology is defined here as the way a social group or a society views objects existing in its world, explains how the world functions, and assigns values to these objects and processes (Fowler 1986:11). This understanding is very close to that of CDA as formulated, e.g. by Fairclough (2006) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001), which regards ideology as a modality of power (Fairclough 2006:23).

mechanisms related to the genre, while norms of interpretation implicate an institutional ideology and social goals that the genre is expected to realize. In the context of the highly conventionalised and formal written intergovernmental communication, an important discourse feature which has to be taken into consideration is intertextual referencing to the network of existing or potential texts available to the discourse community, with which each instance of the genre engages in an inner polemic.

It remains to be stressed that since situation types are culturally recognisable constructs elaborated by a recurrent repetition of social and institutional actions associated with a conventionalised kind of text used by a discourse community, a comprehensive interpretation of the relation between text structure and context is the starting point for the description and explanation of rhetorical selections and language choices associated with the genre under investigation.

Analysing generic structure

As the above discussion suggests, generic structure is affected by the context in which the meaning potential of a text is intended to be interpreted and reflects the communicative purposes that the genre is expected to accomplish in a particular type of conventionalised context. An analysis of generic structure, however, is not confined to features reflecting text-external, non-linguistic criteria: it should focus on the compositional, functional and rhetorical value of discourse components, thus highlighting the cognitive aspects of language organization.

The approach to the analysis of generic structure applied in this book stems from the understanding that while the relationship between genres and text types is not straightforward (Trosborg 1997b), especially in restricted genres, there is a strong correlation between contextually and rhetorically motivated generic forms and text types, identified on the basis of cognitive and linguistic criteria (cf. Hatim 1997). Thus generic structure is considered to be shaped by both text-internal and text-external factors, i.e. the communicative and rhetorical functions of textual components and the communicative purposes they perform in a conventionalised type of communicative event.

The structural interpretation of the genre of resolutions suggested here draws on Hasan's concept of generic structure potential (Hasan 1989b:55-69) and Swales's (1990) rhetorical moves analysis of the structural organization of a genre. In terms of composition, Hasan's model considers generic structure as made up of obligatory and optional components which mark "a stage with some consequence in the progression of a text" (Hasan 1989b:56), and whose communicative functions are motivated by contextual features and the communicative purpose of the text. The genre of a text is hence defined by the obligatory textual components, while the total range of obligatory and optional components and their ordering (including possible variation in their sequence and reiterative potential) form the structure potential of the genre, which is realized as the actual structure of a concrete text. The value of Hasan's model of generic

structure lies not only in its stressing of the close relation existing between text and context, but also in the fact that it acknowledges that structural components are “defined by the job that they do”, i.e. their communicative function in the build-up of the text, and that knowledge of generic structure is a matter of social experience. However, Hasan’s model cannot account fully for the cognitive aspects of text organization.

As already mentioned in section 2.2, an approach to the study of discourse which deals with the cognitive structure of genres is provided by Swales’s rhetorical moves analysis, which relates text organization to the communicative purposes of the addresser. This approach assumes that a genre sets structural and rhetorical conditions on text organization. It follows that the cognitive structure of a genre can be conceptualised as comprising a beginning, body and end which perform specific communicative and rhetorical functions; these components can be further analysed into rhetorical moves which indicate the sequence of communicative intentions of the addresser in constructing the text. However, since instances of genres differ in their prototypicality (Swales 1990:49), there is flexibility in the realization and organization of the moves and rhetorical features used on particular occasions. Thus while rhetorical moves are discriminative components of generic structure, variation in strategies used to accomplish the related communicative purposes is non-discriminative at genre level, though it may result in intra-generic variation.

In the present book generic structure is approached as being composed of sequentially arranged obligatory and optional components which perform a genre-specific set of rhetorical functions reflecting the communicative purposes the genre is expected to accomplish in a specific social and institutional context. A genre is considered to be defined by a set of primary communicative purposes realized by obligatory functionally and rhetorically motivated components; the primary communicative purpose(s) of a genre typically correlates with a particular text-type. Variation in secondary communicative purposes may result in the delimiting of sub-genres, which can also differ in the actual sequence of rhetorical moves and the strategies used for their realization. Therefore, this analysis of the generic structure of resolutions endeavours to identify the structural components of the genre, to discuss their function in the realization of genre-specific communicative purposes, to specify the rhetorical moves through which these purposes are typically accomplished, and to account for intra-generic variation. In addition, it takes into consideration the impact of the colony text-type on discourse structure.

Analysing the style markers of a genre

The last analytical perspective, which approaches discourse as text, relies on a socially based functional framework for the study of language variation (cf., e.g. Crystal & Davy 1969, Leech & Short 1981, Halliday 1981, Short 1996, Verdonk 2002) and aims at providing a linguistic description of a text by language levels complemented by parallel or conclusive interpretation of the functions of distinctive or significant features identified, i.e. its style markers. Such a

description of a context-sensitive language variety typically presupposes a quantitative and qualitative study of characteristic language features carried out on a representative corpus of texts. Since language choices are intertextually motivated by previous discourses and affected by social practices and ideologies the participants bring to the communicative event (cf. Carter & Simpson 1989, Weber 1992), the analysis of the style markers of a genre also tries to explain the cognitive and rhetorical reasons for genre-specific selections.

The present investigation into the genre of resolutions – an instance of a highly formal institutional written discourse – takes into consideration distinctive language features at all relevant levels of linguistic realization. However, while style markers at the graphological and lexico-grammatical levels are undoubtedly a very significant aspect of the discourse conventions associated with the genre, the focus is on the discourse level, which is considered to be characteristic of resolutions. This level of analysis deals with tactical use of text-patterning to express specific meaning-function correlations; since the analysis of coherence and cohesion relations, parallelism, information processing, thematic progression, and clause relations is considered to be of particular significance for the revealing of the distinctive features of the genre of resolutions, it is convenient to discuss them in brief.

The view adopted in the present research regards cohesion as a property of the surface structure of a text, based on semantic relations between textual components signalled by cohesive ties holding between lexical items and grammatical structures which overtly connect clauses and clause complexes (e.g. Widdowson 1979, de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, Halliday & Hasan 1976, Hasan 1989, Hoey 1991, 2001, Tanskanen 2006). Despite the fact that most researchers agree that the interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of a text, i.e. its coherence, is enhanced by markers of cohesion, there is no consensus in the views on the interdependence of cohesion and coherence. While according to Hasan (1989a:94), who holds the view that “variation in coherence is the function of variation in the cohesive harmony of a text”, cohesion and coherence are closely related phenomena, many linguists (e.g. Stubbs 1983, Seidlhofer & Widdowson 1997, Bublitz 1999, Mey 2001), as well as the author of this book, tend to draw a stricter distinction between these two concepts, claiming that “a text, either written or spoken, can be perceived as coherent without cohesive means, and furthermore a text can comprise cohesive means without being understood as coherent” (Povolná & Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009:5). A coherent discourse interpretation is hence derived not only thanks to explicit and implicit markers of cohesion, but also as a result of inference based on contextual and background knowledge and on experience in discourse processing.

In the present study cohesive relations based on grammatical and lexical cohesive ties are regarded as interdependent; thus, drawing on Hoey (1991), both grammatical and lexical items which allow the speaker/writer to “say something again” are treated as forming one cohesive relation. Tokens indicating semantic relations at inter-sentential and intra-sentential level form part of cohesive chains which, in agreement with Hasan (1989a), may be sub-categorized into

identity chains, the relation between their members being of co-referentiality, and similarity chains, the relation between their members being of co-classification or co-extension. By establishing their referents as thematic across larger parts of the text and thus organizing discourse by reflecting what Tanskanen (2006:109) calls topical segments, cohesive chains contribute to the perception of propositional (Van Dijk 1977) or topical coherence (Giora 1985, 1997) in discourse. The essentially syntactic relations established between two and more members of two or more distinct cohesive chains which establish semantic relations between components of the message are termed chain interaction. Owing to its potential to enhance the continuity of related thematic meanings in recurrent syntactic patterns, chain interaction is frequently associated with parallelism, theme-rheme articulation and given-new information organization, all of which are regarded by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Hasan (1989a) as aspects of structural cohesion.

The rhetorical value of recurrent syntactic patterns and parallelism (as defined by Jakobson 1990[1960] and Leech 1969) and their contribution to the unity of texts has been pointed out by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:49) and Tárnayiková (2002:40), who associate it with cohesion, and Hoey (1991:167-183), who relates it to both cohesion and coherence. The foregrounding effect of parallelism resides in the capacity of recurrent syntactic structures usually accompanied by repetition of some lexical elements to induce the listener/reader to search for meaning connections between the parallel structures; the tendency to relate the meanings of non-recurrent elements on the basis of equivalence or contrast invites inference and the construction of new aspects of meaning for the elements concerned (Short 1996:14-16). From the perspective of this study, the role of recurrent syntactic patterns and parallelism is particularly significant, since matching clause relations considered distinctive of the colony text-type are typically signalled by systemic repetition and the semantics of compatibility and incompatibility.

Besides being associated with the build-up of matching clause relations, recurrent syntactic patterns and parallelism are involved in managing theme-rheme articulation and given-new organization in discourse. Although there are several theoretical frameworks which differ slightly in their analysis of speaker's/writer's organization of the clause as a message (cf. Halliday 1985a, Firbas 1987, 1992, Daneš 1974, Hajičová 1993, Sgall 1994), their proponents generally agree on a definition of the theme as the element which serves as a point of departure for the message (in Firbas' terms the element carrying the lowest degree of communicative dynamism); the divergence in their views concerns mainly the treatment of theme and rheme as position-bound phenomena. While some researchers (cf. Halliday 1985a and Quirk et al. 1985) associate the theme with the initial position, typically coinciding with the subject of the indicative clause, Firbas (1987:43) treats theme and rheme as not invariably linked with particular sentence positions; for him, the theme is constituted by foundation-laying elements and the rheme by non-transitional core-constituting elements (Firbas's framework sub-

divides the non-thematic part of the clause into transition and rheme), which are determined by the interplay of four factors defining the functional perspective of the sentence, i.e. linear modification, context, the semantic factor and intonation (for spoken language only). Although position-boundness is not an issue in this study, since, as the analysis will show, in the genre of resolutions the linear and the interpretative arrangement of utterances typically coincide, it is necessary to note that the framework applied in this research draws on Firbas' interpretation of theme, transition and rheme as contextually bound elements characterized by a degree of communicative dynamism which are not associated with any particular position in the linear development of the sentence.

Returning to the discussion of recurrent syntactic patterns and parallelism, it is evident that the repetitive component in these structures enables the speaker/writer to anchor an emphatic thematic element in the text, while at the same time highlighting the rhematic part of consecutive clauses and the relations holding between them. Due to the close semantic association between theme-rheme articulation and given-new information organization resulting from the tendency shown by thematic elements to indicate what is given and retrievable for the listener/reader and by rhematic elements to locate the climax of the new in the message (Halliday 1985a), both phenomena contribute to the perception of discourse coherence and are considered here to be contextually bound semantic and stylistic choices. The interdependence of theme-rheme articulation and given-new information is conceptualised in Daneš's thematic progression procedures (1974), which he defines as "the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter...) to the whole text, and to the situation" (Daneš 1974:113). The three basic patterns of thematic progression – simple linear thematic progression with thematization of rhemes, thematic progression with a continuous theme, and a mixed pattern based on the combination of the first two patterns – are applied here to the interpretative arrangement of the communicative units in the clause, which, as already mentioned, in the material under investigation generally coincides with the linear arrangement. Since a consistent use of patterns of thematic progression highlights the hierarchical organization of the text and makes its structure more transparent (Hatim 1997:82), the foregrounding of a particular thematic progression pattern in association with a genre can be regarded as a multilevel style marker reflecting the semantic potential and structural organization of the text.

Having discussed the framework for the analysis of the genre of resolutions, it is appropriate to proceed to a review of previous research on style markers of the language variety under investigation and related registers and genres, in order to lay a basis for the comparison necessary for an estimation of whether the language features identified in this study are truly genre-specific.

2.5.2 Previous research on style markers of related varieties

As stated in the introduction, the aim of the present study is to show how context shapes discourse structure, thus enabling language to reflect the socio-culturally motivated intended meanings expressed by a particular set of language means, i.e. the style markers of a genre. Since to my knowledge, there are no investigations dealing with the genre under scrutiny, the following section discusses previous research related to language varieties which in terms of communicative goals and socio-cultural context are similar to the discourse of resolutions. Resolutions are written documents used as legal instruments in diplomatic communication; thus they are expected to display distinctive features of written discourse used in legal and diplomatic contexts. In the cross-cultural context of international governmental organizations, bureaucratic practices are related to the classification and regulation of relationships between independent states and these organizations. Since bureaucratic control is closely related to control in the political domain and since “bureaucracy and social control are *constituted* in language” (Sarangi & Slembrouck 1996:3-6), the study of the language of international bureaucracy is inseparable from the study of political discourse, which should be related to “socially shared political representations that control political actions, processes and systems” (Van Dijk 2002:234). Therefore, the language varieties used as points of departure and bases for comparison in this research are legal, political and diplomatic language.

Research into legal language

Legal English is one the most frequently scrutinized varieties of professional language from the perspectives of stylistics, register and genre analysis. As my research investigates written language, the following discussion is restricted to studies dealing with stylistic features and pragmatic variables in written legal documents.

The Czech stylistics tradition approaches the study of legal discourse primarily from a functional point of view in an attempt to suggest a categorization of context-motivated stylistic variation in language. According to the classifications of functional styles suggested by Havránek (1983), Vachek (1974), Urbanová and Billingham (1985), Knittlová (1990) and Čechová et al. (1997), resolutions should be classified as a genre of the administrative functional style, which includes as its sub-styles legal English, the language of diplomacy, public administration and the military, and business English. According to Čechová (1989), the administrative style is a mainly written professional type of language, characterized by specific terminology and a prominent directive and operational function reflecting social interaction between institutions or institutions and the individual. Administrative texts are seen as highly standardized; the language is described as formal, factual and impersonal, and the requirement for explicitness and avoidance of ambiguity prevails over the principle of economy in language. In agreement with Čechová’s view, Knittlová (1990) considers objectivity, clarity, explicitness, transparency and conciseness as typical features of this functional variety of language.

In his study of stylistic variation in English, Vachek (1974:187) stresses the importance of typographic devices and capitalization for the underlining of the structure of legal texts, which are composed of complex, yet clearly built sentences. While not discussing in depth the impact of contextual factors, Knittlová (1990) extends the list of style markers of legal English by adding such features as nominalisation, heavy post-modification of noun phrases, abstract and archaic vocabulary, and the use of binominals (extensively studied by Gustafsson (1975)). She classifies the style of diplomatic documents as a sub-variety of legal English characterized by the appearance of some emotional or persuasive elements, rather standard, easy-to-understand vocabulary (the addressee being the general public) and long but prevalingly paratactically linked sentences. The above-mentioned features lead Knittlová to conclude that by its pathetic appeal and proclamative character the language of diplomacy displays features similar to public speaking.

Within the British stylistic tradition, Crystal and Davy (1969) analyse the discourse of legal documents, taking account of variation according to situational parameters and proposing functional motivation for context-specific stylistic choices. Legal English is characterized as the least communicative and most conservative style, using essentially visual language which displays numerous grammatical and lexical oddities as a result of the efforts of legal writers to be unambiguous. While most of the style markers of legal English signalled by Crystal and Davy coincide with those highlighted by Knittlová (1990), the attention they pay to sentence length and complexity (many legal documents are one-sentence texts, as are the resolutions in the material under investigation), extensive use of coordination at clause and phrase level, frequent use of adverbial clauses in initial position, and sentence linkage achieved by repetition of structural and lexical items are of particular importance for the present research.

Legal language has also received substantial attention in the framework of register analysis, with most of the studies being single register investigations focusing on one genre (see Biber (1994:353-354) for a brief review of the most important publications). In an attempt to delimit the scope of the register, Danet (1985:273) defines the domain of legal discourse as “the nature, functions and consequences of language use in the negotiation of social order”. The two primary functions of law she considers are the ordering of human relations and the restoration of social order. The former is subdivided into the regulative and facilitative functions of law, aspects of which may be found in the language of international organizations. Danet’s study offers a typology of situations in which legal English is used by style (frozen, formal, consultative and casual) and mode (written, spoken-composed, spoken-spontaneous), according to which legal English genres are characterized. The features of the legal register are considered to be most prominent in frozen, formulaic genres (e.g. wills, insurance policies, contracts), “where matters are virtually all form and no content and the words are performative” (Danet 1985:277). The genre of resolutions scrutinised in my research may be assimilated into the sub-type of formal

legislative texts, which, though highly conventionalized, allow for some variation in content and form of expression.

Besides confirming the relevance of the distinctive features of legal discourse mentioned above, Danet's contribution to the study of the legal register is an understanding "that the true distinctiveness of legal discourse may lie at the discourse level" (Danet 1985:285). While applying Halliday and Hasan's (1976) typology of cohesive devices, Danet points out that in legal documents lexical repetition prevails over anaphoric reference, and substitution and ellipsis are almost absent due to a concern for explicitness and precision. Furthermore, she analyses text organization from the point of view of thematic progression and concludes that legal texts are usually constructed in conformity with the principles of end-focus and end-weight. In addition, similarly to Biber and Finegan (1986), Danet (1985) notes that some of the features of the legal register, e.g. syntactic complexity, propositional density and lack of redundancy, may affect its comprehensibility.

Adopting both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, Hiltunen's (1990) research, carried out on the legislative genre of British Acts of Parliament, studies the style of legal English as a function of the complex relationship between language and situational context. The diachronic research indicates continuity in the development of the layout, lexical, syntactic and textual features of the genre from the Anglo-Saxon period to the 20th century, which results in a high level of predictability of genre-specific style markers. Special attention is paid to the introduction of some ambiguity avoidance techniques (also explored by Charrow 1982), including the visual arrangement of the text into sections and subsections. The synchronic research analyses modern legal English, focusing on the levels of discourse, syntax and vocabulary. It considers the repetitiveness of coordination and subordination patterns and the lack of intersentence cohesive ties as the main features which characterize much of legal English on the discourse level; this, according to Hiltunen (1990), reflects the independent and context-free (or rather co-text-free) status of the sentence in legal language. In my analysis I will try to show that it is this autonomous status of legal sentences and clauses that permits the processing of most legal documents as colony texts.

Applying the method of genre analysis to legal discourse, Bhatia (1993) studies the cognitive structuring and rhetorical moves of two related legal genres (legal provisions and legal cases) to show that legal language "encompasses several usefully distinguishable genres depending upon the communicative purposes they tend to fulfil, the settings or contexts in which they are used, the communicative events or activities they are associated with, the social or professional relationship between the participants taking part in such activities or events, the background knowledge that such participants bring to the situation in which that particular event is embedded and a number of other factors" (Bhatia 1993:101). Based on the analysis of legal provisions, Bhatia (1993) characterizes English legislative writing as "highly impersonal and decontextualised, in the sense that its illocutionary force holds independently of whoever is the 'speaker' (originator) or

the ‘hearer’ (reader) of the document” (Bhatia 1993:102). In this respect, legislative provisions differ from the material under investigation, as in the context of resolutions the identities of the addresser and the addressee are clearly defined. On the other hand, they share a strong element of intertextuality related to a heavy reliance on previous texts. The style markers of the variety highlighted by Bhatia are in agreement with the findings of the researches mentioned above, i.e. excessive sentence length marked by numerous discontinuities, nominal form of expression, use of complex prepositional phrases and binominal and multinominal expressions.

Undertaken from a pragmatic point of view, Trosborg’s (1995) research into the regulative functions of legal language focuses on establishing realization patterns of the rhetorical functions of directive and commissive speech acts. It argues that “the pragmatic characteristics of the law pertain to the dependence on extralinguistic institutions and must be interpreted within the socio-pragmatic constraints of the situation” (Trosborg 1995:50). Thus, the legislator’s position of authority over the addressee is reflected in the high proportion of direct speech acts. The research further considers the use of politeness markers for mitigating the illocutionary force of directives in legal language and reaches the conclusion that the most frequently occurring mitigating devices is the defocalization of the agent and the patient.

In summary of this selective review of previous research into legal English, it should be noted that my analysis of resolutions draws on aspects of the communicative situation in which discourse is produced and processed as discussed in the works of Crystal and Davy (1969), Danet (1985) and Hiltunen (1990), and on Bhatia’s (1993) framework for the analysis of the cognitive structure and rhetorical moves used in the genre. Of special value for my study are the insights on the role of text-level features provided by Danet (1985) and Hiltunen (1990) and the observations on the pragmatic characteristics of legal discourse suggested by Trosborg (1995).

Research into political language

Since the language of politics is shaped by the ideologies of participants involved in the process of social interaction, research into political discourse is necessarily a cross-disciplinary enterprise primarily concerned with the ways language constructs power relations and ideological representations of reality, thus reflecting the interdependence of socio-cultural and linguistic practices and processes. The social meanings communicated in this kind of public discourse are moulded by the rhetorical and stylistic choices performed by political actors in order to align themselves with the audience and to legitimate their ideological views and power status.

Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fowler 1985, 1991, Wodak 2008, Wodak & Chilton 2005) see discourse as a reality-creating social practice. These approaches study language as ideology, i.e. “as a system of categories and rules based on fundamental assumptions about the world” (Hodge & Kress 1993:5), while scrutinising signs of power and ways in which language may be used for the maintaining and changing of the relations of power in society related to such issues as racism, discrimination, gender bias in the media, and

institutional or bureaucratic documents (e.g. Hodge & Kress 1993, Fowler 1985, 1986, 1991, Fairclough 1989, 1995, Van Dijk 1993, Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996). Though critical discourse analysts have been criticised for a biased selection of texts whose interpretation imposes a particular politically biased point of view (Widdowson 1995, Toolan 1997, Hoey 2001), it is undisputable that their work has raised an awareness of the impact of ideology on linguistic choices.

According to Chilton and Schäfner (1997:211-15) and as revised in Chilton (2004:45-46), there are three basic and interrelated 'strategic functions' for which various linguistic expressions may be used in political discourse; these are coercion (claiming authority to select topics, enforce actions and control others' use of language), (de)legitimization (claiming obedience and approval of self, views and actions, through positive self-representation and negative representation of others), and (mis)representation (claiming control over the representation of reality in terms of quantity and quality of information provided). These strategic uses of language enhance institutional credibility and the persuasive force of political discourse (Fetzer 2002:185), while guiding the audience towards an intended discourse interpretation which serves best the speaker's communicative intentions with regard to the situational, socio-cultural and pragmatic context in which the interaction takes place.

Following a similar train of thought, Ng and Bradac (1993) offer a comprehensive study of the interaction between verbal communication and social influence. In their study, the use of language is seen as a goal-directed activity which has the power to impress and influence the receiver and to depoliticise influence messages by mitigating, misleading and masking. The research scrutinises the linguistic features of powerful and powerless styles of speaking, focusing in particular on the legal context. The linguistic features of tentativeness and indirectness are discussed with relation to the participant's roles and gender. The concept of misleading the receiver/audience in political communication is associated with the choice of lexical devices and the role of equivocal words and metaphors. The study of masking devices, such as active/passive transformations, nominalizations etc., draws on critical linguistics research and emphasises the power of language to manipulate the reader and to construct ideologically biased representations of reality.

Several pragmatic aspects of the analysis of political language are explored by Wilson (1990), Van Dijk (1997), Chilton (2004), and Wodak (2007), who scrutinise the use of implicature and presupposition in political talk, the use of the English pronominal system for the indicating of social relations and attitudes, the reference of definite descriptions, and the role of metaphor in political arguments, especially the varying potential of metaphors to generate potential implicatures. For instance, Wilson (1990) argues that pragmatic choices are different from sociolinguistic choices, as sociolinguistic ones represent a consequence of the influence of contextual factors on meaning, while pragmatic ones reflect a manipulation of meaning in context. As pragmatic choices are intentionally performed by the speaker in order to convey

additional meanings, it seems reasonable to argue that they are stylistic choices as well.

Drawing on the tradition of critical discourse analysis, Van Leeuwen (2007) suggests a framework for the analysis of the language of legitimation from the perspective of pragmatics in an attempt to explore how specific configurations of linguistic resources can be used to legitimize political values, identities and ideologies. The four key categories of legitimation – authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis – are thus associated with specific linguistic means supporting the justification of institutional order and social practices. Another aspect of legitimation is explored by Chilton (2004) and Cap (2007), who take a cognitive approach to the analysis of political discourse and situate political actors with respect to a particular place, time and social group, which is seen as a ‘deictic centre’ shared by the in-group and associated with the values of true and right. Thus discourse imposes the ideologically biased conceptualization of entities and events of the addresser upon the addressee in order to legitimize values, beliefs and intended actions.

The discourse of international governmental organizations – which typically relies on authorisation strategies, such as status and expertise claims, reference to laws, rules and regulations to legitimise an organization’s views, statements and actions – promotes a certain world-view, social organization and system of sociopolitical and cultural values. As this research intends to prove, legitimation devices are concentrated mainly in the preamble of a resolution, which establishes the ideological background, philosophy and purpose of the document.

Research into diplomatic language

As already stated in the introduction, diplomatic discourse is a relatively underexplored field of discourse analysis and stylistics studies. This is also evidenced by the fact that the first volume of the academic journal *Language and Diplomacy*, which addresses issues related to the power of language in international relations, was published no earlier than 2004. However, at the end of the first decade of the new millennium, the appearance of studies presenting textual analysis of international instruments and rhetoric and discourse analysis of diplomatic speeches (cf. Donahue & Prosser 1997, Powell 2004, Waller 2006) evidences an increased interest in this kind of communication. In addition, it seems reasonable to regard political discourse in an international context and the discourse of international treaties as overlapping with diplomatic interaction.

Since diplomatic negotiations take place across cultures and across languages, the traditional subtle signalling typical of diplomatic language, which is often loaded with hidden meanings and ambiguities, may lead to misinterpretations in a modern multi-cultural environment. As Cohen (2001) and Matteucci (2001) argue, much of diplomatic interaction involves arguments about words and concepts, and therefore one of the central issues in the analysis of diplomatic discourse is the decoding of meanings which are affected by the situational and socio-cultural context.

The impact of contextual factors on diplomatic interaction at the United Nations is scrutinised in a pioneering study by Donahue and Prosser (1997), who explore the language of diplomacy from the perspective of discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis. Discussing the role of English as a *lingua franca* of the modern world, they note that the rhetorical standards used when communicating in English at the UN appear similar to western conventions. Based on the findings of their research into UN addresses by world leaders, Donahue and Prosser hold that the generic structure potential and the generic features of the text type “provide an established framework by which consistency in discourse inheres across political and cultural boundaries” (Donahue & Prosser 1997:89). Therefore, it can be claimed that the use of strict generic conventions is one of the strategies helping to preserve orderly diplomatic communication in an international context.

Written texts are central to diplomatic interaction, because they are the final result of most diplomatic activities and perform essential functions such as providing powers and accreditation, transmitting statements in diplomatic notes, recording the outcomes of negotiations, treaties and agreements. The impact of information technology on diplomatic texts, especially from the perspective of hypertexts, is investigated by Kurbalija (2001). Most diplomatic texts are not necessarily read in full length; since the meaning of the text is typically not dependent on the sequence of its components, the user decides the selection and order of articles or paragraphs to be accessed. These features categorize numerous diplomatic documents (treaties, resolutions, declarations etc.) as colony texts, which can be easily transformed into hypertexts. Without drawing on the concept of colony texts, Kurbalija argues that since diplomatic texts are the result of complex, multi-layered activities, “full understanding and interpretation of diplomatic documents requires reference to all supporting sources” (Kurbalija 2001:313), which is mediated by the hypertext format.

To conclude this brief discussion of previous research into the legal, political and diplomatic discourses which functionally overlap in several communicative situations (one of which is the genre of resolutions under investigation), I would like to emphasise that in the dynamic process of human interaction there are numerous socio-cultural and ideological factors which determine generic structure and influence the choice of language means which express in the most adequate and effective way the communicative intentions of the addresser. Thus my aim in the present study is to explore how the distinctive features of legal, political and diplomatic language are interwoven in the genre of UNESCO resolutions.

2.5.3 Applying the analytical framework

The analytical framework discussed in previous subsections of this book outlines the approach and issues to be considered in the applied genre analysis of the present study. The model for contextual analysis is used to describe the socio-cultural background, institutional settings and discourse processing procedures associated with the genre. Since this study endeavours to trace the development of resolutions over a sixty-year period, the analysis of their generic structure reflects the different stages of the development of the genre and the related colony text. However, the discussion of intra-generic variation resulting from different selections of structural components, communicative purposes and rhetorical moves, focuses on the current state of resolutions as a well-established genre of international governmental organizations. The analysis of style markers, while commenting on some changes in the distinctive features of resolutions over the period of the existence of UNESCO, also deals primarily with present-day language use, though it is necessary to note that language use in this genre is rather conservative due to a strong reliance on tradition and a tendency to establish a terminology (codified in the UNESCO thesaurus) which aims at making transparent cross-language correspondences of key terms related to the field of action of the organization.

Before proceeding to the analysis, it remains to be stressed that while this study is conceived as an applied genre analysis, it pays significant attention to the impact of the colony text-type on the generic structure and style markers of resolutions, since I consider this crucial for an explanation of the distinctive features of the genre.

3 INTRODUCING UNESCO RESOLUTIONS

Since this research studies discourse as social practice taking place in a particular socio-cultural context, its task is to consider the social roles and identities of the participants in the communicative event, the social structures and professional relationships established, maintained, or changed in the process of social interaction, and the communicative purposes the genre under investigation is intended to achieve. This chapter opens with a description of the institutional and situational context associated with the genre; the purpose is to outline the contextual factors influencing the rhetorical structure and linguistic selection in the genre. The second section describes the material under investigation, specifying the selection criteria, size and limitations of the corpus.

3.1 The UNESCO context

The language variety scrutinised in this investigation represents formal written discourse in institutional settings, which may be associated with both legal and diplomatic interaction, since resolutions are legal instruments used by international governmental organizations (e.g. the United Nations Organization, the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) for stating their decisions concerning the formation of future behaviour with regard to the internal administration of the respective organization and the ordering of relations between independent states.

My interest in the discourse of UNESCO was motivated by my three-year involvement as an interpreter for the Bulgarian National Commission for UNESCO and the experience of attending the 24th session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 1987. This provided me with some insights into the social practices related to the process of text production and interpretation necessary for “using social context as explanation for the analysis of textualisation of lexicogrammatical and discoursal resources” (Bhatia 2002:18). The choice of the *Resolutions* volumes of the records of the General Conference of UNESCO for a genre-based analysis, is motivated by the specificity of this kind of discourse. The highly codified type of institutional communication recorded in and mediated by resolutions imposes several constraints on the choice of language means available to achieve the communicative goals of the discourse community. Firstly, the position and views of UNESCO – the addresser in the discourse of resolutions – are a concert of the interwoven voices of all member-states and their often conflicting policies, ideologies and cultural backgrounds, thus reflecting the inherently dialogic nature of discourse. Secondly, the addresser has to guarantee the successful interpretation of his/her communicative intentions by

all potential addressees, i.e. the discourse community of officials of international governmental organizations and member states and a larger set of people including the general public. Thirdly, the regulative character of the documents should reflect the power relations between the participants in the communication, taking into account the specificity of diplomatic interaction. Finally, the linguistic act performed is intended to accommodate several temporal perspectives, i.e. the period of encoding, which may last for several weeks till the final wording of the text is accepted by all interested parties; the time of the linguistic act of performing an institutional declaration, which validates the content of the message and is simultaneous with the receiving time as experienced by the participants attending the General Conference; and the receiving time as experienced by the general public after the publication of the text, which thus becomes a record for reference.

3.1.1 Aims and purposes of UNESCO

The main fields of action of UNESCO are education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, communication and information. Established in 1946, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was one of the first specialised agencies of the United Nations Organization to be founded after the end of the Second World War as a response to the efforts of the countries of Europe confronting Nazi Germany and her allies to find ways and means of reconstructing their systems of education once peace was restored. The decision to create an organization which would embody a genuine culture of peace and prevent the outbreak of another world war was taken at the United Nations Conference convened in London from 1 to 16 November 1945, at which representatives from forty-four countries were gathered. At the end of the London Conference, on 16 November 1945, the representatives of thirty-seven countries founded the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and signed its Constitution, and this came into force on 4 November 1946 after its ratification by twenty countries.

The Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO outlines the ideology underlying the programmes of UNESCO and actions which it strives to implement and specifies the aims and purposes of the organization. Stating that ‘since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed’, the Preamble declares that the states party to the Constitution believe ‘in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge’. The main purpose of UNESCO as defined in the Constitution, which is frequently cited in various documents issued by the organization in order to reaffirm the importance of shared common values, is:

‘to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations’.

It is therefore obvious that UNESCO shares the same ideals, aims and goals as all the organizations within the United Nations system: establishment of peace and security, justice and human rights, promotion of economic and social progress and better standard of living. By trying to create universal agreements on emerging ethical issues, the organization promotes international cooperation via dialogue based upon mutual respect and shared values, while enhancing dissemination and sharing of information and knowledge in the fields of education, science, culture and communication.

3.1.2 Governing bodies and rules of procedure

The governing bodies of the organization are the General Conference, which determines the policies and the main lines of work of the Organization, and the Executive Board, which assures the continuous overall management of UNESCO in the periods between the sessions of the General Conference.

The General Conference consists of representatives of the states members of the organization⁴ and meets at regular sessions every two years. The member states are usually represented by delegations, which consist of officers of the respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs and, occasionally, certain experts. The delegations are lead by the Secretary-General of the National Commission for UNESCO, i.e. a national body created with the purpose of associating the governmental and non-governmental institutions of the member state in education, sciences, culture and communication with the work of the organization. According to Article IV of the Constitution, the main functions and responsibilities of the General Conference are:

- discussing all issues concerning the general policy of the Organization
- adopting a programme and budget for the next two years
- electing the Members of the Executive Board and specialised commissions and committees
- appointing, every four years, the Director-General
- adopting the (six-year) Medium-Term Strategy of the Organization

All decisions of the General Conference are taken by vote; the voting system of UNESCO allocates one vote to each member state, irrespective of its size or the extent of its contribution to the budget; the right to vote is guaranteed by the regular payment of financial contributions.

The work of the General Conference is prepared by the Executive Board, which is responsible for carrying out its decisions. The functions and responsibilities of the Executive Board, which meets twice a year, are specified in the Constitution and laid down by rules or directives of the General Conference and agreements concluded between UNESCO and the United Nations, its specialised agencies and other intergovernmental organizations.

The choice of representatives elected by the General Conference as members of different governing bodies of the organization, including the election of the Director-General and

⁴ There are currently 193 member states and 7 associate members of UNESCO.

appointments in the secretariat, are expected to reflect the diversity of the cultures and geographical origin of the member states. The officers holding these positions are typically career diplomats designated by the National Commissions of member states. It can therefore be assumed that officers taking part in the preparation of draft documents and in the negotiating of their final versions have considerable expertise in the procedures and conventions used in the UNESCO context.

The official languages of the General Conference are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Hindi, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish, while the working languages of the General Conference are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. All documents except the *Journal of the General Conference* are issued in the working languages of the organization, each text having the qualities of an original authentic text in the respective language.

In the context of cross-cultural communication, the status of English requires special attention. In the modern world, the historical process of the emergence of European nation states has resulted in the establishment of national standard languages, which are bound to superimpose the uniformity of a codified norm (though this changes to reflect changes in society) and which are thus associated with high prestige, as dialectal varieties are not. The subsequent tendency in historical development towards globalisation has led to the emergence of certain European national standards as international languages (Downes 1998); these have acquired the status of *lingua franca*, “a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community” (Holmes 1992:86).

The English language officially acquired the status of *lingua franca* and of an international administrative code in all spheres of diplomatic interaction, including the language of governmental and non-governmental organizations, nearly 90 years ago, when the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28th June 1919, consecrated the use of two official languages – English and French⁵. Nowadays, it seems more and more obvious that the English language has taken over the role of Latin, the administrative and sacred code of medieval Europe. Apart from the economic and political reasons for the international expansion of English, its great spread across the world seems to be motivated by the fact “that it carries less implications of political or cultural specificity than any other living tongue” (Quirk et al. 1985:8). Thus it seems to be the ideal language of diplomacy, the very idea of which “is that it should not be culture-bound but an attempt at transcending such boundaries to create a quasi neutral vehicle of exchange” (Abu Jaber 2001:51). The cultural neutrality of English, though, is highly relative, and therefore the worldview it expresses may reasonably be expected to have some impact on different aspects of meanings of discourse. Therefore, intercultural interaction should anticipate possible breakdowns in communication due to socio-cultural and pragmatic variation and signal the norms of interaction and interpretation (Hymes 1975) relevant for adequate text processing.

⁵ French had been recognised as the sole diplomatic language since the 17th century.

3.1.3 The genre set of the UNESCO discourse community

The ‘genre set’ (Swales 2004:20) of the discourse community of UNESCO consists of written genres that the organization and its member states use both receptively and productively as part of their institutional practice. The UNESCO genre set may be categorized as consisting of two basic types of texts – international legal instruments and internal instruments of the organization.

Owing to differences in geographic origins, cultural background, ideologies and legal systems of the member states of UNESCO, the function of legal instruments is to codify common rules according to which the member states have agreed to act in order to achieve common purposes. Concrete international agreements concerning common rules and procedures that the member states are set to follow are stated in legally binding instruments, such as agreements and conventions, which are subject to ratification, acceptance or accession by the member states. Recommendations and declarations have by themselves no legal force. When issuing a recommendation, the General Conference outlines principles and norms for the international regulation of a particular question, which member states are invited to guarantee by undertaking “whatever legislative or other steps may be required in conformity with the constitutional practice of each State and the nature of the question under consideration to apply the principles and norms aforesaid within their respective territories” (Article 1 (b) of the *Rules of Procedure concerning recommendations*), i.e. recommendations are intended to influence the development of national laws and practices. Due to the advisory status of recommendations, they are adopted by a simple majority, while a two-thirds majority is required for the adoption of conventions. Similarly to recommendations, declarations are documents intended to define norms; without being legally binding, they endeavour to establish universal principles which reflect the ideology of the organization.

The second subset of genres used by the discourse community of UNESCO consists of instruments dealing with the internal affairs of the organization. These are resolutions and decisions which have similar communicative purposes, rhetorical structure and style markers; the differences stem from the fact that resolutions are adopted by the General Conference and decisions by the Executive Board of UNESCO. Since the analysis of decisions of the Executive Board is outside the scope of the present research, the discussion of discourse processing procedures below is restricted to the genre of resolutions.

Additional genres used by the UNESCO discourse community are proclamations, rules of procedure and frameworks for action, which often are included in *Resolutions* volumes and are briefly introduced in the discussion of the text colony of UNESCO resolutions in section 4.1 below.

3.1.4 Resolutions: discourse processing procedures

The text of resolutions adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its regular sessions is the result of careful editing. The initial wording of a resolution, termed draft resolution, is a proposal submitted by one or more national delegations or the Executive Board with a view to having it adopted as a decision of the General Conference. The aim of most resolutions is to bring an issue of regional or group interest to the attention of the UNESCO community (e.g. the requirement of help in case of a natural disaster, the proposal of a new site to be included on the World Heritage List etc.) or to modify guidelines laid down in the draft programme and budget.

The draft resolutions or amendments to draft resolutions suggested by member states or the Executive Board are usually placed in the possession of member states and associate members for recommendations and consultation several weeks before the opening of the session of the General Conference of UNESCO. If any draft resolutions or amendments to draft resolutions are suggested while the General Conference is in session, they are circulated to all delegations at least twenty-four hours before the opening of the meeting at which they are due to be discussed and voted on.

During the text-construction process, which due to the heavy reliance on previous texts shows strong features of intertextuality, the text of draft resolutions is carefully scrutinized and discussed by working groups, which include representatives of all interested member states (*Rules of Procedure of the General Conference*, Rules 82 and 83) helped by draftsmen-specialists at the UNESCO secretariat. Thus, the resulting text, which is publicly discussed in committee or in plenary and adopted by a vote, reflects the agreement reached by the parties concerned and is to represent the official point of view of the organization. It would therefore be a challenging task for further research to analyse changes performed by the working groups on the text of draft resolutions.

The resolutions adopted by the General Conference regulate all the fields of activity of UNESCO including the organization of the respective session; the admission of new members and associate states; elections and tributes; reports of activities and programme evaluation; the programme for the next period by major programme areas and participation programme; budget; general issues; constitutional and legal questions; financial questions; staff questions; headquarters questions; methods of work of the organization and preparation of the following session of the General Conference. Consequently, the language of resolutions concerning the different fields of activity of the organization tends to vary according to their communicative purpose, and this is reflected in the speech act performed, the topic under discussion and the level of codification, and restrictions on their form.

3.1.5 Situational context

The analysis of the situational context of the genre of resolutions in the present research applies the framework for contextual analysis introduced in subsection 2.5.1 above with the purpose of identifying the values of the situational variables which predetermine the rhetorical structure and the set of linguistic options available in the process of text production. By exploring the manner in which the context functionally affects text structure, the contextual analysis intends to show that divergence in the co-occurrences of the values of situational variables is reflected in intra-generic variation.

Figure 2 – Contextual analysis of the genre of resolutions⁶

SITUATIONAL PARAMETERS

- 1) Spatio-temporal setting – public discourse; at the moment of adoption of resolutions, the deictic centre is shared by all discourse participants present at the session of the General Conference; when the text of resolutions becomes a record for reference, the deictic centre is not shared by the discourse participants
- 2) Scene – variation in the value for different types of resolutions:
 - *explicit definition of the ideological, institutional, cultural and psychological background*
 - *no definition of the ideological, institutional, cultural and psychological background*
- 3) Domain – cross-cultural governmental communication via written documents
 - *composition of bodies, elections, establishment of procedure and conferral of rights*
 - *regulation of future behaviour by statement of position, regulative facts and imposition of duties and obligations*
- 4) Subject area – statement of regulative facts, establishment of duties and obligations in the following areas: *international politics, administrative issues of the organizations, education, science, culture, communication, finance, legal questions*

DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS

- 1) Identity of the participants
 - a. addresser: institutional – typically the General Conference
 - b. addressee
 - *collective institutional – executive bodies of the organization, member states, other governmental and non-governmental organizations*
 - *individual institutional – the Director-General*
 - *unspecified*
- 2) Presence of an unspecified audience (the general public comprising the whole world)
- 3) Social roles of the participants – asymmetrical relationship defined in terms of the functions the organization, the member states and their executives have in the institution; the addresser has the authority to impose obligations and to confer rights on the addressee
- 4) Extent of shared knowledge
 - a. high level of professional knowledge shared by the representatives of the UNESCO discourse community; low level of professional knowledge shared by the audience
 - b. high level of knowledge of institutional and professional communicative conventions and discursual expertise shared by the representatives of the UNESCO discourse community;

⁶ In Figure 2, the categories highlighted in italics are those in which the analysis has indicated variation affecting intra-generic variation.

- low level of knowledge of institutional and professional communicative conventions and discursual expertise shared by the audience
- c. shared cultural knowledge – cross-cultural communication presupposes variation in the level of shared cultural knowledge

COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSES

- 1) Communicative purposes
 - *imposition of obligations*
 - *conferral of rights*
 - *statement of regulative facts*
 - *social rituals such as thanking and paying tribute*
- 2) Speech act performed
 - a. Participation - group speech acts
 - b. Type of speech act:
 - *performatives and non-performatives*;
 - *directives, declarations, representatives, expressives*
 - c. Directness – *direct and indirect speech acts*
- 3) Attitude of the participants towards the discourse and the message – purported to be based on fact; valorised as important, desirable and prestigious

COMMUNICATIVE CONVENTIONS

- 1) Medium channel and type of transmission – written printed discourse published as an official record of the decisions of the General Conference
- 2) Level of interactiveness – low
- 3) Simple or complex discourse type – clearly codified genre; the colony text may include embedded texts representing different genres
- 4) Institutional/professional norms of interaction and interpretation, conventions of discourse production, processing mechanism and circumstances, based on prior experience with specimens of the genre – the norms and conventions of the UNESCO discourse community

As the contextual analysis of resolutions summarised in Figure 2 indicates, the values of most parameters do not vary; therefore they may be regarded as permanent contextual features of the genre. The following discussion deals primarily with those parameters the values of which change and thus can affect the delimitation of sub-genres within the genre of resolutions.

Within the set of situational parameters which identify the domain and subject area of communication and specify the socio-cultural context and the spatio-temporal setting of the communicative event, there are several categories the values of which vary. The first variable which deserves attention, though it does not affect intrageneric variation, is the extent to which the spatio-temporal setting (the date and venue of the General Conference of UNESCO) is shared by the participants. As already mentioned, the linguistic act performed by resolutions reflects several temporal perspectives. At the time of the adoption of a resolution during a session of the General Conference, the coding time referring to the moment of utterance⁷ coincides with the receiving time or the moment of reception (Levinson 1983:73), thus achieving deictic

⁷ It is necessary to mention that since the adoption of resolutions is an instance of institutional declaration, the text of a resolution may not actually be uttered; the validation of the document may be performed by voting on the basis of a written text. In addition, the period of encoding, i.e. of the creation of the written document, which takes the form of several drafts revised by the interested parties and by the draftsmen-specialists of UNESCO, may last for several weeks or even months.

simultaneity (Lyons 1977:685). After the adoption of a resolution the text is published and becomes a record for reference; therefore the receiving time is not simultaneous with the coding time and the context of the utterance is ‘split’, as is typical of written language (Fowler 1986:87). Nevertheless, the deictic centre remains with the speaker and the coding time, reflecting the ritual performance of an institutional declaration. The specific time and place of the event does not affect intrageneric variation, though it is one of the factors influencing cross-referencing at macro-level, the level of the *Resolutions* volumes.

Variation in the values of the scene and domain categories, and especially the co-occurrence of these values, affects intrageneric variation. There are two basic realizations of the scene variable – no definition of the ideological, institutional, cultural and psychological background (typically the case of resolutions concerning elections, budget and financial issues) and presence of scene definition, which may be further sub-divided into two kinds, namely a brief schematic indication of ideological and institutional background by reference to previous documents (typically the case of resolutions concerning staff, headquarters constitutional and legal questions), and extensive scene definition comprising ideological, political and cultural views which are regarded as valid, prestigious and desirable (most of the general resolutions and programme resolutions). Although the differences in the values of the scene parameter have no direct impact on generic variation, there is a high probability of co-occurrence of these values with two sub-types of resolutions delimited according to variation in the domain category, which I refer to as ‘preparatory’ and ‘executive’ resolutions. While lack of scene description or reference to previous documents tends to co-occur with internal administrative resolutions dealing with the compositions of bodies, elections, establishments of procedure and conferral of rights (i.e. preparatory resolutions), extensive scene definition with reference to ideological, political and cultural views typically co-occurs with resolutions dealing with the programme and general issues regulating future behaviour of the organization and its member states by statement of regulative facts and imposition of duties and obligations (i.e. executive resolutions). The specific subject area tackled in resolutions does not affect generic variation, though it logically influences lexical choice.

Contextual features related to participants are of crucial importance for an understanding of the institutional character of the interaction. The institutional addresser in resolutions is practically always the General Conference, the governing body representing the organization, whose role and functions are defined in the constitution and rules of procedure of UNESCO. The different values of the addressee category affect to some extent the delimitation of sub-types resolutions. Preparatory resolutions, which are usually submitted by the Executive Board and concern membership of the organization, the constitution of bodies and the agenda of the session, are intended for an unspecified addressee who can be identified as the participants in the session of the General Conference, the UNESCO executives and the delegations of member states. Executive resolutions, stating the decisions of the session, address either a specified

institutional addressee, collective, i.e. the executive bodies of the organization, member states, other governmental and non-governmental organizations, or individual, i.e. the Director-General, or an unspecified addressee who can be identified as the UNESCO executives, member states and the general audience.

The relationships between the addresser and the addressee are asymmetrical both in terms of power and expertise. As far as the internal affairs of the organization are concerned, the addresser has the authority to impose obligations and to confer rights on the addressee. In the context of intergovernmental communication however, the authority of the organization over its members is rather limited. International organizations of the type of the United Nations, including UNESCO as its specialized agency, are considered to be in the position of an advisory authority for their members without having the right to infringe upon their sovereignty, or as Article 1 of the Constitution of UNESCO states:

With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of the Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

Thus, UNESCO is supposed to assist member states, primarily on their demand, in taking action upon the recommendations and conventions adopted by the General Conference, which are further submitted to the competent authorities of the member states. The organization has no further instruments or power to enforce its decisions on the member states, as they are supposed to adhere voluntarily to the decisions of the organization made by vote. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that the choice of directive speech acts used in resolutions, and particularly of their force, reflects the above-described relationship between the organization and its members and signals an effort to mitigate the unequal power relations between the participants.

The role of the audience (the general public) is that of an observer who is not immediately present at the event and cannot directly affect the decision-making process. Since intergovernmental communication is essentially taking place between experts, the layman audience who does not share the full extent of professional knowledge, institutional conventions and discursal expertise of the institutional discourse community may be unable to derive from the text the same interpretation as the one intended by the addresser. Nevertheless, since persuading the general public to exercise pressure on governments in support of UNESCO ideology is an additional aim of all documents issued by the organization, an awareness of the presence of the audience is an important factor in discourse processing.

The crucial importance of communicative purposes which the users expect discourse to fulfil in a particular context, stems from the constraints they impose on the choice of content, rhetorical structure and linguistic selection. This is why within the genre analysis approach this parameter is regarded as the most important criterion for genre delimitation and accounting for intrageneric variation. The UNESCO discourse community associates resolutions with the general communicative purpose of ordering human relations, i.e. they fulfil a regulative function,

considered by Trosborg (1997a:36) as characteristic of the language of law. The regulation of future behaviour by statement of position and regulative facts is thus associated with the directive function of imposing obligations and conferring rights and the commissive function related to the expressing of a commitment to future action. In order to prevent possible conscious or unconscious misinterpretation of rights, obligations and commitments in intergovernmental interaction, the writers of the drafts strive to express the intended meaning as precisely, clearly and unambiguously as linguistic resources permit (Bhatia 1993:102).

The regulative function of resolutions is realized by a set of directive, declarative, representative and expressive speech acts further marked by different levels of directness and explicitness. This analysis applies Searle's taxonomy of speech acts (Searle 1975) and draws on some insights from the detailed analysis of illocutionary acts⁸ provided by Bach and Harnish (1979). The taxonomies suggested by Searle (1969, 1975) and Bach and Harnish (1979) "have a strong family resemblance" (Leech 1983:205) and it is possible to claim that Bach and Harnish's constative, directive, commissive and acknowledgement categories generally correspond to Searle's representatives, directives, commissives and expressives, and that their 'conventional illocutionary acts' correspond to Searle's declarations, though the match is not perfect. Both taxonomies modify the classification proposed by Austin (1962), as well as criticising it for not applying clear and homogenous criteria in delimiting the types of speech acts and for assuming a one-to-one correspondence between verbs and illocutionary acts. Although Searle's taxonomy has been subjected to some criticism (cf. Lyons 1977, Bach & Harnish 1979, Leech 1983, Levinson 1983, Mey 1993, Goddard 1998), of the twelve dimensions of variation it suggests in which illocutionary acts differ from one another (Searle 1975:345-350), four are of particular importance for the present research: (1) force or strength of presentation of the illocutionary act, (2) relative status or position of the speaker and hearer, (3) required presence of extra-linguistic institutions for the performance of the speech act, and (4) performative use of the illocutionary verb stating explicitly the communicative intention of the speaker.

The speech acts performed in resolutions are institutional group speech acts⁹, which require the existence of extra-linguistic conventions, rules and institutions¹⁰ in order for the act to be performed successfully and thus to create the state of affairs represented in the propositional content of the utterance. Adopting Van Dijk's approach (1977) to the analysis of discourse in

⁸ Although the concept of illocutionary act is central to Searle's speech act theory, it is not identical with that of speech act. According to Austin (1962), speech acts may be locutionary (the physical and semantic make-up of the act), illocutionary (what is done by uttering something) and perlocutionary (what is the effect on the listener of what is said).

⁹ Drawing on Hughes (1984), speech acts can be categorized into two types, namely 'group' or 'non-monologic' speech acts, and speech acts originated in one person or 'monologic' speech acts. Group speech acts are the coordinated effort of more than one individual in forming utterances in rule-governed behaviour for conveying an illocutionary intention.

¹⁰ In the case of UNESCO these rules and conventions are stated in the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. For example, Rule 82 and Rule 83 of the Rules of Procedure regulate the admissibility of draft resolutions and amendments and the conditions under which they are put to the vote, Rule 86 states the voting rights of the Member States etc. (For further examples, see *Basic Texts*, 1998 or subsequent edition.)

terms of macro-speech acts, resolutions can be considered as performing the macro-speech act declaration of the adoption of the resolutions of the General Conference, i.e. the official stating of the regulative decisions adopted concerning the rules, procedures and obligations in the organization. Declarations are “a very special category of speech acts” (Searle 1975:360), which do not have a specified addressee, since the addresser uses language as an outward sign of the performance of an institutional action; being institutional rather than personal, they “can scarcely be said to involve politeness” (Leech 1983:106). As highly conventional speech acts often representing the linguistic part of rituals, declarations are commonly performative utterances which by their high level of explicitness represent a direct means to a goal (ibid.:180). It is important to note that some members of the class of declarations overlap with members of the class of representative speech acts; Searle (1975:361) refers to this type of declarations as ‘representative declarations’. Representative declarations are typically used in an institutional context, such as the discourse of international governmental organizations, in which it is necessary not only to ascertain the facts but also to state an authority to lay down a decision as to what the facts are after the fact-establishing procedure is over.

Since declarations are typically performative speech acts, it is possible to assume that the macro-speech act performed by resolutions is a macro-performative speech act. Macro-performative speech acts are usually explicitly stated in a formulaic utterance, termed ‘enacting formula’ by Trosborg (1995). Enacting formulae, which constitute the performative part of the act, typically introduce the text, as is the case with *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, while the speech acts included in the text of the declaration constitute the propositional content.

Now, Therefore The General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. [...]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1947)

In the case of resolutions, there is no such explicit enacting formula. However, drawing on Van Dijk (1977:245), who considers that the linguistic structure need not be performative as long as it expresses the illocutionary force of the discourse as a whole, it can be assumed that the title of the volume *Resolutions* of the Records of the General Conference implies the enacting formula, as it signals that the volume contains the resolutions successfully adopted by a session of the General Conference and has a declarative force. It should be noted that macro-speech acts contribute to the perception of discourse coherence and can determine the style and the

structural organization of a text by imposing a restricted set of syntactic, lexical and pragmatic choices (ibid.:245-246).

The sequences of speech acts in the *Resolutions* volume tend to include primarily directives and declarations, as well as some less frequent instances of representatives and expressives. Further differentiation of values of category according to type of speech act is problematic, since a single resolution may include a sequence of illocutionary verbs, the addressees of which may vary. Still, it is possible to claim that there is co-occurrence of some types of speech act with particular types of resolutions, i.e. preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues typically use representative speech acts, preparatory resolutions dealing with elections are typically declarations, and executive resolutions typically consist of directives and representative declarations.

Apart from declarations, which are considered to be ‘action-performing’, there are also illocutionary performative utterances; illocutionary performatives typically categorize their illocutionary force by the use of performative verbs which have the “function of rendering explicit, in situations where clarity and explicitness are important, the illocutionary force of the utterance containing them” (Leech 1983:189). Except for the preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, the majority of UNESCO resolutions are performative speech acts¹¹; this is in conformity with the general tendency towards explicitness and clarity characteristic of the language of international governmental organizations and the genre of resolutions.

The degree of directness of speech acts is associated with the transparency of meaning in discourse and often reflects politeness considerations. According to Searle (1991), an utterance performing an indirect speech act has two illocutionary forces, one of them performed indirectly by way of performing the other, and two meanings, a literal and an indirect one. Searle explains the nature of indirect speech acts by claiming that “in indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer” (ibid.:266). According to this view, an understanding of indirect speech acts requires a high level of shared cultural and institutional knowledge and is facilitated by the existence of conventions of usage (ibid.:268, Morgan 1991).

This interpretation of the nature of indirect speech acts is general enough to account for the majority of cases but it has the disadvantage of establishing a strict demarcation line between direct and indirect speech acts, which proves to be a major problem in the analysis of performative utterances. When discussing performative speech acts, Searle (1989:541) claims that “all performatives are declarations” and therefore are completely explicit, overt and direct. However, while it is tenable to claim that declarations are direct speech acts conventionally

¹¹ The fact that performative institutional utterances are typically recorded for reference purposes is closely associated with one of the main functions of written language, i.e. to make a verbal act permanent in time, thus preserving the executive force of the act (Halliday 1985a).

effecting changes and creating facts, it is difficult to accept that all performative utterances are declarations, since in the case of illocutionary performatives the speech act consists of expressing a verbal attitude, a communicative intention, which does not necessarily change the world. An alternative view on the nature of performatives considers performative sentences as statements, which “when used performatively [are] used literally, directly to make a statement and indirectly to perform the further speech act of the type (an order, say) named by the performative verb (“order”)” (Bach & Harnish 1992:98). This approach regards the choice of performative formula as a stylistic choice of a standardized expression, decoded “by virtue of inference compressed by precedent” (ibid.), for a specific indirect use. While Bach and Harnish’s account of illocutionary performatives as indirect speech acts based on standardization¹² offers an adequate explanation of directive speech acts, the performative use of representatives poses serious interpretation problems, since in the majority of cases (e.g. in UNESCO resolutions) they are likely to be interpreted as ‘representative declarations’, which questions both their indirectness and their standardization.

The approach this research adopts to the analysis of the relation holding between the literal meaning of an utterance and its illocutionary force in indirect speech acts draws on the problem-solving strategy suggested by Leech (1983:36-40), which from the point of view of the hearer may be viewed as a form of means-ends analysis. Within the means-ends analysis framework, a speech act is assessed on a scale of indirectness dependent on the length of the means-ends chain connecting the speech act to its goal. Obviously, this view of indirectness is different from the one advocated by Searle, as, to use Leech’s example, from the point of view of means-ends analysis, Searle’s direct speech act – ‘*Switch on the heater!*’ – is a relatively indirect way of achieving the goal in that it is directed at a subsidiary goal (i.e. switching on the heater is a subsidiary goal which leads to the primary goal of making the place warmer). The advantage of this approach is that it provides a systematic interpretation of the level of indirectness of performative utterances, which helps reveal the specificity of the material under investigation. Thus, while declarations are categorized as the most direct type of speech act, performative directives show a level of indirectness, which is assessed with regard to the lexical and syntactic means used to narrow the gap between sentence meaning and utterance meaning; the degree of explicitness signals stylistic variation (Blakemore 1992:8).

The degree of explicitness and directness of speech acts, which reflects a difference in the authority of the participants, is associated with politeness strategies. Negative politeness is conveyed primarily in directive speech acts, while positive politeness pertains to the commissive and expressive classes. Variation in the degree of imposition in directive speech acts in resolutions may be interpreted as an application of a politeness strategy resulting in power mitigation.

¹² It should be mentioned that the ‘standardization’ account of performatives is challenged by Reimer (1995), who claims that performatives are based on conventions which have “the effect of robbing performative sentences, used performatively, of their constative illocutionary force potential” (Reimer 1995:657).

Considering the values of the directness category in resolutions, my analysis suggests that declarations are typically direct speech acts (except for some preparatory resolutions), while directives are indirect though explicit speech acts. This variation in the directness category seems to be the consequence of the institutional character of declarations and of the asymmetrical relationship between the participants in directives, where the conventionally defined relations between the organization and its executives differ from the relations between the organization, with its advisory status, and the sovereign member states.

The last group of parameters related to the communicative conventions used in the discourse of resolutions does not affect intrageneric variation, although the presence or absence of an embedded text of a different genre, i.e. declarations, appeals, statutes etc., is relevant to the structural analysis of the colony text of the *Resolutions* volumes.

Situational analysis of the genre of resolutions has indicated the presence of a number of regularly co-occurring sets of values of the parameters under consideration, which can motivate intrageneric variation. The most important parameters affecting the delimitation of the sub-genres identified in this research – preparatory and executive resolutions – are the communicative purpose, types of speech acts, domain, presence of scene definition and intended addressee.

The main communicative purpose of preparatory resolutions is to state regulative facts, impose obligations and confer rights related to creating the necessary conditions for the work of a particular session of the General Conference and the bodies of the organization over a certain period, specified by the constitution of UNESCO or the statutes of the respective body. Directed towards an unspecified addressee, preparatory resolutions state decisions concerning the composition of bodies, the establishment of procedures and the definition of rights using direct explicit declarations, non-performative representatives and occasionally performative expressive speech acts. The administrative character of this sub-type of resolutions explains the absence of explicit scene definition; reference to shared institutional knowledge, when necessary, is restricted to intertextual reference.

Preparatory resolutions can be further differentiated according to the type of speech act performed. While preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues use both performative and non-performative speech acts, i.e. they perform or report a constitutive act, preparatory resolutions dealing with elections use declarations exclusively and are confined to a single topic, and this predicts very limited variation of the language means they use. A characteristic feature of preparatory resolutions dealing with elections is the frequent presence of intertextual reference to previous documents regulating the elections, i.e. resolutions and statutes. Preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues form the least homogenous sub-type of resolutions; this is also the only kind of resolution which may not take the form of a one-sentence text.

Executive resolutions have the communicative purpose of regulating the future behaviour of the organization, its members and executives by the statement of regulative facts and the

establishment of duties and obligations, conveyed by direct explicit declarations, directive speech acts and occasionally expressive speech acts. While the addressee of declarations is unspecified, the addressee of directive and expressive speech acts is a specified institutional group or individual. Numerous executive resolutions, especially those focused on statement of position and regulation of future behaviour concerning the programme and general issues, require extensive scene definition. As compared to preparatory resolutions, which cover a restricted range of subject areas, executive resolutions deal with a wide spectrum of topics reflecting the field of activities of UNESCO as well as the internal management of the organization.

Concluding the discussion of the context of resolutions, it should be stressed that an awareness and understanding of the variation in the values of contextual parameters associated with the genre is indispensable for an adequate analysis of the rhetorical structure and the set of linguistic options available in the process of generic production and interpretation.

3.2 Material under investigation

The records of the sessions of the General Conference of UNESCO consist of three volumes containing respectively: the *Resolutions* adopted by the General Conference (Volume I), the *Reports* of the Commissions of the General Conference (Volume II) and the *Proceedings*, including the verbatim records of plenary meetings (Volume III). The corpus under investigation consists of a selection of texts from several *Resolutions* volumes, which is intended to illustrate the development of the genre over a sixty-year period and the current state of the genre. Since all the texts included in the corpus are available in printed form and as electronic documents, the present study uses both the English version of the texts as displayed on the official web-pages of UNESCO and the printed versions of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume and *Basic Texts, Manual of the General Conference and Rules of Procedure of the Executive Board* (1998 edition) published by the Headquarters of UNESCO in Paris.

The material is analysed from both the synchronic and the diachronic points of view; the overall size of the corpus under investigation is 121,000 words. Since the main objective of my research is to study the generic structure and the style markers of resolutions at the current stage of development of the genre, the diachronic approach is not applied in all parts of the analysis. The study of the different sub-genres logically concentrates on the material representative of the respective sub-genre. Therefore, it is possible to regard my corpus as consisting of several sub-corpora: the sub-corpora of the *Resolutions* volumes and the sub-corpora of the different types of resolutions.

The analysis of colony-text structure, undertaken both from the synchronic and the diachronic points of view, is carried out on the complete text of the *Resolutions* volume adopted by the 2nd session¹³ of the General Conference in 1947, which comprises 33,000 words, and the *Resolutions* volume adopted by the 30th session of the General Conference in 1999, which comprises 45,000 words. The choice of the 1947 and the 1999 volumes is intended to provide an opportunity to study the historical development of the genre and the colony text as well as some aspects of the language used over the six decades of the existence of UNESCO. Samples of texts from other periods are also taken into consideration to illustrate the continuous development of the genre. It is obvious that the collection of texts scrutinised in this study cannot illustrate all the stages in the continuous development of the rhetorical structure and the style markers of the genre. However, in my opinion, it yields enough grounds for conclusion concerning genre-specific features of resolutions.

While the core genre of the *Resolutions* volumes is the genre of resolutions, the colony text of the volumes may include embedded constituents belonging to the set of written genres

¹³ The records of the first session of the General Conference of UNESCO, held in Paris from 19 November to 10 December 1946, consist of a single volume and its content and composition differ considerably from those of all subsequent volumes. For this reason, the comparative analysis carried out in this study scrutinises the *Resolutions* volume adopted by the second session of the General Conference of UNESCO.

which the UNESCO discourse community uses both receptively and productively as part of its institutional practice. These are typically mainstream texts inserted in the text of resolutions either as an integral part of a resolution (e.g. *Declaration of Yekaterinburg* 1999) or as an annex (e.g. *UNESCO Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* 2003) appended to the text of a resolution. Although this book deals with the genre of resolutions, a brief description of the genres embedded in the colony text, which are left outside the scope of the present research, is provided here to indicate their basic characteristics and their function within the *Resolutions* volumes.

The group of embedded genres comprises three sub-types. The first sub-type consists of the genres of statutes, rules of procedure and conventions, which adopt the forms of the respective genres of Legal English. It is interesting to note that amendments to the *Rules of Procedure of the General Conference*, which appear as annexes to resolutions in the section *Constitutional and Legal Questions*, display both parts of the text that are changed or erased (marked as crossed out in the text) and new additions and changes (signalled in bold print), thus providing material for research into the motivation for the suggested changes of meanings and wordings.

The second sub-type includes the genres of declarations and appeals, which are instances of political discourse bearing some of features of public speaking. The genre of declarations¹⁴, as used by UNESCO, may be subdivided into three sub-genres according to the variable addresser: universal declarations proclaimed by the General Assembly on behalf of the organization, Director-General's declarations, and declarations adopted at thematic conferences or summits organized by UNESCO. The language of the three sub-genres shows considerable differences in the level of subjectivity and emotional involvement of the sender, as well as in the structure and layout of the text.

The texts of strategies and recommendations, some of which include questionnaires and guidelines for implementation, represent the last sub-type of genres. The material shows most of the typical features of administrative discourse, i.e. explicit text organization, a high level of formality, instructions, and occasionally a question-answer format.

The analyses of the rhetorical structure and the style markers of resolutions, which are undertaken from a synchronic point of view, focus on the text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume; in addition, examples taken from the *Resolutions* volume adopted by the 32nd session of the General Conference in 2003 (the size of the text is 43,000 words) are used to illustrate the current state of the genre. Drawing on the view that quantification "should be treated as a starting point of investigation" (Hunston 2007:46), this investigation combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative analysis has been used to highlight general tendencies in the occurrence of language features which may be regarded as characteristic of resolutions. A careful qualitative analysis taking into consideration contextual factors has been carried out to reveal pragmatic functions and strategic uses of the style markers of the genre.

¹⁴ For a more detailed analysis of declarations, see Dontcheva-Navratilova (2004a).

Before turning to the analysis of the genre it remains to be mentioned that all the texts under analysis are available at the official website of UNESCO¹⁵, where they can be accessed by choosing first the ‘General Conference’, then the ‘Documents’ options, and finally by indicating the specific session of the General Conference.

In the following analysis, I refer to the texts in my corpus as follows:

- the referencing to the 1947 *Resolutions* volume is marked as either RI/1947, where R1947 signals that the text is a resolution adopted at the 1947 session of the General Conference, and the Roman numeral signals the section of the volume, or as RX1/1947, where the Roman numeral signals the section of the volume and the Arabic numerals signal the concrete resolution, or RVIII/A/1.1/1947, where the Roman numeral signals the section of the volume and the Arabic numerals signal the concrete textual item and its place in the internal hierarchy of the section;
- the 1999 and 2003 resolutions are marked as R025/1999 or R56/2003, where R1999/2003 signals that the text is a resolution adopted at the 1999 or 2003 session of the General Conference respectively, and the Arabic numerals signal its number according to the serial numbering of the resolutions in the volume.

¹⁵ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org>

4 ANALYSIS OF THE GENRE OF RESOLUTIONS

This chapter is concerned with a detailed genre analysis of resolutions. The aim of the first section is to examine the colony-text features of the *Resolutions* volumes and to consider their impact on the generic structure of the text. The second section provides a brief account of the history of UNESCO resolutions over a sixty-year period in order to highlight the process of codification of the genre, focusing on a comparison of the structure of the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes. The rhetorical structure of resolutions is analysed in the third section, which apart from identifying the structural components and related rhetorical moves, reflects intrageneric variation. The final section constitutes a textual analysis of resolutions, each subsection attending to a different aspect of linguistic selections.

4.1 The *Resolutions* volumes as an instance of a colony text

The texts of the resolutions of the General Conference of UNESCO as published in the *Resolutions* volumes of the records of the sessions of the General Conference of UNESCO form a unit larger than that of an individual text. In fact, a *Resolutions* volume is a collection of loosely interrelated one-sentence texts which may be regarded as an instance of a colony text, where the components are the individual resolutions and the colony text is a particular *Resolutions* volume.

As evidenced by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2006), a *Resolutions* volume displays nine of the ten distinctive properties of a colony text listed in section 2.4 of this book; therefore it can be regarded as a typical representative of this text-type¹⁶. The features which are commonly shared by all colony texts and therefore may be regarded as central to the text-type are: (1) the components do not derive their meaning from the sequence in which they are placed, (2) adjacent components do not form continuous prose, and (3) individual components may be used separately without referring to others.

The first two of these central properties imply the possibility of changing the order of the components without altering their meaning and suggest that a coherent interpretation of colony texts is not dependent on linear sequencing. In the *Resolutions* volumes the components are grouped according to topics, which facilitates the finding of all units which refer to the same issue, though a change in the arrangement of the resolutions does not affect their meaning.

¹⁶ Other colony texts which display nine of the characteristic features of the text-type are such prototypical examples as dictionaries, address books and criminal statutes. It is worth mentioning that some of the genres which Hoey (1986, 2001) uses when defining the colony text-type, e.g. shopping lists and cookery books, display only six of these distinctive properties.

The absence of obligatory clause-relational connections between adjacent components does not exclude the possible existence of structural and semantic relations between distant components of the text. As my analysis intends to prove, the components of the *Resolutions* volume may exhibit relations of repetition and parallelism both between adjacent and distant elements. The possibility of using a component of a colony text without reference to other components or of re-using a component in a different context is essential to the production and processing of resolutions. It is related to the establishing of intertextual connections between the text of a particular resolution and other resolutions or related documents; such cross-reference typically does not require the mentioning of the rest of the *Resolutions* volume to which the text quoted or referred to belongs.

The framing context, typically provided by the title of the colony, is crucial for the interpretation of colony texts, as it indicates explicitly the communicative purpose of the addresser, stating, if necessary, the key for the interpretation of the entries (e.g. the case of dictionary labels), the provenance and contents of the text. In the case of a *Resolutions* volume, the title names the genre of the text and thus the macro speech act declaration of the adoption of the resolutions of the General Conference, as well as the provenance of the text, including the addresser and the spatio-temporal setting of the event. In agreement with the requirement of multiple or anonymous authorship of colony texts, a property signalled by Hoey (2001:81) to be in some ways the most basic, the author of resolutions is an intergovernmental organization. In the case of regulative documents, such as resolutions, an institutional author enhances the text's authority, which could be diminished by an individual authorship, since the power, credibility and expertise of an individual are usually easier to challenge.

The stylistic relevance of the next property of colony texts – that numerous components serve the same function – is obviously related to the tendency to use similar linguistic selections for the expression of the same communicative purpose. Since resolutions serve a limited number of functions such as stating regulative facts and defining various duties and obligations, the components serving the same function “can be said to be in a weak Matching relation with each other” (Hoey 2001:83), irrespective of whether they are adjacent or not. The contribution of matching relations to discourse coherence stems from a high degree of systemic repetition associated with relations such as contrast, similarity, exemplification, preview-detail and exception. These semantic relations operating between sentences are reflected in cohesive links based on different types of repetition which may be regarded as equivalent to matching relations. To use Hoey's examples, complex paraphrases in the form of antonyms are equivalent to matching contrast relations between clauses, unspecific nouns are equivalent to matching particular-general relations, while simple repetition and the use of pro-forms signal the matching relation of identity (Hoey 2001:85). Since a major signal for matching relations in colony texts is repetition and parallelism, it is logical to expect that these particular textual level features will be of primary importance in the description of the style markers of the genre of resolutions.

The ordering system of a colony text predetermines the ways in which the textual components can be accessed. Similarly to most colonies, which are organized according to an arbitrary (alphabetical or numerical) or non-arbitrary (temporal) ordering system, resolutions use sequential numbering¹⁷ to allow selection, reference and cross-reference, i.e. they use sequence cohesive ties (Tárnyiková 2002:65). Sections of colony texts are not necessarily connected to each other semantically; however, as illustrated by the *Resolutions* volume, adjacent components of a colony text may be related thematically and organized into sections devoted to topics: general resolutions, programme resolutions, budget questions etc. The organization of colony texts is highlighted by graphological means; in a *Resolutions* volume the layout indicates the function of textual components, including the signalling of embedded texts by a different page-width format.

The only property of colony texts that the *Resolutions* volume does not match in full extent is the possibility of adding to, altering or removing textual components¹⁸. Since the function of a *Resolutions* volume is to provide a record of the proceedings of a particular General Conference of UNESCO, once published, the components of the *Resolutions* volume cannot be added to, altered or removed. However, resolutions are textually processed and altered before the beginning of sessions of the General Conference or in working committees during sessions; in addition draft resolutions may be rejected and new resolutions may be submitted while the General Conference is in session. Therefore, it can be claimed that the possibility of adding to, altering or removing components of the colony is available for a limited period prior to the publishing of the records of the Conference. This is reflected in the text of R05/1999, as shown in (1).

- (1) At the 23rd plenary meeting, on 5 November 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Conference decided to include the following paragraph under the heading “Organization of the work of the session”:

The General Conference,

Regrets that Rule 52.5 of its Rules of Procedure, which requires the Secretariat acting under the authority of the Director-General to take various steps in order to facilitate the effective conduct of the General Conference, was not fulfilled at this 30th session.
(R05/1999)

The properties of colony texts discussed above predetermine the specificities of their structural organization. Applying Hasan’s approach (1989b), discussed in subsection 2.5.1 of this book, the structure of a colony text may be seen to be composed of obligatory and optional elements, whose sequence and reiterative potential are text-type and genre specific. Obviously, the genre-defining obligatory structural element of the *Resolutions* volume is the resolution, which has a high reiterative potential. The title of a colony text is an obligatory element typical of public

¹⁷ The numerical ordering system is considered to be the most arbitrary, as numbering is attached to components without regard to their formal and content features.

¹⁸ It should be stressed that Hoey (2001:83) does not consider this property central to the text type.

text colonies, such as resolutions, dictionaries, statutes and telephone directories, while private text colonies, such as shopping lists, need not bear a title, as the type of colony text is implied by the context. Another obligatory element of colony texts is the ordering system; apart from the arbitrary or non-arbitrary sequence adopted in a colony, mainstream text processing experience may be used to facilitate a coherent interpretation of colony texts by making the receiver infer relations between adjacent sections (Tárnyiková 2002:65). These relations between adjacent sections are explicitly stated in a *Resolutions* volume in the form of section and subsection headings (which group resolutions according to topics) and I consider that there is enough evidence to regard them as an additional type of non-arbitrary ordering of the text which is reflected in the last obligatory component of the colony – the contents. As the comparative analysis of the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes will show, the relative importance of the arbitrary and non-arbitrary types of ordering changes with the codification of the genre.

Based on the above considerations, the structure and the organization of the colony text of a *Resolutions* volume is summarized in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 – Structure and organization of a *Resolutions* volume colony text

Structural components	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Title (T) 2. Ordering system (OS) – numerical ordering (NO), thematic ordering (TO) 3. Contents (C) 4. Resolutions (R) 5. Embedded text of a different genre (ET) 6. Annexes (A)
Organization	$OS_{(NO/TO)} [T - C - R_1 - R_2_{(ET)} - R_3 \dots \dots R_n - An]$

The sequence of the components of a *Resolutions* volume is very rigid, variation being restricted to the reiterative potential of some components and the presence or absence of optional elements.

The main obligatory component of a *Resolutions* volume – resolutions – is the only one which displays a very high reiterative potential, e.g. the 2003 volume consists of 109 resolutions, the 1999 volume includes 114 resolutions, and, incidentally, the 1947 volume contains also 114 resolutions, though, since the delimitation of the 1947 resolutions poses certain problems which are discussed in the following subsection, the determining of their exact number is problematic. The resolutions included in each volume are numbered serially and additionally specified according to the date of their adoption, though indication of the temporal setting is not considered to be a criterion in the ordering of the volume. The primary arbitrary numerical ordering system applied in the text is described in the *Note on the numbering of resolutions* included in each of the *Resolutions* volumes, which reads as follows:

The resolutions have been numbered serially. It is recommended that references to resolutions be made in one of the following forms:

In the body of the text:

“Resolution 15 adopted by the General Conference at its 32nd session”; or “32 C/Resolution 15”.

In passing reference:

“(32 C/Resolution 15)” or “(32 C/Res. 15)”.

This explicit recommendation of the manner of referencing reflects a tendency towards over-explicitness and codification, which is characteristic of the legal and bureaucratic registers and is crucial for clear cross-referencing.

The title of a *Resolutions* volume is stated on the cover and on the front page and, as mentioned above in the discussion of the properties of colony texts, provides the indications of the framing context: the genre of the colony text, i.e. *Resolutions*, the type of document, i.e. *Records of the General Conference*, the number of the session, e.g. *30th Session*, the setting, i.e. the time and place where the session was held, e.g. *Paris, 26 October to 17 November 1999*, the volume, i.e. *Volume 1*, and the institution publishing the document, i.e. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*. The number of the session is of particular importance, as it marks the position of the volume in the sequence of the macro colony of all *Resolutions* volumes, applying arbitrary numerical ordering¹⁹.

The function of the next obligatory element, the contents, is to state explicitly the internal organization of the volume and to signal the ordering system used in the text. The internal organization of the volume is indicated by headings, which divide the text into sections according to topics, thus realising the additional non-arbitrary ordering of the text.

The last two elements in the structure of the resolutions colony text, embedded text of a different genre and annex, are optional elements which have different reiterative potential. The term ‘embedded text’ is used here to refer to the texts of statutes, declarations, strategies, agenda etc., which are either directly integrated in the text of a resolution as a hypotactic text, e.g. R03/1999, R16/1999, or, more frequently as an annex to a resolution, e.g. R11/2003, R33/2003. The term ‘annex’ is reserved for documents annexed to the whole *Resolutions* volume, e.g. the Annex: *List of officers elected at the 30th session of the General Conference*, which, since the sixteenth session in 1970, has established itself as a regular and often the only appendix to the volumes. There are no limitations on the reiterative potential of annexes, though their number tends to be rather limited, e.g. the 1966 volume includes six annexes, the 1993 and 2007 volumes contain two annexes, and the 2003 volume has one annex.

In concluding the discussion of the colony character of *Resolutions* volumes, it should be mentioned that there are several reasons for categorizing them as a hierarchical colony.

¹⁹ The numbers of the sessions of the General Conference are the main identifiers of the *Resolutions* volumes available as electronic documents on the official web-pages of UNESCO. Individual resolutions can be accessed by indicating the number of a given volume and the number of the resolution itself within that volume.

Firstly, the volumes can be regarded as consisting of two main sub-colonies (indicated by different numberings) which correspond to two sub-types of resolutions, namely preparatory and executive resolutions. In addition, resolutions grouped thematically to create topical coherence for the reader and to facilitate the finding of all units which refer to the same issue, can also be interpreted as sub-colonies. Secondly, some resolutions include embedded colony or mainstream texts (e.g. lists of member-states, statutes, declarations etc.). Thirdly, the one-sentence texts of numerous executive resolutions comprise sequences of clauses indicating the reasons or motives for the decisions of the organization which activate areas of background knowledge relevant to the interpretation of the text, and sequences of clauses stating decisions. The motive-clauses, which form the preamble component of executive resolutions, take the form of non-finite supplementive clauses; the decision clauses are finite performative clauses. The sequences of these two types of clauses can be regarded, on the one hand, as colonies within the text of an individual resolution; on the other, they may be considered to form a colony of motive-clauses (within the preamble components) and a colony of decision-clauses within the whole text of a *Resolutions* volume. Last but not least, a *Resolutions* volume as a whole may be seen as a part of the macro-colony of all *Resolutions* volumes adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO.

4.2 Historical development of resolutions

The genre of resolutions is used in the British and the American legal systems in the instruments passed by both houses of the British Parliament and the United States Congress. While the genre seems not to be of central importance in the British parliamentary system²⁰, as resolutions are typically passed on international issues and have a declaratory or advisory character (e.g. resolutions passed by both Houses of the British Parliament on 18th April 1917, relative to the entry of the United States into the war), it is actively used by the Congress of the United States and shows three sub-varieties: joint resolutions, which have legislative power and are interchangeable with bills²¹ or statutes, and concurrent and simple resolutions, which lack legislative force and concern the rules and the operation of the Senate and the House of Representatives (Johnson 2003). It seems obvious that the principles this categorization uses are very similar to the criteria applied for the delimitation of the two main sub-types of UNESCO resolutions in this study, i.e. executive resolutions, which regulate future behaviour and order relations between independent states, and preparatory resolutions, which concern the operation of UNESCO governing bodies and the organization of the session of the General Conference. It therefore seems reasonable to claim that the widespread use of resolutions as legal instruments of international organizations, such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union²², has been influenced by their use in the American legal system.

The investigation into the historical development of resolutions presented in this section hopes to show how a genre can be accommodated to the communicative purposes of a newly constituted discourse community which gradually builds its common institutional and professional knowledge and codifies its communicative conventions and discourse processing procedures. It focuses on the changes the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume has undergone over the period of existence of UNESCO and explores the development of generic structure and style markers of resolutions. As already mentioned, the investigation is carried out on the complete texts of the *Resolutions* volumes adopted at the 2nd and 30th sessions of the General Conference of UNESCO.

4.2.1 The 1947 *Resolutions* volume

Since, as the following analysis intends to show, UNESCO resolutions over the period of their existence have undergone a development which has gradually differentiated them from typical legal texts and accommodated their structure to the colony-text organization of the

²⁰ For instance, the COED states that no use of resolutions has been reported in the British legal system since 1872.

²¹ One of the main differences between bills and resolutions is that bills do not have preambles.

²² Although this study deals with the genre of resolutions as used by UNESCO, it can be claimed that the characteristic features of the genre broadly hold for resolutions passed by most international governmental organizations.

Resolutions volumes, this investigation into the initial state of the genre takes as its point of departure the organization of the colony text.

The structure of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume²³ colony text consists of ten thematic sections numbered with Roman numerals. The first seven sections include preparatory resolutions dealing with organizational and administrative questions: Section I with the examination of credentials, Sections II and III with the constitution of committees, commissions and working parties, Section IV and V with the admission of new members and observers, Section VI with elections and Section VII with the venue of the next session of the General Conference. The last three sections of the volume form the group of executive resolutions. Sections VIII and IX are constituted according to the commissions whose reports serve as a basis for the adoption of the resolutions. Section VIII, based on the report of the programme and budget commission, is subdivided into two subsections, lettered A and B; the former includes an introduction and six chapters stating the programme of UNESCO for 1947, the latter consists of the appropriation resolution for the financial year 1947 and of three lettered annexes. Section IX, based on the report of the administrative and external relations commission, presents the report of the commission and seven lettered annexes, incorporating resolutions dealing with financial or administrative matters. The last Section, X, is entitled *Miscellaneous Resolutions* and includes resolutions on financial and administrative questions (e.g. the adoption of official and working languages of the organization), a solemn appeal, a tribute and expressions of gratitude to the host country. It is therefore evident that though the 1947 *Resolutions* volume uses numerical ordering for the organization of the sections of the volume, it is difficult to consider this arbitrary kind of ordering as the main principle of organization of the *Resolutions* colony text which enables explicit referencing and cross-referencing.

Owing to a lack of experience in organizational matters in the early days of UNESCO, the 1947 volume attributes considerable importance to administrative issues, which is reflected by the fact that each of the first seven thematic sections of the volume consists of a single preparatory resolution, whose function is to create the pre-conditions for the work of the General Conference. The topics of the preparatory resolutions are stated explicitly in their titles and concern membership of the organization, the composition of organs and the seat of the next session of the General Conference. The layout of the 1947 preparatory resolutions adopts a page-width format with block-justified settings; however, the frequent occurrence of embedded colonies including listed items (RII/1947, RIII/1947, RIV/1947, RV/1947 and RVI/1947) is signalled by the use of the column format; the appositive function of these lists is typically indicated by explicit markers of apposition, e.g. *as follows*. As a record for reference of the ritual performance of an institutional declaration, each resolution is closed by an indication of

²³ The complete text of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume is available at the following website address: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114580e.pdf>

the time and place of coding, stating the number of the plenary session and the date on which the resolution was adopted.

The majority of the preparatory resolutions, i.e. RI/1947, RIV/1947, RV/1947, RVI/1947 and RVII/1947, indicate the addresser by using an agentive participant subject, typically *the General Conference*, while the addressee is unspecified. Since the speech acts performed are representatives reporting constitutive acts, the finite verb in the main clause uses the simple past tense. As the examples below demonstrate, the agentive role of addresser is highlighted by a preference for the active voice of the verb in the main clause (RI/1947, RIV/1947, RV/1947, RVI/1947 and RVII/1947), while in RII/1947 and RIII/1947, which use the passive voice, the agentive participant is indicated by the agent *by*-phrase:

- (2a) After receiving the recommendation of the Executive Board, the General Conference decided that its Third Session should be held in Beirut (Lebanon). (RVII/1947)
- (2b) The following Commissions, Sub-Commissions, Committees and Working Parties were set up by the General Conference for the period of its Second Session: [...] (RIII/1947)

In summary, it may be stated that the structure of the texts is relatively uniform and bears no indications of intrageneric variation in the sub-type of preparatory resolutions included in the 1947 *Resolutions* volume.

The executive resolutions, which form part of Sections VIII, IX and X of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume, show considerable variation both in their internal organization and in the way they are integrated into the sections; this and the lack of clearly stated criteria for identification results in some difficulties in the delimitation of these resolutions²⁴. Each of sections VIII – X includes several executive resolutions. Section X, which comprises thirteen resolutions numbered serially, poses no delimitation problems, as individual resolutions are clearly signalled by the presence of a title, and of an indication of the number of the plenary meeting and the date of adoption of the resolution. The resolutions included in Section IX are presented as annexes to the report of the administrative and internal relations commissions, the resolutions in each annex being grouped in a separate series. The cases of *Annex II Resolutions on Financial Regulations* and *Annex V Resolutions on Staff Regulations*, are problematic, as they include a sequence of numbered regulations, and there is no indication of whether the whole set of approved regulations forms one resolution or each regulation is to be regarded as a separate resolution. The plural form ‘*resolutions*’ in the title of the annexes, though, makes the latter interpretation more plausible.

The most demanding from the point of view of resolutions delimitation is Section VIII/A, which includes programme resolutions. The text of the six chapters of programme resolutions (*Reconstruction, Communication, Education, Cultural Heritage, Human and Social Relations, Natural Sciences*) is hierarchically organized by numbering and headings at six different levels, though the functions of most of the levels are varied and fuzzy. The highest level is represented

²⁴ A detailed discussion of the organisation of the 1947 executive resolutions is provided in Dontcheva-Navratilova (2004b).

invariably by the chapter headings, which take the grammatical form of nonsense consisting of a noun phrase categorized as block language by Quirk et al. (1985). The main function of the second hierarchical level is to introduce the heading of a section of the programme (49 instances, i.e. 94.2% of all the occurrences of second level items), which may be assumed to perform simultaneously the function of title of a resolution, as in:

- (3) 1.2. Co-operation with International Non-Governmental Bodies.

Although the second hierarchical level is a reliable resolution indicator, the occurrence of three resolutions without a title indicates that in the 1947 volume the title cannot be regarded as an obligatory element in the generic structure of resolutions. The frequency of occurrence of second-level items introducing only the initial part of a resolution (20 instances, i.e. 38.5%) is slightly higher than the occurrence of items representing a whole resolution (18 instances, i.e. 34.6%), which shows a tendency towards internal explicit structuring of the resolutions.

The third and the fourth hierarchical levels display greater functional variation than the second level. Both levels are characterized by a high frequency of occurrence of nominal *to*-infinitive clauses with the function of direct object indicating the action that the addressee is requested to undertake (50 instances at the third level, i.e. 46.3%, and 51 instances at the fourth level, i.e. 47.7%), as shown in the following example:

- (4) 3.4.3. Clearing-House Functions. To regard as of primary importance UNESCO's functions as a clearing-house of information on Fundamental Education; (RVIII/A/3.4.3/1947)

There is a high proportion of reiterative items at both levels, e.g. nominal *to*-infinitive and *that*-clauses with the function of direct object; predicates including a performative verb and a finite *that*-clause; *to*-infinitive adverbial clauses of means, though the frequency of occurrence of such reiterative items is higher at the fourth level (77.6%, i.e. 83 occurrences) than at the third level (60.2%, i.e. 65 occurrences). The occurrence of adverbial clauses is equally infrequent at both levels (9.3%). The main difference between the third and the fourth level concerns the proportion of resolutions whose matrix clause appears at the respective level: at the third level it is relatively high (33.3%, i.e. 36 instances), while at the fourth level it is considerably lower (19.6%, 21 instances). Therefore, it is evident that the primary function of the fourth level is to introduce language structures at lower syntactic levels, e.g. subordinate clauses, appositives. It should be noted, though, that the presence of a matrix clause does not necessarily indicate the initial part of a resolution, as there are resolutions which include more than one complete sentence.

The fifth and the sixth hierarchical levels specialize in indicating a restricted variety of functions. The overwhelming proportion of subordinate reiterative items suggests that their primary purpose is to highlight the internal structure of resolutions. There are no resolutions beginning at the fifth and the sixth levels.

Despite the ambiguity in the organization of Section VIII, two possible approaches to the delimitation of the programme resolutions can be considered. Since the majority of the textual items at the second hierarchical level contain a noun phrase indicating the topic, these items can be interpreted as titles of resolutions and consequently all textual items dependent on them regarded as integral parts of the respective resolution. Such an approach is convenient from the point of view of cross-referencing and the few occurrences of second-level items lacking a noun phrase indicating the topic may be regarded as marginal cases. There are, however, some arguments against this interpretation, especially from the point of view of the comparative analysis of the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes undertaken in the present research. Firstly, most resolutions are one-sentence texts, while the second-level items may govern several sentences, and secondly, some of the topics introduced at lower levels are dealt with in separate resolutions in the 1999 *Resolutions* volume, e.g. item RVIII/A/4.1.2/1947 *International Music Institute* is part of section 4.1. *Arts and Letters* of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume, while R5/1999 *UNESCO Institute for Education* is a separate resolution in the 1999 volume. Furthermore, as evidenced by the 1970 volume, in the process of development of the genre and the text colony, programme resolutions gradually take the form of one-sentence texts serially numbered; the second hierarchical level of numbering specializes in introducing sub-topics which indicate the thematic organization of resolutions in sections, while the texts of resolutions appear at the third hierarchical level. As a result, for the purposes of the present analysis of the structure of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume each sentence including a finite verb in its main clause and a subject indicating the addresser or the addressee of a resolution is considered as a separate resolution if the sentence in question is not explicitly signalled as forming part of a larger textual unit. The following language features are regarded as markers of the integration of a numbered item into a larger textual unit:

1) Referring expressions, such as demonstratives and pronominals, as in:

- (5) 5.1.2. The Director-General is here to observe the following conditions: [...]
 - 5.1.2.1. He shall enlist the resources and distribute the work among universities and other research centres in the various nations, utilizing, however possible, National Commissions or co-operating bodies where there exist appropriate international organizations. [...] (RVIII/A/5.1.2/1947)

2) Lexical items with conjunctive, usually listing or summative/conclusive meaning, as illustrated below:

- (6) 3.4.13. Concluding conditions: In developing the Fundamental Education Programme in 1947, the Director-General shall give due regard to the following considerations: (RVIII/A/3.4.13/1947)

3) The presence of repetition of lexical items or hyponymy relations between lexical items, especially when the lexical items are headings of sub-topics, as in:

(7) 2.3.3.6. Journals

2.3.3.6.1. Mouseion. The Director-General is instructed to arrange for the publication of a technical museographical journal in continuation of Mouseion, but broader in scope, to be printed in as many international languages as possible.

2.3.3.6.2. Humanistic studies. The Director-General is instructed to promote the publication of a general review giving information on work in philosophy and the humanistic studies. (RVIII/A/2.3.3.6/1947)

In addition, when there is a sequence of items at the same hierarchical level, some of the items of which are regarded as forming part of one resolution on the basis of the presence of some or all of the above-listed language features, all items in the respective sequence are considered to be one resolution.

The above-listed language features are instances of componential cohesive relations of co-reference and co-classification (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Hasan 1989a). Since a preference for lexical cohesive relations based on repetition and the absence of co-reference intersentence cohesive ties is characteristic of the legal register (Hiltunen 1990:68), the variety and functions of cohesive devices in the material are considered similar to those in legal language. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the presence of lexical cohesive relations is not a reliable indicator of resolution delimitation as the topics referred to in the chapters of the programme are semantically connected. Therefore, in some cases the delimitation of the resolutions is left to the discretion of the reader.

The lack of transparent and consistent organization of the executive resolutions of the 1947 volume is further evidenced by Sections VIII and IX, which are based on the reports of commissions, and whose special status is signalled by the column format. As mentioned above, Section VIII has two subsections: subsection A – *The Programme of UNESCO in 1947*, and subsection B – *Appropriation Resolution for the Financial Year 1948*. Section VIIIA opens with an introduction which outlines the internal structure of the section and is concluded by a performative declarative, which, though it does not have the exact form of an enacting formula, may be considered as performing its function, i.e. it functions as a macro-performative speech act indicating the illocutionary force of the whole text (Van Dijk 1977, Trosborg 1995).

(8) The General Conference, assembled at its Second Session, in the light of the documents submitted to the Conference and of its deliberations thereon, resolves as follows:

In accordance with Article V.B. (5) of the Constitution, the Executive Board is responsible for the execution of this Programme and shall accordingly exercise general authority over the action taken by the Director-General in the implementation of these resolutions.

Section VIII B includes the *Appropriation Resolution* for the year 1948 and three lettered annexes, the character of which positions them outside the scope of this research. Similarly to the programme resolutions, the text of the *Appropriation Resolution* is organized into two columns. The first paragraph includes the agentive subject and the performative active voice verb of the matrix clause printed in italics, e.g. *The General Conference resolves:* (RVIII/B/1947).

Therefore, as is the case with the performative declarative in the *Introduction* to Section VIII A, the matrix clause of the *Appropriation Resolution* may be regarded as an enacting formula, indicating the macro-performative speech act conveyed by the text.

The main component of Section IX is *The Report of the Administrative and External Relations Commission*, a genre which is outside the scope of the present study. However, the seven annexes attached to this section include one or several resolutions (the overall number of resolutions in this section is 25), i.e. within the 1947 volume some resolutions have the status of embedded textual components. Since Annexes I, III and V do not have the generic structure of a resolution, they will be not considered here. Annex II – *Resolutions on Financial Questions* – is sub-divided into six subsections numbered in Arabic numerals, whose headings have the function of titles of resolutions, i.e. each subsection consists of one resolution. Annex IV – *Resolutions on Staff Questions* – consists of two subsections, each including one resolution, the former dealing with the recruitment of permanent staff and the latter with the budget for staff remuneration. Annex VI includes one resolution on organizational matters. Annex VII – *Regulations on External Questions* – is subdivided into 17 subsections, each representing a resolution numbered in Arabic numerals.

The resolutions included in Section IX are one-sentence texts and exhibit the typical structure of an executive resolution. They use an agentive subject indicating the addresser (invariably *The General Conference*), and an active voice performative verb in the present tense, which categorizes explicitly the speech act performed, i.e. directives, declarations and occasional expressives. Since some of the resolutions contain several performative verbs, the set of decisions in the framework of one resolution takes the form of a sequence of orthographic paragraphs consisting of predicates or nominal *that*-clauses, which are typically numbered in Arabic numerals. Seven of the resolutions include sequences of adverbial clauses of time and/or contingency, conveying the scene situational component. In addition, the resolutions in Section IX consistently use italics to emphasize the subject and the performative verb of the matrix clause of the performative sentence, as well as for the non-finite verbs in the subordinate adverbial clauses in the preamble of the resolutions, italicised in the example below:

(9) *The General Conference:*

Taking note of the report of the Director-General on the development of relations with the International Bureau of Education, under the existing provisional agreement;
Considering the resolution of the Executive Board recommending to the General Conference that the present agreement should be extended for a further period of twelve months,
Requests the Director-General to propose to the Governing Body of the International Bureau of Education that the present agreement be extended for a further period of twelve months. (RIX/VII/13/1947)

Section X, entitled *Miscellaneous Resolutions*, consists of a continuous sequence of thirteen subsections numbered with Arabic numerals, whose layout using the page-width format with

indented paragraphs is similar to the layout of the first seven sections of the volume, i.e. the sections including preparatory resolutions. Twelve of the subsections of Section X include one resolution, the only exception being Section 11, which is composed of a preamble and three embedded resolutions expressing the gratitude of the organization towards the host country and its representatives for their contribution to the organization and the work of the Second General Conference. Each of the subsections has a heading with the function of a title which introduces the topic of the resolution; the number of the plenary session and the date on which the resolution was adopted are printed in italics at the end of each subsection. The components of Section X are one-sentence texts with the typical structure of executive resolutions as described above; however, the adverbial clauses providing the reasons or motivation for the decision are frequently introduced by the concessive conjunction *whereas*, which is typical of the preambles of formal, especially legal, documents, as shown in:

- (10) *Whereas* the General Conference of UNESCO has considered the proposal of the delegation of Latin-American countries that Spanish should be a working language,
Whereas the Conference, appreciating the force of the arguments made on behalf of any language used by a considerable proportion of the world's people, also recognizes the administrative difficulty and financial burden involved in increasing the number of working languages in UNESCO, and
Whereas the problem of working languages is one which concerns the United Nations and all Specialized Agencies,
Resolves:
1. To refer the proposal that Spanish be made a working language of the UNESCO General Conference to the Executive Board [...] (RX.7/1947)

Finally, some remarks should be made on the visual aspect and the layout of the colony. The whole text of the volume is printed in Bookman Old Style, which maintains good legibility at small sizes. Headings and subheadings of sections are highlighted in bold large capitals, while the body of the text is printed in font 11 lower case letters. Extensive use is made of numbering and lettering for listing, while the functions of italics vary: it may indicate section sub-headings, signal the setting, and emphasize a number of sentence elements such as linkers, agents, speech-act verbs and non-finite verbs in adverbial clauses in the preamble component. The above-mentioned functions of italics correspond to two of the five basic uses of italics identified by Šlancarová (1999), i.e. names and titles, emphasis, metalanguage use, foreign words and miscellaneous, though the indication of the setting element does not match any of her sub-categories. Owing to its systematic use in all *Resolutions* volumes, the use of italics for emphasizing key elements of the text which form co-occurring paradigms may be regarded as specific to the genre.

The results of the analysis of the structure of the colony text demonstrate that the 1947 *Resolutions* volume is explicitly organized into sequentially numbered sections the topics of which are indicated by section headings; thus it uses a mixed arbitrary numerical and non-

arbitrary thematic ordering of the text. An arbitrary numerical ordering system is applied, firstly, to the organization of the thematic sections, and, secondly within the sections and subsections of the volume to signal the series of resolutions included in the sections. This demonstrates that the impact of additional non-arbitrary thematic ordering is decisive for the internal structure of the 1947 colony text. A formula reflecting the structure of the colony text of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume is provided in Figure 4, where NO signals the numerical ordering system, TO the thematic ordering system, S the sections (numbered in Roman numerals), CR the reports of commissions, T the title of the volume, C the contents, ET embedded texts, A appendices and R resolutions.

Figure 4 – The structure of the colony text of the 1947 Resolutions volume

$$\text{NO/TO [T - C - SI(R}_1\text{) - SII(R}_1\text{) - SIII(R}_1\text{) - SIV(R}_1\text{) - SV(R}_1\text{) - SVI(R}_1\text{) - SVII(R}_1\text{) - SVIII(A(R}_{1-66}\text{) + B(R}_1\text{)) - SIX(CR + ET(AI - AII(R}_{1-6}\text{) - AIII - AIV(R}_1\text{) - AV - AVI(R}_1\text{) - AVII(R}_{1-17}\text{)) - SX(R}_{1-13}\text{)]}$$

The complexity and opaqueness of the formula established to reflect the structure of the colony text of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume is to a large extent due to the use of two ordering systems. A lack of structural uniformity perceived in the delimitation of executive resolutions, together with the prevailingly thematic organization of the 1947 volume, make explicit referencing and cross-referencing to individual structural elements of the text problematic and reflect the initial stage of the development of a genre newly implemented by a newly constituted discourse community in an intercultural context.

As differences between the sub-types of resolutions are not indicated by explicit signals, the delimitation of the preparatory and executive resolutions can be performed on the basis of their content and differences in their linguistic features. The sub-type of preparatory resolutions shows no indications of further generic variation, as its structure displays a relatively high degree of uniformity. The sub-type of executive resolutions is rather heterogeneous, as the group of programme resolutions differs from the resolutions included in Sections IX and X in terms of content and certain linguistic features. While the latter are one-sentence texts bearing a title, which are clearly delimited by numbering and layout, the former consist of a sequence of decisions of the General Conference introduced by an enacting formula, which is organized primarily according to the sections and subsections of the programme, thus making the delimitation of the individual resolutions and the identification of their titles problematic. The programme resolutions further differ from the rest of the executive resolutions in the semantic role of the subject and the voice of the performative verb, i.e. they use a subject with the semantic role of a recipient participant signalling the addressee with a passive voice performative verb complemented by a sequence of nominal subordinate clauses, most of which are *to*-infinitive clauses, as illustrated in:

- (11) 3.2. *The Director-General* is urged to combine under a single administrative head the activities of the Organization in Fundamental Education and other forms of Education, for the purposes of mutual strengthening of these related activities and of closer co-ordination of educational activities with all aspects of UNESCO's programme. (RVIIIA.3/1947)

Since a change in the addressee invariably requires the introduction of a new subject realized in a new sentence/clause, a significant number of the resolutions consist of more than one sentence. The rest of the executive resolutions use an agentive subject (*the General Conference*) and an active voice performative verb complemented by a nominal infinitive clause, *that*-clause or a sequence of such clauses (see (9) above).

For purposes of comparison with the 1999 volume, it is worth noting the relatively low frequency of occurrence of adverbials as constituents of the main clause of resolutions, especially in the preparatory resolutions. This is partially due to the fact that the indication of the temporal and locative setting is typically performed by non-sentences highlighted in italics at the end of the texts of resolutions. Nor is the proportion of adverbials appearing in executive resolutions as main clause constituents very high (35.9%). These are typically adverbials of time or contingency used for referencing to other acts and documents of the organization or other relevant institutions, or for indicating the position and the beliefs of the organization.

The use of graphological means to signal the structure of the texts and to highlight textual elements is not consistent, either. Instances of variation are the alternative use of semi-colons and full stops at the end of paragraphs including sequences or recurrent structures in final position in the sentence, the use of italics to highlight the subject and/or the performative verb, the use of numbering in sections and subsections etc. The use of different page formats, page-width for the preparatory and miscellaneous resolutions, and two columns for programme, administrative and internal relations resolutions and miscellaneous resolutions, does not reflect consistently the text typology. It rather suggests that the column format is used for resolutions dependent on other texts, i.e. the programme for 1947 and the reports of the administrative and internal relations committees. The above-mentioned inconsistencies are due to a lack of established conventions of discourse production based on prior experience with specimens of the genre, which is typical of the early stages of use of a genre by a discourse community.

4.2.2 The 1999 *Resolutions* volume

The descriptive analysis of the structure of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume²⁵ focuses on principles applied in textual organization at the level of the colony text and the level of resolutions in order to characterize the current stage of development of the genre. It further endeavours to identify stylistically-relevant features motivated by textual structure and contextual factors which can be considered as a basis for analysis of the style markers of the genre.

²⁵ The complete text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume is available on the following website address: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001185/118514e.pdf>

As already mentioned in the description of the material under investigation, the 1999 *Resolutions* volume consists of 114 resolutions, which are numbered serially with Arabic numerals, and there are no problems with their delimitation. Each resolution has a title and all resolutions, except for R01, R03 and R05, are one-sentence texts. Therefore, it can be assumed that the structure of resolutions generally overlaps with the sentence structure. The resolutions are organized by numbering into two groups: the first is made up of a series of preparatory resolutions (Resolution 01 to Resolution 26), and the second of a series of executive resolutions (Resolution 1 to Resolution 88), i.e. the arbitrary numerical ordering system used in the 1999 colony text signals the existence of two basic sub-types of resolution.

The 1999 volume is further organized into thirteen thematic sections numbered in Roman numerals. This thematic organization sub-divides the preparatory resolutions into two sub-groups: *I Organization of the session and tributes* and *II Elections*, while the next ten sub-sections mark the topic fields of the executive resolutions: *III Budget*, *IV Programme for 2000-2001*, *V General Resolutions*, *VI Support for Programme Execution*, *VII Financial Questions*, *VIII Staff Questions*, *IX Headquarters Questions*, *X Constitutional and Legal Questions*, *XI Methods of Work of the Organization*, *XII 31st Session of the General Conference*. At the end of the volume, there is an annex which contains a *List of officers elected at the 30th session of the General Conference*. As for the composition of individual resolutions, the preparatory resolutions do not have annexes, though they include directly embedded texts of the same or a different genre, e.g. the agenda of the session (R03/1999); tributes to executives (R07/1999 and R08/1999). The executive resolutions incorporate annexes containing texts of different genres, e.g. statutes (R44/1999), declaration (R20/1999), appeal (R33/1999).

The *Contents* of the volume demonstrates that the primary ordering system is arbitrary numerical ordering, which is used for purposes of referencing within the macro-colony of *Resolutions* volumes and other documents of the organization, while an additional non-arbitrary thematic ordering system contributes to the transparency of the organization of a specific *Resolutions* volume.

Layout and graphological level means are consistently used to promote the explicitness of textual organization. The whole volume is printed in the widespread Times New Roman Style and uses the page-width format for the text of resolutions. The headings of the sections and the titles of resolutions use lower case bold letters (18-font and 11-font respectively), while the body of the text is printed in 10-font lower case letters. The layout of the embedded texts signals clearly their special status as they are of two-column format, use 9-font lower case letters and their titles are printed in italics. The text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume includes numerous footnotes, which indicate the temporal setting of the adoption of resolutions, and frequently the report of the Commission upon which the resolution is based. They take the grammatical form of a nonsentence, consisting of a noun phrase post-modified by a past-participle non-finite subordinate clause, as in:

- (12) Resolution adopted on the report of Commission II at the 26th plenary meeting, on 17 November 1999. (Footnote to R5/1999)

The complex structure of the one-sentence texts of resolutions is highlighted by the subdivision of the text into paragraphs, a strategy frequently used in the legal register for enhancing the surveyability of complex texts. The first paragraph presents the subject with the semantic role of agentive participant (invariably *the General Conference*), which may be followed by a sequence of non-finite or verbless adverbial clauses of time, reason and concession, each taking the form of a separate paragraph; finally there is one paragraph or a sequence of paragraphs containing finite predicates bearing a performative verb in initial position, reflecting the decisions of the General Conference. Resolutions including several decisions with or without change of addresser, use numbering with Arabic numerals for ordering the finite predicate paragraphs, each of which contains one decision. It should be stressed that ‘paragraph’ is interpreted here as an orthographic and not a structural paragraph, since structural paragraphs are semantically motivated (Brown & Yule 1982:94-95), and orthographic paragraphs are graphologically motivated and tend to reflect genre-motivated stylistics concerns. This approach suggests that in the *Resolutions* volume structural paragraphs can be seen as corresponding to resolutions, while orthographic paragraphs highlight the internal generic structure of resolutions.

The use of graphological means and punctuation in the text of the 1999 volume is clearly defined and highly consistent. Thus in the one-sentence text resolutions the sequences of adverbial clauses use commas and finite predicates semicolons as a mark of formal asyndetic coordination, while a full stop is used to indicate the end of a sentence. The function of italics is to highlight the subject and finite and non-finite verb forms signalling speech acts performed by the addresser, and, within programme resolutions, to indicate the sections and subsections of the programme which concern the decisions of the General Conference.

The series of preparatory resolutions is organized into two sections, the first of which includes eight and the second 18 resolutions. The group of eight resolutions, which forms part of Section I *Organization of the session and tributes*, shows some variation in the internal structure of resolutions as it includes all three resolutions (R01/1999, R03/1999 and R1999-05) which consist of more than one sentence, and six of the seven resolutions in which the indication of setting is incorporated in the text of the resolution instead of appearing outside the main text as a footnote. The majority of Section I resolutions are informative; they use a non-performative verb indicating the action and the speech act performed is an implicit representative. Except for R02/1999 and R07/1999, Section I resolutions consist of an adverbial indicating the setting, which takes the form of a prepositional phrase situated in initial or medial position, an agentive subject (invariably *the General Conference*), signalling the addresser, and a finite predicate, whose verb phrase is in the simple past tense of the indicative mood, typically complemented by an affected object, taking the form of a noun phrase or nominal *to*-infinitive clause. The

resolutions often include adverbials of respect and/or contingency realised by prepositional phrases in initial or medial position, as in:

- (13) At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Conference approved the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (30 C/2 and Add.). [...] (R05/1999)

The eighteen resolutions included in Section II *Elections* deal with appointment and election of executives and with the composition of commissions. Except for R010/1999, whose structure is identical to the structure of the non-performative Section I resolutions, all preparatory resolutions included in Section II are one-sentence texts. They consist of an agentive subject (*the General Conference*) signalling the addresser, optionally followed by a supplementive adverbial clause indicating intertextual reference and, except for two resolutions which deal with appointments (R09/1999 and R11/1999), a finite predicate. The performative verb in the predicate is the causative verb *elect* in the simple present tense of the indicative mood, complemented by complex transitive complementation, in which the direct object, consisting of a noun-phrase and apposition, i.e. the embedded colony text of the list of member states or representatives positioned discontinuously at the end of the text in column format, is followed by a subjectless infinitive clause identifying the resultant state, as in:

- (14) *The General Conference,*
Recalling paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article II of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Council for the Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme, approved by 27 C/Resolution 5.2 and amended by 28 C/Resolution 22,
Elects the following Member States to be members of the Council until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: (there follows a three-column list of Member States) (R017/1999)

The differences between the structures of Section I and Section II preparatory resolutions, i.e. type of speech act performed, tense form of the main clause verb, the position of the indication of the setting inside or outside the main text and the presence or absence of embedded texts, suggest that there are sufficient indications of intra-generic variation in the sub-type of preparatory resolutions. The differentiation of the two sub-types of preparatory resolutions reflects a development in the codification of the genre, which leads to the appearance of specialized sub-varieties of text-structure corresponding to the specific communicative purposes of the resolutions.

The 1999 *Resolutions* volume includes 88 executive resolutions numbered serially with Arabic numerals, which are organized into ten sections. Section IV *Programme for 2000–2001* contains 56.8 per cent of all the executive resolutions (50 resolutions) and is the only section which is divided into subsections, of which there are five: *Budget, Major Programmes, Transdisciplinary Project, Transverse Activities, Participation Programme* and *Information and Dissemination Services*. Three of these sections, i.e. Section III *Budget*,

Section IX *Headquarters Questions* and Section XII *31st Session of the General Conference* consist each of one resolution. The distribution of resolutions in the rest of the sections is as follows: Section V *General Resolutions* – seven resolutions, Section VI *Support for Programme Execution* – four resolutions, Section VII *Financial Questions* – seven resolutions, Section VIII *Staff Questions* – six resolutions, Section X *Constitutional and Legal Questions* – three resolutions and Section XI *Methods of Work of the Organization* – eight resolutions. Twelve of the 88 resolutions include an embedded text (declarations, statutes etc.), typically in the form of an annex, whose different status is signalled by the two-column format.

The internal structure of the 88 resolutions shows consistent uniformity, as these are one-sentence texts with similar, if not identical, clause structure. The subject takes the form of a noun phrase with the semantic role of agentive participant, invariably '*the General Conference*', which is printed in italics and placed on a separate line. The subject may be followed directly by the verb phrase, or there may be a sequence of supplementary adverbial clauses, indicating reference to previous documents of the organization and/or “‘scene-setting’ for what follows” (Quirk et al. 1985:491), i.e. activating attitudes, values and concepts of the background and cultural knowledge of the discourse community relevant for the interpretation of the text, as in:

- (15) *The General Conference*,
Referring to resolution 53/22, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, proclaiming the year 2001 as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations,
1. *Greatly appreciates and endorses* the terms of this resolution, which welcomes the collective endeavour of the international community to enhance understanding through constructive dialogue among civilizations on the threshold of the third millennium; [...] (R31/1999)

The frequency of occurrence of resolutions including adverbial clauses as main clause components is very high, i.e. 81.6 per cent of the executive resolutions. All the resolutions which do not contain adverbial clauses indicating intertextual reference or scene definition are of technical or administrative character and typically perform directive speech acts whose addressee is the Director-General, as illustrated in the following example:

- (16) *The General Conference*
Authorises the Director-General:
(a) to continue to promote gender mainstreaming and capacity-building activities to strengthen the active participation of women at all levels and in all fields of society, in line with the agenda for gender equality adopted by the General Conference at its 28th session and other relevant recommendations; and to that end to strengthen cooperation with Member States, relevant inter-agency mechanisms, IGOs and NGOs; [...] (R47/1999)

In the framework of executive resolutions, the finite predicate takes the form of an orthographic paragraph and the sequences of such paragraphs may include up to sixteen items (R19/1999) numbered in Arabic numerals. The finite verbs are typically monotransitive, complemented by a direct object, or ditransitive, complemented by a direct object and an indirect object. The

indirect object always precedes the direct and takes the form of a noun phrase indicating the addresser, which may be typically the Director-General, the Executive Board, the Member States, or occasionally an international governmental or non-governmental organization, commission or national authorities, as in:

(17) 5. *Requests* the Israeli authorities to facilitate this mission; (R28/1999)

The direct object indicating institutional facts, future actions or states, may be realized by a noun phrase with heavy post-modification, which is typically the case of monotransitive verb complementation, or a nominal clause, which frequently takes the form of a *to*-infinite clause, as illustrated by the following examples:

(18a) 8. *Welcomes* the Declaration of Athens adopted by the meeting of representatives of Egypt (R1999-31)

(18b) 3. *Invites* the Director General:

(a) to promote the implementation of the above measures in the framework of the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations; [...] (R33/1999)

The structure of the four Major Programme resolutions copies the structure of the Programme of UNESCO as it introduces the headings and sub-headings of the programme in italics as topics of the respective paragraphs. The internal structure typical of executive resolutions, though, is preserved, a specific feature of the major programme resolutions being the absence of adverbial clauses indicating intertextual reference and scene.

As the results of the descriptive analysis of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume demonstrate, the experience gained by the members of the UNESCO discourse community in using the genre has led to a codification of discourse procedures and the application of well-established rules in text processing. This is manifested by the consistent use of a primary arbitrary numerical ordering of colony components which is further supplemented by non-arbitrary thematic ordering according to topic; it should be stressed that although the ordering system is considered to be mixed, referencing is performed exclusively according to the numerical ordering system. The structure of the 1999 colony text is also transparent and systematic: the delimitation of the resolutions is clear and unambiguous, as each resolution has its serial number and title, and except for three resolutions, all the 114 resolutions in the 1999 volume are one-sentence texts. The structural organization of the colony text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume is diagrammatically represented in Figure 5, where NO signals the numerical ordering system, TO signals the thematic ordering system, R the resolutions, T the title of the volume, C the contents, A the annex and ET the embedded texts.

Figure 5 – The structure of the colony text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume

$$NO_{(TO)} [T - C - R_{01} \dots\dots\dots R_{026}(ET) - R_1 \dots\dots\dots R_{88}(ET)] - A_1$$

As Figure 5 clearly shows the 1999 *Resolutions* volume is grouped into two series of texts signalled by different numbering, i.e. preparatory and executive resolutions, which vary in their internal structure and communicative purposes. The preparatory resolutions form two sub-types in accordance with the two sections in which they are organized, as the topics of their concern and their structural organization differ in several respects. The executive resolutions show consistent structural uniformity, as they represent one-sentence texts with similar, if not identical, clause structure. The unity and clarity of structure of the colony text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume, as well as the specific communicative purposes and firmly established form of preparatory and executive resolutions, proves that the genre of resolutions has developed into a codified generic structure, characterized by consistent textual uniformity and showing a strong preference for the use of recurrent word combinations and formulaic expressions. The highly consistent use of graphological means and layout contributes to the explicit structural organization of the texts and highlights elements of textual or logical importance.

4.2.3 Comparison of the initial and current state of development of the genre as represented by the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes

The analysis of the historical development of the genre over the period of existence of UNESCO is based on a comparison of the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes; it endeavours to identify transformations in text structure at macro-level (the level of the colony text) and micro-level (the level of resolutions) and changes undergone by characteristic features of the texts, to explain the reasons for these modifications and to outline the tendencies in the development of the genre.

A comparison of the structural organization of the 1947 and 1999 colony texts reveals considerable differences in the ordering systems used and the principles applied in the delimitation of resolutions. For clarity diagrammatic representations of the structures of the two colony texts are reproduced in Figure 6.

Figure 6 – Structures of the colony texts of the 1947 and 1999 *Resolutions* volumes

Structure of the 1947 *Resolutions* volume

$$NO/TO [T - C - SI(R_1) - SII(R_1) - SIII(R_1) - SIV(R_1) - SV(R_1) - SVI(R_1) - SVII(R_1) - SVIII(A(R_{1-66}) + B(R_1)) - SIX(CR + ET(AI - AII(R_{1-6}) - AIII - AIV(R_1) - AV - AVI(R_1) - AVII(R_{1-17})) - SX(R_{1-13})]$$

Structure of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume

$$NO_{(TO)} [T - C - R_{01} \dots\dots\dots R_{026}(ET) - R_1 \dots\dots\dots R_{88}(ET)] - A_1$$

Obviously, the structure of the 1999 colony text is more systematic and transparent than that of the 1947 colony text, thus reflecting the experience gathered by the discourse community in applying the established communicative conventions and discourse processing procedures. The difficulties related to the delimitation of resolutions, the opaque ordering system and the lack of clear differentiation between the preparatory and the executive sub-types apparent in the 1947 volume, are overcome in the 1999 colony text. While both colonies use a mixed ordering system, their relative importance and functions vary. In the 1947 *Resolutions* volume, thematic ordering prevails in the overall organization of the volume, and therefore can be considered primary, while numerical ordering indicates the internal organization of sections; this results in major referencing problems. In the 1999 *Resolutions* volume numerical ordering is clearly primary in the organization of the volume and allows for referencing outside the 1999 colony, i.e. within the macro-colony of all *Resolutions* volumes and other documents of the organization and other institutions. The use of different numerical series for the preparatory and executive resolutions is a clear marker of their delimitation; in addition, numerical ordering occurs in the internal structure of resolutions to list the speech acts performed within a single resolution. Thematic ordering is subsidiary in the 1999 volume, being restricted to the internal organization of the colony.

From the point of view of their composition, the 1947 and the 1999 *Resolutions* volumes differ in the realization of optional elements, in thematic organization, in the composition of some sections and the position of some resolutions²⁶. While the frequency of occurrence of texts embedded in resolutions is relatively low in the 1947 colony, though there are cases of resolutions embedded in other texts (e.g. reports of commissions), in the 1999 colony texts, where the main components are invariably the resolutions, the frequency of occurrence of embedded texts is relatively high (they occur in 13.7% of the 1999 resolutions). A further difference is the absence of the Annex *List of officers elected* in the 1947 volume, which, as mentioned above, has established itself as a regular and frequently the only appendix to a *Resolutions* volume since the 16th session of the General Conference in 1970.

The thematic organization of the *Resolutions* colony text is subject to considerable alteration. The preparatory resolutions, which appear as seven separate sections at the highest hierarchical level in the 1947 volume, are organized in two thematic sections in the 1999 volume, i.e. *Organization of the session and tributes* and *Elections*. Tributes, which are part of the *Miscellaneous Resolutions* section of the 1947 executive resolutions, appear as preparatory Section I resolutions in the 1999 volume. It should be mentioned that tributes are a peripheral

²⁶ The main principles of thematic organization of the colony text applied in the 1999 volume are already present in the *Resolutions* volume of the 10th General Conference, which took place in 1958.

type of resolution and their dependence on a particular section reflects the occasion and the person to whom the tribute is paid. In the 1999 volume, tributes are paid to the Director-General and to the Chairpersons of the Executive Board on the occasion of the end of their terms of office, which occur during the 30th session of the General Conference, and, therefore, are considered as preparatory resolutions. Indeed, from 1954 to 2001, tributes traditionally formed part of Section I *Organization of the session and tributes*; however, since 2003 a new Section II *Tribute* has been established within the preparatory resolutions series. The resolution concerning the appointment of a new Director-General is the first resolution of Section II *Elections*. The delimitation of Section II *Elections* is itself a rather recent phenomenon, which came into existence after the 27th session of the General Conference in 1993. Another resolution oscillating between the preparatory and the executive sub-types is the one dealing with the venue of the next session of the General Conference. In the 1947 volume, a resolution entitled *Seat of the Third Session* forms Section VII, i.e. the last section of the preparatory resolutions, while in the 1999 volume it is the very last resolution of the volume, forming Section XII *Venue of the 31st session of the General Conference* of the executive resolutions. It may be argued that the character of this resolution is executive from the point of view of the session at which it is adopted and preparatory for the next session of the General Conference.

Changes to the thematic organization of executive resolutions, which are grouped into three sections in the 1947 volume and ten sections in the 1999 volume, give a more accurate reflection of the topics of their concern. The titles of the six chapters of the 1947 programme resolutions – *Reconstruction, Communication, Education, Cultural Interchange, Human and Social Relations* and *Natural Sciences* – reflect the priorities of the newly founded international governmental organizations in the post-Second-World-War period, i.e. the reconstruction of the countries and societies devastated by the war and the restoration of human social relations in an international context. More than half a century later, the organization of the 1999 programme resolutions in four major programmes – *Education for all throughout life, The sciences in the service of development, Cultural development: the heritage and creativity* and *Towards a communication and information society for all* – reflects changes in the political and cultural situation in the world and the aims and goals of UNESCO. The transformation of programme resolutions is not restricted to the topics they treat; it also affects their internal structure. While in the 1947 volume programme resolutions take the form of a sequence of numbered paragraphs introduced by a performative declarative functioning as an enacting formula, in the 1999 volume they constitute separate resolutions including performative verbs. In addition, the inclusion of a series of resolutions dealing with problems related to the programme, and of four additional subsections – *Transdisciplinary project, Transverse activities, Participation programme* and *Information and dissemination service* – reflects their dependence on the programme systematically, without denying them the status of independent resolutions.

Another modification within the executive sub-type concerns the status of resolutions dealing with financial, staff, organizational and external relations questions. Treated as an annex to the report of the administrative and external relations commission, in the 1947 volume these resolutions make part of Section IX, while in the 1999 volume they are attributed the status of basic text components incorporated in the sections *Support for Programme Execution*, *Financial Questions*, *Staff Questions*, *Headquarters Questions*, *Constitutional and Legal Questions* and *Methods of Work of the Organization*.

As the title of the section suggests, the group of *Miscellaneous Resolutions* in the 1947 volume is highly heterogeneous, e.g. budget for 1947, amendment to the constitution of UNESCO²⁷. The topics of the 1999 *General Resolutions* do not suggest such diversity, as they deal with the relations of UNESCO with member states and potential member states as well as with topics of general concern, such as the eradication of poverty and the celebration of anniversaries.

Finally, the two colony texts differ in some aspects of their use of graphological means and layout. Firstly, the functions of the page-width and the two-column format are different. In the 1947 volume, the page-width format is used for preparatory resolutions and for the executive resolutions included in Section X *Miscellaneous Resolutions*, the rest of the resolutions and other documents included in the volume being printed in the two-column format; thus it is impossible to associate the page-format with a particular type of resolutions. Since in the 1999 volume the page-width format is reserved for the text of resolutions and the two-column format indicates various embedded texts, such as declarations, appeals, statutes and lists of elected members, the two-column format may be interpreted as a marker of the dependence of a text, the texts of resolutions included, on other texts, e.g. the Programme of UNESCO or the reports of commissions. The dependence of the respective 1999 resolutions on the reports of commissions is also explicitly marked by footnotes, thus acquiring the status of subsidiary information.

Secondly, the 1947 and the 1999 *Resolutions* volumes differ in their consistency in the use of italics for emphasizing the agentive subject, the performative verb and the initial element of adverbial clauses indicating scene. The 1999 volume uses italics consistently in all the above-mentioned cases, except for informative resolutions (typically Section I preparatory resolutions), whose predicative verb is in the simple past tense and does not have a performative character. In the 1947 *Resolutions* volume, however, the use of italics is less consistent, as the highlighted elements in individual resolutions may be all the above-mentioned elements or only one or two of them. Thirdly, the two colony texts differ in the use of punctuation marks, especially in those used for the delimitation of sequences of recurrent structures. The 1999 *Resolutions* volume invariably uses commas at the end of adverbial clause paragraphs in medial position in the framework of a one-sentence text and semicolons at the end of the sequences of finite predication paragraphs as a formal coordinating mark linking independent clauses sufficiently related to belong to one sentence. The 1947 volume's use of punctuation marks is unsystematic,

²⁷ In the 1999 volume these form part of the *Budget* and *Constitutional and Legal Questions* sections respectively.

as it uses commas or semicolons at the end of adverbial clause paragraphs and semicolons or full stops at the end of sequences of finite predication paragraphs. Lastly, while the replacement of Bookman Old Style with Times New Roman Style is of hardly any structural importance, the larger font size chosen for the headings (18 instead of 15) and the smaller font size for the body of the text (10 instead of 11) underscore the contrast between the headings and the body of the text. The fact that the 1999 volume does not use capitals for headings contributes to the uniformity of the text.

Having considered the transformations in text structure at macro-level discussed above, it remains to be stated that as a result of the codification of the genre and of the experience acquired by UNESCO experts in text processing, the inconsistencies in the composition and organization of the colony text encountered at the initial stage of its use by the UNESCO discourse community have been overcome and have yielded to the systematic organization of the colony with a clear logical structure and a unified ordering system.

The generic structure of resolutions has also undergone considerable changes in the process of codification of the genre and its distinctive features, the most important development being the clear delimitation of the sub-genres of preparatory and executive resolutions.

The main distinctive features of preparatory resolutions – their informative character, the use of a non-performative representative speech act realised by a sentence structure typically composed of an agentive subject signalling the addresser co-occurring with a finite predicate whose verb phrase marked for the simple past tense of the indicative mood is complemented by an affected object taking the form of a noun phrase or nominal clause – are preserved. The differences between the 1947 and the 1999 Section I resolutions reside mainly in the way they signal the setting. While the 1947 resolutions indicate the setting by non-sentences printed in italics positioned under the main body of the text, in the 1999 resolutions the indication of the setting is incorporated into the main body of text of the resolution and takes the form of a prepositional phrase typically in initial position. It should be stressed that all the 1947 and 1999 preparatory resolutions show a strong tendency towards the use of recurrent word combinations, e.g. for the indication of the setting and for the indication of the executive body on whose recommendation the resolutions have been adopted. This tendency is particularly obvious in the newly established sub-type resolutions dealing with elections.

While most executive resolutions have retained their basic characteristics, the structure of programme resolutions has been submitted to considerable transformation. Although both the 1947 and the 1999 programme resolutions typically perform a directive speech act, their internal structure and linguistic realizations are different. As a sequence of paragraphs introduced by a superordinate enacting formula, the 1947 programme resolutions use a recipient subject and a passive performative verb, which results in the need to introduce a new subject with each change of addressee. The internal structure of the 1999 programme resolutions consists of a subject noun phrase signalling the agentive participant and a sequence of numbered finite

predicates indicating the action performed by a performative verb and the addressee by an indirect object. The use of an agentive subject (*the General Conference*) removes the need to introduce a new subject with each change of addressee, which is one of the disadvantages of the structure of the 1947 resolutions.

The 1999 programme resolutions differ from the rest of the executive resolutions in this volume in the absence of adverbial clauses indicating the scene, and the extremely high frequency of co-occurrence of the performative verb *authorize* and an indirect object noun phrase (*the Director-General*) signalling the addressee, as compared to the options offered by the 29 verbs included in the closed-set paradigm of predicative verbs co-occurring with several addressees, e.g. the Director-General, the Member States, the Executive Board, different commissions etc. As the 1947 programme resolutions are also characterized by a very low frequency of occurrence of adverbial clauses indicating the scene, it may be concluded that the absence of the preamble component is a characteristic feature of programme resolutions in general which reflects the institutional character of the power relations between the participants. The asymmetrical character of the relationship stems from the institutionally established authority of the General Conference to impose obligations on the Director-General, which makes providing grounds for decisions unnecessary and motivates the use of a performative directive verb with the force of imposition.

As already mentioned, except for the programme resolutions, the structure and the basic features of the 1947 and the 1999 executive resolutions show numerous similarities. Both the 1947 and the 1999 executive resolutions are typically realized by one-sentence texts with similar, if not identical, clause structure, including a subject with the semantic role of agentive participant followed by an optional sequence of adverbial clauses and a finite predicate consisting of a performative verb conveying the action to be performed complemented by a direct object and frequently an indirect object signalling the addressee. The main differences concern the choice of predicative verbs, the types of adverbial clauses used and their frequency of occurrence. A comparison of the closed-set paradigms of predicative verbs used in the 1947 and the 1999 executive resolutions shows that while the 1947 paradigm includes 16 verbs, the 1999 paradigm includes 29 verbs, i.e. a 35.2 per cent increase. It should be mentioned that the majority of verbs (68.8%) included in the 1947 paradigm are present in the 1999 paradigm, i.e. the change reflects an extension rather than the replacement of the set of lexical items.

The proportion of executive resolutions with a preamble component consisting of adverbial clauses indicating intertextual reference and/or scene, which is 35.9 per cent in the 1947 volume, marks a striking increase, as it reaches 81.6 per cent in the 1999 *Resolutions* volume. The fact that the majority of the executive resolutions include indications of intertextual reference and/or scene may be interpreted as a result of the need to state the grounds for a decision by intertextual reference to earlier documents produced by the organization (not available in 1947) and to specify the socio-cultural norms and conventions, which though shared by the expert discourse

community, may not be evident to the international general public. As far as types of adverbial clauses are concerned, both the 1947 and the 1999 resolutions use most frequently non-finite present participle clauses. However, it is relevant to note that the 1947 colony includes seven resolutions containing finite adverbial clauses introduced by the formal subordinator *whereas*. The reason for the gradual disappearance of this type of clause in the *Resolutions* volumes²⁸ may be interpreted as an indication of a tendency towards formal and structural unification of the texts of resolutions, as well as of the delimitation of the genre as distinct from the legal register for which the use of adverbial clauses introduced by *whereas* is emblematic (Crystal & Davy 1969:199-203).

In summarising the results of the comparative analysis of the 1947 and 1999 resolutions, it may be stated that the changes undergone by the structure and the characteristic features of resolutions reflect a tendency towards formal and structural codification, promoting the use of recurrent word combinations. The delimitation of the elections sub-type of preparatory resolutions and the unification of the form and structure of the programme resolutions and the remaining executive resolutions reflects a tendency towards systematic, explicit and easily surveyable organization of the texts.

²⁸ The *Resolutions* volume of the 10th General Conference in 1958 is the last one in which finite adverbial clauses introduced by *whereas* appear in the preamble component of resolutions, though the occurrence of such clauses in the text of reports of commissions and declarations can be attested in some of the later volumes.

4.3 Generic structure of resolutions

This investigation into the generic structure of resolutions is undertaken from a synchronic point of view and deals with the actual stage of development of the genre²⁹. According to the analytical framework adopted in this book, an analysis of generic structure should focus on the compositional, functional and rhetorical value of discourse components, while taking into account the communicative purposes that the genre is expected to accomplish in a particular type of conventionalised context. In this section, the analysis of the generic structure of resolutions aims at identifying the set of functionally motivated components which define its generic structure potential, and the specific rhetorical moves which they perform in order to realise the communicative purposes the UNESCO discourse community associates with the genre. Variation in the realization of the generic structure potential and the communicative purposes of the texts are the main criteria considered in the discussion of intrageneric variation.

4.3.1 Generic structure potential

As argued in subsection 2.5.1 of this book, generic structure is made up of obligatory and optional components which are functionally motivated by contextual features and the communicative purpose of the text. Thus the generic structure potential of a genre comprises the total range of obligatory and optional components and their ordering, including possible variation in their sequence and reiterative potential.

What makes resolutions a particularly interesting material for genre analysis is that, being one-sentence texts, their structural components generally correspond to sentence elements, i.e. their sequence and reiterative potential is to a large extent determined by syntactic rules. Taking into consideration the contextual features of resolutions as described in the discussion of the UNESCO context (section 3.1) and the stages of progression of the text as predetermined by word order requirements applicable in English sentences, the generic structure potential of resolutions may be seen as comprising the following structural components:

- 1) Title signalling the topic – T_T
- 2) Setting indication – Set
- 3) Identification of the Addresser – Ader
- 4) Preamble stating the grounds for the decision by means of intertextual reference and/or scene description – $Pr_{(IR/SD)}$
- 5) Action performed (performative act/non-performative act)– $Act_{(p/n-p)}$
- 6) Identification of the Addressee – Adee
- 7) Description of future behaviour or resultant state – FB/RS

²⁹ The analysis in this section is carried out on the texts of the 1999 and 2003 *Resolutions* volumes available at the following internet addresses: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001185/118514e.pdf> for the 1999 volume, and <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001331/133171e.pdf> for the 2003 volume.

The present analysis first focuses on the five obligatory elements in the generic structure of resolutions, namely title, setting indication, identification of the addresser, action performed and description of future behaviour or resultant state, as they have a key role in the identification of the genre.

The first obligatory element – the title – conveys the topic of a resolution, which is thematically related to the titles of the other resolutions in the same section of a given *Resolutions* volume, and is listed in the *Contents* of the Resolutions volume. Compared to the eye-catching function of titles in news reports or the symbolic function of titles in poetry, the strictly informative function of titles of resolutions reflects a tendency towards a high level of explicitness in the language of international governmental organizations, which is consonant with the institutional character of this kind of discourse. Owing to the need to condense a considerable amount of information, the titles of resolutions typically have a formulaic realization, taking the form of a nonsentence consisting of a noun phrase, frequently a nominalization with heavy prepositional post-modification, as illustrated in:

- (19) Strengthening of the research project on the fight against AIDS, in particular to develop a paediatric vaccine eliminating the transmission of HIV from mother to child (R18/2003)

The indication of the setting is the only component whose position in the structure of the one-sentence text is not firmly established. It is incorporated in the main body of the text in resolutions which take the form of non-performative sentences and whose informative value is reduced to recording the fact of decision taking (20), while it is relegated to a footnote outside the main body of the text in resolutions whose executive character is signalled by the performative form of the sentence (21).

- (20) At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 30 September 2003, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Conference approved the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (32 C/2 and Add., Add. 2 and Add. 3). (R05/2003)

- (21) *The General Conference,*
Authorizes the Director-General:
- (a) to continue to promote gender mainstreaming and capacity-building activities to strengthen the active participation of women at all levels and in all fields of society, in line with the agenda for gender equality adopted by the General Conference at its 28th session and other relevant recommendations; and to that end to strengthen cooperation with Member States, relevant inter-agency mechanisms, IGOs and NGOs;
 - (b) to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$416,400 for programme costs and \$774,100 for staff costs. (R47/1999)

¹ Resolution adopted on the report of Commission I at the 24th plenary meeting, on 16 November 1999.

The spatio-temporal setting indication is an obligatory component, since it states the time and place of the ritual performance of an institutional declaration; thus it becomes an additional parameter which can be used when consulting or referencing the records of sessions of the

General Conference. Realized by set expressions taking the form of prepositional phrases in the body of the text and nominal structures in the footnotes to resolutions, the setting component shows a strong tendency towards the use of recurrent formulaic structures.

In the institutional process of decision-taking the identity of the person or body empowered to enforce a decision and assume the responsibility for its consequences is of crucial importance. It is therefore not surprising that the identification of the addresser is an obligatory element of resolutions. The highly conventionalized institutional context grants the specified institutional addresser more power than the addressee. The fact that the function of identification of the addresser is performed constantly by the subject of one-sentence texts represented invariably by the noun phrase '*the General Conference*' underscores the schematic and formulaic character of the texts.

Since the main function of resolutions is to record the act of declaration of the adoption of the resolutions of the General Conference, the main communicative purpose of each resolution is evidently to state the specific action performed, i.e. regulative decisions concerning rules, procedures and obligations in the organization. The decision-taking process within international intergovernmental organizations presupposes the accomplishment of regulative acts which typically take the form of declarative, directive and commissive and occasionally expressive performative speech acts. The occasional occurrence of non-performative acts of informative character is restricted to resolutions which prepare the conditions for the work of the session of the General Conference and the operation of the organization in the following period. The restricted range of the speech acts performed is reflected by the closed-set lexical paradigm of speech-act verbs used to signal the action; the choice of speech act type and form is influenced by the topic and by power relations between the participants (Searle 1969, 1975; Leech 1983). The action component has a high reiterative potential; the occurrence of sequences of numbered paragraphs realizing different performative speech-acts in the frame of one resolution is characteristic of the executive sub-type.

The last obligatory element, the description of future behaviour or resultant state, which has high reiterative potential, reflects the need to define the resultant state or describe future behaviour intended by the regulative act of the institutional addresser. The definition of the resultant state typically co-occurs with declarative speech acts and takes the form of a noun phrase (22), while the description of future behaviour typically co-occurs with directive speech acts and takes the form of a nominal clause (21 and 23). The recurrent structures used to describe future behaviour or resultant state illustrate the tendency towards the use of formulaic structures characteristic of the genre.

- (22) *The General Conference,*
Having examined document 32C/39,
Recalling 165EX/Decision 6.4 in which the Executive Board recommended that the General
Conference approve at its 32nd session the Amendments to the Statutes of the International
Fund for the promotion of Culture, as set out in the Annex to that decision,
Approves the said amendments. (R37/2003)

Turning to the optional elements in the generic structure of resolutions, it is important to stress that the grounds for the decision and the addressee are inherently present in all resolutions; however, in some resolutions, mainly preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and programme resolutions, they may not be explicitly stated since the intended addressee and/or the rules and regulations governing the decision-making process are provided by the institutional context and the institutional conventions shared by the UNESCO discourse community.

The preamble states the underlying ideology, motives and reasons for taking a decision, which are typically expressed by intertextual reference to previous documents of the organization and/or explicit definition of the ideological, institutional, cultural and psychological background. Obviously, the presence of the preamble component reflects the need to refer explicitly to the ideology and institutional conventions relevant to the decision, which in the intercultural context of diplomatic interaction may not be evident to all participants; in addition, it evidences a related tendency towards over-explicitness. Both forms that the preamble may take – intertextual reference and scene description – exhibit a reiterative potential; however, the reiterative potential of the latter element is considerably higher than that of the former. The preamble is typically realized by a number of recurrent structures, mostly non-finite participle and verbless adjective adverbial clauses, where the introductory elements display a high level of lexical repetition, as in:

- (23) *The General Conference,*
Mindful of the purposes and principles set out in UNESCO's Constitution,
Applauding the efforts made by the Haitian Government to further the building of democracy and
national development,
Noting, in spite of the progress that has been made, the persistence of a great many political,
economic and social difficulties standing in the way of even greater progress,
Welcoming the substantial and effective measures UNESCO has already taken, and the signing
on 19 January 1995 of a Memorandum of Cooperation between the Haitian Government
and UNESCO,
Considering the efforts already made in accordance with 28 C/Resolution 17 appealing for
support to Haiti,
Endorsing the report submitted by the Director-General in document 29 C/INF.1,
Considering that lasting democracy and sustainable development are intimately linked,
Recognizing, therefore, the need to offer Haiti, the only LDC of the American continent, special
assistance,
Aware that a great many objectives still remain to be attained for full and total application of the
guidelines set forth in 27 C/Resolution 21,
Considering the conclusions of the Joint Haitian Government-UNESCO Commission (April
1999),

1. *Urgently appeals* to the Member States of UNESCO, intergovernmental organizations and international institutions to reinforce their cooperation in Haiti in all UNESCO's fields of competence, in particular education;
2. *Authorizes* the Director-General to mobilize the extrabudgetary resources needed to implement the projects identified by the Joint Commission, and requests him to submit to the Executive Board a report on the progress achieved and to submit to the General Conference, at its 31st session, a report on the implementation of this resolution. (R55/1999)

The occurrence of the addressee component, typical of directive speech acts, is conditioned by the need to name explicitly the subject of the decision. It should be noted that the choice of addressees may vary in the frame of one resolution (see 23 above); a change of addressee, expressed by a noun phrase functioning as object, requires a separate indication of the speech act performed. The co-occurrence of certain speech-act verbs with particular addressees reflects the specific status of the participants within the asymmetrical power relations of the institution. The non-realization of the addressee occurs in resolutions which either have a declarative character or in which the authority of the institutional addresser to perform the act is unquestionable.

The sequence of the structural elements of resolutions is presented diagrammatically in Figure 7, where the obligatory elements are highlighted in bold, the optional elements are in normal print, the element whose linear position is not fixed is marked in italics and the elements with reiterative potential are signalled by an asterisk.

Figure 7 – Sequence of the structural elements of resolutions

$$T_T - [\text{Ador} - \text{Pr}_{(IR*/SD*)} - \text{Act}_{(p/n-p)} - \text{Adee} - \text{FB}*/\text{RS}*] - \text{Set}$$

It is important to reiterate here that the sequence of the structural components in a resolution is predetermined by the requirements of the colony text (this concerns mainly the title and the setting components) and the grammatical rules governing the word order of an English sentence.

4.3.2 Structure of rhetorical moves

The general communicative purposes of resolutions – the ordering of human relations by the stating of regulative facts, the expressing of a commitment to future action, the imposing of obligations and the conferring of rights – is reflected in their cognitive structuring. When the decision-taking process reflected in resolutions is considered more carefully, several important aspects come to the fore which correspond to the typical three-move structure of the genre:

1) Identifying the resolution

Since resolutions are quoted in subsequent resolutions and other documents of the organization, they need to be clearly identified and referred to in a consistent manner by the UNESCO discourse community. For this reason all resolutions included in a *Resolutions*

volume can be identified by their title and number in the series of preparatory or executive resolutions and by the number of the volume, which corresponds to the number of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted. As already mentioned, the function of the title is to relate the resolution to a thematic section within the structure of the resolutions volume, e.g. financial resolutions, programme resolutions, general resolutions. The setting and the addresser components of resolutions structure are also associated with this move, since they specify the institutional origin and the temporal anchoring of the text.

2) Providing grounds for the decision

Intended to explain the underlying ideology, motives and reasons for taking a decision, this move, realized by the preamble component, argues for the necessity of carrying out the action specified in the next rhetorical move – the statement of the decision itself. Taking into account the advisory status of UNESCO, the providing of persuasive arguments is an indispensable condition for convincing member states and partners to undertake the suggested actions for the achieving of the goals of the organization. The providing of grounds for the decision move can be realized by three major sub-moves:

a) Reference to previous documents, such as the constitution of UNESCO, rules of procedure, declarations, conventions, resolutions, reflecting a preceding decision or convention approved by the member states, which are often considered to be a sufficient motivation for the decision (24). This realization of the providing of grounds for the decision move is the most frequent and can be used in all types of resolutions.

(24) *Referring to 31 C/Resolution 31, as well as to the provisions of the four Geneva Conventions (1949), The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and the related Protocol and to the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), the inscription of the Old City of Jerusalem on the World Heritage List and on the List of World Heritage in Danger and the recommendations, resolutions and decisions of UNESCO on the protection of the cultural heritage (R39/2003)*

b) Asserting values and beliefs which outline the underlying ideology, as shown in (25). Although this sub-move is not the most frequent, its symbolic value is crucial for the establishment of common values and attitudes in an international context; in the preamble of resolutions it is often realized by quotes from the preamble of the Constitution of UNESCO.

(25) *Considering that lasting democracy and sustainable development are intimately linked (R55/1999)*

c) Presenting arguments based on describing achievements, reporting facts and evaluative assessment of previous actions of the organization, its members and partners, as illustrated in (26).

(26) *Noting with satisfaction that the symbolic number of 100 deposits of instruments of ratification or acceptance of the Convention has been reached as at 1 July 2003 (R38/2003)*

It is important to stress that the providing of grounds for a decision is the only move that does not appear in all types of resolutions. This is due to the fact that since most organizational matters are elucidated in the constitution and the rules of procedure of the General Conference and related bodies, there is no need to explain the grounds for the decisions recorded in resolutions dealing with administrative issues. Even in the other sub-types of resolutions, the providing of grounds for the decision move may vary in the amount of arguments provided and in the types of sub-moves included. The positioning of the three sub-moves is not strictly prescribed; however, there is a strong tendency to use them in the sequence in which they are listed above.

3) Stating the decision

The last move – stating the decision – is obviously the most important part of a resolution, since the purpose of the *Resolutions* volume is to record the decisions of the General Conference. While the specification of the subject of the decision (i.e. the addressee) may be explicit or implicit, resolutions invariably indicate the action to be performed, the rights conferred and/or obligations imposed (i.e. the description of future behaviour or resultant state). As already explained, a resolution can state several related decisions concerning one or more different subjects.

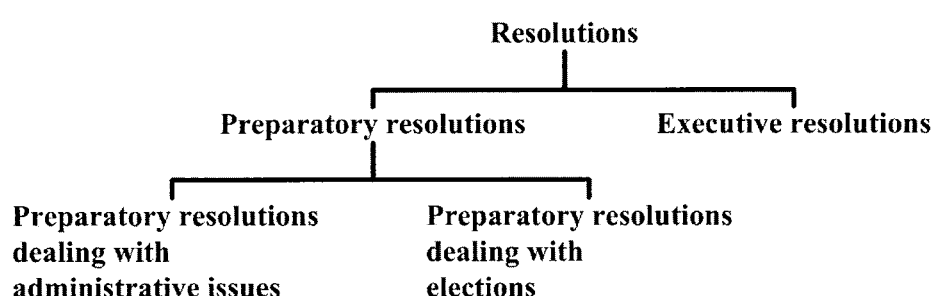
It is obvious from the discussion above that there is no one-to-one mapping between the structural elements and the rhetorical moves of a resolution; however, individual moves are associated with specific structural components and their positioning is fixed. In the rhetorical structure of resolutions, two of the moves (identifying the resolutions and stating the decision) are obligatory, while the occurrence of the third move (providing grounds for the decision) and the choice of its sub-moves depends on the particular communicative purpose a resolution is intended to convey. In fact, it is this variation in the structure of rhetorical moves that plays a major role in the delimitation of sub-genres within the genre of resolutions.

4.3.3 Intrageneric variation: preparatory and executive resolutions

The key assumption underlying my approach to intrageneric variation is that of the contextual determination of generic structure. What this means is that that divergence in the co-occurrences of the genre-specific values of situational variables is reflected in particularization of the selection and sequence of structural components and the specific rhetorical (sub-)moves which they perform in order to realize the communicative purposes of the genre, thus revealing intrageneric variation. Based on contextual analysis and discussion of the generic structure of resolutions, two major sub-types of resolutions can be delimited, namely preparatory and executive resolutions, which differ in their secondary communicative purposes, the type of speech act performed, the topic of their concern, the realization of the setting and addressee components and the selection of sub-moves of the rhetorical move of the providing of grounds for a decision. It should be

reiterated that the delimitation of preparatory and executive resolutions is underscored by their arrangement in two numerical series. In addition, preparatory resolutions have been found to exhibit two sub-varieties, i.e. preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, delimited according to the type of speech act performed and presence or absence of the rhetorical move of the providing of grounds for a decision. The sub-genres within the genre of resolutions as established based on the material under investigation, are summarised in Figure 8.

Figure 8 – Sub-genres within the genre of resolutions



Starting with the preparatory resolutions, the first thing to acknowledge is that since their function is to prepare the necessary conditions for the work of the session of the General Conference and the bodies of the organization over a certain period (usually specified in accordance with the constitution of UNESCO or the statutes of a given organ), they have an administrative character reflected in the absence of the rhetorical move of the providing of grounds for a decision, which when occasionally present is restricted to the reference to previous documents sub-move, and of a specified addressee. Another characteristic feature of preparatory resolutions is that they typically state decisions concerning the composition of bodies, the establishment of procedure and the definition of rights using declarations (27) and non-performative representatives (see (20) above).

(27) The General Conference

Elects, in accordance with its Rules of Procedure, the following Member States to be members of the Headquarters Committee until the end of the 34th session of the General Conference: [a list of countries follows]. (R023/2003)

Executive resolutions regulate the future behaviour of the organization, its members and executives by the statement of regulative facts, the conferral of rights and the imposition of duties and obligations using direct explicit declarations, directive speech acts and occasionally expressive speech acts. While the addressee of declarations is unspecified (28), the addressee of directive (29) and expressive speech acts (30) is a specified institutional group or individual.

- (28) *Decides* that the question of cultural diversity as regards the protection of the diversity of cultural contents and artistic expressions shall be the subject of an international convention; (R34/2003)
- (29) 4. *Requests* the Director-General to take into account the programme of commemoration once finalized in the implementation of document 32 C/5 Approved and to mobilize extrabudgetary funds for its full implementation, including through enhanced participation of civil society and of public and private sectors in Member States; (R35/2003)
- (30) 1. *Expresses its gratitude* to the Headquarters Committee and to its Chairperson, H.E. Mr Musa Bin Jaafar Bin Hassan, for the action taken and the results achieved between the 31st and the 32nd sessions of the General Conference; (R74/2003)

A considerable amount of executive resolutions, especially those focused on statement of position and regulation of future behaviour concerning the programme and general issues, use an extensive move for the providing of grounds for a decision, as they require detailed scene definition (see (23) above). As compared to preparatory resolutions which cover a restricted range of topics, executive resolutions deal with a wide spectrum of topics reflecting the field of activities of UNESCO as well as the internal management of the organization.

The structural potential of the sub-genres of preparatory and executive resolutions is summarised in Figure 9, where the obligatory elements are highlighted in bold, the optional elements are in normal print, the element whose linear position is not fixed is marked in italics and the elements with reiterative potential are signalled by an asterisk.

Figure 9 – Generic structure of preparatory and executive resolutions

Preparatory resolutions

$T_T - [\text{Set}_I - \text{Pr}_{(IR)} - \text{Ador} - \text{Act}_{(p/n-p)} - \text{RS}^*] - \text{Set}_2$

Executive resolutions

$T_T - [\text{Ador} - \text{Pr}_{(IR^*/SD^*)} - \text{Act}_p - \text{Adee} - \text{FB}^*/\text{RS}^*] - \text{Set}$

Obviously, the main difference between the two sub-types of the genre of resolutions concerns the realization of rhetorical moves and structural components. (The rhetorical moves and structural components of executive resolutions and the two sub-types of preparatory resolutions are illustrated in Figure 12 on page 93 and Figure 11 on page 92 respectively.) While the move for the providing of grounds for a decision is not integrated in all preparatory resolutions, they include all the obligatory elements offered by the generic structure potential of resolutions. The reiterative potential of their structural elements is low, while the frequency of use of recurrent structures and formulaic expression is considerable. The structure of executive resolutions uses all rhetorical moves and all elements offered by the generic structure potential of the genre. The elements which allow reiteration have high reiterative potential and take the form of recurrent structures and word combinations.

The preparatory and executive resolutions in the material under investigation also differ in their frequency of occurrence and performativity (Table 1). It is evident that the overwhelming majority of the resolutions in the material are executive resolutions realizing performative speech acts. This is in conformity with the finding that resolutions perform regulative and constitutive institutional speech acts, presupposing the existence of extra-linguistic rules and institutional conventions in order for the act to be performed successfully.

Table 1 – Frequency of occurrence of preparatory and executive resolutions

Type of resolution	Performative		Non-performative		Total
	1999	2003	1999	2003	
Preparatory dealing with admin. issues	2	3	6	4	15
Preparatory dealing with elections	17	14	1	2	34
Executive resolutions	87	85	1	1	184

A comparison of the structural and rhetorical differences between preparatory and executive resolutions can explain the reasons for the major distinctions between their characteristic language features. As pointed out in the discussion of the generic structure potential of resolutions, the position of the setting element varies among different sub-types of the genre. Thus in preparatory resolutions dealing with the organization of the session the indication of the setting, which takes the form of a prepositional phrase typically in initial position, is included in the main body of the text, as it is important to stress that temporally the adoption of resolutions dealing with the organization of the session precedes executive decisions (see (20) above). In preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, however, similarly to executive resolutions the indication of the setting is positioned outside the body of the text and takes the form of a footnote realized by a nonsentence. The indication of the setting in executive resolutions is invariably performed by a footnote, which marks it as subsidiary information, as the resolutions are not listed according to the order of their adoption (see (21) above).

The realization of the preamble component in preparatory and executive resolutions differs in the selection of the sub-moves included in the move for the providing of grounds for a decision. The absence of the preamble component in preparatory resolutions dealing with organizational and administrative issues has already been explained by the clearly defined administrative rules and procedures granting the institutional addresser the authority to perform the act. A preamble component including the sub-move for reference to previous documents may be actualized in the elections sub-type of preparatory resolutions and has no reiterative potential, as in:

- (31) *The General Conference,*
Recalling paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article II of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Council for the Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme, approved by 27 C/Resolution 5.2 and amended by 28 C/Resolution 22,

Elects the following Member States to be members of the Council until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [a list of Member States follows] (R017/1999)

The reduced actualization of the preamble structure component affects the linguistic features of preparatory resolutions, as typically they do not include sequences of adverbial clauses.

The preamble element providing the grounds for decisions is realized extensively in the majority of executive resolutions, i.e. 82.6 per cent of resolutions (see Table 2 below), the frequency of occurrence of resolutions using the sub-move for reference to previous documents prevailing over those indicating scene definition via the sub-moves for the asserting of values and beliefs and the providing of arguments based on achievements.

Table 2 – Frequency of occurrence of the preamble component in executive resolutions

Text	Resolutions without a preamble component	Resolutions including a preamble component
1999 <i>Resolutions</i> volume	16	71
2003 <i>Resolutions</i> volume	14	71
Total %	17.4	82.6

Since the three sub-moves of the move for the providing of grounds for a decision have typical formulaic realizations, the preamble element is characterized by the use of recurrent structures taking the form of non-finite participle and verbless adjective clauses in medial position with the function of subjectless supplementary adverbial clauses, which, drawing on Chamonikolasová (1987), may be regarded as elements partly integrated in the clause structure, i.e. loose sentence constituents. Since Biber et al. (1999:830) report that supplementary clauses are associated primarily with written formal contexts and in their corpus the “occurrences of medial adverbial clauses are too rare for meaningful quantitative analysis”, it is reasonable to claim that the high frequency of occurrence of supplementary clauses in medial position is one of the main characteristic features of executive resolutions.

Moving on to the elements indicating the participants in the communication, it should be pointed out that the realization of the structural element addresser is identical in preparatory and executive resolutions, i.e. it is performed constantly by the subject of the one-sentence texts represented invariably by the noun phrase ‘*the General Conference*’. There are, however, differences in the realization of the optional element addressee, which are due to variation in the resolution topic and the speech act performed. The non-realization of the addressee in preparatory resolutions reflects the informative or declarative character of the texts, which aims at signalling a resultant state. In this type of resolution, the specification of a particular subject of a decision is not required, the implied addressee being all the members and executives of the organization and the audience. As it is an optional element in executive resolutions, the

realization of the addressee component depends on the type of speech act performed and is not actualized when the decision is conveyed by a declarative speech act. In directive speech acts, however, indication of the addressee specifying who is to carry out an action is felt to be indispensable and is expressed by the indirect object of the one-sentence text. It should be pointed out that the choice of addressee has an impact on the force of imposition of the speech-act verb (compare (32) and (33)) and thus can be interpreted as reflecting politeness considerations³⁰.

- (32) *The General Conference, [...]*
Invites Member States and donor agencies to make voluntary contributions to the programme and to the operation of the Bonn Centre in order to meet the needs of all Member States; (R9/1999)

- (33) *The General Conference, [...]*
Requests the Director-General to implement the following activities as part of the follow-up to the Second International Congress on Technical and Vocational Education: (R9/1999)

Apart from the realization of the addressee component, differences in the actualization of the move stating the decision concern the choice of speech-act type and form and are influenced by the topic of the resolution and by the power relation between the participants. The directive, declarative and expressive speech acts used in executive resolutions invariably have a performative character (see (32) and (33) above), the respective speech-act verbs being selected from a closed-set lexical paradigm, thus resulting in a high degree of lexical repetition. Preparatory resolutions typically use declarative and representative speech acts, though only declarations have a performative character. It should be noted that the closed-set lexical paradigm of the predicative verbs of preparatory resolutions is considerably more restricted. The reiterative potential of the action component is high in executive resolutions, while in the frame of preparatory resolutions it has no reiterative potential.

The last difference related to the realization of the move stating the decision concerns the description of the component of future behaviour and/or resultant state. In the sub-type of preparatory resolutions this component is actualized exclusively by a description of a resultant state, which may be either a decision concerning organizational issues or a declaration concerning the outcome of elections. Further variation occurs in the sub-varieties of preparatory resolutions: in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections the description of a resultant state typically takes the form of an infinitive clause or noun phrase functioning as object complement (31), while in preparatory resolutions dealing with the organization of the session of the General Conference it is expressed by a noun phrase or nominal *to*-infinitive clause functioning as an affected object (34).

³⁰ The force of imposition of the speech-act verbs with relation to addressees is discussed in subsection 3.6.3 of this book.

- (34) In addition, at its 14th plenary meeting, on 7 October 2003, the Conference decided to add to its agenda, pursuant to the report of its General Committee, items 5.25 “Strengthening of the research project on the fight against AIDS, in particular to develop a paediatric vaccine eliminating the transmission of HIV from mother to child” (32 C/BUR/6) and 11.19 “Request for the review of the suspension of the voting rights of Member States”. (R03/2003)

It should be mentioned that the reiterative potential of the description of the resultant-state component in preparatory resolutions is very low as compared to its high reiterative potential in executive resolutions. As executive resolutions are oriented towards the formation of future behaviour, they actualize both variants of the structural element description of future behaviour and resultant state, the description of future behaviour typically co-occurring with directive speech acts, while the resultant state co-occurs with declarations.

As the above discussion indicates, preparatory and the executive resolutions differ further in that while the generic structure of executive resolutions exhibits no variation, there is internal variation in the sub-genre of preparatory resolutions. Preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues realize a non-performative representative speech act, using a predicative verb in the simple past tense of the indicative mood typically complemented by an affected object taking the form of a noun phrase or nominal *to*-infinitive clause (34). The second sub-type – preparatory resolutions dealing with elections – are one-sentence texts of formulaic character and with minimal variation in the wording. Resolutions dealing with elections resemble executive resolutions; they may optionally include a preamble component conveying the sub-move for reference to previous documents and express performative declarative speech acts using a causative verb in the third person of the simple present tense of the indicative mood complemented by complex transitive complementation in which the direct object is followed by a *to*-infinitive clause with the function of object complement, which identifies the resultant state (see (31) above). The position of the setting element in the two sub-variants of preparatory resolutions is also different: in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues it takes the form of a prepositional phrase typically in initial position, while in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections it is positioned outside the body of the text, as a footnote. The structure of the two sub-types of preparatory resolutions is shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10 – Sub-types of preparatory resolutions

Preparatory resolutions dealing with organizational and administrative issues

$T_T - [Set - Ador - Act_{(n-p)} - RS^*]$

Preparatory resolutions dealing with appointments and elections

$T_T - [Ador - Pr_{(IR)} - Act_{(p)} - RS^*] - Set_2$

To conclude, the analysis of the generic structure of resolutions has demonstrated that the cognitive structuring which accounts for the structural interpretation of resolutions has three rhetorical moves. However, since the realizations of the rhetorical moves and the structural components of resolutions vary, two major sub-types of the genre have been identified – preparatory and executive resolutions – which differ both in their potential to actualize the generic structure and in the characteristic language features they use. The differences between executive and preparatory resolutions concern the position and role of the setting, the type of speech acts performed and the reiterative potential of their structural components.

Figure 11 – Rhetorical moves and structural components of preparatory resolutions

Preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues

Rhetorical move	Text of R05/2003	Structural component
Move 1	05 Organization of the work of the session At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 30 September 2003, on the recommendation of the General Committee,	Topic Setting
Move 1	the General Conference	Addresser
Move 3	<u>approved</u> the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (32 C/2 and Add., Add. 2 and Add.3).	Action Resultant state

Preparatory resolutions dealing with elections

Rhetorical move	Text of R012/2003	Structural component
Move 1	012 Election of members of the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (CIGEPS)¹ <i>The General Conference,</i>	Topic Addresser
Move 2(a)	<i>Recalling</i> Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport, as revised by 29 C/Resolution 19,	Preamble
Move 3	<u>Elects</u> the following Member States to be members of the Committee until the end of the 34th session of the General Conference: Albania Côte d'Ivoire Netherlands Bahrain Dominica Russian Fed. Costa Rica Germany Thailand	Action Resulting state
Move 1	1. Resolution adopted on the report of the Nominations Committee at the 20th plenary meeting, on 16 October 2003.	Setting

Figure 12 – Rhetorical moves and structural components of executive resolutions

Rhetorical move	Text of R52/2003	Structural component
Move 1	52 Strengthening cooperation with the Democratic Republic of the Congo¹ <i>The General Conference,</i>	Topic Addresser
Move 2		Preamble
(b)	<i>Bearing in mind</i> the purposes and principles enshrined in UNESCO's Constitution,	
(a)	<i>Taking into account</i> the report of the United Nations Security Council mission to Central Africa (7-16 June 2003),	
(c)	<i>Noting with satisfaction</i> the constitution of the transitional Government, which enabled the Democratic Republic of the Congo to enter the post-conflict phase of peace-building and national reconstruction on 29 July 2003, <i>Welcoming</i> the signature on 11 August 2003 in Kinshasa by the Head of State of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Director-General of UNESCO of a joint communiqué defining a strategy framework concerning UNESCO's contribution to the processes of reconstruction and reconciliation and of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, <i>Deeply concerned</i> by the situation with which the Democratic Republic of the Congo finds itself confronted during this transitional period, as a result of the civil war and natural disasters,	
Move 3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Launches an appeal</i> to the Member States of UNESCO, international and non-governmental organizations and private institutions to provide or continue providing the fullest possible cooperation in all UNESCO's fields of competence, in particular, assistance aimed at strengthening educational, cultural and scientific institutions, training staff responsible for running these institutions, and helping to preserve and develop the natural, cultural and intellectual heritage of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; 2. <i>Invites</i> the Director-General to employ all necessary means within the framework of UNESCO's Programme and Budget for 2004-2005, and up to 2006, to assist the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in solving the problems facing the population of the country in UNESCO's fields of competence; 3. <i>Requests</i> the Director-General to report on the implementation of this resolution to the Executive Board at its 170th session and to submit a full report on the activities undertaken in support of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the General Conference at its 33rd session. 	<u>Action</u> Addressee Description of future behaviour/ resultant state
Move 1	1. Resolution adopted on the report of Commission I at the 21st plenary meeting, on 17 October 2003.	Setting

4.4 Style markers of resolutions

Adopting a socially based functional framework for the study of language variation, this section approaches discourse as text and looks at characteristic language features of resolutions which can be regarded as style markers of the genre. Undertaken from the point of view of synchrony, the linguistic description of resolutions endeavours to explain the cognitive and rhetorical reasons for genre-specific selections, while considering language choices as intertextually motivated by previous discourses and affected by social practices and ideologies the participants bring to the communicative event.

It is important to stress that this investigation of the style markers of resolutions focuses on discourse-level features, which are considered to be characteristic of the genre since they reflect the constraints imposed by the generic structure and by the colony text type. However, distinctive features at all relevant levels of linguistic realization are taken into consideration in the discussion of tactical use of text-patterning to express specific meaning-function correlations. A quantitative analysis of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume carried out manually and using Scott et al.'s (1993) '*MicroConcord*' concordancer has been used to establish stylistically relevant lexico-grammatical patterns. Though the size of the material is relatively limited, it is considered to be sufficiently representative for the purposes of this research, because the genre of resolutions may be regarded as similar to legislative "*frozen* genres, where form-function correlations are rather fixed" and therefore "it is often not necessary to base findings on large corpora" (Bhatia et al. 2004:206-207). Quantitative findings are compared to the corpus findings reported in the Biber et al.'s (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LGSWE)* to serve as basis for an estimation of whether the language features identified in this study are truly genre-specific. However, it should be mentioned that since the legal register and the register of diplomacy are under-represented in the *LGSWE* corpus³¹, which, moreover, does not account for genre variation, the comparison of the findings of the present research with the *LGSWE* findings has a subsidiary role.

4.4.1 Resolutions as a specimen of formal written institutional discourse

Considering discourse-level style markers as the primary determinants of the genre, this analysis unavoidably pays less attention to relevant linguistic choices at other language levels. To compensate for that, the following brief discussion introduces a broader inventory of language features which, though reflecting register rather than genre variation, are typically associated with formal written discourse in an institutional setting.

³¹ The *LGSWE* corpus is a 40-million-word corpus of texts representing four main registers: conversation, fiction, news, academic prose, and two supplementary registers: non-conversational speech (context-governed), e.g. lectures, sermons, courtroom discourse, and general prose texts (non-fiction), covering a wide range of topics, e.g. biography, economics, politics/government.

The functional difference between written and spoken language has been investigated in numerous studies (cf. Vachek 1989, Tannen 1982, Brown & Yule 1983, Halliday 1985b, Carter 1997, Urbanová & Oakland 2002). Written language, which evolved to serve new functions of language in society, is typically regarded as a different language norm intended to provide means for a reaction to extralinguistic reality which is preservable and easily surveyable (Halliday 1985b, Vachek 1989). The written norm is considered to largely coincide with Standard English and is associated with high social prestige, as it is learned later in life in the system of formal education (Carter 1997, Urbanová & Oakland 2002). As opposed to spoken discourse, which is highly context-bound, unplanned and evaluative, writing is regarded as less context-bound, planned and used to perform primarily a referential function (Tannen 1982, Urbanová & Oakland 2002).

From the point of view of stylistics, formal written language typically exhibits features of integration, i.e. compactness of forms of expression, and detachment, i.e. lack of involvement of the speaker with the audience and with the content of the message (Tannen 1982). Detachment is promoted by the avoidance of first-person pronouns and monitoring and interaction features, and by the use of general subjects, abstract nouns, emphasis on facts, states and objects. Integration is achieved by the use of nominalizations, increased use of participle clauses, attribute adjectives, conjoined phrases, sequences of prepositional phrases, complement and relative clauses. As far as the lexical level is concerned, Halliday (1985b) points out that written language is characterized by density, i.e. writing favours the use of a higher proportion of lexical words as compared to spoken language. Particularly important for the present research is the view that cohesion in formal written language is achieved primarily by lexical cohesive devices, explicit linking and subject deletion, while the role of parallelism and repetition is reduced as compared to spoken language. It is relevant to note the importance of graphological means and layout for the promoting of the logical planning and surveyability of written texts.

Resolutions, as a specimen of formal written language, logically exhibit the majority of the above-mentioned features, such as nominalizations, participle and complement clauses, sequences of prepositional phrases and lexical cohesion. However, as the present analysis intends to demonstrate, due to the colony text format, resolutions also show an extensive use of parallel structures, while attributing lesser significance to explicit linking. This fact supports the view that it is reasonable to consider the inventory of features characterizing formal written language as a general framework, which may be considerably affected by the register and genre of a concrete text (Tannen 1982).

Language use by large and complex national and international organizations such as governments, diplomacies, armies and corporations is often termed bureaucratic discourse³²

³² Bureaucratic discourse has long been associated with pejorative terms such as 'bureaucratese' (Young & Harrison 2004) and 'officialese' (Vachek 1974), which express the negative attitude of the general public towards their administrative power and excessive structural complexity which borders on incomprehensibility. A similar attitude towards legal language (indicated by the term 'legalese') has led to certain efforts for its simplification (Hiltunen 1990).

and is considered to be “characterized by jargon, abstractions and convoluted syntax” (Young & Harrison 2004:231). Since the majority of the discourse-level features of resolutions discussed in this book are associated with syntactic patterning, the focus of what follows is on lexical choices.

The crucial importance of professional jargon in institutional interaction can hardly be questioned. Apart from providing the terminology associated with the specific field of activity of the organization, knowledge of UNESCO jargon implies the ability to decipher context-dependent hidden meanings, intentions and ambiguities coded in set phrases typical of diplomatic communication. Although the study of ‘lexical bundles’ (Biber 2006, Hyland 2008) is outside the scope of the present research, it is important to stress that expertise in the production and processing of “extended collocations which appear more frequently than expected by chance, helping to shape meanings in specific contexts and contributing to our sense of coherence in a text” (Hyland 2008:5) is an essential aspect of the shared knowledge of a professional discourse community. Moreover, since as evidenced by Biber (2006) lexical bundles are genre-specific and the density of their occurrence varies across genres, the study of extended collocations can be regarded as an important aspect of genre analysis.

In an international context, such as that of UNESCO, an additional challenge that the members of the discourse community have to face is multilingualism and the related need to assure an adequate translation of the complex institutional terminology into several languages while keeping intact its informative value. A useful tool for dealing with this translation problem and reflecting an awareness of the arrangement of UNESCO terminology into semantic groupings linked together by hierarchical, associative and equivalence relationships is the multilingual *UNESCO Thesaurus* – a controlled vocabulary developed by the organization, which includes subject terms from the following areas of knowledge: education, science, culture, the social and human sciences, information and communication, and politics, law and economics. An additional feature which UNESCO discourse shares with most bureaucratic jargons is the extensive use of abbreviations, such as GC (General Conference), EDS (Education for Sustainable Development), EFA (Education for All), IOC (International Oceanographic Commission), IGCP (International Geological Correlation Programme), IFPC (International Fund for the Promotion of Culture), UNEVOC (UNESCO Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training). The tendency towards the use of controlled language seems to result in conservatism in vocabulary selection. Thus while the expressions ‘*museography*’ and ‘*museographical journal*’ which appear in the 1947 volume are replaced by ‘*museology*’ in the 1999 volume (R25/1999), the use of the expression ‘*education throughout life*’ is still in use, though ‘*lifelong learning*’ has already made its way into the texts³³.

³³ I am indebted to the late Prof. Josef Hladký for bringing to my attention the issue of conservatism in the language of UNESCO.

A specific feature of institutional discourse is the use of politically-correct language, which may be seen as related to politeness considerations. Although the issue of political correctness is marginal to this analysis, it is relevant to note that since the 30th session of the General Conference in 1999 the text of the *Resolutions* volumes explicitly states the addresser's intention to use politically-correct language related to gender in a paragraph included under the *Contents*, quoted in full below:

All the terms used in this collection of texts to designate the person discharging duties or functions are to be interpreted as implying that men and women are equally eligible to fill any post or seat associated with the discharge of these duties and functions.

It is further possible to claim that the requirement to use politically-correct language in the international context of diplomatic interaction motivates a tendency towards the use of indefinite and/or general expressions in the text of resolutions. The unspecificity of generalizing expressions refers primarily to issues such as equal opportunities for men and women, different races, nations and populations, e.g. '*populations affected by acute poverty*' (R53/1999), '*educational opportunity for all, in particular for women and girls, persons belonging to minorities, refugees and indigenous people*' (R15/1999).

Having dealt with some of the characteristic features of formal written institutional discourse, this analysis must turn now to the language features which are considered to be the most characteristic of the genre of resolutions. As already anticipated, the rest of the present investigation deals with discourse-level features, namely information processing, cohesive chains, syntactic patterning, parallelism, and clause relations. It is worth mentioning that the codification of discourse-level markers is facilitated by the extensive use resolutions make of intertextuality, the production of the later texts evidently being strongly affected by the form of the earlier texts.

As resolutions are typically one-sentence texts of different lengths (e.g. R20/1999 consists of 30 words, while R66/1999 includes 4067 words), they are characterized by considerable structural complexity, which is motivated by the presence of embedded clauses, heavily modified noun phrases and nominalizations. Since processing condensed structures imposes greater demands on the reader, structural complexity is related to processing complexity; however, in the case of highly specialized professional discourses which are not intended for the general public, processing complexity is reduced as a result of the experience gathered in working with the genre. Therefore an awareness of the recurrent structural patterns used in the genre of resolutions may be seen as a factor facilitating discourse processing and thus reducing its complexity.

4.4.2 Recurrent syntactic patterns in adverbial structures

The study of stylistically significant recurrent syntactic patterns opens with an investigation of adverbial structures reflecting the setting and preamble components of the structure

of resolutions. It is crucial to point out here that recurrent syntactic patterns in the text of resolutions serve as a basis for the establishment of matching parallelism relations between textual components within the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume.

As stated in the analysis of generic structure, in the one-sentence texts of resolutions, structural components generally correspond to sentence elements. Therefore, the scope of the analysis of adverbial structures is restricted to adverbials which are components of the main clause and reflect prevalingly the obligatory setting and optional preamble components of the structure of resolutions, which by their meaning, i.e. specification of the setting and providing of grounds for the decision, are bound to be expressed by adverbial structures. A small group of adverbials appearing in series with adverbials indicating the setting in preparatory resolutions are also taken into consideration, as their function of signalling the grounds or cause for the action is similar, though not identical, to the function of adverbials reflecting the preamble component in executive resolutions. Additionally, the adverbial components of the notes indicating the setting outside the main body of the text are considered, as their function is similar to the function of the adverbial components of the main clause, and the extent of recurrence in their structural pattern is striking. It should be noted that the notes take the form of non-sentences consisting of a head noun with *ed*-participle post-modification. The adverbials included in the analysis are part of the post-modifying non-finite clause.

The adverbials expressing the setting and the preamble component in the corpus are all adjuncts³⁴ (Quirk et al. 1985). Except for the adverbials of contingency in the notes, all adjuncts are optional sentential adverbials which are not strongly integrated in the sentence structure and are placed in sentence initial or medial position.

In accordance with previous corpus-based research (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999, Kortmann 1991, Povolná 2003), and taking into consideration the stylistic perspective of this investigation, three main criteria have been applied to the analysis of adverbial structures in resolutions, and these are regarded as interdependent:

- 1) realization type
- 2) semantic role
- 3) position

Special attention is paid to circumstance adverbials in series, as well as to the impact of information processing and theme-rheme development on their position in the sentence (Firbas 1992, Svoboda 1989).

Since the present analysis explores stylistically relevant patterns, the identification of realization types of adverbials is of primary importance. Adverbials may be realized by a variety of syntactic forms, including single adverbs and adverb phrases, noun phrases including single nouns, prepositional phrases, finite clauses, and non-finite clauses. According to Biber et al.

³⁴ It should be noted that Biber et al. (1999) term this category ‘circumstance adverbials’.

(1999:768), in terms of overall frequency, the most common syntactic realization of adverbials is the prepositional phrase, followed by adverbs, while finite clauses, non-finite clauses, noun phrases and adverb phrases are relatively rare.

The findings of the analysis of resolutions indicate an extremely high frequency of non-finite, especially *ing*-clauses, and zero frequency of realization of finite clauses (Table 3). A preference towards clausal realizations in executive resolutions and phrasal realizations in preparatory resolutions and notes is very prominent. The high proportion of adjuncts realized by non-finite clauses is due to their use as the single syntactic form of realization of the preamble component of textual structure where the reiterative potential of the adjuncts is high. The non-finite clauses take the form of subjectless *ing*-participle, *ed*-participle and verbless clauses without subordinator which occur in medial position and whose subject is fully co-referent with the subject of the matrix clause (in the case of UNESCO resolutions invariably ‘*The General Conference*’ (35). This type of non-finite clause, which is characterized by a high degree of semantic indeterminacy, is termed a ‘supplementive clause’³⁵ (Quirk et al.:1985, Biber et al.:1999). The preference given to non-finite clauses seems to reflect the written and highly formal character of the genre which requires a very condensed form of expression. The high frequency of occurrence of adverbial clauses is one of the characteristic features shared by legal and bureaucratic language, where adverbial clauses are considered to address, together with relative clauses, the primary concern for clarity and disambiguation (Hiltunen 1990:85, Charrow 1982:180).

Table 3 – Syntactic realizations of adverbials in resolutions

Types of adverbials	Single adverbs/ adv.phrases	Single nouns / NP	PP	Finite clauses	Non-finite clauses			Verbless adjective clauses
					<i>to</i> -inf.	<i>ing</i> -cl.	<i>ed</i> -cl.	
<i>Prep. resolutions</i>	0	0	41	0	0	28	0	3
<i>Exec. resolutions</i>	0	0	3	0	0	255	6	15
<i>Notes</i>	0	0	185	0	0	0	0	0
Total No	0	0	229	0	0	283	6	18
Total %	0	0	42.7	0	0	52.8	1.1	3.4

- (35) *The General Conference*,
Taking account of the urgent need for an adequate procedure for the evaluation of the admissibility of draft resolutions submitted by Member States for its consideration,
Requests that its President takes the necessary steps [...] (R87/1999)
- (36) Resolution adopted on the report of Commission I at the 24th plenary meeting, on 16 November 1999. (Note 1 to R55/1999 and R 56/1999)

³⁵ An alternative term is ‘free adjuncts’ as used by Kortman (1991) in order to highlight the potential of such clauses to function as apposition or a non-restrictive relative clause.

The high frequency of occurrence of adjuncts realized by prepositional phrases reflects their function in the textual structure of signalling the obligatory setting element. The majority (80.8%) of the adjuncts realized by prepositional phrases occurs in the notes (36) as the setting element is positioned outside the main text of the executive resolutions and most of the preparatory resolutions.

The major semantic categories of non-clausal adjuncts are: place, time, process, contingency, extent/degree, addition/restriction, recipient, respect and other cases where the description of the relationship between the adverbials and the rest of the clause is difficult (Biber et al. 1999). As stated above, the non-clausal realizations of adjuncts are phrasal structures reflecting primarily the setting component of resolutions, i.e. they indicate position in time, specifying the exact date when the action took place, or referring to an event identifying the time of the action (Table 4).

Table 4 – Distribution of semantic categories of non-clausal circumstance adverbials

Semantic category	Time - position	Contingency - cause	Total
<i>Preparatory resolutions</i>	23	18	41
<i>Executive resolutions</i>	3	0	3
<i>Notes</i>	129	56	185
Total No	155	74	229
Total %	67.7	32.3	100

The two ways of conveying time-related meanings typically co-occur, with the adverbials in a hierarchical relationship, the date indicating the more extended period as the General Conference gathers in two plenary meetings per day. The order of the time-position adverbials reflects the common tendency for the superordinate adjunct to come after that which indicates a more specific period (Quirk et al. 1985:533), as in:

- (37) At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Conference approved the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (30 C/2 and Add.). (R05/1999)

Since the 1999 *Resolutions* volume contains 18 preparatory resolutions, whose temporal setting is signalled in the notes, and only eight preparatory resolutions in which the setting indication is integrated in the main clause, it is not surprising that the frequency of occurrence of time adjuncts is considerably higher in the notes than in the body of the texts of resolutions.

The prepositional phrases realizing adjuncts which indicate semantic relations of contingency provide information concerning the grounds for performing the action. It is worth mentioning that the cause-reason spectrum of the sub-categories of the relation of contingency are closely

related, the tendency being to associate cause with a relatively objective statement, while reason implies a more subjective assessment (Biber et al. 1999:779). As reference to previous documents is of generally objective character, the prepositional phrases using formal complex prepositions typical of formal written language and in particular of legal English (Quirk et al. 1985:670, Dušková et al. 1988:94, Bhatia 1993:107) are considered to express causal relations based on intertextual reference (38). Intertextuality is used here to refer to “the property of one text being used in another, either directly or by pragmatic implication” (Bhatia et al. 2004:204).

- (38) On the report of the Nominations Committee which had before it the proposals made by the Executive Board, and in accordance with Rule 29 of its Rules of Procedure, the General Conference at its plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, elected its General Committee as follows: [...] (R04/1999)

The range of recurrent structures realizing non-clausal adjuncts is very restricted, as it includes four prepositional phrases indicating time and four prepositional phrases indicating contingency, the first two of the former and the last two of the latter category being variations of the same basic structure (see Table 5 below). Moreover, while all but one of the four prepositional phrases indicating time may be regarded as exhibiting genuinely high reiterative potential, there is only one prepositional phrase indicating contingency which shows a high frequency of occurrence. The restricted range of prepositional phrases and the minimal variation in their wordings reflects a tendency towards the use of genre-specific formulaic sequences in resolutions.

Table 5 – Semantic categories of non-clausal circumstance adverbials

Semantic category	Executive resolutions	Preparatory resolutions	Notes	Total
<i>Time-position</i>				
<i>At its xx plenary meeting</i>	1	11	0	12
<i>At the xx plenary meeting</i>	0	1	64	65
<i>At its xx session</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>On xx October/November 1999</i>	1	13	65	79
<i>Contingency-cause</i>				
<i>On the report of xxx Commission</i>	0	3	56	59
<i>On the recommendation of the xx Committee</i>	0	3	0	3
<i>In accordance with Rule xxx of its Rules of Procedure</i>	0	3	0	3
<i>In accordance with (paragraphs xx) Article xx of the Statutes of xx</i>	0	8	0	8

The distribution of prepositional phrases across the different types of texts shows that the majority of the non-clausal adjuncts appear in the notes. The frequency of occurrence of adverbials of time is more than twice that of contingency adverbials, which is due to the tendency to signal the temporal setting by two co-occurring adverbials of time-position, one indicating

the exact date when the action took place, the second referring to the event identifying the time of the action, while contingency is commonly indicated by one prepositional phrase. Since in executive resolutions the cause-reason spectrum is signalled by clausal adverbials and the indication of the setting is performed in the notes, it is not surprising that the frequency of prepositional phrases in this sub-genre is extremely low.

The semantic roles of clausal adverbials partially overlap with the semantic function of non-clausal realizations, i.e. they realize time, place, manner and contingency semantic categories; furthermore, clausal realizations may express preference and proportion. In addition, clausal adverbials can function as supplementive clauses – a category characterized by a considerable semantic indeterminacy, which “provides the speaker with the means for 1) denoting some proposition, 2) combining it with some other proposition, 3) and most importantly, presenting the former proposition as backgrounded for his/her current purposes in the provision of information in some piece of discourse by encoding it as a syntactically dependent construction” (Kortmann 1991:113). Analysis of the material under investigation has shown that all occurrences of non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses functioning as main clause constituents are subjectless supplementive clauses. The highest proportion of supplementive clauses is used in the preamble of executive resolutions, which reflects the tendency to refer explicitly to other texts and to state the motivation for the action performed.

The semantic indeterminacy of a supplementive clause is restricted by “the set of semantic relations serving for a search domain for this supplementive clause [...] and] the distribution of logical roles relative to construction type, position and type of text, though several semantic relations may be interpreted as existing side by side” (Kortmann 1991:113). Drawing on Kortmann (ibid.:121) the semantic relations available to supplementive clauses are regarded as composing a scale ranging from the ‘more informative’ relations – concession, condition, instrument, cause/result, time (anteriority and posteriority) – to the ‘less informative’ – manner, exemplification, time (simultaneity), accompanying circumstance, addition. Furthermore, according to Quirk et al. (1985:1124), the meaning relation implied by supplementive clauses is affected by their position in the sentence, i.e. they are considered to indicate background information in initial, parenthetical in medial and supplementary in final position. The full scale of semantic relations is potentially available only for present participle clauses without subordinator, while past participle and perfective constructions narrow the search domain (Kortmann 1991:120). An additional factor affecting the meaning of *ing*-participle supplementive clauses is the semantics of the verb, i.e. verbs used dynamically tend to suggest a temporal link and stative verbs a causal link (Quirk et al. 1985:1124). Adjective supplementive clauses refer to an attribute or state of the subject, though in relation to the action performed (ibid.:425).

As the function of the supplementive clauses in the corpus is to signal the motivation for the action, the adjective and *ed*-clauses which by their realization pattern are bound to imply a

more informative relation and *ing*-clauses referring to a state are considered to express a reason relation³⁶, as in:

- (39) *Recognizing* the need for international and intercultural understanding, and for education for peace, democracy, human rights and sustainable development in the Asia-Pacific region, which has so much cultural diversity, urgent development needs and numerous possibilities for conflict, (R17/1999)
- (40) *Convinced* that the proposed International Adult Learners' Week will enrich International Literacy Day and strengthen its links to the larger adult learning movement to which it contributes, (R11/1999)
- (41) *Mindful* of the purposes and principles set out in UNESCO's Constitution, (R55/1999)

In many cases, though, the adverbials realized by *ing*-clauses with verbs used dynamically imply a reason and time relationship, which may indicate either a less informative time-simultaneity relation (42) or time-anteriority, signalled by the perfective participle (43).

- (42) *Applauding* the efforts made by the Haitian Government to further the building of democracy and national development, (R55/1999)
- (43) *Having examined* the report submitted by the Director-General, in accordance with 29 C/ Resolution 36, on the implementation of activities on the ethical, legal and societal aspects of cyberspace, (R37/1999)

Therefore, it may be concluded that the meaning relations implied by supplementary clauses in resolutions have relatively high informative value, i.e. reason/cause and time (anteriority) are more specific and require less co-textual/contextual evidence for their identification; time (simultaneity) is a less specific relation, although it always holds in combination with the more informative reason/cause semantic relation (see Table 6 below).

The stylistically relevant patterns in supplementary clauses used in the preamble component of resolutions are based on verbs with recurrent noun phrase and *that*-clause complementation (see Table 7 below). Complementation by noun phrase is heavily prevalent in the case of *ing*-clauses, which is due to the fact that many of the noun phrases with abstract noun heads are nominalizations used for condensation purposes, which is typical of formal written registers (44). Prominent use of nominalizations has also been noted as characteristic of legal English by Crystal & Davy (1969), Danet (1985) and Knittlová (1990).

- (44) *Also taking note* of the establishment by the Director-General of the Advisory Committee for Linguistic Pluralism and Multilingual Education, in accordance with 29 C/ Resolution 38 (para. 2.B(b)), (R37/1999)

³⁶ It is interesting to note that Malá's (2005) analysis of data from the British National Corpus representing academic discourse shows that reason is one of the most frequent relations expressed by subjectless non-finite participle clauses without a subordinator.

Table 6 – Semantic roles of supplementary adverbial clauses

Realization type	Semantic role		Total	
	Reason + time	Reason	No	%
<i>ing</i> -clauses with NP Co	192	28	220	71.7
<i>ing</i> -clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	57	5	62	20.2
<i>ing</i> -clauses with <i>to</i> -infinitive clause Co	0	1	1	0.3
<i>ed</i> -clauses with NP Co	0	3	3	1.0
<i>ed</i> -clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	0	3	3	1.0
adjective clauses with PP Co	0	13	13	4.2
adjective clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	0	5	5	1.6
Total No	249	58	307	-
Total %	81.1	18.9	-	100

Obviously, only some of the syntactic patterns listed in Table 7 show high reiterative potential and thus may be expected to exhibit stylistically relevant multiple parallelism or to function as genre-specific formulaic sequences (as defined by Wray 2000 and Simpson 2004). Overall, only six of the 45 structures listed in Table 7 are repeated more than 15 times in the corpus and may thus be regarded as exhibiting very high reiterative potential³⁷. The structures with the highest frequency of occurrence perform the semantic role of reason and time blends and typically take the form of *ing*-clauses complemented by noun phrases, though the frequency of *ing*-clauses complemented by *that*-clauses is also relatively high.

The structures expressing reason are less numerous and generally show a lower frequency of occurrence. It is further necessary to stress that 16 of the reason and time blends and 14 of the reason supplementary clauses, i.e. 67.7 per cent of all the structural patterns, show low reiterative potential, i.e. they occur less than five times in the corpus. It may therefore be concluded that while the recurrence of supplementary clauses in resolutions is extremely high, only a restricted number of them may exhibit significant parallelism based on simple repetition. On the other hand, as several of the verbal elements introducing structural patterns may be regarded as of generally synonymous meaning, parallelism patterns may be extended on the basis of lexical cohesive relations.

³⁷ For a detailed semantic and functional differentiation of supplementary clauses as elements of the preamble of resolutions see Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005b).

Table 7 – Structural patterns of supplementary clauses with regard to their semantic role

Reason + time blends		Reason clauses	
<i>Structural pattern</i>	No	<i>Structural pattern</i>	No
acknowledging + NP	5	appreciative + PP	1
acknowledging + <i>that</i> -clause	1	appreciating + NP	2
acting + PP	1	aware + PP	1
applauding + NP	1	aware + <i>that</i> -clause	2
confirming + NP	1	bearing in mind + NP	7
considering + NP	9	bearing in mind + <i>that</i> -clause	4
considering + <i>that</i> -clause	21	being of the opinion + <i>that</i> -clause	1
emphasising + NP	2	believing + NP	2
endorsing + NP	5	concerned by + NP	2
having examined + NP	29	conscious + PP	6
having considered + NP	10	conscious + <i>that</i> -clause	1
having taken note of + NP	3	convinced + PP	1
noting + NP	15	convinced + <i>that</i> -clause	3
noting + <i>that</i> -clause	18	having been advised + NP	17
reaffirming + NP	5	intending + <i>to</i> -infinitive clause	1
recalling + NP	54	mindful + PP	5
recalling + <i>that</i> -clause	10	mindful + <i>that</i> -clause	2
recognizing + NP	18		
recognizing + <i>that</i> -clause	4		
referring to + NP	7		
stressing + NP	5		
stressing + <i>that</i> -clause	3		
taking account of + NP	2		
taking into account + NP	5		
taking note of + NP	6		
taking into consideration + NP	2		
underlining + NP	1		
welcoming + NP	6		
Total No	249	Total No	58
Total %	81.1%	Total %	18.9%

The analysis of adverbials according to the last criterion considered in the present study – placement – is undertaken in agreement with Virtanen’s view that “sentence-level phenomena such as adverbial placement cannot be fully accounted for if the text and discourse which the sentence is part of is not taken into consideration; further that in the instance of conflict, the demands of the text and discourse are given a higher weight than those of the canonical sentence; and finally, that text type is of crucial importance in any study of text” (Virtanen 1992:336).

The placement of adverbials in the clause – initial, medial or final – is influenced by five factors: grammatical function, semantic category, realization type, syntactic structure/length of the adverbial and information structuring and theme-rheme development. Since all the adverbials under investigation are categorized as optional, the factor grammatical function will not be taken into consideration. The distinction between predication and sentential adverbials, however, influences the choice of position, generally restricting predication adverbials to final

position, which is reflected in the text of the notes. The factors semantic category and realization type, as well as syntactic structure and length, are regarded as primary in influencing the choice of position of adverbials in the corpus. The last factor, information structuring and theme-rheme development, is regarded as very important in the choice of position of optional sentential adverbials as it reflects to a great extent the demands the text type imposes on the text.

The findings of the analysis (Table 8) suggest that adverbials realized by prepositional phrases typically occupy the most common initial and final positions for adverbials in the clause (Quirk et al. 1985:500, Biber et al. 1999:801), showing preference for final position, while supplementary clauses are used in medial position, which is highly untypical (Biber et al. 1999:830).

Table 8 – Position of adverbials according to realization types and semantic categories

Position	Prepositional phrases		Supplementary clauses		Total No	Total %
	Time	Cause	Time+reason	Reason		
Exec. resolutions						
Initial	2	0	0	0	2	0.4
Medial	1	0	221	55	277	51.6
Final	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prep. resolutions						
Initial	21	7	0	0	28	5.2
Medial	2	1	28	3	34	6.3
Final	0	10	0	0	10	1.9
Notes						
Initial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Final	129	56	0	0	185	34.6

The preference for final position is most obviously present in the notes, where all prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials of cause and as adverbials of time occur after the verb, as in:

- (45) Resolution adopted on the report of Commission IV at the 25th plenary meeting, on 16 November 1999. (Note to R30/1999 and R31/1999)

In preparatory resolutions there is a strong tendency for adverbials of time to occur in initial position (46). The placement of adverbials of cause may be regarded as functionally related to the issue treated in the resolutions as they tend to appear in initial position in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues (47) and in final (post-verbal) position in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections (48).

- (46) At its plenary meeting, on 17 November 1999, the General Conference paid tribute to the Chairperson of the Executive Board and adopted the following resolution: [...] (R07/1999)
- (47) On the report of the Credentials Committee or on the report of the Chairperson specially authorized by the Committee, the General Conference recognized as valid the credentials of: [...] (R01/1999)
- (48) *The General Conference*
Elects, in accordance with Article III of the Statutes of the UNESCO International Bureau of Education, the following Member States to be members of the Council of the Bureau until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [...] (R012/1999)

The choice of position of the adverbials of time is strongly influenced by information structuring and theme-rheme development in the text. In the notes (45), the communication is perspectived towards adverbials of time in final position, which bear the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the clause and therefore belong to the rhematic sphere. Consequently, according to a general tendency in written language to follow the principles of end-focus and end-weight (Quirk et al. 1985:1357, Leech & Svartvik 1975:175), the rhematic elements are situated in final position. The information expressed by the adverbials of time cannot be regarded as genuinely new, as the framing context is introduced by the title of the *Resolutions* volume. Nevertheless, the adverbials of time in the notes particularize the plenary meeting and date of adoption of the resolution, which are irretrievable from the immediately preceding context (Firbas 1992:52) and therefore context independent.

In the preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, the adverbial phrases indicating time-position occur in initial position. Since in the preparatory resolutions the sentences are perspectived towards the result or the recipient of the action signalled by the verb, rather than to the time of the action, adverbials of time in initial position (46) are considered to belong to the thematic sphere of the sentence, as they introduce context-bound though irretrievable information (Svoboda 1989:28). This interpretation is in conformity with Firbas (1992:50-54), who claims that while context-dependent adverbials always serve as setting, context-independent adverbials serve as setting when used in initial position, if they are not prevented from doing so by the semantic character of the adverbials and the character of their semantic relations. Furthermore, according to Virtanen (1992:27), for optional adverbials of time and place which function as setting for the rest of the clause or sentence, the initial position is regarded as “a natural position as the scene or the background is preferably expressed before the foregrounded part of the clause or sentence, before the phenomenon that appears on the scene or the action that takes place there”. It should be mentioned that the initial position is considered to be crucial from a textual point of view (ibid.:15), as it gives added salience to the time adverbial, thus stressing the importance of the setting element, which has a cohesive function in the frame of the *Resolutions* volume.

The final position of adverbials of cause in the notes is influenced by their predication character (Quirk et al. 1985:511). The position of adverbials of cause in preparatory resolutions varies. In preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues adverbials of cause occur typically in initial position (47) and, similarly to adverbials of time in initial position, their placement is influenced by their thematic character, the sentence being perspectified towards the result of the action and not towards the grounds for the decision. These findings support Uhlířová's research into the association of the semantic categories of adverbials and their role in functional sentence perspective (Uhlířová 1974:101), i.e. adverbials of time tend to belong to the thematic sphere, while adverbials of the cause/reason spectrum are relatively equally distributed between the thematic and the rhematic sphere of the sentence.

The choice of final position immediately after the verb for adverbials of cause in the preparatory resolutions dealing with elections reflects the difference between the textual function of adverbials realized by the prepositional phrase including the complex preposition *in accordance with*, i.e. to refer to a document which strictly specifies the obligation to follow a specific procedure, from the textual function of supplementary clauses in medial position, i.e. to refer to a general textual authority (Bhatia et al. 2004:206), as in:

- (49) *The General Conference,*
Recalling 20 C/Resolution 4/7.6/5, by which it approved the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation,
Elects, in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article II of the Statutes of the Committee, as amended by 28 C/Resolution 22, the following Member States to be members of the Committee until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [...] (R019/1999)

Supplementary clauses in the corpus occur in executive resolutions (50) and in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections (49) and are invariably placed in medial position immediately after the antecedent. Therefore, they modify the whole sentence, and provide backgrounded information which supports the assumption that the addressees are familiar with the context and share the same world-view, thus making the action performed coherent with the previous actions of the addresser.

- (50) *The General Conference,*
Taking account of the urgent need for an adequate procedure for the evaluation of the admissibility of draft resolutions submitted by Member States for its consideration,
Requests that its President take the necessary steps to enable the Legal Committee to review, as soon as possible and before its next ordinary session, Part XIV of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, in particular to ensure that this Part contains objective and verifiable admissibility criteria for such draft resolutions. (R87/1999)

Since supplementary clauses provide contextually bound though irretrievable information and the communication in the one-sentence texts of resolutions is perspectified towards the result and if available the recipient of the action in the main clause, supplementary clauses

are considered to belong to the thematic sphere of the sentence and to perform the function of diatheme. These findings are in conformity with the findings reported in Chamonikolasová's research on loose elements, which state that loose sentence constituents function as rheme proper or diatheme (Chamonikolasová 1987:99-101).

Adverbials in resolutions tend to occur in homosemantic or heterosemantic series, which may be regarded as genre-specific formulaic sequences (Table 9). Since in the corpus all supplementary clauses express primarily reason relations, for the purposes of this analysis multiple occurrences of supplementary clauses in one sentence will be regarded as instances of homosemantic series of adverbials. The series of adverbials which occur with notable frequency are the homosemantic series of supplementary clauses and the heterosemantic series of time and cause adverbials, realized by prepositional phrases. While the heterosemantic series is common in the notes, the homosemantic series appears mostly in the executive and the preparatory resolutions. The last quantitatively significant series is the homosemantic series of time adverbials, whose frequency of occurrence is considerably lower.

Table 9 – Semantic role and position of homosemantic and heterosemantic series of adverbials

Type of series	Homosemantic series									Heterosemantic series		
	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
Preparatory resolutions	8	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0
Executive resolutions	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	0	0	0	0
Notes	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
Total No	17			1			56			67		
Total %	12.1			0.7			39.7			47.5		

The homosemantic series of supplementary clauses in executive resolutions may include a considerable number of adverbial clauses coordinated asyndetically by commas and forming separate paragraphs, a tendency typical of highly specialized written discourses such as the legal and the bureaucratic discourse (Crystal & Davy 1969:204, Hiltunen 1990:71). In the corpus, 15 of the homosemantic series of supplementary clauses include two adverbials which tend to express intertextual reference, while occurrences of series of more than three clauses typically indicate both motivation for the resulting action and intertextual reference. The order of supplementary clauses in the series seems to follow the importance or the logical sequence of the reasons for the action performed rather than grammatical considerations.

The series of homosemantic time adverbials consisting of two prepositional phrases, are characteristic of preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, where they occur in initial position belonging to the thematic sphere of the sentence, and in notes, where they

occur in final position belonging to the rhematic part of the sentence. In both cases the order of adverbials follows a tendency which establishes a preference for more specific time adverbials referring to time in the day (in the case of resolutions indicated by an event) to come first, the second adverbial denoting a longer period, especially the day itself, as in:

(51) At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference [...] (R01/1999)

(52) Resolution adopted at the 16th plenary meeting, on 5 November 1999. (Note to R08/1999)

The frequency of occurrence of homosemantic time-time series in initial position is considerably higher than the frequency of heterosemantic time-time-cause series, while in final position the situation is reversed. This is due to the fact that the majority of resolutions are adopted on the basis of the report of commissions, which is explicitly stated in the notes. Thus the heterosemantic cause-time-time series occurs with prominent frequency in final position in the notes. The order in the series is influenced by the fact that adverbials of cause are predicationals and thus closer integrated with the meaning of the verb, while adverbials of time are sentential and therefore, as they are loosely integrated in the clause structure, they appear in end position (53). The sequence of adverbials of time is governed by the same principle as the order of adverbials of time in the homosemantic time-time series.

(53) Resolution adopted on the report of the Administrative Commission at the 23rd plenary meeting, on 15 November 1999. (Note to R80/1999)

The textual and stylistic importance of the position of adverbials in series in the text of resolutions is crucial for two reasons. Firstly, they indicate two components of the generic structure: the setting and the preamble, which by their relation to the framing context and to the shared background knowledge of the participants typically assign adverbials to the thematic sphere of the sentences. Secondly, adverbials in series serve as a basis for structural parallelism inside the text of individual resolutions and may be regarded as forming genre-specific formulaic sequences. Thus, drawing on Virtanen's hypothesis that adverbial placement depends on text genre (Virtanen 1992), it is possible to claim that the genre of resolutions is characterized by the occurrence of homosemantic series of supplementary adverbial clauses in medial position, homosemantic semantic series of time-time prepositional adverbials in initial position in preparatory resolutions and heterosemantic series of cause-time-time prepositional adverbials in final position in the notes.

At this point it can therefore be concluded that although the present analysis has revealed that resolutions share several features of legal and bureaucratic discourse, such as the use of numerous adverbial clauses serving the primary concern for clarity and disambiguation, the occurrence of intrusive complex structures in medial position, the use of asyndetically coordinated clauses which form separate paragraphs, and the presence of nominalizations and formulaic sequences,

the recurrent patterns of adverbial structures associated with two components of the generic structure of resolutions – the setting and the preamble – may be regarded as style markers of the genre of resolutions.

4.4.3 Clause patterns and verb complementation

The second type of stylistically significant recurrent syntactic structures explored in this research are main-clause patterns and the complementation of main-clause predicative verbs, which convey the move stating the decision. Since within the one-sentence text of resolutions, clause components correspond to generic structure components, it is reasonable to expect that structural patterns at the highest syntactic level, i.e. the level of main clauses, reflect strategic choices in discourse which typically motivate stylistically relevant choices of language means.

The present investigation uses Biber et al.'s (1999:141) typology of clause patterns which relates the approach based on verb-valency to the traditional classification of verbs based on transitivity (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Huddleston & Pullum 2002), assuming that the one-place SV pattern corresponds to intransitive verbs, the two- and three-place SV patterns (SVO, SVOO, SVOC and SVOA) with objects correspond to transitive, and the two-place SV patterns with complement or adverbial correspond to copular verbs (SVC and SVA). Although the syntactic realization of major clause elements is not reflected in this clause typology, in agreement with Biber et al. (1999) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:333) the variability of realization patterns of complements is regarded as a potential register- or genre-specific choice. It should be mentioned that in the discussion of verb complementation the term 'complement' is restricted to non-subject elements. For verb complements which take the form of dependent clauses the term 'complement clauses' is preferred to 'nominal clauses' as used in Quirk et al. (1985), which implies a comparison with other potential realizations of the clause element, and to the term 'content clauses' as used as a default category in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), which fails to specify the function of the clausal element in the sentence.

Analysis of the material has demonstrated that all declarative, directive, representative and expressive speech acts performed in resolutions are realized by declarative complete major sentences with the discourse function of statements. As already noted, owing to a tendency towards clarity and disambiguation, the communicative intention of the speaker in resolutions is typically stated explicitly by a performative verb in the active voice of the simple present tense of the indicative mood (Leech 1983:184-185, Searle 1969:30). Drawing on Austin (1962:55-56) and Lyons (1977:779), it is necessary to stress that in ritualized institutional acts the performer of the illocutionary act can use any pragmatically appropriate expression to refer to him/herself and to the addressee; in the case of UNESCO resolutions, the performer is referred to as '*The General Conference*', and the addressee most frequently as '*the Director-General*' or '*Member States*'.

Since except for declarations, all performatives in resolutions are realized by illocutionary performative sentences, which, drawing on Leech (1983:181-191), may be regarded as instances of ‘*oratio obliqua*’, they take the syntactic form of complex sentences in which the main clause typically introduces the performative verb indicating the speech act, while the subordinate clause expresses the propositional content. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the highly frequent clausal complementation of performative verbs which expresses the structural element description of future behaviour or state within the stating the decision move can be realized by stylistically relevant recurrent syntactic patterns. In addition, as it is a speciality of preparatory and executive resolutions to convey different kinds of decisions, functional differences between the above-mentioned sub-types of resolutions are likely to be related to variation in their syntactic realization. Indeed, since clause patterns are adapted for the expression of some characteristic meanings (Biber et al. 1999:141), the above-mentioned sub-types of resolutions show a strong preference for particular types of clause patterns, while certain verb patterns (e.g. copular verb patterns) are totally absent in the material under investigation. The distribution of main-clause patterns in the text of the 1999 *Resolutions* volume is summarized in Table 10 below.

Table 10 – Distribution of main-clause patterns

Clause type	sv	SVO	SVOC	SVOO
Preparatory resolutions – administrative issues	0	15	1	6
Preparatory resolutions – dealing with elections	1	5	16	0
Executive resolutions	0	179	3	254
Total No	1	194	20	260
Total %	0.2	40.8	4.2	54.8

As Table 10 indicates resolutions use exclusively transitive clause patterns and show a tendency to associate each type of resolution with one or more clause types. Thus, preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues show a strong preference for the SVO clause pattern, preparatory resolutions dealing with elections use primarily the SVOC clause pattern and executive resolutions use the SVO and SVOO clause patterns. The absence of intransitive and copular verb patterns is motivated by the presence of the agentive subject, invariably *the General Conference*, which is engaged in a process extended beyond the agentive participant, the processes being primarily communication, mental activity and causation. The single instance of the SV clause pattern occurring in the 1999 preparatory resolutions dealing with elections is the only case of a passive voice clause pattern using an affected subject with non-realization of the context-dependent agentive participant, as illustrated in (54):

(54) The following Members were thus elected: [...] (R010/1999)

The patterns showing the highest frequency of occurrence are the monotransitive SVO pattern and the ditransitive SVOO pattern; this distribution of clause patterns may be regarded as genre-specific as it is motivated by the high frequency of declarative speech acts stating decisions, and directive speech acts stating duties and obligations assigned to member states and executives.

As to the preference for performative sentences in resolutions, it can be regarded as a stylistic choice reflecting a tendency towards explicitness and clarity in the genre, and the character of the macro-performative speech act of declaration conveyed by the *Resolutions* volume. The use of the ‘instantaneous’ simple present tense in performatives, which implies that the event described is non-habitual and punctual, and takes place at the very time of speaking, endows performative sentences with a dramatic, ritualized effect often highlighted by the use of *hereby*, though this adverbial is never used in the material under investigation. Since the description of future behaviour or state generic structure component has a high reiterative potential, the syntactic structure of numerous resolutions consists of multiple clauses with deletion of the subject, taking the form of numbered lists, as shown in (55):

(55) *The General Conference*

1. *Notes* that, in preparing the Draft Programme and Budget for 2000-2001 (30 C/5), the Director-General complied with the budgeting techniques that it had recommended at its 29th session (29 C/Resolution 86);
2. *Invites* the Director-General to continue to apply the same budgeting techniques in the preparation of document 31 C/5, subject to any modification or improvements that may be recommended by the Executive Board or the Director-General at a future session of the Board. (R80/1999)

Predicates form separate paragraphs and are coordinated asyndetically; this is in conformity with Hiltunen’s claim that asyndetic coordination is preferred in lists, typically made up of paragraphs (Hiltunen 1990:71). It should be noted that the semi-colons used for marking the boundaries between predicates function as ‘integrators’ and designate a high level of formality (Tárnyiková 2002:44).

In non-performative sentences, the verb is in the simple past tense of the unmarked indicative mood. The meaning of the past tense is the one most commonly used in combining two semantic features: a) the event has taken place in the past with a gap between its completion and the moment of text production, and b) the writer has in mind a definite time at which the event took place. As already indicated, the majority of non-performative sentences occur in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and perform representative speech acts which are primarily informative, i.e. they report constitutive decisions taken by the General Conference. Since the events reported, which often take place at different times, are seen as separate units of information, one resolution may consist of more than one sentence, as in:

- (56) At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, having considered the provisional agenda drawn up by the Executive Board (30 C/1 Rev.), adopted that document. At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, it decided to add to its agenda items 4.14 “Proclamation of 21 March as World Poetry Day” (30 C/82) and 13.4 “Admission of the Cayman Islands as an Associate Member of the Organization” (30 C/33), at its 7th plenary meeting, on 29 October 1999, item 4.15 “Arabia Plan” (30 C/83) and at its 9th plenary meeting, on 30 October 1999, item 5.5 “Definition of regions with a view to the execution by the Organization of regional activities”(30 C/80). (R03/1999)

The SVO clause pattern occurs in all types of resolutions; it is the most frequently used clause pattern in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and the second most frequent in executive resolutions. Since clauses using performative verbs express different speech acts from those using non-performative verbs, the differences in the structural realization of their complementation is expected to be stylistically relevant and therefore will be discussed separately.

Table 11 below summarizes the syntactic types of complementation and the frequency of occurrence of monotransitive verbs used in non-performative sentences. The findings show that the majority of non-performative monotransitive verbs occur only once in the text, and are typically complemented by a noun phrase.

Table 11 – Complementation of non-performative monotransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation	No
<i>adopt</i>	NP	2
<i>announce</i>	NP	1
<i>approve</i>	NP	1
<i>decide</i>	<i>to</i> -infinitive clause	4
<i>elect</i>	NP	1
<i>set up</i>	NP	1

The two verbs which occur more than once – *decide* and *adopt* – may be regarded as semantically central to the genre of resolutions as they refer to the act of taking a decision and to the act of adopting a resolution, which overlap with the macro-performative function of the *Resolutions* volume. The verb *decide* is the only one to take subjectless *to*-infinitive clause complementation with resultative meaning. It should be noted that *decide* is also used in performative sentences, where it takes *to*-infinitive and *that*-clause complementation. All the verbs require an animate subject and inanimate object except for *elect*, which allows for an animate and inanimate object and in the text takes the collective animate object ‘*its General Committee*’.

The semantic analysis of speech act verbs applies Biber et al.'s (1999:360-364) typology, which distinguishes the following seven major semantic domains based on the core meaning of the verbs: activity verbs, communication verbs, mental verbs, causative verbs, verbs of simple occurrence, verbs of existence or relationship, and aspectual verbs. According to this typology, the verbs *approve*, *adopt* and *decide* are mental verbs with dynamic meaning, *announce* is a communication verb, and *set up* and *elect* are activity verbs³⁸. However, some verbs can be used with different meanings and belong to more than one semantic domain, the contextual factor being decisive in identification of the meaning of the verb³⁹. Thus, the verbs *approve*, *adopt* and *decide* may also be interpreted as speech-act assertive verbs referring to 'representative declarations' (Searle 1975:361) performed by the agentive participant. This interpretation is motivated by the institutional character of the communication, where adopting a resolution is an act of doing which changes the status quo in the organization.

The direct objects refer to entities which are affected directly by the action denoted in the clause and are typically situated in final position in the sentence. As Table 11 above suggests, the object may be realized by a noun phrase, typically with heavy prepositional post-modification (57), or in the case of the verb *decide* by a *to*-infinitive clause, whose subject is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause (58):

- (57) At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, in accordance with Rules 26 and 33 of its Rules of Procedure, set up a Credentials Committee for its 30th session consisting of the following Member States: Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Georgia, Lebanon, Thailand, Turkey, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay and Yemen. (R01/1999)
- (58) At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference decided to admit as observers the representatives of the following non-governmental organizations: [...] (R06/1999)

The performative verbs used in SVO clauses belong to the following categories:

- a) assertive verbs – *accept, acknowledge, appreciate, approve, consider, decide, endorse, express, note, reaffirm, recall, reconfirm, recognize, reiterate, resolve, support, take note of, underline*
- b) directive verbs – *authorize, request*
- c) expressive verbs – *commend, thank, welcome*

It is evident that assertive verbs, which are used to perform 'representative declarations', form the most numerous group. It should be noted that not all assertive verbs are illocutionary performative verbs; a restricted number of them belong to the group of locutionary performative verbs (Bach & Harnish 1979:209), e.g. *note, reiterate, express*, which, from the point of view

³⁸ It should be noted that Quirk et al. (1985) classify *elect* as a causative verb.

³⁹ On the problem of "blurring and overlap between speech-act and non-speech-act verbs", see Leech (1983:204).

of classification of verbs into semantic domains, are communication verbs. The rest of the assertive verbs are mental verbs. As mentioned in the discussion of non-performative verbs above, there is some blurring and overlap between speech-act and non-speech-act verbs, as verbs can be used with different meanings in different contexts. Drawing on the criteria suggested by Leech (1983:223-225) for the semantic analysis of assertive verbs, the assertive verbs used in the resolutions are considered as making the proposition publicly known, (vs. making the proposition privately or obliquely known), expressing a confident assertion (vs. expressing a tentative assertion), and passing the information on unidirectionally (vs. the argumentative presentation of information where truth claims may be opposed and need to be justified and defended). It is interesting to note that there is an occurrence of the activity verb *receive* used performatively and in coordination with the verb *accept*, thus delimiting the physical act of receiving a report from the mental act of accepting it:

- (59) The General Conference, [...]
3. *Receives and accepts* the report of the External Auditor and the audited financial statements on the accounts of UNESCO for the financial period ended 31 December 1997; (R63/1999)

Directive verbs each have one occurrence as monotransitive verbs with the SVO clause type, while they are the most frequently used verbs with the ditransitive SVOO clause pattern, which logically requires the identification of the recipient. The monotransitive verb *authorize* is complemented by a direct object noun phrase with an abstract head which is a nominalized structure (60), while the verb *request* occurs with *that*-clause complementation, in which the doer of the required action is indicated by the subject of the subordinate clause, whose verb is in the subjunctive mood (61).

- (60) *The General Conference, (...)*
2. *Authorizes* further allocations in 2000-2001 of UNESCO Coupons payable in local currencies, up to a maximum of US \$2,000,000, (R68/1999)
- (61) *The General Conference, (...)*
Requests that its President take the necessary steps to enable the Legal Committee to review, as soon as possible and before its next ordinary session, Part XIV of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, in particular to ensure that this Part contains objective and verifiable admissibility criteria for such draft resolutions. (R87/1999)

Expressive verbs are relatively rare and typically complemented by a heavily post-modified noun phrase functioning as direct object (62). The directive and expressive speech-act verbs used in the material belong to the semantic domain of mental verbs; since they typically occur within the SVOO clause type, they will be discussed in greater detail below.

- (62) *The General Conference, [...]*
2. *Thanks* the Director-General, who has spared no effort to increase the participation of Palestine in UNESCO's programme and activities; (R52/1999)

Table 12 summarizes the syntactic realizations of complementation and their frequency of co-occurrence with verbs used in SVO performative sentences. Since not all verbs in the list can control both types of clausal complementation, the options which are not available are indicated by a dash. The findings suggest that there are three types of performative monotransitive verb complementation. In addition, most verbs take noun-phrase complementation, while only the verb *decide* is complemented by a *to*-infinitive clause.

Table 12 – Complementation of performative monotransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation			Total No
	Noun phrase	<i>that</i> -clause	<i>to</i> -inf. clause	
<i>accept</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>acknowledge</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>appreciate</i>	3	0	-	3
<i>approve</i>	10	-	-	10
<i>authorize</i>	1	-	0	1
<i>commend</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>consider</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>decide</i>	0	38	14	52
<i>endorse</i>	9	-	-	9
<i>express</i>	3	-	-	3
<i>note</i>	8	13	-	21
<i>reaffirm</i>	4	1	-	5
<i>recall</i>	1	5	-	6
<i>recognize</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>recommend</i>	0	7	-	7
<i>reconfirm</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>reiterate</i>	3	0	-	3
<i>request</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>resolve</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>support</i>	2	-	-	2
<i>thank</i>	3	-	-	3
<i>take note of</i>	6	1	-	7
<i>underline</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>welcome</i>	6	-	-	6
Total No	63	82	14	159
Total %	39.6	51.6	8.8	100

The occurrence of noun phrases as objects is very common in the SVO clause type. The majority of the noun phrases contain as heads abstract nouns, which may be regarded as instances of nominalization used to condense the sentence structure, as in:

(63) *The General Conference*, [...]

4. *Approves* the orientations given by the Director-General to the Slave Route project on the basis of the recommendations of the International Scientific Committee for the project, notably its division into four interrelated major programmes: the scientific programme on thematic networks, the programme for teaching and education on the slave trade and slavery implemented within the framework of the Associated Schools Project, the programme on cultural tourism for the identification, restoration and promotion of sites and places for remembrance of the slave trade and slavery in Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean and the programme for the promotion of cultures and living forms of artistic expression resulting from the interactions generated by the slave trade and slavery; [...]
7. *Welcomes* the support given by Norway and Italy to the Slave Route project, in particular through substantial extrabudgetary contributions; [...]
9. *Welcomes* the cooperation of the World Tourism Organization in the implementation of the cultural tourism programme on the Slave Route in Africa and the Caribbean; (R34/1999)

The use of nominalization structures is a stylistic choice reflecting the fact that performatives are not genuine instances of indirect speech paraphrasing actual original wordings; therefore, language means are selected so as to match the overall style of the text, which in the case of the genre of resolutions bears the features of highly formal written language.

That-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses differ in their patterns of use as complement clauses. While *that*-clauses combine with a restricted number of verbs from a few semantic domains, i.e. mostly mental/perceptual or communication verbs, *to*-infinitive clauses can be controlled by numerous verbs from a wider range of semantic domains, e.g. mental and communication verbs, verbs of desire, decision, facilitation (Biber et al. 1999:138). The register patterns of post-predicate *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses also differ: *that*-clauses are most common in conversation, fairly common in fiction and news and rather rare in academic prose, while *to*-infinitive clauses are moderately common in fiction, news and academic prose and less common in conversation (Biber et al.:1998).

Since the common function of post-predicate *that*-clauses is to report the speech, thoughts, attitudes or emotions of human participants, in mental, speech-act and other communication verb complementation, it is not surprising that complementation by *that*-clauses shows the highest frequency of occurrence (46% of the instances being complementation of the verb *decide*). From a syntactic point of view, these typically take the form of complex sentences including a main clause to introduce the performative speech-act verb and a subordinate content clause to perform the function of direct object, as in:

(64) *The General Conference, [...]*

1. *Notes* the strategies developed to support personnel policy;
2. *Considers* that there have been too many exceptions in the application of personnel policy and the personnel management system which should be strictly applied inter alia in the interest of maintaining staff morale;
3. *Underlines* that implementation of personnel policy is primarily aimed at the effective execution of the Organization's programmes;
4. *Considers* that the personnel policy has to be reviewed taking fully into account the need for competitiveness, expertise, efficiency and universality; (R72/1999)

The verb in the subordinate clause is in the indicative mood, as assertive verbs are factual and introduce propositions. It should be noted that the conjunction *that* is never zero, which is a stylistic choice conforming to the formality of the written genre and its tendency towards explicitness and disambiguation.

To-infinitive clause complementation in the performative SVO clause pattern occurs exclusively in post-predicate position with the verb *decide* (65). *Decide* is a mental verb of intention and decision and in this group is reported by Biber et al. (1999) to be the most common verb controlling *to*-infinitive clauses.

(65) *The General Conference, [...]*

Decides to add a third paragraph to Rule 37 of its Rules of Procedure reading as follows:
(R78.115)

As mentioned above, the complementation of *decide* in non-performative sentences is restricted to *to*-infinitive clauses. The *to*-infinitive clause complementing the performative and non-performative uses of *decide* expresses constitutive actions concerning amendments to texts or changes in the constitution of bodies; when complementing a performative use of *decide* the *to*-infinitive clause may also indicate decisions to consider an issue on a future occasion. *That*-clause complementation of the verb *decide* occurs exclusively in resolutions on financial questions and expresses decisions concerning payments of contributions (66).

(66) *The General Conference, [...]*

Decides that the contributions remaining due for the financial periods 1996-1997 and 1998-1999, totalling \$139,104, shall be paid in six equal instalments of \$23,184 from 2000 to 2005, on or before 30 June of each year; (R66/1999)

This pattern of complementation reflects the fact that *that*-clauses allow the expression of meanings that are not available with non-finite clauses, i.e. "their verbs have tense or modality, and the subject of the *that*-clause does not have to be co-referential with the subject of the main clause" (Biber et al. 1999:757). The findings of the analysis have proved that in all *that*-clauses controlled by *decide* the verb of the subordinate clause is marked for modality (typically the modal verb *shall* "used to express what is to be the obligatory consequence of a legal decision"

(Crystal & Davy 1969:2006)) and the subject of the subordinate clause is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause.

The SVOO clause pattern occurs in executive resolutions⁴⁰. All resolutions using the SVOO clause type are one-sentence texts, typically including coordinate clauses with subject deletion. It should be reiterated that the addressees indicated in multiple predicates within one resolution may vary.

The performative verbs used in SVO clauses are all illocutionary verbs, i.e. they belong to the semantic domain of communication verbs, and to the following categories:

- a) directive verbs – *appeal, authorize, call upon, invite, request, urge*
- b) expressive verbs – *congratulate, convey (gratitude), express (gratitude), pay (tribute), thank*

It is evident that the set of verbs in the material occurring in the SVOO clause pattern is considerably less numerous than the set of verbs used with the SVO pattern. Nevertheless, the strikingly high proportion of performative directive and expressive speech acts in executive resolutions reflects one of the main communicative functions of the genre, i.e. to impose duties and obligations.

A semantic analysis of directive and expressive verbs drawing on Leech (1983:218), Bach and Harnish (1979:47-49, 51-55) and Searle (1969:66-67, 1975:344-350), suggests that the meanings of directive verbs used in resolutions vary primarily in the desirability of the event for the addressor and addressee, in the implied attitude of the addressor, and in the force of imposition of the verb, which reflects differences in the status of participants in the communication; the meanings of expressive verbs vary in the desirability of the event for the addressor and addressee and in the implied attitude of the addressor⁴¹. It follows that the choice of verbs reflects politeness considerations⁴² and the character of the relationship between the participants in the communication: negative politeness is associated with the use of indirect directive speech acts with a speech-act verb mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance and allowing for some ambivalence in its interpretation (67), while positive politeness is used in expressive speech acts and is confined to the choice of speech-act verbs marked for high degree of formality and the use of pre-modifying adjectives for intensifying positive stance (68).

⁴⁰ The five instances of this SVOO clause type in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues are motivated by the fact that the structure of these resolutions resembles the structure of executive resolutions.

⁴¹ For a detailed semantic analysis of directive and expressive verbs, see Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005a).

⁴² Drawing on Brown, Levinson (1987), negative politeness is associated with redress and assurance of non-imposition, and positive politeness is associated with the acceptance and appreciation of the other and the expression of similarity between the speaker's and the hearer's wants. The choice of linguistic means for the realization of positive and negative politeness strategies is context-dependent (Leech 1983:102).

- (67) *The General Conference, [...]*
 1. *Invites* professional associations of journalists and the media, as well as media entertainment industries, to exercise self-discipline and self-regulation so as to reduce violence in the electronic media, electronic games and on the Internet, with the particular objective of protecting the very young; (R40/1999)
- (68) *The General Conference, [...]*
 2. *Pays tribute* to Mr Federico Mayor and *expresses its deep gratitude* to him on the occasion of this plenary meeting of 5 November 1999. (R08/1999)

Verbs of the directive and expressive groups show different patterns of complementation. While directive verbs in SVOO clauses are commonly complemented by a noun phrase referring to the addressee and a *to*-infinitive clause, expressive verbs are commonly complemented by a noun phrase indicating the addressee and a prepositional phrase referring to the act performed (Leech 1983:205-206). Table 13 summarizes the syntactic types of complementation and their frequency of co-occurrence with the verbs used in SVOO clauses, accounting separately for directive verbs and expressive verbs.

Table 13 – Complementation of ditransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation		
	Oi (NP) + <i>to-inf.</i> clause	Oi (NP) + Op (PP)	Od (NP) + Op (PP)
Directive verbs			
appeal	9	0	0
authorize	61	0	0
call upon	22	0	0
invite	96	0	0
request	42	0	0
urge	8	0	0
Expressive verbs			
congratulate	0	1	0
convey (gratitude)	0	0	1
express (gratitude)	0	0	10
pay (tribute)	0	0	2
thank	0	5	0
Total No	236	6	13
Total %	92.5	2.5	5.0

The pattern of complementation of directive verbs including an indirect object with the semantic role of recipient realized by a noun phrase and a *to*-infinitive clause coincides with the pattern of complementation reported by Leech (1983:205) and Biber et al. (1999:696) as typical of many speech-act and directive verbs. In this pattern, the noun phrase functioning as direct object in the main clause performs the function of subject of the *to*-infinitive clause, as the addressee of the speech act is the agent responsible for the future action, as in:

(69) *The General Conference, [...]*

1. *Invites* the Director-General to submit additional information on the proposal contained in these documents at the 159th session of the Executive Board, in particular, regarding the repercussions of such a proposal on the current system of split-level assessment of contributions of Member States; (R69/1999)

Expressive verbs occur with two patterns of complementation. The verb *thank* and the verb *congratulate*, whose single appearance is in coordination with *thank* (70), occur with an indirect object with the semantic role of recipient realized by a noun phrase signalling the addressee and a prepositional object introduced by the preposition *for* indicating an action beneficial for the addressor.

(70) *The General Conference, [...]*

1. *Congratulates and thanks* the Director-General for his great efforts to ensure the full implementation of the Executive Board's decisions and the General Conference's resolutions; (R54/1999)

Convey/express one's gratitude (which may be regarded as formal paraphrases of *thank*) and the expression *pay tribute*, occur in the pattern verb plus direct object realized by a noun phrase referring to an action beneficial for the addressor and a prepositional object indicating the addressee (68).

The last main clause pattern – the complex-transitive – occurs primarily in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, where the performative sentences function as declarations. The high proportion of performative SVOC clauses in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections reflects their specific character, which oscillates between the preparatory nature of decisions concerning the status of participants involved in the communication and the executive character of the declarations that they perform. All resolutions using the SVOC clause type are one-sentence texts, typically including one predicate.

The verb phrase of the SVOC clause type invariably uses the 'instantaneous' simple present tense of the unmarked indicative mood. The most frequently used verb is *elect*, which is semantically central to this sub-type of resolution, as it expresses an action that causes the attribution of a resultant quality to a participant in the communication. Except for the verb *consider*, which is a mental verb, the performative verbs used in SVOC clauses are verbs typically occurring in declarations; *elect* and *appoint* belong in the semantic domain of activity

and *proclaim* is a communication verb. The verbs used in declarations explicitly name the act which is to be performed by uttering the sentence, thus performing an institutional speech act which achieves an extralinguistic goal, i.e. it brings about a change in the state of affairs in the organization. Conditions for the felicitous performance of such a declaration are stated beforehand in UNESCO documents, and this is referred to in the text of the resolutions.

The frequency of occurrence of performative verbs used in the SVOC clause type and the syntactic types of their complementation are shown in Table 14 below. The specificity of complex transitive complementation is that “the two elements following the verb (e.g. the object and the object complement) are notionally equated with the subject and predication of a nominal clause” (Quirk et al. 1985:1195). Occurrences of the SVOC clause type containing a complex-transitive verb and an object complement with the semantic role of attribute, vary in the sub-types of the semantic roles of the attributes. The object complements occurring with the verbs *appoint*, *elect* and *proclaim* have the function of attributes identifying a resulting state, while the object complements occurring with the verbs *consider* and *recognize* have the function of attributes identifying a current state.

Table 14 – Complementation of complex-transitive verbs

Verb	Complementation				
	Od (NP) + C (<i>to</i> -inf. cl.)	Od (NP) + C (NP)	Od (ext. <i>to</i> -inf. cl.) + C(Adj.P)	Od (NP) + C (Adj.P)	Od (NP) + C (PP)
<i>appoint</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>consider</i>	0	0	1	0	0
<i>elect</i>	15	0	0	0	0
<i>proclaim</i>	0	0	0	0	1
<i>recognize</i>	0	0	0	1	0
Total No	15	1	1	1	1
Total %	78.8	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3

There is a strong tendency for the direct object in the SVOC clause to be realized by a noun phrase referring to a participant in the communication (typically *Member States*, occasionally *experts*). The object complement usually takes the form of a *to*-infinitive clause, which reflects the fact that the only verb with multiple occurrences is the verb *elect*. In the complementation of the verb *elect*, the *to*-infinitive clause identifies the resultant state of the implied subject, which is the object of the main clause, as in:

(71) *The General Conference*, [...]

Elects the following Member States to be members of the Intergovernmental Council until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [list of states] (R016/1999)

The analysis of the three major clause patterns used in resolutions – the monotransitive, ditransitive and complextransitive – has demonstrated that there is a tendency to associate each type of resolution with one or more clause types, which evidences the close correlation between language means and their functional value in a genre and its subvarieties. Since the findings of the present research have identified a restricted range of main-clause patterns and patterns of verb complementation in resolutions, it may be assumed that these may be regarded as a style marker of the genre of resolutions, motivated by the restricted range of meaning conveyed, the specificity of the colony text type and the strong element of intertextuality in text production. However, stylistically relevant structural complexity expressed by the occurrence of clausal complementation, heavily modified noun phrases, the heads of which frequently take the form of nominalizations post-modified by an embedded clause, and complex prepositional phrases, is considered to be a feature characteristic of the legal and bureaucratic registers.

It remains to be pointed out that recurring structural patterns play a decisive role in the organization of the information structure in the discourse of resolutions and serve as a basis for the establishment of cohesive chains and clause relations in the text of individual resolutions and the *Resolutions* volume as a whole.

4.4.4 Information processing, cohesion and coherence

Since the key assumption of this investigation is that the specificity of the genre of resolutions reflects the constraints imposed by the colony text type and the syntax of the English sentence on the linguistic selections in the one-sentence text of resolutions, it is necessary to consider how these aspects of text organization affect information processing, cohesion and coherence in resolutions. The importance of information processing is related to the fact that when encoding information, a writer has to take into account the expectations of the reader concerning the content and structure of discourse and organize his/her ideas in a way which makes possible a coherent interpretation of the text. At the other end of the act of communication, a reader has to rely on his/her background knowledge and experience of discourse processing to grasp the meaning encoded in different textual components and to determine and interpret the relations holding between them in order to derive meaningful discourse from the text. In fact, in written text, the absence of conscious structuring and predictable patterning of information is “likely to be perceived as lack of coherence” (Dawning 1995:148).

From the point of view of information processing, the cognitive structure of discourse may be analysed at the macrostructural level (the level of the whole text, chapter, section or paragraph, i.e. a level superior to the sentence) and the microstructural level (the level of an individual utterance/sentence). At the macrostructural level, a text may be conceived as consisting of

macropropositions (Van Dijk 1977), each of which contains a macro/hyper-Theme⁴³ (Mathesius 1942[1982], Daneš 1974, Martin 1992) or discourse topic (Giora 1985). Thus, the Theme of a macrostructural level may be defined as what is talked about in a macrostructural textual unit, and is usually indicated by its topical sentence (Dawning 1995:148, Le 2002:176).

Since resolutions are one-sentence texts organized in the colony text of a *Resolutions* volume, the analysis of information processing at the macrostructural level undertaken in this subsection explores the hierarchical organization of textual Themes within the *Resolutions* volume, while the analysis of information processing at the microstructural level focuses on theme-rheme articulation in the one-sentence texts of individual resolutions. Information processing at both discourse levels is considered in association with cohesive relations established in the text; furthermore, the analysis considers the interplay of factors motivating the genre-specific strategies of information processing and their contribution to the perception of coherence in a *Resolutions* volume.

The hierarchy of Themes at the macrostructural level adopted in this investigation draws on Daneš (1974, 1995), Martin (1992) and (Pípalová 2008a, 2008b) and considers three layers of Theme⁴⁴ which are adapted to the layers of thematic structure in a *Resolutions* volume:

- a) macro-Theme – the whole text, i.e. of a *Resolutions* volume
- b) hyper-Theme – a thematic section in a *Resolutions* volume
- c) Theme – a paragraph, i.e. an individual resolution

In the material under investigation the macro-Theme is indicated by the title of a *Resolutions* volume (*Records of the General Conference, 30th Session, Paris, 26 October to 17 November 1999, Volume 1, Resolutions*), which, as pointed out in the discussion of the colony text features (section 4.1), has an anticipatory role by providing indications of the exponents of the retrievable framing context: the acts performed, the participants and the spatio-temporal setting. The hyper-Themes may be assimilated into section themes, signalled by headings of the thematic sections of a *Resolutions* volume, and paragraph Themes into Themes of individual resolutions, which are indicated by resolution titles. It is obvious that similarly to the practice in other institutional texts (Downing & Lavid 1998:112), in the colony text of a *Resolutions* volume textual Themes have the potential to predict the set of Themes at the lower level, and may be seen as hierarchically organized by similarity and inclusion relations. Thus the title *Resolutions of the General Conference* predicts a set of thematic sections reflecting the main functions and

⁴³ In accordance with established usage, I will use ‘Theme’ with an upper-case initial letter to refer to the macrostructural phenomenon, which is thus differentiated from ‘theme’ written with a lower-case initial letter at the microstructural level, as defined within the functional sentence perspective framework (Firbas 1992) as the part of a sentence/clause which carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism.

⁴⁴ This hierarchy broadly corresponds to the one used by Pípalová (2008b), which includes “the Global Theme holding the text together, [which] is further elaborated by the hierarchically lower Textual Hyperthemes (PGr-themes and P-themes)” (Pípalová (2008:91b), where ‘P-theme’ stands for ‘paragraph theme’ and ‘PGr-theme’ for ‘paragraph-group’ theme.

responsibilities of the General Conference and the headings of the thematic sections predict the topics of the resolutions grouped in them. The hierarchical relations between textual Themes are evidenced by cohesive relations of co-classification or co-extension holding between lexical elements included in the titles of resolutions and the headings of the thematic sections, i.e. they express “the same general field of meaning, referring to (related/ similar) actions, events, and objects and their attributes” (Hasan 1989a:85). For instance, the section *Elections* in the 1999 *Resolutions* volume consists of 18 resolutions: 14 of them deal with the electing of members of different committees and councils and thus make use of the lexical items *election*, *member*, *committee/council* (*member* and *committee* are related by the cohesive relation of specification⁴⁵ and *election*, *member* and *council/committee* by the cohesive relation of activity-related collocation), two of them deal with the composition of committees and include the lexical items *composition* and *committee* (related by the activity-related collocation), and two deal with appointments of officials and use the lexical item *appointment* and lexical items indicating the position of the official (related by activity-related collocation). These specific elections and appointments are related by the cohesive relation of generalization to the higher level section heading *Elections*; in addition, the lexical items form cohesive chains which contribute to the perception of coherence in the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume.

The interrelation between information processing at the macro- and micro-structural levels may be explored by drawing on Daneš’s (1974) concept of patterns of thematic progression at utterance/sentence level, which attempts to shed light on the “way the individual utterance themes contribute to the perception of ‘hyperthemes’ (i.e. text themes)” (Daneš 1995:32). Daneš (1974:113-114) defines thematic progression as “the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as paragraph, chapter) to the whole text, and to the situation” and identifies three major patterns of thematic progression, namely simple linear thematic progression with thematization of rhemes, thematic progression with a constant theme and thematic progression with derived themes. It is evident that the presence of continuous thematic progression patterning may be considered a coherence strategy of high stylistic relevance.

In order to determine the pattern(s) of thematic progression in a *Resolutions* volume, it is essential to establish the distribution of communicative dynamism and identify the thematic element in the one-sentence texts of resolutions. Since this investigation adopts Firbas’s (1992) functional sentence perspective framework as introduced in subsection 2.5.1 of this book, it is relevant to discuss in greater detail some of its tenets and to explain how they are applied in the analysis of resolutions. In agreement with Firbas (1992:15), the present research takes independent verbal sentences as basic distributional fields of communicative dynamism, while the case of coordinated finite predicates is regarded as providing distributional subfields. The

⁴⁵ In the following discussion of cohesion, this study draws on Tanskanen’s (2006) taxonomy of lexical cohesive relations.

communicative units of the independent clause will be considered as corresponding to sentence constituents, which will be regarded as carriers of dynamic semantic functions. Firbas (*ibid.*:66) makes a distinction between two sets of dynamic semantic functions, i.e. the Presentation and the Quality dynamic semantic scales⁴⁶, depending on the information conveyed by the notional component of the verb, which may perspective the communication either towards the subject or away from the subject. In the Presentation scale, the verb performs the dynamic semantic function of Presentation of phenomenon⁴⁷, the subject the function of Phenomenon-to-be-presented and the potential competitor of the verb carries the function of Setting. On the Quality scale, the verb performs the dynamic semantic function of Quality, the subject the function of Bearer of quality and the potential competitor(s) of the verb the function of Specification or Further Specification.

Since the aim of the present analysis is to consider the cognitive value of the thematic element of the one-sentence texts of resolutions, it is essential to point out that as carriers of dynamic semantic functions sentence elements may be assigned to the thematic sphere, which constitutes the foundation of the message, or the non-thematic sphere, which is the core of the message. The thematic sphere may be further sub-divided into elements performing the function of theme proper, which repeat information that has occurred in the immediately relevant section of the thematic layer, thus becoming firmly established in this layer, and elements performing the function of diatheme, which convey information irretrievable from the immediately preceding context (Svoboda 1989:28-29, Firbas 1992:79-81). Within the non-thematic sphere, transitional elements⁴⁸ start building up the core of the message and mediate between thematic and rhematic elements. The rhematic sphere consists of the rheme proper, the carrier of the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the distributional field, which completes the development of the communication, typically implemented by the Specification and Phenomenon-to-be-presented constituents, and the rheme-to-the-exclusion-of-rheme-proper elements, which are context-independent and take the communication a step further without completing its development.

Analysis of the material from the point of view of functional sentence perspective demonstrates that the distribution of communicative dynamism is the result of the interplay of all three factors operating in written language, i.e. linear modification, semantic and contextual factors, and shows a strong preference for a distribution of communicative dynamism based on a gradual rise in degrees of communicative dynamism in the sentence from its beginning

⁴⁶ It should be mentioned that the two scales may be combined in one distributional field.

⁴⁷ Dynamic semantic functions are indicated by terms beginning with upper-case letters to differentiate them from the functions of generic components.

⁴⁸ Transition is considered to be invariably signalled by the temporal and mode exponents of the verbs, which act as transition proper, and may be implemented by the notional component of the verb conveying the quality constituent in the presence of specification. Since in the material under investigation all the clause patterns use transitive verbs, reflect the quality scale of distribution of communicative dynamism and invariably include a successful competitor of the verb, in the following analysis the temporal and mode exponents will not be considered separately from the notional component of the verb.

to its end. All the main clauses in the resolutions have been found to use the Quality dynamic semantic scale.

The results of the analysis presented in tabular form⁴⁹ demonstrate that the subject of all independent clauses in resolutions functions as the theme proper of all distributional fields and performs the dynamic semantic function of Bearer of quality (see Tables 15, 16 and 17); it is invariably represented by the noun phrase '*The General Conference*' referring to addresser and as an exponent of the macro-Theme of a *Resolutions* volume is firmly established in the thematic layer. From the point of view of cohesion, the subject items form a 'text-exhaustive' identity chain (Hasan 1989a:84), i.e. a chain which is incorporated explicitly or implicitly in all textual units at microstructural level⁵⁰.

The adverbial constituents of independent clauses which indicate the temporal setting and the preamble component of the text structure occur typically in initial or medial position. Thus, by their relation to the framing context and to the shared background knowledge of the participants adverbial constituents are typically assigned to the thematic sphere of the sentence. Performing the function of diatheme, they carry the function of Setting, which is typical of temporal adverbials in initial position and of "a context-dependent and context-independent constituent conveying mere background (concomitant) information" (Povolná 2003:130).

The verbal element in all distributional fields belongs to the non-thematic sphere of the sentence and functions as transition. Since all verbs specifying decisions taken by the General Conference are transitive, they carry the dynamic semantic function of Quality, while the development of the communication is completed by a verbal complementation which functions as Specification or Further Specification. The restricted set of verbs performing contextually-bound directive, expressive speech acts and declarations may enter similarity cohesive chains engaging items across different distances.

Within the rhematic layer of the distributional fields, the Specification and Further Specification elements are typically in a relation of similarity or inclusion with information items introduced by the resolution title, which signals explicitly the resolution Theme. The function of rheme proper is performed by the last structural element. In mono-transitive clause patterns the dynamic semantic function of Specification is carried by the object which functions as rheme proper of the distributional field (Table 15).

⁴⁹ In the tables a line corresponds to a distributional field, while distributional subfields are indicated by paragraphing. FSP stands for functional sentence perspective, Th for theme, Dth for diatheme, Tr for transition, Rh for rheme, RhPr for rheme proper, B for Bearer of quality, Set for Setting, Q for Quality, Sp for Specification and FSp for Further Specification.

⁵⁰ In the 1999 volume, the cohesive chain referring to the General Conference consists of 596 items. These include 213 occurrences of the phrase *General Conference*, which clearly point to the same referent; approximately half of the occurrences function as subject typically in sentence initial position and identify the addresser in a performative sentence. In addition, there are 39 occurrences of the pronoun *it* pointing anaphorically to the same referent and 344 cases of an empty slot in subject position, which can be replaced by the phrase *the General Conference*; 342 of them occur in asyndetically linked main clauses within the texts of resolutions and within a given resolution form structurally motivated local cohesive relations.

Table 15 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a monotransitive clause pattern⁴⁹

Res.	DTh - Set	ThPr - B	Tr - Q	RhPr - Sp
R01/1999	At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999,	<i>the General Conference</i>	<i>set up</i>	a Credentials Committee for its 30 th session consisting of the following Member States [...]
R05/1999	At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee,	<i>the General Conference</i>	<i>approved</i>	the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (30 C/2 and Add.).
R05/1999	At its 23rd plenary meeting, on 5 November 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee,	<i>the General Conference</i>	<i>decided</i>	to include the following paragraph under the heading 'Organization of the work of the session'. [...]
R06/1999	At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999,	<i>the General Conference</i>	<i>decided</i>	to admit as observers the representatives of the following non-governmental organizations [...]

The distribution of communicative dynamism in the ditransitive clause type is affected by the type of speech act performed. In directive speech acts, the dynamic semantic function of Specification is typically carried by indirect objects, which indicate the choice of the addressee, i.e. a contextually-bound element which is irretrievable from the immediately relevant context and therefore is context-independent. The direct objects realized by *to*-infinitive clauses situated in final position function as rheme proper and perform the dynamic semantic function of Further Specification, completing the development of the communication. In expressive speech acts using the collocation *express one's gratitude* the direct object noun phrase is closely associated in semantic terms with the verb; therefore it carries the dynamic semantic function of Specification, thus leaving the function of Further Specification to the prepositional object in final position indicating the recipient of the action, which is the rheme proper (Table 16).

As Table 16 below shows, within the ditransitive clause pattern strong cohesive relations hold between the lexical items occurring in the transition layer and conveying the speech act performed on the one hand and the rhematic layer identifying the addressee and the duties and obligations imposed on the other. As with the cohesive chain referring to the addresser (the General Conference), the identity and similarity chains referring to the addressee, i.e. the Director-General, Member States and the Executive Board, are text-exhaustive⁵¹, though their members are less numerous and do not occur in all resolutions. Since the use of the lexical

⁵¹ The identity chain referring to the Director-General includes 252 items; there are 163 instances of simple repetition and 20 occurrences of the pronominal referent expression *he* which invariably refers anaphorically to *the Director-General*, realizing a structurally motivated cohesive link within the text of a given resolution. The cohesive chain of reiterations of *Member States* includes 188 items and may be seen as encompassing an identity chain referring to all member states (58 occurrences) and a similarity chain based on co-classification containing 137 occurrences of the phrase *Member States*, which refers to different groups of members of the Organization. The 104 reiterations of the lexical item *Executive Board* form an identity chain.

items *Director-General*, *Member States* and *Executive Board* is highly register- and genre-specific, it is reasonable to argue that they activate a particular schema or frame⁵² which serves as a sufficient basis for establishing cohesive relations of collocation between lexical items associated with that schema. Hence, all performative verbs used in resolutions may be regarded as part of the schema representing background knowledge of power relations and decision-taking in international bureaucracies. Most performative verbs used in resolutions belong to the semantic domain of communication verbs and may be interpreted as forming similarity chains, the choice of the concrete verb being motivated by politeness strategies reflecting power relations in the organization. The directive verbs, some of which are reiterated with significant frequency (e.g. *authorizes* 63 times, *invites* 97 times, *requests* 61 times, *decides* 51 times), can be seen as involved in cohesive relations based on collocation with lexical items in the Further Specification layer, which specifies the duties and obligations that the subject of the decision is expected to perform. The same holds for the relations established between expressive verbs and lexical items, indicating the actions that the subject of the decision has performed and for which gratitude is being expressed.

In the complex-transitive clause pattern, which is used primarily in resolutions dealing with elections, the object complement element conveys context-bound information concerning the term of office of the elected members and the council or committee affected by the elections, which is stated in the resolution title. Therefore, it does not complete the communication and carries the dynamic semantic function of Specification. Since the aim of resolutions dealing with elections is to declare who the elected executives or member states are, the communication is logically perspectived towards the sentence element providing this information, i.e. the object which is the rheme proper and carries the dynamic semantic function of Further Specification. It should be mentioned that the object constituent in the SVOC clause type is often discontinuous, i.e. it consists of an anticipator of the rheme proper pointing cataphorically to the genuinely new information in end position (the list of elected members, which may be regarded as an embedded text colony) towards which the communication is perspectived (Table 17).

⁵² On the representation of background knowledge and its role in discourse interpretation, see Brown and Yule (1993) and Miššiková (2005).

Table 16 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a ditransitive clause pattern⁴⁹

Res.	Th - B	DTh - Set	Tr - Q	Rh - Sp	RhPr - FSp
R3/ 1999	The General Conference,	Recognizing the important contribution that the UNESCO International Bureau of Education is called upon to make [...],	authorizes requests invites	the Director-General the IBE Council Member States and international organizations	to provide the International Bureau of Education with a financial allocation under the regular programme [...]; to supervise, in conformity with its statutory functions, the restructuring of IBE activities [...]; to contribute financially and by other appropriate means to the implementation of the UNESCO IBE
R4/ 1999	The General Conference,	Recognizing the important mission of the UNESCO International Institute for Education Planning (IIEP) [...],	requests authorizes expresses appeals	the IIEP Governing Board the Director-General its gratitude to Member States	to reinforce national capacities for the management, planning and administration of education systems; to support the operation of the Institute by providing a financial allocation [...]; to the Member States and organizations that have supported the Institute's programme through voluntary contributions or contractual agreements [...]; to renew or increase their voluntary contributions [...].
R5/ 1999	The General Conference,	Acknowledging the report of the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) for the 1998-1999 biennium [...],	invites authorizes expresses appeals	the Governing Board of UIE the Director-General its gratitude to Member States	to strengthen [...] the Institute's catalytic role [...]; to support the Institute by providing a financial allocation [...]; to the German Government, which gives a substantial financial contribution and provides its premises free of charge; to grant or renew their support [...].

Table 17 – FSP analysis of resolutions using a complex-transitive clause pattern⁴⁹

Res.	ThPr - B	DTh - Set	Tr - Q	Ant. of RhPr	Rh - Sp	RhPr -FSp
R014/1999	The General Conference,	Recalling Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport, as revised by 29C/Res. 19,	elects	the following Member States	to be members of the Committee until the end of the 32 nd session of the General Conference	List of countries
R015/1999	The General Conference,	Recalling Article II of the Statutes of the International Co-ordinating Council of the Programme on Man and the Biosphere,	elects	the following Member States	to be members of the International Co-ordinating Council until the end of the 32 nd session of the General Conference	List of countries
R016/1999	The General Conference,	Recalling Article II of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Hydrological Programme,	elects	the following Member States	to be members of the Intergovernmental Council until the end of the 32 nd session of the General Conference	List of countries
R017/1999	The General Conference,	Recalling paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article II of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Council for the Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme,	elects	the following Member States	to be members of the Council until the end of the 32 nd session of the General Conference	List of countries

It is obvious that cohesive relations hold between the items making part of the identity chain in the thematic layer and the similarity chains in the remaining layers of distributional fields in the complex-transitive clause pattern; in addition cohesive relations of activity-related collocation (e.g. *General Conference–elect–member–committee*) and elaborative collocation (e.g. *statutes – council*) hold between members of chains in different layers. This results in chain interaction which is particularly frequent in adjacent resolutions dealing with the same topic (e.g. R14-17/1999 in Table 17).

The analysis above has demonstrated that the texts of resolutions in a *Resolutions* volume display a pattern of thematic progression with a constant theme allowing for utterances with multiple rhemes, which may be regarded as a style marker of the genre. The consistent use of the same pattern of thematic progression throughout all components of the colony text contributes importantly to its clear organization and coherence by creating vertical thematic and non-thematic layers beyond the sentence level which are characterized by considerable semantic

homogeneity evidenced by cohesive relations⁵³. In the texts of resolutions, the thematic layer identifies the addresser, the transition layer specifies the speech act performed, and the rhematic layer conveys information about the specific decisions taken by the General Conference. Thus, the thematic and the rhematic layers reflect the cognitive structuring of discourse across the microstructural level of individual resolutions and relate it to the textual Themes. Macro-Theme exponents are reflected in the thematic layer of distributional fields at utterance level, i.e. the participant and setting exponents, while the section Themes and the resolution Themes are reflected in the rhematic layer of distributional fields.

The use of this information-processing strategy seems to be motivated by several factors. Firstly, it is motivated by the colony text-type which presupposes that individual resolutions should be able to express the communicative purpose of the writer as independent texts⁵⁴; the pattern of thematic progression with constant theme provides a link between all distributional fields and posits the institutional addresser as the starting point of the message. Furthermore, the indication of the addresser as the theme in all distributional fields and the explicit reference to the setting may be regarded as a signal of the genre, which activates the relevant areas of the background knowledge of the receiver necessary for the identification of relations holding between the textual units. Finally, the fact that the addresser functions as theme of all distributional fields reflects power relations in the institutional context, which give the General Conference the exclusive right to select the speech acts performed and their propositional content. The semantic homogeneity of the rhematic layer is based on topics signalled by the section and resolution Themes, which are reflected in the rhematic elements of distributional fields at utterance level and convey the high point of the message.

In conclusion to this subsection, it should be stressed that the explicit signalling of textual Themes at all hierarchical levels of the colony text is the main coherence strategy from the perspective of the writer who is building up the hierarchical organization of the text as a whole. The factors contributing to the reader's perception of coherence in an individually selected path for processing the colony text are the explicit indication of the hierarchical level of textual units, explicit intertextual and intratextual referencing, the presence of a constant-theme pattern of thematic progression, and a high degree of predictability in the transitional and rhematic layer items conveying the high point of the message. The interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of the *Resolutions* volumes is further enhanced by the vertical cohesive relations holding in the text. Cohesive chains established in the thematic and non-thematic layers of resolutions together with recurrent structural patterning serve as a basis for vertical matching relations in the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume, which are discussed in the next subsection of this book.

⁵³ The role of notional homogeneity of semantic tracks (layers) in text interpretation is also discussed by Adam (2005), who analyses religious discourse.

⁵⁴ It is relevant to reiterate here that as pointed out in the analysis of the historical development of the *Resolutions* volumes the arrangement of resolutions into thematic sections was introduced at a later period, which indicates that it is not primary to the communicative purpose of the texts.

4.4.5 Clause relations

As the analysis of style markers of resolutions in earlier subsections of this book has shown, the specificity of the cognitive processes involved in the interpretation of colony texts related to the active role of the reader in choosing the selection and order of constituents to be accessed affects in a decisive way the structure and linguistic selections of the genre of resolutions. This final subsection dealing with the style markers of the genre explores a phenomenon considered to be central to the delimitation of the colony text-type, i.e. the existence of matching clause relations between textual components, which reflects the fact that many components of a colony text have the same function.

Since the arrangement of clauses in a text is not random, the interpretation of a clause is affected by its placement with regard to the rest of the clauses in the text and by the lexical, grammatical and prosodic choices of the adjoining clauses (Hoey 1983:19). Therefore, clause relations are on the one hand related to cohesive relations (grammatical and lexical choices in adjoining clauses and the text) and on the other to coherence (the interpretative perception of semantic relations holding between clauses and sentences within the text, which is further reflected in culturally recognized patterns of discourse organization, which aid discourse processing by both writer and reader). The inherent connection between information processing and clause relations is underlined by Winter (1994:68), who points out that the ideal coherence of a text is achieved “where all the clauses are unbrokenly connected in the semantics of the topic development of its participants by the semantics of its clause relations”.

Since the analysis of the style markers of resolutions has demonstrated the existence of recurrent syntactic patterns, parallelism, repetition and cohesive links between components of a colony text which serve the same function, in agreement with Hoey (2001:83) we can expect them to be in a weak matching relation of similarity with each other irrespective of whether or not they are adjacent. Thus vertical clause relations may hold between clauses or clause complexes within a resolution and between clauses or clause complexes in adjacent and distant resolutions. The matching relations between the components of a colony text are expected to be weak, as the establishment of this type of matching relationship requires minimum relevance (Hoey 2001). Nevertheless, in the present research the strength of the relations between components of a colony text is seen as a ‘strong – weak’ continuum, which is affected by such factors as topic, formulaicity of the form of expression and proximity of elements in the text.

The analysis of matching relations in the 1999 *Resolutions* volume uses a tabular form as suggested by Hoey (2001), accounting for constants and variables in clauses and clause complexes. The findings of the analysis demonstrate that weak matching relations of similarity indicated by lexico-grammatical cohesive patterns hold between adjacent and distant components of the colony text which serve the same function (see Tables 18, 19 and 20). These include mostly similarity and identity chains based on repetition, e.g. the text-exhaustive

identity chain of occurrences of *the General Conference* functioning as agentive subject of most clauses, the identity and similarity chains referring to the other participants in the institutional communication (the Director-General, Member States, Executive Board etc., which typically convey the participant in question), the similarity chains based on a restricted set of performative verbs used to realize a restricted set of performative speech acts, the function of which is to regulate the relationships between participants in institutional communication by stating their rights, duties and obligations. The effect of lexico-grammatical parallelism is strengthened by the use of a pattern of thematic progression with a constant theme (*the General Conference* is the ‘actor’ and occupies the theme slot in all providing-grounds-for-the-decision and stating-the-decision clauses and provides a link between all distributional fields) and by the semantic homogeneity of the transitional and rhematic layers, i.e. the items in the transition layer specify the speech act performed, and the items in the rhematic layer convey information about the resolution-Theme.

Table 18 – Weak matching relations between randomly selected colony components

R9/1999	The General Conference	invites	Member States and donor agencies	to make voluntary contributions [...] [to the programme for the development of technical and vocational education]
R21/1999	The General Conference	urges	Member States	to make both documents widely known [...] [Declaration on Science and Framework for Action]
R36/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	The Executive Board	to replace the General Information Programme and the Intergovernmental Informatics Programme by a new programme [...]
R45/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to implement the plan of action for this activity [...] [encouraging anticipation and future-oriented studies]
R51/1999	The General Conference	invites	the Director-General	to formulate a comprehensive strategy [...] [to strengthen the coordination and dissemination activities within the Secretariat]
Constants	actor the General Conference	action directive verb	acted upon institutional discourse participant	goal duty or obligation
Variables		politeness	Member States or Executives	different duty or obligation

The semantic relations between randomly selected clauses (see Table 18 above), however, cannot be fully accounted for in terms of lexico-grammatical cohesion. For instance, an analysis of the five sample clauses in Table 18 shows that, though there is a clear semantic relationship between all elements occupying identical slots, only the items occupying the first three slots of the syntactic structure form interacting lexical chains, i.e. the identity chain of five occurrences of *General Conference*, the similarity chains of directive verbs which may be seen as synonymous as the variation of meaning reflects politeness considerations, and the two similarity chains within the ‘acted upon’ (two occurrences of *Member States*; one occurrence of *Executive Board* and two occurrences of *Director-General*, which indicate executives of the organization). Within the ‘goal’ component, which reflects concrete duties and obligations, the matching relation of similarity is not indicated by clear cohesive chains; the matching relation is weak because any kind of duty or obligation may be inserted in that slot.

The strength of a matching relation increases when all items occupying identical slots in matching structural patterns are connected by similarity or incompatibility relations; this is typically indicated explicitly by the presence of an extensive (often clause-exhaustive) lexico-grammatical cohesive pattern. Since resolutions are grouped in thematic sections, it is reasonable to expect matching relations holding between adjacent resolutions to be stronger, since when of the same topic, they are likely to display a higher degree of semantic unity and lexical and structural repetition.

The analysis of four adjacent preparatory resolutions (see Table 19) shows minimal variation in their wording. This is also due to the use of controlled language and to a tendency towards non-ambiguity, conservatism and formulaicity typical of bureaucratic discourse (Charrow 1982). All items occupying the same slots in the four resolutions form identity and similarity lexical chains which enter into a recurrent syntactic structure, i.e. all the chains interact. The variation in structures related by lexico-grammatical parallelism is restricted to the specification of the constitutive rules and the quality attributed to the participant acted upon in the institutional communication, and does not involve any syntactic variation.

Table 19 – Matching relations between adjacent resolutions

R022/1999	The General Conference	elects	in accordance with Article II, par. 2, 3 and 4, of the Statutes of the Inter-governmental Council for the General Information Programme, [...]	the following Member States	to be members of the Council until the end of the 31st session of the General Conference
R023/1999	The General Conference	elects	in accordance with Article II, par. 2, 3 and 4, of the Statutes and with Rule 1.2 of the Rules of Procedure of the Intergovernmental Committee for the IIP, [...]	the following Member States	to be members of the Inter-governmental Committee until the end of the 31st session of the General Conference
R025/1999	The General Conference	elects	in accordance with its Rules of Procedure	the following Member States	to be members of the Legal Committee from the beginning of the 31st session until the beginning of the 32nd session of the General Conference
R026/1999	The General Conference	elects	in accordance with its Rules of Procedure	the following Member States	to be members of the Headquarters Committee until the end of the 31st session of the General Conference
Constants	actor the General Conference	action elects	reference to constitutive rules in accordance with ...Article/ Rules	acted upon Member States	quality members of a Committee/ Council for a period
Variables			different document	different group	different Committee/ Council (and period)

Matching similarity relations signalled explicitly by strong lexico-grammatical parallelism patterns have also been found to hold between topically connected distant grounds-for-the-decision and stating-the-decision clauses. Since financial issues are central to the activity and decisions of any organization, the selection of sample distant decision clauses deals with the allocation of money for programme and other costs. As Table 20 below shows, the identity and similarity chains based on repetition are related by identical structural patterns, i.e. there is multiple chain interaction; the variation in the parallel structures is restricted to the amount of money allocated and the specific purpose, which is retrievable from the co-text. These findings support Thompson's claim (1994:72) that lexico-grammatical cohesion is an important indicator of the scope of a clause relation holding between non-adjacent elements.

Table 20 – Matching relations between distant clauses connected by topic

R2/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$3,200,000 for programme costs, \$12,422,300 for staff costs, and \$926,900 for indirect programme costs,
R19/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$990,000 for programme costs, \$468,300 for staff costs, and \$126,400 for indirect programme costs,
R25/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$1,190,000 for programme costs, \$744,800 for staff costs, and \$331,400 for indirect programme costs,
R32/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$2,000,000 for programme costs, \$1,837,700 for staff costs, and \$127,300 for indirect programme costs,
R42/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$1,850,000 for programme costs, \$2,246,100 for staff costs, and \$150,000 for indirect programme costs,
R45/1999	The General Conference	authorizes	the Director-General	to allocate for this purpose an amount of \$779,300 for programme costs, \$815,800 for staff costs,
Constants	actor the General Conference	action authorizes	acted upon the Director-General	goal allocate money
Variables				different purpose and amount

As stated in the discussion of clause relations in section 4.2 of this book, the presence of sequence relations is not characteristic of colony texts. The texts of some executive resolutions, however, exhibit a situation-evaluation or problem-solution discourse pattern, i.e. the situation or problem is described in the preamble part, while the evaluation or solution is indicated by the decisions part of an executive resolution. Grounds-for-the-decision clauses and stating-the-decision clauses within a resolution may be interconnected through logical sequence relations, which signal the situation-evaluation or problem-solution discourse patterns. In the example below (72), there is a clear problem-solutions discourse pattern holding between the grounds-for-the-decision and the stating-the-decision clauses, i.e. the problem is the need to settle arrears of contributions due, and the solution is the suggested scheme for payment. Although the logical cause/consequence relation is not explicitly indicated by conjuncts, it is suggested by the non-finite form of the stating-the-decision clause. An additional lexical signal of the problem-solution pattern is the phrase in the preamble part *to find an acceptable solution*, which anticipates the solution suggested in the decisions part of the resolution.

(72) *The General Conference*, [...]

Having been advised of the desire of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to find an acceptable solution for settlement of arrears of contributions due,

1. *Accepts* the proposal set forth in document 30 C/37 Add., after translation of the amount due in French francs into United States dollars at the approved budget rate of exchange;

Noting that Bosnia and Herzegovina has made a payment in September 1999 of \$166,785,

2. *Decides* that the balance of the instalment remaining due from the payment plan approved at its 28th session and the contributions due for the financial periods 1996–1997 to 1998–1999, totalling \$226,437, shall be paid in six annual instalments as follows: from 2000 to 2004 five equal instalments of \$37,740, and in 2005 one instalment of \$37,737, all payable by 30 June of each year;

3. *Further decides* that payments of contributions received from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the second year of the following three biennia shall be credited first against annual instalments due, secondly to the Working Capital Fund, and then to the contributions due in the order in which the Member was assessed; [...] (R66/1999)

The presence of matching and logical sequence relations in the text of a resolution cannot be interpreted as an instance of multiple clause relations, because matching relations hold between clauses in the preamble part on the one hand and clauses in the decisions part on the other; logical sequence relations hold between grounds-for-the-decision and stating-the-decision clauses. The presence of logical sequence relations between clauses in a preamble component of a resolution and clauses in a decisions part of the text can be interpreted as a genre-specific feature of resolutions.

The findings of the analysis of clause relations has demonstrated that weak matching relations of similarity holding between components of a *Resolutions* volume cannot be fully accounted for in terms of lexico-grammatical cohesion, since some of the meaning relations hold on a more abstract semantic level; these can be accounted for in terms of clause relations. The matching relations of similarity identified tend to be stronger between adjacent resolutions and adjacent and distant clauses connected by topic; this is signalled explicitly by strong lexico-grammatical parallelism patterns which may be regarded as formulaic sequences typical of this genre of institutional bureaucratic discourse. The analysis has also proved the existence of logical sequence relations holding between the preamble part and the decision part of a resolution which reflect situation-evaluation or problem-solution discourse patterns; these clause relations may be interpreted as a genre-specific feature of resolutions.

In conclusion to the analysis of style markers of resolutions, it is important to stress that this analysis has confirmed that the genre of resolutions shares numerous features with the legal and bureaucratic registers. More importantly though, several genre-specific style markers have been identified which reflect the impact of the colony text-type and of the one-sentence structure of resolutions on the text structure and the selection of language means.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This book has analyzed the genre of resolutions in an attempt to explain the specific way discourse is constructed and interpreted in the context of intergovernmental institutional interaction practiced by the UNESCO discourse community to achieve its specific communicative goals. In the final section of this volume, I will make some concluding remarks concerning the theoretical framework applied, summarize the results of the practical analysis and suggest some directions for further research.

Since the main objective of my research was to consider the impact of situational context and discourse processing conventions on generic structure and genre-specific linguistic selections, I have generally relied on the genre analysis framework as conceived by Swales (1990, 2004) and Bhatia (1993, 2002) for describing and explaining rhetorical, formal and functional choices in the material under investigation. A slight modification of this theoretical framework introduced in the present research is the analysis of generic structure in terms of both functional constituents and rhetorical moves. This approach allows the analyst to account, on the one hand, for the functionally motivated structural components available in the genre which reflect relevant contextual parameters, and on the other, to analyse the organization of the rhetorical moves reflecting the communicative intentions of the addresser which gradually lead towards the accomplishment of the overall communicative purpose of the genre.

An important theoretical implication which has emerged in this research is that a proper understanding of generic structure and genre-specific linguistic choices in discourse requires a holistic approach to the study of genre which takes into account all relevant factors affecting discourse construction and interpretation. An analysis of genre focusing exclusively on style markers or on rhetorical moves may fail to take into consideration some contextual or discourse processing factors which may prove decisive for an adequate explanation of generic conventions. Thus, for instance, neglecting in an analysis of UNESCO resolutions the specificity of intergovernmental diplomatic communication or the discourse conventions of the colony text type could impose severe limitations on the potential of the investigation to explain the reasons for some rhetorical moves and to reveal the difference between register-specific and genre-specific linguistic choices.

Turning to the results of the practical analysis of the genre of UNESCO resolutions, it is important to stress that it was undertaken both from the diachronic and the synchronic points of view. These are seen as closely interwoven, since the comparison of the different stages of development of the genre is based on the results of the synchronic research into generic structure and style markers of resolutions, and the study of the current stage of development of the genre draws on the results of the diachronic investigation.

The aim of the diachronic aspect of my research was to explore the process of accommodation of a genre to the communicative purposes of a newly constituted discourse community which built its common institutional and professional knowledge and codified its communicative conventions and discourse processing procedures gradually. The results of the investigation indicate that a decisive factor affecting the development of the genre is the adoption of the colony text type for the organization of the records of the General Conference of UNESCO. As evidenced by the analysis, *Resolutions* volumes are typical representatives of colony texts which share most of their distinctive features, the most prominent of which are the functional specialization of textual components, the fact that the meaning of the text is not affected by the sequence of its elements which do not form continuous prose, the use of a conventional ordering system and controlled language.

The diachronic study of the genre has focused on the transformation of the colony text of the *Resolutions* volume over the period of existence of UNESCO and the development of a generic structure and style markers of resolutions. My findings show that the changes undergone by the colony text, the generic structure and the characteristic features of resolutions reflect a tendency towards formal and structural codification, promoting the use of recurrent lexical phrases and syntactic structures; in addition, there is evidence of gradual delimitation of the genre of resolutions as distinct from the legal register. As to the structure of the *Resolutions* volumes, it has undergone considerable development leading to higher transparency, since owing to the experience in text processing gathered by the UNESCO discourse community, inconsistencies in the organization of the colony text have been overcome and yielded to systematic organization with a clear logical structure using a unified ordering system. Obviously, the most important development concerning generic structure is the delimitation of sub-genres within the genre of resolutions, namely preparatory and executive resolutions; this is consonant with a tendency towards systematic, explicit and easily surveyable organization of the texts.

The intention of the investigation into the current state of the genre was to consider the interplay of contextual factors influencing the communicative purposes the genre is expected to realize, and to provide a description and explanation of its rhetorical structure and linguistic features which can be regarded as its style-markers.

In its consideration of generic structure, my analysis has demonstrated that within the one-sentence text of a resolution the sequence of structural components which reflect contextual parameters is predetermined by the requirements of the colony text and the grammatical rules governing the word order of an English sentence. The generic structure of resolutions consists of five obligatory elements which are genre-defining, namely title, setting indication, identification of the addresser, action performed and description of future behaviour or resultant state, and two optional elements – preamble stating the grounds for the decision and identification of the addressee – whose realization depends on the sub-type of resolution and the speech act performed.

The cognitive structuring of resolutions reflects their general communicative purposes, i.e. the ordering of human relations by the stating of regulative facts, the expressing of a commitment to future action, the imposing of obligations and the conferring of rights. Rhetorical argumentation is organized into three moves – identifying the resolution, providing grounds for the decision and stating the decision – which in the case of executive resolutions may exhibit a situation-evaluation or problem-solution discourse pattern. While it is obvious that there is no one-to-one mapping between the structural elements and the rhetorical moves of a resolution, individual moves are clearly associated with specific structural components and their positioning is fixed. In fact, a key factor in the delimitation of the major sub-genres within the genre – preparatory and executive resolutions – is variation in the structure of rhetorical moves, i.e. presence or absence of the rhetorical move for providing grounds for the decisions, associated with the optional structural component preamble. In addition, this investigation has shown that the realization of the move for providing grounds for the decisions and the position of the setting are the criteria affecting intrageneric variation within the sub-type of preparatory resolutions resulting in the gradual differentiation of preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and preparatory resolutions dealing with elections. It is important to stress that the specific communicative purposes and generic structure of the different sub-types of resolutions motivates variation in their information structuring and predetermines their preferences for the use of different syntactic patternings.

Since one of the basic assumptions in this study is that linguistic choices are affected by social practices and ideologies institutionalized by cultural habits and experience in processing earlier texts that a discourse community has at its disposal, the linguistic description of resolutions carried out in this research has endeavoured not only to describe but also to explain the cognitive and rhetorical reasons for the genre-specific selections in resolutions. While taking into consideration distinctive features at all relevant levels of linguistic realization, my analysis of the style markers of resolutions has focused on discourse level features considered to be characteristic of the genre, since they reflect the constraints imposed by the generic structure of the one-sentence-texts of resolutions and by the colony text type.

The analysis of recurrent syntactic patterns has demonstrated that each type of resolution is associated with one or more clause types, which evidences the close correlation between language means and their functional value in a genre and its subvarieties. The occurrence of a restricted range of adverbial structures, main clause patterns and verb complementation is regarded as a style marker of resolutions, motivated by the restricted range of meanings conveyed by the clause elements corresponding to structural elements of the genre, the specificity of the colony text type and the strong element of intertextuality in text production. Undoubtedly, the high level of structural complexity expressed by the one-sentence form of the text, the occurrence of sequences of non-finite adverbial clauses, clausal complementation, frequent nominalizations

and complex prepositional phrases, is characteristic of resolutions; however, these style markers are not considered genre-specific, since they are distinctive features of most discourse forms pertaining to the legal and bureaucratic registers. What can be considered as a genre-specific feature of resolutions is the tactical use of text-patterning to express specific meaning-function correlations in association with information processing strategies, cohesive chains and clause relations. As the findings of this investigation demonstrate, the explicit signalling of textual Themes at all hierarchical levels of the colony text together with clear intertextual referencing is a key strategy used by the writers of resolutions which facilitates the reader's perception of coherence in an individually selected path for the accessing of text components. The requirements of colony text processing are further reflected in the consistent use of the same pattern of thematic progression with constant theme throughout all components of a *Resolutions* volume. Thus the specialization of the thematic layer in identifying the addresser, of the transition layer in specifying the speech act performed, and of the rhematic layer in conveying information about specific decisions taken by the General Conference, create vertical coherence and relate these layers to the textual Themes; macro-Theme exponents are firmly established in the thematic layer, while section and resolution Themes are reflected in the rhematic layer of distributional fields. This genre-specific information processing strategy is also motivated by power relations in the institutional context, which give the General Conference the exclusive right to select the speech acts performed and their propositional content.

The interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of the text of a *Resolutions* volume is further enhanced by vertical cohesive relations of similarity, inclusion and collocation holding in the text. The presence of text-exhaustive and local cohesive chains established in the thematic and the non-thematic layers of resolutions together with recurrent structural patterning serve as a basis for vertical matching relations. While according to Hoey (2001) matching relations in colony texts are considered weak, the findings of my investigation indicate that the strength of matching relations in a *Resolutions* volume depends on several factors such as topic, formulaicity of the form of expression and proximity of the elements in the text. The analysis has also proved that in executive resolutions logical sequence relations may hold between the preamble conveying the rhetorical move for grounds for the decision and the stating the decision part of a resolution, which reflect situation-evaluation or problem-solution discourse patterns. In the present research, these matching and logical sequence clause relations have been interpreted as one of the most significant genre-specific style markers of resolutions.

The findings of my analysis demonstrate that resolutions are a very restricted genre enforcing a very limited range of structural and lexicogrammatical choices and allowing for minimal variation in interpretation. This reflects the highly structured and codified character of intergovernmental institutional communication within the UNESCO discourse community in which shared cultural knowledge, knowledge of institutional norms of interaction and

experience in discourse processing are vital for guaranteeing an adequate interpretation of the communicative intentions of the speaker.

To conclude this final section of the book, I would like to consider some possible directions for further research. Considering the analytical framework, it seems evident that genre analysis is a powerful tool in accounting for the contextual, rhetorical and stylistic aspects of language use. The application of this framework on unexplored and newly emerging genres can refine its methodology and reveal new insights into the ways language is used in different kinds of social interaction. As for diplomatic communication, which still remains a relatively neglected field of research in discourse studies, it offers challenging opportunities for the exploration of different aspects of intercultural communication which may provide interesting insights into cross-cultural pragmatic strategies, coherence strategies in parallel texts and conflict resolution in an institutional text-construction process.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

clause relations – A clause relation is the cognitive process whereby the meaning of a clause or group of clauses is interpreted in the light of their adjoining clauses or groups of clauses. The two basic clause relations are the matching relation and the logical sequence relation, which may be combined in a multiple or mixed relation.

cognitive context – The set of mental representations, assumptions, intentions and cognitive efforts of the participants involved in discourse interpretation.

coherence – The perception of the semantic unity (connectedness) of a text, which is derived in the process of a particular interpretative decoding in which the hearer/reader creates his/her own discourse from the text by assigning it intentionality and recreating its meaning.

cohesion – A property of the surface structure of a text referring to the way in which certain words or grammatical features of a clause can connect that clause overtly to its adjoining clauses or clause complexes, and which contributes to the perception of discourse coherence.

colony text – A text “whose component parts do not derive their meaning from the sequence in which they are placed” (Hoey 2001:75). The components of such a text may be used in isolation and are typically connected by weak matching relations.

context of culture – The total set of meanings available to a community, including ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, i.e. its semiotic potential (Halliday & Hasan 1990:99).

co-text – The linguistic context, i.e. the adjacent parts of a text or other related texts which are taken into consideration in the decoding of a text or a piece of text. The extent of the co-text may vary, thus changing the scope of the constraints on the meaning potential of the text imposed by the surrounding text(s).

discourse – The purposeful interaction via verbal and non-verbal means between a speaker/writer and a listener/reader which takes place in a certain context and in the process of which the meaning of a text is negotiated and recreated by the interactants.

dynamic semantic function – A function performed by the semantic content of a syntactic constituent in the act of communication, which results from the interplay of FSP factors. Potential DSFs are involved in two sets of dynamic functions, i.e. the Presentation Scale: setting, presentation of phenomenon, phenomenon presented; and the Quality Scale: setting, bearer of quality, quality, specification and further specification.

foregrounding – The disestablishing of the habitual association between a form of expression and a culturally established meaning in a particular context, and the optional association of a new aspect of meaning or a newly invented meaning with a form of expression, thus establishing its validity so that such a use of the mode of expression itself attracts the attention of the receiver.

functional sentence perspective – The orientation of the sentence towards the constituent which contributes the most towards the development of the communication, thus completing it and conveying the high point of the message. The degree of communicative dynamism of a sentence constituent is the result of the interplay of the contextual, semantic and linear modification factors, complemented by the intonation factor in spoken language.

generic structure potential - The total range of obligatory and optional components of a genre which perform a specific communicative function and reflect a particular set of contextual parameters and their ordering (including possible variation in their sequence), which is realized as actual structure of a concrete text.

genre – A form of discourse characterized by communicative purpose(s), content, discourse structure, style, intended audience and medium, which is seen as part of the knowledge and communicative competence of the members of a particular discourse community based on a shared experience of co-occurring content, form and context.

genre colony – (1) Hybrid forms, which combine features of two previously distinct genres, (2) groupings of closely related genres which share the same communicative purpose but differ in other respects (e.g. audience, discipline, participants' relationship).

genre set – The inventory of genres that a discourse community uses both receptively and productively as part of their institutional practice.

group speech acts – The coordinated effort of more than one individual in forming utterances in rule-governed behaviour for conveying an illocutionary intention.

textual Theme (hypertheme) – The topic of superior textual units, such as paragraph, section, chapter, complete text.

indirect speech act – An act of verbal behaviour requiring an interpretation on the part of the hearer based on the application of problem-solving strategies and involving implicatures which reveal the relation between the literal meaning of the utterance and its illocutionary force. The level of indirectness of a speech act is dependent on the length of the means-ends chain connecting the speech act to its goal (Leech 1983:36-40).

information processing – The cognitive process of strategic structuring and organizing information which takes place when encoding and decoding a message.

intertextuality – Relationships that hold between discourses and affect text production and text reception, whose identification is dependent on the shared cultural experience of the participants in the communication. The term is used to refer to: (1) the relationship between a text and previous similar texts which affects text production and the receiver's expectations and is regarded as the basis of the evolution of genres; (2) the relationship between texts based on inter-text communication via reference, allusions and citations.

macro-performative – Linguistic expressions which may but need not take the form of a performative sentence, expressing the illocutionary force of the discourse as a whole (Van Dijk 1977:245).

macro-speech act – A speech act performed by a sequence of various speech acts, which may be regarded as expressing one social function (Van Dijk 1977:238).

mainstream text – A text which takes the form of continuous prose composed of cohesive and coherent parts. The adjacent components of such a text typically derive their meaning from the sequence in which they are placed and their coherence may be accounted for in terms of sequential and matching clause relations.

matching relation – The relation existing between the components of a “larger semantic field which is characterised by a higher degree of systemic repetition between its clauses, and by the semantics of compatibility and incompatibility” (Winter 1994:50).

parallelism – Recurrence of structural features usually accompanied by variation of some lexical elements, signalling meaning connections between the parallel structures. The elements showing variation are connected by similarity or contrastive meaning links.

pattern of thematic progression – “[The] choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as paragraph, chapter) to the whole text, and to the situation” (Daneš 1974:113-114). The three major patterns of thematic progression are simple linear thematic progression, thematic progression with a constant theme and thematic progression with derived themes.

performative sentence – A sentence “whose literal utterance in appropriate circumstances constitutes the performance of an illocutionary act named by an expression in that very sentence in virtue of the occurrence of that expression” (Searle 1989:537).

performative utterance – An utterance in which the communicative intention of the speaker is stated explicitly, typically by a performative verb, i.e. the speech act performed is defined as belonging to a particular category.

performative verb – A verb that can occur as the main verb in a performative sentence and which categorizes its illocutionary force.

politeness strategies – Linguistic behaviour which shows concern for two different kinds of face needs: negative politeness shows concern for the negative face by avoiding imposing on others, i.e. avoids threatening their face, while positive politeness shows concern for the positive face by expressing warmth towards an addressee.

register – A configuration of meanings reflected by a typically co-occurring set of forms of expression, including lexico-grammatical, graphological and phonological language features, associated with a particular situational configuration of field, mode and tenor.

rheme – A part of the non-theme that completes the message conveyed by the sentence. The rhematic sphere consists of the rheme proper, the carrier of the highest degree of communicative dynamism in a distributional field, and rheme to the exclusion of rheme proper, the part of the rheme consisting of context-independent elements bringing the communication a step further without completing its development.

rhetorical move – A constituent part of the cognitive structure of genre which serves a particular communicative intention and reflects a stage in its rhetorical organization.

sequence relation – A clause relation concerned with “representing selective changes in a time/space continuum from simple time/space change to deductive or causal sequence which is modelled on real-world time/change” (Winter 1994:50).

setting – (1) As a speech act component – the time and place of the speech event, typically mediated in a text by temporal and/or spatial adverbials in combination with verbal tenses and aspects. (2) In the frame of functional sentence perspective theory, the Setting is a dynamic semantic function performed in the act of communication by context-dependent or context-independent constituents conveying background information.

social context – Situational factors, such as the interactants, spatio-temporal settings and knowledge of the general ‘types’ of situation which affect the interpretation of meaning in discourse.

socio-cultural context – The total set of meanings available to a discourse community, including routines and activity types, associated communicative intentions and goals, and general background knowledge.

speech act – A linguistic utterance seen as a unit of social action with three simultaneous aspects: locutionary (the physical and semantic make-up of the act), illocutionary (what is done by uttering something) and perlocutionary (what is the effect on the listener of what is said).

style marker – A language feature recurrent in a particular language variety, e.g. register or genre, which may be considered emblematic of the language variety, and whose appearance may be regarded as a sufficient condition for the identification of the text as belonging to a given language variety.

text – A unit in the process of social interaction regarded as an autonomous whole from a communicative, structural, semantic and functional point of view and characterized by a number of basic categories such as informative value, completeness, linearity, integrity, recurrence.

theme – The foundation of a distributional field, which carries a lower degree of communicative dynamism than the non-theme, and consists of theme proper, which carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism and is firmly established in the thematic layer, and diatheme, which conveys information irretrievable from the immediately preceding context.

transition – A part of the non-theme which starts building up the core of the message and mediates between the thematic and the rhematic elements in the distributional field.

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INDEX

A

adverbial 66, 69, 98, 100–103, 105–110, 113, 128–129, 150
 clause 23, 60, 63–64, 68, 69–71, 75–78, 82, 89, 99, 102, 104, 110, 143
 structures 97–98, 111, 143

B

bureaucratic
 discourse 95, 109–110, 136, 139
 language 99
 register 54, 124, 139, 144

C

clause relations 7, 10, 13–14, 19–20, 97, 124, 134–139, 144, 147
 logical sequence 10, 138–139, 143–144, 147
 matching 10, 20, 52, 133–138, 144, 147
coherence 13, 19–21, 42, 52, 56, 96, 124–126, 132–134, 144–145, 147, 149
cohesion 13–14, 19–20, 95, 124–126, 128, 135, 137, 139, 147
 cohesive chains 19–20, 97, 124, 127, 129–133, 136, 144
 cohesive devices 24, 60, 95
 cohesive relations 1, 19, 62, 104, 125–126, 128–130, 132–134, 144
 cohesive ties 19, 24, 52, 62
colony text 2, 8, 10–11, 18, 20, 24, 28–29, 35, 38, 45, 47–48, 51–58, 61, 64–67, 69, 71–73, 75–78, 83, 94–95, 98, 124–126, 132–134, 138–139, 141–144, 147
context 1–7, 9, 11, 13–18, 21–23, 26–28, 34, 40, 42, 46, 52, 54, 65, 74, 79, 81–82, 84, 96–97, 107–108, 125–127, 133, 141, 144
 cognitive 4–5, 147
 co-text (linguistic) 4, 24, 138, 147
 situational 1, 14, 24, 31, 37, 141
 social 5, 16, 31, 150
 socio-cultural 2, 4–6, 14, 22, 26–27, 31, 37–38, 150

controlled language 11, 96, 136, 142

D

diplomatic
 communication 1, 22, 28, 96, 141, 145
 discourse 1, 27
 language 2, 27–28, 34

discourse analysis 1, 3–4, 7, 27–28
 critical discourse analysis 13, 25, 27
dynamic semantic function 127–130, 147, 150

F

foregrounding 20–21, 148
functional sentence perspective 108, 125–128, 148, 150

G

genre 1–4, 6–10, 13–19, 21–25, 28–29, 31, 35, 37–38, 40, 43, 45–49, 51–55, 57–58, 63–64, 66–72, 76, 78–81, 83, 85–88, 92, 94–97, 100, 110–111, 113–114, 118–120, 132–134, 141–145, 148
 analysis 6–8, 14–17, 22, 24, 28–29, 31, 40, 51, 79, 96, 141, 145
 genre colony 8, 148
 genre set 18, 35, 148
 generic structure 1–2, 5, 7, 17–18, 28–29, 47, 51, 60, 63, 68, 72, 76, 79–80, 82, 85, 87–88, 91–92, 94, 98, 110–111, 113, 141–143, 148
 sub-genre 7, 18, 38, 47–48, 76, 85–87, 91, 102, 142–143

I

information processing 1, 19, 97–98, 124–126, 134, 144, 148
intertextuality 6, 9, 13, 25, 36, 97, 101, 124, 143, 149

L

legal
 context 1, 22, 23
 discourse 22, 24, 25, 28, 109–110
 instruments 22, 31, 35, 57
 language 22–25, 28, 62, 95, 99, 101
 register 23, 55, 62, 68, 78, 94, 124, 139, 142–144

M

main clause pattern 111–114, 116, 119–120, 122–124, 128–132, 143

P

- paragraph** 21, 28, 66, 68, 71, 74–76, 81, 111, 113, 125–128, 148–149
orthographic 63, 68, 70
structural 68
- parallelism** 19–21, 52, 95, 97–98, 104, 110, 134–137, 139, 149
- performative** 15, 23, 41–42, 44, 56, 62, 90, 112, 119–120
macro-performative 42, 113, 115, 149
non-performative 45, 68–69, 80–81, 86, 91, 114, 116
sentence 44, 63, 80–81, 112–114, 117, 119–120, 123, 128, 149
speech act 38, 4–45, 62–63, 74, 76, 79, 81, 88, 91, 125, 135
utterance 42–44, 149
verb 43–44, 60, 63, 65–66, 68–69, 74–77, 112, 114–116, 120–121, 123, 130, 135, 149
- political** 1, 22, 27, 34, 39, 74
discourse 4, 22, 25–28, 48
language 22, 25–26, 28
correctness 97
- politeness** 2, 13, 16, 25, 42–44, 90, 97, 120, 130, 135–136, 150

R

- register** 6–7, 9, 14, 21–24, 55, 62, 68, 78, 94, 95, 111, 119, 124, 130, 139, 141–142, 144, 150
- rheme** 20–21, 98, 105–107, 109, 125, 127–130, 132–133, 150
rhematic layer 21, 107–108, 110, 128–129, 133–135, 144
- rhetorical**
analysis 28
choices 14, 17–19, 25, 79, 88, 95, 141, 143, 145
functions 17–18, 25
move 17–18, 24–25, 29, 51, 79, 83–87, 92–94, 141, 143–144, 150
structure 13–14, 31, 35, 37, 40, 46–48, 51, 85, 142

S

- setting** 5, 24, 64, 68–69, 76, 79–81, 84–85, 88, 91–92, 98–100, 102, 107, 110–111, 127, 133, 142–143, 150
institutional 28, 31, 94
socio-cultural 6
spatio-temporal 5, 15, 37–38, 52, 54–55, 66–67, 101–102, 125, 128

- speech act** 2, 4, 13, 15–16, 36, 38, 40–45, 52, 59, 63–64, 68–70, 73, 81, 85–86, 88–90, 92, 114–115, 120, 122, 129, 133, 135, 142, 144, 150
commissive 25, 28
declarative 81, 86, 90–91, 113–114
direct 25, 38, 43–45, 76
directive 25, 38, 40, 70, 76, 81, 83, 90–91, 113–114, 122, 129
expressive 38, 41, 45–46, 81, 86, 90, 111, 113, 116, 120, 128–130
group 41, 148
indirect 38, 43–45, 148
macro-speech act 42, 52, 149
representative 38, 41–43, 76, 90–91, 113
- style marker** 2, 5, 9–10, 13, 18–19, 21–25, 29, 35, 47–48, 52, 57, 66, 94, 111, 124, 132, 134, 139, 141–144, 150

T

- theme** 20–21, 98, 105, 125–130, 132–133, 135, 151
diatheme 109, 127, 129
macro-theme 125–126, 128, 133, 144
textual Theme 125–128, 133, 136, 144, 148
- thematic progression** 19, 21, 24, 126, 132–133, 135, 144, 149
- transition** 20–21, 127–129, 133, 135, 144, 151

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