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2

WHAT DOES SOCIAL SEMIOTICS HAVE TO OFFER

3

MATHEMATICS EDUCATION RESEARCH?

4 ABSTRACT. Social Semiotics, based on the work of the linguist Michael Halliday, empha-
5 sises the ways in which language functions in our construction and representation of our
6 experience and of our social identities and relationships. In this paper, I provide an intro-
7 duction to the theory and its analytic tools, considering how they can be applied in the field
8 of mathematics education. Some research questions that may be raised and addressed from
9 this perspective are identified. An illustrative example is offered, demonstrating a social
10 semiotic approach to addressing questions related to construction of the nature of school
11 mathematical activity in writing produced by secondary school students.

12 KEY WORDS: Halliday, language, linguistics, methodology, nature of mathematics, social
13 semiotics

14

1. Introduction

15 In recent years, mathematics education research has paid increased atten-
16 tion to social and linguistic context and to the importance of language as
17 the principal medium in which teaching and learning takes place. The 'turn
18 to language' in the theoretical perspectives adopted by researchers in math-
19 ematics education has brought with it increased attention to the nature of
20 language and other semiotic systems used in mathematical activity and to
21 the roles that these may play in the teaching, learning and doing of math-
22 ematics, drawing on semiotic and linguistic theories and developing them
23 to suit the needs of researchers in this field (see Anderson et al., 2003;
24 Duval, 2000; Sfard, 2000; and articles in this special issue). At the same
25 time, increased numbers of empirical studies have focused on discursive
26 activity within classrooms, especially on interaction between teachers and
27 students (examples may be seen in Cobb et al., 2000; in the special issue
28 of ESM edited by Kieran et al., 2001; and in Steinbring et al., 1998).

29 My primary concern in this paper, however, is not so much to present
30 an analysis of mathematical language, either in general or in a particular
31 instance, as to discuss the way in which language may serve as a crucial
32 window for researchers on to the processes of teaching, learning and do-
33 ing mathematics, where these are conceived of as socially organised, that
34 is, not only taking place within a social environment but structured by that



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environment. I shall argue that Halliday's theory of language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978; Halliday and Hasan, 1989) and the associated tools of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1985) provide some powerful ways of investigating mathematical practices and the practices of teaching and learning mathematics, as well as allowing us to develop knowledge about uses of language within mathematical practices that may be helpful for teaching and learning.

An important starting point for a social semiotic perspective is the recognition that meaning making occurs in social contexts and that language use is functional within those contexts. The context in which language is used and in which learning takes place has become a prominent theme of recent developments in theories of discourse as well as in theories of learning, with many researchers drawing on Vygotskian perspectives on learning. The construction of mathematical meanings has come to be seen as occurring in interaction between teacher and students or among students and insights into processes of construction have been provided by analyses of such interaction using various approaches to discourse and semiotics (Kieran, 2001; Radford, 2000; Sáenz-Ludlow, 2004; Sfard, 2001). The focus of such studies has, in the main, been cognitive, concerned primarily with tracking the development of mathematical concepts through the interaction of the participants, though studies of approaches to mathematical argumentation (Zack and Graves, 2001), competence in participation in classroom discussion (Forster and Taylor, 2003) and different patterns of attention in working with word problems (Barwell, 2003) have addressed a wider range of discursive functions. An important contribution of social semiotics is its recognition of the range of functions performed by use of language and other semiotic resources. Every instance of mathematical communication is thus conceived to involve not only signification of mathematical concepts and relationships but also interpersonal meanings, attitudes and beliefs. This allows us to address a wide range of issues of interest to mathematics education and helps us to avoid dealing with cognition in isolation from other aspects of human activity.

A further contribution of social semiotics is in its conceptualisation of 'context'. The nature of 'context' as it is operationalised in the types of studies mentioned above tends to be restricted to the immediate context of the particular classroom or even the particular episode of activity being studied.¹ From a social semiotic perspective, 'context' is broader than this, incorporating consideration of the culture outside the classroom, as will be discussed below. This conceptualisation is compatible with approaches to discourse that draw on Foucauldian perspectives, perhaps most familiar to mathematics educators from the work of Walkerdine (1988, 1989), providing in addition an associated linguistic theory allowing the detailed

77 analysis of texts situated in their contexts, such as those produced by Crit-
78 ical Discourse Analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough,
79 1995).

80 2. Language as social semiotic

81 At its most basic level, a social semiotic perspective involves recognis-
82 ing that language consists of “the exchange of meanings in interpersonal
83 contexts of one kind or another” (Halliday, 1978, p. 2) and that this ex-
84 change of meanings is functional. Individuals do not speak or write simply
85 to externalise their personal understandings but to achieve effects in their
86 social world. Studying language and its use must thus take into account
87 both the immediate situation in which meanings are being exchanged (the
88 context of situation) and the broader culture within which the participants
89 are embedded (the context of culture).² The *context of situation* encom-
90 passes the goals of the current activity, the other participants, the tools
91 available and other aspects of the immediate environment. Each situation
92 cannot be considered in isolation but as an example of a situation type or
93 semiotic structure formed out of the sociosemiotic variables: field, tenor
94 and mode. The *field* of discourse may be thought of not simply as the sub-
95 ject matter but as the institutional setting of the activity in which a speaker
96 and other participants are engaged. *Tenor* encompasses the relationships
97 between the participants, and *mode* refers to the channel of communication
98 (e.g., writing or speech) and other aspects of the role of language in the
99 situation. Within mathematics education, Atweh et al. (1998) have used the
100 structure of the first two of these sociosemiotic variables to analyse math-
101 ematics classrooms, identifying differences in both aspects in interactions
102 between teachers and students, apparently related to gender and perceived
103 socio-economic class.

104 The context of culture includes broader goals, values, history and organ-
105 ising concepts that the participants hold in common. This formulation of
106 *context of culture* suggests a uniformity of culture both between and within
107 the participants. As will become apparent later in this paper, assuming such
108 uniformity is not justified and the notion of participation in multiple dis-
109 courses will be used as an alternative way of conceptualising this level of
110 context. Importantly, however, the thinking and meaning making of indi-
111 viduals is not simply set within a social context but actually arises through
112 social involvement in exchanging meanings. This dialectical and dynamic
113 conception of the relationship between the individual and the social is com-
114 patible, Hodge and Kress (1988) argue, with the theories of Volosinov and
115 Vygotsky.

To illustrate the importance of taking both these aspects of context into account, I shall briefly consider part of the analysis of an extract of data presented in a recent paper addressing the issue of emotion in the mathematics classroom (Morgan et al., 2002a).³ A group of three boys in a Portuguese middle school classroom were engaged in attempting to find a solution for a mathematical problem. My colleagues and I were interested in identifying possible sources or spaces for emotional experience during the course of the boys' working together on the problem. Considering the context of situation, the field of discourse encompassed the problem itself, the mathematical resources available to the students, and the goal of achieving an acceptable solution; the tenor included relationships between the individual students (for example, it was noted that one of the boys had only recently joined the group and this led us to interpret some of his utterances and other actions as involving bids for inclusion) and between them and the teacher; the communication was multi-modal, including the use of speech, diagrams, gesture, and, at a later stage in the lesson, a calculator display. In order to understand the meanings, in particular the emotional meanings, constructed within this situation, it was necessary to consider the context of culture – the multiple discourses – providing the background of organising concepts structuring the participants' possibilities for meaning making. Here I shall consider just one aspect of this level of context relating to the place of assessment in this classroom and in the broader educational system. In Portugal, students may be judged to fail a year and must then repeat it. This creates positions, defined by explicit criteria external to the students, of *failing student* and successful or '*normal*' student. The schools also use a technology of 'marks' that creates a structure for comparing and ranking students and attaches official positive value to higher rankings. At the same time, however, the researcher's field notes report that in this particular classroom, unlike the more traditional Portuguese classroom, the students "spontaneously and frequently checked their solutions between them, not depending on the teacher evaluation", thus allowing students to adopt the powerful position of evaluator in relation to each other and to their own mathematical work but also, at least in principle, allowing some flexibility with respect to which individual students are able to assert such power at a specific time. Understanding the concepts and values related to evaluation available within the context of culture, including the possibly contradictory nature of some of these, is essential to analysing the possible meanings that the students may have been making when they were involved in specific acts of evaluation of each other and of their work. In the following partial analysis of a brief extract from the lesson it is significant to know that, according to the researcher's background field notes, while the official technology of marks evaluates the three boys as "medium" students

158 with Mário slightly weaker than the others, the boys themselves are said to
 159 evaluate each other as “good” (in the case of Filipe and Tiago) and “rather
 160 weak” (Mário) students. The field of discourse included in particular the
 161 problem on which the students were working and the mathematical re-
 162 sources they were using. The problem, related to locus, involved finding
 163 the best position in a field for an irrigation tap; the students were attempting
 164 to solve it by using scale drawing and measurement.

165 (54) Filipe – Quite right! (*Certinho!* – subsequent discussion of the trans-
 166 lation has suggested that ‘Bang on!’ might be an appropriate colloquial
 167 English equivalent.)

168 (55) Mário – That’s it! (*É mesmo!*) (*Mário goes with his eyes from his*
 169 *drawing to the eyes of Filipe for a moment and again returns to his*
 170 *drawing.*)

171 (56) Mário – Quite right! Fantastic! (*Mário turns his eyes again to the*
 172 *eyes of Filipe, he begins smiling, with his right arm touches Filipe in his*
 173 *shoulder for a second.*)

174 (57) Mário – You know! (*said almost in private to Filipe*)

175 (58) Filipe – No, it’s a question of doing here to irrigate there for sure,
 176 then you try there and, if needed you enlarge it a little (*going with his*
 177 *eyes from his drawing to Mário’s eyes*).

178 (*Mário is listening to the explanation of Filipe, his eyes in contact to*
 179 *Filipe’s eyes, savouring, delighted, submissive?; he ‘says’ yes with his*
 180 *eyes, agrees with his head; he opens and closes his legs in a movement*
 181 *denoting satisfaction; at this moment Tiago goes from his drawing and*
 182 *looks at Filipe’s drawing.*)

183 Both Filipe and Mário are making positive evaluations of Filipe’s
 184 solution.⁴ However, the forms and functions of these evaluations differ,
 185 giving rise to different positionings. Filipe’s evaluation appears to relate
 186 directly to his concrete solution of the problem. His first utterance, initi-
 187 ating the evaluation sequence, occurs with his successful construction and
 188 location of a position for the tap while his second at (58) provides ex-
 189 plicit criteria for the evaluation, thus establishing himself both as evaluator
 190 and as being in control of the knowledge. Filipe’s position as evaluator
 191 in control of the criteria is confirmed repeatedly during the lesson from
 192 which this short extract is taken. For example, shortly after this extract he

adds to his evaluation by describing the construction as “fitting correctly”. 193
Mário, on the other hand, does not indicate any criteria, except when echo- 194
ing Filipe’s own words (56), and he attributes the knowledge explicitly to 195
Filipe (57). His repeated endorsements serve to reinforce Filipe’s powerful 196
position rather than to claim his own right to evaluate. At the same time, 197
Mário’s body language suggests a subordinate position. The interpersonal 198
meanings, including the possibilities for emotional experiences, that may 199
be made by the participants in this episode are structured by the roles that 200
evaluation plays within the context: its importance as a means of estab- 201
lishing rankings and ‘normal’ or ‘failing’ student status; the possibilities 202
available in this particular classroom for individual students to claim evalu- 203
ator status; the pre-existing evaluation of Mário as a ‘rather weak’ student 204
and as an outsider to the group. Similarly the establishment of Filipe’s 205
solution as valid is achieved both by his relatively high status position in 206
the group and by his use of criteria of success related to accurate measure- 207
ment that are recognised as relevant within the discourses available in this 208
classroom.⁵ 209

The context thus provides the semiotic structure within which exchange 210
of meaning takes place (including in the case above, for example, the 211
concepts and values of the mathematics curriculum and those related to 212
assessment at national and classroom level) but to study meanings within 213
a particular situation also requires tools for examining the communicative 214
exchange itself – the language. There are two fundamental characteristics 215
of Halliday’s linguistics: the notions of *system* and *function*. Within a given 216
situation, there is meaning potential associated with the type of situation, 217
constituted by a system of semantic options from which speakers choose. 218
The semantic system or *register* is a realisation of the semiotic structure of 219
the situation type – the “system of meanings that constitutes the ‘reality’ 220
of the culture” (Halliday, 1978, p.123).⁶ It is structured according to the 221
functions that the language (and other systems such as algebraic notation, 222
graphs, etc.) is being used for within the situation. The *ideational* function, 223
that is, the expression of meanings related to the content of the situation, 224
the objects, participant structure, actions and logical relationships between 225
these, is the semantic realisation of the field of discourse. The *interpersonal* 226
function, the expression of meanings related to relationships between the 227
participants and to the identity of the speaker, is the realisation of the 228
tenor of discourse. The *textual* function, the way in which language itself 229
is playing a role within the situation, is the realisation of the mode of 230
discourse. These functions are represented in texts by different parts of the 231
lexico-grammatical system. The relationship between situation type and 232
semantic system allows us, in a very general and non-deterministic way, to 233
predict in both directions. In other words, given a situation, we can predict 234

235 the types of things that are likely to be said by participants and, conversely,
236 given a text, we can predict the type of situation in which it is likely to have
237 arisen.

238 The lexico-grammar used to represent the semantic system in texts pro-
239 duced in mathematical situations – the mathematics register – has been
240 characterised by Halliday himself (1974) and elaborated by Pimm (1987),
241 focusing primarily on the characteristics of mathematical language with
242 some attention to numerical and algebraic notation. A problem with this
243 characterisation, as I have suggested above, is the fact that it does not
244 succeed in taking into account variations in the contexts within which
245 mathematical activity takes place. Not only are there major differences in
246 the situation types within which mathematical texts arise (consider, for ex-
247 ample, publishing a research article and teaching 7-year-olds), but there
248 are also considerable cultural differences among those who participate in
249 the exchange of mathematical meanings and there are potentially multiple
250 discourses present within a given situation (most mathematics classrooms
251 could serve as examples of this point⁷). Nevertheless, I suggest that most
252 of us would feel quite confident in identifying whether or not a given text,
253 whether from an academic journal or a primary classroom, was ‘mathemat-
254 ical’ (Morgan, 2001). The metaphor of a *family* of mathematical registers,
255 used by Chapman (1993) to account for the complexity of classroom com-
256 munication, may provide a useful way of thinking about this issue. We can
257 recognise very different texts as mathematical not because they arise within
258 situations of the same type but because of family resemblances between
259 the situations.

260 3. Methodological tools and fundamental questions

261 Having introduced some basic concepts, I turn now to consider what adopt-
262 ing a social semiotic perspective means for research in mathematics edu-
263 cation and, in particular, what it can offer us in our search to understand
264 mathematical and educational practices. In this section, I shall describe
265 aspects of this approach, outline some of the linguistic tools that I have
266 found most useful, and suggest fundamental questions arising from a social
267 semiotic perspective that can be addressed to communicative exchanges in
268 mathematics education.

269 The first characteristic of the methodological approach is its focus on
270 text. I am using *text* here to denote any socially coherent piece of language-
271 in-use (where *language* may include or be substituted by other semiotic
272 systems). Thus, a text may be written or spoken, formal or informal, long or
273 short, produced monologically by a single writer/speaker or dialogically by

several in interaction. My aim in focusing on texts produced in mathematical situations is not so much to create descriptions of the nature of mathematical language as to provide a means of identifying and interpreting features of the texts that are likely to be of significance to the mathematical and social meanings constructed in the interaction between writers/speakers and readers/listeners. This identification, however, demands descriptive tools in the first instance. The main tools that I use to describe the verbal components of mathematical texts are based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar (1985).⁸ Many mathematical texts also contain significant non-verbal components, including algebraic notation, diagrams, tables and graphs. Tools for the description of these components are less fully developed from a systemic functional perspective, though O'Halloran (2003) has made a significant contribution towards this, identifying differences in both grammatical structure and semantic potential between language and mathematical symbolic notation, while Chapman (2003) has adopted a social semiotic approach to analysis of communication in mathematics lessons involving graphical as well as verbal elements. (See also Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) for an extension of the ideas of systemic functional grammar to non-verbal modes of communication.) However, the examples that I shall be dealing with in this paper do not involve substantial analysis of symbolic or graphical elements so I do not intend to discuss these in detail here.

It is not sufficient merely to describe the features of the text being analysed. Description of the features of mathematical texts in different genres may be useful in itself as a tool for supporting those who are learning to speak and write mathematically, though mathematics has as yet been given relatively little attention in the fields of applied linguistics and English for Specific or Academic Purposes (ESP or EAP). However, what is of primary interest to me is to attempt to interpret the functions that these features fulfil for the participants in the mathematical practices in which the texts are produced and consumed – and hence to gain understanding of the practices themselves.

The notion of function is closely related to that of *choice*. It is by selecting specific textual elements from those available within the linguistic system that particular functions are realised. This selection is both paradigmatic (choosing between substitutable elements) and syntagmatic (choosing how to link the elements into complete texts). Thus, for example, an English lower secondary school textbook (Bullen et al., 2001) contains text A:

To add and subtract decimals, line up the decimal points. Then work out as for whole numbers.

By substituting some elements, we might form the alternative text B:

315 To add and subtract decimals, line up the digits in the units column. Then calculate
316 as for whole numbers.

317 By substituting and changing the way in which the elements are linked, we
318 could form text C:

319 Decimals are added and subtracted in the same way as whole numbers, first lining
320 up the digits in the units column.

321 To interpret the effects of these changes, we need to be able to identify
322 the component of the semiotic structure that is realised by each lexico-
323 grammatical choice. Halliday's functional grammar (1985) identifies the
324 following aspects (of course this is only a partial account of the lexico-
325 grammatical features associated with each of the three metafunctional com-
326 ponents):

327 The **ideational** function, realising the field of discourse, is represented in
328 text by choices made within the transitivity system, that is, the types of
329 processes, the participants in those processes and the representation of
330 actors.

331 The **interpersonal** function, realising the tenor of discourse, is represented
332 in text by the modality: the mood of verbs, the presence or absence
333 of adjuncts and qualifiers that vary the degree of probability or the
334 expression of attitude. It is also affected by the degree of specialism in
335 the register.

336 The **textual** function, realising the mode of discourse, is represented in text
337 by the thematic structure and the cohesive structures.

338 In the example above, the first change effected in B is a change in the
339 participants, thus affecting the ideational function. The change from *dec-*
340 *imal points* to *digits in the units column* may be interpreted as placing
341 importance on the values of the numbers rather than on the notation. The
342 change in the naming of the process from *work out* to *calculate* is a change
343 from a widely applicable term used in many everyday non-mathematical
344 discourses as well as in mathematics to a more specialised term readily
345 identifiable as mathematical. This change marks the text as a specialist
346 mathematical text and hence the actions of the student following the in-
347 structions are constructed as specialist mathematical actions. This affects
348 the interpersonal aspects of the text, changing the positioning of the student-
349 reader and their relationships to the author and subject matter.

350 Several different kinds of changes have been affected in text C. The use
351 of passive voice *decimals are added and subtracted* followed by the nom-
352 inalisation *lining up* rather than infinitive *to add and subtract decimals*
353 followed by imperative *line up* obscures the human agency involved.
354 This affects the ideational function, representing mathematical activity as

independent of the participation of the human mathematician. Whereas in 355
A and B the reader is addressed directly by the imperative and is expected 356
to play an active role, in C the reader is distanced from the mathematical 357
processes. This affects the interpersonal function, no longer constructing 358
the reader as an active participant. The changes in the ordering of elements 359
of the text affect the textual function. First, the theme of text C, realised 360
by positioning at the beginning of the statement, is *decimals* rather than 361
adding and subtracting. This focuses attention on description of the number 362
systems rather than on procedures for calculation. Further, the prioritising 363
of the comparison with whole numbers over the lining up of the digits high- 364
lights the similarities rather than the differences between the two kinds of 365
numbers. Whereas texts A and B present the student with two new pieces 366
of information they have to use in order to add and subtract decimals, text C 367
presents just one new step to be learnt. 368

Of course, the grammatical analysis by itself is not enough to address 369
questions of interest to mathematics educators such as why the authors of 370
the textbook chose to write text A and which of the texts would be most 371
likely to help a given student learn how to add and subtract decimals (or any 372
other aspect of mathematics). In constructing the analysis above, I have al- 373
ready drawn on some knowledge of a part of the context of culture in order 374
to make sense of differences between the texts. For example, my interpreta- 375
tion of the effect of the thematic structure of text C relies on my knowledge 376
that within mathematics generally and mathematics education in particular 377
there are different meanings and values attached to *number systems* and to 378
procedures for calculation. However, the meanings constructed by actual 379
participants can only be interpreted within the contexts in which the inter- 380
actions of author, text and reader take place. In the case of a passage from 381
a textbook, the meanings constructed by students will be influenced by the 382
practices of their classroom and by their experience of other mathematical 383
texts. It is important to remember that the text itself can only construct 384
an ideal position from which the reader may read it most naturally; this 385
position may be resisted by readers who adopt alternative positions (Kress, 386
1989). Having said that, however, the texts presented to students as mathe- 387
matical will contribute to the contextual and linguistic resources that they 388
will bring to make sense of mathematical texts they encounter in the future. 389
Thus, for example, a preponderance of experience of texts that, like text 390
A, thematise procedures may make students more likely to perceive math- 391
ematics as consisting of a set of procedures and hence, perhaps, to find it 392
more difficult to engage with relational or logical aspects of the subject. 393
Alternatively, a preponderance of experience with texts like text C, which 394
obscure human agency in mathematics, may contribute to difficulties for 395
some students in seeing themselves as potential mathematicians. 396

397 Focussing on the choices provided by the functional system allows
398 us to examine a text produced and consumed in mathematical contexts,
399 identifying how the text might be different and considering the effects of
400 the choices that are realised in the ideational, interpersonal and textual
401 aspects of the text. This approach raises the following questions that I have
402 found particularly relevant in researching within mathematics education:

403 What is the nature of mathematics and mathematical activity as it is
404 constructed in a text? (*ideational* aspect)

405 Who does mathematics? Is a human agent present?

406 What processes are human agents engaged in? For example, do they bring math-
407 ematical objects into being (by, for example, defining or imagining), manipulate
408 objects (calculating, measuring), or merely observe?

409 What kinds of objects are involved in mathematics?

410 What kind of causal relationships are constructed?

411 Who are the participants in the interaction (author and reader or
412 speaker(s) and listener(s)) and what relationships do they have to each
413 other and to the subject matter? (*interpersonal* aspect)

414 To what extent are participants identified as specialists?

415 Does the author/speaker make claims to authority, to membership of a community,
416 to solidarity with the reader/listener (see Burton and Morgan, 2000)?

417 What roles are available to the reader/listener? (As mentioned above, it is, of
418 course, possible for readers to resist the roles provided by the text. Such resistance
419 may be visible in multi-vocal texts such as the classroom data presented by
420 Zevenbergen (1998) or Houssart (2001), which show students resisting the roles
421 made available for them by their teachers within the school mathematics culture.)

422 What role does the text play within the context of situation? For example,
423 does it tell a story, construct a description, give a set of instructions for a
424 calculation, and make an argument? In the case of oral interactions, do these
425 establish a new mathematical concept or procedure, test students' recall or
426 competence, explain a task, develop a proof or a solution to a problem?
427 (*textual* aspect)

428 The interpretation of answers to these questions and hence of the possi-
429 ble meanings available to participants must of course be made by drawing
430 on knowledge of the contexts of situation and culture. In particular, it
431 is necessary to ask how the constructed image of mathematical activity
432 and the roles of the participants and of the text within it are valued in the
433 various discourses at play in the specific situation. In the next section, I

shall illustrate how I have used these questions and tools in investigating 434
students' mathematical writing. 435

4. Investigating students' writing: An example 436

The examples of writing, I shall look at here, were produced for exam- 437
ination purposes by secondary school students in England. The texts are 438
in the form of reports of mathematical investigative work on a task enti- 439
tled "Inner Triangles". The specification of the task given to students is 440
included in Appendix I. This "coursework" formed part of the high-stakes 441
GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination taken 442
by students at age 16+, was carried out in class and as homework and 443
was assessed by students' own teachers. The first step of the analysis is 444
to describe the contexts of situation and of culture, as understanding the 445
semiotic structure within which a text occurs not only provides the means 446
of interpreting the ways the text may be understood by participants but 447
also focuses analytic attention on aspects of the text that are likely to have 448
significance within the context. In the space available in this paper I cannot 449
give a full description of the context but will highlight a few contextual 450
factors that are particularly significant to the analyses I offer. 451

The first of these factors is the place of the activity of writing and reading 452
the texts within the formal assessment system. The system structures rela- 453
tionships between student–author, teacher–reader, and the external author- 454
ity of the examination board, an independent organisation that sets the task, 455
provides criteria and official procedures for the assessment, and controls the 456
quality of teachers' assessments by external moderation of a sample from 457
each school. The outcome of the assessment has important consequences 458
both for students, who need good grades for access to employment and fur- 459
ther education opportunities, and for teachers, whose professional standing 460
is affected by the results their students achieve and by their colleagues' 461
and employers' perceptions of their competence as assessors. A second 462
contextual factor is the nature of the discourse surrounding the notion of 463
investigation in school mathematics in England. This discourse introduces 464
values related to, among others, exploration, creativity, originality, and the 465
nature of mathematical activity that are at times in tension with the values 466
of the dominant assessment discourse, including reliability and compara- 467
bility. A fuller analysis of these discourses and the tensions between them 468
may be found in Morgan (1998, especially Chapter 5). 469

I shall compare extracts from the texts of two students, Steven and Clive 470
(both taught in the same class), focusing primarily on questions about the 471
nature of mathematical activity as it is represented in their texts, though I 472

473 shall also include some observations on interpersonal aspects of the texts.⁹
474 Choosing an alternative focus or a different selection of analytic tools would
475 clearly highlight different aspects of these texts. In some ways, indeed,
476 the two students have produced very similar texts, presenting inductively
477 generated generalisations with little attempt at justification. This underlying
478 similarity is unsurprising, given the common context in which the two
479 students were working. Even within this common ‘investigation’ genre,
480 however, the present analysis draws attention to differences between the
481 two texts, suggesting differences in the students’ orientation and positioning
482 within the various discourses available to them.

483 The notions of *pattern* and *generalisation*, in particular generalisation
484 expressed in *formulae*, play important roles both in the immediate context
485 of situation through the instructions given in the statement of the task to
486 “Investigate the relationship . . .” and to “generalise your results” as well
487 as through the assessment criteria (available either directly to the students
488 or mediated by their teacher) and more generally as a part of the broader
489 context of culture through the discourse of investigation in which ‘spotting’
490 and generalising patterns is highly valued – though contested (see Hewitt,
491 1992; Morgan, 1998; Wells, 1993). It is thus of interest to analyse the ways
492 in which the two students present *patterns*, *tables* and *formulae* in their
493 texts and, through this analysis, to see differences in the ways in which
494 their texts construct the nature of mathematical objects and activities. The
495 representation of the nature of mathematics is part of the ideational function
496 of the text and is realised linguistically by the transitivity system. A first
497 step, then, is to look at the objects represented in the text and the processes
498 they are involved in and to identify who or what are the actors in those
499 processes.

500 In response to the “Inner Triangles” task, both students drew trapezia
501 with various dimensions on isometric paper and constructed tables to record
502 the dimensions and the number of unit triangles for each trapezium. The
503 first student, Steven, used separate tables for trapezia with specific slant
504 lengths. In the extract shown in Figure 1, presented under the heading
505 “PATTENS” (sic), he discussed the patterns he had noticed.

506 The extensive repetition of lexical items to do with change, difference
507 and, especially, increase (marked in bold in the text) clearly emphasises
508 the importance of these ideas within the field of discourse. It is of interest,
509 however, to go beyond their mere presence in the text to ask how they occur
510 and who or what is the agent of change.

511 First it is important to note that the word *increase* itself is used to denote
512 both a process (as a verb) and an entity (as a noun). Where Steven presents
513 the process or action of increasing, it is in most cases either without an

1 I have found that whenever **you increase** the top length or the slant length **the number**
 2 **always goes up** by the same amount (...) This happens when **you adjust** the top length. I
 3 have made a table up to show these results on a larger scale.

4 **TABLE TO SHOW DIFFERENCE IN UNIT NO. WHEN TOP LENGTH IS INCREASED**

TOP	1	2	3	4	5
BOTTOM	2	3	4	5	6
SLANT	1	1	1	1	1
UNIT No.	3	5	7	9	11

5 As you can see **the unit No. increases** by two every time **the top length increases** by one.
 6 This can be done by using any slant No. but if **you change** this you may find that **the unit**
 7 **increases may be** different. e.g.

TOP	1	2	3	4	5
BOTTOM	3	4	5	6	7
SLANT	2	2	2	2	2
UNIT No.	8	12	16	20	24

8 This time **the unit increase is** by 4 instead of 2. On the next one when **you increase** the slant
 9 to three **it increases** to 6.

TOP	1	2	3	4	5
BOTTOM	3	4	5	6	7
SLANT	3	3	3	3	3
UNIT No.	15	21	27	33	39

10 As you can see **the difference is** six. Another interesting pattern is the way in which **the unit**
 11 **No's increase** when the top length stays the same and just **the slant increases**.

TOP	1	1	1	1
BOTTOM	2	3	4	5
SLANT	1	2	3	4
UNIT No.	3	8	15	24

12 **The first increase is** by 5, from 3 to 8 and then from 8 to 15 is 7, and finally **15 to 24 is**
 13 **increased** by 9. This shows that **it increases** by the same amount as before but **increases** by 2.
 14 So it would go: 5, 7, 9, 11, ... This pattern works whatever the top number is.

Figure 1. Extract from Steven's "Inner Triangles" text.

actor at all, through the use of the passive voice (*15 to 24 is increased by* 514
 9), or the length or number itself performs the action intransitively (*the* 515
number always goes up or *the top length increases*). Where this action 516
 is explicitly performed transitively by a human agent, it is a general *you* 517
 rather than a specific person (*when you increase the slant to three*). Thus, 518
 the process of varying the values in the problem is not shown as some- 519
 thing done by the author himself; rather, it shifts from being a process 520
 that may be carried out by any mathematician (*if you change this* or *when* 521
you increase the slant), to a process performed by mathematical objects 522
 themselves (*the unit number increases by two every time the top length in-* 523
creases by one) or by some unspecified agent (*15 to 24 is increased by 9*), 524
 and finally, using the grammatical metaphor of nominalisation, to an object 525

TABLE I
The human mathematician as manipulator of parameters in Steven's text

Lines	Human activity	Mathematical outcome
1–2	Whenever you increase the top length or the slant length	The number always goes up
2	When you adjust the top length	This happens
6–7	If you change this	<i>The unit increases may be</i> different
8–9	When you increase the slant to three	It increases to 6

526 which may itself have properties and variations (*The first increase is by 5*).
 527 This nominalisation, by transforming a process into an object, opens up
 528 the possibility of a higher complexity of generalisation, taking account of
 529 relationships between three variables rather than just two at a time and con-
 530 sidering rates of change as well as individual changes, though the ambiguity
 531 of reference of *it* and *this* at lines 13–14 suggests that Steven is not com-
 532 pletely in control of the language (and perhaps also the mathematics) at this
 533 point.

534 The variation that Steven identifies and describes thus seems to be
 535 brought about through the autonomous existence of patterns of relations
 536 between numbers rather than directly through human activity. The role
 537 of the general mathematician *you* is presented on each occasion as set-
 538 ting the patterns in motion by adjusting the parameters, as illustrated in
 539 Table I.

540 The other aspect of human activity in this text is to observe the patterns.
 541 Thus, the author himself is presented as having *found* the pattern and *made*
 542 *a table up to show the results*. Moreover, readers are invited to observe the
 543 pattern for themselves (*As you can see. . .*). The positive modality of this
 544 address to the reader, of the claim that the pattern is *interesting*, and of
 545 the assertion that *The pattern works whatever the top number is* plays an
 546 important interpersonal role, building an image of Steven as authoritative
 547 (at least in relation to this aspect of his work) and constructing a reader
 548 who is expected to be interested in being informed about what Steven has
 549 found.

550 Turning to the second student, Clive, one of the most striking features of
 551 his text, illustrated in Figure 2, is the large number of statements declaring
 552 the existence of tables and formulae – representations of patterns – and
 553 locating them within the text.

554 Representational objects such as tables, diagrams and formulae clearly
 555 play a significant part in mathematics as it is represented in Clive's
 556 text while the patterns themselves, so prominent in Steven's text, are

Below the table shows the results of a quick conversion table. If you have a trapezium with a slant of 1 and a top of 1 you look on the table and the answer is 3.

		Slant				
		1	2	3	4	5
	1	3	8	15	24	35
T	2	5	12	21	32	45
O	3	7	16	27	40	55
P	4	9	20	33	48	65
	5	11	24	39	56	75
	Pattern	2	4	6	8	10
	Gap of					

Gap of 2 between each answer

Here is another quick conversion table.

Base	Slant	Top	Total
2	1	1	3
4	2	2	12
6	3	3	27
8	4	4	48
10	5	5	75

Below is a formula that our group work out, **here it is.**

The top + The bottom \times The slant

Also **my formula is the one above** but **mine is below.**

(diagram omitted)

The numbers can be added together to get the next row of numbers. It can also tell you the answer.

(...)

My formula for the triangle is similar to the trapezium because a triangle is like a trapezium but without a top. **Here it is**

The slant length \times The bottom length

Here is a conversion table for triangles

(...)

Like the trapeziums and the triangles I found a formula for hexagons quite quickly, **here it is.**

The number of triangles $\div 3$ to give the number of hexagons inside it.

Here is my conversion table.

Figure 2. Extract from Clive's "Inner Triangles" text.

subordinated. Not only are the representational objects present in the text 557
but also their presence is declared, drawn to the reader's attention by the use 558
of existential and locational statements and often positioned thematically. 559
In some cases these objects are simply declared to exist, independent of 560
agency. In other cases specific human actors are involved as agents in their 561

562 production (*Below is a formula that our group work out*) or as owners of the
563 objects (*my formula is the one above*). Here there is a difference between
564 tables and diagrams, which are generally presented without human in-
565 volvement in their construction or ownership, and formulae, which are in
566 each case identified with either the author himself or the group of students
567 with whom he worked. This may mirror the different status of these objects
568 within the context of the assessment criteria. While use of tables, diagrams,
569 and algebraic notation is credited under the heading of “communication”,
570 formulae also represent an outcome of the process of generalisation and
571 thus may be seen as results or answers. As I identify below, answers also
572 play an important role in Clive’s representation of mathematical activ-
573 ity, so a claim to ownership of these acts to position him as a successful
574 student.

575 The autonomy of tables and diagrams is further enhanced by their own
576 representation as actors, using verbal processes to inform (*Below the table*
577 *shows the results of a quick conversion table*). Not only is it the table that
578 shows the results, rather than the author, but the nominal phrase *results of*
579 *a quick conversion table* suggests that the results arise from the table itself,
580 not from any human activity. Similarly, the diagram *can also tell you the an-*
581 *swer*. It is significant that Clive uses *answer* here rather than *number of unit*
582 *triangles*. The geometrical, numerical and algebraic aspects of the field of
583 discourse are suppressed, substituted by the (discipline-independent) no-
584 tion of *results* and *answers*, valued by traditional assessment discourse.
585 Similarly, his formulae, which play such a significant part in the text as the
586 products of mathematical activity, do not express relationships between
587 variables but are presented as algorithms for achieving the desired numer-
588 ical answers: *The number of triangles $\div 3$ to give the number of hexagons*
589 *inside it*. Just as the role of formulae is represented as giving answers, the
590 role of the human mathematician is very different from that seen in Steven’s
591 text. Rather than manipulating the parameters of the mathematical situa-
592 tion, Clive’s mathematician is primarily concerned with reading the answer
593 from the information provided by the tables and formulae: *If you have a*
594 *trapezium with a slant of 1 and a top of 1 you look on the table and the*
595 *answer is 3*.

596 The focus on answers and the claims to ownership throughout Clive’s
597 text serve an interpersonal function, constructing the relationship between
598 the author and his reader as between student and examiner. In displaying his
599 results, there are no suggestions that their mathematical content might be of
600 interest in itself. Moreover, the positive modality of his text serves to present
601 Clive as confident in his work, though explicit statements of confidence,
602 such as *I found a formula for hexagons quite quickly*, are qualified to

reduce the modality. In the context of assessment within which this text is 603
situated, such statements could be seen as double edged; on the one hand, 604
the author may be seen as able to solve problems quickly and easily and 605
hence be evaluated highly, while, on the other hand, there is a danger that 606
the author's work might be judged to be trivial because it was too easily 607
completed. Hence, the qualification serves as a hedge to protect the author's 608
'face' in this situation. 609

The texts of these two students, both responding to the same prob- 610
lem and both written within the same 'investigation' genre, thus construct 611
different images of the objects of mathematics and the nature of mathe- 612
matical activity. At the same time they claim different types of authority 613
and construct different 'ideal' positions for their readers. In order to un- 614
derstand the occurrence of these differences between two students taught 615
in the same class and undertaking the same task it is helpful to look again 616
at the context within which they were working, in particular the multi- 617
ple discourses of the context of culture in which they and their teacher 618
were participating.¹⁰ As I have described above, the practice of mathe- 619
matical investigation as part of a high-stakes assessment system draws on 620
discourses of investigation and of assessment that involve some contra- 621
dictory values. This multiplicity in the context provides a semiotic struc- 622
ture that, in spite of the apparently narrow constraints of the production 623
of these texts, allows widely different systems of meanings from which 624
participants may select. Hence, tensions are produced for the participants 625
that are likely to be represented in their texts. In the extracts that I have 626
analysed here, Steven appears to draw primarily on a discourse of inves- 627
tigation, oriented to value exploration of interesting mathematics while 628
Clive draws strongly on an assessment discourse, displaying the 'answers' 629
valued within that discourse. Of course, neither student is entirely consis- 630
tent throughout his text; I would suggest that each draws to some extent 631
on resources from both investigation and assessment discourses, reflect- 632
ing the intertwining of the two discourses in the practice of investigative 633
coursework. 634

Given the place of the task within the assessment system, the question 635
of how the two students' texts are evaluated arises. The teachers respon- 636
sible for assessing them are also engaging in communicative exchange 637
within essentially the same semiotic structure, although they are likely to 638
have slightly different sets of resources on which to draw. My analyses of 639
interviews with teachers as they engaged with assessing these and other 640
similar student texts (Morgan, 1996, 1998; Morgan et al., 2002b) suggest 641
that tensions are also created for teachers and that these are represented 642
both in variations within the sets of semantic options chosen by individual 643

644 teachers and in more general differences between teachers as they read,
645 interpret, and evaluate student texts.

646 5. Conclusions: Contribution to mathematics education research

647 The example I have offered above demonstrates how social semiotics
648 and systemic functional linguistics provide tools that allow a principled
649 description of the language of the texts being studied but also structure
650 interpretation of the functioning of the texts within their contexts of pro-
651 duction and consumption. Within the space available here it has been pos-
652 sible to give only a limited glimpse of the variety of situations and issues
653 that might be addressed from this perspective. In particular, the examples
654 of written texts that have been used to illustrate the analytic method in-
655 volve interaction only at a distance between author and reader, with its
656 associated generic features including greater formality and explicitness.
657 Face-to-face interactions such as those between teacher and students in
658 a classroom situation are likely to have different generic characteristics
659 but can nevertheless be analysed using the same methodological tools.
660 Moreover, the greater complexity of such more interactive situations open
661 up a wider range of possible focuses for analysis. For example, it may
662 be possible to consider the nature of the mathematical objects and activ-
663 ities through analysis of the text as a whole and/or by tracking the con-
664 tributions of the various individual participants (see Carreira et al., 2002
665 for such an analysis of a group of students problem solving). The roles
666 and relationships of individuals may also need to be considered more dy-
667 namically as they are negotiated and develop through the course of the
668 interaction.

669 The general questions and associated tools identified at the end of
670 Section 3 above can be applied to a number of issues within mathematics
671 education in ways that I believe can both sharpen and enrich research. As
672 an example, research into teachers' and students' beliefs about the nature
673 of mathematics often relies on self-reports and responses to explicit or im-
674 plicit questioning outside the context of actually doing mathematics. It is
675 notoriously difficult to make connections between the results of such inves-
676 tigations and actual practices of doing or teaching mathematics (see the re-
677 view by Hoyles (1992) demonstrating the complexity of this research area).
678 Indeed, it can be argued that the results achieved in one context (such as in-
679 terviewing or answering a questionnaire) offer only tangential evidence of
680 what might be the case in a different context (such as solving a mathematical
681 problem). Analysis of ideational aspects of written or spoken texts produced

while doing mathematics, either by individuals or by groups interacting, 682
provides an alternative source of evidence. The example above shows how 683
the analysis has identified major differences in the images of mathematics 684
and of mathematical activity that Steven and Clive have constructed in their 685
texts. The results of such an analysis could complement other methods of 686
investigation. They could also form a basis for addressing further questions 687
about how texts constructing different images of mathematics are produced 688
and read by participants in educational contexts, touching on issues of class- 689
room communication, learning and assessment. For example, what happens 690
when teachers read texts produced by students that construct images of the 691
nature of mathematics at odds with those the teachers might have produced 692
themselves? How and to what extent do students adopt and reproduce the 693
images of the nature of mathematics and of mathematical activity con- 694
structed by their teachers in classroom interaction?¹¹ What effect does 695
resisting the nature of mathematics and mathematical activity constructed 696
by a student's written or oral text have on a teacher's evaluation of the 697
student? 698

Considering interpersonal aspects of texts produced in mathematics 699
classrooms allows us to consider where power lies and what forms it takes. 700
Tracking the modality of utterances by various participants can provide a 701
systematic means of gaining insight into the dynamics of classroom in- 702
teractions and the roles of individuals within these. This could contribute 703
towards production of a means of characterising differences and similarities 704
in teaching styles and in student participation.¹² In Morgan et al. (2002a) 705
we use an analysis of claims to power made by students' problem solving in 706
a small group as one of the means of identifying possibilities for emotional 707
experience within the classroom. One part of this analysis was included in 708
Section 2. 709

The example analysed above identified some contrasting aspects of the 710
identities that Steven and Clive constructed in their texts for themselves and 711
for their readers. In written texts such as these we can only elicit relatively 712
limited pictures of participants' identities. More dialogic texts, produced 713
in face-to-face interactions between two or more participants are likely 714
to provide much more complex data in which the various participants are 715
collaborating and simultaneously vying with each other to establish their 716
own identities and positions in relation to those of others. Again, the lexico- 717
grammatical features that realise the interpersonal functions of language 718
can be used in analysing the production of identities through interaction. 719
This notion of identity is a social rather than a psychological notion in that 720
it concerns the ways in which a participant presents themselves to others 721
through their semantic choices, positions and is positioned by others. 722

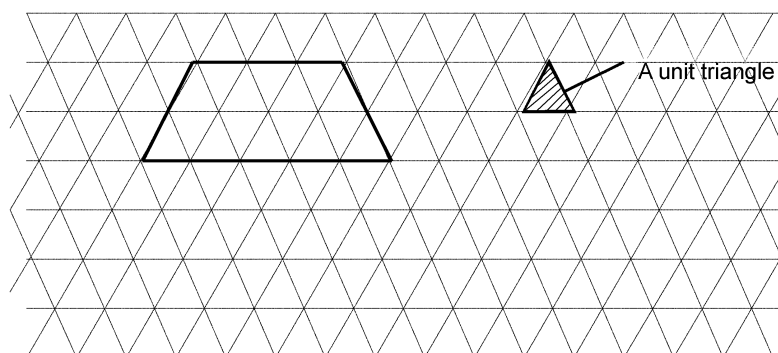
723 While establishing appropriate identities is of importance to partici-
724 pants in any situation, it is of critical importance to students at all levels
725 whose oral and written productions are to be assessed. It is necessary
726 to establish a degree of authority and confidence that will convince a
727 reader-assessor-teacher without alienating them. The notion of *appro-*
728 *priate* is, of course, dependent on the conventions and power relations
729 of the particular context (Fairclough, 1992). As we found in a study of
730 articles published by research mathematicians (Burton and Morgan, 2000;
731 Morgan, 2003), there is a wide range of ways in which such authors may
732 establish their identities, some of which may be differentially available to
733 participants in different positions within (and on the edges of) the commu-
734 nity. At a time when the development of 'authentic' assessment practices
735 in a number of places in the world involves an increase in the extent and
736 complexity of the semiotic resources students need to deploy, I would
737 argue that it is increasingly important to gain knowledge about how various
738 forms are likely to be evaluated. When the student's only choice is between
739 one-letter responses to a multiple-choice item, there are few opportunities
740 for establishing alternative identities. More open and more extended
741 spoken or written responses provide many opportunities – some of which
742 may have negative consequences for students who, perhaps unaware of
743 the interpersonal power of their language, establish themselves as too
744 diffident, over-confident, dependent or arrogant. Greater awareness of the
745 lexico-grammatical choices available within the semantic system and the
746 meanings these may have in specific contexts may help mathematics teach-
747 ers and students to develop more purposeful and hence more effective use of
748 language.

749 Halliday's grammatical tools provide systematic means of identifying
750 and describing the choices that authors or speakers have made and the for-
751 mal impact of these on the ideational, interpersonal or textual functioning
752 of a communicative exchange. I have suggested some areas of mathemat-
753 ics education in which it may be useful to construct such descriptions,
754 together with some illustrative examples. Adopting a social semiotic view
755 of language, however, entails recognising that interpretation of descrip-
756 tions must always be related to the context of the exchange. This raises two
757 important methodological issues: how much of the context it is necessary
758 to consider and what means to use to describe the context. In the examples
759 I have offered in this paper I have attempted to provide some flavour of
760 the extent of the contexts of situation and of culture taken into account
761 in the analyses and of their use in forming interpretations, though a fuller
762 articulation of social theory is needed in order to characterise the context
763 more systematically.¹³

Appendix I: specification of the “inner triangles” task

INNER TRIANGLES

The diagram below shows a trapezium drawn on triangular lattice or isometric paper.



The trapezium contains 16 of the unit triangles. 765

The dimensions of this trapezium are 766

top length 3 units, bottom length 5 units, slant length 2 units. 767

1. How many unit triangles are there in a trapezium with dimensions 768

(a) top length 2 units, bottom length 4 units, slant length 2 units? 769

(b) top length 4 units, bottom length 7 units, slant length 3 units? 770

2. Give the dimensions of a trapezium containing 771

(a) 8 unit triangles, 772

(b) 32 unit triangles. 773

3. Investigate the relationship between the dimensions of a trapezium and 774
the number of unit triangles it contains. 775

In your report you should 776

show all your working, explain your strategies, make use of specific cases, gener- 777
alise your results, prove or explain any generalisations. 778

OPTIONAL EXTENSION 779

Extend the investigation in any way you wish. 780

For the extension, the only constraints placed on you are that figures must be drawn 781
on isometric paper and that you must look at figures within figures. 782

783

Notes

- 784 1. An exception is Radford's (2003) use of the concept of 'cultural semiotic system'
785 in discussing the development of mathematical thought within the wider context of
786 classical Greek culture.
- 787 2. The notions of context of situation and context of culture originated in the work of
788 the anthropologist Malinowski, and have been subsequently elaborated and adapted by
789 linguist Firth and ethnographer Hymes. These notions are discussed by Halliday and
790 Hasan (1989).
- 791 3. This analysis was produced as part of the project *Teaching and Learning – Math-*
792 *ematical Thinking*, supported by the Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia, Grant
793 No. PRAXIS/P/CED/130135/98. The data were originally collected by Madalena
794 Santos, who also provided details of the classroom context and of the Portuguese
795 education system, and an analysis (using a different analytical perspective) is reported
796 by Santos and Matos (1998). I acknowledge the contribution of Madalena Santos and
797 my other colleagues in this project, João Filipe Matos, Susana Carreira, Jeff Evans,
798 Stephen Lerman and Anna Tsatsaroni, to the current analysis (while accepting res-
799 sponsibility for the form in which it is presented here) and am grateful for the enor-
800 mous contribution that working with them has made to the development of my own
801 thinking.
- 802 4. This analysis is adapted from one presented in Morgan et al. (2002a).
- 803 5. At a later point in the lesson, an intervention by the teacher introduced a different
804 criterion involving calculation using Pythagoras Theorem. This intervention changed
805 the ways in which the boys were able to make sense of their solutions.
- 806 6. The notion of *register*, the semantic system constituting a specific situation type, is also
807 used rather differently to denote the different semantic systems associated with various
808 systems of representation. Thus, Duval (2000) distinguishes between several registers
809 used in mathematics, considering separately natural language, geometrical figures,
810 numeral systems and symbolic or algebraic notations, and graphs. As Duval argues,
811 the meaning potentials of these various registers are different, giving rise to possible
812 difficulties for learners as they attempt to convert representations from one to another.
813 Following Halliday, however, I shall be using *register* in a broader sense, encompassing
814 mathematical meanings realised through any of these systems and combinations of
815 them.
- 816 7. See, for example: (Zevenbergen, 1998) for evidence of class-based differences in
817 the meaning potential of classrooms and resistance to the dominant code by work-
818 ing class students; (Carreira et al., 2002) for the use of alternative discourses by
819 members of a group of students as they work together to achieve understanding of
820 the mathematisation of a situation in economics; (Evans, 2000) for analysis of in-
821 dividuals drawing on multiple discourses during problem solving in an interview
822 setting.
- 823 8. The specific configuration of tools and interpretations of their significance are addressed
824 to texts in English, though Halliday and others have shown that texts in other languages
825 can be addressed in similar ways (see, for example, Halliday, 1993).
- 826 9. This is based on the analysis of these texts presented in Morgan (1995, Appendix 5).
- 827 10. It would also be useful to know more about the context of situation within which the
828 texts were produced but adequate data is not available in this case.
- 829 11. Chapman (2003) has used a social semiotic approach to address some aspects of this
830 issue in the context of a classroom in which functions are being studied.

12. Atweh et al. (1998) have used social semiotic tools to characterise the differences 831
between lessons by teachers with contrasting pedagogic styles. 832
13. See Morgan et al., (2002b) for an example of use of Bernstein's social theory (Bernstein, 833
1996) to characterise the multiple discourses of the context of culture within with 834
teachers read and assessed GCSE coursework texts of the type produced by Steven and 835
Clive. 836

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