Introducing Functional Grammar

Third Edition

Geoff Thompson

Introducing Functional Grammar

Introducing Functional Grammar, third edition, provides a user-friendly overview of the theoretical and practical aspects of the systemic functional grammar (SFG) model.

No prior knowledge of formal linguistics is required as the book provides:

- An opening chapter on the purpose of linguistic analysis, which outlines the differences between the two major approaches to grammar – functional and formal.
- An overview of the SFG model – what it is and how it works.
- Advice and practice on identifying elements of language structure such as clauses and clause constituents.
- Numerous examples of text analysis using the categories introduced, and discussion about what the analysis shows.
- Exercises to test comprehension, along with answers for guidance.

The third edition is updated throughout, and is based closely on the fourth edition of Halliday and Matthiessen's *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. A glossary of terms, more exercises and an additional chapter are available on the companion website at: www.routledge.com/cw/thompson.

Introducing Functional Grammar remains the essential entry guide to Hallidayan functional grammar, for undergraduate and postgraduate students of language and linguistics.

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Introducing Functional Grammar

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Foreword

This book arises directly from my experiences in introducing Functional Grammar to a number of different groups of students, teachers and researchers. Like any model that attempts to offer a global view of how language works, Functional Grammar is complex, and students may be understandably daunted not only by the seemingly abstruse explanations but simply by the amount of new terminology. What I have tried to do is to set out the approach from the point of view of readers who are not familiar with this way of looking at language, and who may, indeed, have little background in linguistic analysis generally. This involves describing the theoretical and practical aspects of the Functional Grammar model in as accessible a way as possible; but it also involves trying to make clear the reasons why the model is as it is, at all levels – from why a functional approach is adopted to why one particular analysis of a wording is preferable to another.

Throughout, the book tries to help readers to see that, on the whole, Functional Grammar explanations in fact correspond to things that they already know intuitively about language, and that the 'jargon' is merely necessary in order to systematize this knowledge. The constant aim is, without underestimating the initial difficulties, to encourage readers to realize that the fundamental assumptions of the model have an appealing simplicity and an intuitive validity. Once that step is achieved, it becomes easier to cope with the inevitable complexity of the details, and to see beyond the terminology to the important and useful insights offered by the approach.

The debt owed, at each stage of the conception and execution of this edition, to Michael Halliday's work – especially his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, second edition 1994, third edition with Christian Matthiessen 2004, fourth edition with Christian Matthiessen 2013) – will be obvious, even if it has not been feasible to signal explicitly all the points which are taken from that source. The book is consciously modelled on the *Introduction*, covering much of the same ground, though not necessarily in the same order or from exactly the same perspective. Many of the major revisions in this third edition are designed to reflect the changes in the fourth edition of *IFG*; others, particularly the choice of texts to analyse, derive from my own teaching of the subject and the ways in which my understanding of the concepts has developed. One way in which the present book can be used – which reflects its origins in the courses that I have taught – is as a preparation for reading Halliday's work. It can also be read as an independent introduction to the approach; but I hope that in either case it will

tempt readers to go on to explore in greater depth the writings of Halliday and his colleagues.

In addition to the intellectual inspiration provided by Michael Halliday, the book naturally owes a great deal to many other people, of whom I am particularly grateful to the following. To my past and present colleagues in the former Applied English Language Studies Unit at Liverpool – above all, Flo Davies, who first encouraged me to start teaching Functional Grammar, and who was a constant source of ideas, insights and argument during our time as colleagues. To my students at the University of Liverpool, especially those on the MA programmes in Applied Linguistics and TESOL, and on the undergraduate Grammar in Discourse module; and to students and staff in universities in Argentina, Austria, Brazil, China, Colombia, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Venezuela and Wales, who at various times kindly allowed me to indulge my enthusiasm for SFG: they all had different parts of the material in the book tried out on them, and their difficulties, comments and insights helped me to think through and clarify ideas that I had sometimes taken for granted. To Naomi Meredith, Christina Wipf Perry and Eva Martinez at Arnold, who provided encouragement and advice for the two previous editions of the book; to Lucy Winder and Lavinia Porter at Hodder Education, who were very patient with me as I missed several deadlines; and to Sophie Jaques and Louisa Semlyen at Routledge, who had the unenviable task of taking over the publication of the book at a late stage. I owe an unusual debt to those colleagues in the School of English at Liverpool who made early retirement an attractive option, leading to the situation in which I had time to devote to this new edition. And, above all, I am grateful to Susan Thompson, who is, happily for me, always available to argue over interpretations and explanations, to identify confusions and evasions, and to suggest alternative ways of understanding or expressing the ideas; and who puts up with my endless hours in my study working on this book and other projects. As before, the completion of this edition owes a great deal to her.

Acknowledgements

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The purposes of linguistic analysis

1.1 Starting points

A man is driving through a part of the country he doesn't know, and he gets lost in what looks to him like the middle of nowhere, completely deserted. Finally, he sees an old man working in a field, and he stops the car and calls out to him, 'Excuse me, how do I get from here to ...?' (the town depends on which country you hear the story in). The old man thinks for a while, and then he says, 'Well, if I were you I wouldn't start from here.'

What I want this story to highlight is the fact that where you can get to – in language description as in anything else – depends a great deal on where you start from; and that starting from the wrong place may make it much more difficult to get to the desired kind of destination. In the second half of the last century, there built up an immensely influential view of what the study of language should involve which insists that there is only one proper place to start – from a view of language as an abstract set of generalized rules detached from any particular context of use. It would be possible to ignore this view and simply start with the approach that I will be setting out in the book – based on a view of how language functions as a system of human communication. However, a comparison of different possible approaches will help us to understand better not only the destinations that each approach allows us to head for but also the reasons why we might choose one of the approaches in preference to another. Therefore, in this chapter I will briefly outline the approach that was dominant, attempting to show why it was so attractive but also showing why an increasing number of linguists have come to feel that it does not make it easy for us to talk about many of the most central features of language. I will then go on to introduce an alternative approach which takes full account of those features, and which offers a more appropriate place to start from if we are interested in language in use.

We can begin by looking informally at a bit of language, selected more or less at random. This comes from an advertisement aimed at attracting people to take up nursing as a career. Before reading on, can you decide what aspects of the sentence you might want to consider in providing a linguistic description of it?

Of course, you're unlikely to be attracted to nursing because of the money.

When I have asked students to do this kind of preliminary analysis, some (often those who have learnt English as a foreign language and therefore have more background in traditional grammatical parsing) break it up into its components as far as they can (this is in fact trickier than it might look). They label the parts of the sentence using terms like Subject and Verb, or non-finite verb and prepositional phrase. They may comment on the fact that 'to be attracted' is a passive form, and that the understood Subject is 'you', carried over from the Subject of the preceding verb '(a)re'. Some mention that the structure 'be unlikely to be attracted' is not possible in their own language and that, in a way, it is an illogical structure (since it is not 'you' who are 'unlikely', but 'you being attracted to nursing'). What they are essentially focusing on is what the different parts of the sentence are and how they fit together – in other words, the form.

Most students for whom English is their mother tongue, on the other hand, focus on issues such as who exactly 'you' is (since the writer is not addressing anyone face to face), and why the writer assumes this about 'you' so confidently ('Of course'). Some pick up on 'you're unlikely to', which softens the possible arrogance of the writer telling 'you' about 'your' own feelings; others comment on the implication that 'you' are likely to be attracted to nursing for other reasons apart from money; and a few wonder why the writer decided not to say 'nursing is unlikely to attract you'. What all these points have in common is that they are concerned with the function of the sentence, what the writer's purpose is in writing the sentence – in other words, with the meaning. Underlying the points, though not usually made explicit, is also the idea of choice: that there are potentially identifiable reasons why the writer is expressing the message in this particular way rather than in other possible ways.

Both of these ways of looking at the sentence tell us something useful about it, and, in the informal descriptions given here at least, there is a good deal of potential overlap. Any full analysis of the sentence will inevitably need to take account of both the meaning and the form (and of the links between them). However, in order to make the analysis fairly rigorous rather than just an unordered list of points about the sentence, we need to decide on a reasonably systematic method; and in practice this involves choosing between form and meaning as our starting point. This may at first seem simply a difference in emphasis, but, if carried through consistently, each approach in fact ends up with a strikingly different kind of description of language.

1.1.1 Going in through form

The most fully developed and influential version of the approach through form is that proposed by Noam Chomsky and his followers, originally known as the TG (Transformational–Generative) approach, although a number of variations have

developed from that starting point. Chomsky insisted that linguistics should go beyond merely describing syntactic structures, and aim to explain why language is structured in the way it is – which includes explaining why other kinds of structures are *not* found. He argued that, in order to do this adequately, it was essential to make language description absolutely *explicit*. Although the aim of TG was not to produce a computer program that could generate language, it was computers that provided the driving metaphor behind the approach. A computer is wonderfully literal: it cannot interpret what you mean, and will do exactly – and only – what you tell it to do. Therefore instructions to the computer have to be explicit and unambiguous: this includes giving them in exactly the right order, so that each step in an operation has the required input from preceding steps, and formulating them so as to avoid triggering any unwanted operations by mistake. TG set out to provide rules of this kind for the formation of grammatically correct sentences. (Note that the following outline describes TG in its early form. The theory has changed radically since the 1960s, becoming more abstract and more powerful in its explanatory force; but the basic concerns, and the kind of facts about language that it attempts to explain, have remained essentially the same.)

In setting up its rules, TG started from another deceptively simple insight: that every verb has a Subject, and that understanding a sentence means above all identifying the Subject for each verb. In English, Subjects normally appear in front of the verb, so it might be thought that identifying them would be too easy to be interesting. However, there are many cases where the Subject does not appear in the 'right' position – or does not appear at all (we have already seen that the Subject of 'to be attracted' has to be carried over from a different verb). We are so skilled at understanding who does what in a sentence that we typically do not even notice that in such cases we have to interpret something that is not explicitly said. One well-known example used by Chomsky was the pair of sentences:

John is eager to please. John is easy to please.

These appear, on the surface, to have the same structure; but in fact we understand that in the first case it is John who does the pleasing (i.e. is the understood Subject of 'to please'), while in the second it is an unnamed person or thing (and 'John' is understood as the Object of 'to please'). This game of 'hunt the Subject' can become even more complex and exciting – the kind of (invented) sentence that made TG linguists salivate with delight is the following:

Which burglar did the policeman say Mary thought had shot himself?

Here, we understand that the Subject of 'had shot' is 'which burglar' – even though there are two other possible nouns that are candidates for the Subject role ('the policeman' and 'Mary') in between. Adding to the excitement is the fact that we also understand that 'himself' refers to the burglar, even though 'the policeman' is closer in the sentence; whereas, if we replaced it with 'him', it might refer to the policeman or another male person, but it could not refer to the burglar.

But how do we understand all this? And how can the linguist show, in an explicit way, what it is that we actually understand? One problem is that, in order to label part of the sentence as 'Subject', we have first had to identify that part as having a particular relation to the verb (the 'doer' of the verb rather than the Object or 'done-to'): in other words, we have actually jumped over the initial stage. That means that our description is not in fact fully explicit. We need to work with labels that tell us what each constituent is in itself, not what it does in the sentence. At the same time, we also need to show where each constituent fits in the basic structure. Chomsky's famous first rule captured this:

$$S \rightarrow NP \qquad VP$$

This is a non-verbal (and thus apparently less ambiguous) way of saying that every sentence in a language consists of a noun phrase followed by a verb phrase – if it does not show these features it is not a grammatically acceptable 'sentence'. It has to be borne in mind that S actually refers to a clause rather than what is traditionally called a sentence (in some later versions of the approach, the label 'IP', standing for inflectional phrase, was used instead); and VP here includes everything in the clause apart from the first NP. Translated into over-simple functional terms, it means in effect that every clause must have a verb and every verb must have a Subject. Using this rule, the underlying meanings of our 'burglar' example can be set out as follows, with each of the three clauses in the sentence labelled as an S (the inverted commas round the words signal that we are dealing with the abstract concepts that the words refer to rather than the words themselves):

$S_1 \rightarrow$ NP VP
['the policeman'] ['did say' (something)]
$S_2 \rightarrow$ NP VP
['Mary'] ['thought' (something)]
$S_3 \rightarrow$ NP VP
['which burglar'] ['had shot himself']

Note that this analysis also begins to elucidate why 'himself' refers to the burglar. When the Object of a verb refers to the same entity as the Subject, a reflexive pronoun is normally used: compare 'Mary washed her' and 'Mary washed herself'.

As the final S above suggests, the VP element does not only include the verb but any other elements that depend on the verb. We can therefore go on splitting the clause elements into their component parts until we reach the basic constituents (essentially words, though with some exceptions). This splitting up must, however, be done in the correct sequence in order to show the dependencies between different parts of the clause correctly. For example, two (simplified) further rules are:

$VP \rightarrow V \qquad NP$
$NP \rightarrow Det \qquad N$

The first rule allows us to show that some verb phrases consist of a verb and a noun phrase (a noun phrase in this position is traditionally called the Object). This accounts for the VP in S₃ above:

VP →   V   NP
            ['had shot']   ['himself']

The second rule allows us to analyse within the noun phrase, and to show that it may consist of a determiner (e.g. 'the') and a noun (e.g. 'policeman').

However, we have not yet dealt with the VP in S_1 or S_2. This will allow us to show how S_{1-3} combine into the sentence as we actually see it. Although the operation is immensely complex in practice, it is simple in theory: it turns out that we can identify not only a finite set of explicit rules governing the possible combinations (the complexity comes especially from the interaction between the rules), but, more crucially, an even more restricted set of underlying regularities in the type of rules that are possible. The crucial rule that we need to add is:

VP → V   S

This rule means that verb phrases may include not only a verb (V) but also another S (this is technically known as recursion: a clause appears where the Object might be). This may be easier to grasp if we revise the analysis of our example to take these new rules into account:

S_1→   NP   VP →   [V   S]
              ['the policeman']   [['did say'] ['S_2']]
S_2→   NP   VP →   [V   S]
              ['Mary']   [['thought'] ['S_3']]
S_3→   NP   VP→   [V   NP]
              ['which burglar']   ['had shot'] ['himself']

I have concentrated so far on the Subject in the clauses, but exactly the same kind of analysis can be done for Objects and other clause constituents that appear in the 'wrong' place or that govern the form and interpretation of other constituents (as 'which burglar' governs the interpretation of 'himself'). What are the S_{1-3} underlying this version of the example?

Which burglar did the policeman say Mary told him she had shot?

It is perhaps surprising that, using such apparently marginal examples, the approach should have thrown so much light on how sentences are structured; and yet the insights gained have been extensive and in some ways revolutionary. For our present purposes, however, it is less important to look at these discoveries in any detail than to consider where the approach leads us. The first thing to say is that this approach is almost exclusively interested in what we can call '**propositional meaning**' – the

'content' of the sentence (note that, from this point, bold typeface will be used when an important technical term is introduced). The following two sentences have exactly the same propositional content and therefore the same analysis in terms of Ss:

The burglar had shot himself.   Had the burglar shot himself?
$S_1 \rightarrow$ NP   VP $\rightarrow$ [V   NP]
                 ['the burglar']   ['had shot']   ['himself']

The difference in surface form ('The burglar had' vs. 'Had the burglar') results from rules that allow the auxiliary 'did' to appear in front of the NP as the S transforms into the sentences. On the other hand, the fact that a statement and a question serve entirely different functions in communication is regarded as irrelevant in the grammatical analysis – it is taken into account in a different part of the linguistic description (though there was relatively little interest in developing that part within the approach). Chomsky made a principled decision to exclude how we use sentences in communication (e.g. as statements or questions): the model is not designed to show, for example, that one sentence functions as the answer to a preceding question. The aim is to discover the rules that govern how constituents can be put together to form grammatically correct sentences, and to formulate these rules in as general a way as possible (ideally, so that they apply to all human language rather than just individual languages); therefore each sentence is analysed in complete isolation, both from other sentences and from the situations in which it might be used. This limitation is self-imposed because generative linguists feel that it is only worth describing those aspects of language that can be described 'scientifically' (i.e. with absolute explicitness). The ways in which language is used are thought to be, unfortunately, too messy and are therefore ignored, at least until someone can find a way of describing them according to scientific general laws.

But if the road towards an examination of use is blocked off, where else can we go from this starting point? The answer is inwards, into the brain. The fact that we as language users can handle the complex relations between Ss and clauses/sentences – i.e. we can identify the separate constituents in the sentence and assign them to their correct place in the structure of the appropriate S – tells us, it is argued, a great deal about how our brains must work. At the same time, the fact that we do not need to be explicitly taught how to do this means that we must in some way be born with the required mental capacities. Thus a rigorously formal approach to the description of language leads us towards neurology and genetics. Clearly, these are fascinating and worthwhile areas, but they do involve giving up any idea of looking at language in use. In fact the logic of Chomsky's approach leads him to argue in *On Nature and Language* (2002: 76) that 'language is not properly regarded as a system of communication. It is a system for expressing thought, something quite different.'

1.1.2 Going in through meaning

It may well be possible, and intellectually productive, to view language, as the generative approach does, as a system of abstract rules that are applied in order to end

up with a grammatically acceptable sentence; but there are grave doubts about whether this view captures to any useful extent what goes on when users actually produce or understand language. More importantly, there is little doubt that it does not reflect how the users themselves view language. They respond above all to the meanings that are expressed and the ways in which those meanings are expressed. For the user, despite the clear similarities in terms of propositional content, the following sentences have very different meanings because they are designed to elicit different responses from the addressee (acknowledging, agreeing/confirming or informing):

Colds last seven days on average.
Colds last seven days on average, don't they?
Do colds last seven days on average?

Similarly, there are important differences between the following sentences because of the speaker's choice of a formal or colloquial wording:

Would you mind helping me with this?
Can you gissa hand [= give me a hand]?

The syntactic underpinning in the examples above is of course essential in expressing the different meanings, but only as a tool that enables what most people see as the primary function of language – communicating meanings in particular contexts – to be carried out. As always, the exact nature of the tool used depends on the task in hand. In linguistic terms, we can express this as the assumption that, if we start from the premise that language has evolved for the function of communication, this must have a direct and controlling effect on its design features – in other words, the form of language can be substantially explained by examining its functions. Of course, we need to take into account the constraints of the 'raw materials': the pre-determined (genetic) characteristics of the human brain that allow or encourage certain kinds of language forms, and disallow or discourage other kinds. Generative approaches provide a possible way of investigating those characteristics (though their validity has been increasingly questioned). But they clearly represent only half the story: we still need to examine the formative influences of the uses to which language is put. (We can see the contrast between the two approaches as a reflection of the old dichotomy of nature vs. nurture – and, as always, the answer is most likely to lie in a combination of both.)

What happens, then, if we head in the other direction and (like language users) start from meaning? The meanings that we may want to express, or the uses to which we may want to put language, are clearly 'messy': they appear so varied and so dependent on the infinite range of different contexts that it is difficult at first to see how we might impose some order on them. However, if we look at the grammatical options open to us, we can in fact relate those options fairly systematically to different kinds of meanings. Let us take just two examples of areas that we will examine in more detail later. We can relate the presence of modal verbs to (amongst other things) expressing the speaker's feeling that what they are saying needs to be

negotiated with the addressee. In the following example, the speaker evaluates 'this seeming strange at first' as only potentially valid ('may') to show awareness of the fact that s/he cannot be sure whether it does seem strange to the addressee:

This *may* seem strange at first.

And we can relate the ordering of parts of the clause to the speaker's desire to signal how this message fits in with the preceding message(s). Compare what comes first in the second sentences in each of these pairs (and think about why the order is different, and whether the second sentences could be swapped):

What is a platelet? *A platelet* is a disc-shaped element in the blood that is involved in blood clotting.
One kind of blood cell is a disc-shaped element that is involved in blood clotting. *This* is called a platelet.

It may seem odd (note my use of 'may' to avoid imposing this opinion on you!) to say that ordering in the clause has 'meaning'; but it is only odd if we restrict meaning to 'propositional meaning' – which, as I have suggested, is a narrower definition than we want. If we take meaning as being the sum of what the speaker wants the hearer to understand – in other words, if we equate the **meaning** of a sentence with its **function** – then understanding how the present message fits in its context is clearly part of the meaning, just as the difference between a statement and a question is part of the meaning.

In describing the various kinds of meanings in this fairly general way (e.g. 'signalling how this message fits in with the preceding message(s)'), we are already beginning to set up categories of functions that we perform through language; and we can then go back to texts to see if there are other grammatical features that seem to be performing the same kind of function. But we are still in danger of ending up with a fairly random-seeming list of functions. Is there any way of arriving at an even more generalized grouping of meaning types, so that we can start to explain why we find the particular kinds of functions that we do? For this, we need to step back and, rather than looking at language structures, think about what we do with language. In the broadest terms, we use language to talk about things and events ('It's raining') and to get things done ('Sit down'). As we shall see, these are not mutually exclusive (the command 'Sit down' involves reference to the particular event of sitting rather than any other; and telling someone that it's raining has the effect of changing their knowledge): indeed, the basic principle is that every time we use language we are doing both simultaneously. We will also see that we need to add a third major function, a kind of language-internal 'service function'; but, having simply established here that it is possible to identify a very small number of broad functions, we can leave further specification until, in Chapter 3, we start exploring how these major functions can be used to illuminate and explain the choices that are available in language.

I have at several points used the term '**choice**' in discussing meanings. If we want to examine what a piece of language is intended to do (i.e. its function), we cannot

avoid thinking in terms of choice. Clearly, speakers do not go round producing de-contextualized grammatically correct sentences: they have reasons for saying something, and for saying it in the way they do. To take a simple example, if you want to find out some information you are most likely to ask a question rather than make a statement; and, at a more detailed level, you are more likely to use an informal wording if you are talking to a friend rather than a formal one:

What the hell was that noise?

But note that, in describing the example in this way, we have in fact set up two sets of context-dependent choices: question vs. statement, informal vs. formal. If you have reasons for doing (saying) one thing, the implication is that you could have done (said) something else if the reasons (the context) had been different.

Functional Grammar sets out to investigate what the range of relevant choices are, both in the kinds of meanings that we might want to express (or functions that we might want to perform) and in the kinds of wordings that we can use to express these meanings; and to match these two sets of choices. In order to identify meaning choices, we have to look outwards at the **context**: what, in the kind of society we live in, do we typically need or want to say? What are the contextual factors that make one set of meanings more appropriate or likely to be expressed than another? But at the same time we need to identify the linguistic options (i.e. the lexical and structural possibilities that the language system offers for use), and to explore the meanings that each option expresses. These are complementary perspectives on the same phenomenon: one, as it were, from the bottom up – from wording to context – and the other from the top down – from context to wording. Looking from the bottom up, the use of the 'the hell' in the question above means – i.e. has the function of expressing – informality (amongst other things): in other words, one thing that our grammatical description must account for is the lexical and structural means by which different degrees of formality are expressed. Looking from the top down, the fact that the speaker is talking to a friend makes appropriate the use of informal wordings: in other words, we need a description of the social context which includes degrees of familiarity between people interacting with each other as a relevant factor influencing their language choices.

Note that the use of the term 'choice' does not necessarily imply a conscious process of selection by the speaker: what we aim to uncover through a functional analysis are the meaning-wording options that are available in the language system and the factors that lead the speaker to produce a particular wording rather than any other in a particular context (in some ways, it would almost be as true to talk of the wording choosing the speaker). In writing this book, there are certain choices that I am very aware of making – e.g. I have consciously set out to sound 'interactive' in this book, and so I sometimes address 'you' directly rather than always avoiding this by using passives, etc. (both options are possible in a textbook, whereas in academic journal articles, for example, direct address to the reader as 'you' is very rare indeed). But there are many 'choices' that I am constrained to make by the kind of context in which I am using language: for example, it is very unlikely that I will use the structures

associated with swearing, except perhaps in quotes. It is only in consciously trying to imagine the 'wrong' choices that such choices even present themselves as possible: but the choice not to swear has nevertheless been made (or, rather, made for me). These are deliberately crude examples; but the principle applies in every detail of the wordings that I 'choose'.

One important implication of the functional view of language is that context and language are interdependent. This might seem too strong a way of putting it: it looks as though language could be seen as dependent on context. For example, a teacher may ask 'display' questions to which s/he already knows the answer, and to evaluate the answer given by a pupil as correct or not:

Teacher:	What is the woman wearing on her head?
Student:	A hat?
Teacher:	A hat, yes.

One could assume that this is 'allowed' because of the classroom context, where the teacher has a particular kind of authority; but it is equally true to say that, by speaking in this way, the teacher and student are contributing to creating the context as being that of a classroom interaction. If the same teacher behaved like this with the same student when they happened to meet in the street, it would almost certainly be inappropriate because it would project the context as if it were the classroom. Similarly, if a TV journalist interviewing a government minister asked a display question and evaluated the minister's answer as correct, it would sound odd precisely because it would conjure up the wrong context, with the wrong relationship between the two speakers. We can use the term '**construe**' to talk about this kind of reflexivity. The question and evaluation of the response construe a classroom context: that is, they simultaneously reflect and construct that context. To take a different example, 'the glass broke' construes a slightly different view of events from 'I broke the glass' (hinging on the question of agency – see Chapter 5).

At a broader level, our experiences in the world clearly influence what we normally talk about and the way we talk about it. For example, we constantly adjust the way we talk to the person we are speaking to so as to take into account what we think they already know, and to negotiate our moment-by-moment relationship with them (as I am doing with you – note how I have chosen to use the more interactive 'we' here rather than, say, 'speakers'); and the lexical and grammatical resources of the language therefore offer ways of conducting this negotiation. At the same time, the way we normally talk about these experiences (and the way we hear other people talk about them) influences the way we see them: for example, we generally accept without conscious query the fact that advertisers talk about their products as solutions to our problems (as opposed to talking about our willingness to pay for the products as the solution to the advertisers' problems, which is at least equally valid a view).

By formulating our approach to linguistic description in the kind of terms used above – choices amongst relevant options in context – we are deliberately opening up the path towards grammatically based text analysis (where '**text**' means any instance of language in use): at each stage, we can ask why the writer or speaker is

expressing this particular meaning in this particular way at this particular point. I mentioned earlier that generative approaches take linguistics towards biology; functional grammar takes it towards sociology: the systematic study of relevant features in the culture and society that form the context in which language is used, and which are at the same time constructed by the way in which language is used. Both approaches, through form and meaning, ask essentially the same question about language: how can we explain why language has the main features that it does? But whereas the form-based approach finds the answer in the way our brains are structured, the meaning-based approach finds it in the way our social context is structured. (Of course, the different answers depend very largely on the fact that each approach takes a different view of the 'main features' that need to be explained.) Although our focus in the rest of the book will be on choices within the grammatical systems, we shall be regularly looking outwards towards the wider contextual factors that are construed by these choices.

1.2 Language, context and function: a preliminary exploration

If it is true that language and context are inextricably linked, any naturally occurring stretch of language should, to a greater or lesser extent, come trailing clouds of context with it: we should be able to deduce a great deal about the context in which the language was produced, the purpose for which it was produced, and the reasons why it was expressed in the way it was. (This is why formal linguists generally prefer invented examples: a pseudo-sentence like the burglar example above is designed to give no clues about 'distracting' elements such as who might have uttered these words, in what circumstances or why.) We can check this context-embeddedness of real language in a preliminary way by looking at a simple example. I have deliberately chosen one that conjures up a very clear context; but can you go from that to explain as much as possible about the language choices in terms of who the interactants are and what the speaker's purposes are? My commentary follows, but you will find it useful to try your own analysis before reading it.

Once upon a time, there was a big, bad bear.

The context is obviously a fairy story, probably told by an adult to a young child. This is most clearly signalled by 'Once upon a time', which is used almost only in fairy stories (so much so that, if used in another context, it conjures up the very specific fairy-tale context, however fleetingly). The individual story teller hardly needs to 'choose' this opening: he knows that this is how fairy stories start. However, it is worth considering why this type of narrative should have such an immediately recognizable opening. One important factor is the addressee: a relatively unsophisticated language user, for whom very clear signals of purpose are necessary. The conventional opening signals something like: 'I'm not going to tell you to do anything; I'm not going to scold you; all you need to do is to sit back and enjoy the story that is coming up.' In addition, although the expression belongs grammatically to the group of adverbials that specify time ('Once', 'Yesterday', 'Three years ago',

etc.), it clearly does not in fact specify a real time. It thus signals that the narrative is a fictional one rather than, say, an account of what the teller did last year.

The clause structure ('there was …') is an existential one (see 5.2.5). It introduces one of the main characters without saying that the bear was involved in any particular action – the action will presumably start in the next clause. Thus it stages the information, building up the story in increments that are manageable to the inexperienced language processor to whom the story is addressed. What we are told about the bear apart from its existence is that it is big and bad. The alliteration is obviously striking here: it appeals to children's pleasure in incidental patternings of sound, rather like wordplay at a more sophisticated level (in many adult texts we are more likely to rewrite something to remove alliteration if it happens to occur). At the same time, it serves to reinforce the non-real, poetic nature of the story, perhaps reducing the potential scariness of the animal (cf. the effect of 'an enormous, savage bear'). It is also worth commenting on the fact that the speaker evaluates the character as he introduces it. In sophisticated narratives such as novels, we expect to be skilfully guided towards an evaluation of characters without having the author's evaluation thrust upon us; but here the child is told in advance that the bear is bad. The adult takes on the responsibility of setting out the required set of values for the child, partly no doubt as a reflection of his assessment of the child's restricted ability to do the necessary inferencing for himself. In addition, the evaluation opens up generic expectations of how the story will unfold: the bear will somehow cause problems for the good characters who will appear in a moment, but will in the end be defeated. Children learn very rapidly to recognize conventional story lines, as long as the signals are clear enough.

These are only some of the main points that can be made about how this piece of language works in its context – I have not, for example, touched on the broader issues of the role of story-telling in the socialization of children. I have deliberately outlined the points as informally as I can; but what I hope the discussion shows is the kind of features that we want to be able to discuss in a more formalized way. The grammatical system that we set up should provide categories that relate to the communicative purposes and choices that we have identified. In the rest of the book, I shall be setting out a functional approach based closely on Michael Halliday's work, which allows us to do this in a systematic and satisfying way.

- Refer to Exercise 1.1.

Exercise 1.1

Analyse the following extracts in the same way as the fairy-story opening: identify as much as you can about the context from which the extract comes, and discuss any features of the wording (lexis and structure) that you can relate to that context. The lexis will often provide the easiest clues, but try to go beyond that to identify other features as well.

1 Day return to Liverpool, please.
2 Appearances can be deceptive. But not in this case. The new Mercedes E-class looks different. And is different. It has the most aerodynamic body we've ever built. The best in its class.
3 Well you see she wrote this letter saying that she'd been ringing and what we couldn't understand when we spoke to Liz was she knew you were going to Peru and she knows you don't put the cats in the cattery when you go away so it was obvious where we were.
4 Old Brother Rhys was sitting up beside his neatly made bed, not far from the fire, nodding his ancient, grey-tonsured head. He looked proudly complacent, as one who has got his due against all the odds, stubbly chin jutting, thick old eyebrows bristling in all directions, and the small, sharp eyes beneath almost colourless in their grey pallor, but triumphantly bright.
5 While this handbook will give intending applicants the information they need, students must, in order to obtain up-to-date, full and official information about entrance requirements and courses, write direct to the institutions of their choice at least a year before they hope to begin their studies, so that they will have decided to which institutions they wish to seek admission, and obtained the necessary application form, well before the closing date for receipt of applications.
6 To make brown rolls divide the dough into 18 equal portions – each should weigh about 50g (2 oz). On an unfloured surface roll each piece of dough into a ball inside your cupped hand. Press down hard at first, then ease up to shape them nicely.
7 In Section 37-2 we found the directions of maximum and minimum intensity in a two-source interference pattern. We may also find the intensity at *any* point in the pattern. To do this, we have to combine the two sinusoidally varying fields (from the two sources) at a point *P* in the radiation pattern, taking proper account of the phase difference of the two waves at point *P*, which results from the path difference.
8 But I am carried back against my will into a childhood where autumn is bonfires, marbles, smoke; I lean against my window fenced from evocations in the air. When I said autumn, autumn broke.

2
Identifying clauses and clause constituents

2.1 Breaking up the sentence – and labelling the parts

At this stage, it is possible that the framework that I have set out in Chapter 1 will strike you as rather abstract, and the full implications of adopting the functional approach may not be easy to grasp. There is something of a Catch-22 situation: you can only really understand each aspect of an approach when you have a general framework into which you can fit the various aspects as they are introduced; but you cannot get a firm grip of this framework until you understand most of the aspects. This means that you may find it useful to re-read Chapter 1 after reading the rest of the book (and, anyway, in the final chapter I will come back to some of the themes in the light of the intervening discussion).

In the present chapter I want to turn to some more concrete preliminaries: the ways in which we can split up the sentence into parts, so that we can later go on to look at the particular functions that each part serves. As well as reviewing the different kinds of elements that make up sentences, one of the main purposes of the chapter is to go rapidly over the basic terminology that I will be using. Technical terms that are specific to Hallidayan Functional Grammar, or which are used in a special sense, will be defined and explained as they are introduced in the book. However, there are other terms that I will be assuming are familiar to you – but which I will look at briefly in this chapter, just so that we can confirm that we are on common ground. If you have done grammatical analysis before, you will probably find that most of this chapter tells you nothing new, and you can safely skim through it rapidly (but check section 2.2 on ranks, which organizes the familiar topics in a possibly unfamiliar way). If you are not familiar with grammatical analysis, you may find some of this chapter hard going – but it is a necessary foundation for what follows.

The focus of this book is on clauses and the elements that make up clauses, which is why I will only look briefly in this chapter at the way in which these smaller

elements themselves are made up. However, it should be borne in mind that a full account of the grammar of English would include a good deal of discussion of the structure of nominal groups, for example. My main interest is in analysing how clauses function in texts. It would be equally possible, and useful, to write a book looking 'downwards' from the clause at all details of the smaller elements – but that would be a different book.

2.1.1 Recognizing constituents

As a start, I assume that you will be familiar with the main terms for word classes: **noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, auxiliary verb, modal verb, pronoun** and **conjunction**. I also assume that you will be able to recognize them in text. For example, the following sentence includes at least one example of each of the nine word classes listed above. Can you identify them before reading on?

When you are learning about basic law, you will usually find it relatively easy.
   Here are the examples of each:

- noun: 'law'
- verbs: 'learning', 'find'
- adjectives: 'basic', 'easy'
- adverbs: 'usually', 'relatively'
- preposition: 'about'
- auxiliary verb: 'are'
- modal verb: 'will'
- pronouns: 'you', 'it'
- conjunction: 'when'.

I also assume that you will be able to recognize when there might be some doubt about which class a word belongs to. For example, in what ways might there be some hesitation over labelling the word class of the highlighted words in the following examples?

   I heard a *car* door slam.
   Other visitors, *however*, regret the lack of a residents' lounge.
   Heller's music was new. *So* were many of the piano works composed by
   Schumann.
   We came about nine years *ago*.

I am less interested here in deciding on a 'right' label than in showing that there are areas of uncertainty; but, for the record, these are my comments on the underlined words. 'Car' is a noun, but modifying another noun ('door') in a way that seems more typical of an adjective. 'However' is generally classified as an adverb, mainly because adverb is the rag-bag category where words get put if they do not fit anywhere else. 'So' is a pro-form (like a pro–noun), standing in for part of the clause:

it may be called an adverb in grammar books, for the same negative reason as 'therefore'. And 'ago' belongs in a class of its own, since it behaves like no other word in English – it can be described as a postposed adverb.

Moving up from individual words, we will be dealing with **groups**. You will find the analyses in the main part of this book easier to follow if you are familiar with the idea that the words in a clause can often be grouped together into separate components of the clause each consisting of more than one word. For example, we can split the following sentence into three groups, each consisting of two or three words, which represent the elements of the 'doer', the 'action' and the 'done-to' being talked about:

[The little girl] [had eaten] [all the porridge].

Here 'the little girl' and 'all the porridge' are nominal groups (i.e. groups centred around a noun – 'girl' and 'porridge'), while 'had eaten' is a verbal group. Can you identify the parallels between the following sentences in terms of groups?

Charity is business.
This comfortable family-run old farmhouse on the unspoilt southern shore of Ullswater has been a long-time favourite of Guide readers, particularly walkers and climbers.
One aspect of Trollope's reputation that can find no place in the present study is his fame as a writer of travel books.

Although you may not have recognized this at first, each of the four sentences consists of three groups: the middle group in each case comprises a form of the verb 'be' ('is', 'has been', 'is'); everything before the verbal group forms a single nominal group, and so does everything after it. Nominal groups can become very complex, and you may sometimes find it hard to work out where they end. It is usually easy enough to identify the noun at the centre of the group, but the group may include a long **Postmodifier**: this is the part of the nominal group that follows the noun. In the following versions of two of the examples above, the nominal groups are in square brackets, the central noun is in bold and the postmodifiers are in italics.

[This comfortable family-run old **farmhouse** *on the unspoilt southern shore of Ullswater*] has been [a long-time **favourite** *of Guide readers, particularly walkers and climbers*].
[One **aspect** *of Trollope's reputation that can find no place in the present study*] is [his **fame** *as a writer of travel books*].

I will come back to this point in 2.1.2 below, when I look at the nominal group in more detail, and in 2.2, when I discuss the phenomenon of embedding.

One distinction within groups that we need to make is that between **finite** and **non–finite verbal groups** (these are sometimes confusingly referred to as finite and non-finite verbs). This distinction will be discussed briefly in 4.3.6, but it is important particularly in relation to clauses (see next paragraph). A finite verbal group is

traditionally defined as one that shows tense, whereas a non-finite group does not. In the following example, 'was leaning' is finite, and 'listening' is non-finite:

> She was leaning on the banisters, listening to something.

Tense is often shown in the auxiliary rather than in the main verb, as in '*was* leaning': note that 'leaning' and 'listening' are identical in terms of their form. This helps to explain why I have said that finiteness is a property of the group rather than just of the verb. Can you identify the verbal groups in the following sentences and decide if they are finite or non-finite? Are there any doubtful cases?

> She would start with them, ticking off their names after each call.
> Bogart did his best to put her at ease by joking with her.
> The jobs pay £350 a week and have been created as the plant gears up for the production of new V8 engines for a range of Jaguar cars to replace the ageing XJS.

The clear cases are as follows:

- Finite groups: 'would start'; 'did'; 'pay', 'have been created', 'gears up' (a phrasal verb).
- Non-finite groups: 'ticking off' (another phrasal verb); 'to put'; 'joking'; 'to replace'.

There is one potentially doubtful case: 'ageing'. 'Adjectives' like this derived from a non-finite verbal form have an uncertain status between verbs and adjectives, but for most purposes they are best taken as adjectives.

Following from this point about verbal groups, I will also be assuming on the whole that you can identify the boundaries of clauses. For our purposes, a **clause** is (potentially) any stretch of language centred around a verbal group. Thus, the following example has four clauses:

> The author met her husband in the 1940s, married him in India and lived there before settling in Canada in 1955.

You might like to verify this by identifying the verbs and then marking the clause boundaries. Sometimes it is said that a clause must have a finite verbal group and that, if there is a non-finite group, we call it a phrase. However, in Hallidayan grammar clauses may be either finite or non-finite, depending on whether the verbal group is finite or non-finite. Can you therefore identify the clause boundaries in the three sentences above that we analysed for finite and non-finite verbal groups?

You should find two clauses in the first sentence (one finite, one non-finite), three in the second (one finite, two non-finite), and four in the third (three finite, one non-finite). But what about this sentence – how many clauses are there in this?

> Today, however, she is struggling to finish a sentence, because she is crying.

It seems clear that there are two clauses here, but the first one seems to include two verbal groups, one finite ('is struggling') and one non-finite ('to finish'). However, they are not analysed as two clauses: instead they form one complex verbal group. This point will be discussed further in Chapter 5. And what about the following sentence (which you saw above)?

> One aspect of Trollope's reputation that can find no place in the present study is his fame as a writer of travel books.

Here, we have a clear finite clause 'that can find no place in the present study', but it is 'inside' something that we have already identified as a single nominal group. This is in fact an embedded clause – a concept that will be discussed more fully in 2.2 below.

So far we have simply counted the clauses in a sentence; but we can also look at the relations between the clauses. There are traditional distinctions between **main (independent)** and **subordinate clauses**, and between **coordination** and **subordination**. We can illustrate these distinctions with the following sentence:

> Aunt Julia smiled broadly and murmured something about compliments as she released her hand from his grasp.

Here we have two coordinated main clauses '... smiled ... and murmured ...', and a subordinate clause 'as she released ...' Can you identify the main and subordinate clauses in the examples below? And can you see any differences in the various cases of coordination?

> Bedrooms are individually decorated, and while you are having dinner your room is tidied and the beds are folded down.
> Although the back door of the cottage could be locked and they had left her the key, an intruder could easily break in through a window.

In the first example, you should find three coordinated main clauses and one subordinate clause ('while ...'); and in the second, one main clause and two coordinated subordinate clauses ('Although ... and ...'). One thing that the analysis shows is that coordination can occur at different levels: between either main clauses or subordinate clauses, and between either finite clauses or non-finite clauses. This is a point we will come back to in Chapter 8.

● Refer to Exercise 2.1.

2.1.2 Structural and functional labels

So far in this chapter, I have avoided using some terms that you might have expected to see, like Subject and Object. This is deliberate, because it is essential in a functional approach to have different sets of labels according to whether we are describing the structure of a stretch of language or its function. Most of the rest of the book focuses

on functional labels, for obvious reasons, so I will not spend long on them here; but it will be useful at this point to set out the distinction as clearly as possible. To show the difference, how can you label the following bit of language?

their subsequent affair

You should be able to see that it is a nominal group; but is it Subject or Object? The answer, of course, is that it can be neither until it is used in a clause; and in a clause it can be either:

Their subsequent affair climaxes in a showdown across the House divide. [= Subject]
The death of his children overshadows *their subsequent affair*. [= Object]

It can also form part of a different type of clause constituent, an Adjunct (part of the clause that tells us circumstances like when, where, how or – as in the example below – why the event happens):

She got a divorce *because of their subsequent affair*.

As you will see, we are making a distinction between what it is (a nominal group) and what it does (e.g. Subject in the clause). Its structural label remains the same, whereas its functional label is dependent on the grammatical context in which it appears.

One image that you may find it useful to keep in mind as you do analyses is that of **slots** and **fillers**. We can see the clause as having a number of functional slots, such as Subject, which can be filled by elements (groups) with certain kinds of structural qualities. For example, the Subject and Object slots are normally both filled by a nominal group; and so on. We can show this as in Figure 2.1 for the sentence:

He had paid his bill very casually.

types of group ⇓	*nominal group (NG), e.g.* [1] He [2] his bill		*verbal group (VG), e.g.* had paid		*adverbial group (AG), e.g.* very casually
clause functions	NG [1] └───┘ Subject	VG └───┘ Predicator		NG [2] └───┘ Object	AG └───┘ Adjunct

Figure 2.1   Functional slots and structural fillers

One reason for using this approach is that it allows us to show how the functional slots may in fact be filled by different structural constituents. Most obviously, the Adjunct slot is often filled by a prepositional phrase rather than an adverbial group:

He had paid his bill *by credit card*.

But we can also find, for example, the Subject slot sometimes filled by an adverbial group or an embedded clause:

Tomorrow is another day.
To lose one parent may be regarded as a misfortune.

The traditional labels for the functional slots in the clause give the abbreviation SPOCA: Subject, Predicator, Object, Complement, Adjunct. (Sometimes 'Verb' is used instead of Predicator, but that is mixing a structural label with the functional ones.) In traditional terms, as we have seen above, the Object is the entity that the Subject 'does' the Predicator to. The 'Complement' is used to label a nominal or adjectival group that refers to the same entity as the Subject, or describes the Subject – the Predicator in these cases is a linking verb such as 'be':

The first prize is *a trip to the Bahamas*.
In the end, the choice became *pretty clear*.

An Adjunct is typically an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase giving some kind of background information about the event or state expressed by the Predicator. Just to check, can you label the functional parts of these clauses?

Charity is business.
On the first day I wept bitterly.
She released her hand from his grasp.
In 1969, schools which were based in the town were reorganised.
Their subsequent affair climaxes in a showdown across the House divide.

The analyses are: SPC; ASPA; SPOA; ASP; SPA.
   Although we will not be focusing directly on groups in the rest of the book, it is worth mentioning that we can also analyse nominal groups in functional terms. Nominal groups can be divided into three main functional components: (Premodifier) Head (Postmodifier). The brackets here indicate that two of these components are not always present; but, just as a clause must have a Predicator, so a nominal group must have a Head. Table 2.1 shows the various possibilities from the example sentences above. As can be seen, the Premodifier is simply anything that comes before the Head in the nominal group, and the Postmodifier is anything that follows the Head. The Premodifier includes determiners (such as 'a' and 'the'), adjectives (e.g. 'subsequent') or nouns premodifying the Head (e.g. 'credit'). The main options for the Postmodifier are prepositional phrases (e.g. 'across the House divide') and embedded clauses (e.g. 'which were based in the town'): there will be more on this in 2.2 below.
   In Chapter 4, I will be setting out a slightly modified version of the clause labels given above; but, more importantly, I will be introducing a range of other types of functional labels, reflecting the fact that clauses do not express only one kind of meaning (or perform only one kind of function). To reiterate what I have emphasized

above, the main point to take from this section is the difference between the two types of labelling: structural and functional. In generative approaches, as I explained in Chapter 1, functional labels are avoided as much as possible, since they are too closely associated with meaning and context and therefore introduce undesirable fuzziness into the description. In functional grammar, on the other hand, we obviously rely primarily on functional labels, but structural labels are used in exploring exactly how different meanings are expressed. To help keep the distinction clear in the discussion to come, I will follow Halliday's custom of using an initial capital letter for all functional labels such as Subject.

Table 2.1 The nominal group

Premodifier	Head	Postmodifier
	business	
	She	
the first	day	
their subsequent	affair	
credit	card	
a	showdown	across the House divide
	schools	which were based in the town

2.2 Ranks

So far I have been referring in a fairly informal way to the different parts of sentences that we can identify. It will be useful at this point to set up a more systematic approach to looking at the constituents on which our analyses are going to be based.

One way of doing this is by using the theoretical concept of the **rank scale**. This is based on the assumption that we can normally split any meaningful unit at one rank, or level, into smaller units of a different kind at the rank below. Thus, for example, we can divide the following clause into three groups:

[Tensions at work] [could undermine] [your usual sunny optimism]

This analysis represents an explicit claim that we can identify two different ranks – clause and group – and also an implicit claim that the distinction is analytically useful: that the concept of ranks captures something about the way this stretch of language is put together, and that we need a rank between the intuitively identifiable ranks of clause and word. This seems justified on a number of grounds: for example, we can move the groups around as complete units in different grammatical structures while keeping recognizably the same propositional meaning (although, of course, the functional meaning will change):

[Your usual sunny optimism], [tensions at work] [could undermine]
What [could undermine] [your usual sunny optimism] is [tensions at work]

[Your usual sunny optimism] [could be undermined] by [tensions at work]

The groups themselves can clearly be divided further, into **words** at the next rank – for example:

[{your}{usual}{sunny}{optimism}]

This division is intuitively necessary (we do, after all, separate words by spaces in writing, which indicates that we think of them as separate elements), but, equally importantly, it corresponds to identifiable functional divisions: each word clearly contributes a distinct element to the meaning of the group. We can in fact go to a rank below the word and identify meaningful units that make up words. These are not, as one might perhaps expect, letters or sounds, or even syllables: those are not in themselves meaningful (the letter 'o' and the syllable 'ti' in 'optimism' do not mean anything), and they need to be dealt with in a completely different part of the description of the language. The smallest meaningful units are **morphemes**. For example, 'sunny' can be analysed as the lexical morpheme 'sun-' plus the grammatical morpheme '-(n)y' (which changes the noun into an adjective – compare 'fun/ funny'). In a similar way 'optimism' can be analysed as 'optim-' plus '-ism': 'optim-' is not a free lexical morpheme as 'sun' is, but it combines with several grammatical morphemes such as '-ist', '-ize' and '-al' and makes a similar contribution to the meaning of each resulting word. We therefore have a rank scale consisting of the following four ranks: clause, group, word, morpheme.

There are two important aspects of the rank scale hypothesis that need to be made explicit. The first is that units at each rank can be made up only of units from the rank below: a clause is therefore taken to consist of groups, not of words. Of course, a group, for example, may consist of a single word:

[{Christmas}] [{starts}] [{here}]

Nevertheless, it is as a group that each unit functions in the clause (each group here could be expanded: e.g. '[Our Christmas] [will start] [right here]'). The second is that the analysis is, in principle, exhaustive: every element is accounted for at each rank. We cannot have 'spare bits' floating around in the clause – in principle, every word has a function as part of a group and every group has a function as part of a clause (although in practice this requirement has to be relaxed).

You may wonder why there is no 'sentence' rank above clause. The main reason is that we can adequately account for sentences by introducing the concept of **clause complexes**: two or more clauses linked by coordination and/or subordination in a larger structural unit. This sounds very like the traditional description of a sentence. However, as you will know if you have ever tried to transcribe an informal conversation, the sentence is an idealization of the written language which it is often difficult to impose on spoken language. We also find that full stops, which mark the boundaries of sentences in writing, may in some kinds of texts be used between clauses that are grammatically dependent on each other:

Ticket agencies then resold them for $400. Thus capitalising on the unique skill of this specialised workforce.

The term '**sentence**' is therefore best reserved to label stretches of written text bounded by full stops or the equivalent. Typically, written sentences correspond to clause complexes – but not always (the example above comprises two sentences but one clause complex). A more theoretical reason for not including the sentence as a separate rank is the fact that two clauses may be combined into a complex unit, but the choices (slots) available in the second clause are basically the same as in the first. As we move from group to clause, the set of options is very different: in the group we have no equivalent, for example, of the Subject slot in the clause. But there is no such clear-cut change as we move from clause to clause complex: the same SPOCA slots recur. An image that I find useful is that of a tandem: it is different from a bicycle – it has two crossbars, two seats and two sets of handlebars – and yet functionally it is still the same sort of machine as a bicycle (not least because it consists mainly of the same structural elements like handlebars).

If the image of the clause complex as a tandem does not appeal, you may find it easier to grasp the idea of complexes at group rank. In a clause like the following, it is reasonably easy to accept that we have only one Subject (in italics):

A huge sofa and two armchairs surrounded the fireplace.

But the Subject consists of two nominal elements, either of which could be Subject on its own, with a third element ('and') linking them into a single complex unit. The clause complex is simply a parallel phenomenon at the next rank up. As one might predict, it is also possible to identify word complexes (e.g. 'These play an *essential though unexplained* role') and, more rarely, morpheme complexes (e.g. '*pro-* and *anti*-marketeers'); but these are linguistic resources that are not as regularly drawn on in expressing meanings as complexes at the two upper ranks are, and we will not deal with them in any further detail.

Figure 2.2 gives an overview of the rank scale as outlined so far (the reasons for the number of slashes around clauses will become clear in Chapter 8).

clauses → *combine into*	**clause complexes**
↓ e.g. Computer facilities are free of charge	e.g. If this applies to you
are made up of one or more	/ tick this box.
groups → *combine into*	**group complexes**
↓ e.g. [computer facilities] [are] [free of charge]	e.g. [Mark \ \ and I]
are made up of one or more	[tried \ to help]
words	
↓ e.g. [{computer} {facilities}]	
are made up of one or more	
morphemes	
e.g. {<compute><er>} {<facility><s>}	

Figure 2.2   The rank scale

This deceptively simple picture needs two main additions to make it fit most of the observable phenomena. The first is the inclusion of **prepositional phrases**. They lie at roughly the same level as groups, though Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 437) point out that they have arrived there from different directions: the group is 'an expansion of a word' (I mentioned above that it may in fact consist of a single word), whereas the phrase is 'a contraction of a clause' (it must consist of at least two different parts, the preposition and the nominal group dependent on it). The prepositional phrases in the following examples are in italics:

Her education had been completed *in Switzerland*.
We drove *for a couple of hours into the mountains* and arrived *at a hotel*.

It is worth remembering that prepositional phrases can be used either as Adjuncts, as in these examples, or as part of nominal groups; and it can sometimes be easy to get these confused. The following newspaper headline could have two different meanings (though of course only one was intended): what are they?

Police subdue man *with a carving knife*.

If the prepositional phrase is read as an Adjunct, it explains how police subdued the man (rather brutally!); if it is read as part of the nominal group, it describes the man.

The second addition is the concept of **embedding**. This is a general principle that allows a unit to be expanded by the inclusion of another unit from a higher or, in some cases, the same rank. This is a phenomenon that will crop up at several points (e.g. in discussing the identification of the Subject in 4.3.2), so I will only give a few examples here. The main site for embedding is the Postmodifier in the nominal group. Very frequently, this has a prepositional phrase embedded in it:

[Tumours *of the cervical spine*] are rare.
[Experiments *in the dehydration and evaporation of milk*] were also taking place at this time.

You can check that all the words in square brackets above need to be included in their group by thinking about the groups as answers to questions: e.g. 'What are rare?' 'Tumours of the cervical spine' (not just 'Tumours'). Since a prepositional phrase itself includes a nominal group, that nominal group may have another prepositional phrase embedded in it (e.g. 'of milk' in the second example above) – and the embedding can obviously be repeated again, certainly more than once without sounding odd:

... has put forward [a proposal *for the doubling of the assisted places scheme for independent schools in the area*].

This nominal group can be seen as constructed in the following way:

the area → independent schools in the area → the assisted places scheme for independent schools in the area → the doubling of the assisted places scheme for independent schools in the area → a proposal for the doubling of the assisted places scheme for independent schools in the area

A nominal group may also have a clause embedded in it as the Postmodifier:

It is impossible to trace [all the influences *which led to the Gothic revival in architecture*].
But [the idea *that this new method could bring profits*] soon drew other manufacturers into the field.
They showed [no disposition *to chat*].

This structure can be less easy to identify at first, but it is so frequent in the language that it cannot be overlooked. Again, you can check that the embedded clause is part of the nominal group by thinking about the group as the answer to a question – e.g. 'What drew other manufacturers into the field?' Some Postmodifiers can consist of a combination of embedded prepositional phrases and clauses. I have marked the boundary between the prepositional phrase and the clause with a slash in this example:

[The questions *of marriage and the succession/which remained the chief matters of contention between Elizabeth and her parliaments*] sprang from satisfaction with her rule ...

It is worth noting that an embedded clause may function by itself as the equivalent of a nominal group:

[*That there had soon been a reconciliation*] was due to Albert.
[*What really happened*] cannot be definitely established.
She never knew [*what had happened between the two men*].

There are other types of embedding, as we shall see in later chapters; but at this stage it is mainly important to grasp the principle. The term '**ranking clause**' is used to distinguish non-embedded from embedded clauses. If we mark the clause boundaries with slashes, we can see that the first example below consists of one ranking clause, whereas the second consists of two, one independent and the other dependent (and thus we have a clause complex):

That there had soon been a reconciliation was due to Albert
Use strawberries/when raspberries are not available

There are certain problems with the rank scale as a way of looking at the structure of clauses. We do not need to go into most of them, since we will only be using the rank scale as a practical starting point and can overlook theoretical objections. However, there is one that will come up especially in Chapter 4. The rank scale prioritizes the view of the clause in terms of constituents – but there are times when

we will want to examine elements in the clause that do not fit easily in the scale. I said above that only groups, not words, have a function at the level of the clause; but in Chapter 4, for example, we will be focusing on the Finite, which has a crucial function directly at clause level, but which does not constitute a group (or even a word in some cases). Similarly, in a sentence like the following:

He felt *certain* there *must* be a clue he had forgotten.

both 'certain' and 'must' are clearly contributing to expressing the same meaning – his attitude towards the validity of there being a clue – and yet they are very different kinds of constituents which the rank scale will separate, thus obscuring their functional symbiosis.

Nevertheless, despite drawbacks like these, the rank scale provides an extremely useful and systematic basis for the initial analysis of clauses into their constituent parts. Once we have a fairly secure picture of what the main parts are, we can move on to a functional analysis, if necessary adapting or overlooking the divisions made according to the rank scale.

● Refer to Exercise 2.2.

Exercise 2.1

Divide the following sentences into clauses and label them as independent or dependent or embedded. Also decide whether they are finite or non-finite.

1   The reasons for the difference confirm the analysis of Chapter VI.
2   Benn's strategy was shaped by his analysis of Britain's economic problems and the political situation as he saw it.
3   Since I had been inoculated against hepatitis before leaving New Zealand, I had never considered it as a risk.
4   Since the middle of June the joint shop-stewards' committee had been examining the issue of direct action.
5   While you are poised for a significant development on the work and personal front you would be advised to separate fact from fiction.
6   With Mercury's move forward, you will soon be hearing the news for which you have been waiting.
7   She told me that she had not expected Gareth to react quite so violently.
8   They were probably worrying themselves sick about the delay, but there was nothing we could do about it.

Exercise 2.2

Both texts below are about Elizabeth I, who was Queen of England in the sixteenth century (they have been slightly adapted). The first text is from a website about the history of Britain aimed at young readers, and the second is from an article in an academic journal for historians. Divide the texts into their constituent clauses and groups (and phrases). Identify any embedded clauses. Label the groups/phrases in terms of their function in the clause – SPOCA.

1 Elizabeth was the last sovereign of the house of Tudor. She was born at Greenwich, September 7, 1533. Her childhood was passed in comparative quietness, and she was educated by people who favoured reformed religion.

   In 1554, Elizabeth was confined in the Tower by order of Queen Mary. She narrowly escaped death, because some of the bishops and courtiers advised Mary to order her execution. After she had passed several months in the Tower, she was removed to Woodstock and appeased Mary by professing to be a Roman Catholic.

2 But to understand the genesis of English anti-Catholicism, we must return to the sixteenth century and to the problem of the two queens. We can begin by exploring the linkage between gender and religion that fuelled fears of female rule in the early modern period. Early modern culture defined 'male' and 'female' as polar opposites. This hierarchical dual classification system categorically differentiated between male and female, privileging men over women as both spiritual and rational beings in ways that underpinned social order and hierarchy.

3

An overview of
Functional Grammar

3.1 Three kinds of meaning

I pointed out in Chapter 1 that, in functional approaches to grammar, meaning is essentially equated with function, and that describing language from this perspective appears at first sight to be a much less manageable task than describing the structures (as we did in Chapter 2). To begin to identify generalizable patterns, we have to stand back and think broadly about what people use language for. A number of different models have been proposed for the kinds of functions that language serves; but, for reasons that I will discuss below, Michael Halliday argues that three kinds of meanings are particularly relevant. These can be summarized in an informal way as follows:

- We use language to talk about our experience of the world, including the worlds in our own minds, to describe events and states and the entities involved in them.
- We also use language to interact with other people, to establish and maintain relations with them, to influence their behaviour, to express our own viewpoint on things in the world, and to elicit or change theirs.
- Finally, in using language, we organize our messages in ways that indicate how they fit in with the other messages around them and with the wider context in which we are talking or writing.

It might well be possible to establish other sets of categories: for example, some theoreticians have suggested functions such as 'expressive' (expressing one's own feelings and view of the world) as a separate category rather than including it in a broader category as I have done. In Hallidayan Functional Grammar, however, the three categories above are used as the basis for exploring how meanings are created and understood, because they allow the matching of particular types of functions/

meanings with particular patterns of wordings to an extent that other categorizations generally do not.

This idea of matching meanings and wordings is central. Because we are concerned with functional grammar (the study of linguistic forms in relation to the meanings that they express) rather than only semantics (the study of meaning) – we have to keep firmly in mind the wordings that people use in order to carry out these functions. In the second edition of his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Michael Halliday (1994) expressed this idea very explicitly. (Note that Halliday uses the term 'lexicogrammar' to capture his view that lexis and grammar form a continuum of linguistic resources for the expression of meaning, with lexis as the most delicate set of choices and grammar as the most general.)

> all the categories [of analysis] employed must be clearly 'there' in the grammar of the language. They are not set up simply to label differences in meaning. In other words, we do not argue: 'these two sets of examples differ in meaning; therefore they must be systematically distinct in the grammar.' They may be; but if there is no lexicogrammatical reflex of the distinction, they are not.
>
> (Halliday, 1994: xix)

This means that we can formulate the question that we need to answer in a more precise way: how do we go about relating in a systematic way the functions performed by speakers to the wordings that they choose?

In Chapter 1, I mentioned some of the more specific types of meanings or functions that can be identified. For example, we can set up a group of meanings relating to what the speaker expects the hearer to do (e.g. the functional difference between giving information and asking for information); and we can match these with sets of lexicogrammatical resources typically used to express the meanings, including different choices in the ordering of certain elements in the clause ('you are' vs. 'are you?'). Another group is meanings relating to the speaker's assessment of the validity of his/her proposition; these meanings are typically expressed by the use of the modality resources of the language ('may', 'possibly', etc.). A different kind of grouping is related to signalling how the message fits in with (makes sense in relation to) what else is said around it; these meanings are expressed, amongst other things, by the ordering of the constituents of the clause.

Up to this point, then, we have considered meaning differences like those exemplified in the following rewordings:

She bought the CD on Friday. vs. Did she buy the CD on Friday?
She bought the CD on Friday. vs. She may have bought the CD on Friday.
She bought the CD on Friday. vs. On Friday she bought the CD.

We also need to account in the grammar for meaning differences like the following, to which I have deliberately not paid much attention so far:

She bought the CD on Friday. vs.   She loved the CD on Friday.

    She bought the CD on Friday. vs.   Friday saw her buy the CD.

These are probably the kinds of differences in meaning that spring most easily to mind: different wordings used to refer to different objects, ideas, states and events in the world (in other words, the propositional meaning – see section 1.1.1). These differences are obviously very important, and we will focus on them in Chapter 5. The reason why I have appeared to downplay them is that they are sometimes taken to represent the only, or at least the dominant, kind of meaning that needs to be considered; but within Functional Grammar, they represent only one of three broad types of meanings that are recognized. It is important to understand that each of the three types contributes equally to the meaning of the message as a whole. If we only take account of the different objects or events referred to (e.g. 'buying' vs. 'loving'), we end up with an impoverished, one-dimensional view of meaning. It is also important to understand that each of the three types of meaning is typically expressed by different aspects of the wording of the clause.

3.1.1 The three metafunctions

As we explore the lexicogrammar, it becomes clear that the many different sets of choices that are available to language users, such as those mentioned above, fall into three main groups. The choices within each group interact with each other in different ways, but there is relatively little interaction across the groups. For instance, the choices involved in giving and asking for information interlock with choices in modality, in that it may be the position of the modal verb that indicates whether the speaker is giving or asking for information (e.g. 'he must' vs. 'must he?'); so these belong in the same part of the grammar. On the other hand, the propositional content does not affect these choices: the same propositional content may appear in a statement giving information or in a question asking for information, and the proposition may include modality or not. 'She bought the CD', 'Did she buy the CD?' and 'She may have bought the CD' all express the same propositional content (which can be crudely characterized as she + buy + CD). Thus the resources of wording that express propositional content belong in a different part of the grammar. All the more specific functions can be assigned to one or other of the three broad functions outlined above; and hence we refer to these broad functions as **metafunctions**. The labels for each of the metafunctions are reasonably transparent: the first (using language to talk about the world) is the **experiential**; the second (using language to interact with other people) is the **interpersonal**; and the third (organizing language to fit in its context) is the **textual**.

    The grammar – that is, the description of the specific matches of function and wording – reflects this three-strand approach, in that it consists of three **components**, each corresponding to one of the metafunctions. For example, the interpersonal component of the grammar is the part where we describe all the options that we have in expressing interpersonal meanings. Each component has its own **systems** of choices: to stay with the interpersonal as the example, the system that includes the choice between interrogative forms (typically used to realize questions) and declarative

forms (typically for statements) belongs to the interpersonal component of the grammar; and so does the system that includes the range of different ways of expressing modality. The result of a series of choices from any system is a **structure**. As we shall see in Chapter 4, if the speaker chooses the declarative option, this will typically result in the structure Subject^Finite ('^' means 'followed by'; and 'Finite' is the first auxiliary in the verbal group) − e.g. 'you have'− whereas the interrogative option results in the structure Finite^Subject − e.g. 'have you?'. When we put together the structures resulting from choices in all the relevant systems in each of the three components, we end up with a wording, a message.

This is a deliberately brief outline that it is probably difficult to take in fully as yet, but a simplified example may help to make things a little clearer. Let us suppose that a child in class complains that someone has taken her calculator while she was not looking. In that context, the teacher is expected to identify the child responsible and make him or her return the calculator. There are obviously many options open to him as to how he goes about this, but let us assume that he guesses that one of the usual suspects is guilty, and questions the boy about this. In experiential terms, he wants to refer to the action that has happened (taking), the thing that the action was done to (the calculator) and the time when the action happened; and he also wants to refer to the possible doer of the action. He will thus opt for an experiential structure that expresses the event together with the doer and the done-to: we can symbolize this as 'you/take/her calculator/just now'. Simultaneously, in interpersonal terms, he wants his addressee, the possible culprit, to confirm or deny the missing information in his description − whether he was the doer or not; and he will therefore opt for an interrogative structure. Since this is a yes/no question, the ordering is Finite^Subject: 'Did you (take)?'. In textual terms, his starting point is the part of the sentence that shows that this is a question, since the questioning function is presumably uppermost in his mind; so he has no reason to move the Finite^Subject combination from its most natural position at the beginning of his utterance. As a result of these choices (and others, such as the choice of tense, not included here), he produces the wording: 'Did you take her calculator just now?'

It is important to emphasize that this is not intended as a description of successive steps in a process that the speaker goes through: I have to set it out step by step simply because of the linear nature of written language. We unpack the choices for analytical purposes, but the choices are usually all made − consciously or, in the main, unconsciously − at the same time. There are times when the process may become more staged and more conscious: for example, in redrafting written text I sometimes find myself deciding that a new starting point will make the sentence fit in more clearly, which may mean that I also have to alter the wording in the rest of the sentence. But typically a functional description brings to light and separates closely interwoven decisions that we are not aware of making about how to word what we want to say. It also throws light, at a higher level, on how we decide to say what we do − I will come back to this briefly in 3.2 below.

3.1.2 Three kinds of function in the clause

In the discussion so far, I have gone from what the speaker wants to say to how he says it. However, we more typically move in the other direction, starting from the utterance 'Did you take her calculator just now?' and explaining retrospectively the choices that are expressed – or '**realized**'– in the utterance. This is also probably easier to grasp in practice, because we are starting at the concrete end, with an actual wording. Thus we can ask, for example, why he ordered the constituents in the way he did; what factors led him to make the choice of an interrogative; and so on.

In doing the analysis from this end, we work with three different sets of labels, corresponding to the three different kinds of **functional roles** that the elements in the clause are serving. To give you a preliminary idea of what is involved, we can look at analyses of the calculator example from each of the three perspectives, and compare them with the analyses of possible rewordings. Try not to be put off by all the unfamiliar labels that will be appearing: I will not explain them in any detail here, since that will be the function of the three following chapters. The aim is simply to indicate what a three-strand functional description looks like.

Figure 3.1 shows the analysis of the clause in experiential terms.

Did	you	take	her calculator	just now?
	Actor	**Process**	**Goal**	**Circumstance**

Figure 3.1   Analysis from the experiential perspective

To label 'you' as Actor, for example, indicates that this element of the clause has the function of expressing the (possible) 'doer' of the action expressed in the process: in other words, we are looking at the clause from the experiential perspective of how entities and events in the world are referred to (in crude terms, who did what to whom and in what circumstances). From this perspective, 'you' remains Actor even if we reword the example as a passive clause, as in Figure 3.2.

Was	her calculator	taken	by you	just now?
	Goal	**Process**	**Actor**	**Circumstance**

Figure 3.2   Experiential analysis of a passive clause

Figure 3.3 shows an analysis in interpersonal terms: this is only a partial analysis, but it is sufficient for our present purposes.

Did	you	take	her calculator	just now?
Finite	**Subject**	**Predicator**	**Complement**	**Adjunct**

Figure 3.3   Analysis from the interpersonal perspective

(The reason why 'her calculator' is labelled Complement rather than Object will be explained in 4.3.6.) When we say that 'you' is Subject, we are looking at the clause from the interpersonal perspective of how the speaker negotiates meanings with the listener (this function of Subject is a tricky concept, but I will be discussing it more fully in 4.3.3). Note that the passive rewording this time results in a change of Subject – see Figure 3.4 ('by you' is a prepositional phrase, so it is an Adjunct in interpersonal terms).

Was	her calculator	taken	by you	just now?
Finite	**Subject**	**Predicator**	**Adjunct**	**Adjunct**

Figure 3.4   Interpersonal analysis of a passive clause

Finally, Figure 3.5 shows the analysis in textual terms.

Did you	take her calculator just now?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 3.5   Analysis from the textual perspective

To say that 'Did you' is Theme means that we are looking at the clause from the textual perspective of how the speaker orders the various groups and phrases in the clause – in particular, which constituent is chosen as the starting point for the message. With the passive version, the words in the Theme change, but they are still the part of the clause that signals that this is a question, the Finite^Subject – see Figure 3.6.

Was her calculator	taken by you just now?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 3.6   Textual analysis of a passive clause

If we move the time circumstance/adjunct to the beginning of the clause, this means that we have a new Theme – a new starting point; but the experiential and interpersonal analyses are not affected – see Figure 3.7.

Just now	did you take her calculator?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 3.7   Textual analysis of a reordered version

It is important to see that the different labels, even for the same constituent, identify different functions that the constituent is performing in the clause. This multifunctionality is in fact the norm for clause constituents: typically, they are all doing more than one thing at once – they are all contributing in different ways to the different kinds of meaning being expressed in the clause. The examples also show that, though there are tendencies for certain functions to be performed by the same constituent – e.g. Actor tends to be Subject, and Subject tends to be Theme – they can all be performed by different constituents. This reinforces the need for the three-dimensional analysis.

3.1.3 Three kinds of structure in the clause

I have focused above on individual functional roles (Actor, Subject, Theme); but I should stress that each perspective has in fact identified a different kind of structure for the clause. The label 'Actor', for example, represents one function in the experiential structure Actor+Process+Goal+Circumstance. Typically, there is a fair amount of overlap in the way in which the three perspectives divide up the clause into parts, although there are significant differences. We can see this if we put together the three analyses of the original example, as in Figure 3.8.

Type of structure	Did	you	take	her calculator	just now?
experiential		Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
interpersonal	Finite	Subject	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
textual	Theme		Rheme		

Figure 3.8   Three kinds of structure in the clause

The vertical lines show that many of the divisions are the same in two or all three of the structures, but not in all cases. Note, for example, that the experiential perspective is 'blind' to the separate existence of the Finite: in very simple terms, from this perspective we are only interested in what action is referred to, not in the time of the action in relation to the time of talking about it (the tense). Once we move on to more complex clauses, we will find that such differences in terms of which parts of the clause are highlighted from each perspective become greater.

As you can probably begin to appreciate, even with relatively simple examples it is hard to juggle all three perspectives at once. In the main section of the book, formed by Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8, we will in fact be examining each perspective in turn, with only occasional cross-references to the other perspectives, usually in the analyses of texts in the latter part of each chapter. Chapter 9, on grammatical metaphor, will start to draw the perspectives together and extend them; and in the final chapter I will discuss some aspects of how the three sets of choices interact in a particular text.

3.1.4 Showing the options: systems networks

I have talked in a number of places above about the options open to a speaker, and the choices that a speaker makes. One of the fundamental assumptions of Halliday's Functional Grammar is that the most useful and accurate way of picturing language is as a system of choices. As I mentioned above, this does not mean that we make each choice consciously or separately when we use language. But each choice contributes something to the meaning of what is said; and by unpacking the choices we can explore in detail how the resources of the language have been used to construct the meaning.

But how precisely do we represent 'language as a system of choices'? To explain this, it might be useful to start with something completely different which you may already be familiar with: the automatic answering service that you have to negotiate when you telephone an organization. You are likely to hear something like the following, which I heard when I telephoned my doctor's surgery recently:

> Hello and welcome to Tower House Practice. In order for us to deal with your call more efficiently, please select from one of the following options. If you wish to use our automated appointments service, please press 1. If you would like a home visit, please press 2. For test results, please press 3. For all other enquiries, please press 4, and you will be transferred to the first available receptionist.
> [*I pressed 1*]
> Thank you. If you wish to make an appointment, please press 1. To cancel an appointment, please press 2. To change the time or day of an appointment, please press 3.
> [*I pressed 1*]
> Thank you. The next available appointment is this afternoon at 4.20 with Dr Bell. Please press 1 to confirm that you wish to book this appointment. If this time is not convenient and you wish to check the next available appointment, please press 2.
> [*I pressed 2*]
> The next available appointment is tomorrow at 9.45. Please press … [*and so on*]

What happens here is that a set of four functional categories (the kind of service you require) is established, of which you choose the appropriate one. For some of those categories, you then go on to choose from a set of sub-categories: in the instance above, once I opted to use the automated service, I then had a choice between making, cancelling or changing an appointment; and could then choose to specify whether or not to accept the time offered. An economical way of showing the different options that a caller might select is by a system network – see Figure 3.9, which shows the parts of the system that I have used.

Obviously, the success of a system network like this, or of any kind, depends on accurate identification of the appropriate categories and on avoiding ambiguities and overlaps: the person who set up the answering system will have had to work out what the callers might need, and the correct sequence in which the choices must be
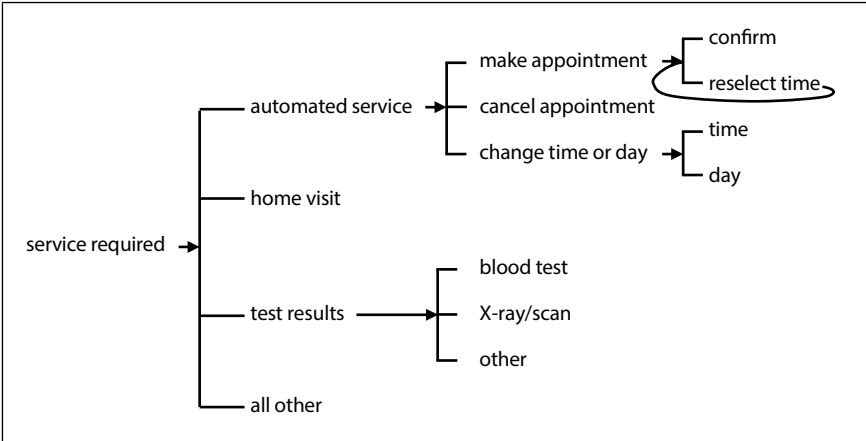
Figure 3.9   A simple system network

made. But the basic principle should be clear: you start with a range of choices; and choosing one option may then open up another set of choices; and so on. As we move across the network from left to right, the choices become more '**delicate**' (that is, more specific). After traversing the relevant part of the network, you reach the point where you have realized your desired function (in this case, making an appointment). Note that, when you make one choice at any point, only the more delicate further choices in that part of the network are open to you: for instance, if you choose 'test results', the option 'make appointment' is not available. Also, the network shows a small instance of recursion (which I mentioned in Chapter 1, where S may be a component of VP), shown by the curved line that goes back from 'reselect time': this takes you back into the final set of choices and you can again choose between 'confirm' and 'reselect time'.

Essentially the same kind of system networks can be used to describe language in terms of the choices that are available. The concept of language systems is perhaps easiest to grasp when we are dealing with the interpersonal metafunction. If we go back to the case of the missing calculator, I said that the teacher chose an interrogative structure. In making this choice, he had only two other possibilities: that is, there are just three basic interpersonal structures for any clause. These are: interrogative (which can be recognized by the Finite^Subject ordering: 'Did you take?'); declarative (Subject^Finite: 'You took'); and imperative (no Subject or Finite: 'Take!'). These are the three primary options in what is called the **mood** system of English. This might seem over simple, but if you try different arrangements of this message, keeping all the elements, you will always end up with one of these three. For example 'Her calculator was taken by you' is still a declarative – the Subject 'Her calculator' precedes the Finite 'was'. Similarly, 'Was her calculator taken by you?' is still an interrogative – the Finite 'was' precedes the Subject. The choice of one of these basic structures has a generalized but recognizably different meaning: with an interrogative, the speaker is normally using language to elicit information from the addressee,

whereas with a declarative s/he is normally passing on information, and with an imperative s/he is normally prompting the addressee to take some kind of action (there will be a fuller description of these possibilities in Chapter 4).

It may already have occurred to you that 'interrogative' by itself is not enough to characterize the teacher's choice of structure: he chose a yes/no interrogative, but he could have chosen a WH-interrogative: e.g. 'Where has her calculator gone?' These are both kinds of interrogative, so the choice between them is at a more delicate level: it is only when the 'interrogative' option is chosen in the mood system that the choice of yes/no or WH- is opened up. Within WH-interrogatives, there is in fact a further structural choice at the next level of delicacy. The WH-element comes first in the clause, but there are differences in what follows it. In many questions, the WH-element serves as Complement ('*What* have you lost?') or as Adjunct ('*Where* has her calculator gone?'). In these cases, it is followed by the same ordering Finite^Subject as in yes/no interrogatives. However, the WH-element is sometimes Subject, in which case the order is WH-Subject^Finite: e.g. '*Who* has taken her calculator?' Note that the WH-Subject interrogative still expresses the 'interrogativeness' that is common to all the types (and differentiates them from declaratives and imperatives); and to that it adds 'WH-ness' (to differentiate it from the yes/no type) and 'WH-Subjectness' (to differentiate it from the other WH-types).

We can draw up a system network to show the choices that have been outlined above. The **entry condition** for the mood system (the overall category that we are describing in more detail) is 'independent clause': I will explain in 4.2 below why it is not simply 'clause'. I mentioned earlier that the designer of a system network needs to be careful in choosing the categories used. In this case, to make the system work efficiently, we actually need to bring in a category of 'indicative'. This covers the options that require the presence of an explicit Subject and Finite: namely, declarative and interrogative. This feature distinguishes them from the imperative, which does not require their presence. Figure 3.10 shows the system. I have included the ways in which we can recognize the various options, marked by a slanting arrow. In technical terms, the arrows signal that we are shifting from choices in the systems to the structures that **realize** the options in the system: that is, the specific language forms that express the meaning choices. For example, the realization statement under 'indicative' shows that a clause is indicative if it has both Subject and Finite (without specifying the order), whereas the realization statement under 'declarative' shows that a declarative clause has these two elements in the order Subject^Finite.

Of course, this system is not at all complete (the choices involved in language are far more complex than those involved in making a doctor's appointment). More delicate options could be added under declarative and imperative, as I have done for interrogative. In addition, the network only covers one set of interpersonal choices, and we need other simultaneous sets of choices to account for other aspects. For example, all clause types can be positive or negative: that option is not dependent on which type of clause is selected, and we show it through another network. Some sets of choices do not combine with all other sets: we can easily add question tags to declaratives ('it's hot, isn't it?') and imperatives ('sit down, will you?'), but it is rarer to find them with yes/no interrogatives ('is it hot, is it?') and they do not normally
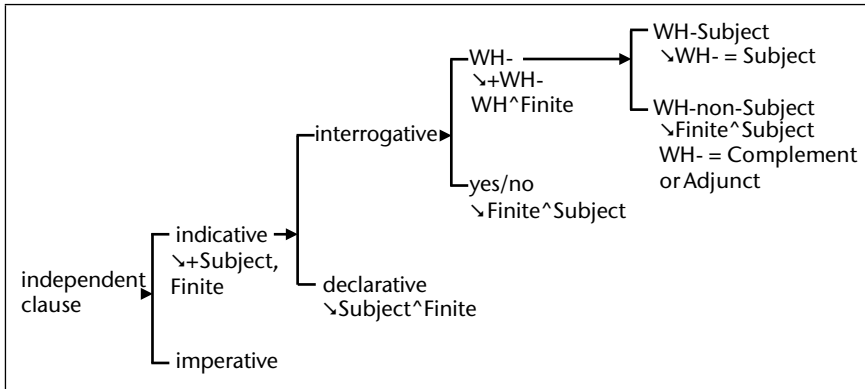
Figure 3.10 A system network of mood choices

occur with WH–interrogatives. There are ways in which we can diagram the system network to show such restrictions on combinations of choices (though, to keep things simple, I will not introduce them here). And, since we are working with a three-dimensional grammar, we need to establish other equally complex sets of systems for the experiential and textual metafunctions.

This is only a very brief introduction to the idea of system networks. They can look daunting, but once you learn to read them they are a very economical way of giving a good deal of information about the language. My focus in this book is on looking at how grammatical choices function in text, but text analysis of this kind relies on identifying what the particular meaning of any grammatical choice is in comparison with other options that might have been chosen but were not. Therefore the main part of each chapter will be a description of the choices within each metafunction; and I will use systems networks to summarize the sets of choices. Other special conventions (like the use of slanting arrows to show realizations) will be introduced as necessary.

3.1.5 A fourth metafunction

Although I have not so far said it explicitly, I have implied at a number of points that the book will mostly concentrate on choices in the clause. This is not to say that we cannot identify similar kinds of choices at lower levels. Nevertheless, it is in the clause that the main functional choices operate: just as Subject is a functional slot in the clause (see 2.1.2), so are Actor and Theme. The clause is the main resource through which we express meanings.

However, there is one further issue that we need to consider: what happens when clauses are combined into clause complexes? For this, we need to explore the types of relationships that can be established between clauses; and this involves bringing in a fourth metafunction: the **logical** metafunction. It is the logical component of the grammar that handles the similarities and differences in the way that the following pair of clauses can be combined:

Estimates of the soot produced by the fires vary, *but* it is probably about 500,000 tonnes a month.
Although estimates of the soot produced by the fires vary, it is probably about 500,000 tonnes a month.

Whereas the other three metafunctions relate mainly to the meanings that we express in our messages, the logical metafunction relates to the kinds of connections that we make between the messages.

This formulation suggests that the logical metafunction may operate at levels other than just between clauses; and indeed there are clearly similarities between the combinations of clauses above and the following rewording with two separate sentences/clause complexes:

Estimates of the soot produced by the fires vary. *However*, it is probably about 500,000 tonnes a month.

We can even go the other way and recognize functional similarities with the following rewording, where the meaning of one of the clauses is expressed in a prepositional phrase:

Despite variations in the estimates of the soot produced by the fires, it is probably about 500,000 tonnes a month.

Some aspects of the logical metafunction will be explored more fully in Chapter 7.

3.2 Register and genre

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that socio-cultural factors influence or determine the kinds of things that we try to do through language, and thus the kinds of things that we say. So far in this chapter, on the other hand, I have talked only about the choices in how we say things; and in the rest of the book this will remain the focus of attention. 'How we can say things' is a very simplistic description of what the grammar of a language covers, but it does indicate the role of the grammar in offering conventionally accepted wordings to express our meanings. A more formal way of putting this is to describe grammar as the set of linguistic resources available to us for making meanings.

But I have already suggested that the kinds of wordings that are available are themselves determined by the uses to which we want to put them; in other words, the linguistic resources are determined by the meanings that we want to make. In 1.1.2, I talked about 'wordings choosing the speaker': a crucial part of our language ability is knowing how things are typically – or even obligatorily – said in certain contexts. We can extend this to talk of 'meanings choosing the speaker': we also know what kinds of things are typically – or obligatorily – said in certain contexts. Although I will not be examining in a systematic way the issue of what the broader

contextual factors are and how they determine meanings, it will be essential to think about some of these factors when we analyse texts.

3.2.1 Register (and the corpus)

The way in which these factors are accounted for in Functional Grammar is primarily by invoking the concepts of register and genre. **Register** as defined by Halliday (in Halliday and Hasan, 1985/1989) is 'variation according to use': that is, we typically use certain recognizable configurations of linguistic resources in certain contexts. There are three main dimensions of variation that characterize any register: what is being talked about and the role of language in the activity that is going on (this is called the '**field**'); the relationships between the people involved in the communication, both in general and moment-by-moment (the '**tenor**'); and how the language is functioning in the interaction – e.g. whether it is written or spoken (the '**mode**'). The fact that there are three areas is not accidental, since each of them corresponds to one of the metafunctions: the field mainly determines, and is construed by, the experiential meanings that are expressed; the tenor mainly determines, and is construed by, the interpersonal meanings; and the mode mainly determines, and is construed by, the textual meanings. In Exercise 1.1, you were in fact being asked to identify informally the register of the extracts – the context from which they come and the linguistic features that are typical of text produced in that context.

If we want to identify exactly what the typical linguistic features of a register are, we can partly rely on intuition, since we are expert producers and receivers of a range of registers (though we are generally not conscious of this). For example, we probably know how to make our writing appropriate for a business letter as opposed to a personal letter, and we would recognize if a newspaper report or a medical leaflet sounded stylistically 'wrong'. But for a more reliable and accurate picture we need to analyse texts belonging to a particular register; and the more texts we examine, the better. This is why the **corpus** is becoming an increasingly important part of Functional Grammar research. We aim to move away from unsupported intuitions and to base our descriptions on actual occurrences of use. In many cases, this will reinforce and probably refine our intuitions; but in many others, it will result in our seeing important facts about language that are not easily accessible to intuition. So far, the most exciting work with corpora has been done at lexical level: we now know much more about **collocation** (the ways in which words typically appear together) and **colligation** (the grammatical and textual patterns in which words typically appear). But, increasingly, the corpus is being used to explore grammatical patterns, particularly in describing the characteristic features of specific registers.

As an illustration of how this can be done, take this book as a sample of the 'academic textbook' register. Look back at the mood system network in Figure 3.10, and estimate approximately how often I have so far chosen each of the three major clause types in my text (ignoring the example sentences): declarative, interrogative, imperative.

It is fairly obvious that the overwhelming majority of clauses are declaratives; but there have been a few imperatives (for example, 'take', 'look' and 'estimate' in the

preceding two sentences), and very roughly the same number of questions. By my reckoning, out of every 100 clauses, on average I have used three interrogatives and three imperatives; and the other 94 clauses are declaratives. We can use the kind of system network that I introduced above to show this information economically by assigning a **probability** to each choice. Conventionally this is shown as a decimal fraction of 1. So, for this textbook, the probabilities would be as in Figure 3.11.
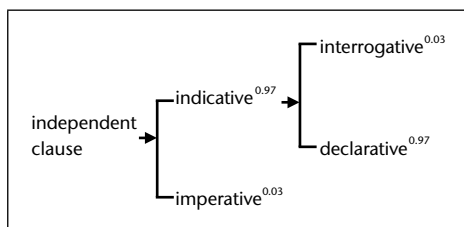
Figure 3.11　Simple mood system with probabilities

If we looked at other academic textbooks, we would expect to find a similar kind of distribution. There would be some variation from textbook to textbook; and occasionally we might come across one that was markedly different for various reasons (though in that case our intuitive sense of register would be likely to tell us that it was an untypical textbook). But, if we included a large enough sample of textbooks in our corpus, we would find a fairly clear, consistent pattern of choices emerging in the three major clause types. This is one feature of the register of academic textbooks. By assigning probabilities as in Figure 3.11, we are in effect claiming that any academic textbook in English produced in the same culture is most likely to conform to that pattern.

If we then examined other registers, we would find other patterns of probabilities in the mood choices. In conversation, for example, we could predict that we might find many more interrogatives; and in recipes the proportion of imperatives would be significantly higher. In each case, we could relate the differences in distribution to contextual factors. The choice of mood is to do with interpersonal meanings, and so the relevant contextual factors relate mainly to tenor, the relationship between the interactants. For example, as the 'expert' in the context of this textbook, I am allowed to spend much of my text telling you (the 'novice') information; and I am also allowed to tell you sometimes to do certain kinds of things (mainly mental processes like 'Note' and 'Look' rather than physical ones); and I can also sometimes ask you questions (though typically ones to which I already know the answer, which I then go on to tell you). You might like to think about the factors that influence the choices in conversation and recipes: for example, why does the recipe writer have the right to issue lots of commands using imperatives, without worrying that you, the reader, might protest at such 'bossiness'?

These are very simple examples of register differences. Obviously, it would be possible to look at a very wide range of other choices in a register in the same way. Some of these choices will be more delicate than others: we might, for example, look

not just at interrogatives but at yes/no vs. WH-interrogatives; and we can also examine choices in experiential and textual systems. We can then go on to check the typical combinations of choices: for example, I have mentioned that when I use imperatives addressed to 'you' in this textbook it generally involves mental processes. This differs from, say, imperatives in recipes, which typically involve physical actions like 'mix' or 'chop' (the choice of process is something we will explore under experiential meanings in Chapter 5). In this way, we could build up a detailed picture of the configurations of choices that make my text sound like a typical textbook. However, this is inevitably time-consuming: in my experience, producing an analysis of a page of text from the perspective of each of the three metafunctions, keeping only to the main systems, takes a couple of hours (if I am lucky and don't run into too many problem cases!). When we extend the corpus to include many other textbooks the amount of time needed obviously increases enormously. It is not surprising that corpus linguistics has so far focused on words rather than grammatical features: words can be recognized automatically by computers with relatively little difficulty (in writing, we conveniently put spaces before and after each word), and computers can process huge amounts of text very rapidly. Most functional grammar analysis, on the other hand, still has to be done largely by hand. Even if the analyst focuses on just one area of the lexicogrammar across many texts, this is still very slow work. Gradually, however, an increasingly extensive body of analysed texts is being built up, and computer tools to help make analysis quicker are being developed (you can download a number of these from http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/Software/index.html). One important task for the future is to extend and develop such corpus-based work.

This is obviously only a brief overview, but it is designed to give you an idea of how this kind of corpus-based register analysis can be carried out. The next step is then to move from the description of individual registers to a description of the probabilities for the language as a whole. One way of doing this is by combining all the information about different registers. This in effect mimics the way in which a native speaker's knowledge of his or her own language is built up from childhood onwards by exposure to an increasingly wide variety of instances of language in use. These global probabilities form a baseline against which we as linguists can measure the characteristic deviations of each register – just as they form the baseline that users of the language rely on, largely unconsciously, to recognize what sounds natural and appropriate in any particular register.

● Refer to Exercise 3.1.

3.2.2 Genre

If we now turn, more briefly, to **genre**, this can be seen in very simple terms as register plus communicative purpose: that is, it includes the more general idea of what the interactants are doing through language, and how they organize the language event, typically in recognizable stages, in order to achieve that purpose. An image that may help you to grasp the difference between register and genre is to see

register as cloth and genre as garment: the garment is made of an appropriate type of cloth or cloths, cut and shaped in conventional ways to suit particular purposes. Similarly, a genre deploys the resources of a register (or more than one register) in particular patterns to achieve certain communicative goals. As a simple and unusually clear example of generic staging, we can take a recipe for roast potatoes (from the magazine *Good Housekeeping* for December 2011). The heavily abridged version below gives an informal indication of the main stages and enough of each stage to gain a flavour of the language choices.

Text	stage
Right Every Time Roasties	title
Adding polenta or semolina isn't a new trick, but it gives an even, crisp coating.	'hook'
Hands-on time 20 min. Cooking time about 1 hr. Serves 8	practical details
• 2.5kg (5½ lb) potatoes	ingredients
• 6tbsp goose fat or olive oil …	
1 Preheat oven to 190ºC (170ºC fan), mark 5. Peel and cut potatoes …	instructions
2 Drain potatoes well …	
PER SERVING 326 cals, 9g fat …	nutrition details
GET AHEAD	helpful tips
Prepare potatoes up to the end of step 2 a day ahead …	

This text immediately shows many of the features of the register of recipes, such as the list of nominal groups giving the ingredients and, as I mentioned above, the predominance in the instruction stage of bare imperatives (no 'please') with action processes. It is characteristic of this genre that the language choices change from stage to stage in an unusually marked way, particularly the switch between predominantly nominal groups (title, practical details, ingredients, nutrition details), predominantly imperative clauses (instructions, helpful tips) and predominantly declarative clauses ('hook'). In other genres, there are likely to be changes in the patterns of wording and meaning that are characteristic of each stage, but they are often much less easy to detect (although a corpus study of many texts can help to bring out these changes more distinctly).

Beyond these registerial features, however, we can also point to generic features of how the text goes about its business. In any instance of a genre, there are some stages that are more or less certain to appear: a recipe without title, ingredients and instructions stages would no longer be a recognizable recipe. Other stages are highly likely to appear in most recipes, such as what I have called a 'hook', whose main purpose is to 'sell' the recipe to the reader. Others are optional: for example, some recipes may not include practical details of timing or helpful tips, and most recipes do not give nutrition details. The stages will change over time: in a famous nineteenth-century book of recipes, *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book*, the stages are always title, ingredients, method (i.e. instructions), and practical details (including average cost − easier to predict in that period of low inflation!). Her recipes do not, for example, have a 'hook', which has

become more or less standard practice in modern recipes, and can sometimes be by far the longest stage. In addition, the stages are mode-dependent (for example, spoken recipes are unlikely to have a title in the form of a free-standing nominal group, and ingredients are not normally listed separately before the instructions). They are also culture-specific: the recipes in a Hungarian cookbook that I have include only the obligatory core of title, ingredients and instructions, which would probably seem rather terse and over business-like in an English cookbook.

This is only a very brief indication of the broader socio-cultural orientation of the functional approach that I will be setting out. I have included it here just before we begin the detailed examination of clause-level grammatical choices in order to re-emphasize that these are only part of the story, and that they can only be fully understood in the wider socio-cultural context.

- Refer to Exercise 3.2.

Exercise 3.1

Select any written text or spoken text (video or sound recording) of a reasonable length (a page or more, or the spoken equivalent). Decide broadly what type of text you think it is – e.g. news report, narrative, interview, book or film review, etc. Predict what percentages of declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses will be used in it. Then count them. What contextual factors may help to explain the results?

Next, find another text that you would categorize as the same type, and do the same. Are the percentages similar to those in the first text? If not, can you identify particular contextual factors that might explain the differences?

Exercise 3.2

Select any short complete text of a maximum of one page (or spoken equivalent). Decide broadly what type of text you think it is – the list of text types suggested in Exercise 3.1 is a guide, but you could also consider advertisements, book blurbs, regulations, etc. As far as possible, identify the stages that the text moves through, together with any linguistic clues that help you (these may include headings which mark the stages explicitly).

Next, find another text that you would categorize as the same type, and do the same. Are the stages similar to those in the first text? If not, can you identify particular contextual factors that might explain the differences?

4

Interacting

The interpersonal metafunction

4.1 Introduction

As emphasized in the previous chapter, one of the main purposes of communicating is to **interact** with other people: to establish and maintain appropriate personal and social links with them. If we try to view language simply as a one-way system for telling other people things, we end up with a very distorted view of how language works, because we are overlooking the fact that we use it to **exchange** meanings, that communication is inherently two-way. We tell other people things for a purpose: we may want to influence their attitudes or behaviour, or to provide information that we know they do not have, or to explain our own attitudes or behaviour, or to get them to provide us with information, and so on. I have already said that a functional approach to investigating language is based on the assumption that the language system has evolved (and is constantly evolving) to serve the functions that we need it for. Therefore, the fact that interaction – having a purpose for saying things to other people – is an inherent part of language use means that there will be aspects of the grammar that can be identified as enabling us to interact by means of language. Some of the grammar of the clause will be attributable to its role in the exchange of meanings between interactants. In this chapter, we will be looking at some of the most important lexicogrammatical systems that we rely on to express our messages in such a way that our hearers have a good chance of understanding why we are saying something to them.

We can start with a relatively simple analysis that should help to show the kind of aspects that we will be concerned with. Take the following example from an email that I received:

> Might I ask you if you could recommend a couple of nice books on taboo language?

What 'content' would you identify in this sentence? It is fairly clear that the message is 'about' books and recommending. Presumably we would accept 'you' as part of the content, as the person involved in the recommending. However, it is not so clear whether the content includes the event of asking: 'might I ask you if' seems to be functioning less to talk about events in the world than to negotiate politely with the reader for the right to ask for something. If we look back at the recommending, 'could' refers not to the event of recommending in itself but to some kind of assessment by the writer of how likely the event is to happen – and again the issue of politeness comes up. The phrase 'on taboo language' gives us information about the characteristics of the books and belongs under the content, but 'nice' refers more to the writer's feelings about the books. Finally, we can note that listing the 'content' does not allow us to mention the vital fact that this is not a statement about recommending books, but has a complex function in the interaction between writer and reader. It looks like a question to the reader, but, although it is expressed in the form of a yes/no interrogative, a simple answer of 'yes' would clearly not be appropriate (whether this answer were understood as expressing either of two possible meanings: 'yes, you might ask' or 'yes, I could recommend some'). In everyday terms, this would be seen as a request, aiming to influence the reader's behaviour in a certain way (and in my reply I complied with the request by listing some relevant titles). It is possible to separate the cores of the two different kinds of meaning that we have identified as follows:

'CONTENT'	[I ask you]	you	recommend	books on taboo language
'INTERACTION'	Might I ask you if	could		nice	?

Of course, this is over-simple and does not take account of all the aspects touched on above, but it captures enough of the difference for the moment. (As will become clear especially in Chapter 9 on grammatical metaphor, it is significant that 'I ask you' appears in both kinds of meaning.)

We can now express what we have done here in the terms introduced in the previous chapter: we have separated the experiential meanings (the 'content') from the interpersonal ones (the 'interaction'). The interpersonal meanings relate to the fact that the clause is interrogative but functions as a kind of command, that it expresses the writer's assessment of probabilities and her attitude, and that it explicitly signals the writer's negotiation with the reader. In the rest of this chapter, we will look at how each of these kinds of meanings is encoded in the clause, under the headings of Mood, modality, evaluation and negotiation. However, we first need to provide a general framework for looking at the clause in terms of its function in the communicative exchange of meanings.

4.2 Roles of addressers and audience

I have mentioned above a number of purposes that we might have in entering into a communicative exchange. In one sense, these purposes are clearly unlimited: we may

want to request, order, apologize, confirm, invite, reject, evaluate, describe, and so on. However, in order to be in a position to make useful general statements about the grammar, we need to identify a more restricted range of purposes as a basis to work from. The most fundamental purposes in any exchange are, of course, **giving** (and taking) or **demanding** (and being given) a commodity of some kind. If we look at this from the point of view of a speaker in a verbal exchange, the commodity that the speaker may be giving or demanding is **information**. In such cases, the speaker's purpose is carried out only, or primarily, through language: the speaker makes a statement to give information, or asks a question to demand it; and the exchange is successful if the listener receives (understands) the information that the speaker gives or provides the information demanded (answers the question). We can encapsulate this by saying that in these cases language has a **constitutive** function: that is, it does all, or most, of the work in the exchange. But this clearly does not apply so well to what is happening if the speaker says something like:

Look up the words in a dictionary to find more uses.

Here, the exchange will only be successful if a non-verbal action is carried out – if the listener obeys the command. For such cases we need to include another 'commodity' that is being exchanged: what Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 135) call '**goods-&-services**'. In these cases language has a more **ancillary** function: that is, it 'helps' the success of the exchange, but at least part of the exchange need not involve language (for example, if the speaker demands goods-&-services from the addressee, the essential response is typically an action rather than words). We then end up with four basic **speech roles**: giving information, demanding information, giving goods-&-services and demanding goods-&-services. The usual labels for these functions are: **statement, question, offer** and **command**. Figure 4.1 shows these options, with an example of each.

commodity exchanged ⟍ role in exchange	(a) goods-&-services	(b) information
(i) giving	**offer** I'll show you the way.	**statement** We're nearly there.
(ii) demanding	**command** Give me your hand.	**question** Is this the place?

Figure 4.1   Basic speech roles

Note that these functions need to be seen in very broad terms (they are the least delicate options in the system of speech roles). A statement is any stretch of language

that functions to give information to the addressee; a question is any stretch that functions to elicit information from the addressee; a command is any stretch whose intended function is to influence the behaviour of the addressee in some way; and an offer is any stretch whose function is to initiate or accompany the giving of goods-&-services to the addressee.

Three of these basic functions are closely associated with particular grammatical structures: statements are most naturally expressed by **declarative** clauses; questions by **interrogative** clauses; and commands by **imperative** clauses. As we saw in Chapter 3, these are the three main choices in the mood system of the clause. From this perspective, offers are the odd one out, since they are not associated with a specific mood choice (though they are strongly associated with modality). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 139) suggest that this is because here 'language is functioning simply as a means towards achieving what are essentially non-linguistic ends'. They point out that this is also true of imperatives, which are associated with specific grammatical resources. However, in offers language has a more ancillary function: in very simple terms, commands normally need to be verbalized (though the response need not be), whereas an offer can be carried out without using language (as when someone hands you a cup of tea). We typically do accompany offers with language ('Tea?' 'Thanks.'), but the utterances are not necessarily crucial to the performance of the offer.

It is important to stress that the natural meaning–wording pairings mentioned above do not always occur. English (in common with many, perhaps most, other languages) has evolved distinct lexicogrammatical resources to express the three basic speech functions that rely on language for their realization; but it is a fundamental principle – which we shall come across a number of times in the following chapters, with special focus in Chapter 9 – that, once a linguistic form (whether a word, or a grammatical structure, or whatever) evolves in the language to perform a particular function, it is available for use to perform other kinds of functions. We can think of this as the principle of linguistic recycling. As we shall see, the form continues to make its own contribution when it is used to realize meanings that it did not originally evolve to realize: the result is semantic value added, with a new meaning that arises from the fusion of the form and function.

We have in fact already come across an example of this, in the example at the beginning of this chapter:

Might I ask you if you could recommend a couple of nice books on taboo language?

As I mentioned, this is an interrogative, but it functions, in terms of the basic speech roles, not as a question but as a command (since it was intended to influence my behaviour). What the interrogativeness adds to the command function is essentially politeness, because it allows for negotiation in a way that an imperative command normally does not. On the surface, the writer was asking not just about my ability to recommend some books, but – with an extra layer of negotiation – for my permission to ask about my ability to recommend some books. At its simplest, we can see this in terms of a cline:

Recommend some books!
Could you recommend some books?
Might I ask if you could recommend some books?

There would be contexts in which factors such as the relations between the speaker and hearer would make each of these three wordings perfectly appropriate. The original was addressed to me by someone who had been a student of mine, and with whom I had not had any contact for a number of years. Thus the wording chosen reflected the writer's view of the relationship as sufficiently distant to call for careful negotiation in making the request (whereas at the time when we had regular contact as tutor and student, she would have been more likely to opt for the second version above as appropriate, given the relatively small imposition and the fact that suggesting readings for students is part of a lecturer's duties).

For fairly obvious reasons, commands – where the speaker's utterance is intended to influence the addressee's behaviour – are especially likely to need to be negotiated; and it is in the realization of commands that there is typically the greatest variation in the lexicogrammatical forms that are used. The examples above show interrogatives serving this function, but declaratives can also be used – for instance:

I wonder if you could recommend some books.

This wording construes politeness by appearing to be a statement about the speaker's own mental world ('I wonder'); but the expected response is still for the addressee to give some recommendations. Other form–function pairings also occur. To check that you have understood the distinction, try identifying the form (declarative, interrogative, imperative) of the following examples, and then decide which speech function (statement, question, command, offer) is being performed. My explanation is given below.

Are you ready for coffee?
Dinner's ready.
So it's pain in the lower back?
Just think what you could do with cash for old phones.

In dialogue, we can usually understand how an utterance is interpreted by the addressee by looking at the reaction that the utterance evokes. The first example above is an interrogative which on the surface could be taken as a demand for information (a question). However, the response from the addressee included the word 'please', indicating that she (rightly) took it as an offer:

Ooh, yes please.

The second example, a declarative clause, is ambiguous out of context: if said to guests, it would be most likely to be taken as an offer (with an appropriate response of 'Thank you'), whereas, if said to members of the family, it could well be understood

as a command ('OK, I'm coming'). The third is again a declarative, but the question mark shows that it is intended as a question, aiming to elicit the answer 'Yes'. This is a fairly common form–function pairing in certain contexts, and is sometimes called a **queclarative** (a combination of 'question' + 'declarative'). The fourth is an imperative, but in response the addressee is not expected to say 'OK, I will' and sit thinking about cash for phones. Rather, it functions as an emphatic statement, roughly paraphrasable as 'You could do a lot with cash for old phones'.

We will come back to the issue of such form–function pairings in Chapter 9 when we examine grammatical metaphor.

Before moving on, I should highlight a further practical point about mood in texts. Only independent clauses in English normally have a choice of mood. Non-finite clauses have no mood, precisely because they are non-finite. More surprisingly, perhaps, there is no choice in dependent finite clauses: with a very few exceptions, these can only have Subject^Finite ordering. This comes out very clearly in reported questions. Learners of English as a Foreign Language very often find these tricky because they want to keep the interrogativeness; but the structural restriction dictates that the reported clause must be declarative in form, since it is dependent. This is irrespective of the mood of the main clause:

> He asked if *we were* staying in Ostend.
> Did you ask him how long *he had* known all this?

What this means is that only independent clauses express speech roles (statement in the first example above, question in the second); dependent clauses simply fill in the details.

4.3 Mood

If we now look in more detail at how the different mood choices are formed, we need to focus on a particular element of the clause, which we shall call the Mood (the capital 'M' is important to distinguish this from 'mood' as we have been using it so far).

4.3.1 The structure of the Mood

One very distinctive feature of English is the kind of responses illustrated below:

> 'They've all gone.' '*Have they?*'
> 'I thought very highly of him.' 'So *you did*, *did you?*'
> 'One goes on looking.' 'Yes, I suppose *one does*. Or at least *some of us do*.'
> 'Do you remember that case?' '*Should I?*' 'Well, I thought *you might*.'

What is happening here is that part of the first speaker's message is being picked up and re-used, sometimes slightly adapted, in order to keep the exchange going. However, it is not just any part: in each case, the core of the response consists of the

same two elements. One is the **Subject** – e.g. 'they' in the first example. The other is traditionally called an auxiliary verb (e.g. 'have' in the same example); but this does not identify its function precisely enough, and in our approach the term **Finite** is used instead. Together, the Subject and Finite make up a component of the clause that is called the **Mood.** This term is unfortunately a little confusing, because we also use 'mood' (small 'm') to refer to the choice of clause types. The reason why the same term is used is that, as we saw in Chapter 3, it is the presence and ordering of Subject and Finite that realize mood choices. As the examples above also indicate, they have a vital role in carrying out the interpersonal functions of the clause as exchange in English. It is therefore useful to divide these two elements from the rest of the clause, and give them a label, Mood, which reflects their combined function in the clause (the rest of the clause also has an umbrella label: see 4.3.6).

The Subject is a familiar term from traditional grammar, although it should be remembered that here it is being reinterpreted in functional terms. The Finite is the first functional element of the verbal group – it is most easily recognized in yes/no questions, since it is the auxiliary which comes in front of the Subject. In the following examples, the Finite is in italics. Note that in the last example there are two auxiliaries ('may have'), but only the first is the Finite.

> *Did* you see him that day?
> *Didn't* he come home last night?
> You *can* imagine his reaction.
> What *were* you doing?
> Someone *may* have heard the shot.

One reason why the concept of the Finite is probably less familiar than that of Subject is that in many cases it is '**fused**' with the lexical verb. This happens when the verb is used in the simple present or simple past tense (which are in fact the two most frequently occurring verb forms in English):

> Linguists *talk* of marked and unmarked terms.
> She *sat* at the big table.

Despite the absence of an overt marker of the Finite in forms like 'talk' or 'sat', it is useful to see them as consisting of two functional elements, the lexical verb itself (the Predicator) and the Finite. For one thing, the Finite becomes explicit as soon as we ask a question ('*Did* she sit ...'), or use the negative ('She *didn't* sit ...'), or if we use an emphatic form ('Linguists *do* talk of marked forms'). In addition, as we shall see, one of the main functions of the Finite is to mark tense, and this is still identifiable even in fused forms.

4.3.2 Identifying Subject and Finite

It is usually relatively easy to identify the Subject, and only a little less difficult to identify the Finite, but in cases of doubt (at least in declarative clauses) we can

establish exactly what the Subject and Finite of any clause are by adding a **tag question** – if one is not already present. For example:

Well, X Factor just became terribly upsetting, *didn't it?*

A tag question repeats the two elements in the Mood at the end of the clause: the Finite is made explicit, even if it is fused with the lexical verb in the clause (as it is in this case, with 'became'), and the Subject is picked up by the pronoun in the tag. Figure 4.2 shows the links.

X Factor She Ted Running a hotel These two quotes	[*past*] was wouldn't isn't [*present*]	became terribly upsetting shopping in town have married her as easy as it might look exemplify many of the points	didn't wasn't [would [is [don't	it? she? he?] it?] they?]
Subject	**Finite**		**F**	**S**

Figure 4.2   Tags showing Subject and Finite

One implication of this method of identifying the Subject is that it leads us to include certain things that are not traditionally called Subjects, especially dummy 'it' and 'there' in clauses like those shown in Figure 4.3.

It It There	's was should	pouring down outside half past seven be another one like this	isn't wasn't [shouldn't	it? it? there?]
Subject	**Finite**		**F**	**S**

Figure 4.3   'It' and 'there' as Subject

Most of the Subjects in the examples so far have been relatively simple; but the nominal group functioning as Subject may be much more complex, especially in certain genres such as academic articles. For example, there may be a complex nominal group consisting of more than one constituent functioning together as Subject (the Subject is in italics):

The loss of his father's fortune and his father's subsequent death, along with the general decline in the family's circumstances, decrease the number of servants in the household [don't they?]

The nominal group may include a postmodifying embedded clause:

The problems which we have just been considering have been discussed in philosophy for well over two thousand years [haven't they?]

The Subject function may also be performed by an embedded clause on its own, functioning as the equivalent of a nominal group:

What I needed was a sort of personal Christmas organiser [wasn't it?]
To remark of Brooksmith *that 'the scaffolding of this tale rests upon the existence of a class-stratified society'* is silly [isn't it?]

With regard to this last example, it is worth noting that, when the Subject is an embedded clause of this type, it is actually far more common to find an **anticipatory 'it'** in the normal Subject position, with the embedded clause itself appearing at the end of the clause of which it is Subject. In this case, both 'it' and the embedded clause are labelled as Subject:

In general, however, *it* is best *to modernize only the spelling.*
It has been found *that a significant number of children turn up at school being able to read.*
It was Grice *who spoke next.*
It is this latter question *which is often ignored.*

As we shall see when we examine Theme in Chapter 6, there are in fact two different structures involved here, but they both share the function of placing certain kinds of information in different positions in the clause for primarily thematic purposes (see 6.4.2 and 6.4.3).

Whereas the Subject function may be carried out by any nominal group of the kinds illustrated above, the Finite is drawn from a small number of verbal **operators**. These can be divided into two main groups: those that express **tense** ('be', 'have' and 'do', plus 'be' as the marker of passive voice) and those that express **modality** ('can', 'may', 'could', 'might', 'must', 'will', 'would', 'shall', 'should', 'ought [to]'). It can be argued that 'will' and 'would' can be included in the tense as well as the modality group, because of their particular uses in signalling the future. There are some less central operators – e.g. 'used to' for tense and 'have to' and 'needn't' for modality; and a few marginal ones that tend to be restricted to semi–idiomatic uses – e.g. 'dare' is Finite in 'How dare you talk to me like that?'. If present, the negative marker 'n't' is included as part of the Finite, for reasons that will be explained below.

● Refer to Exercise 4.1.

4.3.3 Meanings of Subject and Finite

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that Mood plays a special role in carrying out the interpersonal functions of the clause. In order to understand fully what this role is, we need to examine the meanings expressed by the Subject and Finite, and then to see how they work together as Mood.

In traditional terms, the Subject is the entity of which something is predicated in the rest of the clause. This is a powerful insight that has been applied in most approaches to grammatical description. It is, for example, reflected in Chomsky's original idealization S → NP VP ('a Sentence consists of a Noun Phrase followed by a Verb Phrase'), which makes the first 'cut' in the sentence between the first noun phrase, which is by definition the Subject, and the rest of the sentence. In such approaches, the sentence is seen as being 'about' the Subject. As was made clear in Chapter 3, however, in a functional approach the choice of a particular entity as Subject expresses only one of three possible kinds of 'aboutness'. In what sense can we see 'aboutness' as an interpersonal meaning?

To clarify this, it will be useful to return to the difference between Subject and Actor. In the following example, 'NatWest' (a banking company) is clearly the entity responsible for the action of sacking – that is, 'NatWest' is the Actor.

She was sacked last week by NatWest.

Thus, if we think of the real-world event being described, the clause tells us about something that NatWest did. On the other hand, we can also look at the clause in terms of the exchange going on between the speaker and the listener. One way of doing this is by examining the kind of response that the listener can make to the information being given (since, as mentioned above, the response indicates how the listener is interpreting the purpose of the speaker's message). If, for example, the listener disagrees with the validity of the statement, he can simply repeat the Mood elements with negative polarity:

No, she wasn't.

What is 'carried over' here from one step of the exchange to the next is all the rest of the clause ('No, she wasn't [sacked last week by NatWest]'), and therefore the listener may be disagreeing with the whole message (she still has her job with NatWest) or any part of the message (perhaps she resigned voluntarily, or it happened two weeks ago, or it was a different bank that sacked her). What is important is that he cannot change the Subject without making a complete new message:

No, NatWest didn't sack her, Barclays did.

If this was the response that he wanted to make to the original statement, 'No, they didn't' would not work, even though 'they' refers to the Actor.

From this perspective, the speaker is making a claim about 'she', not about NatWest. It may seem odd to think of this statement as a claim; but in effect every statement is a claim that can in principle be queried. We do not normally notice this, because on the whole our listeners do not attack everything we say. But, in conversation at least, there is always the option of disagreeing; and cooperative listeners very often acknowledge the information they receive (by saying 'Oh', or nodding, or something similar) to show that they accept it. Even with written text,

you may have found yourself shouting 'No, it isn't!' at a book when you disagree with one of the writer's statements. The Subject is the entity ('she' in the example above) that the speaker wants to make responsible for the validity of the proposition being advanced in the clause. That is, the claim that the speaker is making is valid for that entity. The listener can then accept, reject, query or qualify the validity by repeating or amending the Finite (see below), but the Subject must remain the same: if the Subject is altered the exchange has moved on to a new proposition, which represents a new claim (which can itself be attacked). For example:

'No, NatWest didn't sack her.' 'Yes, they did!'

It is in this sense that the clause is 'about' the Subject from the interpersonal perspective. This is obviously clearest in dialogue, where both sides of the interaction are explicit, and it is often the Mood element of Subject + Finite that is kept in play (as with 'Yes, they did!' above); it may be more difficult to grasp this kind of meaning in other kinds of discourse.

If the Subject is the entity on which the validity of the clause rests, what is the meaning of the Finite? To some extent, the answer has begun to emerge from the discussion of Subject: the Finite makes it possible to argue about the validity of the proposition. We can see the Subject as fixed as long as the current proposition remains in play. Through the Finite, the speaker signals three basic kinds of claims about the validity of the proposition, each of which in principle is open to acceptance or rejection by the listener:

- whether the proposition is valid for the present time and actual situation or for other times – past, future – or for unreal situations (tense)
- whether the proposition is about positive or negative validity (polarity)
- to what extent the proposition is valid or the proposal is being imposed (modality – see 4.4.2 for the distinction between propositions and proposals).

The following examples illustrate each of the above claims being contested or amended in turn:

'She *was* a brilliant actress.' 'She still *is*.'
'You *know* what I mean.' 'No, I *don't*, as a matter of fact.'
'It *could* be a word meaning "inferior".' 'Oh, yes, it *must* be, because the rest is an anagram.'

As mentioned above, in the majority of cases (especially in written text) propositions are not explicitly contested or amended in this way, and the arguability of the Finite is not highlighted. Nevertheless, the basic function of the Finite is to orient the listener towards the kind of validity being claimed for the proposition, by relating it either to the here-and-now reality of the speech event or to the speaker's attitude towards the proposition or proposal. Either of these options may be expressed in positive or negative terms.

Thus from an interactional perspective we can see the declarative clause as doing something like the following: the speaker introduces an entity (the Subject) about which she wants to make certain claims; she then indicates the kind and degree of validity of the claims she is going to make in the Finite; and she then makes the claims in the rest of the clause. If we go back to the earlier example:

She was sacked last week by NatWest.

we can paraphrase what is going on as follows: 'The validity of the information I am giving you depends on your accepting that we are talking about something that happened to "she"; the validity I claim for the information is that it is valid for something in the past (not present or future tense), it is categorically valid (not modalized) and that it is positively valid (not negative); and the information I want to give you about "she" is "sacked last week by NatWest". As long as you accept the validity of the information in these terms, we can proceed to the next step in this interaction.' Of course, set out like this it looks unmanageably cumbersome: the paraphrase is not in the least intended to reflect the conscious mental processes of those taking part in the interaction. But it does reflect the tacit, unconscious agreement on which the interaction is based; and it also reflects what the grammatical structure indicates about the way in which the exchange is proceeding. In looking critically at how speakers and writers attempt to achieve their purposes, to negotiate with – and to manipulate – their audience, it is often essential to make these validity claims explicit.

It is because this negotiation is done through the Subject and Finite, and is then taken as given for the rest of the clause, that the Mood is identified as a separate functional element in the clause. The importance and the relative detachability of the Mood within the meaning of the clause in English is shown by the fact that it can be used as a 'counter' for the whole proposition in responses ('No, she wasn't'), demands for acceptance of validity through tags ('wasn't she?'), and so on. In interpersonal terms, the Mood is the core of the exchange: the rest of the clause merely fills in the details.

4.3.4 Mood in non-declarative clauses

We have been focusing on declarative clauses in order to establish the general meanings of Subject and Finite. However, as was mentioned earlier, the Mood also has a crucial function in signalling the mood of a clause. As we saw in Chapter 3, the basic pattern is that the presence of Subject and Finite in the clause signals that the clause is indicative rather than imperative; and within this category, the ordering of the two elements distinguishes between declarative (Subject^Finite: see Figure 4.4) and interrogative (Finite^Subject: see Figure 4.5; but see the discussion of WH–interrogatives below).

Assessment	will	be by coursework.
We	[*present*]	take conversation for granted most of the time.
Subject	**Finite**	
Mood		

Figure 4.4   Mood in declarative clauses

Can	he	paint well enough?
Do	we	have anything in common?
Finite	**Subject**	
Mood		

Figure 4.5   Mood in yes/no interrogative clauses

In **yes/no interrogatives**, it is primarily the **polarity** of the message that the speaker wants the listener to specify ('He can or can't paint well enough?'), and, for thematic reasons (see 6.3.2), the speaker typically begins with the Finite, which is the part of the Mood where polarity is signalled.

In **WH–interrogatives**, there are two conflicting functions at work. The interrogative purpose is reflected in the fact that many WH–interrogatives have Finite preceding Subject in the Mood. However, the primary purpose of a WH–interrogative is to demand that the listener fill in a missing part of the message; and the WH–element signals which part is missing. For example, the question 'When is he leaving?' can be seen as a demand for the other person to complete the message 'He is leaving ... [time expression] ...' Again for thematic reasons (see 6.3.2), the speaker typically begins with the WH–element (though we occasionally find so-called 'echo questions' where the WH–element remains in the place where the missing part would normally go: 'He's leaving *when*?'). In some cases, of course, it is the Subject that the speaker wants supplied, and thus the WH–Subject in fact appears before the Finite: the WH–first 'rule' outweighs the Finite–first 'rule'. These two orderings are compared in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7.

Why	did	the affair	end?
What	do	you	expect me to do?
How many	are	there?	
	Finite	**Subject**	
	Mood		

Figure 4.6   WH-interrogative with known Subject

Who	's	been sleeping in my bed?
What kind of idiot	would	do something like that?
Who	[*past*]	typed out that note?
Subject/WH-	**Finite**	
Mood		

Figure 4.7   WH-interrogative with WH-element as Subject

There is a further clause type which has not yet been mentioned because it is relatively rare in comparison with the three major types. **Exclamatives** are like WH–interrogatives in that they have a WH–element that typically comes first. However, they have the Subject^Finite ordering of declarative clauses (remember that '^' is the symbol for 'followed by'). They are therefore included as a sub–type of declarative. Figure 4.8 gives some examples.

What an epitaph	that	would	make!
How simple	it all	[*past*]	seemed at the time.
How quickly	we	[*present*]	forget our promises!
	Subject	**Finite**	
	Mood		

Figure 4.8   Mood in exclamative clauses

In **imperative** clauses, the unmarked form has no Mood. The Subject of a command (the person responsible for carrying it out) is not specified, since it can only be the addressee ('you'). In interpersonal terms, an imperative is presented as not open to negotiation (which does not mean, of course, that the command will actually be obeyed), and thus most of the functions of the Finite are irrelevant: a command is absolute (there are no imperative forms of the modal verbs), and there is no need to specify time relevance since there is no choice (an imperative can only refer to an action not yet carried out − i.e. it can only refer to future time). The Finite (of a special kind) may in fact appear in unmarked imperatives, but it has a restricted purpose: it is used only to signal negative polarity, see Figure 4.9.

		Go away.
		Answer no more than three of the following questions.
Don't		look at me like that
'Finite'	**[Subject]**	
Mood		

Figure 4.9   Unmarked imperative clauses

There are, however, marked forms of imperatives in which the Subject may appear; and the Finite may also be used for emphasis, see Figure 4.10.

	You	listen to me, young man.
Do		hurry up, for goodness' sake.
Don't	you	take that tone of voice to me.
'Finite'	**'Subject'**	
Mood		

Figure 4.10 Marked imperative clauses

I have mentioned that the Finite here is not a 'normal' Finite with the normal range of functions; this is reflected in the fact that it is not the same form as appears if a tag is added at the end of an imperative clause:

Don't tell him anything, *will you*?

The Subject is also not a 'normal' Subject. In the following example, there is not the usual agreement between Subject and Finite (if the Subject were normal, it would be 'you are'):

Now *you be* careful with that slingshot and don't go breaking glass bottles.

There is also a second kind of imperative clause, where the understood Subject is not 'you' but 'you and me': this is the '**let's**' form (technically called the 'suggestive' form, while the ordinary imperatives are called 'jussive'). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 166) argue that 'let's' itself 'is best interpreted as a wayward form of the Subject'. In support of this, they mention that there is an unmarked negative form 'don't let's' and an emphatic form 'do let's'. The suggested analyses are shown in Figure 4.11.

	Let's	call it a day.
Don't	let's	argue about it.
Do	let's	try and get it right this time.
'Finite'	**'Subject'**	
Mood		

Figure 4.11 'Let's' imperative clauses

The tag in these cases is 'shall we?'

At this point, it may be useful to summarize the different mood options outlined above in an extended version of the system network presented in Chapter 3: see Figure 4.12.

To make this a more complete picture of the systems mentioned above, we would have to add polarity (which combines with all the choices shown in Figure 4.12), tagging (which can combine with any of the choices except WH-interrogative) and modality (which can combine with any of the indicative choices). But each of these leads to more delicate choices: for example, polarity may be realized in the Finite ('n't') or as a separate polarity Adjunct (e.g. 'never'); tags are affected by polarity choices (e.g. a negative clause typically has a positive tag, and vice versa); and, as we shall see below, modality opens up a very complex set of systems. The network would then proliferate in a daunting way – and it would be difficult to fit it all on one page!
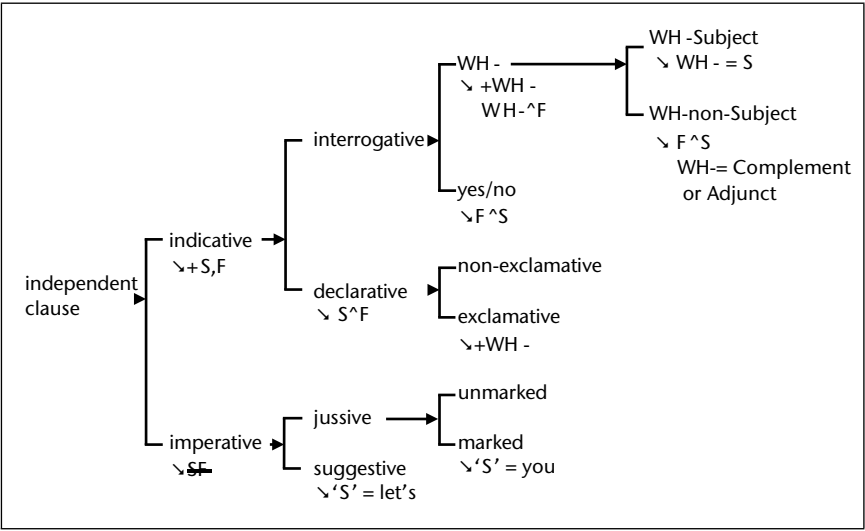
Figure 4.12 The mood system in English

4.3.5 Mood in text

To make the preceding discussion a little more concrete, we will look at a short example and see how mood choices operate in conversation. The extract is taken from the ICE–GB corpus (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english–usage/projects/ice-gb/). My analysis is shown in Table 4.1.

B: Do you still see Leo
A: Yeah
B: How's he
A: Fairly OK I think
B: Really

A: Uhm

B: Does he live out of London

A: Yeah he went to live in he went to uh Colchester // He's training to be uh don't know what you call it sort of the step above uh an E F L teacher

B: Really

A: Uh a sort of cour course director I think it is

B: Is he still writing

A: Well still isn't really the word // It it stopped around uh

B: I know he stopped years ago

A: Yeah

B: But is he writing at all

A: Again

B: Yeah

A: No // No

B: So he's not interested in it

A: Oh yeah yeah he thinks of himself as a writer

The most recurrent pattern in the conversation is an interrogative question from speaker B followed by one or (usually) more declarative statements as answer from A: at this point, A is constructed as the interactant who has information that B is interested in knowing. The Subjects are most frequently 'he', maintaining the focus of the exchanges on the person that the two are speaking about; but 'I' and 'you' (the most common Subjects overall in conversation) appear as Subject particularly when the speakers are assessing the validity of their information (e.g. 'I think' – see section 4.4 on modality). The Finites are nearly all present tense, construing the conversation as relating to Leo's present situation. However, certain other less predictable aspects stand out. Mood Adjuncts – particularly 'yeah' and, to a lesser extent, 'no' – do a lot of the work, typically functioning as statements without needing to be supported by full clauses. At two points, B uses another Mood Adjunct, 'really', to ask for confirmation of some information that A has just given (the intonation, and the fact that A supplies an answer, shows that these are intended and understood as questions). Here and in other cases, the Mood and/or the Residue (see 4.3.6) can be taken as held constant until there is a change of some kind, and the speakers do not therefore need to repeat them. For instance, in A's reply to B's second question, the Mood element ('he is') is taken as already 'on the table', and only the element that was enquired about ('How') is realized explicitly. (See also Chapter 8 on ellipsis.) It is also worth noting that the extract includes an example where the reverse happens: in order to give an answer, the speaker needs to alter the Subject of the other person's question, and thus produces a full Mood + Residue structure ('still isn't really the word'). At the end of the extract, B proposes an interpretation of Leo's behaviour in the form of a queclarative ('so he's not interested in it'): this simultaneously shows that B is reasonably confident of the interpretation and that he wishes A to confirm it (in fact A does not confirm it).

Table 4.1 Mood choices in the conversation

Speaker	Mood	Speech role	Subject	Finite	Mood Adjunct
B	INT	question	you	do	still
A	–	statement	–	–	yeah
B	INT	question	he	's	
A	–	statement	–	–	
	DEC	statement	I	[present]	
B	–	question			really
A	–	statement	–	–	uhm (= yes)
B	INT	question	he	does	
A	–	statement	–	–	yeah
	DEC	statement	he	[past]	
	DEC	statement	he	's	
	DEC	statement	[I]	don't	
			you	[present]	
B	–	question	–	–	really
A	DEC	statement	I	[present]	
	DEC	statement	it	is	
B	INT	question	he	is	still
A	DEC	statement	still	isn't	really
	DEC	statement	it	[past]	
B	DEC	statement	I	[present]	
			he	[past]	
A	–	statement	–	–	yeah
B	INT	question	he	is	
A	–	question	–	–	
B	–	statement	–	–	yeah
A	–	statement	–	–	no no
B	DEC	question	he	's	not
A		statement	–	–	yeah yeah
	DEC	statement	he	[present]	

4.3.6 The Residue

So far we have focused exclusively on Subject and Finite, without paying any attention to the rest of the clause. Although, as I have argued, much of the interactive work of the clause is performed by the Subject and Finite, it is useful to look at what else appears in the clause, not least in order to identify certain elements other than Subject and Finite which may form part of the Mood. The general term for part of the clause that is not the Mood is the **Residue**. This is not meant as a pejorative term; but, as I noted in 4.3.3, in interpersonal terms the Residue is merely what is 'left over' once the Mood has been established. There are three kinds of functional elements in the Residue: the **Predicator**, **Complements** and **Adjuncts**.

The Predicator is expressed by the rest of the verbal group apart from the Finite. There can be only one Predicator in any clause, and there must be a Predicator in

any major clause (i.e. a 'major clause' means a clause that includes a Predicator). Since the Finite is not part of the Predicator, the Predicator itself is non-finite. This can be seen most clearly from the fact that there are non-finite clauses that have a Predicator but no Finite (they normally have no Subject either) – for example, the italicized clause in this sentence:

Tim stood for a while *gazing at the cliff*

(where 'gazing' is the Predicator in the non-finite second clause, while 'stood' is the Finite+Predicator in the first clause).

The Predicator obviously expresses the process – the action, happening, state, etc. – in which the Subject is involved in some way. In addition, it may perform three other functions. The first is to specify 'secondary tense' – that is, time reference other than the immediate link to the time of speaking. For example, (the Predicator is in italics):

Oh, we'll *have finished* by six o'clock for sure.

Here, the Finite ''ll' indicates that the proposition is valid for a time in the future from the time of speaking; 'have (finish)ed', on the other hand, indicates that the event of finishing will take place at a time before the reference point in the future ('six o'clock') which has been set up – compare 'We'll finish at six o'clock', where there is no secondary tense expressed. The second function is to specify various other aspects of the process, such as starting, trying, achieving or continuing the process. For example:

He has *managed to charge* visitors for admission to the churches.

Here 'manage', despite being the 'main verb' in traditional terms, is not the main process, which is expressed by 'charge' – it tells us that the process has been successfully carried out. For more detail, see the discussion of verbal group complexes in 5.3.4. Finally, the Predicator also specifies the voice: active or passive.

Another diplomat had *been shot* in Piccadilly.

It is worth mentioning that 'be' has a special status in that, strictly speaking, the simple present and past forms consist of Finite with no Predicator. Whereas other verbs need a separate verbal operator 'do' to express the Finite (e.g. in yes/no interrogatives), 'be' does not: we say 'Are you comfortable?' rather than 'Do you be comfortable?' For many (but not all) speakers of English, 'have' behaves in the same way when it means 'possess': for example, 'Have you any wool?' and 'You haven't any wool, have you?' However, other speakers will normally say 'Do you have' (treating 'have' as a normal Predicator with a separate Finite) or 'Have you got' (where 'have' is the verbal operator functioning as Finite, and the Predicator is 'got'); and many speakers, like myself, alternate between these three different options. In analysing 'be' and 'have' in the cases

described here, it is simplest just to label the Finite and not have a slot labelled 'Predicator' – this is in fact the practice that has been followed so far in this chapter (see, for example, 'It was half past seven' in Figure 4.3).

The clause may include one or two Complements. Note that, as used here, the term includes both Objects and Complements in the more traditional sense. A Complement is an element in the Residue, typically realized by a nominal group, which could have been chosen as Subject, but was not. In the following group of examples, the Complements are italicized in the first sentence, while the subsequent sentences in the group are reworded to show how the Complement could have been the Subject.

> He brought *her pamphlets on the Middle East situation*.
> She was brought pamphlets on the Middle East situation.
> Pamphlets on the Middle East situation were brought.
> Kate did not like *this* at all.
> This did not please Kate at all.
> The strongest shape is *the triangle*.
> The triangle is the strongest shape.

There is, however, one kind of Complement that cannot become Subject. This is the Attribute in a relational process (see 5.2.3):

> Interviewing politicians is always *entertaining*.

The positions of an attributive Complement and Subject may sometimes be reversed, but this does not affect their roles – the ordering is for thematic purposes (see 6.3.1). In the following example, 'the issue of rate of decay' remains the Subject:

> *Of greater interest* is the issue of rate of decay.

The clause may also contain one or more Adjuncts. Indeed, it may include quite a large number: it is relatively easy to find examples like the following, with six Adjuncts, which do not sound unnatural or unwieldy:

> *In an attempt to limit the potential damage*, John Prescott *yesterday* met *privately / with suspended party members / in Walsall / over allegations of intimidation*.

The role of Adjunct is typically performed by an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase – in the above example, 'yesterday' and 'privately' are adverbial groups, while the remaining four Adjuncts are prepositional phrases. Adjuncts cannot in themselves be chosen as Subject – that is the main difference between Adjuncts and Complements. However, a prepositional phrase has its own internal structure, consisting of a preposition followed by a Complement; and this Complement may in certain circumstances be lifted out of the Adjunct to become Subject, leaving behind a truncated Adjunct consisting simply of the preposition:

I realised that *I* was being spied *on*. [I realised that someone was spying *on me*.]

In discussing WH–interrogatives above (4.3.4), I mentioned that the WH–element may **conflate** with (i.e. function simultaneously as) the Subject. It may also conflate with Complement or Adjunct – that is, it may be asking the other person to supply the Complement or Adjunct in order to complete the message. In the first example below, 'what' is Complement, while in the second 'how far' is Adjunct.

What would you have done?
How far have you got to go?

The same in fact applies to other WH–elements, not just those in interrogatives. In the relative clauses in the following examples (italicized) 'who' is Subject in the first, while 'whose unpronounceable name' is Complement in the second:

She thought all the time of Ben, *who was a prisoner somewhere*.
There was a visiting American Professor, *whose unpronounceable name she immediately forgot*.

And in the following reported clause (italicized), 'why' is Adjunct (standing in for something like 'he chose history *for a certain reason*'):

I don't know *why he chose history*.

In the exclamative clauses in Figure 4.8 above, the WH–element is Complement in the first two examples, and Adjunct in the third.
    Figure 4.13 gives some sample analyses of Mood and Residue together.

4.3.7 Modal Adjuncts

There is one further step we must take before we have completed the identification of all the elements in the Mood–Residue analysis. In the discussion above, I have treated all Adjuncts as if they formed a single type of constituent for the purposes of the analysis. However, we in fact need to distinguish three types of Adjunct, each of which is treated differently. The Adjuncts in Figure 4.13 all contribute to the experiential meaning of the clause – they tell us things like when, or how, or where, or why the event happened. When we deal with the clause from the experiential perspective in Chapter 5 we shall be calling these 'circumstances'; and we can use the term **circumstantial Adjunct** here to differentiate them from the other two kinds. But there are Adjuncts to which the functional description given above clearly does not apply: for example, those that are in italics in the following sentences:

The punctuation, *on the other hand*, is reproduced with diplomatic faithfulness.
Unfortunately, I did not meet Paul Klee there or later in my life.

He	was	lying	on his back.
Subject	**Finite**	**Predicator**	**Adjunct**
Mood		**Residue**	

On the following day	he	did not	go	out	early.
Adjunct	**Subject**	**Finite**	**Predicator**	**Adjunct**	**Adjunct**
	Mood		**Residue**		

Why	did	you	leave	the convent	so suddenly?
WH-/Adjunct	**Finite**	**Subject**	**Predicator**	**Complement**	**Adjunct**
	Mood		**Residue**		

It	[*past*]	occurred	to me	on a recent conference trip	that my summary is destined to become truer than I thought
S-	**Finite**	**Predicator**	**Adjunct**	**Adjunct**	**-ubject**
		Residue			**Mood**

Figure 4.13   Analysing Mood and Residue

The first example here shows a **Conjunctive Adjunct**, while the second shows a **Modal Adjunct**.

Conjunctive Adjuncts (sometimes called 'discourse markers') have the function of signalling how the clause as a whole fits in with the preceding text. The meanings that they express are textual meanings, and we will be examining them in Chapter 6. They are not regarded as playing any part in the interpersonal meanings of the clause, and thus they do not form part of either the Mood or the Residue, see Figure 4.14. (This is in fact an example of a wider feature of the grammar: depending on whether we take an interpersonal, experiential or textual perspective, our analysis will be

'blind' to certain parts of the message. See also 5.2.8 for an example of parts of the wording that a transitivity analysis does not deal with.)

The punctuation	on the other hand	is	reproduced	with diplomatic faithfulness.
S	(Conjunctive A)	F	P	A
Mo-		-od	Residue	

Figure 4.14   Conjunctive Adjunct

Modal Adjuncts, on the other hand, clearly do have an interpersonal function – 'unfortunately' in the example above tells us the writer's attitude towards the fact that he did not meet Paul Klee. These Adjuncts fall into two main groups. **Comment Adjuncts**, such as 'unfortunately', are relatively easy to identify: they typically comment on the clause as whole rather than give circumstantial information about the event, and they are often separated off from the rest of the clause by commas. A list of the different types of Comment Adjunct is given in Table 4-14 in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 191); and a fuller list is provided in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 612–31), where they are called disjuncts.

   The second group of Modal Adjuncts are a little more difficult to identify, because most of them appear to be modifying the verb and may thus look like circumstantial Adjuncts. However, they are in fact most closely related not to the Predicator in the verbal group but to the Finite: they express meanings associated with tense, polarity and modality. Because of this link with the meanings associated with the Mood, they are called **Mood Adjuncts**. Generally, Mood Adjuncts feel intuitively more 'grammatical' than circumstantial Adjuncts, although in some cases it is, admittedly, difficult to see the difference. To take some clear examples, 'already' is related to tense, 'never' is related to polarity, and 'maybe' is related to modality. Examples where the link with Mood meanings is perhaps less obvious include 'regularly' (related to temporal meanings) and 'at all costs' (related to modal meanings of obligation). A list of the main items that function as Mood Adjuncts is given in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 188–9).

   Both types of Modal Adjunct – Mood and Comment – are included in Mood when you do a Mood–Residue analysis. Figure 4.15 gives some sample analyses of clauses including Modal Adjuncts. Note that the final example includes a complex Predicator with elements marking secondary tense and modality, and passive voice.

Have	you	decided	on a colour	yet?
F	S	P	A	Mood Adjunct
		Residue		
		Mood		

Unfortunately	all too often	the amounts paid	aren't	reasonable.
Comment Adjunct	Mood Adjunct	S	F	C
Mood				Residue

Surprisingly,	however,	this tendency	has	in fact	declined	since 1970.
Comment Adjunct	(Conjunctive Adjunct)	S	F	Mood Adjunct	P	A
M-		-ood			Residue	

The beams	are	obviously	going to have to be replaced.
S	F	Mood Adjunct	P
Mood			Residue

Figure 4.15   Modal Adjuncts

● Refer to Exercise 4.2.

4.4 Modality

4.4.1 Modality and polarity

As we have seen above, the Finite expresses not only tense but also polarity and modality. Any Finite is inherently positive or negative in polarity. It is true that the negative forms have an identifiable added element ('n't' or 'not') in relation to the positive, but this is a reflection of the marked nature of negative meanings in general (we need a particular reason for talking about what is not rather than what is). In terms of the interaction carried out by the clause, polarity is a basic part of the meaning: as noted in 4.3.4, there is a specific grammatical structure, the yes/no interrogative, whose primary function is precisely to enquire about the polarity of a message.

Of course, polarity may also be expressed through Mood Adjuncts such as 'never' or 'hardly' (in which case, interestingly enough, the Finite is actually positive) – see Figure 4.16.

I I	've would	never hardly	liked say	him. that.
Subject	**Finite**	**Mood Adjunct**	**Predicator**	**Complement**
Mood			**Residue**	

Figure 4.16 Mood Adjuncts expressing polarity

To go a step further, we can see that in fact the expression of polarity is not restricted even to the Mood. In the first example below, the Finite 'has' is clearly positive, and there is no Mood Adjunct: it is the Complement 'nothing' that expresses negative polarity.

> He has said nothing to me about that.
> He hasn't said anything to me about that.

As we shall see with modality, this freedom of movement is typical of interpersonal meanings as a whole: they tend to cluster around the Mood, but they are by no means confined to that part of the message. This helps to explain why, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Halliday has often argued forcefully against looking at language only in terms of 'constituents' – that is, breaking clauses into groups and then groups into words, and assigning each 'bit' an identifiable meaning. As a rule, interpersonal meanings are not inherently tied to specific constituents but are spread over the whole clause; and they may well be cumulative, reinforced by being expressed at several points in the clause. The choice of the particular place – or places – in the clause where an interpersonal meaning is expressed will be significant, but the range of options is typically very wide.

In the discussion so far, polarity has been treated as if it were absolute, and in one sense, of course, it is: a message is either positive or negative. The structural possibilities reflect this, in that the Finite must be formally positive or negative. However, semantically there are also intermediate stages – points between 'yes' and 'no' such as 'maybe' or 'sometimes' or 'supposedly' – that are expressed by modality. A simple starting definition of modality is that it is the space between 'yes' and 'no'. Figure 4.17 illustrates this concept by giving some examples of modality with an informal gloss in the right-hand column indicating the intermediateness of the proposition (note that the ordering of examples in the '**modal space**' is not intended to suggest that any of the example are closer to the positive or negative poles).

+	She teaches Latin	
M S **O P** **D A** **A C** **L E**	She might teach Latin She usually teaches Latin She ought to teach Latin She'll teach Latin if you want She can teach Latin if she wants She can teach Latin well	perhaps yes, perhaps no sometimes yes, sometimes no at present no, but ideally in the future yes at present no, but in the future yes if you want at present no, but in the future yes if she wants in principle yes, at present maybe yes or no
–	She doesn't teach English.	

Figure 4.17   Modal space

4.4.2 Types of modality

In order to understand more fully how modality works, we need first of all to take into account that – like mood choices such as declarative – modality normally has scope over the whole clause. For instance, in a simple case like:

Scientists *may* have found the lost city of Atlantis

it is the whole propositional content (the event of scientists finding Atlantis) that is mediated through the writer's assessment of probability ('may'). One reflex of this scope is that, as with polarity, modality may be expressed in different positions in the clause – and is not restricted to appearing only once. Possible rewordings of the example above include:

Perhaps scientists have found the lost city of Atlantis
Scientists have *possibly* found the lost city of Atlantis
It's possible that scientists *may perhaps* have found the lost city of Atlantis

Modality can thus be seen as constructing a kind of interpersonal 'aura' of the speaker's attitude around the proposition.

So far I have focused on the speaker's assessment of probability; but that is not the whole picture. To gain a fuller view, we need to return to the distinction in speech roles that was set up at the beginning of this chapter (see Figure 4.1). If the commodity being exchanged is information, we can refer to the utterance as a **proposition**. In such cases, the modality relates to how valid the information is being presented as in terms of **probability** (how likely it is to be true) or **usuality** (how frequently it is true). Some of the basic points on the probability scale are: possible/probable/certain; on the usuality scale, they include: sometimes/often/always. If, on the other hand, the commodity is goods-&-services, we can call the utterance a **proposal**; and then the modality relates to how confident the speaker can appear to be in the eventual success of the exchange. In commands, this concerns the degree of **obligation** on the other person to carry out the command (the scale for the demanded

goods-&-services includes: permissible/advisable/obligatory), while in offers it concerns the degree of **willingness** or inclination of the speaker to fulfil the offer (the speaker may signal: ability/willingness/determination).

In order to distinguish these two basic types of modality, the first is called **modalization**, whereas the second is referred to as **modulation**. Figure 4.18 shows the different types and sub-categories, with an example of each.
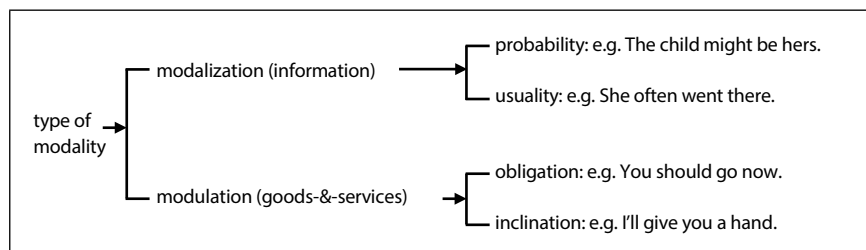
Figure 4.18   Types of modality

If we restrict ourselves for the moment to modality in Mood, there are a number of ways in which it can be expressed. The most obvious – and one of the main structural justifications for including modality as a function of the Mood in English – is through modal verbal operators. It was mentioned in 4.3.3 that the Finite related the proposition either to the here-and-now reality of the speech event (tense) or to the speaker's attitude (modality). This implied that tense and modality were alternative points of reference; but in fact it would be truer to say that, with a modal operator, tense is normally **neutralized** because the operator is inherently present tense. In most cases, a modal operator expresses the speaker's attitude at the time of speaking. This emerges clearly in forms such as the following where we have secondary tense after the Finite:

He must have inspected the cottage.

This can be paraphrased as 'My best guess as I speak *is* that he *inspected* the cottage' – which makes it clear that the 'pastness' signalled by 'have' relates to the event being talked about, but that the modality signalled by 'must' refers to the speaker's present opinion. This neutralization of tense explains why forms such as 'might' and 'could', which historically are past tense forms (of 'may' and 'can'), typically do not function as past tense signals in modern English. In the following sentence, for example, 'might' could be replaced by 'may' with little difference in meaning:

We might as well try for Cambridge.

There are certain contexts where the Finite does signal past tense in addition to modality – for example, when it is another person's modality in the past which is being reported. In such cases, the 'past tense' forms must normally be used:

He explained that he *might* be late.

Apart from a modal verbal operator, modality may also be signalled in Mood by a Mood Adjunct: in fact this, rather than a modal operator, is the most normal way of expressing usuality. The following examples show Mood Adjuncts signalling probability and usuality respectively:

Was that a hostel *perhaps*?
People *usually* enquire after my sisters.

Probability in particular can be signalled by a combination of modal operator and Mood Adjunct – an example of the cumulative nature of interpersonal meanings mentioned above:

But they *must surely* have realised what was happening?

With modulation, there is the same choice between modal operators (e.g. 'must', 'will') and Mood Adjuncts (e.g. 'necessarily', 'willingly'). Again, these two may be combined:

You *really ought to* invite her.
I *would willingly* carry a candle in one hand for St Michael and a candle for his Dragon in the other.

There are many other ways of expressing modality, both in Mood and in other parts of the clause: some will be mentioned below in 4.4.4.

Table 4.2 Modal values

	Modalization	Modulation
HIGH	I shall never be happy again.	You must ask someone.
⇕		
MEDIAN	They should be back by now.	You ought to invite her.
⇕		
LOW	I may be quite wrong.	You can help yourself to a drink.

4.4.3 Modal commitment

In 4.4.2, I talked about modality as involving degrees and scales. The speaker may, for example, signal a higher or lower degree of certainty about the validity of a proposition ('they will/may be at home by now'); or a higher or lower degree of pressure on the other person to carry out a command ('you must/should leave'). It is possible to formalize this to some extent and to establish three basic values (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 180) or points on the scale: high, median and low. These are

illustrated in Table 4.2 for probability and obligation. Note that the table shows permission, often expressed by 'can', as low-value modulation: permission can be seen as the lowest degree of pressure, opening the possibility for the other person to do the action but leaving the decision to them.

It must be kept in mind that this is an idealization, and that the three labels represent areas on a scale rather than absolute categories, with more delicate distinctions possible (e.g. in 'high' modalization between 'That'll be the milkman' and 'That must be the milkman'). However, they are useful labels in investigating the question of the speaker's **commitment**: the degree to which the speaker commits herself to the validity of what she is saying. This has important implications in a number of different areas of text analysis. For example, in an academic paper a writer has to judge very carefully the extent to which he advances a claim as certain or as still open to doubt; while in making a request a speaker has to judge very carefully the extent to which she appears to be putting pressure on the other person. It is worth noting that modalization is often used in commands, sometimes in combination with modulation, to negotiate imposition – we saw this in the first example in this chapter, where the writer used the probability markers 'might' and 'could' to soften the request.

4.4.4 Modal responsibility

We have already seen that modality can be signalled at a number of places in the clause; and, although this takes us beyond the lexicogrammar of modality proper, it is worth highlighting a particular range of forms that can be used to express modal meanings. Here are two typical examples, with the modal expressions in italics:

Now that it's the New Year, *it's likely that* your new resolutions are being put to the test
I think we're alone now

What happens in these cases is that the modality is expressed not within the clause but in a separate clause of its own: it has been 'experientialized' and is being represented as if it were an event or state in the world. As we shall see when we look at these forms again in Chapter 9, they are a kind of grammatical metaphor – that is, using the lexicogrammatical resources of the language to express meanings for which the resources did not originally evolve, and thus making it possible to express more nuances of meaning (this brief description is deliberately designed to echo how I talked about the pairings of mood choices and speech roles in section 4.2 above: the precise mechanism at work is different, but this is another manifestation of the same principle).

One feature that the different realizations of modality have in common is that they can be graded according to how far the speaker overtly accepts **responsibility** for the attitude being expressed. Essentially, speakers may express their point of view in a way that makes it clear that this is their subjective point of view; or they may do it in a way that '**objectivizes**' the point of view by making it appear to be a quality of

the event itself. The first of the two examples above illustrates how this objectivization is achieved. Figure 4.19 shows the analysis of the main part of the sentence in terms of Mood (see the discussion of anticipatory 'it' in 4.3.2 above).

it	's	likely	that your new resolutions are being put to the test
S-	F	Complement	-object

Figure 4.19 Mood analysis of a modal clause

As the analysis brings out, something referred to by the pronoun 'it' is described as 'likely' and in the second part of the sentence 'it' turns out to be the speaker's basic proposition, 'your new resolutions are being put to the test'. This proposition is thus being treated as a definable chunk of meaning, almost as if it were a kind of 'thing' in the world, which can be pronominalized as 'it' and can have qualities attributed to it – in this case the quality of being likely. This way of expressing it disguises the fact that the quality of possibility is actually not a characteristic of the proposition but is the speaker's personal assessment of probability (see also the discussion of 'facts' in 7.5.2).

At the other extreme, the **subjective** nature of the assessment can be highlighted, again by expressing the modality in a separate clause, as in the second example above. Here the speaker's main clause in structural terms is 'I think', which appears to be a proposition about his or her own thought processes. In functional terms, however, the main proposition is still 'we're alone now'. We can see this if we add a tag:

I think we're alone now, *aren't we*?

Note that the tag here does not repeat the Mood of the 'main clause' (if it did, we would get 'I think we're alone now, don't I?', which sounds extremely odd). The tag in fact invites the other person to agree with the basic proposition 'we're alone now'. Another feature which suggests that the 'main clause' does not really express the main proposition appears when the proposition is negative. In speech, it is more commonly the modal clause which is negated:

I *don't think* we're alone now. (cf. I think we *aren't* alone now)

Here it is almost as if the modal clause is doing the job of the Finite in advance of the proposition, setting up the degree of validity and the polarity as a separate element of the message. Again the tag is revealing:

I don't think we're alone now, *are we*?

Since tags normally reverse the polarity of the clause that they tag (positive Finite – negative tag, and vice versa), the tag here is clearly echoing a negative Finite, which must be 'we aren't alone'. The main function of these modal clauses is in fact to make

explicit the personal source of the modality. When the proposition is negative, we have another example of the 'non-constituent' character of polarity (see 4.4.1): it is natural that it should gravitate towards the part of the message where other interpersonal meanings are being expressed.

Between these two extremes, highlighting subjectivity or creating objectivity, there are intermediate ways of expressing modality. The two main ways have already been mentioned in 4.4.2: modal verbal operators and Mood Adjuncts. Of these, modal operators exploit the Finite slot and thus are firmly rooted in the interpersonal, subjective meanings of the clause; whereas Mood Adjuncts are a step closer to the objective end of the spectrum, in that they use one of the Adjunct slots that are typically used to express 'real-world' features of the event (e.g. 'He cleaned the mess up *rapidly*.'). At around the same point on the scale as Mood Adjuncts we can also place what Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 178) call an 'expansion of the Predicator': the use of passive forms such as 'supposed to' or 'obliged to', with a separate non-modal Finite, to express modality (see also 5.3.4 on verbal group complexes). In the following examples, there is a difference in the degree to which the speaker seems to be taking responsibility for the pressure on the other person: with 'supposed to' the feeling is that the pressure comes from another source, not directly from the speaker.

You're supposed to be doing your practising.
You ought to be doing your practising.

We have thus identified four main points on the scale of 'modal responsibility', in terms of the extent to which the speaker openly accepts responsibility for the subjective assessments being expressed. Table 4.3 gives examples of each of the points for modalization and modulation. (The term '**implicit**' is used when the modality is expressed in the same clause as the main proposition, while '**explicit**' is used when it is expressed in a separate clause – see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 181, Section 10.3.2.)

As with the scale of modal commitment (4.4.3), these are not absolute categories: there are intermediate points, and there is variation within each grouping. For example, prepositional phrases expressing modality lie somewhere between the explicit and implicit points exemplified above: on the subjective side, there are phrases like 'in my opinion' and 'to my mind' expressing modalization, while on the objective side there are phrases like 'in all probability' and 'to some extent'. As always, it is the existence of the cline which is important rather than the exact location of points along it.

Table 4.3 Modal responsibility

	Modalization	Modulation
Explicit subjective	*I'm sure* we should sell this place.	I *don't advise* you to drink it.
Implicit subjective	She *might* have written to me.	I *mustn't* go there any more.
Implicit objective	We *probably* won't repay it.	A cathedral is *supposed* to be old.
Explicit objective	*It's likely that* they've heard by now.	*It's essential that* you leave at once.

In looking at language in use, the issue of modal responsibility is often fascinating to explore, because writers and speakers may resort to various methods either of masking their responsibility and presenting their viewpoint in an apparently objective way, or of highlighting their personal stance, for a number of reasons. For example, the following two examples show what a scientist wrote in an academic journal article and how he talked about the same findings in a research presentation to a group of colleagues and students.

Written text
Of course, since there are still plenty of empty silicon dimers (typically about 30%) even at saturation coverage of ethylene, at low exposures of atomic hydrogen *it is also possible that* the hydrogen is bonding to empty dimers, and not to those with an ethylene molecule adsorbed on them

Spoken text (data recorded by Susan Thompson)
in the light of what we did next *it became clear to us that in fact* we had still got trimethyl gallium on the surface // so what *I think* was happening there was the problem that I warned about at the start // that we've got trimethyl gallium on the surface but in a weak physisorbed state

In the written text, the author aims at impersonality, following the very strong conventions for this kind of text: he uses explicit objective modalization ('it is possible that') to suggest a potential interpretation of the observations. This does not mean that all interaction with the reader is avoided: for example, he also uses a modal Adjunct ('of course') to show awareness of what his readers might already be thinking ('of course' means something like 'I am aware that you might have thought of this, and I want to show that I have thought of it as well'). In the spoken extract, the speaker is much readier to appear in his own discourse: not only does he opt for explicit subjective modalization ('I think'), but he personalizes what could be explicit objective modality ('to us') – it would be much more likely that, if he wanted to express this meaning in the written text, he would write 'it became clear that'.

More generally, it is important to bear in mind that modalization may not indicate genuine uncertainty on the part of the speaker (as is assumed in traditional descriptions of modality). There are many reasons why someone may wish to appear uncertain: the following examples illustrate just a few of the possibilities:

I think I *might* be able to help (= 'I don't want to force you to accept my offer')
You *may* want to buy this book (= 'Buy it!' softened)
Crash diets *may* be effective in the short run, but … ('I assume you believe that they are effective, but I'm about to disagree')

This has been a very rapid overview of an area of English grammar that is extremely complex: Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 695) calculate that, once the different possibilities for expressing polarity with modality are included, the systems we have looked at so far (types of modality, values and degree of commitment) result in 144 categories of modality – and a more delicate analysis would show many others. Figure

4.20 shows the options in the form of a system network. The curly brackets indicate that the choices are simultaneous – for example, any instance of modality selects for type and for commitment and for responsibility. The slanting line connecting some of the choices (following Martin and White 2005: 16) indicates that the values are scaled on a cline rather than completely separate.
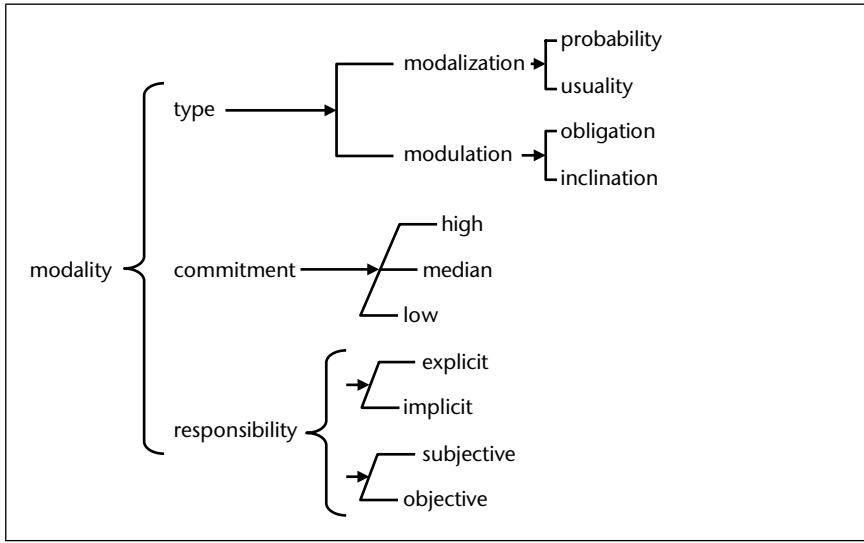
Figure 4.20 Simultaneous systems of modality

4.4.5 Modality in text

Given the complexity shown in Figure 4.20, many of the details have inevitably been missed out in the description above. What we have focused on have been the broad factors at work in the area of modality. To help give a fuller picture of how these factors may operate in text, we will look briefly at modality in two very different registers: academic writing and literature.

The following example is a short extract from a journal article by Christopher Butler on 'formulaic sequences' – fixed and semi-fixed phrases that often recur and which speakers probably store in their memory as ready-made units rather than reconstructing them word by word. Here he is arguing that 'I don't know' is a formulaic sequence of this kind. You might expect such highly formal written discourse to be impersonal and therefore to avoid modality; but this is in fact far from the case. I have highlighted a few of the cases of modality at the start of the extract. You will find it useful to identify others and consider how they contribute to the effect that the writer is aiming at.

This *suggests* that 'I don't know' is *indeed* formulaic, at least for many speakers, while expressions such as 'they don't know' are not. It *could perhaps* be objected that if 'dunno' is formulaic (which seems to be *beyond reasonable doubt*), 'I don't know' is

unlikely to be, since this would mean that we have two formulaic expressions for the same message: furthermore, the non-reduced nature of 'I don't know' might be taken to indicate that it is constructed from its parts. I believe both of these challenges are answerable. Firstly, it is surely quite plausible to suppose that formulaic material expressing a particular meaning might be stored in more than one phonological form, the one used being dependent on such factors as formality and utterance rate: Wray's model is, after all, a somewhat extravagant rather than a parsimonious one. Secondly, although reduction clearly increases the likelihood of formulaic status, it is equally obviously not a requirement for it, as witness the large number of non-reduced strings postulated as formulaic sequences.

Butler is clearly constructing an argument in this extract, and the modality (in the form of modalization) does much of the argumentative work. There is only room here to focus on some of the key modal expressions. He uses 'suggests' to put forward his main argument in a way that avoids imposing his view on the reader (even though he makes it clear that he himself is certain that this is the correct view!). In the next sentence, he uses modality ('could perhaps [object]' and 'might be taken to indicate') to frame two counter-arguments that some people (including some of his readers) might propose. The modality here shows that he is aware that he cannot assume that all his readers will want to raise this objection (while at the same time signalling that he will go on to dismiss the objection: in academic writing 'it could be objected' is typically followed by the writer disagreeing). He then uses a rather coercive Modal Adjunct 'surely' (which can be roughly paraphrased as 'I think this is certain and I want to be sure that you agree') in introducing his own response to the counter-arguments; but even here he leaves room for negotiation by softening his argument through modalization ('quite plausible to suppose', 'might [be stored]'). One way of gaining a sense of softening in this sentence is to think about other, more coercive ways in which Butler might have expressed his point – for instance 'Firstly, formulaic material expressing a particular meaning is surely stored in more than one phonological form'. Throughout the extract, the author's own point of view is made very clear, but he is careful to negotiate its validity with the readers through the resources offered by modality.

The source of the modality in Butler's extract is clearly the author himself. In certain registers, however, the question of *whose* view we are being given may be crucial in understanding the text. For example, writers of novels or short stories often use modality very subtly to indicate that we are seeing events not from the point of view of an omniscient narrator but from that of a character within the story. Since the character is not omniscient, we are given a restricted view of events, which opens up the possibility that as readers we may in fact be meant to see things differently. A classic example of this use of restricted point of view is the short story 'Clay', from James Joyce's *Dubliners* (the following extract was downloaded from Project Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2814/2814-h/2814-h.htm). In this paragraph from near the beginning of the story, the central figure, Maria, is looking forward to an evening off from her work. Again, you can try identifying the modality (it is pretty easy to find, when you look for it).

> The women would have their tea at six o'clock and she would be able to get away before seven. From Ballsbridge to the Pillar, twenty minutes; from the Pillar to Drumcondra, twenty minutes; and twenty minutes to buy the things. She would be there before eight. She took out her purse with the silver clasps and read again the words *A Present from Belfast*. She was very fond of that purse because Joe had brought it to her five years before when he and Alphy had gone to Belfast on a Whit-Monday trip. In the purse were two half-crowns and some coppers. She would have five shillings clear after paying the tram fare. What a nice evening they would have, all the children singing!

Although at first reading this may look like a description by the narrator, a closer inspection reveals that we are basically overhearing a version of Maria's own train of thought. There are a number of modality signals that must have her as their source (since for an omniscient, neutral narrator there can be no 'may' or 'must': any signs of doubt or obligation either come from a character or represent an intrusion by the narrator into the telling of the story). Together with other signals of interpersonal interaction (e.g. the grammatically 'incomplete' second sentence, the exclamative sentence at the end), the modality helps to take us inside Maria's head. As you will see if you read the rest of the story, this is crucial in suggesting that what we are actually told is not the whole story: Maria's view of her own life is far more determinedly (or desperately) positive than the one we as readers end up with.

The way in which Joyce exploits modality here can be contrasted with that of Jane Austen. Here is an extract from the final chapter of her novel *Persuasion* (downloaded from Project Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/105/105-h/105-h. htm#chap24):

> It cannot be doubted that Sir Walter and Elizabeth were shocked and mortified by the loss of their companion, and the discovery of their deception in her. They had their great cousins, to be sure, to resort to for comfort; but they must long feel that to flatter and follow others, without being flattered and followed in turn, is but a state of half-enjoyment.

In this case, the source of the modality ('It cannot be doubted', 'to be sure', 'must') is the narrator, who is represented as unsure about the feelings of the characters. Austen thus constructs herself as the narrator standing beside the reader, looking at the characters as if they were separate beings over whom she has no control, and commenting ironically to the reader on what the characters might be thinking. The effect is therefore the opposite of Joyce's strategy: rather than drawing the reader into the mind of the character, Austen deploys modality to keep us 'outside' the story, as amused observers of human shortcomings.

4.5 Appraisal

In discussing modality, we have moved from strictly grammatical issues (e.g. modal operators functioning as Finite) towards areas that are more difficult to pin down in

structural terms – the varied examples of modality in the extract from Butler illustrates this. With **appraisal** (or 'evaluation'), we are even more on the edge of grammar: much of appraisal is expressed by lexical choices and there are few grammatical structures that can be seen as having evolved with a primarily evaluative function. The discussion here will therefore be briefer; but it is important to note that appraisal is a central part of the meaning of any text and that any analysis of the interpersonal meanings of a text must take it into account.

The Appraisal model set out in Martin and White (2005) aims to systematize a varied set of linguistic resources that speakers and writers use to negotiate evaluations with their addressees and to construct solidarity around shared values. Three main regions of meaning are identified. One of these is Engagement, which focuses on how resources such as modality and projection (see 7.5 below) are deployed in negotiating solidarity – we have already touched on this above. The second is Graduation, dealing with the ways in which speakers and writers can intensify or weaken their evaluations. The central area is termed **Attitude**, and it is this that I will outline briefly here. Attitude can be simply defined as the indication of whether the speaker thinks that something (a person, thing, action, event, situation, idea, etc.) is good or bad. The good/bad scale can be seen as the simplest and most basic one, but there are many other scales of evaluation, and it is revealing to see what kinds of values are established in any particular register. For example, in the following sentence from an academic article on the effects of ageing, the scale used to evaluate the research findings is that of significance:

> The *importance* of this result is that it shows that age may affect the levels of performance that people attain at any point during an unusually prolonged experiment, but without also altering the rate at which they learn a complex skill.

What the authors are discussing is the way in which old age causes people to lose their faculties. For the old people involved, this process might be evaluated on a scale such as cheering/depressing; but for the scientific researcher the most prominent value (and the only one conventionally accepted in this context) is that of importance – i.e. the extent to which the findings help us to understand the area of research. The identification of the scales of appraisal is one way in to exploring the ethos of science, in which objectivity is prized above all. This may seem natural until we realize that, in the context of human sciences at least, 'objectivity' could in principle also be seen as 'lack of humanity': the choice of appraisal reflects and reinforces the ideological values of the culture (see the discussion of the texts in Chapter 10).

Martin and White (2005) have argued that it is in fact possible to group the types of values that we draw on in evaluating into a small number of categories, in order to arrive at an overall 'map' of values in our culture. At the first level, they distinguish between three major categories: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, each of which can be positive or negative. **Affect** is in a sense the most 'natural' way of talking about how we feel about things: it covers the expression of our emotional responses.

> We simply *adore* the silky soft ruffle on the bust line.
> I felt *really cross* about it.
> I was *apprehensive* at the prospect of doing this.

But we can also talk about our feelings towards things and events as if they were qualities of the thing or event itself. This can be seen in very simple terms as the difference between 'I like her/it' and 'She/It is lovely'. Both of these express our appraisal of 'her/it', but from different ends, as it were: Affect ('I like her/it') focuses on the feelings of the appraiser, whereas **Judgement** ('She is lovely') and **Appreciation** ('It is lovely') focus on the qualities of the appraised entity. Judgement and Appreciation are therefore less direct in that the source of the evaluation in our emotions is not made explicit. As the simple introductory examples have implied, the distinction between these two depends on whether we are appraising a person (Judgement) or something else – a thing, an action, an event, etc. (Appreciation). This division is intended to capture the importance that we naturally place on human beings in the world around us; but it also reflects the kinds of values that we ascribe to human beings as opposed to other things. Here are a few examples of Judgement:

> My mother was always *precise and authoritarian in shops*.
> He was *dead bourgeois*.
> Should I quit my job because I'm *not very reliable or punctual*?

And here are a few examples of Appreciation:

> This is *a warming, fragrant and very inviting supper dish*.
> Winter has *every bit as much charm as the other seasons*.
> The mountains look *stunning* from the air.

Of course, there are many expressions of appraisal that can be applied either to people or things. But even in these cases, the quality that the appraisal involves will generally be different: the reasons why you might think a friend is 'nice' will be different from the reasons why you think a book is 'nice'.

Each of the three major categories has a number of more delicate sub-categories, which can be drawn on for a more complete picture of Attitude. These sub-categories are still being worked out by Martin and his associates; and in any case there is no space to go into details here (for a fuller picture, see Martin and White 2005, Chapter 2). But a few examples will give you an idea of how the Attitude systems can be taken further in delicacy. One way in which Affect can be sub-categorized is in terms of whether the emotional response is 'realis' (to do with the here-and-now) or 'irrealis' (to do with possible future states):

> I *enjoy* summer vegetables in the summer [realis], and after that I *look forward* to whatever winter has to offer [irrealis].

Judgement can be divided into two main types (each with sub-categories of their own): we can evaluate people in terms of social esteem (broadly to do with social behaviour) and social sanction (broadly to do with moral qualities).

> You shouldn't be *so sarcastic*. [Judgement: social esteem]
> She is tediously *conscientious* on the few occasions when she's sober. [Judgement: social sanction]

Appreciation is more complex and less easy to divide up: the values here tend to vary greatly according to the kind of entity being appraised. Two of the broad sub-categories that have been proposed are reaction (how it struck me) and composition (how it was made up).

> Number four was a *depressing* house. [Appreciation: reaction]
> She had been intrigued by *the elegance and simplicity* of the furniture. [Appreciation: composition]

However, you need to be aware that the categories are not as clear-cut as I have implied so far. While an analysis of appraisal in a text is often illuminating, it can be very tricky to pin down exactly what is going on. For example, it is sometimes difficult to decide with some appraisals whether we are dealing with Judgement or Appreciation:

> He has a *lovely* smile.

This could be seen either as appraising him (Judgement) or his smile (Appreciation). There can also be tensions between the target of the appraisal and the lexis used to express the speaker's attitude. In the first example below, an inanimate object (a book) is evaluated as 'immoral', a term that is strongly associated with judging humans; in the second, a human (a dancer) is described as 'beautifully proportioned', which is more often associated with inanimate objects such as furniture:

> Many readers have complained that this book is immoral.
> Beautifully proportioned with long, tapering legs, Ananiashvili is a bravura dancer.

The inherent fuzziness is compounded by a further important distinction, which relates to the way in which attitude is expressed. In most of the examples above, the appraisal is **inscribed**: that is, it is explicit, and usually fairly easy to recognize. But appraisal can also be **invoked**. This happens when the speaker or writer tells us something which is not directly evaluative but which is intended to invoke an attitude. When we appraise things, we often give the grounds for the appraisal, as in this extract from an advertisement:

> The Gipsy is a particularly clever sofa *because it works in three ways*.

With invoked appraisal, on the other hand, we are told the grounds, but expected to make the appraisal ourselves. The following description of a character in a novel has no overtly evaluative language, but it is clearly meant to make us evaluate him as menacing:

> He could silence a room full of people just by being there.

We could imagine the sofa advertisement telling us simply:

> The Gipsy sofa works in three ways

leaving us to think 'That's a clever sofa!' (at least, that is what the advertisers would hope). Invoked appraisal can be subtly coercive, in that it projects the assumption that the addressee will be able to apply the appropriate set of values – and thus puts pressure on the addressee to share the values. In the following example from a blog, the writer assumes that her readers will unproblematically share the socio-culturally conditioned opinion that men who wear socks with sandals are not good boyfriend material:

> But I really shouldn't care about that stuff, he's a great guy. But really ... socks with sandals ... all the time?

The balance of inscribed and invoked appraisal will vary from text to text; but to get a full picture of appraisal in any text we have to take both into account. However, as you can no doubt imagine, this does mean that it will sometimes be difficult to decide exactly what is and is not evaluative in a text – quite apart from the potential problems of assigning instances to the right category of appraisal.

I mentioned above that evaluation does not have structures of its own: it is, in a sense, parasitic on other structural elements. This is another factor that makes it such a slippery concept. There are, however, a number of cases where evaluation is, at the least, strongly associated with specific formal features. One of the most important of these is the structure illustrated in 4.3.2 above with an anticipatory 'it'.

> *It might be difficult* to find a more apt or prettier description of the romantic artist.
> *It's amazing* what nonsense people will believe.

In many cases, the introductory clause has the function of evaluating the information in the following clause (another typical function is to express modal meanings objectively). For more discussion of this structure, see 6.4.3 and 6.7.5 on 'thematized comment'.

Appraisal is clearly related to modality, in that both relate to the speaker's attitude (and, as just noted, they share the anticipatory 'it' structure). As with modality (see 4.4.5), appraisal in a text always raises the question of **source**: the responsibility for appraisal may be disguised to a greater or lesser extent. In the extract from 'Clay' in 4.4.5, the reader needs to understand that it is Maria rather than the narrator who

evaluates the coming evening as 'nice'. It is also interesting to look at the ways in which appraisal is left open to negotiation or treated as unquestionable – that can be explored through Engagement. For instance, in the extract from the academic article in 4.4.2, Butler's evaluation of the 'challenges' as 'answerable' is made negotiable through the use of the explicit subjective modal expression 'I believe' (i.e. allowing for the possibility that others may not believe this).

4.6 Interaction and negotiation

Looking at the clause from an interpersonal perspective has naturally led us at several points to consider the wider context: the idea of the clause as exchange implies a minimum of two components (giving implies receiving, etc.). Since our approach to grammar is designed to allow us to look at how the grammar works in use, the next step is to formalize the links with the wider context as far as possible. This is potentially a huge undertaking, and it is not possible here to develop anything like a full set of systems for showing how particular choices at clause level affect the on-going interaction. What I would like to do is just to sketch in the lines of enquiry that can be followed in making the transition from clause to text in analysis.

One way into this is by looking back at the speech roles shown in Figure 4.1. For each role, we can set up the kind of response that the speaker expects. Of course, the other person is not bound by the speaker's expectations and is, in principle, free to choose what Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 136) call the '**discretionary alternative**'. These two sets of responses are shown in Table 4.4.

As the responses in square brackets indicate, some of the initiating speech functions do not need a verbal response (e.g. a command is successful if the action demanded is carried out), though in speech one is typically given. If the other person opts for the discretionary alternative in any case, this will in effect delay or cancel the success of the exchange, and is therefore less common on the whole (and typically needs a more elaborate form of response, in order to compensate for the interruption in the unfolding of the exchange). The situation with written language is somewhat different because the interaction is not face to face and therefore the reader's response cannot have the same function in contributing to the exchange as in speech. With statements (the function that written language lends itself to most easily since they do not in principle need any overt response), we are typically expected just to read on. We shall look at the effect of questions, etc. in written language when we analyse an extract from an academic paper, below.

As I stressed in 4.2, the basic guideline for analysis is not only that the grammar of any particular clause will be at least partly determined by its intended role in the interaction, but that the meaning of the clause can only be understood by comparing its grammar to this intended role. For example, a question may be expressed by an interrogative Mood choice; but, as we saw in the conversation in 4.3.5, a declarative clause may be intended and interpreted as a question (a queclarative). The differences between choosing a queclarative and an interrogative in a specific context can be explored on the basis of the meanings typically associated with the declarative and interrogative structures in general. Similarly, an interrogative in written text may

clearly not be expected to give rise to a response in reality, but its response–demanding function remains and is part of the reason why the writer has chosen an interrogative at that point.

Table 4.4 Responses in exchanges

	Initiation	*Expected response*	*Discretionary alternative*
Give goods-&-services	offer	acceptance	rejection
Demand goods-&-services	command	undertaking [action]	refusal
Give information	statement	acknowledgement [non-intervention]	contradiction
Demand information	question	answer	challenge

4.7 Interaction through text

To explore some of the issues that arise when we examine how interpersonal choices work together in written text, we can take the extract below. This is from a chapter by Peter Trudgill on the question of what counts as Standard English. I have numbered the sentences for ease of reference. What I am particularly interested in is the linguistic strategies that the writer uses to put his ideas across in a way that might convince his readers.

> (1) Let us then examine lexis. (2) I would like to assert that our sentence
>
> The old man was bloody knackered after his long trip
>
> is clearly and unambiguously Standard English. (3) To assert otherwise – that swear words like *bloody* and very informal words like *knackered* are not Standard English – would get us into a very difficult situation. (4) Does a Standard English speaker suddenly switch out of Standard English as soon as they start swearing? (5) Are Standard English speakers not allowed to use slang without switching into some nonstandard variety? (6) My contention is that Standard English is no different from any other (nonstandard) variety of the language. (7) Speakers of Standard English have a full range of styles open to them, just as speakers of other varieties do, and can swear and use slang just like anybody else. (8) (It will be clear that I do not agree with the contention which is sometimes heard that 'nobody speaks Standard English'.) (9) Equally, there is no need for speakers of nonstandard varieties to switch into Standard English in order to employ formal styles. (10) It is true that, in most English-speaking societies, there is a tendency – a social convention perhaps – for Standard English to dominate in relatively formal social situations, but there is no necessary connection here, and we are therefore justified in asserting the theoretical independence of the parameter standard–nonstandard from the parameter formal–informal.

Before reading my commentary below, think about the following questions.

1 What is the main aim of this text? What sort of person is likely to read it?
2 Who exactly are 'we' and 'they' in the text? What could the writer have written instead of 'we/us/our', and why do you think he chose to use 'we'? When does the writer use 'I'?
3 Who asks the 'questions' in (4) and (5)? What are the responses? How do you know?
4 What signals of modality are there in the text? What is their function?
5 What signals of appraisal are there in the text? How much of the appraisal is open to question?
6 What clues are there in the text about what the reader's opinion on Standard English and swearing could be? (Think about the negatives, for example.)

The following is not intended as a complete analysis of the interpersonal meanings of the text. I shall simply be suggesting lines of enquiry that can be followed up in more depth.

Answers

1 The aim is to argue that swear words and informal lexis are part of Standard English, in order to persuade those readers who have a different opinion. The readership is essentially self-selected: this is a fairly specialized text in a specialized volume of articles, and the readers will normally have at least some knowledge of, and interest in, the topic.
2 The writer uses 'we' to refer inclusively to himself and the reader for whom he is writing. This reader may or may not match all the real-world readers (for example, you and I do not fully match this reader, since we are reading the text as text analysts, in a way that the writer almost certainly did not have in mind). Terms such as 'ideal', 'imagined' or 'putative' reader are sometimes used, but I find it useful to talk about the 'reader-in-the-text' – a clumsy term, but one that emphasizes that our picture of this imaginary figure is based on linguistic evidence in the text. The reader-in-the text here is a linguist, in the sense that, together with the writer, s/he is observing how people use language. For example, it is not ordinary speakers of the language who would be put in 'a very difficult situation' by the assertion that swear words are not Standard English. This comes out more clearly when we note that the writer refers to the people who use language ('speakers') as 'they' (i.e. other people, not including 'us').

The use of inclusive 'we' also aims to involve the reader, who is treated as moving through the steps of the argument together with the writer (e.g. the discussion is of '<u>our</u> sentence'). Sometimes the writer could have replaced 'we/us/our' with 'I/me/my' – for example, 'Let me then examine lexis', 'my sentence'. This would in some ways be closer to what is actually happening, since it is the writer alone who is producing the text in which he examines the sentence; but the effect would be to keep the reader at more of a distance, which

might make the argument less persuasive. It is worth noting that explicit reference to 'you' is avoided – this way of referring to the reader is actually extremely rare in academic writing. This is presumably because academic writing of this kind is directed at peers, who are treated as part of the same academic community as the writer. (In contrast, it is more acceptable and frequent to use 'you' in textbooks, like this one: at such points the writers are separating themselves from readers, who are represented as less knowledgeable.)

On two of the occasions when the writer uses 'I/my' ('I would like to assert', 'My contention'), the implication is that he is proposing an opinion that he thinks he has not yet fully supported with evidence, and therefore restricts the opinion to himself. At these points, the reader-in-the-text has not yet been persuaded that this opinion is correct; so to use 'we' would be inappropriately coercive.

3   The two interrogatives realize statements: that is they are expressed in a way, and in a context, that makes it clear that the expected response is 'no'. These are examples of what are traditionally known as 'rhetorical questions'. They are not normal questions in the sense that the addressee is expected to provide information that the questioner does not know; but their interrogativeness is what adds semantic value compared with a declarative statement. They function as interactive strategies to involve the reader-in-the-text in constructing the intended statement: the reader has to make the interpretive effort to supply the 'answer' and to understand that the statement has the opposite polarity (e.g. 'a Standard English speaker does not suddenly switch out of Standard English as soon as they start swearing'). Involving the reader in constructing the text potentially contributes to the persuasive effect.

4   There is only room here to comment on two of the instances of modality. In (8), 'it will be clear' represents the following claim as unquestioningly obvious to the reader, who is thus projected as having understood the implications of what the writer has just said. As with the rhetorical questions, the reader is being drawn into the construction and interpretation of the text. In (10), 'it is true that' functions as a signal that the proposition is being conceded. That is, the proposition is one that the writer accepts, but we know that a 'but' will follow, and the writer will argue that the proposition will not have the consequences that might be expected. In this case, Trudgill accepts that Standard English typically dominates in formal situations, so it might be expected that there is a close connection; but he argues that there is no necessary connection. (See more on this under point 5).

5   The appraisal centres around the validity of the argument that swearing and informal lexis are part of Standard English. There are one or two instances of inscribed appraisal (e.g. 'a very difficult situation'), but mostly the writer relies on invoked appraisal (e.g. 'no necessary connection'). There is a clear move from signalling that the evaluations are negotiable (e.g. 'I would like to assert' allows room for other possible opinions) to the final claim, which is not represented as negotiable ('we are therefore justified in asserting' – note that it is now 'we' who make this assertion, not just 'I').

6   The following are some of the points where certain opinions are attributed to the reader–in–the text. In each case they are opinions with which the writer wishes to disagree: the reader-in-the-text is constructed as the 'opponent' in this discussion. In (3), there must be some people, including at least some of his readers, who might 'assert' that swear words are not Standard English – otherwise there would be no reason for the writer to mention this opinion. It is, of course, the main point that the writer wishes to argue against. Similarly, the reason why the writer explicitly negates propositions in (6) ('no different') and (9) ('no need') is that he assumes that some people (including potentially some of his readers) believe the positive. This is the most common 'particular reason' for using negatives that I mentioned in 4.4.1 above. For example, if someone looks out of the window and says, 'Oh it isn't raining', that would only be appropriate if the speaker and/or the listener know that it has been raining, or that it usually rains in that place. Finally, I mentioned that in (10) the writer starts the sentence with a concession. In a concession relation, the proposition that is conceded is normally one that somebody else has uttered or that the speaker thinks somebody else might believe. In this case, the writer projects onto the reader-in-the-text the opinion that Standard English typically dominates in formal situations, and therefore there is a close connection; and he then argues against that.

Thus the writer sets out to make his argument convincing by using interpersonal strategies to involve the reader in constructing the text and by showing that he is aware of what the reader might think and taking this into account in framing his own arguments.

● Refer to Exercise 4.3.

Exercise 4.1

Identify the Subject and Finite in the following sentences. Where there is an embedded clause, ignore the Subject and Finite within that clause: simply analyse the main clause.

1   Kate didn't like this at all.
2   In that case, the universe should contain a number of regions that are smooth and uniform.
3   Tears streamed down his face.
4   In silence they went through the rooms on the top floor.
5   So the four we have don't count.
6   That might have been a different matter.
7   The other few items in the printing history of this work are easily summarized.
8   In the footnotes, the titles of works which we have had to cite fairly frequently have been abbreviated to the author's surname.

9   It is a matter of common experience that one can describe the position of a point in space by three numbers, or coordinates.
10 It isn't the money I'm worried about.

Exercise 4.2

Identify Mood and Residue in the following clauses, and label the elements in each: Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement, Adjunct. For any Adjunct, decide whether it is circumstantial, textual, Mood or Comment. Do not analyse any non-finite clauses separately.

1   He picked up ideas about form from his teachers.
2   He had already been over the house.
3   Where have all the flowers gone?
4   Of course Tim could not really banish care.
5   To the inmates of the Grange that ceaseless murmur must inevitably evoke the tantalizingly close but unobtainable freedom of wide blue horizons.
6   In her waking hours she would never let us out of her sight.
7   The union involved certainly has to face criticism for its lack of activity on health and safety over many years.
8   Put simply, you will probably find it difficult to find a job as a student.
9   Meanwhile, Bruce Grobbelaar's days at Liverpool could be over this week.
10 Right now, however, you might have to juggle your finances around.

Exercise 4.3

Here are three extracts from a consultation in a doctor's surgery. I have put in slashes at 'natural breaks' to make it easier to follow. Analyse the mood, modality and interaction (e.g. look at who asks questions or gives information or instructions, when they do this, and how they do it). This text will be discussed in Chapter 10.

P   I can't bend forward and I can't like turn sideways/it's like the bottom of my spine it just feels like I'm sitting on a pin
D   so it's pain in the lower back
P   lower back just about there
D   ok how long did you say again
P   I mean all last night I couldn't turn on my side/I couldn't stand up/I couldn't go to the toilet
D   so it got worse overnight
P   yeh

D   so the first thing is rest/secondly I'll give you some painkillers/they don't speed up the healing/it's just to make life comfortable for you while it's healing/now it's

P   what is it/is it like a thing I've got with my spine or
D   it's a torn muscle in your back yeh/it should recover
P   you wouldn't think it was so painful would you
D   oh no it is/but it's all right as long as you don't move/as soon as you move it'll try and go into spasm to stop you using those muscles you've injured
P   how long will it take to um
D   I think you're going to be off work at least a week

D   there's your note/the tablets I'm going to give you a common side–effect is indigestion so take them with food just to protect yourself/it's one three times a day/they don't make you drowsy/you don't have to finish the course/simply when your back is fine just stop them
P   ok
D   it's not like an antibiotic

(Recorded by Sultan Al-Sharief)

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Representing the world
The experiential metafunction

5.1 Introduction

As well as using language to interact with people, we clearly use it to talk about the world, either the external world – things, events, qualities, etc. – or our internal world – thoughts, beliefs, feelings, etc. When we look at how language works from this perspective, we are focusing primarily on the propositional '**content**' of a message rather than the purpose for which the speaker has uttered it (although it is not in practice possible to make a complete distinction: there are many alternative ways in which speakers can choose to represent the world, and their actual choice is dependent to a large extent on their purpose).

In Chapter 4, we have been examining the very different functions served by, for example, statements and questions. It is clear that the following two sentences are not in any way interchangeable in use:

> Lifestyle changes could prevent many illnesses.
> Could lifestyle changes prevent many illnesses?

But it is equally clear that in both the statement and the question 'lifestyle changes' and 'many illnesses' have the same relation to each other and to the action of 'preventing': lifestyle changes 'do' the preventing 'to' many illnesses. Looking separately at the interpersonal meanings enables us to give them their full value in the overall meaning of the clause; but we do still need to account for the content meanings of 'what/who did what to what/whom'. It is the role of the experiential perspective in the grammar to allow us to do this. This perspective is 'blind' to the difference between statement and question. It is also blind to the modal verb 'could': in experiential terms we only take account of the action expressed in the main verb 'prevent'. It is worth emphasizing again, however, that both perspectives are needed:

the clause carries both kinds of meanings simultaneously, so at some point we need to bring the two analyses together.

From the experiential perspective, language comprises a set of resources for referring to entities in the world and the ways in which those entities act on or relate to each other. At the simplest level, language reflects our view of the world as consisting of 'goings-on' (verbs) involving things (nouns) that may have attributes (adjectives) and which go on against background details of place, time, manner, etc. (adverbials). Thus the following representation distinguishes not only a recognizable type of going-on ('unlocked') but also doers ('they') and 'done-to' ('the front door'), and a manner ('slowly').

They slowly unlocked the front door.

This will seem so obvious as hardly to need saying: but it is precisely because it is so natural-seeming that we can easily overlook what is going on. For one thing, it would clearly be possible to represent the 'same' going-on in different ways ('She took out the key. The door swung open in front of them'), and we will want to be able to say something useful about exactly what the differences are. More importantly, this first step leads us towards a systematic and less immediately obvious categorization of the kinds of goings-on, things, etc. that we can express through language.

If we use functional labels (i.e. labels that indicate the role played by each element of the representation), we can express what we have said about the 'content' of clauses in terms of **processes** involving **participants** in certain **circumstances**. The example above can then be analysed in a preliminary way as in Figure 5.1.

They	slowly	unlocked	the front door
participant	**circumstance**	**process**	**participant**

Figure 5.1   Process, participants and circumstance

Processes are the core of the clause from the experiential perspective: the clause is primarily 'about' the action, event or state that the participants are involved in. The process is typically expressed – or realized – by the verbal group in the clause. In some cases, the process can be seen as including another constituent apart from the verbal group proper. This is clearest with phrasal verbs, where the particle is usually best analysed as expressing part of the process (and see also the discussion of Scope in 5.2.6 below):

He *found out* that she had high blood pressure.
He *didn't look at* her.

Note that from the experiential perspective, we are only interested in the process as far as the verbal group is concerned: in over-simple terms, this means that we

generally focus on the main verb, and we ignore interpersonal elements such as the Finite 'didn't' in the second example.

Every major clause normally includes at least one participant, which is normally realized by a nominal group. In interpersonal terms, this is usually Subject. There can be up to two other participants (Complements in interpersonal terms).

> *She* shut *the door* firmly.
> His wife passed *him the phone.*

In some cases, a participant may not be explicitly mentioned but is understood as part of the experiential meaning: for example, 'you' is understood as the 'doer' participant in imperative clauses. With a small group of processes of a specific type – relating to weather – there may be no participant (even though there is a Subject ('it') this has no experiential meaning). The following example consists only of two processes in transitivity terms:

> It's raining, it's pouring.

Circumstances are typically realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases: they are circumstantial Adjuncts in interpersonal terms. Note that conjunctive and modal Adjuncts (see 4.3.7) do not contribute to the experiential meaning of the clause and are left out of the transitivity analysis (modal Adjuncts that appear next to or within the verbal group can simply be included with the process). Circumstances are often optional, reflecting their 'background' function in the clause – compare what was said about Adjuncts not easily becoming Subject in 4.3.6.

> *In 1923* two volumes were published.

However, with certain processes, it may be more or less obligatory to include a Circumstance in the clause:

> The second great discovery took place *at about the same time.*
> She put the lamp *down on the floor.*

The process/participant/circumstance model is a start, which has the required advantage of matching structural and functional features. However, it is clearly still too general: in particular, we have no way of indicating the role of different participants ('doer' vs. 'done to', etc.). We need to establish a more delicate set of categories, bearing in mind that the categories must be based on grammatical as well as semantic differences. It turns out that there are two basic ways in which we can do this, each corresponding to a different way of representing the world, and each resulting in a different perspective on the structural possibilities. The first of these, which is the focus of this chapter, involves an analysis in terms of transitivity: this starts from a classification of the different kinds of processes (see 5.2). The other

involves analysing the clause in terms of ergativity: this centres on the kind of relationship that is set up between the process and the participants (see 5.5).

5.2 Transitivity: processes and participants

The term **transitivity** will probably be familiar as a way of distinguishing between verbs according to whether they have an Object or not. Here, however, it is being used in a much broader sense. In particular, it refers to a system for describing the whole clause, rather than just the verb and its Object. It does, though, share with the traditional use a focus on the verbal group, since it is the type of process that determines how the participants are labelled: the 'doer' of a physical process such as kicking is given a different label from the 'doer' of a mental process such as wishing (note that even at this informal level 'doer' seems less appropriate as a label in the case of the mental process).

In deciding what types of process to recognize, we resort to a combination of common sense and grammar: common sense to distinguish the different kinds of 'goings-on' that we can identify, and grammar to confirm that these intuitive differences are reflected in the language and thus to justify the decision to set up a separate category (you may recall the quote from Michael Halliday at the start of Chapter 3 stressing that all categories must be 'there' in the grammar). We need to set up categories that are detailed enough to make us feel that we have captured something important about the meaning, but broad enough to be manageable as the basis for general claims about the grammar of English. In the following discussion, the grammatical justification for the categories will often be touched on only briefly, in order to keep things reasonably simple; but it should be borne in mind that the grammatical underpinning is there.

You may well find that there is a rather bewildering amount of new terminology in this outline of transitivity. However, I hope that you will also see that the basic concept is simple: a relatively small number of types of process can be identified, and they each have their own types of participants. We need labels for each (and the labels are, admittedly, not always as transparent as they might be); but we are essentially going through the same kind of steps for each process type. As I have noted above, common sense can take us quite a long way in identifying the categories (though unfortunately it is not enough in more complex cases, as we will see). To get some sense of this, pick out all the verbs (ignoring any auxiliaries) in the following slightly adapted extract from Doris Lessing's novel *The Good Terrorist*, and see how many different categories the processes seem to fall into.

Joan followed Alice to the door, with the look of someone who feels that everything has not been said.
She waited to see Alice go in at the door of No. 43. Then she went back into her kitchen, where she examined the smears of blood on the telephone directories and on the table. She wiped the table. Then she decided not to call the police, and went quietly to her bed.
Alice found Philip and Faye exactly as she had left them. But Faye's eyes were open, and she stared, expressionless, at the ceiling.
'I've rung Roberta,' said Alice.

The kind of informally named categories that my students usually come up with in exercises like this are: physical action ('followed', 'waited', 'go', 'went', 'wiped', 'call', 'went', 'found', 'left', 'rung'); feeling ('feels'); speech ('said', 'said'); perception ('see'); thought ('decided'); being ('were'). There is often some argument over 'examined' and 'stared': do these refer to actions or some kind of perception, or both? But there is broad agreement that most of the processes do fall into fairly easily identifiable groups. These groupings in fact represent the ways in which we categorize the goings-on around us. As with any linguistic categories, some cases will fall more neatly into a category, whereas others will be more marginal; and it is possible to identify more delicate sub-divisions within each category.

If your categories were fairly similar to the ones listed above, you should not have much difficulty in understanding the rationale for the outline of transitivity in the following sections. However, I should warn you that some of the categories are fairly complex once you get on to the details. In addition, problems typically arise when you analyse transitivity in real texts: it is not always easy to decide which type of process you are dealing with, or what role the participants are playing. So I will begin by describing the basic features of each category in terms that I will keep as simple as possible, but then I will go back over the categories, exploring some of the more complicated aspects in 5.3.

5.2.1 Material processes

The most salient types of process, as in the extract above, are those involving physical actions: running, throwing, scratching, cooking, sitting down, and so on. These are called **material processes**. A traditional definition of a verb is a 'doing word', and this describes such processes reasonably well (but not, as we shall see, other types). The 'doer' of this type of action is called the **Actor**: any material process has an Actor, even though the Actor may not actually be mentioned in the clause. Material processes can be divided into those that represent the action as involving only the Actor and those that also affect or are 'being done to' another participant. This second participant is called the **Goal**, since the action is, in a sense, directed at this participant. These labels for the participants are perhaps easiest to understand when the Actor is human and the Goal, if there is one, is inanimate, as in Figure 5.2. (Note: some of the examples of processes include Circumstances – we will look at these separately in 5.2.7 below.)

He The young girl Edward Her mother	had been shaving. bounded was sawing smashed	wood. the glass.	out of the gate.
Actor	**Process: material**	**Goal**	**Circumstance**

Figure 5.2   Material processes 1

However, the Actor may also be an inanimate or abstract entity, and the Goal may, of course, be human. Some examples are given in Figure 5.3.

The car Coarse grass The unhappiness The fire Scores of tiny brambles The pounding rhythm	slithered was growing disappeared. had destroyed scratched shook	 everything. him. walls and floor.	off the road. here and there.
Actor	**Process: material**	**Goal**	**Circumstance**

Figure 5.3   Material processes 2

Material processes form the largest and most diverse category in transitivity; and there are many different suggestions for ways in which they can be sub-categorized at more delicate levels. One important grouping separates processes that bring Goals into existence (**creative**) from those that are 'done to' existing Goals (**transformative**).

> I've just made *the Christmas puddings*. (creative)
> My Mum never eats *Christmas pudding*. (transformative)

This distinction can also apply to processes that only have an Actor: in this case, a creative process relates to the coming into existence of the Actor (e.g. 'war broke out'), and a transformative process relates to some change of state of the Actor (e.g. 'she hesitated'). Another possible grouping is according to whether the process is **intentional** or **involuntary**. With involuntary processes, the Actor (in italics) often seems like a Goal in some respects (and in fact there usually is no Goal):

> *She* tripped over the step.
> *The car* accelerated.

If we want to find out about the events encoded in clauses like these, we are not likely to ask 'What did she do?' as with the other material processes so far; instead it seems more appropriate to ask 'What happened to her?' The process here appears to affect the Actor – a description that recalls the way we defined the role of the Goal above. In a sense, therefore, these are less prototypical examples of material processes (we will come back to this issue when we look at the clause from a different perspective in 5.5). As mentioned above, the groupings discussed here are only some of the possibilities, and we are still far from having a definitive map of the sub-categories of material processes, though, see Table 5-5 in Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 234–6 for an elaborated overview of the choices available. For many purposes, it is sufficient just to use the label 'material'.

It was noted above in passing that all material processes have an Actor, but that the Actor may not appear explicitly in the clause. One of the main ways in which this can happen is by the choice of a passive clause:

The oil is added drop by drop.
Your son didn't kill himself. *He was murdered.*

In this case, the participant at which the process is directed is still coded as Goal, since its semantic relationship to the process has not changed; see Figure 5.4.

The oil He	is added was murdered.	drop by drop.
Goal	**Process: material**	**Circumstance**

Figure 5.4   Passive material processes

Combining this analysis with the Mood analysis allows us to characterize passive material process clauses as those where the Goal is Subject. Note that we can normally probe the Actor in such cases by asking 'Who by?' Passive clauses are, of course, marked in relation to active clauses (that is, there is usually a particular reason for choosing a passive clause, whereas an active clause is the natural choice when there are no particular reasons for not choosing it); and this is reflected in the fact that the most natural probe question is the one associated with more peripheral types of material processes: 'What happened to him?' – 'He was murdered.' It is worth mentioning that the Goal may also be understood but not expressed in some cases: we can, for example, capture the difference between 'The fire's smoking' and 'He's smoking' by saying that, unlike the first clause, the second has an understood Goal (as the possible question 'What's he smoking – a cigarette or a pipe?' shows).

5.2.2 Mental processes

I pointed out above that the simple functional description of a verb as a 'doing word' did not by any means fit all processes, which suggests that we need to establish other categories apart from material processes. Intuitively, **mental processes** form a viable semantic category: there are clear differences between something that goes on in the external world and something that goes on in the internal world of the mind; and there are many verbs that refer to these mental processes, of thinking, imagining, liking, wanting, seeing, etc. In addition, the terms Actor and, to a lesser extent, Goal seem inappropriate as labels for, say, the participants in this clause:

She could hear *his voice.*

The person in whose mind the mental process occurs is not really 'acting' – if anything, she is 'undergoing' the process of hearing; and the process is not really 'directed at' the phenomenon – intuitively it seems equally satisfactory to say that it is the voice that triggers the mental process of hearing. Thus a more appropriate set of labels are those shown in Figure 5.5.

She	could hear	his voice.
Senser	**Process: mental**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.5   Senser and Phenomenon

The semantic differences from material processes are clear; but what is the grammatical justification for placing these in a separate category?

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 5.3.3) outline five properties that distinguish mental from material processes, which in fact help us to understand more fully how this area of language works. The first is that mental processes always involve at least one human participant: the participant in whose mind the process occurs. Even if an inanimate participant is represented as undergoing a mental process, a degree of humanness is bestowed on that participant by its involvement in the process (and the mental process also loses some of its 'mentalness') – for example:

We used to have a car *that didn't like cold weather.*

The second, complementary, criterion is that the kind of entity that can fill the role of the other participant in a mental process – the **Phenomenon** – is less restricted than the entities that can act as participants in a material process. It can, of course, be a person, a concrete object, an abstraction, and so on, just as with material processes. We can say, for example:

I didn't understand *the text.*
She wanted above all *an end to the suspense.*

However, in addition, the Phenomenon may be a 'fact': that is, a clause treated as if it were almost a thing:

I realized *that I would never see her again.*
Do you regret *that she's left*?

A more precise definition of 'fact' will be given in 7.5.2; here it is sufficient to note that an embedded clause like those in the examples cannot be a participant in a material process. Facts can be sensed – perceived, or felt – but they cannot do anything or have anything done to them.

A closely related criterion, which is very important in distinguishing mental processes from material ones, is that mental processes can **project**. This will be discussed in 5.3.2 below.

The fourth reason for differentiating between material and mental processes is **tense**. For material processes, the most natural present tense is the continuous form: 'He's mending the handle.' It is of course possible to use them in the simple form, but this needs some extra contextualization: 'He mends the handle every week [but it keeps

sticking].' For mental processes, on the other hand, the most natural present tense is the simple form: 'They like salmon'; and it is often difficult to construct a context in which the continuous form sounds natural (this is one reason why the well-known advertising slogan 'I'm lovin' it' is much more memorable than the more natural 'I love it'). In teaching English as a Foreign Language, this feature of mental-process verbs is often presented as an odd exception; but in fact it is an inherent part of their grammar.

The fifth reason for having a separate category for mental processes is that they need a different type of question from that used to probe core examples of material processes. For a clause like 'She wanted above all an end to the suspense', we cannot really ask 'What did she do?' The most appropriate question is 'What was her reaction?' There are some cases, however, where this question is also not appropriate, which leads us to identify four sub-categories of mental processes: **perceptive** (seeing, hearing, etc.); **emotive**, or reactive (processes of feeling); **cognitive** (processes of deciding, knowing, understanding, etc.); and **desiderative** (a technical term for 'wanting'; this category was not included in Halliday, 1994, by the way). Figures 5.6 to 5.9 give examples of each of these sub-categories. Note that 'discover' in Figure 5.7 means 'find out'; if it was used to mean 'find' (e.g. 'Columbus discovered America') it would be a material process.

He	could not see	anything.
He	heard	a faint sound.
Cordelia	felt	her face burning.
Senser	**Process: mental, perceptive**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.6 Mental processes: perceptive

She	hated	the thought of leaving him alone.
I	like	most operas.
I	appreciated	the fact that you kept quiet.
Senser	**Process: mental, emotive**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.7 Mental processes: emotive

You	can imagine	his reaction.
No one	would choose	such a colour.
She	never discovered	the exact address.
Senser	**Process: mental, cognitive**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.8 Mental processes: cognitive

I	don't want	any trouble.
You	may crave	a cigarette
Senser	**Process: mental, desiderative**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.9   Mental processes: desiderative

The sub-categories have different patterns of use in certain ways. One of the most striking is that some mental processes are '**reversible**': that is, in talking about a mental process it is equally possible to have the Subject role filled either by the human participant in whose mind the process occurs or by the phenomenon that triggers the process. With material processes, the second participant, the Goal, can be Subject, but only in a passive clause (see Figure 5.4 above). With mental processes, this constraint does not always apply. This happens most easily with emotive mental processes: Figure 5.10 shows some examples of Phenomenon as Subject.

This news	seemed to puzzle	her.
His lack of self-esteem	never worried	him.
The realization	horrified	her.
Phenomenon	**Process: mental, emotive**	**Senser**

Figure 5.10   Phenomenon as Subject

This reversibility follows from the semantics. As the formulation I have just given suggests, the process can be seen either as sensed by the human participant or as triggered by the phenomenon: for example, when I receive a Christmas present, I can talk about it in terms of me liking the present or the present pleasing me. Of course, it is also possible in principle to use a passive clause, especially to bring the human Senser into Subject position. Figure 5.11 gives rewordings of the examples in Figure 5.10 to show this – note that this is one case where the passive typically sounds as unmarked and natural as the active.

She	seemed to be puzzled	by this news.
He	was never worried	by his lack of self-esteem.
She	was horrified	by the realization.
Senser	**Process: mental, emotive**	**Phenomenon**

Figure 5.11   Passive mental process clauses

The other sub-categories of mental processes tend to be less easily reversible than emotive processes – they most naturally occur in active clauses with Senser as Subject. It is possible to reverse them in some cases, though often only by using wordings that

are to some extent metaphorical (usually encoding the mental process as if it were a material process; see Figure 5.12).

An awful thought A flash of colour	has just struck caught	me. her eye.
Phenomenon	**Process: mental**	**Senser**

Figure 5.12   Cognitive and perceptive processes with Phenomenon as Subject

Figure 5.13 shows the analysis for a fairly common type of metaphorical wording with anticipatory 'it' (see 4.3.2).

It It	strikes occurred	me to someone	that she's making a fool of you. that they needed a logo.
Phe-	**Process: mental**	**Senser**	**-nomenon**

Figure 5.13   Embedded fact Phenomenon as Subject

5.2.3 Relational processes

None of what we have said so far about different categories of processes applies easily to examples like the following:

> *This bread* is *stale*.

Here a relationship is set up between two concepts – in this case an object ('bread') and a quality ('stale') – and the function of the process ('is') is simply to signal the existence of the relationship. Strictly speaking, neither of the basic experiential terms, 'process' and 'participant', is completely appropriate for this category. There is no process in the normal sense of 'something happening'; and, although there are always two concepts – one on each side of the relationship – there is only one participant in the real world: the attribute 'stale' is hardly a prototypical participant at all, while even in an example like the following, the two concepts are presented as different ways of referring to the same entity:

> *His immediate objective* was *the church*.

However, no grammatical term will cover equally well all the phenomena to which we need to apply it, so we will continue to talk about process and participants.

The discussion of the examples given above has informally indicated two different types of **relational process**: in the first 'this bread' has been ascribed the attribute 'stale', while in the other a relationship of identity has been set up between 'his

immediate objective' and 'the church'. It is useful to show the difference through the labels we give each of these, not least because, as we shall see, there is at least one crucial grammatical difference between them. The first type is called an **attributive** relational process; and the two participants are the **Carrier** (the entity that 'carries' the attribute) and the **Attribute**. Figure 5.14 shows the analysis of the example above, and adds some other examples.

This bread	is	stale.
He	's not	a very good painter.
She	was	an art student.
He	felt	uneasy.
The weather	has turned	quite nasty.
Carrier	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Attribute**

Figure 5.14 Attributive relational process

The second type is called an **identifying** relational process. The function of this kind of process is to identify one entity in terms of another: in the example above, 'his immediate objective' is identified as 'the church'. The process in identifying processes is equivalent in a way to an equals sign '=' and it is therefore not surprising that these processes are reversible (if x = y, then y = x). Thus the example could be reworded as follows:

The church was his immediate objective.

(The two versions are not, of course, interchangeable in any particular context – I will discuss this in 5.3.3 below.) It is important to note that attributive relational processes are not reversible in this way. In certain contexts, the Attribute may come first, but this typically sounds slightly unusual or mannered. In both the following examples, 'even more interesting' is Attribute irrespective of whether it appears following 'is' or preceding it; 'the next argument' and 'the fact that ...' are Carrier.

The next argument is *even more interesting*.
Even more interesting is the fact that he refused to let his wife talk to reporters.

I have said that in identifying clauses both expressions refer to the same real-world entity. But how do we actually identify something for our hearer? How is it that we can say 'His immediate objective [= the church] was the church [= his immediate objective]' and still make sense? Essentially, identification is a matter of relating a specific realization and a more generalizable category. It may be easier to grasp this concept if we look at another example:

Marlowe was the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.

The writer has been summarizing Marlowe's work, and here he moves to 'place' the dramatist in a wider perspective. He does this by identifying Marlowe as the specific holder of a more general role (the role of 'greatest dramatic writer' could in principle be assigned to other individual dramatists). We could paraphrase the sentence (rather clumsily) as:

Marlowe filled the role of/represented the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.

We can contrast this with another sentence where the identification proceeds in the opposite direction:

The strongest shape is the triangle.

Here the writer, a young schoolgirl, has been describing an experiment in which she tested several shapes to find out which stood up to pressure best. She has therefore already established that she is interested in the general category of the strongest shape. In this concluding sentence, she identifies this in terms of the specific entity that realizes or embodies it. This sentence could therefore be paraphrased as:

The role of the strongest shape is filled by the triangle./The strongest shape is represented by the triangle.

The more general category in both examples is called the **Value**, while the specific embodiment is the **Token**. The direction of identification – from general to specific or from specific to general – depends on which entity is 'on the table': if the general category has already been established, then it will be identified in terms of its specific embodiment, and vice versa. The analysis of the examples is shown in Figure 5.15.

Marlowe	was	the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.
Token	**Process: rel, ident**	**Value**

The strongest shape	is	the triangle.
Value	**Process: rel, ident**	**Token**

Figure 5.15   Value and Token in identifying relational clauses

As the paraphrases above indicate, one simple way of deciding which is Value and which Token in any particular clause is to use the verb 'represent': if the passive form provides a better paraphrase, it is the Value that is the Subject ('a general value *is represented by* its specific token'); if the active form sounds better, it is the Token that is the Subject ('a specific token *represents* a general value').

A Value–Token analysis will often guide us towards the broader concerns and values of the writer. Essentially, the Value reveals what values or types the writer (and ultimately the culture that s/he is part of) uses to categorize the Tokens that s/he deals with. In some cases, these will be constrained by the demands of the particular task s/he has in hand – e.g. deciding on the strongest shape amongst several possible candidates – and tell us little of the writer's own view of what is important in the world. But in other cases, they suggest wider ideological beliefs that may be more open to question – e.g. that dramatic writers can and should be ranked in competition with each other, that 'league tables' have a valid place in literary appreciation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 284) mention particularly 'scientific, commercial, political and bureaucratic discourse' as areas where the Token–Value structure plays a central role in the register, and thus an investigation of ideological categories can be rewardingly based on an analysis of the experiential Values used in the identifying clauses in these fields (see also 4.5 on appraisal).

Figure 5.16 gives a number of other examples, showing both orderings of Value and Token. The examples show other verbs apart from 'be'; these all have an underlying 'equative' meaning, although you may sometimes find it hard to decide definitely whether a verb is equative in meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 238, give a useful list of these verbs – but remember that some of the verbs in the list, such as 'indicate' and 'realize', are often found in other, non-equative, uses). Figure 5.16 also illustrates the very common phenomenon of a 'to'-infinitive or 'that' embedded clause (see Chapter 7) as Token, usually in clauses with Value^Token ordering. You can confirm that these are all identifying clauses by checking that they can be reversed (you will need to change the form of the verb if it is not 'be').

So far, I have been implying that it is relatively easy to distinguish the two basic types of relational process, identifying and attributive; and, in many cases, this is in fact so. The key test is reversibility – identifying clauses are reversible, whereas attributive clauses are not; but each type also has other typical features that help to distinguish them. Here is a list of the main ones:

- If the second participant is an adjective ('stale', 'uneasy', etc.), it must be an Attribute and the process must be attributive rather than identifying.
- If the second participant is a nominal group, you can often decide according to definiteness: an Attribute is typically indefinite (i.e. the noun is a common noun, with no article or an indefinite article such as 'a' or 'some'), whereas in an identifying clause both nominal groups are typically definite (i.e. there is a definite article such as 'the' or 'this'; or a possessive determiner such as 'my' or 'John's'; or the noun is a proper noun, such as a name).
- If one or both participants is an embedded clause (as in some of theValue^Token examples in Figure 5.16), the process must be identifying rather than attributive.

His immediate objective	was	the church.
The first goal of colonialism	was	wealth.
The optional courses	include	Stylistics and Phonetics.
The point	is not	to present knowledge to the students to be absorbed.
The explanation	is	that it is forbidden by the second law of thermodynamics.
The aim of this book	is	to try to understand the different ways in which people talk about reading and writing.
Value	**Process: rel, ident**	**Token**

Planned scarcity	was (and is)	the key to the profitability of diamonds.
Meaning-focused activity	constitutes	a condition for language acquisition.
These writings	represent	the official views of Victorian society.
Einstein's predictions	matched	what was observed.
Allometry	is defined as	'the study of proportion changes correlated with variation in size'.
What	was	the origin of these density fluctuations?
Token	**Process: rel, ident**	**Value**

Figure 5.16 Further examples of Value and Token

- With attributive clauses it is usually awkward or impossible to replace the verb with 'represent/be represented by': for example, 'She represented an art student' sounds odd. But with identifying clauses, as I mentioned above, this can usually be done: 'The church represented his immediate objective'.
- In some cases, the two types of process can be probed by different questions: 'What is x (the Carrier) like?' probes attributive processes, whereas 'What/Which/Who is x (the Identified)?' probes identifying processes.

However, there are cases where it may be more difficult to distinguish the two types: in isolation one of the tests mentioned above may not be enough to decide on a definite analysis, so it is always best to try them all (bearing in mind that there will be a few indeterminate cases that could equally well be analysed as either type).

The picture of relational clauses that has unfolded is fairly complex; but I am afraid there is still more to come. However, having established the main facts about relational clauses here, I will leave the added complications until 5.3.3.

5.2.4 Verbal processes

The fourth major group of processes is **verbal processes** – verbs of 'saying'. These, you will be glad to hear, have a somewhat simpler grammar than the other categories

we have met so far. In one way they are intermediate between mental and material processes: saying something is a physical action that reflects mental operations. At one extreme, a verbal process can be represented as fitting easily into a series of material processes:

He kicked, bit, *screamed abuse*, and finally collapsed in a furious heap.

At the other, a message can be represented as being formulated entirely in the mind (and in this case the process is actually mental):

Why can't people be both flexible and efficient, *thought Evelyn*.

Various aspects of the physical action or the mental purpose may be encoded in the verb: for example, 'scream' indicates something about the speaker's volume, while 'promise' indicates something about the speaker's intention. The central verbal processes, however, are fairly easily recognized, in that they all relate to the transfer of messages through language.

There is one participant that is involved in any verbal process: this is the **Sayer**. Typically, of course, the Sayer is human:

We were surprised when *our teacher* explained the real meaning of the painting!

However, messages can be represented as conveyed by other types of Sayer as well:

One report says a man was seen running from the house soon after the shooting.

The Sayer need not be explicitly mentioned in the clause:

I wasn't told about any side-effects.

However, we can always in principle ask for the identity of the Sayer ('Who told you?'), indicating that this role is inherently present in the meaning.

Another participant that may be involved, and that is also typically human, is the **Receiver**: this is the participant to whom the saying is addressed. With some verbs, the Receiver is nearly always mentioned:

'You're very sure of yourself,' she *admonished him*, gently.

With some others, the Receiver is not normally mentioned:

'And I'm leaving tomorrow,' he *added*.

The Receiver is an 'oblique' participant (see 5.2.6), and often appears in a prepositional phrase:

I explained *to her* what it meant.
A soldier shouted *at them* to stop.

In certain cases, the verbal process may be directed at, rather than addressed to, another participant. This participant is called the **Target**. The Target can be distinguished from the Receiver in two main ways. First, it need not be human:

The report sharply criticizes *Lilly's quality-control procedures*.

Related to this is the fact that the person to whom the message is addressed (the Receiver) may be different from the entity at which it is directed (the Target). In this example, 'me' is the Target and 'the other people in the office' is the Receiver:

She keeps rubbishing me to the other people in the office.

The Target appears only with a fairly small sub-set of verbal processes to do with saying good or bad things about someone or something ('praise', 'accuse', 'blame', etc.).

With the Target, we are moving towards the other kind of participant that may appear in a verbal process apart from the people talking: the message itself. The message can be summarized in the form of a nominal group functioning as a participant in the process. In this case it is called the **Verbiage** (the label is not intended to be derogatory). The Verbiage may consist of a label for the language itself:

He repeated *the warning*.
The owner made *a public apology*.

Alternatively, it may summarize the content of what was said:

Many people claimed *cures* as a result of her intercession.
Someone asked *his name*.

Closely related to the Verbiage is a category of Circumstance called **Matter** (see 5.2.7 below). This is used to label a summary of the message when it is given in a prepositional phrase:

He thanked her *for the tea*.
Local residents have long complained *about oil storage*.

Figure 5.17 gives illustrative analyses of some of the examples of verbal processes used above.

If you are familiar with what is traditionally called reported speech, you will know that with verbal processes like 'said' the message is often expressed in a separate reported clause. In Functional Grammar, this is called **projection** (see 8.5). If a projected clause is used, this is not analysed as a participant in the verbal process, so

He	repeated	the warning.
Sayer	**Process: verbal**	**Verbiage**

I	explained	to her	what it meant.
Sayer	**Process: verbal**	**Receiver**	**Verbiage**

I	wasn't told	about any side-effects.
Receiver	**Process: verbal**	**Circumstance**

The report	sharply	criticizes	Lilly's quality-control procedures.
Sayer	**Circumstance**	**Process: verbal**	**Target**

Figure 5.17   Verbal processes

it is not labelled Verbiage. The process and participants in the projected clause are analysed separately. Some examples are given in Figure 5.18 (the analyses for the projected clauses are not given). The projected clause may be a quote or a report.

She	answered:		'Don't ask, just go.'
He	reiterated		that he had made no private deals.
I	swore		to uphold the Constitution of the United States.
She	told	one interviewer	that she didn't mind being recognized.
Sayer	**Process: verbal**	**Receiver**	
Projecting			**Projected**

Figure 5.18   Verbal processes with separate projected clauses

You may wonder why projected clauses like those in Figure 5.18 are not labelled Verbiage. Some grammarians do indeed treat such clauses as the 'Object' of the verb; and many projecting clauses are clearly incomplete without the projected clause: for example 'He reiterated ...'. In some ways, therefore, the projected clause seems to be part of the projecting clause. However, for reasons that will be explained in 7.5, the projected clause is a different kind of clause to the projecting clause. The relationship

between them is not that of one element being part of a bigger component (as an embedded clause is part of the nominal group in which it is embedded, as we saw in 2.2). Instead it is more like the relationship between a picture (the projected clause) and its frame (the projecting clause): together they make up a single complex unit, but neither is actually part of the other.

5.2.5 Other types of processes

In addition to material, mental, relational and verbal processes, there are two less central types that can be distinguished on the basis of the usual combination of semantic and grammatical criteria. Each of these shares some of the characteristics of the major types, and it is in fact possible to see them as sub-categories rather than as groups on a par with the four main types.

One group of processes is, like verbal processes, intermediate between mental and material processes. These are **behavioural processes**. Unlike verbal processes, however, they have few obvious grammatical features that set them apart, and are largely identified on semantic grounds. They relate to specifically human physiological processes; and one of the main reasons for setting up this category is that they allow us to distinguish between purely mental processes and the outward physical signs of those processes. For example, many mental perceptive processes have paired processes that express a conscious physical act involved in perception: 'see' (mental) and 'watch', 'look', etc. (behavioural); 'hear' (mental) and 'listen' (behavioural); and so on. In the Doris Lessing extract in 5.2 above, 'stare' and 'examine' are both behavioural processes. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 302) also include, for example, verbs referring to actions that reflect mental states: 'laugh', 'cry', 'sob', 'frown', etc.

Typically, behavioural processes have only one participant: the **Behaver**, who (unlike Actor) can only be human:

He stared in amazement as she leapt through the window.
We all laughed.

In some clauses there may be another apparent participant (typically functioning as Complement): this is the **Behaviour**, which is not a real participant but merely adds specification to the process (see 5.2.6 for a fuller discussion of Scope and related categories). This is especially clear in examples like the following:

She gave *a faint sigh*.
The boy laughed *a high, embarrassed laugh*.

Here, the 'faint sigh' and the 'embarrassed laugh' do not encode separate participants: in semantic terms, these nominal groups form part of the way in which the process is expressed, rather than a separate participant at which the process is directed (we cannot ask, for example, 'What did she do to the sigh?'). The analyses of the examples are given in Figure 5.19.

He	stared		in amazement.
We all	laughed.		
She	gave	a faint sigh.	
The boy	laughed	an embarrassed laugh.	
Behaver	**Process: behavioural**	**Behaviour**	**Circumstance**

Figure 5.19 Behavioural processes

Behavioural processes form a rather indistinct category in the grammar, and you may well find that you hesitate particularly over the more 'action-oriented' verbs that Halliday and Matthiessen include, such as 'dance'. But I find that it is useful especially to have a category for processes like 'listen' or 'stare', which have both mental and material aspects. More generally, behavioural processes serve as a reminder that transitivity categories are inherently fuzzy and overlapping (even though I have so far been describing them as if they were easily differentiated). I will talk more about this fuzziness in 5.3.1 below.

The final process type is one that can almost be defined in negative terms: essentially it expresses the mere existence of an entity without predicating anything else of it. These are **existential processes**, and they are normally recognizable because the Subject is 'there':

There was *a ramp* leading down.
Maybe there's *some other darker pattern*.

There is only one participant in such clauses: the **Existent** (in italics in the examples). The word 'there' is needed as Subject (see 4.3.2), but it has no experiential meaning: in a sense, its function is to avoid the need for, or the possibility of, a second participant in the clause.

What is typically happening with existential processes is that the speaker is renouncing the opportunity to represent the participant (the Existent) as involved in any 'goings-on'; and the distinctive structural pattern provides an explicit signal of this renunciation. Other details concerning the Existent can be given, but only in circumstantial elements, which, as noted earlier, are less central to the meaning of the clause. Existential processes are clearly related to relational processes, but they also have links with material processes of the 'happen' type. It is useful to compare an existential process with a possible rewording using the verb 'exist':

Maybe some other darker pattern exists.

Although this is very close in meaning, the verb 'exist' itself is best analysed as a material process: the rewording reflects at least partly a choice to represent the entity ('pattern') as involved in a 'going-on' (which happens to be that of existing). The analyses of the two clauses are given in Figure 5.20 for comparison ('Maybe' is, of course, left unlabelled since it has no experiential meaning).

Maybe	there	's	some other darker pattern.
		Process: existential	**Existent**

Maybe	some other darker pattern	exists.
	Actor	**Process: material**

Figure 5.20   Existential and material process compared

This link (or, more accurately, this contrast) with material processes can also be seen in the relatively infrequent cases when more 'dynamic' verbs than 'be' are used in existential clauses.

   Then there arose one of those odd situations that no one ever predicts.

Here the writer could have written 'one of those odd situations arose'; but this would to some extent weaken the 'presentational' meaning of the original. The writer is explicitly signalling that he is going on to give more detail about the 'odd situation': the function of the existential clause is simply to announce the existence of the situation, as a first step in talking about it. We can thus see its function in terms of the writer staging the flow of information in the text.

5.2.6 Other participant roles

In discussing the role of Receiver in verbal processes earlier, I mentioned that it was an '**oblique**' participant that frequently appears in a prepositional phrase. The central participants in a process are those that relate directly to the verb (Subject and Complement, in terms of the Mood/Residue analysis), while circumstances, which give background information, are often realized by nominal groups that are only indirectly linked into the clause by means of a preposition. Oblique participants tend to vary between these two possibilities, which suggests that they have an intermediate status in terms of their closeness to the central experiential meanings of the clause.

   There is one general group of oblique participants of which the Receiver forms a particular sub-category: the **Beneficiary**. The Beneficiary is equivalent to the 'indirect object' in traditional terms. It can appear with all process types except existential processes, though not with all verbs within each type; but it is especially associated with material and verbal processes. It is possible to give different labels according to the process type (as we have already done with the Receiver for verbal processes), but in many cases it will be sufficient just to label it as Beneficiary.

   With verbal processes, the question of whether the Beneficiary (Receiver) appears with or without a preposition depends primarily on the particular verb used to express the process – compare 'said *to me*' and 'told *me*', or 'promised *me*' and 'swore *to me*'.

With material processes that include Beneficiary as one of the possible participants, it can usually appear with or without a preposition, depending on whether it comes after or before the Goal:

> I'm just giving *the kids* money this year. [I'm just giving money *to the kids* this year.]
> I bought *them* computer games last year. [I bought computer games *for them* last year.]

There will be factors that influence whether the Beneficiary in such cases is mentioned as a direct participant or in a prepositional phrase; but they will vary from context to context and are beyond the scope of the present outline. It is worth noting that the different prepositions that are used in the rewordings of the two examples here allow us, if it is useful, to distinguish between two slightly different types of Beneficiary in material processes: **Recipient** (with 'to') and **Client** (with 'for').

In a few cases, we also find a Beneficiary role in relational (attributive) processes:

> That has just cost *me* thirty quid.

As this example shows, the label 'Beneficiary' should not be taken as necessarily indicating that the participant actually benefits in the usual sense of the word (for 'cost' as an attributive process, see 5.3.3).

The final participant that we need to take account of for the moment has been mentioned in passing in the discussion of behavioural processes: this is the **Scope**, which appears with material processes. Scope is very similar to Behaviour in behavioural clauses; and from one perspective both can in fact be included in the wider category of Range (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 346). The label covers a variety of disparate-seeming cases, and is sometimes difficult to identify with certainty. What the cases all have in common is that they are, in informal terms, Objects that do not seem very Object-like, in that they are not affected by the process: the process is not 'done to' them, but involves them in some other way. Strictly speaking, the Scope is not a participant in the process, despite being the Object – i.e. one of the direct constituents of the clause in structural terms. Two sub-categories of Scope can be identified. The first, Scope: entity, is more like a circumstantial element in that it specifies an aspect of the process, like an adverbial. There are certain kinds of examples that show this very clearly. In the first example below, the probing question for '£25' is more likely to be 'How much did you pay?' (a 'circumstance' probe) rather than 'What did you pay?' (a 'participant' probe). In the second example, the Channel is not affected by her swimming; rather, this tells us where the process of swimming took place.

> We paid *£25*.
> She first swam *the Channel* in 1985.

This type of Scope 'indicates the domain over which the process takes place' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 240).

The second sub-type, Scope: process, covers cases where the 'Objects' are an extension of the verb: either they are derived from the verb itself (as in the first example below), or they form a semantic unit with the verb (as in the other examples):

> The boy was singing *a wordless song*.
> I do *the work of a servant* in this house.
> She was having *a taste of real family life*.
> She's given *birth* to twins.
> He lost *his temper*.

We can therefore see this kind of Scope basically as the label given to a nominal group that works together with the verb to express the process. The difference emerges most strongly when we compare it with the Goal, where we can see a clear referential 'space' between the process and the entity at which the process is directed:

> She has given the handkerchief to Cassio.

Whereas with a Goal it sounds fairly natural to say 'What has she done with the handkerchief?' 'She's given it to Cassio', with a Scope it is not really possible to ask 'What has she done to/with birth?' 'She's given it to the twins'. (On a practical point of analysis, it is worth stressing that Goal and Scope are in competition, as it were: they are different functional labels for the Object in a clause, and therefore cannot both appear in the same clause.)

Note that the status of Scope as 'not a real participant' does not necessarily prevent it from having the potential of becoming Subject in a passive clause:

> *The Channel* was first swum by a woman in what year?
> *Tempers* were lost, and insults flew.

However, this is part of a wider tendency that allows any nominal group in a clause in principle to become Subject – even those that are dependent on a preposition:

> *The lock*'s definitely been tampered *with*. ['Someone has definitely tampered *with the lock*.']

Scope is a rather slippery category; but, as a simple rule of thumb, where you feel that the concept of Goal is inappropriate in clauses with material processes because the process does not impact on the entity that appears as Object, you may well decide that you have a Scope.

We have now completed the main survey of process types in English and the participant roles associated with each. Figure 5.21 shows the categories in the form of a system of choices.
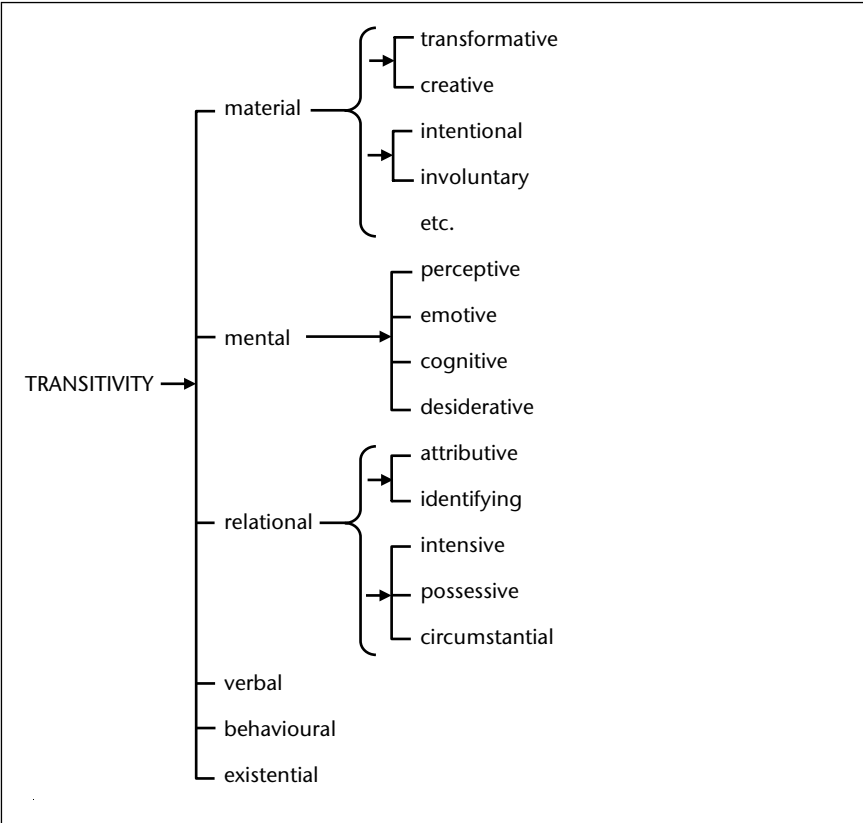
Figure 5.21   The system of transitivity choices

As noted earlier, in Figure 5.21 the curly brackets show simultaneous choices; so, for example, a material process may be involuntary and transformative (e.g. 'He *tripped* over a loose cable') or involuntary and creative (e.g. 'Can steel *rust* at all?'). The figure also includes a system of three choices under relational processes that we have not met so far (intensive, possessive, circumstantial): these will be explained in 5.3.3.

5.2.7 Circumstances

As has been mentioned at several points, **circumstances**, realized by circumstantial Adjuncts, essentially encode the background against which the process takes place (remember that this only applies to circumstantial Adjuncts: modal and conjunctive Adjuncts such as 'unfortunately', 'probably' and 'similarly' do not have a transitivity function). There are a few well–established categories of circumstance that correspond to our intuitions about the kinds of background conditions that recur: time, place, manner. However, beyond that, there is a very wide range of possible conditions that may be referred to, and there is no generally agreed set of categories. In addition,

circumstances frequently seem to combine two different types of meaning. For example, time sequence and cause are often blended:

I unscrewed the top. *Then* I was able to reach the lever. [= after that + because of that]

Similarly, manner and reason may both be present:

She was fidgeting *with impatience* [= in an impatient way + because she was impatient]

A further predictable complication comes from the frequent use of circumstances in metaphorical meanings:

She shook herself *out of her lethargy*. [location: place]
Someone had called *with a casual message*. [accompaniment]

Whichever set of categories you rely on, you are likely to find that they will not easily account for all the examples of circumstances that you come across in texts.

One way into exploring the possible categories is by looking at the different questions to which the circumstances provide answers. Partly on this basis, nine main types of circumstantial elements have been proposed.

The most familiar categories of circumstance are place and time. These can in fact both be seen in terms of either points or lines: **location**, or point, in time ('When?') and space ('Where?'); and **extent**, or line, again in time (duration – 'How long/often?') and space (distance – 'How far?'). Simple examples of each of these four types in turn are given below:

He was killed *in 1937*.
We had a dinner party *at Trumpington*.
From time to time she dropped the weeds into her basket.
She drove on *for another few miles*.

Another familiar category is **manner** – the 'How?' category. The most frequent type is **quality**, usually expressed by '-ly' adverbs such as 'quickly' and 'easily' ('In what way?'); but the category also includes **means** ('With what?/By what means?'), **comparison** ('What … like?') and **degree** ('How much?'):

He wrapped the parcel *expertly* and tied it *with string*.
It's OK, she went out *like a light*.
Your fans are always behind you *100 per cent*.

The category of **cause** is a fairly complex one. It includes **reason** ('Why?/As a result of what?'), **purpose** ('What for?') and **behalf** ('Who for?'):

> I went *out of curiosity*
> Do you fancy coming *for a drink*?
> We had a bribe *for her*.

Closely related to cause is the category of **contingency**: **condition** and **concession** fall into this category. Condition relates to the circumstances in which a process occurs:

> *In the event of a fire*, the building should be evacuated

Concession is a kind of negated cause, in that it expresses a circumstance that might have led to a particular outcome but did not:

> *Despite his exhaustion*, he hauled himself over the wall.

(Compare this with: '*Because of his exhaustion* he couldn't climb over the wall'.) These are less easy to probe with a particular type of question. They are obviously closely related to clauses with 'if' and 'although' – just as reason and purpose circumstantials are closely related to clauses with 'because' and 'to'-infinitive clauses of purpose. (See Figure 5.22 below for more on this link between prepositional circumstances and clauses.)

Accompaniment circumstantials answer the question 'Who/what with?':

> She's sitting on the grass over there *with her brother*.

Role circumstantials fall into two groups. The first, **Guise**, basically answers the question 'What as?'; and the second comprises **Product** circumstantials answering the question 'What into?':

> I asked him for the name of his tutor *as a referee*.
> They've turned the drill hall *into a fitness centre*.

There are two final groups, both of which have particular links with verbal and mental processes. The first, **matter** ('What about?'), has already been mentioned in 5.2.4 above. It can also appear with mental processes, as in the example below. The other group is **angle** ('From what point of view?'), realized especially by 'according to' or just 'to'.

> I'm trying not to think *about the accident*.
> *To Miss Lewisham*, this had been a great relief.

In a way, many circumstantials – particularly those realized by prepositional groups – can be seen as clauses that did not quite make it to full clause-hood, and have been sucked into a minor supporting role in another clause. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 5.6.3.1) in fact describe a preposition as a '**minor process**', a kind of

'mini-verb'. There are many cases where a cline can be drawn up with a message being expressed either as a separate independent clause, or as a dependent clause in a clause complex, or as a circumstance inside a clause (see also Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 490). Figure 5.22 gives just two examples of such clines – in each case, it is the circumstantial realization that is the original version, and the other versions have been written to illustrate the point. You can probably think of other similar examples yourself (e.g. 'because of', 'because', 'therefore').

Despite the companionship of her father, Katie missed children of her own age to play with.
Although she had her father as companion, Katie missed children of her own age to play with.
Katie had her father as companion. Yet she missed children of her own age to play with.

After the first shock of the discovery, he gradually accepted the situation.
After he had recovered from the shock of the discovery, he gradually accepted the situation.
At first the discovery was a shock. But he gradually accepted the situation.

Figure 5.22   From circumstance to clause

Having the cline set out like this underlines not only the connections but also the important differences between each version. There is no space here to explore the reasons why one version might be chosen in a particular context, though we will come back to this issue in Chapters 7 and 10 from slightly different perspectives. One problem in looking at circumstantial elements in text is that as yet we have no principled way of analysing their effect: we can often comment on individual cases but, whereas it is fairly standard practice in discourse analysis for, say, patterns in the choice of process types throughout a text to be examined to see how they contribute to the overall meanings (see below), circumstantial elements have mostly tended to be overlooked or treated in an ad hoc way. This is partly because of the complexity of the issues involved; but it must be admitted that as yet this area has not had the attention that it deserves.

● Refer to Exercise 5.1.

5.2.8 Transitivity in text

At this point it will be useful to look in fairly simple terms at what a transitivity analysis using the categories set out above can tell us about how texts work. For this preliminary stage, we can look at some short extracts (slightly adapted) to see the kinds of processes and participants that tend to occur most often in each, and to relate these to the registers involved. You may find it useful practice to do the analysis for yourself before reading what I say about the extract.

The first extract is from a book about different kinds of malt whisky:

Although Bunnahabhain is sometimes described as the Islay malt that lacks the island character, that is to misunderstand this delicious whisky. It is very light in

palate, but its body has a distinctive oiliness. It has a faint, flowery, nutty hint of peatiness, a whiff of sea air, and a character that is quietly distinctive. A 1964 vintage from Signatory is more intense, and maltier than the official version.

The main process type here is relational, mainly attributive (as we shall see in 5.3.3 below, 'have' realizes one kind of relational process, possession). Apart from the obvious cases – 'is' and 'has' – note that 'lacks' is also a relational process (fusing 'have' + negative). The main participants are the whisky as the Carrier and features of the whisky as the Attribute. This is not surprising, since the purpose of the text is to describe and evaluate the whisky, focusing especially on what makes it different from other whiskies.

The next extract is from a recipe:

In a saucepan melt the butter over a gentle heat and stir in the onions, garlic and sugar. After that add all the rest of the ingredients, stir well and then cover the pan. Cook gently for another 10–15 minutes or until all the cranberries have burst. Then remove the lid and continue to cook gently for about 40 minutes.

This is clearly from the 'instructions' stage (cf. the recipe at the end of Chapter 3), and, as typically happens in this register, the transitivity choices are unusually repetitive. The processes are nearly all material: transformative; the Actor is nearly always 'you' (understood, since the clauses are imperative); and most of the processes have a Goal, referring to ingredients (e.g. 'the butter') or the equipment (e.g. 'the pan'). The Goal may be left implicit, especially when it refers to the current stage of the dish (e.g. 'cook [the mixture] gently'). There are occasional breaks in the pattern, often specifying what the dish should be like at particular stages in the process (e.g. 'all the cranberries have burst' – ingredient as Actor and no Goal): these interpolations typically serve to reassure the person making the recipe that the process is going according to plan. As with the first extract, the transitivity patterns are predictable: the instructions set out step by step the actions to be performed with the ingredients and kitchen equipment by a person making the recipe. There is no expectation that the recipe writer will deviate from this except occasionally to specify details of key stages.

The third extract is from a newspaper report of scientific findings:

Last month was the hottest June ever recorded worldwide and the fourth consecutive month that the combined global land and sea temperature records have been broken, according to the US government's climate data centre. The figures released last night by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) suggest that 2010 is now on course to be the warmest year since records began in 1880. This represents incontrovertible evidence of the trend to a warmer world.

The core processes here are relational: identifying. The obvious cases are 'was', 'is on course to be', 'represents'. However, as it is used here 'suggest' also realizes an identifying process since, in a very similar way to 'represents', it sets up a relation of

equivalence between data ('figures') and the interpretation of those data (in the 'that'-clause). This is in fact the basic transitivity pattern repeated four times in the extract: a natural phenomenon ('last month', '2010') or data from observation of that phenomenon ('figures', 'this') are Token, and the Value in each case ('the hottest month', 'that …', 'the warmest year', 'evidence') represents the scientific interpretation. This transitivity pattern in a sense encapsulates in miniature the fundamental aim of scientific enquiry: to connect phenomena and explanations; and it is unsurprising that relational: identifying clauses are typically key features of scientific registers.

The final extract is more complex – it is taken from a novel:

From where she had arrived by the window she could see that Briony had crossed the bridge to the island, and was walking down the grassy bank, and beginning to disappear among the lakeshore trees that surrounded the island temple. Further off, Cecilia could just make out the two hatted figures sitting up on the bench behind Hardman. Now she saw a third figure whom she had not noticed before, striding along the driveway towards the trap. Surely it was Robbie Turner on his way home. He stopped, and as the visitors approached, his outline seemed to fuse with that of the visitors. She could imagine the scene – the manly punches to the shoulder, the horseplay.

Here, there is a pattern of two different main kinds of processes: material processes (e.g. 'had crossed', 'was walking') and mental processes, mainly perceptive (e.g. 'could see', 'saw') with one or two cognitive (e.g. 'could imagine'). The Actors in the material processes are nearly all humans – characters in the novel (Briony, Robbie Turner, etc.); and the processes are of movement, with no Goal and with circumstances of location or, in one case, Scope ('had crossed *the bridge*') which, as I noted above, is circumstance-like. The Senser of the mental processes is another character, Cecilia. The mental processes 'frame' the material processes: we are seeing the action through her eyes and consciousness. It is worth noting that the modality (e.g. 'surely', 'seemed to') reinforces this sense of the action being filtered through Cecilia's consciousness, since it has her (rather than the narrator) as its source. This framing pattern in the transitivity is in fact central to the theme of the novel as a whole (*Atonement*, by Ian McEwan): the narrative hinges on differences between what certain characters see (or think they see) and what actually happens; and, since we, as readers, are restricted to viewing the action through the eyes of these characters, we are kept in suspense as to how accurate the accounts are.

5.3 More complex aspects of transitivity

The description of transitivity that I have given so far allows us to handle a good proportion of clauses in the texts that we might want to analyse. However, as I have mentioned in a couple of places, there are complexities that we have not yet explored and some problems that almost always crop up when you analyse full texts. In this section, I will first revisit the three major categories of process types – material,

mental and relational – to fill in some of these complexities, and then discuss some general issues in transitivity. In doing this, I will be touching on a few problematic questions to which we do not yet have clear-cut answers.

5.3.1 More on material processes

I pointed out in 5.2.1 above that material processes form the most diverse of the categories; and it is possible to set up many cross-cutting sub-categories (e.g. see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: Section 5.2.3 for sub-divisions of the broad categories of transformative and creative material processes). However, this diversity means that it can be difficult to be sure whether a particular verb should be categorized as a material process or something else. For example, there are processes that encode an **outcome** without in themselves specifying what led to that outcome. In the following example, the process of 'achieving' seems to blend the ideas of 'doing something in order to have' and 'having' – in other words, there is a blend of action and resulting state:

  He achieved his lifetime ambition when he finally appeared on television.

The 'action' interpretation suggests that this is a material process, whereas the 'state' interpretation suggests that it is a relational process of possession (see 5.3.3 below). The most useful way of looking at such areas of uncertainty is to accept that the material process category has a core of **prototypical** processes that can be probed by questions like 'What did he do?'; around this core there are slightly less typical processes that are more easily probed by questions like 'What happened (to him)?'; and further out on the periphery there are processes for which the most appropriate probes are questions like 'What was the resulting state?' In a sense, material is the default transitivity category: if a process cannot be assigned to any of the other categories following the criteria described in section 5.2 above, it is probably material; so this fuzziness is predictable. But it is in fact typical of all the categories: many examples fit smoothly into the categories as defined, while others seem to include less typical elements of meaning or to show a blend of two categories.

  In practice, I find that it is usually possible to assign blended processes to one of the categories as the dominant meaning (for example, I would label 'achieve' a material process); but, if a number of the same blended-process types appear in a text, it is often worth examining them separately as a text-specific sub-category that may give a particular 'tone' to the text as a whole. For example, a type of blending that occurs fairly frequently in certain types of text is one where the relational ('state') meaning is dominant but the wording brings in a material ('action') process colouring:

  Hope Street *runs* between the two cathedrals.

This clearly expresses location, but the choice of a verb that normally encodes action gives the stative description a different tone, especially if there are a number of similar choices in that area of the text. One genre in which this blend is fairly common is tourist brochures: an advantage of the blend is that it can give the description of the

location a more dynamic and thus more appealing feel. Similarly, many cognitive mental processes are expressed in material terms: for example, 'grasp', 'take in', 'a thought crossed my mind', 'reach a decision', 'it struck me that'. These are dead metaphors, but in comparison with 'understand', 'think' or 'decide' they still preserve some of their original material force, and allow a speaker to represent cognition as drama.

One small further point that is worth mentioning is that in some cases a material process clause may include an Attribute, usually expressing the state in which the Actor or Goal ends up as a result of the process:

Her dad and I painted the walls *a shade of grey*

Although this looks like a direct participant, it is similar to the Attribute in a relational: attributive clause in that – unlike other direct participants – it cannot become Subject.

5.3.2 More on mental processes

One point that is worth adding to the account of mental processes above is that, like verbal processes, they can also project. This is another important difference between them and material processes. In these cases – again like verbal processes – the projected clause is not labelled as a participant. Figure 5.23 shows examples with the projected clauses analysed separately on the same level:

We I She They	always	assumed thought: 'd like wanted	that	you 'This you her	were seems to keep to become	furious. a rather strange text.' quiet. a ballet dancer.
Senser		**Process: mental**		**Carrier**	**Pr: rel, attrib**	**Attribute**

Figure 5.23 Mental processes with separate projected clauses

Note that there is a difference between facts and projections which affects the labelling – though it is easy to get them confused. I mentioned in 5.2.2 above that facts can be Phenomenon; but since facts are embedded clauses, it can be hard to distinguish them from projections (which are not labelled as Phenomenon). One method that can help you decide is to look at the sub-category of mental process. Cognitive and desiderative processes typically bring ideas and wishes into existence: that is, they project them. The mental processes in Figure 5.23 are cognitive (the first two) or desiderative (the last two). Emotive processes, on the other hand, involve existing phenomena: the things that you like, hate, etc. are already 'facts', so even if the 'thing' is expressed as a clause it will be labelled Phenomenon. A further test is whether you can easily add 'the fact that' at the start of the second clause. If you can, this signals that it is a fact clause rather than a projection. This helps in identifying certain cognitive processes that are followed by fact clauses. Figure 5.24 gives some

examples: the second is a cognitive process, and the other two are emotive processes illustrating two different patterns (for the second, compare Figure 5.13 above). Note that in a full transitivity analysis the embedded fact clauses would also be analysed, at the next level (see 5.3.6 below).

He	regretted	[the fact] that he had not received a proper academic training
They	have acknowledged	[the fact that] the statement in the ESA Handbook is incorrect.
Senser	**Process: mental**	**Phenomenon: fact**

It	worries	me	that you dislike school so much.
Phe-	**Process: mental**	**Senser**	**-nomenon**

Figure 5.24   Mental processes with facts as Phenomenon

A final point is that emotional states and reactions can be represented either as mental processes of emotion or as attributes. For example, 'I like her' and 'I am very fond of her' are close in meaning; but only the first is expressed as a mental process. In some cases, the line is not always clear, especially with past participle forms that could be passives or adjectives. For example, 'I was really annoyed' is an attributive relational process; while 'I was annoyed by her insolence' is a mental process (compare 'Her insolence annoyed me'). 'I was annoyed at her insolence' is in a grey area in the middle, but is best analysed as attributive relational, with 'at her insolence' analysed as a circumstance of cause. Because the two forms of representation are so close, in the analysis of texts about feelings it is often useful to mark cases of Attributes like 'fond' or 'annoyed' as 'Attribute: emotion' so that you can look at them together with mental processes of emotion.

5.3.3 More on relational processes

You may well have felt by the end of 5.2.3 above that the outline of relational processes had become quite complex enough. However, there are two further points that have to be brought in to make the picture reasonably complete. (Part of the problem is that the kinds of issues that we have been dealing with are relatively unfamiliar: traditional accounts have tended to simplify, or even ignore, them.)

The first point relates to identifying clauses. I noted in passing that, although these are reversible, the two possible versions do not seem to express quite the same experiential meaning. In order to describe the differences, we have to bring in two more labels: **Identified** and **Identifier**. These are used to label the same participants as Value and Token, but from another perspective. Let us begin with some simple examples, in the original version and reversed:

His immediate objective was the church.	The church was his immediate objective.
This used to be our dining room.	Our dining room used to be this [room].
Money is the root of all evil.	The root of all evil is money.
The only cure for a cold is rest.	Rest is the only cure for a cold.

In order to explore how these are different, we need to expand the context in which the sentences were or might be used. For example, the last of the sentences in the left–hand column occurred in a conversation about how to deal with colds:

'What do you do when you have a cold?' 'The only cure for a cold is **rest**.'

(The bold type face shows which word had the main stress.) The idea of a 'cure' is already 'on the table' (it has been introduced in the question); and the new information, identifying the speaker's preferred cure, is 'rest'. Thus 'cure' is the Identified – the entity being identified; and 'rest' is the Identifier – the way in which the 'cure' is identified. The analysis of the sentences in the left–hand column is shown in Figure 5.25 – again, the bold type face shows main stress.

His immediate objective This Money The only cure for a cold	was used to be is is	the **church**. our **dining** room. the root of all **evil**. **rest**.
Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Identifier**

Figure 5.25 Identified and Identifier

On the other hand, if we go back to the last sentence in the right–hand column, the reworded version would be more likely in, say, the context of a conversation about the ways in which 'rest' can be beneficial:

[Well, amongst other benefits,] rest is the only cure for a **cold**.

What has happened here is that 'the only cure for a cold' is now the new information: the speaker identifies one of the main uses of 'rest'. The analyses would now be as in Figure 5.26. Note again that I am assuming that the placement of the main stress remains on the second participant.

The church Our dining room The root of all evil Rest	was used to be is is	his **immediate** objective. **this** room. **money**. the only cure for a **cold**.
Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Identifier**

Figure 5.26 Reversing Identified and Identifier

So, as a simple rule of thumb, we can say that the main stress in an identifying clause typically falls on the Identifier (or one of the words in the group that expresses the Identifier). Since the main stress indicates the new information in a clause, the Identifier is typically being mentioned for the first time. The Identified, on the other hand, is typically a participant that has already been mentioned or whose existence is assumed to be known to the addressee. Note that this implies that, if the stress pattern changes, the roles of Identifier and Identified also change; and this is in fact what happens. In all the examples so far, the order is Identified^Identifier; but there are cases where the stress is on the first participant, and so the order is Identifier^Identified. One possible context is in a contrast of some kind:

It's no good taking medicine if you've got a cold. *[Identifier]* **Rest** *[Process]* is *[Identified]* the only cure for a cold.

One reason why these need a particular context to sound acceptable is that there is a general tendency in English for the main stress to fall at or near the end of an information unit (which, in order to avoid introducing even more complications, we can take to be the same as the clause). In writing, this tendency is even stronger, since stress is rarely indicated graphologically. Thus the more usual order is Identified^Identifier, as in Figures 5.25 and 5.26.

It is, I hope, clear that the roles of Identified and Identifier are different in nature from those of Value and Token. Value and Token depend on the pre-existing external semantic properties of the two ways of referring to the entity: whichever of the two ways is the more generalized is the Value, while the more specific embodiment is the Token. Identified and Identifier, on the other hand, depend on the unfolding language event: whichever of the two ways of referring to the entity is already 'on the table' is the Identified, and the new way of referring to it is the Identifier. The Identified/Identifier analysis therefore helps us to see how a particular text is unfolding. All combinations are possible: Identified can be the same participant as Value or Token, and so can Identifier; and they can appear in either order (though, as I said, Identified usually precedes Identifier). We therefore need to take account of both in examining the meaning of an identifying clause in context – see Figure 5.27.

Marlowe	was	the greatest dramatic writer in the 16th C apart from Shakespeare.
Token/Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Value/Identifier**

The strongest shape	is	the triangle.
Value/Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Token/Identifier**

Figure 5.27   Value/Token and Identified/Identifier

There is still one further aspect of relational processes that we need to explore before moving on. This concerns the specific types of relationships that are reflected in the language. Cutting across the basic distinction between attributive and identifying processes, it is in fact possible to identify three main types of relationships: **intensive**, **circumstantial** and **possessive**.

The differences between these are easiest to grasp in attributive clauses. The intensive relationship is most familiar: this is where the Carrier has an attribute or quality ascribed to it. Most of the examples of attributive relational processes given in this chapter so far have been of this type. The Predicator need not be 'be', though (as with all relational clauses) in most cases it is possible to paraphrase the process as 'be' plus some extra specification. In the examples in Figure 5.28, 'seem' expresses, roughly, 'be' plus modalization, 'turn' expresses 'be' plus 'change of state', and so on.

The room	was	sunless and cold.
The office	seemed	even more sordid than before.
The weather	's turned	pretty nasty.
He	went	as white as a sheet.
The castle	looks	amazing.
Our car	's	a Corolla.
Carrier	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Attribute**

Figure 5.28 Intensive attributive processes

The circumstantial relationship is similar to the intensive, but, as the label suggests, it involves concepts like location, time, etc. Rather than saying what the Carrier is like, the speaker says, for instance, where or when it is:

The kitchen was *at the back of the house*.
Dinner will be *in about twenty minutes*.

These examples show the easiest type to recognize, where the circumstantial element is explicitly encoded in the prepositional phrase. However, we can also have this element encoded as part of the meaning of the verb, which can therefore again be paraphrased as 'be' plus some extra specification. In this case, the extra specification can often be expressed as a preposition: for example, 'concern' is 'be' plus 'about', while 'last' is 'be' plus 'for (a period of time)'– see Figure 5.29.

The kitchen	was	at the back of the house.
Dinner	will be	in about twenty minutes.
Hope Street	runs	between the two cathedrals.
The story	concerns	his attempts to marry the rich Lady Clare.
Wagner's 'Ring Cycle'	lasts	a very long time.
The drink	must have cost	a bomb.
Carrier	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Attribute**

Figure 5.29 Circumstantial attributive processes

The possessive relationship is that of ownership. This might at first seem an odd category to include as a relational process; but something possessed can be seen as a kind of attribute. This is clearest when the thing possessed is an inherent part of the possessor:

She's got *long, dark hair.*

From here it is only a short step to seeing other kinds of possession as differing not in essence but only in terms of how temporary the possession is:

Do you have *any bigger ones*?
I've got *a splitting headache.*
She had *terrible things to say.*

In these examples, the relationship is encoded from the point of view of the possessor; this is the more usual way, since it is natural to think of the possessor as the Carrier of the Attribute. However, it is also possible to encode it from the point of view of the thing possessed, by using the verb 'belong to': 'being possessed' is in fact as much an attribute as 'possessing'. Figure 5.30 shows both possibilities.

She	's got	long, dark hair.
I	've got	a splitting headache.
She	had	terrible things to say.
Carrier: possessor	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Attribute: possessed**

This inkstand	used to belong to	Nelson.
Carrier: possessed	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Attribute: possessor**

Figure 5.30 Possessive attributive processes

All the different attributive clauses illustrated in Figures 5.28 to 5.30 share the common feature that they are not reversible. This is the main way in which they can be differentiated from the corresponding identifying clauses in each of the three categories. Intensive identifying processes have already been fully illustrated and discussed, so at this point we merely need to look briefly at those which fall into the circumstantial and possessive categories.

Some circumstantial identifying clauses are easy to recognize: like circumstantial attributive clauses, one of the participants is a prepositional phrase; but the clause is reversible.

The best place for it would be *behind the chest of drawers*.
[Behind the chest of drawers would be the best place for it.]

However, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 5.4.5.1) also include certain verbs that encode a circumstantial element: in the examples below, 'follow' is 'be' plus 'after', and 'bring about' is 'be' plus 'because of':

The speech was followed by polite applause.
Advancements in information technology have brought about vast opportunities to redesign products and services.

These are categorized as identifying clauses because they have passive forms and are thus reversible. I must admit that I have not yet managed to fully persuade any group of students to accept this categorization in all cases: they generally prefer to analyse these as material processes (used metaphorically). Fortunately, in many registers they are relatively infrequent (though they crop up often in academic writing, for example). Figure 5.31 shows the analysis as identifying clauses.

The best place for it	would be	behind the chest of drawers.
The speech	was followed	by polite applause.
Value/Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Token/Identifier**

Advancements in information technology	have brought about	vast opportunities to redesign products and services.
Token/Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Value/Identifier**

Figure 5.31 Circumstantial identifying processes

The final category, of possessive identifying clauses, also tends to be problematic in my experience. As with possessive attributive processes ('belong to'), the element of possession may be encoded as part of the meaning of the verb. Some of these verbs encode composition (what something is made up of) and have a fairly clear equative meaning: 'include', 'contain', 'comprise', 'consist of' (although 'consist of' does not have a passive form, so it is not in fact reversible). With other verbs it takes a little more effort to discern why they are included as identifying processes: 'own' (it helps to see this as encoding 'be the owner of', which is clearly identifying); 'deserve' ('possess' plus modulation 'ought to'); 'owe' ('possess' plus 'someone else's possession'). The Value–Token labelling is tricky in these cases. Figure 5.32 gives the analysis of few examples of this category as a guide.

The course	comprises	two years of full-time study.
The Yearbook	contains	a separate chapter for each of these institutions.
He	owns	half of Cheshire.
The character	deserves	contempt.
Ptolemy's model	provided	a reasonably accurate system for predicting the positions of heavenly bodies in the sky.
Token/Identified	**Pr: rel, ident**	**Value/Identifier**

Fig 5.32 Possessive identifying processes

5.3.4 Processes in verbal group complexes

In doing a transitivity analysis, you may sometimes find yourself hesitating over which process to label when you seem to have two verbs in a group. For example, which processes would you label in the following?

This *tends to be* the mark of a rather literary style.
Immediately, she *began to scream.*
Try turning it the other way.

These cases are best treated as **verbal group complexes**. It is the second verb in the complex that expresses the process (i.e. 'be', relational identifying; 'scream', behavioural; and 'turning', material). The function of the first verb is to modify the process in some way: 'tends' is related to modality (usuality or frequency in this case); 'began' is related to the unfolding of the process (starting, continuing and stopping); and 'try' is related to the possible outcome of the process (attempting, succeeding, failing).

It may seem odd that the first verb, which is the finite one, and therefore structurally dominant, is semantically subordinate. But this is essentially what happens in the following example, where the Finite is 'are' and the process is unarguably the final non-finite verb – the other verbs ('going to have to') express secondary tense and modulation:

We [are going to have to *rethink*] this.

As this example suggests, there is no distinct line between a simple verbal group with auxiliaries and a verbal group complex. This is predictable, since the existing central auxiliaries ('be', 'have', 'do') have evolved from full verbs; and the process is continuing in modern English – 'going to' is the clearest case, but, for example, 'tend to', which is extremely common in informal spoken language, is well on the way to becoming a modal operator expressing usuality; and 'keep' in groups like 'kept hitting' is also indeterminate in status. At the other end, verbal group complexes shade over indistinctly into separate clauses in a clause complex, especially when there is projection of some kind through a mental process expressed in the finite verb:

I *didn't like to ask.*
He *decided to read* history.
He *wanted us to know.*

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 8.8) suggest that the line is probably best drawn where the second verb does not have the same Subject as the first, as in the last example. So in the first two cases the processes are 'ask' (verbal) and 'read' (behavioural); while in the last case there are two clauses and therefore two processes: 'wanted' (mental, desiderative) and 'know' (mental, cognitive) – 'us' is the Senser in the process of knowing.

This is only a very brief outline of a complex area – for a fuller account, see Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). To conclude, I will simply give a couple of examples that illustrate the extra degree of elaboration that can be expressed about the process by this type of modification. In each case, it is the final verb that expresses the process.

I *have to try to get to know* him.
We *are going to have to start eating* rats.
He *could have been wanting to communicate* something important.
The city *seems to be going to be allowed to retain* its Circus much as it is.

5.3.5 Participants in causation

In doing text analysis, you may come across sentences like the following. How would you label the processes and participants?

That noise is driving me crazy.
The Queen forced him to be her new lover.
My sense of paranoia made me think that something was going wrong all the time.
Excess blood makes the knee swell.

'Driving', 'forced' 'made' and 'makes' look at first sight here like material processes – and in a sense they are. But if we take that line, it is not easy to decide what labels to assign to the other elements in the clause. What we have in fact are expressions of causation: the first participant is represented as by some means causing a state (being crazy, being her new lover) or an event (thinking, swelling). The best way to handle these clauses is to decide on the kind of process that is being caused, to identify the participants in that process, and then to label the 'causer' separately. There are four different labels for the 'causer', depending on the kind of process caused: **Attributor** is used when the caused process is attributive; **Assigner** is used when the caused process is identifying; **Inducer** when the caused process is mental; and **Initiator**, which is the most general, is used with material and other types of processes. Sample analyses are given in Figure 5.33.

Note that in some cases the 'causing' is expressed through a separate verb, such as 'force' or 'make' (or, indeed, 'cause'), whereas in other cases the verb expresses both the causing and the process: for example, 'drive' can be paraphrased as 'cause to be'.

One of the most commonly used verbs to express causation is 'make'. This verb is extremely versatile and is used in a number of different transitivity structures, not all of which involve causation. As a brief check on your understanding of the transitivity labels introduced so far, can you identify which of the following invented clauses do express causation? How would you label the clauses?

He made her a pie.   He made her a good husband.
He made her a happy woman.   He made her the manager of the company.
He made her hate him.   He made her work.

That noise Fear of losing everything again	is driving turned	me him	crazy. into a miser.
Attributor	**Process: rel, attrib**	**Carrier**	**Attribute**

The Queen	forced	him	to be	her new lover.
Assigner	**Process:-**	**Token/Identified**	**-: rel, ident.**	**Value/Identifier**

The group	elected	her	their spokesperson.
Assigner	**Process: rel, ident**	**Token/Identified**	**Value/Identifier**

My sense of paranoia	made	me	think	that something was going wrong all the time.
Inducer	**Process:-**	**Senser**	**-: mental, cog.**	**[projected]**

Excess blood The drive to succeed	makes led	the knee her	swell. to betray	her friends.
Initiator	**Process:-**	**Actor**	**-: material**	**Goal**

Figure 5.33 Causative participants

Here are my analyses.

> *[Actor]* He *[Process: material]* made *[Beneficiary]* her *[Goal]* a pie.
> *[Carrier]* He *[Process: relational, attributive]* made *[Beneficiary]* her *[Attribute]* a good husband.
> *[Attributor]* He *[Process: relational, attributive]* made *[Carrier]* her *[Attribute]* a happy woman.
> *[Assigner]* He *[Process: relational, identifying]* made *[Token/Identified]* her *[Value/ Identifier]* the manager of the company.
> *[Inducer]* He *[Process:-]* made *[Senser]* her *[-: mental, emotive]* hate *[Phenomenon]* him.
> *[Initiator]* He *[Process:-]* made *[Actor]* her: *[-: material]* work.

Table 5.1 Overview of process types and associated participants

Causative participant	Core participant 1	Process	Core participant 2	Other participants
Initiator	Actor	**material**	(Goal/Scope)	*Recipient /Client,*
Inducer	Senser	**mental**	Phenomenon/[projection]	*Attribute*
Attributor	Carrier	**relational: attributive**	Attribute	
Assigner	Token	**relational: identifying**	Value	
Initiator	Behaver	**behavioural**	(Behaviour)	
Initiator	Sayer	**verbal**	(Verbiage/[projection])	*Receiver, Target*
	Existent	**existential**		

Key
/ = either/or (but not both)   ( ) = not present in all clauses
italics = additional participants (may not be present)   [ ] = non-participant

At this point, you will be relieved to hear, we have covered all the major aspects of transitivity in the clause. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the main process types and the participants that are or may be associated with them.

• Refer to Exercise 5.2.

5.4 Transitivity patterns in text

In this section, I will illustrate some of the insights that can be gained by analysing patterns of transitivity choices across texts.

5.4.1 Analysing transitivity in clauses and in text

As a first practical point, it is worth highlighting briefly the ways in which different kinds of clauses can be analysed for transitivity. The following are some examples from a textbook for learners of English for Academic Purposes.

[Circumstance: quality] How do *[Senser]* I *[Pr: mental, cognition]* learn?

The fact that this is an interrogative with the Finite 'do' is ignored for the transitivity analysis. In order to work out the transitivity role for a WH–element, try imagining the declarative equivalent: in this case, 'I learn how' = 'I learn in a certain way'.

[Actor][you] *[Pr: material]* Prepare *[Goal]* both books

The process here is an imperative, so the Actor ('you') is not mentioned explicitly. However, when you are counting participant roles in the text, you should include 'you' as Actor in the results. You may prefer to show the understood Actor in square brackets, as I've done above; but this is not essential.

> *[Value/Identified]* The first step in successful study *[Pr: relational, identifying]* is *[Token/Identified]* to know as much as possible about yourself as a learner.
>> *[Senser]* [you] *[Pr: mental: cognition]* to know *[Phenomenon]* as much as possible about yourself as a learner

This sentence includes an embedded clause, which is 'pulled out' and labelled separately. It is a good idea to indent these, to indicate that they are not ranking clauses. The Senser of the embedded non–finite clause is understood as being 'you'; and in counting participant roles in the text you would include it as Senser. Again, you can add it in square brackets as I have done.

> *[C-]* It *[Pr: relational, attributive]*is *[Attribute]* important *[-arrier]* to become familiar with any book you use for study.
>> *[Carrier]* [you] *[Pr: relational: attributive]* to become *[Attribute]* familiar with any book you use for study
>>> *[Goal]* any book *[Actor]* you *[Pr: material]* use *[Circumstance: purpose]* for study

This illustrates one way of handling multiple embedding, where an embedded clause has another clause embedded in it: each embedded clause is put on a separate line, indented from the one above it.

The next practical point is to consider the steps that can be gone through in identifying patterns in transitivity choices across a text. The main kinds of patterns that we can look for are summarized in Figure 5.34; how this can be put into practice will be illustrated below.

identification ────────────────────────▶ *interpretation*
(labelling)   *via patterns*   (discourse analysis)

⇒ of process types
↦ what are the dominant process types (and why these)?
↳ how do the types match with other aspects (e.g. location in the text, appearing in commands vs. statements, etc.)?
⇒ of participants
↦ what (groupings of) participants are there?
↦ how do these compare with 'real-world' entities and events?
↳ what kinds of participants (e.g. concrete vs. abstract)?
↦ what transitivity role(s) do they have?
⇒ of circumstances
↦ what types of circumstances are included, where in the text?
↳ what gets expressed as circumstance rather than in the 'nucleus' (process + participant)?
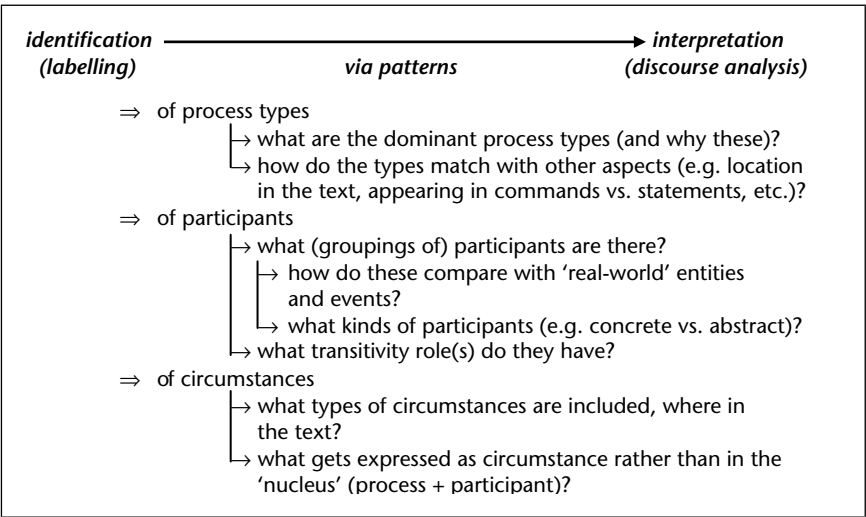
Figure 5.34   Working with transitivity

The patterns can be hard to detect, partly because they typically seem so natural that we do not notice them. They often emerge more clearly if you compare two texts that are similar in some ways (e.g. topic) but not others (e.g. the intended audience, or the political stance). This is of central importance: since Systemic Functional Linguistics views language as choices made in context, text comparison helps you to see the patterns of choices that were made in one text but not in the other, and relate the differences to the context. In other words, the kinds of choices made in one text could, in principle, have been made in the other – but were not, for reasons that are worth investigating. Exploring why the two texts differ leads us towards an understanding of the interrelationships between linguistic choices and contextual factors.

5.4.2 Comparing transitivity choices in different registers

As an example of this kind of comparison, we can take two texts from different registers that are both about small medical advances. The first is from a popular newspaper, the *Daily Mail*; the second from a scientific journal for medical experts. From each version I have simply taken a sample of six representative sentences to analyse in detail below; but the discussion following the analysis will relate to the results for the whole texts. You will find it useful to do your own analysis of the samples and to see what potential patterns you can identify, before reading on. You will also find it useful to use your knowledge of the two different registers to predict the kinds of patterns that you might expect to find – particularly in terms of the entities (people, medical features, etc.) that you might expect to find as participants.

Extract 1: The newspaper report
It may be the solution to a marital problem which has led to thousands of long-suffering spouses seeking refuge in spare bedrooms.
   The news that researchers may have made a breakthrough in the search for a way to prevent snoring will bring hope to millions of bleary-eyed couples.
   Dentists have invented a device which is said to reduce significantly the disturbing sounds made by noisy sleepers.
   Tests indicate that the inexpensive appliance can cut levels of snoring by more than half …
   Its usefulness was assessed by 14 male snorers and their sleeping partners during a month-long trial, the British Dental Journal reported …
   The men and their partners all reported improvements during the trials.

Extract 2: the medical journal article
Various epidemiological studies show that an increasing number of children suffer from allergic disorders … Desensitization should be aimed for if possible. However, in most cases, symptomatic treatment of young patients will be adequate. Of particular importance is an effective and well tolerated treatment

with as low as possible exposure to an active principle which does not have any sedative side-effects. …

In a multicentre observation the efficacy and tolerability of Allergodil nasal spray was studied in patients suffering allergic rhinitis. … In 21.5% of these children, rhinitis was diagnosed as 'perennial'

Below is my analysis, with the T-units separated and numbered. Embedded clauses are indented. There are a number of decisions on the labels I have given that you might want to query; but unfortunately there is no space here to discuss the reasons for the labels.

Extract 1: The newspaper report

1   *[Token/Identified]* It *[Pr: relational: identifying]* may be *[Value/Identifier]* the solution to a marital problem which has led to thousands of long-suffering spouses seeking refuge in spare bedrooms.
 [Initiator] which (= problem) *[Pr:-]* has led to *[Actor]* thousands of long-suffering spouses *[-: material]* seeking *[Scope]* refuge *[Circumstance: location]* in spare bedrooms.
2   *[Actor]* The news that researchers may have made a breakthrough in the search for a way to prevent snoring *[Pr:material]* will bring *[Goal]* hope *[Recipient]* to millions of bleary-eyed couples.
 [Actor] researchers *[Pr: material]* may have made *[Scope]* a breakthrough *[Circumstance: location]* in the search for a way to prevent snoring
  [Actor] [researchers?] *[Pr: material]* to prevent *[Goal]* snoring
3   *[Actor]* Dentists *[Pr: material]* have invented *[Goal]* a device which is said to reduce significantly the disturbing sounds made by noisy sleepers.
 [Actor] which (= device) *[Pr: material]* is said to reduce *[Circumstance: degree]* significantly *[Goal]* the disturbing sounds made by noisy speakers
  [Scope] sounds *[Pr: material]* made *[Actor]* by noisy sleepers
4   *[Sayer]* Tests *[Pr: verbal]* indicate that // *[Actor]* the inexpensive appliance *[Pr: material]* can cut *[Goal]* levels of snoring *[Circumstance: degree]* by more than half.
5   *[Phenomenon]* Its usefulness *[Pr: mental: cognition]* was assessed *[Senser]* by 14 male snorers and their sleeping partners *[Circumstance: location]* during a month-long trial, // *[Sayer]* the British Dental Journal *[Pr: verbal]* reported.
6   *[Sayer]* The men and their partners all *[Pr: verbal]* reported *[Verbiage]* improvements during the trials.

Extract 2: the medical journal article

1   *[Token/Identified]* Various epidemiological studies *[Pr: relational: identifying]* show *[Value/Identifier]* that an increasing number of children suffer from allergic disorders.
 [Carrier] an increasing number of children *[Pr: relational: attributive]* suffer from *[Attribute]*allergic disorders

2   *[Phenomenon]*Desensitization *[Pr: mental: cognition]* should be aimed for if possible.
3   However, *[Circumstance: location]* in most cases, *[Carrier]* symptomatic treatment of young patients *[Pr: relational: attributive]* will be *[Attribute]* adequate.
4   *[Attribute]* Of particular importance *[Pr: relational: attributive]* is *[Carrier]* an effective and well tolerated treatment with as low as possible exposure to an active principle which does not have any sedative side-effects.
      [Carrier] which (= treatment) *[Pr: relational: attributive]* does not have *[Attribute]* any sedative side-effects.
5   *[Circumstance: location]* In a multicentre observation *[Phenomenon]* the efficacy and tolerability of Allergodil nasal spray *[Pr: mental: cognition]* was studied *[Circumstance: location]* in patients suffering allergic rhinitis.
      [Carrier] patients *[Pr: relational: attributive]* suffering *[Attribute]* allergic rhinitis
6   *[Circumstance: location]* In 21.5% of these children, *[Phenomenon]* rhinitis *[Pr: mental: cognition]* was diagnosed *[Circumstance: guise]* as 'perennial'

It is worth noting that the whole newspaper report is 392 words long, whereas the medical journal article is 489 words; but the newspaper report has 50 clauses to 38 in the medical article. That is, the clauses in the medical article have on average one and a half times as many words as the newspaper report. However, this cannot be straightforwardly interpreted as meaning less complexity: the newspaper report has three times as many embedded clauses (15 compared with 5), and the overall effect, contrary to what one might expect, is of simpler sentences in the medical article.

   Having completed the transitivity analysis, the first step in processing the findings is to gain an overview of the process types in the whole texts – see Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Process types in the two extracts

	Newspaper (%)		Journal (%)	
Material	21	(42)	9	(24)
Mental: cognition	4	(8)	7	(18)
Relational: attributive	8	(16)	10	(26)
Relational: identifying	4	(8)	8	(21)
Verbal	11	(22)	4	(11)
Behavioural	2	(4)	0	(0)
Total	50	(100)	38	(100)

This gives a preliminary insight into the differences. The most striking are that the newspaper report has proportionally twice as many material and verbal processes, while the medical article is more weighted towards relational processes and mental: cognition processes. Thus there appears to be a greater focus on doing and saying in the newspaper report and on describing/identifying and thinking in the medical article. However, this broad picture already masks some important contrasts. For instance, all but one of the 11 verbal processes in the newspaper report encode the conscious communication of messages (e.g. 'the men and their partners all *reported* …'), whereas all four verbal processes in the medical article involve unconscious

transmission of information to an observer (e.g. 'only a small number of patients *showed* no change'). Less obviously, the material processes in the newspaper report relate to varied domains of action and events – seeking, inventing, using, reducing, avoiding, etc. – while those in the medical article are all restricted to the domain of the research activities – treating (patients), receiving (medication), discontinuing (treatment), etc.

As always, patterns begin to emerge even more strongly when we examine the participants. I find it useful to do this in three stages. First, I draw up a list of all the entities functioning as Actor, Senser, Goal, etc. Then the entities are combined into what seem to be the groupings that are significant for the texts being analysed. In the case of texts about medical advances, one can predict a number of these groupings even before the texts are analysed: patients, experts, the condition and the treatment. These groups are broadly defined (if necessary more delicate distinctions with groups can be made at a later stage). For example, 'experts' includes dentists and dental researchers in the first text and doctors and medical researchers in the second; and 'condition' includes symptoms as well as the name of the condition itself (snoring and allergies). It is also worth bearing in mind that there are inherently two entities that may or may not appear as participants in any text: the writer/speaker and the addressee. Their presence or their absence will typically indicate something about the nature of the register. Then, using the participant lists drawn up in the first stage, a 'transitivity profile' of each of these groupings is produced, showing the participant roles in which they appear. This is a selective process, in that some participants are omitted if they occur only once or twice and do not fit into any of the groupings (of course, one has to ensure that the omissions represent only a very small proportion of the participant roles in the text, in order to avoid distorting the results). Table 5.3 shows the transitivity profiles for the two texts.

Table 5.3 Transitivity profiles of the two texts

Newspaper report

Transitivity roles	Patients	Experts	Condition	Treatment	Partners	All
Initiator			2			2
Actor +Goal	5	3		3	1	12
Actor –Goal/ +Scope	3	1			1	5
Sayer	3	8				11
Behaver	2					2
Senser	1	1			2	4
Carrier	2	1	1	4		8
Value			1	3		4
Recipient					1	1
Receiver	2				1	3
Goal	2		4	6		12
Total	20	14	8	16	6	64

Medical article

Transitivity roles	Patients	Experts	Condition	Treatment	Research	All
Actor +Goal	2	[4]				6
Actor –Goal/ +Scope			2		1	3
Sayer	3		1			4
Senser		[7]				7
Carrier	2			8		
Value				1	7	8
Goal	2			4		6
Total	9	[11]	3	13	8	44

In the roles are ordered by degree of dynamism. This means that those roles that potentially involve greatest impact on the world are at the top (e.g. Initiator means that this entity causes another entity to engage in a material process; an Actor in a material process with Goal is essentially impacting on that Goal in some way, whereas if the process has no Goal or only Scope – which is, you will recall, not a real participant – the Actor is not affecting another participant). At the bottom are the participant roles with the lowest degree of dynamism: e.g. an entity appearing as Goal is clearly represented as being impacted on by the process.

One difference that immediately stands out is that the newspaper report fits more comfortably with the predicted groupings of entities: all four are well represented. What is striking, however, is the orientation towards people, which extends to including the snorers' partners as participants. The snorers and partners appear in a wide variety of participants' roles, with a weighting towards the more dynamic roles: that is, they are represented 'in the round' as normal human beings. The medical domain is here construed as involving people with problems. We can relate this to the general tendency in popular newspapers in Britain to focus on what are called human interest stories – either stories about ordinary individuals in unusual situations, or stories about factors and events that affect the lives of ordinary people. Snoring falls into the second category, and it has the advantage of being a non-serious condition that can be treated in a light-hearted way (and therefore can be expected to appeal to readers who prefer their news media to entertain as well as inform). In relation to this aim to entertain, we can note in passing the rhetorical effect used by the writer in the first sentence: the reader has to read on to the third sentence to find out that 'it' refers to the new device; and the explanation of the 'problem' to which 'it' is the solution is also delayed until the second sentence.

Even the experts show signs of this focus on the human angle, in that three of the Sayer roles are taken by a named individual expert, Donald Cameron – one of the designers of the device. The relatively high proportion of experts as Sayer constructs this as a second-hand report of other people's research: the journalist was not involved in the research but presumably read about it in the *British Dental Journal* and either interviewed Donald Cameron or took his quotes from a press release (although the quotes are represented as if he had been interviewed). Although the 'Medical Correspondent' who wrote the text is named at the head of the report, and is implied

to have been the interviewer, she does not appear as a participant: the usual convention for this kind of newspaper report is that the reporter remains absent from the text. This contributes to the objectivity of news reporting, which is a highly prized (if often illusory) characteristic.

When we turn to the medical journal article, we find a different kind of objectivity being constructed. The most frequent explicit grouping comprises the related pair of treatment and research. In contrast, the relative absence from the text of the people involved is significant. The patients certainly appear, though in a more restricted range of transitivity roles than in the newspaper text. In fact, in a way it is misleading to include the three instances of patients as Sayer, since, as I mentioned earlier, they are represented not as speaking but as unconsciously emitting data for the researchers to observe. It is also noticeable that they are referred to most often as 'patients' (i.e. in their role in the medical domain), whereas in the newspaper text the term 'patient' is only used once – most often they are referred to as 'snorers' or 'the men' (i.e. in their role in the everyday world). Moreover, the brackets around the 11 instances of experts as participants signal that these are understood roles: the experts are never actually mentioned in the text. This 'omission' is effected by the use of passive forms without the 'by'-Agent – the following examples show a material and a mental process with no explicit Actor or Senser, respectively:

In only 1.8% of patients had treatment *to be discontinued* due to lack of efficacy.
No sedative effect *was observed*.

Going back to the text with this absence in mind, a further resource that allows the experts to be elided from the text is nominalization (see Chapter 9). In the first example above, 'treatment' refers to experts treating patients; but neither of the entities is explicitly mentioned. Similarly, 'A separate *evaluation* of these patients' might have been realized in a different context as '*we evaluated* these patients separately'; but here the experts' role in the research is again elided. And if all the references to patients in the text are checked, it turns out that they appear equally often not as participants but in circumstances of location, as in the first example above 'In only 1.8% of patients'. This happens nine times in the medical article, as opposed to once in the newspaper report.

Thus the objectivity in the medical text is primarily achieved by a process of depersonalization. The researchers never appear explicitly in the text; and the patients frequently appear in circumstances (i.e. backgrounded, not in the core of the clause). The main focus is on the treatment and the research process (as I mentioned in 5.2.8 above, the Token^Value structure is typically used in this kind of register to relate observation and interpretation, which is reflected here in the relatively frequent occurrence of research entities as Value). The overall picture construed is thus of the medical domain as involving research and treatment without overt human intervention, and with patients as the location where the research and treatment take place. A final point worth noting is that the writer and reader do not appear as participants: although they are likely to appear in the 'softer' disciplines such as philosophy and applied linguistics (e.g. see Trudgill's use of 'I' and 'we' in the extract in section 4.7), this is much rarer in the hard sciences.

It goes without saying that the two brief texts give us far too little data to be able to make any valid generalizations about transitivity choices in the registers to which they belong. We would clearly need to build up a corpus of more analysed texts – though if the registerial focus is kept narrow, by including only other medical reports from popular newspapers and medical journal articles, the corpus would not need to be unmanageably large. At the same time, both extracts do feel intuitively 'typical' of their register; and, although there would be shifts in the proportions, it is unlikely that the main outlines of the probabilities of choices in process types and participants (and circumstances) would change dramatically with a larger corpus. We thus have at least the beginning of a picture of what makes news reports and journal articles on medical topics distinctive in terms of transitivity. We could then add choices in Mood, modality and Theme (see Chapter 6), and the correlations between these various sets of choices; and our picture of the two registers would start to round out in a satisfying, if time-consuming, way.

- Refer to Exercise 5.3.

5.5 Ergativity

The transitivity approach to material processes differentiates sharply between 'doer' (Actor) and 'done to' (Goal). It is also possible to look at these processes from another perspective, one that focuses on the fact that the process may happen by itself or be caused to happen. In Functional Grammar, this is called the **ergative** perspective (you should be aware, though, that the term 'ergative' is used in a different way by many linguists, to describe languages that have particular ways of marking whether a noun is Subject or Object in its clause; many of these linguists would not accept the application of the term to English).

The stimulus for adopting this perspective comes from the recognition that there is a very large class of verbs in English that show a curious but systematic **alternation** between two patterns of use. Consider the following pair of examples:

We increased our profits over the year.
Our profits increased over the year.

If we do a transitivity analysis of these clauses, the result is as follows:

[Actor] We [Process: material] increased [Goal] our profits [Circumstance] over the year.
[Actor] Our profits [Process: material] increased [Circumstance] over the year.

What this analysis obscures is the fact that in both cases the increase happened to the profits. We have seen that the Goal can be Subject in a passive clause (e.g. 'Our profits were increased'); but it remains Goal. In the second sentence above, however, the Goal has not only changed its Mood function to become Subject but has also changed its transitivity function to become Actor.

We could overlook this as a mere oddity in the use of 'increase' if it were not that, once we start looking for them, we find similar pairs cropping up all over the place. Figure 5.39 gives some idea of the variety (the examples are invented, to keep them simple).

we altered the colour	the colour altered	he narrowed his eyes	his eyes narrowed
I caramelized the top	the top caramelized	sun ripened the fruit	the fruit ripened
he closed the door	the door closed	he short-circuited it	it short-circuited
clouds darkened the sky	the sky darkened	it slimmed me down	I slimmed down
he deflated the ball	the ball deflated	it slowed us down	we slowed down
he defrosted the peas	the peas defrosted	she steadied the boat	the boat steadied
she drove the car away	the car drove away	they rang the bell	the bell rang
the heat melted the ice	the ice melted	it worried me	I worried

Figure 5.35   Ergative/non-ergative pairs

The last example in Figure 5.35, with 'worry', in fact indicates that for mental process verbs we have already built in one kind of reversibility: the Senser remains the Senser whether it appears as Subject or Complement. However, we have taken one of the distinguishing features of material processes to be their non–reversibility; and it would clearly not make sense, in the terms in which the labels have been defined, to say that 'our profits' is Actor in both the clauses in the 'profits' examples above.

If we return to mental processes, we can see that we identify the Senser by identifying the mind in which the process takes place; and one description of the Phenomenon that has been given is that it is the stimulus that triggers the process in the sensing mind. If we translate this into more general terms, we can say that one participant is the 'host' of the process – without a mind there can be no mental process – while the other is the cause of the process. These general terms can then be applied to the material processes that we are looking at: the 'host' of the process of increasing is the profits in both clauses above, while one of the clauses also identifies a second participant, whose role is to cause the process to happen. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 5.7.2) suggest the terms **Medium** for the 'medium through which the process is actualized' (the host), and **Agent** for the participant which is represented as the 'external cause'. Thus we can reanalyse the clauses as in Figure 5.36.

We	increased	our profits	over the year.
Agent	**Process**	**Medium**	**Circ: Extent**

Our profits	increased	over the year.
Medium	**Process**	**Circ: Extent**

Figure 5.36   Ergativity analysis of an ergative/non-ergative pair

From this perspective, we are interested in whether the process is encoded as happening by itself or as being caused to happen: the process remains recognizably the same (reflected in the fact that the same verb is used in both cases), but the structure varies to reflect the presence or absence of causation. Ergativity is very close to the concept of causation (it means something like 'work-doing'): and thus the clause with Agent+Medium expressed is an ergative clause, while the clause with only Medium expressed is a non-ergative clause. In a sense, the two perspectives on material processes look at the clause from opposite ends. From the transitivity perspective, the Actor does something, which may or may not affect another participant, the Goal. From the ergativity perspective, on the other hand, the Medium 'hosts' a process, which may or may not be caused by another participant, the Agent. Note that the examples in Figure 5.35 suggest that ergativity is typically associated with some kind of change of state – it is natural to think of changes as self-engendered or caused by external forces.

The exact relationship between ergativity and transitivity in the description of English is still controversial: Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 5.7) argue that all processes of any type can be usefully analysed from either perspective, but other functional grammarians (e.g. Davidse, 1992) argue that the two perspectives are mutually exclusive – any clause encodes either a transitive or an ergative view of the world, but not both. In practice, I find that the most useful approach in text analysis is a compromise position: the ergativity analysis can be restricted to material process verbs in which change, self-engendered or externally caused, is an important element, and can be brought in especially where the verb itself can be used in both structures, like those in Figure 5.35; but the transitivity analysis can also be shown in these cases, particularly since it allows us to capture the difference between the two functional configurations of Medium/Subject/Actor (non-ergative) and Medium/Subject/Goal (ergative, passive) – see Figure 5.37. We do not need to use the ergative analysis for mental processes since the 'Senser' label already allows reversibility.

We He She	increased deflated drove	our profits the ball. the car	over the year. away.
Agent/Actor	**Process**	**Medium/Goal**	**Circumstance**

Our profits The ball The car	increased deflated. drove	over the year. away.
Medium/Actor	**Process**	**Circumstance**

Our profits The ball The car	were increased was deflated. was driven	over the year. away.
Medium/Goal	**Process**	**Circumstance**

Figure 5.37 Combined analysis of ergative/non-ergative verbs

I mentioned above that ergativity is linked with causation; so it may have occurred to you that this brings it close to the causative structures discussed in 5.3.5 above. There is indeed a good deal of overlap: we can, for example, analyse a clause like 'He made her work' in ergativity terms, with 'he' performing the function of Agent and 'her' that of Medium. What happens in causatives is that the agency is brought out into the open. We can see the three options as systematically related, with the last two differentiated by the degree of explicitness with which agency is expressed:

Our profits increased.	The knee swells.
Higher sales increased our profits.	Excess blood swells the knee.
Higher sales caused our profits to increase.	Excess blood makes the knee swell.

Each of the rewordings would, of course, have slightly different meanings and be used in different contexts. One of the ways in which causatives carve out their own functional niche is that they allow chains of agency in cases like those shown in Figure 5.38.

Dad The sudden pain	made caused	me her	tidy to drop	my room. the glass.
Agent1/Initiator		**Agent2/Actor**	**Process**	**Medium/Goal**

Figure 5.38 Ergativity and transitivity analysis of causatives

In a sense, ergativity is a more 'grammaticalized' way of expressing the difference between processes represented as externally caused or self-engendered. With causatives, there is often a separate verb such as 'cause' or 'make', and the causing is expressed in a structurally separate clause from the action that is caused. With ergatives, the distinction is expressed through the configuration of participant roles in relation to a single process.

Exercise 5.1

The following six sentences all express more or less the same 'meaning', but in different experiential terms. Analyse each one in terms of process, participants and circumstances. If possible, decide which category the circumstantial elements come into – but don't expect to be able to do this easily in all cases!

1 She bought the car from him for £3,000.
2 He sold her the car for £3,000.
3 She paid him £3,000 for the car.
4 He got £3,000 for the car.
5 The car cost her £3,000.
6 The car was sold to her for £3,000.

Now analyse each of the following clauses in the same way. Note that 16 has two slightly different readings.

7   The cat's eaten all the fish.
8   All our pasta is made daily.
9   This decision was the most difficult of her life.
10 A car backfired outside in the street.
11 They finally announced their engagement to the press.
12 The house is a real bargain.
13 I worry about her health.
14 Her illness worries me.
15 It was snowing heavily outside.
16 The house owner then hit the man with the guitar.

Exercise 5.2

Below are some parts of the doctor–patient consultation that you analysed for mood and interaction in Chapter 4. Analyse the clauses in transitivity terms (some parts will not need analysing).

P   I can't bend forward and I can't like turn sideways
D   so it's pain in the lower back
D   ok how long did you say again
P   I mean all last night I couldn't turn on my side
D   so it got worse overnight
P   yeh
D   so the first thing is rest secondly I'll give you some painkillers/they don't speed up the healing/it's just to make life comfortable for you while it's healing/
P   is it like a thing I've got with my spine
D   it's a torn muscle in your back yeh/it should recover
P   you wouldn't think it was so painful would you
D   they don't make you drowsy/you don't have to finish the course/simply when your back is fine just stop them

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Exercise 5.3

Below are slightly extended versions of the two extracts about Elizabeth I that you met in the exercises for Chapter 2. I have numbered the ranking clauses (but not the embedded clauses). Analyse the transitivity choices, and then consider what the analysis tells us about the different ways in which the texts construe 'doing history'.

Extract 1 (from a website aimed at young readers)

(1) Elizabeth was the last sovereign of the house of Tudor. (2) She was born at Greenwich, September 7, 1533. (3) Her childhood was passed in comparative quietness, (4) and she was educated by people who favoured reformed religion.

(5) In 1554, Elizabeth was confined in the Tower by order of Queen Mary. (6) She narrowly escaped death, (7) because some of the bishops and courtiers advised Mary (8) to order her execution. (9) After she had passed several months in the Tower, (10) she was removed to Woodstock (11) and appeased Mary (12) by professing to be a Roman Catholic.

Extract 2 (from an academic history journal)

(1) The spectre of a feminine succession ended with Mary's execution, in 1587. (2) Thereafter, the parameters of debate over kingship shifted in ways that have obscured the centrality of gender to the genesis of English anti-Catholicism and thus to early modern English nationalism. (3) But to understand the genesis of English anti-Catholicism, (4) we must return to the sixteenth century and to the problem of the two queens. (5) We can begin (6) by exploring the linkage between gender and religion that fuelled fears of female rule in the early modern period. (7) Early modern culture defined 'male' and 'female' as polar opposites. (8) This hierarchical dual classification system categorically differentiated between male and female, (9) privileging men over women as both spiritual and rational beings in ways that underpinned social order and hierarchy.

6

Organizing the message

The textual metafunction – Theme

6.1 Introduction: making messages fit together

Having looked at the clause from the perspective of what interaction is being carried out and what is being talked about, we will now turn to examining aspects that can only be fully understood by looking at the clause in its context in the rest of the language around it.

When we look at language from the point of view of the textual metafunction, we are trying to see how speakers construct their messages in a way that makes them fit smoothly into the unfolding language event (which may be a conversation, or a newspaper article, for example). As well as interacting with their listeners and saying something to them about the world, speakers constantly organize the way their message is worded in order to signal to them how the present part of their message fits in with other parts. To get an idea of this, look at the following example from a letter appealing for money for the SOU, an organization that tries to prevent cruelty to animals:

> You probably haven't heard of the SOU before. That's because we fight cruelty undercover.

There are a number of signals in the second sentence here that it functions as a coherent continuation of the first: 'that' encapsulates the whole of the information given in the first sentence, while 'because' signals the logical relationship of result and reason between the new information in the second sentence and the information in the first. Less obviously, perhaps, the placing of 'that' in initial position makes the second sentence fit more smoothly (if you change the order of the constituents around the effect sounds awkward – e.g. 'The fact that we fight cruelty undercover is the reason for that'). What we have identified here are three of the main ways in

which textual meanings are constructed in a text: **repetition**, **conjunction** and **thematization**.

Repetition, as I am using the term, clearly includes repetition of the same word or a synonym – in the letter from which the example is taken, 'the SOU' is repeated three times in the first four paragraphs. This is usually called '**lexical** repetition'. However, it also includes more '**grammatical**' kinds of repetition of *meaning*, which may not be expressed by the same or similar wording – in the example, 'that' brings into its sentence the meaning of the whole previous sentence. The function of repetition is typically to show that parts of a text (not necessarily adjacent to each other) are related in some way. By repeating a wording or a meaning, speakers signal that they are keeping to the same topic, whereas an absence of repetition might make it difficult for the hearers to understand that they are.

While repetition typically signals *that* parts of a text are related, it is the function of conjunction to show *how* they are related. This is clearest when a conjunction such as 'because' is used to relate two clauses:

> You probably haven't heard of the SOU before, because we fight cruelty undercover.

Conjunctive Adjuncts such as 'therefore', and certain kinds of nouns (see Winter, 1982) such as 'the reason' can also perform the same kind of function, though in different ways.

Conjunction obviously works primarily between two or more clauses. So, too, does repetition, since it plays a crucial role when a speaker chooses to express certain elements of one clause in a way that recalls the elements of earlier clauses. Thematization is different in that it relates not to the way that individual components are expressed but to the structuring of the clause itself – the order in which elements appear in the clause. The Theme of a clause is simply the first constituent of the clause. In choosing the starting point for a clause – the constituent that appears in first position – cooperative speakers select something that will make it easier for their hearers to 'hook' this clause onto the earlier clauses, to see immediately how the information that will come in the remainder of the clause is likely to fit in with what has already been said.

This section on textual meanings is split over two chapters, to make it more manageable. In this first part, Chapter 6, we will be dealing with Theme. Chapter 7 will be a kind of interlude, in which I look at conjunction in terms of the grammatical resources that enable clauses to get combined into complexes/sentences. In Chapter 8, I will then move beyond the limits of the clause complex for the second chapter on textual meanings. That will focus on an outline of grammatical kinds of repetition between complexes/sentences. (We will not be looking in detail at lexical repetition, since that would take us beyond what is traditionally accepted as grammar.) I will also come back to conjunction as a broader phenomenon, from the particular perspective of its role in establishing relations between complexes/sentences.

6.2 Theme

The following example is the first sentence of a newspaper report of an exhibition on industrial history:

For centuries, yellow canaries have been used to 'test' the air in mining.

The first clause constituent in this case (which is in italics) is an Adjunct. Without changing the wording too much, we can reorder the components of this sentence in a number of different ways:

Yellow canaries have been used to 'test' the air in mining for centuries.
Miners have used yellow canaries to 'test' the air for centuries.
In mining, yellow canaries have been used to 'test' the air for centuries.
To 'test' the air in mining, yellow canaries have been used for centuries.
The air has been 'tested' in mining for centuries by using yellow canaries.

What we have done in each case is to start the message from a different point – that is, to choose a different **Theme** for the clause. As mentioned above, the Theme is the first constituent of the clause. All the rest of the clause is simply labelled the **Rheme**. You might like to think about what the effects of changing the starting points are, and in what context each might be appropriate.

The original sentence starts from the historical perspective – 'For centuries' – which makes sense since the theme of the exhibition is industrial history and this is the opening sentence of the article. Both 'Yellow canaries' and 'Miners' could work as Theme in the context, but they might be read as indicating that canaries or miners will be the main topic of the article rather than just an example of the interesting things dealt with in the exhibition. 'In mining' as Theme suggests even more strongly a restricted starting point, from which it would be a little more awkward to shift to the general topic of the exhibition. The final two Themes ('To "test" the air in mining' and 'The air') are both very restricted as starting points in this context, and would be more likely to occur later in the article rather than at the beginning. The comparison of the different versions underlines the fact that, although each refers to the same state of affairs in the world, they are by no means interchangeable. That is, the different choice of Theme (amongst other changes) has contributed to making a different meaning.

You may feel, in reading this analysis, that it is tempting to say that the Theme is 'what the clause is about' – and indeed Halliday (1985a: 39) originally suggested that this was the meaning of Theme. However, this can lead into problems. It certainly seems a good way of capturing the difference between the second and third versions above to say that one is 'about' yellow canaries, while the other is 'about' miners; but the original version also seems intuitively to be 'about' yellow canaries, since that is the Subject of the clause. In other words, this way of expressing the meaning of Theme makes it hard to distinguish it from Subject. That is why it is better to keep to the idea of Theme as the 'point of departure of the message' or 'that which locates

and orients the clause within its context' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 89). These two ways of describing Theme will probably still seem rather vague, but the analyses later in this chapter of Theme in whole texts should help to make them clearer.

6.3 Identifying Theme

6.3.1 Theme in declarative clauses

The kind of clause in which Theme is usually most straightforward to identify is a simple declarative. In the majority of cases, with this kind of clause Theme and Subject are the same (they are said to be 'conflated'). Subject is the 'normal' Theme choice in declarative clauses: it is the constituent that is chosen as Theme unless there are good reasons for choosing something else. It is therefore said to be the **unmarked** Theme choice, see Figure 6.1.

Theme	Rheme
You Yellow canaries The Queen This large sixth form college	probably haven't heard of the SOU before. have been used to 'test' the air in mining for centuries. yesterday opened her heart to the nation. is one of only two offering boarding accommodation.

Figure 6.1   Subject as Theme

As was mentioned in 4.3.2, the Subject may be fairly extensive, if, for example, the nominal group acting as Subject includes a long Postmodifier. In these cases, it is the whole nominal group that is Theme. The Subject may also be a nominal group complex, where, for example, two coordinated nominal groups function together as Subject: again, the whole group complex is a single clause constituent and thus functions as Theme (see the second example in Figure 6.2). In some cases, the Subject may be an embedded clause, as in the third example.

Theme	Rheme
The languages that the Eskimo people speak around the top of the world, in places as far apart as Siberia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland,	differ quite a lot in details of vocabulary.
A keen interest in the environment, familiarity with the workings of Government and/or the town and country planning systems	would be a strong advantage.
Sending the final result through to Faculty before all the required documents have arrived	will probably just confuse matters.

Figure 6.2   'Heavy' Subject as Theme

The other kind of constituent that is relatively often chosen as Theme in declarative clauses is an Adjunct. Unlike Subject and Complement, which typically occur in a relatively fixed order in relation to the Predicator ('Subject-Verb-Object' in traditional terms), the position of Adjuncts is fairly flexible, and they can be placed in Theme without this seeming particularly unusual or marked compared with the choice of Subject as Theme. As with Subject Themes, the Adjunct may be quite long – e.g. see the last example in Figure 6.3.

Last night	a man was helping police inquiries.
In our classical collection	you will find many well-loved masterpieces.
Out of Britain's 37 most senior judges	only one is a woman.
As a tax-payer,	I object to paying for the restoration of Windsor Castle.
In common with almost every art movement born in the early part of this century,	it considered itself revolutionary.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.3   Adjunct as Theme

It is possible to have a constituent other than Subject or Adjunct as Theme in a declarative clause, but this is not very common, and usually needs a particular kind of context, such as where the constituent in Theme position is being contrasted with something else in the text. In the first example in Figure 6.4, the travel agency who have issued the advertisement have listed all the (pleasant) tasks that the client will do on holiday, such as exploring the beaches or learning the local dances; now they are about to list all the tiresome tasks that they will undertake for the client, such as making the travel arrangements.

All the rest	we'll do for you.
Friends like that	I can do without.
What I saw inside	I do not want to describe.
Particularly significant	was the way the subjects reacted to the third task.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.4   Complement as Theme

Clauses like those in Figure 6.4 are said to have **marked** Theme, because they are unusual enough to draw attention to themselves, and because they only occur when contextual reasons overrule the unmarked choice of Subject as Theme. I mentioned earlier that it is easy to confuse Theme and Subject since we can say that, in some sense, the clause is 'about' both. But looked at from the speaker's point of view, it makes sense to start the clause with the constituent that combines both these types of 'aboutness'. This is why Subject is the natural choice as Theme. What is slightly odd

about the sentences in Figure 6.4 is that the Theme slot is filled by the Complement, an entity that, as mentioned in 4.3.6, could have been Subject as well (e.g. 'All the rest will be done for you'). In other words, Theme and Subject have been separated when they could in principle have been conflated. The reason why they have been separated in cases like this is often to highlight a contrast between the thematized element and something in the preceding text, as in the first example in Figure 6.4.

Adjuncts, on the other hand, could not usually move so easily into the Subject role. In addition, as mentioned above, their position in the clause is typically flexible. Therefore, when an Adjunct is used as Theme, as in Figure 6.3, it is somewhere in the middle on the scale of markedness. However, for simplicity they are labelled as marked Theme – see Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). The main reason for including them as marked Theme is that, just as with the examples in Figure 6.4, it is normally possible to identify factors in the context that have led to their being chosen as Theme. We will explore some of these factors when we look at Theme in text, below; but as a simple example, think of the difference between these two sentences (Theme is in italics):

I went to town on Friday.
On Friday I went to town.

If a speaker was starting a conversation, they would be much more likely to use the first version. The speaker would be more likely to use the second if they had already established that they were organizing what they were saying in terms of time sequence: you might well expect to find other Themes like 'The next day' somewhere else in their talk. Another way of putting this is that Subject is chosen as Theme when there is no good reason to choose anything else; but when there are contextual pressures, such as the speaker's wish to establish a contrast or signal a particular form of organization in their discourse, another element – Adjunct or Complement – may be chosen as Theme instead.

6.3.2 Theme in non-declarative clauses

The other main type of clause is interrogative, which typically serves to realize a question. To understand the unmarked Theme choice in these clauses, we need to think about the communicative function of questions. The basic reason for asking a question is to find out some 'missing' information (of course, as noted in Chapter 4, questions may be used to serve many other purposes – e.g. to invite someone to do something – but that basic function remains present in all cases). As mentioned in 4.3.4, with **WH-interrogatives**, the WH-word or group itself represents the missing information that the other person is being asked to provide. In questions the natural starting point is the thing that the questioner wants to know about, and therefore it is the WH-word or group that almost invariably appears in Theme position – indeed, the clause structure of WH-questions has evolved as different from that of declaratives precisely in order to allow the thematization of the WH-element. As the examples in Figure 6.5 show, the missing information may be any part of the

What	happened to her?
What	do you want to know?
Which platform	does it leave from?
How	did you come to employ him?
What use	is a second?
How often	are you supposed to take them?
Theme	Rheme

Figure 6.5   Theme in WH-questions

message: Subject in the first example, Complement in the second, Complement of a preposition in the third, Adjunct in the fourth, and so on. Unlike Theme in declarative clauses, the type of clause constituent does not affect markedness. A marked Theme choice in a WH-question is when the WH-word or group does not come in first position. However, since the structure of interrogative clauses is specifically designed to bring the WH-element to first position, marked Theme choices are relatively rare with questions; see Figure 6.6 for an example.

After the party,	where did you go?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.6   Marked Theme in WH-questions

As well as WH–interrogatives, we also need to consider **yes/no interrogatives**. As pointed out in 4.3.4, the missing information in these cases is polarity ('yes' or 'no'). We can see a question like 'Has he gone?' as the speaker inviting the other person to clarify which of the two possibilities is correct: 'He has/hasn't gone'. It is, of course, the finite verbal operator that expresses polarity: 'has' vs. 'hasn't'. Thus again it is natural for this to be in Theme position. However, for reasons that will be discussed in section 6.6.4 below, the Theme in these cases also includes the Subject; see Figure 6.7. As with WH-questions, marked Theme, with something appearing before the Finite, is rare; but the final example in Figure 6.7 shows an instance of this.

Have you	finished your meal, sir?
Did he	tell you where I was?
Hasn't he	changed his name?
So on Monday	did they get the problem fixed?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.7   Theme in yes/no questions

A further type of non-declarative clause is **imperative**. Once again, the unmarked Theme choice can be understood by considering the communicative purpose. This is normally to get the other person to carry out the action, and the natural starting point is therefore the Predicator, which expresses the action. In the case of a negative or emphatic imperative, the Predicator is still included along with the Finite 'don't/do' (for essentially the same reason as in the case of the Subject in yes/no questions, see section 6.6.4). With most imperatives, it is the addressee that is understood as the person who will carry out the action. However, there is a sub-category of imperatives in which both the addressee and the speaker are involved: this is the form of imperative with 'let's'. As noted in 4.3.4, 'let's' expresses, albeit in an idiomatic way, the Subject, and is therefore analysed as Theme; see Figure 6.8.

Leave Don't cry Do have Let's	the lamp here. about it. some cheese. go for a walk, shall we?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.8   Theme in imperative clauses

Marked Theme is rather more common with imperative clauses than with the other non-declarative types. As mentioned above, the understood doer of the action in an imperative clause is normally the addressee; and it is in fact possible to make this explicit by using 'you' as a marked Theme choice. In addition, an imperative clause may start from an Adjunct, which may, for instance, give an explanation of why the command should be carried out. Figure 6.9 gives examples of some possibilities.

You On arrival in Liverpool For a sharper taste	just shut up, will you? take a taxi to the University. squeeze some lime over it.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.9   Marked Theme in imperative clauses

A final small group of clauses are **exclamative**: clauses that are formally declarative but which are similar in some ways to WH-interrogatives, and which are analysed in the same way, with the WH-element as the natural Theme. See Figure 6.10.

What a nice plant How absolutely lovely	you've got! she looks tonight!
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.10   Theme in exclamative clauses

Exclamative clauses bring us to the question of **minor clauses**: clauses that do not have a Predicator. These include: exclamations like 'How interesting!' and 'Congratulations'; greetings and vocatives like 'Hallo' and 'Sue!'; and certain idiomatic expressions such as 'What about the other two?'. Generally, only major clauses (those which have a Predicator) have thematic structure, and thus minor clauses are not analysed for Theme/Rheme (just as they are not usually analysed for transitivity).

To conclude the discussion of different Theme choices in the basic clause types, it is worth mentioning that either the Theme or Rheme may be missing from a clause. This happens with **elliptical** clauses, where part of the message may be 'carried over' from an earlier message (e.g. in the answer to a question), or may be understood from the general context. A few examples of the possibilities are given in Figure 6.11, with the elliptical elements given in brackets to show how the decision is made to assign the elements that are present to Theme or Rheme.

Who	(would you most like to meet)?
(I	'd most like to meet) Your real father.
Why ever	(will you) not (come)?
(That	's an) Amazing discovery!
(Are you)	Not sure what a special delivery is?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.11   Theme in elliptical clauses

- Refer to Exercise 6.1.

6.4 Special thematic structures

Having established the basic types of Theme, in the following three sections we will look at certain aspects in more detail. We begin by examining ways in which the speaker can manipulate the structure of her message in order to establish specific kinds of starting points.

6.4.1 Thematic equatives

So far, all the Themes that we have examined have consisted of a single clause constituent. However, there is a textual resource in English by means of which the speaker can group together more than one element of the message as a single constituent, and then use that 'multi-element constituent' as Theme (and Subject). This is the structure illustrated in Figure 6.12, which is traditionally called a 'pseudo-cleft', but which Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 3.2) prefer to call a **'thematic equative'**.

What I'm going to do now What I want to talk about What really annoyed me What one will not learn here What happened	is to whisk these all together is the nature of certain kinds of evidence used in the courts was that they didn't tell me the truth. is anything about the Enlightenment. was that Benjamin Lee Whorf picked up Boas' example and used it.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.12   Thematic equatives

Halliday and Matthiessen use the term 'thematic equative' because the Theme–Rheme structure here is expressed in the form 'Theme = Rheme', with the '=' expressed by the Predicator 'be'. This formulation is a reminder of the fact that these are actually a type of identifying clause, in which the embedded WH-clause always acts as the Value – see 5.2.3. It is also worth highlighting the fact that the Theme is Subject, so these structures technically have unmarked Theme.

Most of these examples could be re-written to distribute the components of the message in their 'normal' positions. For example:

Now I'm going to whisk these all together.

In most cases, the components of the message are distributed across the Theme and Rheme: in the example above, 'I'm going to now' is in the Theme and 'whisk these all together' in the Rheme. However, a re-writing of the final example in Figure 6.12 does not in fact use any of the words from the Theme, since none of the specific components of the message are placed in Theme: the writer's starting point is simply 'something happened'.

Benjamin Lee Whorf picked up Boas' example and used it.

Re-writes like these show that more or less any combination of the meaning components can be grouped in the single constituent functioning as Theme, or that the Theme may include very little of the specific content of the message.

It is revealing to compare WH-clauses as Themes with WH-interrogative clauses. In both, the WH-element represents a 'gap' that is about to be filled in: with questions, it is the addressee who is expected to fill the gap, whereas in thematic equatives it is the speaker who completes her own message by filling the gap. This link with questions helps us to understand why a speaker might use a thematic equative. In a sense, the starting point in a thematic equative is often a question that the speaker imagines the hearer might want to ask at this stage in the text. It helps us to see this if we look at the context of the examples. For instance, the sentence

What one will not learn here is anything about the Enlightenment

comes at a transition point in a book review. The reviewer has begun by making it clear that he does not like the book as a whole. He then, however, lists a number of good aspects, things that can be learnt from the book. The example sentence signals the return to the more critical comments that his opening has led us to expect. It is as if the reviewer is imagining his reader thinking: 'Why has he said that the book is bad if I can learn useful information from it? What *won't* I learn here?' The writer then takes that as the starting point of the message, signalling in the Theme that the Rheme will answer this question.

In other cases, particularly in speech, the thematic equative seems to serve more as a way of '**staging**' the message: splitting it into two chunks that the hearer will find easier to process. The Theme as starting point is divided off from the Rheme in a way that is more obvious than in the corresponding non-equative version, which allows the hearer to process each part separately. This feature is made even clearer by the fact that there is typically an intonation break after the equative Theme: this signals that the speaker is presenting that part of the message as a separate information unit. This applies to the first two examples in Figure 6.12, which are from spoken discourse: the first is from a cookery demonstration on television, and the second from the opening of a lecture. Theme choice in general serves to orient and guide the listener or reader; and thematic equatives are particularly clear examples of this. Both the functions mentioned – asking the reader's or listener's question and staging the information – make explicit the interactive consideration of the audience.

As well as having the WH-clause as Theme, it is possible to start from the other end, and to put the WH-clause in Rheme. This is shown in Figure 6.13. Such clauses are, in fact, the marked version of thematic equatives. These marked thematic equatives often occur with pronouns (e.g. 'that') in Theme, which refer back to what has been said in the immediately preceding message. Even when the Theme position is not taken by a pronoun, the component of the message in Theme normally relates back to a meaning that has already been set up.

That Making the Party feel good about itself And nothing	's not what I meant. is, after all, what he does best. is precisely what we got.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.13   Marked thematic equatives

6.4.2 Predicated Theme

One key feature of thematic equatives is that they group more than one element of the message into a single clause constituent, which can then function as Theme (or, in marked cases, as Rheme). There is another thematizing structure that allows the speaker to pick out a single element and give it emphatic thematic status. This is the structure exemplified in Figure 6.14, which is traditionally called a 'cleft sentence', but which Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 3.7) prefer to call '**predicated Theme**'.

It's not the technology It is we It is the second of these points It wasn't until 1986 It was only by sheer luck	which is wrong. who have not learned how to use it. that I shall be concentrating on in this talk. that we finally came back to work in the UK. that I noticed the key was missing.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.14   Predicated Theme

As the examples in Figure 6.14 show, the clause constituent that occurs in predicated Theme may be Subject (examples 1–2), Complement (example 3) or Adjunct (examples 4–5). Evidence from corpus studies suggests that Adjunct occurs at least as frequently as Subject; but we can understand the function of predicated Theme if we focus first on Subject as Theme. As mentioned earlier, Subject is the natural choice for Theme, so it might seem unnecessary to use a specialized structure to place it in Theme position. But notice what happens if we re-write the first two examples (which follow each other in the original text) to remove the predicated Theme:

The technology is not wrong. We have not learned how to use it.

What we have lost here is the clear signal of contrast between the two Subjects. In speech, it would be possible to signal the contrast by intonation – amongst other things by stressing 'technology' and 'we'; but in writing this resource is not available, and the tendency would be for the reader to assume that the emphasis was on the last lexical item of each clause ('wrong' and 'use'), which is the unmarked pattern of intonation in English. Predicated Theme here serves to guide the reader towards a particular pattern of emphasis that is not the most natural one. More generally, the function of predicated Theme is to single out the predicated constituent as particularly noteworthy in some way, often because it contrasts with something in another part of the text (as in examples 1 and 2), or because it is represented as selected from amongst a number of alternatives (as in example 3).

6.4.3 Thematized comment

Another special thematic structure, which in some ways resembles predicated Theme, allows speakers to start their message with their own comment on the value or validity of what they are about to say. We have already considered these structures as ways of expressing explicit objective modality (4.4.4) and appraisal (4.5). Here is a typical example:

It's true that we don't know what we've got until we lose it

Here the main information is 'we don't know what we've got until we lose it', a proposition which is evaluated as 'true'. The main similarity with predicated Theme is that in both cases the 'it' acts as a place-holder for the Subject of the Predicator 'be' in the first clause: the real Subject is the second clause (see 4.3.2). The main difference is that, with thematized comment, the comment in the 'it'-clause is not a meaning component of the second clause, and it is not possible to re-write them in the form of a single clause as we were able to do with the examples of predicated Theme.

> It's not the technology which is wrong. = The technology is not wrong.
> It's true that we don't know what we've got until we lose it. = ?

However, this still involves a grammatical operation (the use of 'it' as a place-holder) that serves to set up as the starting point of the message the speaker's own comment. One's own attitude is a natural starting point, and thematized comment is extremely common in many kinds of discourse. The alternative (where Theme and true Subject – i.e. the embedded clause – are conflated) is possible, but it is very much the marked one of the pair:

> *That he should hit back in the only way he seems to know* was grimly inevitable.

Figure 6.15 gives a few of the wide range of possibilities for thematized comment.

It is true that	we don't know what we've got until we lose it.
It may be that	the news reporters are manipulating the truth for reasons of strikingness.
It's interesting that	you should say that.
It is difficult	to know exactly how to characterize what we have just noticed.
It is regretted that	the University is unable to provide continuous nursing or domestic care.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.15   Thematized comment: one possible analysis

I should point out that Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 97–8), who only touch on this structure in passing, do not take it as a thematizing device, and imply that the Theme in all the examples in Figure 6.15 is 'It' alone. However, my own experience in analysing texts suggests strongly that it makes more sense to include the comment: in many cases, thematized comment plays a specialized role in the text and it obscures the method of development of the text if one simply labels 'It' as Theme. It must be admitted, though, that it is different from all the other types of Theme that we have considered so far; and in 6.7.5 below I will suggest an alternative way of viewing this structure.

6.4.4 Preposed Theme

One final thematizing structure, which occurs almost exclusively in impromptu speech or in writing that imitates speech, is **preposed Theme**. In such cases, the speakers announce their Theme as a separate constituent, and then substitute a pronoun in the appropriate place in the following clause.

People like us, in the middle, Happiness, That bloke who rang last night, Your Mum,	we have to be careful about the children we have. that's what life is about. what was he on about? does she know you're here?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.16   Preposed Theme

As the examples in Figure 6.16 show, the preposed Theme is normally a nominal element; and it is most commonly Subject. Most pre-position in authentic speech occurs with declaratives, but the last two examples show that such Themes may also occur with interrogatives.

6.4.5 Passive clauses and Theme

Before leaving the topic of thematizing devices, we should mention one structural resource that has a number of functions, including that of moving a particular constituent into Theme. This is **passivization**. In most cases, there will be a complex web of reasons for choosing passive rather than active; but there are some cases where the influence of Theme choice is relatively dominant. This is clearest where the Agent (the 'doer' of the action) is explicitly mentioned in a prepositional phrase with 'by', since in these cases both potential Subjects are present. As an example, here is a slightly simplified extract from a narrative, with the Themes in italics.

> *They*'d managed to get themselves on the wrong coach at Exeter. *They* were rescued by a soldier who spotted them both crying. *He* took them back to Exeter on another bus.

One reason for the passive form in the second sentence is that it enables the writer to maintain the starting point 'They', which is carried over from the previous sentence. The other character, 'a soldier', is introduced in the Rheme of the second sentence, and is then available as a natural starting point for the third sentence. This 'chaining' is weakened by switching the active and passive forms:

> They'd managed to get themselves on the wrong coach at Exeter. A soldier who spotted them both crying rescued them. They were taken back to Exeter by him on another bus.

This version is not incoherent, but it certainly sounds less natural.

● Refer to Exercise 6.2.

6.5 Theme in clause complexes

So far we have concentrated on Theme in single clauses. But what happens when we have a **clause complex** consisting of more than one clause? When a dependent clause in a clause complex precedes the independent clause on which it depends, there appear to be good practical reasons for analysing the dependent clause as the Theme for the whole clause complex. We can take the following as an example:

As the universe expanded, the temperature of the radiation decreased.

If we follow strictly the basic assumption that every clause has a Theme, we will analyse this sentence as in Fig 6.17.

As the universe	expanded,	the temperature of the radiation	decreased.
Theme1	**Rheme1**	**Theme2**	**Rheme2**

Figure 6.17   Theme in dependent and dominant clauses

However, if we compare this sentence with the one immediately following it in the text from which it is taken, the dependent clause seems to be functioning thematically in a very similar way to the Adjunct in the second sentence:

One second after the big bang, it would have fallen to about ten thousand million degrees.

In both cases, the component before the comma serves to set the following information in a sequenced time frame; and in fact, in the sentences around these, there is an alternation between dependent clauses and Adjuncts signalling the successive steps in the origin of the universe. This suggests that it may be equally valid to analyse both sentences in similar ways, as shown in Figure 6.18.

As the universe expanded, One second after the big bang,	the temperature of the radiation decreased. it would have fallen to about ten thousand million degrees.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.18   Dependent clause vs. Adjunct as Theme

The different analyses of the dependent clause in Figures 6.17 and 6.18 capture different aspects of what is going on. We can show both together, as in Figure 6.19.

As the universe	expanded,	the temperature of the radiation	decreased.
Theme1		**Rheme1**	
Theme2	**Rheme2**	**Theme3**	**Rheme3**

Figure 6.19 Theme in the clause complex

But for practical purposes you rarely need to show so much detail. In analysing a text, as we shall see, the way in which the Themes work to signal the '**method of development**' (Fries, 1981) of the text emerges more clearly if dependent clauses in initial position are taken as the point of departure for the whole clause complex – i.e. the analysis shown in Figure 6.18 is generally preferable. This applies both to finite and non-finite clauses. Figure 6.20 gives a range of examples.

After the police arrived Since he's already paid the bill Although they are aware of its existence, If he was in the house, Having worked on the Who's rock opera Tommy, Without replying	I brought them to this cottage. there's not much point in arguing. none of these linguists discusses the Problem-Solution structure in any detail. would he keep out of sight? I later found myself at the front of a tribute band called Who Two. he put his head under the blankets.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.20 Dependent clause as Theme

There are two practical points about analysing Theme in this way that need to be borne in mind. The first is that a dependent clause following the clause on which it depends normally does not need to have its Theme separately identified if you are analysing a text. In the analyses in Figure 6.19 we have assumed that the dependent clause represents in itself the starting point for the whole clause complex: we are thus to some extent treating it as equivalent to a constituent of the dominant clause. The corollary of this is that when the dominant clause comes first, the Theme of that clause functions as Theme for the whole clause complex, including the dependent clause. In Figure 6.21, the dependent clauses in Rheme are in italics.

My dad I Down	died w*hen I was five.* do it *because it's an addiction.* she ran to the kitchen, *where there were voices.*
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.21 Dependent clause in Rheme

The second point is the question of what happens when there is more than one independent clause in a clause complex. In such cases more than one Theme may need to be identified in a sentence. Fries (1994) argues that the most useful unit for analysing Theme in a text is the **T–unit**: that is, an independent clause together with all the clauses that are dependent on it. Thus, if a sentence has more than one independent (or main) clause there will be two T-units, each with its own Theme. In the following sentences, the T-units are separated by the slashed lines, and the Themes are in italics. (For more on clause complexes and T-units, see 7.2.)

> *When we talked* I was thinking of myself ,// *and you* may have thought me very selfish.
>
> *Then, as the universe expanded and cooled*, the antiquarks would annihilate with the quarks, //*but since there would be more quarks than antiquarks*, a small excess of quarks would remain.

- Refer to Exercise 6.3.

6.6 Multiple Theme

So far, I have deliberately tried to keep to examples where it is reasonably easy to identify the boundary between the Theme and the Rheme. However, in looking at dependent clauses in the preceding section, I have passed over without comment the fact that conjunctions like 'and', 'but' and 'as' are included in Theme but do not fill the Theme position by themselves. These and certain other elements have a special status in the thematic structure of the clause.

6.6.1 Conjunctions in Theme

With **conjunctions**, this status is reflected by the fact that, if present, they must come in first position. Their function is to signal that the coming clause forms part of a larger structural unit, the clause complex, and also to signal how it relates to the other clause(s) in the complex. Therefore, they constitute a natural point of departure, helping the hearer to fit this clause in its appropriate context. However, since they must come first they do not 'take up the full thematic potential of the clause' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 110): the speaker still has her main thematic options open – e.g. Figure 6.22 shows different thematic choices following the conjunction 'but'.

but all rooms	look out onto the secluded garden.
but by the morning	the snow had all melted.
But if she missed those in Hyde Park in 1838,	she made up for it in the following year.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.22   Conjunctions as part of Theme

What may be a little trickier to grasp is that there are two classes of Adjunct that also have special thematic status. It is to these that we now turn.

6.6.2 Conjunctive and modal Adjuncts in Theme

We have seen a number of examples where Adjunct has been chosen as Theme; but I have deliberately restricted these to circumstantial Adjuncts that contribute to the experiential meaning of the clause, as in the following example:

After about five minutes she came out of the door.

There are, however, two other kinds of Adjuncts that serve a different purpose, which contribute a different kind of meaning to the message.

Conjunctive Adjuncts, such as 'however', 'alternatively' and 'as a result', signal how the clause as a whole fits in with the preceding text (see 8.3). They are obviously similar to conjunctions in the kinds of semantic relationships that they signal, but, unlike conjunctions, they do not link the clause into a larger structural unit (in over-simple terms, they show how two sentences relate to each other, whereas conjunctions join two clauses into one sentence).

Modal Adjuncts, such as 'probably', 'surprisingly' and 'frankly', convey speakers' judgements of the relevance or truth value of their message (see 4.3.7). They may be seen as a comment on the 'content' of the message rather than part of the content itself (just as conjunctive adjuncts may be seen as linking the content of the clause to that of other clauses without forming part of the content). Thus they orient the hearer to the message by signalling a standpoint from which to view the information in the clause.

Figure 6.23 gives examples of a range of these two kinds of Adjuncts in Theme (the Adjuncts are in italics). The first four examples show conjunctive adjuncts, while the last three show modal adjuncts. (For a detailed list of Adjuncts that fall into these two categories, see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: Section 3.4.)

Thus disorder	will tend to increase with time.
Nevertheless, we	can reflect on our own activities.
However, when ice crystals form,	they will have definite positions.
Then we	haven't met before, have we?
Certainly his wife June	was a very odd woman.
Admittedly, he	took the trouble to destroy all the papers in the cottage.
Please may I	leave the table?
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.23   Conjunctive and modal Adjuncts in Theme

From the account of their functions above, it should be clear that both conjunctive and modal Adjuncts are natural starting points, just as conjunctions are. However, unlike conjunctions, they do not have to be thematic: the speaker can choose whether or not to put them in Theme. They frequently occur in second position in the clause, at the Theme–Rheme boundary immediately after the Subject or whatever other constituent has been chosen as Theme; and they may appear even later in the Rheme – see Figure 6.24.

The little station, In North America, Then It	*however*, had not changed at all. *for example*, there is a grade system for measuring reading. they would *certainly* have to send you home. doesn't last, *naturally*.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.24   Conjunctive and modal Adjuncts in Rheme

The fact that there is a choice involved in placing these Adjuncts in Theme raises the question of why we then need to include other elements in Theme. To answer this, we need to broaden the scope of the discussion a little and to establish a more specific definition of Theme.

6.6.3 Textual, interpersonal and experiential elements in Theme

We have already established that the clause expresses experiential, textual and interpersonal meanings. Lexical elements, such as conjunctive and modal Adjuncts, that express primarily textual and interpersonal meanings have the function of 'placing' the content, of signalling how it fits coherently with the content around it. They therefore naturally tend to gravitate towards the beginning of the clause, which is the structural slot (the Theme) where 'fitting-in work' is done.

However, the textual and interpersonal elements signal *how* the fitting-in is going to work; they do not signal *what* is going to be fitted in. In order to see what is going to be fitted in, what the actual starting point is, we need to have an element from the experiential content of the clause. This is not an easy concept to grasp, and I find that sometimes it is useful to think simply in terms of getting your hearer settled in before launching into what you want to tell them. Older British readers may still have imprinted on their memories the words with which 'Listen with Mother', a radio programme for children, always started the stories that were told: 'Are you sitting comfortably? Then I'll begin. Once upon a time ...' On a small scale, Themes with more than one element can be seen as performing the same function.

This means that Theme must always include a constituent that plays a role in transitivity: a participant, process or circumstance. Halliday and Matthiessen label the thematic experiential constituent the 'topical Theme', arguing that it corresponds closely to what is called 'topic' in topic–comment analysis. However, 'topic' is a notoriously shifty concept, and, like many people working in the Hallidayan

approach, I prefer to avoid it in this context; so I will simply keep to the label '**experiential Theme**'.

If anything precedes the experiential element in Theme – textual and/or interpersonal elements – it is also part of Theme. This is then called a '**multiple Theme**'. There is a restricted range of elements that may precede experiential Theme in multiple Themes. As textual elements, we have already mentioned conjunctions and conjunctive Adjuncts; and to these we can add 'continuatives': a small set of what are sometimes called discourse markers ('yes', 'no', 'well', 'oh', 'now', etc.) that signal the beginning of a new move in the exchange. If more than one textual element is present, they normally occur in the order: continuative, conjunction, conjunctive ('Well, but on the other hand ...'). As interpersonal elements we have mentioned modal Adjuncts; to these we can add Vocatives (e.g. names or other forms of direct address such as 'darling').

Examples of multiple Themes, showing various combinations of elements preceding the experiential element, are given in Figure 6.25.

Well, But And,	certainly, My God, Harriet surely oddly,	sanity we the course he	is a precarious state. 've been dealt a bad hand! doesn't start till next week. was right.
textual	**interpersonal**	**experiential**	
Theme			**Rheme**

Figure 6.25   Multiple Themes

As Figure 6.25 suggests, the typical ordering of elements in multiple Theme is textual^interpersonal^experiential. But when a conjunctive and modal Adjunct appear together in Theme, the modal Adjunct normally precedes the conjunctive one; and the order of elements is interpersonal^textual^experiential; see Figure 6.26.

Unfortunately, Not surprisingly,	however, then,	the 'Un-artist' its operations	proliferated within the art institutions as well. were viewed with admiration.
interpersonal	**textual**	**experiential**	
Theme			**Rheme**

Figure 6.26   Alternative ordering of elements in multiple Themes

6.6.4 Interrogatives as multiple Themes

In section 6.3.2 above, I mentioned that the unmarked Theme of yes/no interrogatives included the Subject as well as the initial verbal operator. With the concept of multiple Theme established, we can now come back to the question of why Subject needs to be included. As discussed earlier (see 4.3.6), it is the Predicator, not the Finite, that expresses the process in transitivity. Thus, in line with the rule that the Theme of a clause goes up to and includes the first experiential constituent, it becomes clear that we must include Subject. Yes/no interrogatives are in fact simply a kind of multiple Theme, with the Finite as an interpersonal element. Similarly, imperative clauses in which the negative or emphatic operator ('don't' or 'do') is present have a multiple Theme with the operator constituting an interpersonal thematic element – see Figure 6.27.

Well,	had Mrs Lovatt, would Do Please don't	she you have make	missed her Mum? say it is untrue? one of these eclairs. me out as some kind of hysterical idiot.
textual	**interpersonal**	**experiential**	
Theme			**Rheme**

Figure 6.27 Yes/no interrogatives and imperatives as multiple Themes

This does not apply to WH-interrogatives, since, although they have an interpersonal function in signalling interrogativeness, the WH-element always plays a role in the transitivity of the clause – it stands in for a participant or circumstance – and therefore it expresses both an interpersonal and an experiential meaning at the same time.

- Refer to Exercise 6.4.

6.7 Some issues in Theme analysis

In any analysis of real text, you will almost certainly find that you run up against problems – some more serious than others – in deciding exactly what to label as Theme in some cases. The following sections look briefly at some of the difficulties that have come up in my experience, and suggest possible ways of handling them (see also 6.9 below).

6.7.1 Existential 'there' in Theme

The issue that arises with existential 'there' is that it is Subject (see 4.3.2) and therefore ought to be Theme, but in experiential terms it has 'no representational function' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 308) and therefore does not fulfil the thematic criterion of expressing experiential meaning. As I argued in 5.2.5, existential clauses

typically take as their starting point the simple fact that some entity exists (and, in the present clause at least, does nothing else). The existence is signalled not just by 'there' but also by 'there' plus the existential process (typically realized by the verb 'be'). Thus it seems to make sense to include the process in Theme – and, in addition, this means that the Theme includes experiential content. Figure 6.28 exemplifies the analysis suggested here. Note that this runs counter to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 98), who assume that 'there' alone is Theme.

There was There is	no question of Kate's marrying Ted. something special about this situation.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.28   Existential 'there' – Theme

Whichever analysis is preferred, it is clear that existential 'there' in Theme functions as a 'pass' option (as could be predicted from its special role in transitivity): it typically points forward to the content of the Rheme as signalling the topic of the clause, and, in many cases, of the following stretch of text.

6.7.2 Interpolations in Theme

Interpolation is a little-analysed but very common linguistic phenomenon, in which the speaker suspends his/her clause at a point where it is clearly not complete in order to comment on it, add extra details, etc. before returning to complete the original clause. The interpolations in the following examples are in italics:

Maureen Freely's piece, *which is pure personal invective*, I will not dignify with a response.
Karr, *40*, is a testimony to survival.

In a sense, interpolations are not part of the clause that they interrupt (this is signalled in writing by the paired commas, dashes or brackets that separate them off): they are a separate message. They can therefore often be analysed as having a separate thematic structure, especially when, as in the first example above, they are realized as a full clause. However, they are tethered to the host clause by the fact that the speaker has chosen to bring them in as interpolations rather than as structurally independent messages; and when the peg to which they are tethered is the constituent in Theme, it is more practical simply to include them as part of Theme, as in Figure 6.29.

Maureen Freely's piece, *which is pure personal invective,* Karr, 40,	I will not dignify with a response. is a testimony to survival.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.29   Interpolations in Theme

6.7.3 Preposed attributives

In certain texts, you will come across a distinctive structure often associated with particular registers such as tourism and advertising. This is where an attribute of the Subject, rather than following it as with the interpolations illustrated above, is placed in front. The preposed attributives in the following examples are in italics.

> *One of the most imposing buildings in Liverpool*, St George's Hall was designed by Lonsdale Elmes, who was only 24 when the foundation stone was laid in 1838.
> *Always ready the instant you need it*, the torch needs no battery or mains recharging.
> *Standing in extensive gardens*, the house has been carefully maintained to a high standard.
> *Priced from under £200 to around £20,000*, our choice of rings is seemingly endless.

The preposed attributive clearly has thematic prominence and experiential content, and could therefore be taken as Theme. Like interpolation, however, it is expressed as structurally dependent, tethered to the following nominal group, and therefore the nominal group can be taken as forming the real starting point of the clause: the preposed attributive, in this view, merely smuggles in a bit more information before the writer gets down to his/her real message. The suggested Theme analysis for some of the examples is given in Figure 6.30.

Always ready the instant you need it, the torch	needs no battery or mains recharging.
Standing in extensive gardens, the house	has been carefully maintained to a high standard.
Theme	**Rheme**

Figure 6.30   Preposed attributives in Theme

6.7.4 Theme in reported clauses

One recurring difficulty in analysing Theme is how to treat reported clauses. As we shall see in Chapter 7, reporting – or projection, as we shall call it – involves a different kind of relationship between clauses than other types of clause complex; and this is reflected in the uncertain status of projected Themes in text. In the case of quotes, the analysis is usually straightforward: the reporter makes a Theme choice in the projecting (reporting) clause and also re-cycles the original speaker's Theme choice in the quote. Both Themes typically seem to be important in the development of the text, and they are best shown separately, as in Figure 6.31. (For practical convenience, when drawing up a separate list just of the Themes in a text, a Theme in a quote can be marked with the opening set of double inverted commas: "Some people.)

He	said:	"Some people	won't like it."
"What deters them	is the likelihood of being caught,"	he	said.
Theme	**Rheme**	**Theme**	**Rheme**

Figure 6.31   Theme in quotes

With indirect speech, on the other hand, it is difficult to decide whether to treat the projected (reported) clause as forming a T–unit with its projecting clause – in which case the Theme need not be shown separately – or as a separate message on a different 'level'– in which case the Theme should appear separately. On the whole, I tend to favour the latter course, as shown in Figure 6.32. If the Theme is shown separately, a single inverted comma can be used in a list of Themes to mark it as projected. In many cases, the Theme of the projected clause (e.g. 'the demise of the mine') links in with the topic of the text, while the Theme of the projecting clause (e.g. 'Ms Squire') primarily 'frames' the information by identifying the source. Thus both Themes seem to serve different functions in the development of the text, and it is useful to identify both separately. But I must admit that this is an unresolved issue (for an alternative way of handling such cases see 6.9 below).

Baker (1999)	suggests that	certain features	might be observed more systematically using corpora.
Strike action	puts teachers' hopes of winning reductions at risk,	the education secretary	will warn today.
Theme	**Rheme**	**Theme**	**Rheme**

Figure 6.32   A possible analysis of Theme in reports

6.7.5 Theme and interpersonal grammatical metaphor

The issue of projection takes us to another area that potentially has fairly far–reaching implications for how Theme is identified. As discussed in 4.4.4, modality may be realized in the form of a separate clause. This is a kind of interpersonal grammatical metaphor (see Chapter 9), using the grammatical resources of projection: interpersonal meanings are experientialized and treated as if they were 'content' meanings. Such cases can therefore be viewed from either of two perspectives. We can see them from the experiential angle, in which case we treat them as projecting clauses and implement the analysis we decided on in 6.7.2 above. This gives us the Theme patterns shown in Figure 6.33.

I I John Hamm	think suspect is too old to be Batman	those days the clocks I	are gone. might have been replaced. think.
Theme	**Rheme**	**Theme**	**Rheme**

Figure 6.33   A possible analysis of Theme in interpersonal projection

However, it is also possible to view them from the interpersonal angle, as interpersonal thematic elements in multiple Theme. We then have the Theme patterns shown in Figure 6.34.

I think I suspect	those days the clocks John Hamm	are gone. might have been replaced. is too old to be Batman, I think.
interpersonal	**experiential**	
Theme		**Rheme**

Figure 6.34   An alternative analysis of Theme in interpersonal projection

One advantage of this latter analysis is that it opens the possibility of handling other forms of interpersonal grammatical metaphor in the same way. For instance, in 6.4.3 I suggested one way of analysing thematized comment in examples such as:

It's true that we don't know what we've got until we lose it

This is not exactly the same structure as that illustrated in Figure 6.34, since here the second clause is embedded, and therefore not a ranking clause. This means that, if we identified a separate Theme in that clause, it would be moving down to a more delicate level of analysis than is usually helpful in exploring how thematic choices work in texts. What we can do instead is to take the thematized comment as an interpersonal element in multiple Theme. The resulting analysis of these cases and other forms of interpersonal metaphor is shown in Figure 6.35 (see Chapter 9 for an explanation of the different forms of metaphor illustrated here).

It is important to stress that both the experiential and the interpersonal perspectives are valid: they simply prioritize different aspects of the structure. The experiential perspective takes the wording as primary, and analyses Theme in terms of the clausal composition; the interpersonal perspective takes the function as primary, and analyses Theme in terms of the modal or evaluative meaning. The latter is the perspective that I generally adopt now, since I find that it allows me to track more easily the ways in which interpersonal framing appears across texts; but this decision is based on practical rather than theoretical considerations.

| It is true that	we	don't know what we've got until we lose it.
It may be that	the news reporters	are manipulating the truth for reasons of strikingness.
It's interesting that	you	should say that.
It is difficult		to know exactly how to characterize what we have just noticed.
It is regretted that	the University	is unable to provide continuous nursing or domestic care.
I would argue that	your download speed	relies on a number of things:
Could I ask whether	you	feel a little embarrassed tonight?
interpersonal	**experiential**	
Theme		**Rheme**

Figure 6.35 Theme in interpersonal projection
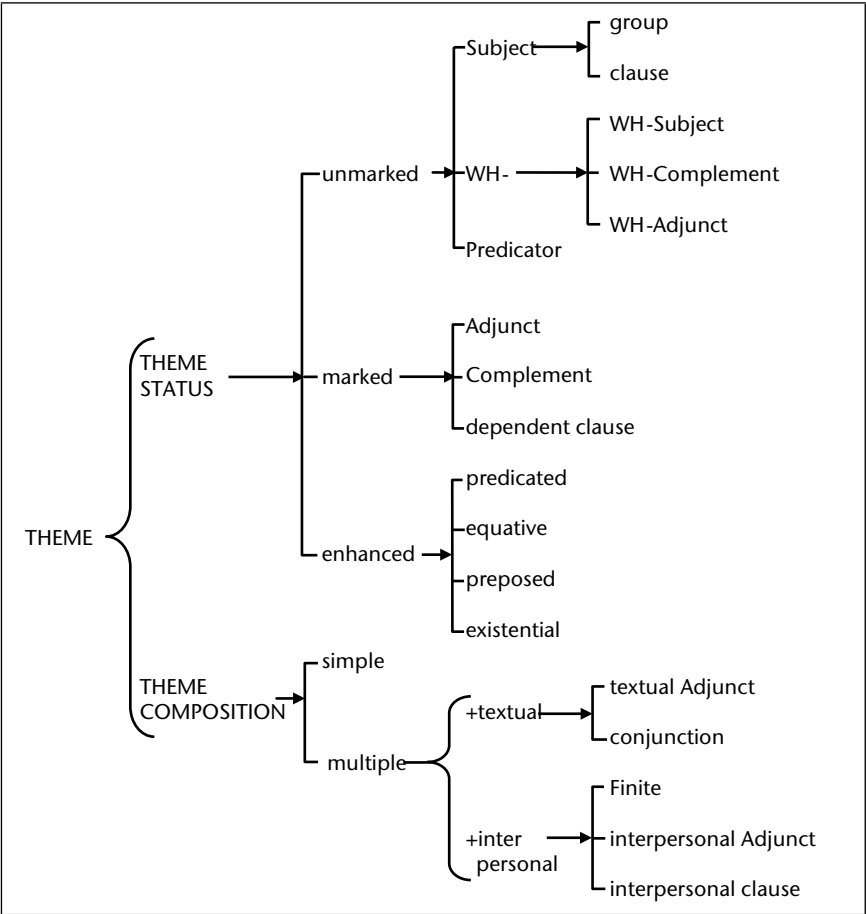
Figure 6.36 Thematic systems

At this point we have completed the survey of the main categories of Theme; and Figure 6.36 presents these in the form of a system network. I have placed together a number of options in the 'enhanced Theme' category, since they seem to be outside the marked/unmarked distinction, and to serve primarily to thematize particular parts of the clause or kinds of meanings. (The term 'enhanced' comes from Fawcett and Huang, 1995.)

To check that you recognize all the categories, you may find it useful to think of (or, even better, find in text) an example of each of the most delicate options on the right of the systems. For example, 'unmarked: Subject: clause' includes cases such as '*to lose one parent* may be regarded as a misfortune'.

6.8 Theme in text

So far in this chapter, the focus has mainly been on identifying Theme in various types of clauses and clause complexes. I have mentioned different reasons for choosing certain constituents as Theme and for choosing certain structures to express Theme choices. These reasons are typically those that hold at the level of individual clauses: what, in the context, helps to explain why this Theme choice has been made for this clause. But this does not give a full picture of what is going on. I generally find that Theme starts to make more sense once you examine it in terms of how Theme choices work together through a text to signal its underlying coherence, and to signal its 'method of development', in Fries's term. Very broadly, it is possible to identify four main, related functions:

- Signalling the **maintenance** or **progression** of 'what the text is about' at that point. This is especially done through the choice of Subject as unmarked Theme: maintenance is done by keeping to the same Theme as the preceding clause (most obviously if the Subject Theme is a pronoun), progression often by selecting a constituent from the preceding Rheme (see also the discussion of encapsulation by nominalization in 9.3).
- Specifying or changing the **framework** for the interpretation of the following clause (or clauses) – the wording here is taken from Fries (1995). This is mostly done by the choice of marked Theme, especially Adjunct or clause, and/or by including textual or interpersonal elements in Theme. A 'heavy' Subject Theme, giving a large amount of information, can also be used for this purpose.
- Signalling the **boundaries** of sections in the text. This is often done by changing from one type of Theme choice to another. In many cases, there may be a number of successive Themes (typically three – a 'thematic triplet') of different types: for example, a summative Theme (e.g. 'All this'), followed by one that signals a change of framework, followed by one that signals the start of the new framework.
- Signalling what the speaker thinks is a **viable/useful/important starting point**. This is done by repeatedly choosing the same element to appear in Theme (a particular participant, the speaker's evaluation, elements that signal interaction with the hearer, etc.).

If this is what Theme does, what is the function of Rheme? One way of looking at the different functions of these two elements is to see the Themes as building up the framework of the text, the organization within which the content is fitted, or the angle from which the content should be seen; the Rhemes, on the other hand, provide the content, the main information that the writer or speaker wants the addressee to know. Figure 6.37 gives a simplified picture of how the resources of Theme and Rheme together contribute to textual organization.
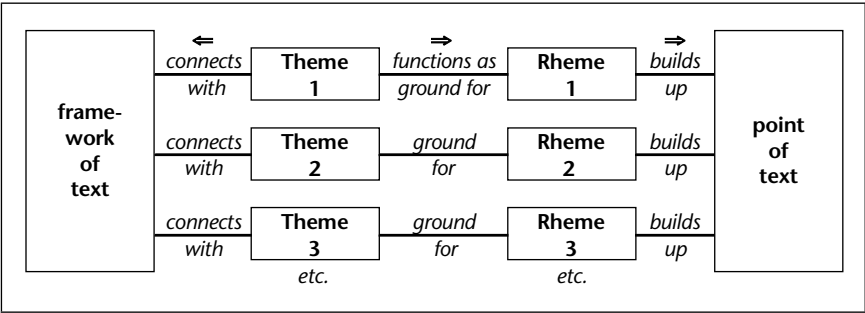

	⇐ connects with	**Theme 1**	⇒ functions as ground for	**Rheme 1**	⇒ builds up	
frame-work of text	connects with	**Theme 2**	ground for	**Rheme 2**	builds up	**point of text**
	connects with	**Theme 3**	ground for	**Rheme 3**	builds up	
		etc.		*etc.*		

Figure 6.37 Theme and Rheme in text

6.8.1 An illustration of Theme in text

It may help to make this rather abstract picture more concrete if I illustrate Theme in action. The following extract is from a textbook on the history of the English Language where the writer, Charles Barber, is describing the language family to which English belongs. Before checking my analysis below, try identifying the T–unit Themes in this extract. Can you detect any overall pattern in the way the Themes are working?

(1) One branch of Indo–European is Indo–Iranian, or Aryan, so called because the ancient peoples who spoke it called themselves Aryas, from a root ârya- or airya-, meaning 'noble, honourable'. (2) The branch has two groups, the Indian and the Iranian. (3) To the Indian group belongs the language of the ancient Vedic hymns from North-West India, which go back by oral tradition to a very remote past, perhaps to about 1200 BC, though the first written texts are much later. (4) A later form of this language is classical Sanskrit, which was standardized in the fourth century BC, and has since been the learned language of India (rather like Latin in western Europe). (5) Modern representatives of the group are Bengali, Hindi, and other languages of Northern India, together with some from further south, like Sinhalese. (6) The other Aryan group, Iranian, includes modern Persian, and neighbouring languages such as Ossetic, Kurdish and Pashto (or Pushtu), the official language of Afghanistan. (7) An ancient form of Iranian is found in the Avesta, the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians, perhaps dating back to 600 BC.

(8) Another branch with ancient texts is Greek, which has a literature from the 7th century BC ...

The Themes are given in Figure 6.38. They are grouped in columns in order to bring out the organization that they construct. The first Theme links the whole paragraph back to the concept of 'Indo-European', which has been introduced previously. The second Theme maintains the topic, and the Rheme of (2) introduces the two sub-branches that are subsequently picked up in the following Themes. Themes (3) to (5) relate to the first sub-branch, and are ordered chronologically, from early to modern forms; while Themes (6) and (7) relate to the second sub-branch, and are also ordered by chronology, though in reverse from modern to ancient. Theme (8), which is the start of a new paragraph, then connects back to Theme (1): 'one branch' – 'another branch'.

(1) ↑One branch of Indo-European

                               (2) The branch

        (3) To the Indian group

        (4) A later form of this language

        (5) Modern representatives of the group

                                         (6) The other Aryan group, Iranian,

                                       (7) An ancient form of Iranian

(8) ↑Another branch with ancient texts

Figure 6.38   Themes in the 'language family' extract

In order to explore the implications of these Theme choices, let us imagine for a moment that we wanted to help students (of linguistics, say, or of English as a Foreign Language) arrive at a coherent understanding of the text. Clearly, we would hope that they would understand the content not just as an unrelated string of facts about languages, but arranged in a kind of hierarchy or tree diagram, as in Figure 6.39. An EFL teacher might, indeed, design a reading comprehension task in which the students were asked to fill in the boxes in this diagram with the names of the various languages. The diagram represents a plausible 'conceptual map' of how we should fit together the information in the text. What is significant for our purposes is that it is the Themes that tell us where we are in the tree, the map coordinates if you like; while the Rhemes tell us what content fills each node in the tree. In the terms used in Figure 6.37, the framework of the text is the tree, the way in which the languages relate to each other; and the point of the text is the languages themselves and their main features.

    The role of the thematic choices in guiding the reader can also be highlighted if we compare the original extract with the following version in which the Themes and Rhemes have been systematically reversed (I have taken out much of the detail, to make it simpler; the Themes are in italics):

    (1) *Indo-European, or Aryan,* is one branch of Indo-European. (2) *Two groups, the Indian and the Iranian*, make up this branch. (3) *The language of the ancient Vedic hymns from North-West India* belongs to the Indian group. (4) *Classical Sanskrit* is a later form of this language. (5) *Bengali, Hindi, and other languages of Northern India,*
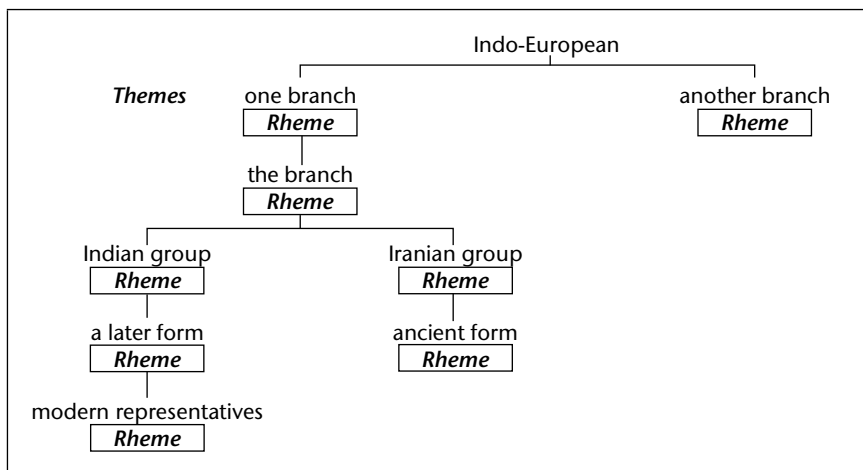
Figure 6.39   A 'conceptual map' of the extract

are modern representatives of the group. (6) *Modern Persian, and neighbouring languages such as Ossetic, Kurdish and Pashto (or Pushtu)*, are included in the other Aryan group, Iranian. (7) *The Avesta, the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians*, contain an ancient form of Iranian.

(8) *Greek* is another branch with ancient texts.

Each sentence is grammatically acceptable; but, although it is perfectly possible to make sense of the text, it requires more effort on the part of the reader: the way in which each language mentioned fits into the categorization only becomes clear in the Rheme (and the reference to the Avesta, a set of texts rather than a language, seems to appear out of nowhere).

● Refer to Exercise 6.5.

6.8.2 Other ways of exploring thematic choices

In the analysis above I have focused mainly on one aspect of thematic choices, the content; but there are other ways in which we can look at Theme in text. The short extract below about damp-proofing, taken from a do-it-yourself book (*The Which? Book of Do-It-Yourself*), can be used to illustrate the different approaches. The Themes are in italics.

Of the non-traditional methods, chemical injection seems to be the most proven and popular alternative. *In this system*, a chemical water repellent is injected throughout the thickness of the wall to act as a moisture barrier. *Three types of water repellent* are in common use: *the first* consists of a silicone material carried in a white spirit

solvent; *the second* is an aluminium stearate compound also in white spirit; *the third* is a silicone material using water as the solvent. *The water-based silicone liquid* is usually fed into the wall under very low pressure and allowed to diffuse into the structure over quite a long period of time. *The other two fluids* do not mix with water *so they* are pumped into the wall under quite high pressures to displace at least some of the moisture present.

If we concentrate on the type of Theme (unmarked, marked or enhanced), there is a clear pattern that echoes the points I made above about how Theme choices may maintain topic or signal changes. The extract opens with a marked Theme, which links back to what has gone before and signals a topic shift: the preceding section was about the traditional method of damp-proofing, and now the writer moves to one of the non-traditional methods. The second sentence also has a marked Theme, which sets up the specific frame for this paragraph: a description of the system now in focus. After that, the Themes are all unmarked Subject Themes, signalling that the writer is keeping to the topic that has been established. When the writer moves to the next stage in the method (in the sentence following the extract), the shift – this time in chronology – is again signalled by a marked Theme: 'Once the fluids have penetrated the voids or pores in the masonry'. And later in the section, after a series of mainly unmarked Themes, another marked Theme appears as the writer shifts from the general description and evaluation of the method to an explanation of how readers can install this kind of damp-proofing for themselves:

> *Of all the techniques for damp-proofing*, chemical injection is the easiest to do yourself.

It is generally accepted that different registers will display different thematic patterns, particularly in terms of the content and frequency of different kinds of marked and enhanced Themes. It is noticeable, for instance, that neither of the extracts from expository texts above includes any enhanced or interpersonal Themes. They do occur elsewhere in those texts, in other generic stages – for instance when the writer of the second extract appraises the effectiveness of chemical injection, we find interpersonal clauses as Themes: e.g. '*Current evidence suggests that* these treatments'. This reflects the shift from 'neutral' description to interpersonal evaluation.

A further approach to analysing Theme in text is **thematic progression**. This looks particularly at how Themes relate to preceding Themes and Rhemes, in terms of where the content of each Theme is derived from. Figure 6.40 shows the thematic progression in the extract.

Three main types of progression are generally identified. In constant progression, the Theme of one clause relates back to the Theme of the preceding clause: for example, 'they' connects to 'The other two fluids'. In linear progression, the Theme relates back to one or more elements in the Rheme of the preceding clause: e.g. 'This system' connects to 'chemical injection'. In derived progression, Themes relate back to a 'hyper-Theme' which establishes the topic for a longer stretch of text. A simple example is shown in the relation between 'Three types of water repellent' and the following three Themes: 'the first', 'the second' and 'the third'.
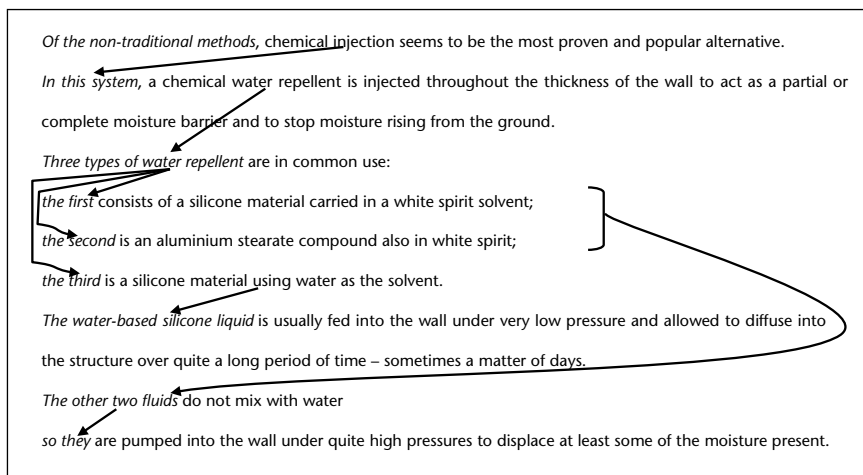
Figure 6.40   Thematic progression in the damp-proofing extract

As with the different kinds of Theme, it has often been assumed that different patterns of thematic progression will be characteristic of different registers. So far, however, this has not been shown convincingly by empirical text studies. Nevertheless, thematic progression has fed into recent studies of Theme through the concept of hyper–Theme (Martin, 1992). This is an introductory sentence that sets up the frame for a sequence of following sentences – that is, it is similar to the traditional idea of a 'topic sentence' in a paragraph. It predicts the kinds of Themes that are likely to follow. This resource is associated with planned – usually written – registers, since it implies that the writer has a clear sense of how the text will unfold from that point (even if only retrospectively, after the rest of the text has been written), and aims to guide the reader cooperatively through the text. In the damp-proofing extract, the first sentence clearly has this function: as I noted above, the Theme of this sentence connects this section back to the preceding section, and the Rheme introduces the new topic, chemical injection, which will be the focus of the following stretch of text (hyper-Themes, apart from those in text-initial position, typically have this double-facing nature, connecting back and pointing forward). The insight that Theme choices may perform essentially the same function at different levels of textual organization can in fact be taken further: it is possible in many instances of carefully planned discourse to identify macro-Themes, which predict the hyper-Themes to follow. An example of a macro-Theme is found in the chapter from which the damp-proofing extract is taken: this starts with a short paragraph introducing four different methods of damp-proofing to be discussed (the macro-Theme), and then devotes a section to each, in the order in which they are mentioned in the introductory paragraph (chemical injection is the second of the methods). Thus the same resource is drawn on to scaffold the text at different levels, with appropriately different kinds of realization: typically, clause Themes are realized by a clause constituent, hyper-Themes by a sentence, and macro-Themes by a paragraph.

6.8.3 Theme in different registers

I mentioned in passing above that enhanced Themes and interpersonal Themes are typically associated with particular types of registers, or of particular generic stages. One broad kind of discourse where they tend to occur is text that sets out to persuade readers or argue a case. In the following extract from an article on the website of a medical university, the writers are arguing through possible interpretations of findings from a range of studies. You will find it useful to identify the T-unit Themes yourself before checking my analysis in Table 6.1.

> First, it is possible that certain nutrients alter the cellular environment in important ways. Some nutrients, including Vitamin E, ß-carotene, and Vitamin C have antioxidant properties. Since there is evidence that oxidation of important intracellular chemicals may alter the control of cell differentiation and proliferation, such antioxidants may influence carcinogenesis.
>
> Second, it has been suggested that foods we eat may alter hormone production, though little direct evidence exists for this idea. However, it is well-known that certain tumors, particularly those involving genital organs, respond to hormone levels and may actually be promoted by them. Interestingly, there is some evidence that soybeans alter sterol metabolism in ways that may be important for cancers such as breast cancer.

The writers are here exploiting Theme for two complementary purposes: to carry forward the topic, mainly through experiential constituents referring to foodstuffs and their chemical composition, and, at the same time, to give prominence to the writers' self-presentation as appropriately cautious in putting forward possible interpretations and as aware of the need to negotiate degrees of validity with the reader. Examples like this support the usefulness of viewing the interpersonal projecting clauses as elements within a larger multiple Theme: the two purposes – topic development and negotiation – are realized by different parts of the thematic choices. If a narrower definition of Theme is adopted, five of the eight Themes in ranking clauses would be 'it' or 'there (is)', which would give a much less convincing picture of how the text is scaffolded.

As I have indicated in several places above, much of what I have said about Theme so far applies more transparently to planned, monologic text, especially formal written discourse, where one person has control over the 'method of development', and can predict how the text will unfold. In other registers, there may be no discernible method of development in the strict sense. This applies most obviously to unplanned speech involving more than one speaker. The following extract is from a discussion about what to buy a family member as a birthday present (recorded by Angela Reid). Again, it is worth identifying the Themes yourself before reading on.

Table 6.1 Multiple Themes in argumentative text

Textual	Interpersonal	Experiential
First	it is possible that	certain nutrients
		Some nutrients, including Vitamin E, ß-carotene, and Vitamin C
	(there is evidence that)	Since there is evidence that oxidation of important intracellular chemicals may alter the control of cell differentiation and proliferation,
Second	it has been suggested that	foods we eat
However,	it is well-known that	certain tumors, particularly those involving genital organs,
	Interestingly,	
	there is some evidence that	soybeans

A: it's Elaine's twenty first and all isn't it // so have to get her a key or something I suppose

L: a key yeh // I think I'll be giving our Debbie money // because I mean I just don't know what to buy her anymore // I mean I was telling our Elaine // she said to me // you're better off giving her money you know // because at least if she gets money when she goes to town with our Susan if she sees something that she likes she picks her own // and she's got her own money then

A: yeh I suppose that'd save messing around with jewellery then wouldn't it

L: it saves any pressure doesn't it // it's all pressure isn't it // it all builds up [pause] // I think that's a better idea

It is less straightforward to identify Theme here, because of the false starts, ellipsis, minimal responses (e.g. 'yeh'), etc. And it is much less easy to see patterns of the kinds we have discussed so far. The Themes are shown in Table 6.2.

In this case, the Themes reflect the development of the topic in rather different ways than those we have seen so far. The first thing that stands out is that all but one of the experiential Themes is the simplest kind, a pronoun. Some of these connect back to elements in preceding Rhemes and therefore signal maintenance of the topic of the conversation at that point. 'She' refers back once to 'our Elaine' and once to 'our Debbie'; both instances of 'that' refer back to the idea of giving money; and 'it' at the start of L's final turn refers back to 'that' in A's preceding turn and thus also to the idea of giving money. The other cases of 'it' have less precise reference; for example, in L's final turn, 'it's all pressure' and 'it all builds up' seem to refer to 'things/life in general'. These do not signal a development of the specific topic; instead, they introduce a general evaluation of the situation (though the Theme in itself does not show this). The other experiential Themes are what Berry (1995) calls 'interactional Themes': those referring to speaker and hearer. Corpus studies have shown that these are the most frequently recurring Themes in conversation: we spend most time talking about ourselves and our addressee.

Table 6.2 Themes in the conversation

Textual	Interpersonal	Experiential
		it
so		[I]
		–
	I think	I
because	I mean	I
	I mean	I
		she
		"you
"because	at least	if she gets money when she goes to town with our Susan if she sees something that she likes
"and		she
	yeh I suppose	that
		it
		it
		it
	I think	that

In addition, perhaps more saliently, the text illustrates thematic features that are typical of conversation. The layout in Table 6.2 highlights the fact that the majority of the Themes are multiple Themes: they include textual (e.g. 'so') and, especially, interpersonal (e.g. 'yeh I suppose') elements. This is a reflection of the way in which speakers in face-to-face conversation are frequently concerned not simply with putting across 'content' in a planned fashion, but with constantly negotiating the way the interaction unfolds, and with maintaining interpersonal relationships. Interpersonal and interactional Themes are obviously closely related, and at times the interpersonal focus draws on a combination of both. Expressions like 'I think' are explicit subjective modality (see 4.4.4); they therefore function as interpersonal thematic elements; but simultaneously they include reference to 'I'.

Perhaps the main reason why Theme works differently in the conversation is precisely that conversations cannot be planned and adjusted as written text (and many kinds of spoken monologue) can. Conversations unfold in real time, and neither interactant can entirely control the contributions of the other person or predict what their own contributions will be. Therefore, whereas in planned writing the overall framework and direction of the text can be taken into account when making Theme choices, in conversation the choices are far more likely to reflect the moment-by-moment state of the dialogue. As noted above, that state includes the fact that the speakers are typically face to face and need to devote communicative energy to the interpersonal relationship. This means that there is an inherent tension between what we can label as experiential and interpersonal concerns; both are competing for thematic space, and both may shift to some extent unpredictably (experientially a speaker may take the topic in a direction that may not have been expected by the previous speaker; interpersonally they may feel the need to build bridges or assert their authority, and so on). Thus Theme choice will often be made on a

clause-by-clause basis rather than in relation to an overall 'map' of the text, although currents of thematic patterning will emerge, surfacing, persisting or disappearing, perhaps reappearing, across the flow of the talk.

Theme has been most thoroughly explored in planned written text, and it has also been shown that the findings translate fairly easily to planned spoken monologue; but there has, on the whole, been less work on Theme in spontaneous conversation. It is clear that the functions that thematic choice serves vary from register to register; but the common feature is that, in different ways, Theme ties the current message in with the unfolding interaction.

- Refer to Exercise 6.6.

6.9 A final note on identifying Theme

In this chapter, I have worked essentially with the criteria for identifying Theme set out in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, Chapter 3). The key criterion is that Theme goes up to and includes the first experiential element in the clause. However, many discussions of Theme in text, even within a Systemic Functional framework, push the boundary of Theme further in certain cases. The basic criterion for analysts who take this line is that Theme should normally include an unmarked Theme: this generally means that, if there is a marked Theme, the following Subject is also included. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 131fn) in fact have a category of 'displaced Theme' that refers to Subject following certain kinds of marked Themes. This covers some of these cases, though not all.) In this approach, the marked Theme is seen as a 'Contextual Frame' or 'Orienting Theme', which typically has the function of changing the textual framework in some way; the Subject Theme, on the other hand, typically serves to maintain the topic of the text. For some analysts, 'Contextual Frames' include not only circumstantial Adjuncts and subordinate clauses in initial position, but also, for example, reporting clauses in initial position since it is the Subject of the reported clause that, in many cases, serves the primary continuative function (compare 6.7.4 above). The approach also includes the interpersonal clauses discussed in 6.7.5 as orienting Themes, as well as interpersonal and textual Adjuncts, on the grounds that these all share the function of preparing for the true starting point of the clause, the Subject Theme. Figure 6.41 shows a sample of the Theme analyses from earlier in the chapter analysed in this way, for comparison.

The disagreement over where to draw the boundary in such cases is partly a practical issue: some analysts argue that the extended Theme allows them to trace more convincingly the way thematic choices contribute to signalling the organization of the text. It is also partly a theoretical issue, hinging on different views of what the function of Theme is: so far, it has not been possible to arrive at a precise enough definition of Theme to provide a secure basis on which to agree about how to identify it. The approach to identification illustrated in Figure 6.41 does not solve all the problems in working with thematic choices in text; and, indeed, it adds a number of its own. One alternative possibility that could be proposed is that it may be more revealing to track Subjects through the text as a separate 'thread' of interpersonal

continuity, in terms of what entities are represented as responsible for the validity of the successive propositions. This Subject thread may at many points conflate with the thematic thread, and at other points diverge from it; and these patterns of conflation and divergence may be significant in how the text unfolds. It is probably only through large-scale analysis of Theme (and Subject) in many texts and many registers that we can hope to pin down more accurately what Theme does.

Last night	a man	was helping police enquiries.
As the universe expanded,	the temperature of the radiation	decreased.
However, when ice crystals form,	they	will have definite positions.
Baker (1999) suggests that	certain features	might be observed more systematically using corpora.
It is regretted that	the University	is unable to provide continuous nursing or domestic care.
Contextual Frame	**unmarked Theme**	**Rheme**

Figure 6.41　An alternative way of identifying Theme

Exercise 6.1

Identify the Theme in the following sentences. Decide which kind of clause is involved: declarative, WH–interrogative, yes/no interrogative, imperative, exclamative, minor or elliptical. Also decide whether the Theme is marked or unmarked (label Adjunct as marked Theme in declarative clauses as well as in other clause types).

1　This was Bono's first interview in two years.
2　In this same year, he also met Chester Kallman.
3　What are you currently reading?
4　Don't you feel more relaxed already?
5　Print your name and address on a piece of paper.
6　More heads at independent schools are considering testing their pupils for drugs.
7　Ever wondered where your favourite pop star is?
8　How many times a week do you buy the *Guardian*?
9　Actions which are inconsistent with an individual's usual behaviour and which give rise to some concern may be an indication of psychological distress.
10　For enquiries relating to this offer please phone 0227 773111.
11　Don't forget to look out for new winning numbers every day!
12　With a CharityCard tax-free giving is easier than ever!
13　Out of the pub came a small, intent-looking woman with a helmet of dun-coloured hair.

14 What sort of car are you thinking of buying?
15 A £2 million, two-hour adaptation of Emma, Austen's fourth novel, planned for ITV's autumn season, will coincide with the release of a big budget Hollywood version in British cinemas.

Exercise 6.2

Identify the Theme in the following sentences. Decide whether a thematizing structure is involved, and if so which kind: thematic equatives, predicated Theme or preposed Theme. Identify any marked alternatives.

1   What often happens is that a new theory is devised that is really an extension of the previous theory.
2   It's not only our engine that's refined.
3   These mass parties, they lose touch with the people.
4   This is what I have attempted to do in this book.
5   All I want is a room somewhere.
6   What we didn't realize was that he'd already left.
7   The most important thing to remember when you're roasting a duck is that it must be perfectly dry before it goes in the oven.
8   That book you were talking about, is it the one that came out last year?
9   It was with an infinite feeling of tolerance she allowed that other people had need of these struts and supports.
10 Eating at home was what they would have to learn to do.

Exercise 6.3

Identify the T-unit Themes in the following sentences.

1   If she were to survive, all her energy must be harnessed for the next painful inch.
2   The workmen waved, and she waved back, conspicuous on her high ridge.
3   While drinking it, she read the paper.
4   He was killed in 1937, fighting in Spain for the Republican cause.
5   When talking about people in industrialized countries with problems in reading or writing, it is important to stress that they are ordinary people.
6   As long as the Chancellor funds tax cuts by cutting spending he could assuage the City's fears while making it even more difficult for Labour to match the Conservatives cut for cut.
7   To find out more about this unique, new way of giving and how you can make the most of your generosity, just call free or use the coupon provided.
8   Eventually, when the region got small enough, it would be spinning fast enough to balance the attraction of gravity, and in this way disk-like rotating galaxies were born.

Exercise 6.4

Identify the Themes in the following sentences. If any are multiple Themes, label the thematic elements as interpersonal, textual or experiential.

1 Now at first sight this might seem to be contradictory.
2 However, I was held up on my way to the airport by heavy rain.
3 Surprisingly, however, this tendency has declined in the mid 1970s.
4 And no doubt he'll deny everything.
5 Well, perhaps he simply isn't interested in the same kind of things.
6 The first three letters, of course, were his mother's initials.
7 Oh, Alice, you are all right, aren't you?
8 The coming of print in Europe at this point in history, then, appears to have played a very dynamic role in the way people think about and read texts.

Exercise 6.5

Here is an extract from a school textbook on history. Identify the T-unit Themes (which have been numbered as a guide), and consider how they reflect the 'conceptual map' of the text.

(1) Although the United States participated heavily in World War I, the nature of that participation was fundamentally different from what it became in World War II. (2a) The earlier conflict was a one-ocean war for the Navy and a one-theatre war for the Army; (2b) the latter was a two-ocean war for the Navy and one of five major theatres for the Army. (3a) In both wars a vital responsibility of the Navy was escort-of-convoy and anti-submarine work, (3b) but in the 1917–1918 conflict it never clashed with the enemy on the surface; (3c) whilst between 1941 and 1945 it fought some twenty major and countless minor engagements with the Japanese Navy. (4a) American soldiers who engaged in World War I were taken overseas in transports and landed on docks or in protected harbours; (4b) in World War II the art of amphibious warfare had to be revived and developed, since assault troops were forced to fight their way ashore. (5a) Airpower, in the earlier conflict, was still inchoate and almost negligible; (5b) in the latter it was a determining factor. (6a) In World War I the battleship still reigned queen of the sea, as she had in changing forms since the age of Drake, (6b) and Battle Line fought with tactics inherited from the age of sail; (6c) but in World War II the capital naval force was the air-craft carrier task group, for which completely new tactics had to be devised.

Exercise 6.6

Below is the beginning of a charity appeal letter. This is written as if addressed to an individual, although of course it is sent to many people. Identify the T-unit Themes and group them according to the kind of entity that they refer to. Can you see any patterns in the way Theme is deployed?

(1) You might wonder why three RSPCA Inspectors should be sitting in a van in the middle of the night, wide awake, just watching and waiting.

(2) For Inspectors in our Special Operations Unit (SOU), it's all in a day's work. (3) I lead the team, (3a) and I'd like to tell you about the extraordinary and sometimes heroic work they do.

(4) You probably haven't heard of the SOU before. (5) That's because we fight cruelty undercover and the success of our work depends on keeping our operations top secret. (6) But today, I'm going to tell you all about our work, because we need your help.

(7) There are eight of us in the SOU. (8) We're plain-clothes Inspectors (8a) and we're known as the Animal Squad. (9) Ours is a highly specialized job: (9a) we're on the trail of criminals responsible for the worst kind of cruelty, where animals are exploited for profit and so-called pleasure.

(10) We've all been uniformed Inspectors for at least five years, (10a) so we've seen some pretty horrific things in our time, (10b) but nothing compares to the kind of vicious abuse we're fighting against now.

(11) Take the men who dug badgers out of their sets, took shots at them and set their dogs on them. (12) Or the man who tried to smuggle parrots into Britain by stuffing them into cardboard tubes and sending them from Australia sealed in a box.

(13) Catching these kind of criminals and bringing them to justice is never easy.
…

7

Clauses in combination

7.1 Introduction

So far, we have concentrated almost exclusively on single clauses, although at times we have had to consider combinations of clauses (for example, in identifying Theme in text we have worked with T-units). As I have stressed throughout the book, the clause is the central resource for making meanings, and the main systems that we have explored relate to clauses. However, we have another resource that we can draw on: the logical metafunction, which enables us to produce more complex configurations in which two or more clauses are joined into a larger whole. The first extract below is a typical example of this kind of clause combining from a formal written text, and the second is from an informal conversation.

> While this handbook will give intending applicants the information they need, students must, in order to obtain up-to-date, full and official information about entrance requirements and courses, write direct to the institutions of their choice at least a year before they hope to begin their studies, so that they will have decided to which institutions they wish to seek admission, and obtained the necessary application form, well before the closing date for receipt of applications.

> hence his absolute horror when we got ready to go to France and I suddenly realized that in all our great planning I had taken down my little tin box to my mummy to look after because you know we haven't got any insurance and I'd packed it all full of goodies that we couldn't leave behind in the flat including the car logbook so we had to make a special trip down to Epsom to collect the bloody thing when we were off on our way to France

In this chapter we will investigate the range of ways in which such complex wholes can be built up. Underlying the discussion is the assumption that the difference between expressing messages in separate simple clauses and in complexes is a meaningful choice. For instance, part of the formal authority construed by the first extract above (working together with other choices such as the formal lexis) comes from the packing of a great deal of information into a single intricately constructed sequence in a way that signals that it has been produced with careful, conscious planning. On the other hand, the looser connections of the spoken extract, which feels 'strung together' rather than intricate, construe a context in which unplanned processing of utterances is appropriate (in this case, informal conversation).

7.2 Units of analysis

At first glance, it might look as though we are shifting our attention from the clause to the sentence: traditional grammar makes a distinction between simple sentences (one clause), compound sentences (two or more clauses in coordination) and complex sentences (two or more clauses, of which one is the main clause while the others are dependent on it). However, in discussing ranks (2.2), I mentioned the problem of using sentences as the basis of grammatically oriented text analysis. The fact that sentences are so clearly signalled in written text in English reflects the users' feeling that there is a unit in the language above the clause – one that in certain respects is more important in communicating meanings than the clause (since sentences are always marked off by punctuation, etc. whereas not all clauses are). This certainly needs to be taken into account; but at the same time we need a principled way of showing how clauses relate to each other that is not restricted to written forms of the language. The unit that we will be working with, therefore, is the **clause complex**: a combination of two or more clauses into a larger unit, with their interdependence normally shown by explicit signals such as conjunctions.

   The clause complex has the advantage that it is neutral with regard to any potential differences in the way meanings are organized in speech and writing. It is true that, in written language, we can typically equate the graphological sentences with clause complexes. However, keeping the two concepts separate allows us, for example, to handle clause complexes that are split by the punctuation: instead of simply dismissing them as 'ungrammatical', we can examine the effects of playing the grammar against the punctuation. In the following example from a nursing advert, a stretch of text is separated into two sentences by punctuation although structurally the second sentence is a continuation of the embedded clause in the first (it = to nurse or to watch … is rewarding):

   Imagine how rewarding it is to nurse a stroke victim towards independence. Or to watch a critically ill patient go into intensive care and come out of it in a stable condition

More importantly, in analysing spoken language we obviously have no punctuation; and, although intonation and pausing may help signal that stretches of speech are

intended to be understood as connected in more complex units, they frequently do not correspond in any straightforward way to the larger grammatical units in utterances. We therefore rely also on the signals of interdependence to identify boundaries within utterances – in other words, we are working with clause complexes.

Adopting the clause complex does not, of course, mean that everything is straightforward. One particular question arises in speech with long strings of **coordinate clauses**. Do we treat them all as part of one clause complex or not – and, if we want to split them, how do we decide where to make the split? Coordinate clauses are equal in status and there is a fuzzy line between two equal clauses combined in a clause complex and two equal clauses treated as separate – the frequent use of coordinating conjunctions like 'but' at the start of written sentences and of spoken utterances reflects this indeterminacy. In written text we normally follow the punctuation: if a sentence starts with 'But' we count it as a new clause complex (since the punctuation presumably reflects how the writer wanted us to read it). But in spoken discourse coordination raises difficulties that can be harder to resolve. The following utterance would presumably be analysed as a single clause complex since there are coordinating conjunctions at all the points where a division could be made (italicized); yet it is equally possible to see the main function of the conjunctions as signalling primarily that the speaker has not yet finished her utterance:

> I said to her in the summer I said I'd better pay the phone bill separately because I thought I bet it's going to be big *and* she said oh I don't know *and* then she said then the first time it came she said you're going to pay aren't you *but* then it was quite large *and* I thought I don't really think I ought to be paying all of this *and* so I had a word with her about it *but* she wasn't very sympathetic

However, we do not need to see this as a problem: it is simply a distinctive feature of informal speech that we do not normally find in writing; and it is significant that the speaker chooses to signal the continuity of what she is saying rather than to divide it into explicitly marked separate chunks.

● Refer to Exercise 7.1.

7.3 Types of relations between clauses

If we take part of the example above, we can begin to explore two basic dimensions that need to be considered in analysing how clauses relate to each other:

> I had a word with her about it but she wasn't very sympathetic

One possible rewording of this expresses more or less the same relationship between the clauses, but changes the relative status:

> although I had a word with her about it she wasn't very sympathetic

In the traditional terms used in Chapter 2, the original version has two independent clauses, whereas the rewritten version has a subordinate/dependent clause followed by a main/independent clause. We can do the same with another (simplified) part of the example:

> I'd better pay the phone bill separately because it's going to be big
> the phone bill is going to be big so I'd better pay it separately

In this case, the first version has a main clause followed by a subordinate clause, while the reworded version has two independent clauses.

The dimension that has changed in the rewordings is **logical dependency**: whether one clause is dependent on or dominates another, or whether they are of equal status. The second dimension has remained constant: the rewordings are intended to express the same kind of **conjunctive relation** (in the first case a concessive relation, and in the second a cause–effect relation). The same variations in logical dependency could be illustrated for other conjunctive relations such as comparison and contrast, and so on. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 7.2) refer to the first of these two dimensions as **taxis** (dependency) and to the second as **logico–semantic** relations.

It should be emphasized that the various types of relationships that we identify between clauses can also be used to describe relations between many types of linguistic elements that combine into a larger unit. Although there is no space to follow up these parallels in detail here, we have already seen this in an informal way in the discussion of circumstances in Chapter 5 (see especially Figure 5.22). This generalizability is predictable, since we are in fact dealing with the fourth metafunction, the logical metafunction: this operates most saliently between clauses (rather than within the clause), but, as with all the metafunctions, we would expect to find it operating at other levels as well.

7.3.1 Logical dependency relations

We have already come across the two possible types of logical dependency: dependence or equality, or, in Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014: 440) terms, **hypotaxis** and **parataxis**. In the following example, where two friends are discussing precious stones in Brazil, we have two paratactic (equal) clauses:

> why don't we look at some and I can have them set for you here

Since they are equal, we only need to distinguish them by the order in which the speaker has chosen to say them. Thus, we can indicate their paratactic status simply by numbers, 1 and 2, separating them by a double slash (if it is useful we can also indicate the division between separate clause complexes with a triple slash):

> why don't we look at some // and I can have them set for you here
>   1   2

However, the original utterance included a clause that is dependent on clause 2:

> why don't we look at some // and if you're serious / I can have them set for you here

Note that the dependent clause precedes the dominant one, but it could equally well follow it:

> // and I can have them set for you here / if you're serious

In other words, the order does not reflect the dependency relations, so we need a different type of labelling for hypotactic (unequal) relations. Halliday and Matthiessen suggest using Greek letters to show dependency: a dominant clause is α, while a dependent clause is β. Thus the example can be labelled as followed (separating the dependent and dominant clauses by a single slash):

> why don't we look at some // and if you're serious / I can have them set for you
> here
>   1   2β 2α

In fact, the complete utterance had another clause dependent on clause 2:

> why don't we look at some // and if you're serious / I can have them set for you here / because it'd be much cheaper than in England

The final 'because' clause seems in some ways more closely attached to the dominant clause, since the condition in the 'if' clause applies to both. We can show this by adding a second layer of dependency labels:

> why don't we look at some // and if you're serious / I can have them set for you
> here /
>   1   2β 2$\alpha\alpha$

because it'd be much cheaper than in England

<div align="center">2$\alpha\beta$</div>

This labelling shows that the two 2α clauses form a complex grouping that is dominant in relation to the 2β 'if' clause, and it also shows that, within the 2α grouping, the 'having them set' clause is dominant in relation to the 'because' clause. This is obviously beginning to get complicated, so it may help if I show the layers of dependency for the second part of the utterance in a diagram: see Figure 7.1.
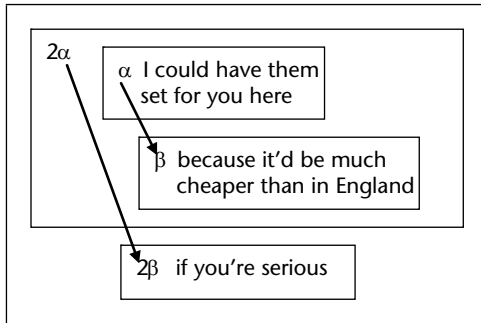
Figure 7.1   Layers of dependency

In the example above, the two paratactic clauses (1 and 2) were independent clauses – as is reflected in the fact that they have different mood choices (interrogative and declarative: see section 4.2). However, parataxis can also occur within dependent clause groupings. Before looking at the analysis of the next example, you might like to try to analyse it yourself.

> since we'll get back by 6 and you've got nothing else on you can finish the letter then

Here is my version:

> since we'll get back by 6 // and you've got nothing else on / you can finish the
> letter then
>   β1   β2   α

The α clause here has two β clauses dependent on it; but those two clauses are in a paratactic relation to each other. The ordering of the symbols for the two β clauses shows that their paratactic relationship (1, 2) is within their hypotactic status.

As we will see in 7.4 below, **reported clauses** also can be analysed in terms of parataxis and hypotaxis: in the most straightforward cases, a reporting clause and a quote are equal in status, whereas a reported clause is dependent on the reporting clause:

> they said // oh yes we sell refills
>   1   2
> I asked / how much two aquamarines would be
>   α   β

The quote or reported clause itself may, of course, include a clause complex:

> she said // well bring the pen in // and we'll see
>   1   21   22

We were told / the change had been made / because Les was off form

     α   βα   ββ

This analysis of reported clauses may strike some of you as very different to the analysis that you are used to. In many grammatical approaches, the reported clause is seen as the Object of the reporting verb, whether it is a quote or not. The reasons for proposing the analysis given here are discussed in 7.4 below (and see also the comments on the analysis of verbal processes in 5.2.4).

You will inevitably come across cases where it is difficult to decide exactly what the hierarchy of clause dependency is. In the next example, does the initial 'when' clause relate to the first paratactic clause ('I paid you for that week') or to both – i.e. the rest of the utterance?

when I first got here I paid you for that week and then I paid you twice in the same week for the next week

In other words, which of the following analyses do you think is preferable?

when I first got here / I paid you for that week //

         1β   1α

and then I paid you twice in the same week for the next week

               2

or:

when I first got here / I paid you for that week //

       β   α1

and then I paid you twice in the same week for the next week

              α2

(Fortunately, such ambiguity typically only occurs when, as in this case, either of these readings makes equally good sense: the problem is therefore one for the analyst rather than the language user.)

One further notational point is that we sometimes need to show that one clause interrupts another: the first clause continues after the second clause is finished. For this, we can use angle brackets:

The tower, < when at last he came up to it, > glistened like ebony

                  β   α

Bat cries, < as we have seen, > are indeed often very loud

        β   α

Embedded clauses (see 2.2) do not form clause complexes, since they function as constituents in other clauses; and therefore the categories of hypotaxis and parataxis do not apply to them as a whole (although there may be hypotaxis and parataxis

within the embedding – i.e. an embedded clause complex). However, they do play a part in the analysis of clause complexes, if only because they need to be identified so that they can be assigned to their appropriate role. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 382) suggest using [[ ]] to mark embedded clauses if necessary. Here are two examples marked in this way: the first is a single clause with an embedded finite clause, and the second is a clause complex with an embedded clause complex consisting of two non-finite clauses:

There is some support for his argument [[that modern agents have to be ruthless]]

Peter Robinson said / that the Chancellor has the opportunity
α   β
[[to stimulate the housing market, / hopefully by targeting first-time buyers]] ///
    [[α   β]]

When looking at clause complexes in text, ideally we need to be able to explain why the speaker/writer has chosen to present two messages as equal or as unequal. This is an extremely complex area, and there is only space here to indicate the kinds of issues involved. Essentially, there are two main factors that we need to examine: which, if either, of the messages is presented as **subordinate** to the other (generally, grammatical dependence reflects the lower functional importance of the message); and in which **order** the messages are presented (generally, the end position reflects greater functional importance). When I write comments on students' work, I often find myself hesitating between options like the following:

1   Although you make many good points, the line of argument is not always clear.
2   The line of argument is not always clear, although you make many good points.
3   Although the line of argument is not always clear, you make many good points.
4   You make many good points, although the line of argument is not always clear.
5   You make many good points, but the line of argument is not always clear.
6   The line of argument is not always clear, but you make many good points.

Which of these is the most damning, and which the most encouraging – and why?

So far I have implied that hypotaxis and parataxis are watertight categories, and that all ranking (i.e. non-embedded) clauses can be assigned to one or other. However, it will not surprise you to find that this is an oversimplification. There are a number of borderline cases where the distinction does not work easily. I shall mention just one, to give you an idea of the difficulties. When certain clauses that are normally dependent occur in final position in a complex, they can often feel more like paratactic clauses. This applies particularly to clauses with 'because', 'although', 'whereas' and 'while/whilst', above all in informal spoken registers. In the following example, the change of mood from declarative in the first clause to interrogative in the second is normally only possible with two independent clauses. The labelling shows a possible analysis that places emphasis on the change of mood rather than the presence of the normally subordinating conjunction 'because':

But I'm still perplexed // because what's the point of living in France /
      1   2α
if you don't eat French bread?
         2β

(I will come back to this issue in 7.4.4 below.) The following example shows that this can apply to written text as well. The semicolon before 'whilst' seems to indicate that the writer saw this clause as equal to the preceding two clauses: in other words, the relationship is paratactic even though 'whilst' is normally classed as a subordinating conjunction.

In both wars a vital responsibility of the Navy was escort-of-convoy and anti-submarine work, //
                                       1
but in the 1917–1918 conflict it never clashed with the enemy on the surface; //
                                       2
whilst between 1941 and 1945 it fought some twenty major and countless minor engagements with the Japanese Navy
                                     3

Incidentally, of the options for comments on students' work above, for me 1 is the least flattering, because it puts the praise in the subordinate clause and in the less important position, and 3 is the most positive, because it reverses this. The other options show delicate gradations between these two points.

•   Refer to Exercise 7.2.

7.3.2 Logico-semantic relations

As was mentioned in the discussion of conjunction in 7.3, there is a very wide range of possible relationships that can be signalled between clauses; and, as usual, the task facing an analyst taking a functional approach is to try to discern some general pattern in what can appear to be a confusing mass of meanings. The first distinction that Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 7.2.2) propose in order to allow a pattern to emerge is between two basic types of relationships which function in very different ways: **expansion** and **projection**. In expansion, one clause expands on the meaning of another in various ways – for example, the first clause below adds specification concerning the location in time of the process in the second, dominant, clause.

When you sleep, / all the muscles of the mouth relax

In projection (which covers much of the same area as what is traditionally called reported speech, but from a different perspective), the relationship is conceptually more complex: one clause projects another in the sense that it indicates that the other

Table 7.1 The basic logico-semantic relations

	Expanding	*Projecting*
Paratactic	They are not hairdressers, // they are funeral directors	I said: // 'No, I can't do it.'
Hypotactic	If you start trouble,/ we'll finish it	A top official denied / that the meeting took place
Embedded	It depicts a little boat [[sailing through stormy seas]]	I told him about Koornhof's offer [[to sponsor the trip]]

clause is a 'second-order' use of language – i.e. that, in the prototypical cases, what is said in the projected clause has already been said somewhere else. This is clearest in the case of quotes like the following, where the reporter signals that she is bringing into her text the actual wording used by someone else:

The manager said, // 'Do you want a joint account?'

Both these types of relationships can be construed between equal or unequal clauses (that is, clauses in a paratactic or hypotactic relationship), and can also be applied to embedded clauses. Table 7.1 shows preliminary examples of the various possibilities.

In the rest of this chapter, I will briefly discuss expansion and projection in turn.

7.4 Expansion

Within the relationship by which one clause expands another, Halliday and Matthiessen identify three broad semantic groupings: **elaboration**, **extension** and **enhancement**. The central examples of each are fairly easy to identify, but – as always – there are borderline cases that are more difficult to pin down, not least because the same conjunction may be used to signal different semantic relations, or there may be no explicit signal. In most such cases, you will find it helps if you paraphrase the complex using unambiguous conjunctions or conjunctive Adjuncts, and see which paraphrase seems to correspond most closely to the meaning of the original. This strategy may at first sight seem like a way of forcing the data into the model, but in fact it is simply making explicit how you have understood the semantic connection between the clauses (and the assumption is that, if the clauses have been combined into a complex, the writer/speaker intended there to be a connection).

7.4.1 Elaborating

An elaborating clause does not add any essentially new element to the message, but gives more information about what is already there. It may relate to the whole message, or just to one part of the message; and it may restate it; or it may clarify or exemplify it; or it may add extra information about its attributes, including the

speaker's comment. As with all clause complexes, the paratactic–hypotactic distinction applies. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 444) suggest that the symbol '=' ('equals') can be used to show an elaborating relation.

Many paratactic elaborating clauses are traditionally said to be in **apposition** to the preceding clause, especially when they restate the same message in different words, or make a non-specific message more specific. For example:

I've had no nastiness // *everyone's been fabulous*

When you set out to fail, / one thing is certain – // *you can't be disappointed*

I had a job < when I first left school > at Jacobs biscuits: // *I was a packer*

To illustrate the use of the analytical conventions introduced above, these examples could be labelled as follows (the 'x' notation will be explained 7.4.3 below):

I've had no nastiness // *everyone's been fabulous*
        1   =2

When you set out to fail, / one thing is certain – // *you can't be disappointed*
      1xβ 1α =2

I had a job < when I first left school > at Jacobs biscuits: // *I was a packer*
  1α 1xβ =2

Generally, the relationship in paratactic elaboration can be paraphrased as 'in other words', 'to be precise' or 'for example' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: Section 7.4.1.1). In spoken discourse, paratactic elaborating clauses are often difficult to distinguish from separate clause complexes since, as the examples show, there may be no explicit conjunctive signal of the relationship – the two clauses are simply juxtaposed. One important clue is in the intonation: if they both have the same intonation pattern, the speaker intends the clauses to be an elaborating complex.

Hypotactic elaborating clauses are those that are traditionally called **non-defining relative clauses**, which add extra information about one element in the message. They normally follow that element immediately, wherever it occurs in the clause; and they thus represent a kind of interpolation, which may involve suspending the dominant clause temporarily. In the first example below, it is part of the Adjunct that is elaborated, while in the second it is part of the Subject:

I was further upset by his voice, / *which was loud, harsh and hoarse*
        α =β

Luisa, < *with whom Kate is still on good terms,* > made Kate welcome
       =β α

As well as the usual relatives 'who', 'which' and 'whose' (but not 'that', which is normally used only in defining – i.e. embedded – relative clauses) the conjunctive signal may be 'where' or 'when':

> She spent the summer / working at Butlins in Minehead, /
> α   xβα
> *where she met a local journalist.*
>   xβ=β

(Note that in this example the 'x' symbol is repeated for both β clauses, which together tell us how she spent the summer). Less frequently, the elaboration may refer to the whole of the preceding clause rather than just one element in it. In this case, the relative is 'which':

> And you don't have to talk to actors, / *which suits me at my stage of the game*
> α   =β

Non-finite clauses may also serve as hypotactic elaborations. In the following example, the elaborating clause specifies the kind of work the speaker did:

> I once worked on a project in Plymouth / *helping to feed the homeless*
> α   =β

Non-finite clauses have an in-built indication of their dependent status – the fact that they are non-finite; but they frequently do not have a conjunctive element signalling the type of relationship. Thus it can be difficult to decide on exactly which relationship is intended. The second clause in the following sentence could be elaborating (specifying in what way the speaker was 'scared'), or enhancing (saying why she was scared), or just possibly extending (telling us about another reaction in addition to being scared):

> I was scared of the changes, / *not knowing what life would be like*

7.4.2 Extending

If one clause extends another, it adds to it by simple addition (the 'and' relation), or by replacement (the 'or' relation). Note that, in one of its meanings at least, 'but' can be included under the 'and' relation – see the example below; and the 'or' relation has two aspects: replacive and alternative. (Labelling the relations 'and' and 'or', as I have done here, is only a convenience: these do not have to be the conjunctions that signal the relations, even with parataxis.) The suggested notation symbol is '+' ('added to').

Paratactic extension covers most of what is traditionally called **coordination**. The most straightforward kind is signalled by 'and' (but see enhancing 'and', 7.4.3):

> I gave the kids all a treat // *and I gave close friends a reasonable amount*
>   1   +2

The extending use of 'and' can often be paraphrased as 'and also/similarly'. The meaning of 'but' which comes into this grouping is the one where both clauses are presented as true but contrasted in some way:

The Vikings had mixed in with the English on more or less equal terms,
<div align="center">1</div>

// but the Normans formed a separate caste
<div align="center">+2</div>

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 471) gloss this relation as 'X and conversely Y' (a meaning which comes out particularly clearly in the correlative structure 'not only … but also'). The two 'or' relations are exemplified below: the first example shows the replacive relation, which is a kind of correction of the information in the first clause, while the second shows the alternative relation.

He's been pestering me ever since – *// or rather his mates have*
<div align="center">1   +2</div>

You can pause the printing of another person's document,
<div align="center">1</div>

// or you can pause your entire printer
<div align="center">+2</div>

There is one type of replacive relation where there is no conjunctive signal: when the extending clause provides a positive wording to replace the first, negative clause. This is very close to the elaborating relation of the 'in other words' type – the second example below could be analysed as either:

It's not the noise [[I object to]], *// it's the smell*
<div align="center">1   +2</div>

He wasn't entitled to anything, *// he was just being greedy*

Hypotactic extension is most obviously signalled by 'while' or 'whereas' (like the extending use of 'but', they combine addition with contrast).

In such cases the Germanic word tends to be more popular,
<div align="center">α</div>

/ while the French word is often more formal
<div align="center">+β</div>

But < *whereas some people claim not to revise,* > others finish //
<div align="center">+β   α1</div>

and then have a fixed number of revisions
<div align="center">αx2</div>

The alternative type of extension can be signalled by a particular kind of 'if' clause with a negative (which can be paraphrased by 'either … or alternatively'):

if they haven't arrived by six, / we're leaving
<div align="center">+β   α</div>

Some non-finite clauses can be fairly definitely analysed as extending, particularly if they can be paraphrased by a finite clause with 'and':

He stormed out, / *slamming the door behind him*
   α   +β

7.4.3 Enhancing

Enhancement is the most varied of the categories of expansion, covering conjunctive relations such as time, cause, reason, condition and concession. The suggested notation symbol is 'x' ('multiplied by').

   With this category, it is easier to start with hypotactic examples. These are clauses that are traditionally called **adverbial clauses**: they correspond very closely in function to Adjuncts (see 6.5 on Theme in clause complexes), in that they also specify aspects of the dominant clause such as when or why it happened. In many cases there is an equivalent prepositional phrase or adverb (see Figure 5.22). Here are a few examples – you might like to consider whether an equivalent non-clausal Adjunct exists:

When their father goes off to market, / the older sisters demand fine dresses
            xβ   α
Six hundred years had passed / *since the Anglo-Saxons had invaded Britain*
            α   xβ
I'd love to travel / *now we can afford it*
       α   xβ
Although taxonomists mostly study animals or plants, / all sorts of other things can be
                                                                                classified
                            xβ   α
If we ever opened a restaurant, / he'd be very good at front of house
            xβ   α
We were waved through / *because we had a reservation*
            α   xβ
They store them in their minds, / *so that they can spit them back out on demand*
            α   xβ

Some non-finite clauses are fairly clearly enhancing, especially where the relationship can be paraphrased using 'after' and/or 'because':

Guests, < *having done the circuit of the rooms*, > did the circuit of the grounds [cf. 'after they had done the circuit of the rooms']
Marjorie and Dorothy shared a natural intimacy, / *being closer together in age* [cf. 'because they were closer together in age']

Paratactic enhancement is very close to basic coordination – i.e. extension – but with a circumstantial flavour in the relation. The relation may be signalled by a conjunction such as 'so', 'yet' or 'but' (when this has a concessive meaning and can be paraphrased as 'although'); or by a conjunction group such as 'and then', 'and yet'.

> I got behind on the gas // *so they put in a meter*
>   1   x2
>
> It had been set up with all the glitz and fireworks, // *and then it had been such a mega-flop*
>   1   x2
>
> The dough was fine in texture, // *but its taste was bland*
>   1   x2

In narratives, 'and' by itself may be paraphrasable as 'and then', and thus be more enhancing rather than extending – though the exact line is hard to draw:

> I wrote 10 on a piece of paper beside us // *and put a check beside it*
>   1   x2

As with other uses of 'and', if the complex includes more than one paratactic extending clause, 'and' may be used to introduce all of them, or only the final clause in the sequence; or it may not be used at all:

> He took off his mac // *and rolled it up inside out* // *and put it under Jesse's head*
>   1   x2   x3
>
> He ascended two steps, // *fell back three,* // *and crashed once more into a bin*
>   1   x2   x3
>
> I kneaded it, // *flattened it,* // *stretched it into a long thin piece,* // *tore it into smaller pieces*
> 1   x2   x3   x4

Increasingly, certain conjunctive Adjuncts such as 'however' and 'therefore' are being used to signal a paratactic enhancing relation (rather than to show the relation between two sentences in writing): many teachers, including myself, mark this as a mistake in our students' writing, but we are probably fighting a losing battle.

> The writing generally addresses the task relevantly, // *however it could be more fully developed*

Table 7.2 gives a summary overview of the different kinds of expansion.

Table 7.2 Examples of expansion

Type of expansion	Paratactic	Hypotactic	
		Finite	Non-finite
Elaborating (=)	You aren't sick, // you're just in love	we went down to the coast near St Davids / which was nice	we played on the beach / kicking a football around
Extending (+)	should I invest this money // or should I put it under the mattress	she always stays calm / whereas I tend to lose my temper	She stood silent, / listening to the voice on the telephone.
Enhancing (x)	The bed was untidy // and she straightened it.	When he finished speaking, / there was silence.	To avoid his gaze, / she began preparing the meal.

7.4.4 Internal and external expansion

In Chapter 5, we distinguished between circumstantial Adjuncts, which relate to the 'real–world' context in which the process takes place, and interpersonal Adjuncts, which 'frame' the clause in relation to the on-going speech event. We can see a division with clause complexes which is in certain respects parallel to this, especially where certain kinds of enhancing clauses follow an independent clause. Rather than establishing a relationship between processes in the external world, in these cases the relationship is 'internal' in the sense that it is concerned with connections between what a speaker says and their justification for saying it (i.e. linked to modality) or with connections between moves in the exchange (i.e. linked to speech roles). This has been most fully explored with 'because' clauses. In the following example, the final clause does not express the enhancing relation of 'external' cause; rather it gives what Eirian Davies (1979) calls the speaker's 'reason for knowing':

he seems to have gone / *because his car's not there*

His car not being there is clearly not the cause of his having gone, so this is not a cause–effect relation in the outside world (in fact, the external cause would be the reverse: 'his car's not there because he's gone'). The relation is based on the speaker's inner world of modal assessment: the fact that his car is not there in the car park is the speaker's basis for believing that he has gone. The final clause in the next example explains why the speaker gives the command in the first clause – Davies calls this the 'reason for telling':

don't let the dog out / *because the cats are in the garden* [= 'that's why I tell you not to let the dog out']

Another conjunction which is used in similar ways is 'if':

> I'll be in the Cambridge later / *if you feel like a quick drink* [= 'in that circumstance, my telling you that I'll be in the pub is relevant']

Normally with 'if' condition relations the implication is that one proposition is valid only if the other is also valid: 'if the rain is severe enough, the race will be stopped' implies that if the rain is not severe enough the race will not be stopped. But, in the example above, even if the addressee does not feel like a quick drink, the speaker will still be in the Cambridge pub.

These uses of conjunction occur most typically in informal registers, either spoken – especially casual conversation – or simulated spoken – e.g. personal blogs. They are also the uses where it is not always possible to determine whether the relationship is hypotactic or paratactic (see 7.3.1 above). This appears to be because there is a kind of shift in perspective between the two clauses: whereas external enhancing relations set up an experiential complex, with the enhancing clause specifying some aspect of the state of affairs in the other clause (e.g. why it happened, or when it happened), internal enhancing relations step aside from the proposition in the first clause in order to comment on some aspect of the on-going interpersonal negotiation. The difficulty of fitting cases like these into the main model sketched out above suggests that we may eventually need to revise our view of clause complexes to allow for a greater functional difference between circumstantial and interpersonal clauses, just as we do with Adjuncts.

7.5 Projection

The relationship of **projection** is clearly very different from that of expansion: for one thing, it is always an essential part of the meaning of a projected clause that it is projected, whereas typically an expanding clause would not change its meaning radically if it no longer stood in a relationship of expansion to another clause. Compare the following examples and rewordings:

He got up hastily // and plunged down the bank	He plunged down the bank
When he thought of this / he felt a pang of admiration	He thought of this (then).
He repeated, // 'It's impossible.'	It's impossible
He made it clear / that she had suffered	She had suffered

Although the rewordings of the last two examples can stand on their own, their function is very different: they are now statements made by the writer, whereas the original projected clauses are explicitly signalled as having a different source. We use language to talk about phenomena in the world; but one group of phenomena that can be talked about is stretches of language. If we include in our message the wording or the meaning of the original language event, we are not directly representing '(non-linguistic) experience' but giving a 'representation of a (linguistic) representation' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 508). The effect of projection comes from this double layer of representation: on the one hand, the language is

signalled as, in some sense, not our own; but on the other hand it clearly differs from the original utterance (even if we quote it verbatim) in that it is now incorporated into our present message rather than coming straight from the original source. This characterization of projection applies most clearly to the prototypical kinds: a report of what someone else said or thought at a different time from the present. However, it underlies all the functions of projection, even where no other language event can be identified to be 'reported'.

7.5.1 Quotes and reports

When we **quote**, we signal that we are re-using (more or less exactly) the wording of the other language event. This means, amongst other things, that the projected paratactic quote does not need to fit in with the projecting clause in Mood, reference, register, dialect, etc.

> *'Well, what about her, your London woman'* // she said / after they had started to eat
> *'Speak English,'* // said Curran
> They forget how to deal positively with life, / to think and say, // '*I get it!*'
> Meurig said readily: // '*He come with me.*'

With a hypotactic **report**, on the other hand, we project not the wording but the meaning of the original language event. Because a report is more fully incorporated into our own message, there is a greater degree of fit with the projecting clause: the Mood choices reflect our present context and purpose, as do the reference items; and there is typically consistency of register and dialect. Specific features of face-to-face interaction in the original language event, such as 'Yes' and 'Oh', are normally not re-used. In the following reports, the mood choices of the original, which were most probably interrogative and imperative, have not been reproduced – unlike the original speakers, the reporter is not asking or ordering, but stating, and the mood choice of the whole clause complex is declarative. Similarly, in the finite clauses in the first example the tense choices are made in relation to the context of the report, not of the original speech event.

> I asked Moody / *if he thought* / *other businesses could use Microsoft as a model*
> He told me / *to give you the following instructions*

So far the examples have all involved speaking; but we can also report thoughts. For convenience, we can distinguish between **locutions** (projected verbal events) and **ideas** (projected mental events). In the case of ideas, there is normally no actual stretch of language to re-represent – certainly none in the outside world, since the thinking went on inside someone's mind. However, the link between thought and language is inherently so strong for us that the same relation of projection is used: whether or not the thought was in fact formulated partly or wholly in words, the way we can talk about it construes it in terms of language. Since there is no original wording, the norm for projecting thoughts is by means of reports:

Anne was about to refuse the drink // but then thought / *she had better accept it*

This example could be understood to mean that something like the words 'I'd better accept it' passed through Anne's mind. In other cases, however, it is at least likely and at most certain that no original wording exists. Nevertheless, the expression choices open to us still construe the mental act of meaning in terms of projection – i.e. in terms of a language phenomenon.

You'd think / *there'd be a warning*
I secretly and guiltily believed / *him to be right*
Judy wished / *she didn't have to go in again*
He wanted / *me to draft the first year exam*

Thoughts can, however, be quoted. This happens especially in narratives (written or spoken).

'*She's nobody's fool,*' // I thought.
so I thought // *well I'm getting older*

The suggested notation to distinguish locutions and ideas is double quote marks (") for locutions and single quote marks (') for ideas:

'Speak English,'// said Curran
      "1   2
He told me / to give you the following instructions
    α   "β
Judy wished / she didn't have to go in again
    α   'β
so I thought // well I'm getting older
    1   '2

Once we take into account the fact that projections may also be embedded (see Table 7.1 above), we have the basic possibilities shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Basic categories of projection

	Locution: verbal (")	Idea: mental (')
Quote (paratactic)	'Haven't seen much of you lately,' // continued John Franklin	And Tim thought, // she is thinking about Guy
Report (hypotactic)	The Report points out / that milk fat is mostly saturated fat	He hoped to goodness / that the LA flight would be called soon
Embedded	All I wanted was an admission [[that she was there]]	Her decision [[to come back]] was to do with Bill

The examples given so far illustrate the main types of hypotactic projected and embedded clauses. The precise structure that is used depends largely on the mood of the (real or hypothetical) original. Again, this is easier to see with verbal processes (locutions): typically, 'that' clauses report declaratives, 'if/whether' clauses report 'yes/no' interrogatives, WH-clauses report WH-interrogatives and exclamatives, and 'to'-infinitive clauses report imperatives. The following illustrate each of these in turn:

> He said / *that I embarrassed him.*
> α   "β
> Anne Henshaw enquired / *whether the tour of the site was to go ahead*
>   α   "β
> I asked / *why I didn't get the job*
>   α   "β
> The adults [[that stayed]] also said / *what a fantastic job you did*
>   α   "β
> Starfleet command has ordered us / *to rescue them*
>   α   "β

If we look at this in terms of speech role, we have seen in Chapter 4 that proposals (commands and offers) may be realized as declaratives; and they can thus be reported with 'that' clauses, either with modalization or (especially in American English) with the 'subjunctive':

> My wife told me / *that I should see things from a woman's point of view.*
>   α   "β
> Congress has instructed / *that the consumer bureau be fully launched within 18 months.*
>   α   "β

This categorization applies both to locutions, as in the examples above, and to ideas, where the projecting clause has a mental process:

> After she'd eaten the three bears' breakfasts / she decided / *she was feeling a little tired.*
>   xβ   αα   α'β
> He mentally debated // *whether the Spymaster had made a wise choice*
>   α   'β
> Have you ever wondered / *how Google works?*
>   α   'β
> My wife and I thought / *what an amazing job you did*
>   α   'β
> You wanted us / *to provide instructions on how to use Turnitin*
>   α   'β
> The next day he decided / *I was to leave after an hour.*
>   α   'β

There are many other aspects of projection that could be explored, such as the varied functions of different reporting verbs, or the use of '**self-projection**' to make clear to your hearer your interpersonal purpose in saying something:

I promise I won't keep you a moment longer.

(This will be picked up again in Chapter 9, under interpersonal metaphor.) I have only discussed the central types of projection, but there are many others. For example, reports are normally hypotactic, but we find examples that seem to have some features of reports combined with parataxis. These are where the projecting clause follows or interrupts the projected clause. In both examples below, the original speaker or thinker would presumably have used the pronoun 'I' and present tense; but the second example in particular shows that the clauses are in a paratactic relation, since the interrogative form of the projected clause is kept.

She wanted desperately to finish the novel, *she told Alexis*.
What, *she wondered*, was she supposed to do with it?

There are also reports which retain just one or two of the interactive features of the original speech event:

She said / *no* she goes through to Liverpool

These examples represent what is often called '**free indirect speech**': reports that deliberately echo some of the wording of the reported speaker. In analysing the extract from 'Clay' on page 79, we identified a number of signals that echo Maria's wording in terms of modality and other features, though none of the text is actually quoted. These also represent free indirect speech – in this case mostly without a projecting clause ('She thought to herself'). Although I have implied that reports and quotes are identifiably separate types of projection, it would be truer to say that they are extremes on a cline, and that there are many intermediate cases.

7.5.2 Facts

In Table 7.3, I gave an example of an embedded idea functioning as Postmodifier to a reporting noun 'decision'. This is still recognizably linked to the basic types of projection since there is, at some level a 'decider' (the Senser of the mental process). However, there is a type of embedded projection where no Sayer or Senser is involved. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: Section 7.5.7) call these **facts**:

The publicity value of their ideas has nothing to do with the fact [[*that they might be right*]].
They were aware of the possibility [[*that the whole project might collapse*]].

Facts are information (i.e. pieces of language) treated as existing in something like the way that pieces of written or spoken language exist: even though no one has necessarily expressed that meaning previously, the grammar construes the meaning as having already been established in some way. Like other projections, therefore, facts are phenomena that happen to consist of language. It is important to realize that 'facts', as the term is used here, have nothing to do with truth: facts are, if you like, ideas without a thinker.

This is perhaps clearer in cases where the embedded fact stands alone rather than as Postmodifier to a noun like 'fact' or 'possibility'. The most common case is with anticipatory 'it' (see 4.3.2):

> *It*'s odd [[*that he didn't say anything about this one*]].
> *It* is perfectly possible [[*not to feel excluded*]].

Here, the fact in the embedded clause is treated as an entity to which a quality – of being 'odd' or 'possible' – is being attributed (in transitivity terms, the fact is the Carrier). The structure can therefore be seen as a way of commenting on or labelling the status of the fact in interpersonal terms. This formulation also helps us to see that in the first pair of examples the postmodified noun equally functions as an evaluative label for the fact expressed in the embedded clause: it is a 'fact' or a 'possibility'. Although this does not always happen, there is a strong tendency for facts to be associated with modal or evaluative labels.

We can begin to see why this association exists if we compare facts with **nominalizations** (see Chapter 9). In 9.3, I will discuss the way in which a meaning may be brought into the text as an independent **proposition**, or it may be treated as an already established entity and brought (back) in as a nominalization. Facts represent a half-way house: whereas nominalizations are propositions that are fully packaged as 'things', facts are semi-packaged propositions. The following rewordings may make this clearer:

> *The whole project might collapse*.
> What I'm worried about is *that the whole project might collapse*.
> What I'm worried about is *the possible collapse of the whole project*.

In the second version, the proposition expressed in the fact is brought in as 'the thing I'm worried about' (i.e. the Token in an identifying clause) – in other words, it is treated as an idea that pre-exists in some sense, floating around 'out there' and able to affect me and cause me to react. This helps to explain the link with interpersonal labelling: expressing a proposition as a fact allows me to stand back from it and to comment on it as I bring it into my text. Therefore, if I want to comment on a proposition as I bring it in, I am more likely to express it as a fact. At the same time, because it is only semi-packaged it is usually possible to challenge the proposition expressed in the fact (e.g. 'But it won't') without having to reconstitute it; whereas if I wanted to challenge the nominalized wording in the third version above I would have to turn it back into a clausal proposition (e.g. 'But it/the project won't collapse'

– see 4.3.3). Thus facts combine the 'thinginess' of nominalizations with some of the negotiability of propositions.

● Refer to Exercise 7.3.

7.5.3 Projection in text

In looking at projection in text, certain threads emerge as particularly worth investigating. There is the question of the reporter's **attitude** towards what is reported: for example, the choice of the reporting verb 'point out' indicates that the reporter accepts what the other person said as true, whereas 'claim' suggests potential scepticism. There is the more general question of **source**: which propositions in the text are explicitly assigned to someone else (and why)? At what points in the text does the reporter use quotes rather than reports (and why)? What kind of people are reported in different contexts (and why)? How close are quotes to the original wording (and why have any changes been made)? What kinds of changes have been made in projecting the original meaning in a report (and why)? On this last point, compare the following extracts transcribed from speeches by the Prime Minister of New Zealand and Queen Elizabeth II with the reports that appeared in newspapers the next day:

> 'We want to talk to the Americans, we want to talk to anybody. But our policy has not changed and it will not change. Being nuclear-free is a matter which is in the hearts and minds of New Zealanders now.'
> On foreign policy issues he held out little hope of an early rapprochement with the US, insisting that the Labour Party's nuclear-free policy remained intact.

> 'We are all part of the same fabric of our national society, and that scrutiny – by one part of another – can be just as effective if it is made with a touch of gentleness, good humour and understanding. This sort of questioning can also act, and should act, as an effective engine for change.'
> She appealed for more understanding and, though the language was coded, appeared to hint that changes might be on the way.

The original messages here are clearly not reported by a simple 'translation' into reported speech of the kind often practised in English as a Foreign Language textbooks. Not only are the messages condensed, but there is interpretation by the reporter. For example, not every person who heard the Queen's speech would necessarily have understood the final sentence in the extract as 'hinting' that 'changes might be on the way' – and note that the reporter is careful to modalize here ('appeared to'). The examples also indicate the need to take account of the reporter's decision to use projection or some other structure – e.g. 'appeared for more understanding' is a verbal process plus circumstance.

Another perspective on projection in text is from the interpersonal angle. I have already mentioned source, which is also relevant to the exploration of modal and

evaluative meanings (4.4.5), and the frequent co-occurrence of facts with modal or evaluative labels. We have seen that projecting clauses of the 'I think' kind actually function as modal signals (4.4.4); while self-projection as with 'I promise' (7.5.1) signals the speaker's purpose and therefore has an interpersonal function. In analysis, it is usually best to take both of these kinds of projecting clauses as cases of interpersonal grammatical metaphor – see Chapter 9; but they are still projection clause complexes in terms of structure, and that fact may need to be taken into account in providing a full picture of how particular texts work. Thus it is often revealing to examine the contribution of projection to interpersonal meanings.

● Refer to Exercise 7.4.

7.6 Clause complexing

7.6.1 An overview

There is, of course, much more that could be said about each of the systems introduced above; but I have now mapped out the broad outline of clause complexing. Figure 7.2 summarizes the choices that are available. (Remember that curly brackets show simultaneous choices, whereas straight connectors show that only one choice can be made from the set.)
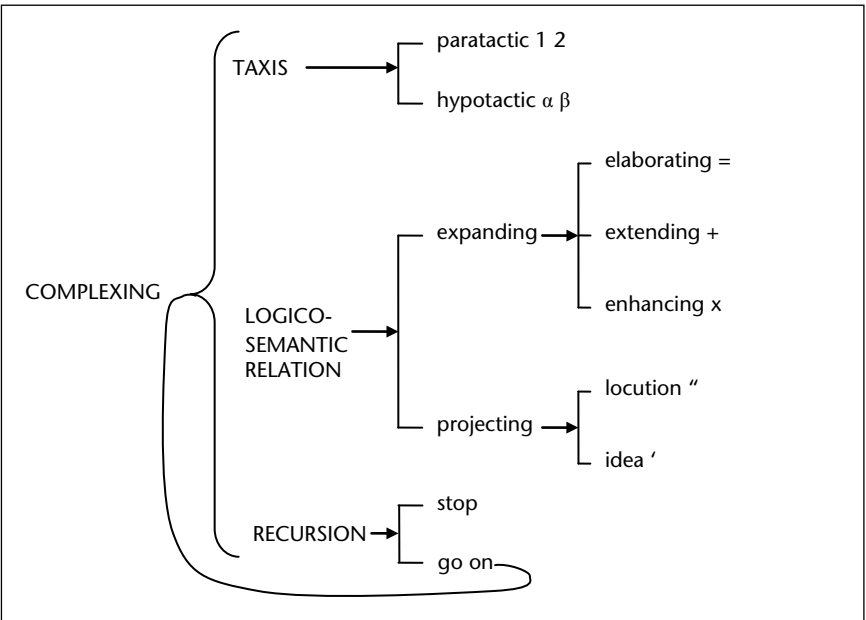
Figure 7.2   Basic systems for clause complexing

The final set of choices, recursion, is included as a reminder that clause complexing can involve more than one pair of clauses: once a speaker has made one set of choices, s/he can re-enter the network and construct another conjunctive relation. The following examples show some instances with recursion.

'She asked him / why he killed himself, // and he said / it was an "affair of the heart",'
       "11α   "11"β   "1+2α   "1+2"β
// Dixon said.
     2

Here the 'outer' projection involves a quote (i.e. a paratactic relation between the whole quote and the clause 'Dixon said') which itself consists of two clauses in a paratactic relation ('she asked … and he said'), each of which consists of a projecting complex involving a report. This can be shown in diagram form as in Figure 7.3.

"1				2
1		+2		
α	"β	α	"β	

Figure 7.3 Projection with recursion

He stumbled in and out of office-buildings / pleading for any kind of work
                    α   xβ1
/ but getting turned down / because he looked like a sick man, / which he was.
     xβ+2α   xβ+2xβα   xβ+2xβ=β

Figure 7.4 shows this in diagram form. The codes show that I am interpreting the 'pleading/but getting' clauses as enhancing the 'stumbled' clause (temporal simultaneity), although, as often with non-finite clauses, it is difficult to determine the exact relation: this could be extension (simple addition). More straightforwardly, the 'looked' clause enhances the preceding clause, telling us why he got 'turned down', and the final clause is a non-defining relative clause that elaborates as a gloss on the 'looked' clause.

α	xβ			
	1	+2		
		α	xβ	
			α	=β

Figure 7.4 Expansion with recursion

7.6.2 Clause complexing and register

As with all the systems of choices explored so far, choices in how to deploy the resources of clause complexing are sensitive to register. It is possible (as we did with transitivity in 5.4.2) to compare two texts that appear representative of their registers with the aim of relating any differences in clause complexing patterns to the registerial context. But if a larger corpus is analysed, the patterns typically begin to emerge more clearly.

To give you a brief example of the kind of corpus-based work that can be done, I have analysed a corpus of six contrasting registers (casual conversation, personal blogs, political speeches, company reports, academic journal articles and romantic fiction) in terms of the choices in how speakers and writers set up relations between the clauses in their text (Thompson, forthcoming). I look at the kinds of relations that are established, but I am also interested in whether they are between sentences or between clauses within a sentence, whether or not the relations are explicitly signalled, and so on. I will come back to some of these points in Chapter 8, when we investigate cohesive conjunction beyond the clause complex. In the outline here, I will focus on the aspects of conjunction that have been the subject of this chapter: patterns of relations between clauses in clause complexes. Each sub-corpus comprises roughly 500 clause complex relations.

Some of the results are very predictable. For example, fiction relies far more heavily than any of the other registers on temporal relations, with clauses being connected in time sequence: 34 per cent of clause complex relations in fiction are temporal, whereas in the five other registers the total is 14 per cent or lower.

> before she could really get launched on an explanation, / his phone rang. [fiction]
> Ray turned slowly // and looked over his shoulder [fiction]

As the second example here shows, an 'and' clause in narrative is typically interpreted not simply as extending (addition) but as elaborating (i.e. 'and then'). Other results are perhaps less immediately predictable. The registers with the highest proportion of projection as opposed to expansion are casual conversation and academic articles: each 29 per cent, compared, say, with 19 per cent in company reports. You might expect fiction to have the highest proportion of projection, but in fact it is significantly lower at 23 per cent. However, if interpersonal projection is taken out of the picture, the expected ranking is restored, with fiction making much greater use of projection to represent the utterances and thoughts of the characters. This means that in conversation, for example, you are more likely to find cases of interpersonal projection such as:

> I think / I must have lent it to someone [conversation]

These are almost entirely absent from the narrative stretches of fiction (though they may occur in the quoted speech of characters). On the other hand, fiction has by far the highest proportion of cases of projection of locutions and ideas such as the following:

'We could wait', // he agreed. [fiction]
She assured herself / her work wasn't affected by this heavy crush [fiction]

Casual conversation and blogs make much higher use than fiction or company reports of internal types of expansion (see 7.4.4. above): 23 per cent and 24 per cent as compared with 5 per cent. In the first example below, the second clause gives the external cause why the event in the first clause happens; but in the second, the second clause is not the cause of the first – instead it tells the addressee why the blogger gives the command in the first clause:

The decline in the value of sterling against the Euro has a more structural impact on our results / as almost half our profits are earned in sterling. [company report]
Don't text back for a second / because I have to do something real quick. [blog]

(Academic articles and political speeches are somewhere between these extremes, though still making markedly higher use of internal expansion than fiction and company reports.) In terms of explicit signalling of the logico-semantic relationship by conjunctions, academic articles and (perhaps surprisingly) company reports include signals for 79 per cent and 82 per cent of the relations, whereas in fiction only 56 per cent of cases are signalled:

Although gender is not discussed in detail throughout this article / the argument nevertheless contributes to the work of Warhurst and Nickson (2001) [academic article]
Picking up the headphones, / he slid them back on his ears. [fiction]

These differences can, in principle, be related to the registerial context (though in some cases the connection is easier to make than in others). For example, romantic fiction centres round narrative, which is essentially a record of one event after another; and this is reflected in the predominance of temporal relations. Events are often reported in detail, which tends to involve fairly frequent use of non-finite clauses (as in the last example above) – and these clauses often have no explicit signal of the relationship. In blogs and casual conversation, the interaction with the addressee is much more salient – in conversation, the addressee is physically present with the speaker, while personal blogs are typically written to sound as if the blogger were talking face to face to the addressee. Therefore, the speaker/blogger is more likely to engage in negotiation, commenting on their modal and evaluative stance (with interpersonal projection) and demonstrating that they are taking more overt account of the addressee, including by justifying why the speaker tells the addressee to do something. Academic articles are generally oriented towards explicitness, and writers are likely to include signals of relations rather than leave them to the reader to infer; whereas in fiction, the default relation is time sequence so the need to signal this kind of relation is lower – readers will assume time sequence unless otherwise indicated (in fact 72 per cent of the time sequence relations in the fiction sub-corpus are unsignalled).

Exercise 7.1

Look back at the extracts from a doctor's consultation that you analysed in Exercise 4.3 (page 89). I put vertical strokes at 'natural breaks', but where do you think clause complex boundaries are in the longer utterances? Are there any particularly problematic cases?

Exercise 7.2

Analyse the following in terms of the dependencies, marking any embedded clauses. If it is a clause complex that is embedded, analyse the dependencies within the embedded element.

As a reminder, the symbols you should use are:

//	paratactic clause boundary – label the clauses 1 2, etc.
/	hypotactic clause boundary – label the clauses α β
< >	interrupting clause
[[ ]]	embedded clause

1 'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint.
2 These can seldom be differentiated and treatment is empirical.
3 To detect viruses and remove them from your computer, choose the Detect and Clean button.
4 She did not see the flocks as she passed them, but she heard them, and thought of the poor boy she had seen face down before her.
5 The Queen appears at rugby matches very rarely, though she did attend the final in Cardiff four years ago to hand the trophy to Australia's captain.
6 Where the route is unclear, you should find a sign to set you on your way, but, although a few walkers claim to have walked on way marks alone, we do not recommend this.
7 Do you think it might be a good idea if I gave the first class in Spanish and introduced some of the terminology, told them what the English terms are?
8 The article deals with an area which broadly falls within the scope of your expertise, so we wondered if you could do us a favour by kindly agreeing to referee it and send us your feedback within four to six weeks.
9 While this handbook will give intending applicants the information they need, students must, in order to obtain up-to-date, full and official information about entrance requirements and courses, write direct to the institutions of their choice at least a year before they hope to begin their studies, so that they will have decided to which institutions they wish to seek admission, and obtained the necessary application form, well before the closing date for receipt of applications.

10 Well you see she wrote this letter saying that she'd been ringing and what we couldn't understand when we spoke to Liz was she knew you were going to Peru and she knows you don't put the cats in the cattery when you go away so it was obvious where we were

Exercise 7.3

Look back at your analyses for Exercise 7.2 and label the type of relationship in each case: elaborating (=), extending (+) or enhancing (x); or locution (") or idea ('). Do this also for embedded clause complexes.

Exercise 7.4

Below are extracts from an academic paper by Susan Hunston and from the novel *Little Women* by Louisa M. Alcott (the latter extract was downloaded from Project Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/514/514-h/514-h.htm#chap08). Analyse the dependencies and the logico-semantic relations in the clause complexes, and, focusing especially on the uses of projection, consider how the differences in the two extracts can be related to the different registers that they realize.

One of the outcomes of corpus studies in the last 20 years has been to draw attention to two aspects of a single phenomenon. The first is the interdependency of lexis and grammar, such that lexical choices cannot be seen as independent of grammar, or indeed as consequent upon grammar, but rather as driving grammatical context. The second is the importance of recurrent but variable sequences of words in creating meaning. These sequences demonstrate that meaning is prosodic, in that many sequences have a meaning that exceeds that of the words within the sequence.

A number of studies develop these themes in different ways. Sinclair (1991), for example, suggests that much naturally-occurring language is comprehended in accordance with 'the idiom principle', where meaning is attached to frequently-occurring sequences rather than to their constituent lexical or grammatical items. Sinclair also argues that lexical and grammatical processes are not independent of each other, or of meaning. Continuing the theme that meaning and grammar are connected, Francis (1993) shows that any grammatical sequence or 'pattern' will occur with a restricted set of lexical items only, and that those items will share aspects of meaning. Thus, Sinclair's and Francis's work suggests that each recurring word sequence represents a single language choice, with an unanalysed meaning for the language user, rather than a series of grammatical and lexical operations.

"Are you sure she is quite safe?" whispered Jo, looking remorsefully at the golden head, which might have been swept away from her sight for ever under the treacherous ice.

"Quite safe, dear; she is not hurt, and won't even take cold, you were so sensible in covering and getting her home quickly," replied her mother, cheerfully.

"Laurie did it all; I only let her go. Mother, if she should die, it would be my fault"; and Jo dropped down beside the bed, in a passion of penitent tears, telling all that had happened, bitterly condemning her hardness of heart, and sobbing out her gratitude for being spared the heavy punishment which might have come upon her.

"It's my dreadful temper! I try to cure it; I think I have, and then it breaks out worse than ever. Oh mother, what shall I do? What shall I do?" cried poor Jo, in despair.

"Watch and pray, dear; never get tired of trying; and never think it is impossible to conquer your fault," said Mrs March, kissing the wet cheek so tenderly that Jo cried harder than ever.

<div align="right">

8

</div>

Organizing the message
The textual metafunction – cohesion

8.1 Cohesion and coherence

At the start of Chapter 6, I discussed the idea that the speaker attempts, more or less consciously, more or less expertly, and more or less successfully, to help the hearer to perceive the coherence of the text by organizing the way in which the meanings are expressed. In that chapter we concentrated on one of the main ways of doing this, Theme choice, which directly affects the structure of the clause itself. Coming back now to the description of the textual metafunction, I also want to look more briefly at some of the other resources for creating '**texture**' – the quality of being recognizably a text rather than a collection of unconnected words or clauses. These are resources that are not constrained within the limits of the clause complex but contribute to the creation of texture across whole texts or stretches of texts. They are generally grouped together under the label of 'cohesion' (see Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

I have used both '**cohesion**' and '**coherence**' in talking about texts, and the terms may seem almost interchangeable. However, there is an important difference between them. Cohesion refers to the linguistic devices by which the speaker can signal the experiential and interpersonal coherence of the text, and is thus a textual phenomenon – we can point to features of the text that serve a cohesive function. Coherence, on the other hand, is in the mind of the writer and reader: it is a mental phenomenon and cannot be identified or quantified in the same way as cohesion. The two are in most cases linked, in that a text that exploits the cohesive resources of the language effectively should normally be perceived as coherent. However, all language users are generally predisposed to construct coherence even from language with few recognizable cohesive signals, if they have reason to believe that it is intended to be coherent. The following pair of sentences have only one cohesive link ('Hugo' in the first sentence is referred to as 'He' in the second), but they make sense together – that

is, they are coherent (although you might like to consider what cultural knowledge the reader needs in order to reconstruct the coherence):

> Hugo spent all of his legacy laying down wine. He was ensuring a happy middle age.

Nevertheless, cohesion is a crucial linguistic resource in the expression of coherent meanings; and the analyst may gain equally important insights into how it works from cases where a lack of cohesive devices in a text does not lead to the interactants perceiving it as incoherent.

8.2 Reference and ellipsis

As mentioned earlier, one of the main cohesive resources can be broadly described as repetition – as long as the term is understood to include repetition of meaning not just of words, and to include grammatical as well as lexical repetition. Lexical repetition is a powerful cohesive device which, in most texts, does a great deal of the work of making the text hang together; but, as the name indicates, it takes us out of the domain of grammar, and I will therefore not look at it in more detail here (though see 8.4 below for an example of a text where lexical repetition plays an important role).

Grammatical repetition consists of two main types: reference and ellipsis. **Reference** is the set of grammatical resources that allow the speaker to indicate whether something is being repeated from somewhere earlier in the text (i.e. we have already been told about it), or whether it has not yet appeared in the text (i.e. it is new to us). In the following sentences, 'it' refers to the same entity as 'their bedroom', whereas 'a' in 'a large bed' signals that this is something not mentioned so far.

> They came again into their bedroom. A large bed had been left in it.

Ellipsis is the set of resources by which full repetition of a clause or clause element can be avoided, and by which it can be signalled to hearers that they should carry over the wording from a previous clause. There are two basic ways of doing this. In **ellipsis proper**, the element is simply missed out – in the example below, the reply presupposes the wording 'he is ... old':

> 'How old is he?' 'Two months.'

In **substitution**, on the other hand, a linguistic token is put in the place of the wording to be repeated from elsewhere – in the example below, 'so' stands in the place of 'large for five months':

> It's large for five months, but not abnormally *so*.

Both reference and ellipsis can operate within the clause or clause complex (as in the last example), or across clause complexes (and even utterances by different people, as in 'Two months' above). Since we are looking at the way the message fits in with other messages, we will concentrate on cohesion between rather than within clause complexes, though it should be borne in mind that the resources are essentially the same for both.

8.2.1 Reference

Some uses of reference do not in fact count as repetition, but it is only the cases of reference that are linked with repetition of meaning which function as cohesive devices. The differences emerge when we look at cases where the reference is 'outwards': that is, it does not point to a meaning earlier (or sometimes later) in the text, but out into the world. Compare the function of 'he' in these two examples:

Who's *he*? [speaker pointing at photograph]
She appealed to Philip. *He* turned the main tap.

In the first, the hearer interprets the meaning of 'he' by relating it to something outside language – the photograph of a man. In the second, on the other hand, identifying the referent of 'he' involves understanding that it refers to the man mentioned as 'Philip' in the previous sentence. Both uses of 'he' rely on the basic meaning 'male human being that I assume both of us know about', but it is only in the second that the 'knownness' is dependent on the previous mention in the text. Therefore it is only the second that contributes to the texture of the text.

The first kind of reference is known as **exophoric** ('pointing outwards'), whereas the second is **endophoric** ('pointing inwards'). As the examples show, a pronoun like 'he' can be used in either way. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 624) argue that the exophoric use is probably the original one; and with the first and second person pronouns ('I', 'me', 'you', etc.) this has remained the central use ('I' normally means 'the person who is speaking now in the real world' rather than 'the person just referred to in the text'). The other pronouns have developed both kinds of use – and can often serve both functions simultaneously (e.g. if two people are talking about a man they are watching, 'he' could be seen as referring outwards to the man or back to the earlier mentions of 'him' in their conversation).

Both uses of reference serve the broad function of showing how the message fits into its context; but exophoric reference links the language to the external context, while endophoric reference signals how the message fits specifically into its textual context (the 'co-text'). It is the latter – reference as cohesion – which we will focus on. Most cohesive, endophoric, reference is **anaphoric** ('pointing backwards'): the meaning that is being repeated has already been mentioned earlier in the text (as with 'he' referring to 'Philip' in the example above). Less often, reference may be **cataphoric** ('pointing forwards'): this signals that the meaning of the reference item will not be specified until further on in the text. The following example comes just before a full quotation of the 'different idea' as set out in Pat's answer paper – 'here'

points forwards to that quotation ('different' also has a cohesive function – see 'comparative reference' below):

> But Pat and another kid had a different idea. *Here* is Pat's paper.

In the following outline, the examples are of anaphoric reference, since that is more common; but all the types discussed may also be used for cataphoric reference.

There are three main types of cohesive reference. The first includes the **third–person personal pronouns**:

> Parnell was generally not a hater. *He* spoke tolerantly of his foes.
> Cholera first struck England in 1832. *It* came from the East.

The second includes the **demonstratives**: 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those'. Note that the locative and temporal deictics 'here' and 'there' and 'now' and 'then' also come into this group.

> The British Council also arranges refresher courses for teachers of English in the summer vacation. *These* courses are often organised in conjunction with a university.
> He merely laughed and said that she was imagining things. *This* typical male reaction resulted in a row.
> He later made the unusual switch to the army. *There* he had a brilliant career.
> I went to take the shot again. But by *then*, it was too late.

One use of 'this' is worth mentioning separately, since it has such an important role in organizing texts, particularly in more formal registers. 'This' (and to a lesser extent 'these') is often used to refer back to a whole stretch of text. Sometimes it is used on its own but it also frequently appears with a noun encapsulating the content of what has been said:

> *This* brings to mind something that happened when I was in prep school.
> *This approach* can provide an idea of the range of literacy practices in a community.

For a fuller discussion of this kind of textual 'labelling', see Francis (1994).

The most 'neutral' item amongst the demonstratives is 'the'. Whereas, for example, 'this' as a cohesive signal means 'the one I have just mentioned', and 'there' means 'the place I have just mentioned', 'the' has a wider scope. It essentially means something like 'you know which I mean, either because I have already mentioned it, or because I am about to explain which one, or because you are familiar with it from your own knowledge and experience'. Of these three basic meanings, the third is basically exophoric: if, for example, I ask my wife 'Are you taking *the* car?' we both understand it as meaning our car. It is therefore not cohesive in the sense of repeating a meaning from a previous message. This is technically known as **homophora** – a particular kind of exophoric reference. The second is also of less relevance to us here,

because it typically operates not only within the clause but within the nominal group – it points forward to the Postmodifier (see 2.1.1). For example, in the group 'the arrest of Parnell', the function of 'the' can be informally paraphrased as 'I am about to specify which arrest I am referring to: it is that of Parnell'. This is technically known as **structural cataphora** or **esphora**. It is the first meaning that is anaphoric and is central as a cohesive resource. Sometimes, the repetition underlying 'the' is explicitly reinforced by the repetition or near-repetition of the noun – this is called the 'second-mention use':

> Bungling ram raiders tried to smash their way into *a* furniture shop – using *a* stolen Mini. But *the* tiny motor just bounced off *the* store's plate-glass window.

Equally – or perhaps more – often, however, the presence of 'the' signals that the meaning at this point is being repeated from earlier in the text even though there may be no clear lexical repetition. In many of these cases, the anaphoric use of 'the' overlaps with the exophoric use. In the following example, the writer is talking about a theatre show on Broadway:

> To make sure of it, he and *the* box office manager secretly hired a carpenter to build an extra row of seats which were quietly removed at the end of the show's two-year run. *The* theatre management never knew of the existence of row AA.

The highlighted uses of 'the' in the example can be seen as both relating outwards to the reader's knowledge of the world and relating back to meanings brought implicitly into the text by the mention of theatre: since all theatres have a box office manager and a management, the use of 'the' when they are first explicitly mentioned indicates that the writer is in retrospect treating his mention of a 'theatre show' as carrying with it the potential for reference to 'box office manager' and 'management' as already 'on the table'.

The third type of cohesive reference is **comparative**. Any comparison of course includes two things that are being compared; and any comparative attached to one entity or concept thus implies the existence of the other entity or concept. As with the other types of reference, the comparison can be with something in the outside world rather than in the text:

> Do you want some *more* wrapping paper? [= I can see that you already have some paper.]

However, it can also have a cohesive role by bringing back into the text the meaning of a previously mentioned entity or concept that is now being compared with something else. Note that comparison needs to be seen in a fairly wide sense, not just as including comparative forms of adjectives or adverbs as in the first example below: items like 'another', 'different', 'the same' and 'similarly' can all contribute to cohesion:

It sounded to Tom as though something heavy had fallen on the floor in the room above. This time they all looked up: even Mr Enkhbold. Then there was a *louder* noise, much *closer*.
There are many *other* stories about her staunch individuality.
Otherwise his story is *the same as* Katharine's.

We can also include ordinal numbers in this group, since, for example, 'the second' only makes sense as being compared with the previously mentioned 'first':

The *third* type of cohesive anaphoric reference is comparative.

In concluding this brief outline of reference, it might be useful to have a reminder of the set of 'phoric' terms that have been introduced, since they are easy to confuse until you are used to them. Figure 8.1 summarizes them with examples.

exophoric
pointing outwards
to the environment

e.g. *That's* the Anglican Cathedral *there*
Have you even met the Queen?
(**homophoric**)

endophoric
pointing inwards
to the text

anaphoric
pointing
backwards

e.g. *These* sensations were very frightening.

cataphoric
pointing
forwards

e.g. The song goes something like *this*
This is *the* book I was talking about.
(**esphoric**)
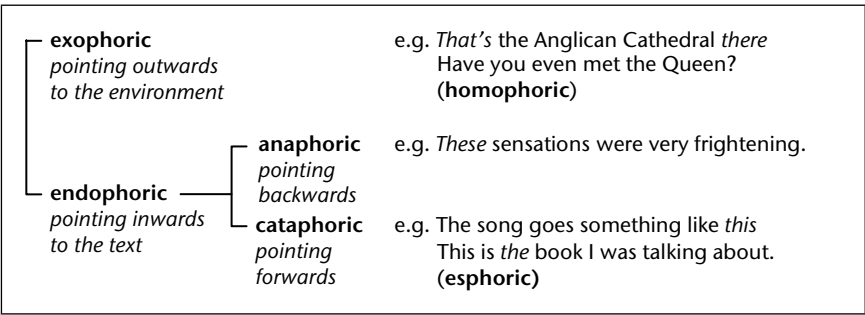
Figure 8.1   Phoric categories of reference

8.2.2 Ellipsis

As mentioned above, there are two basic types of ellipsis: ellipsis proper, where a gap is left to be filled by 'carrying over' elements from a previous message; and substitution, where a substitute form marks the place where the earlier elements need to be brought in. As some of the examples above have shown, reference can operate over fairly long stretches of text, and the meaning that is being repeated need not be in the immediately preceding message. Ellipsis, on the other hand, typically operates between adjacent clauses. This is at least partly because the message with ellipsis is formally incomplete: the hearer or reader is required to recall (or adequately reconstruct) the actual words needed to fill out the clause; and psychological research has shown clearly that we typically remember the meanings of what is said to us far better than the wordings. Ellipsis is typically more fully exploited in speech than in writing: it reflects the negotiation and cooperation that is an explicit feature of face-to-face interaction. (See also the examples of elliptical clauses consisting of Mood in 4.3.1.)

The exophoric/endophoric distinction that we have discussed in relation to reference can also be applied, though in a slightly different way, to ellipsis. It was

mentioned above (6.3.2) that in elliptical Themes or Rhemes the missing element may be understood from the situation (i.e. it is supplied from 'outside' the text) or it may be carried over from the preceding message. As with reference, it is only the second of these that is properly speaking cohesive. The following slightly shortened extract, from Iris Murdoch's novel *The Philosopher's Pupil*, shows examples of 'missing' elements replaceable both from the context and from the co-text; and it also shows both ellipsis proper and substitution:

'You've got a black eye.'
'Yes.'
'So have I, at least it's swollen, can't think how I got it.' ...
'Gabriel got here early.'
'Yes.'
'What did she say to you?'
'Nothing.' ...
'I can't remember much about last night.'
'I'm glad you can't, neither can I.'
'If you can't remember, why are you glad I can't?'
'It was a horrid accident, better to forget it.'
'We do a lot of forgetting. How long will you be in here?'
'I don't know. You could ask matron.'
'Do you want anything, flowers or books or anything?'
'No, thanks.'
'I feel awfully tired.'
'You're suffering from shock.'
'Yes, that's it, I suppose I am.'
'Better go home and rest.'

Before reading the summary below of the resources by which ellipsis is realized, you might like to try to identify all the 'missing' elements in this conversation.

The contextually determined ellipsis, which does not serve a cohesive function and will not be discussed below, occurs in:

'[I] can't think how I got it.'
'[it's] better to forget it.'
'[You'd] Better go home and rest.'

Note that in each case it is the Subject that is ellipsed, usually but not always with the Finite. This is very common in informal spoken registers (and registers that are intended to sound like speech, such as personal blogs).

As the conversation shows, one context in which cohesive ellipsis is particularly common is in answers and responses. 'Yes' and 'No' answers presuppose the wording from the preceding question or statement.

'You've got a black eye.'

'Yes [I've got a black eye].'
'Do you want anything, flowers or books or anything?'
'No, [I don't want anything] thanks.'

In response to a WH-question, it is often just the missing element called for by the WH-word (see 4.3.4) that is supplied in the answer, with everything else presupposed from the question:

'What did she say to you?'
'[She said] Nothing [to me].'

If the answer cannot be supplied, the whole question is typically ellipsed:

'How long will you be in here?'
'I don't know [how long I will be in here]. You could ask matron [how long I will be in here].'

WH-questions themselves can also be elliptical. This happens when they are used to demand that the original speaker supply additional information to what he has just said. The wording of his clause is then presupposed in the question (and very often in the following answer). In the following extract from *The Philosopher's Pupil* the first speaker wrongly assumes that the other person can supply the missing Subject from the context:

'Rum jerk,' said Bobbie.
'Who [is a rum jerk]?'
'The parson [is a rum jerk].'

So far we have looked at cases of ellipsis proper. There are two cases of substitution in the long extract above:

'You've got a black eye.' 'Yes.'   'So [= also got a black eye] have I.'
'I can't remember much about last night.'
'I'm glad you can't, neither [= also not remember much about last night] can I.'

Here, a 'counter' ('so', 'neither') is put into the elliptical clause to represent the missing wording. As the paraphrase in brackets makes clear, the resulting clause is not simply the non-elliptical clause with a substitute form in the same place as the missing wording – the substitute form has developed its own grammar. Note that it would be possible to keep the grammar of the elliptical clause parallel to that of the non-elliptical one, but in this case we would have ellipsis proper rather than substitution:

'I have [got a black eye] too.'
'I can't [remember much about last night] either.'

This possibility of alternating between ellipsis proper and substitution is not accidental: in principle, wherever in the structure of the clause you can have one you can also have the other (although contextual factors will influence or determine which occurs in any particular case).

One way of grouping substitute forms is according to what they substitute for. In certain contexts 'so', 'neither' and 'nor' can substitute for the **Residue** (as in the examples above, where the Mood is explicit). In addition, they can substitute for a whole projected (reported) clause following certain verbal or mental process verbs – 'not' can also function in this way:

> 'Are you there, Luce?'
> 'I've just said so [= that I'm there].'
> 'It was the rest of the people who made him a monster really, wasn't it?'
> 'I suppose so [= that it was the rest of the people who made him a monster really], sir.'
> 'Do you think it's possible?'
> 'I hope not [= that it is (not) possible].'

Compare this with the examples above of reported WH-questions where the whole projected clause is ellipsed ('I don't know. You could ask matron.')

In other contexts, the Residue can, under certain circumstances, be substituted by 'do':

> 'Has he gone?'
> 'He might have done [= gone].'
> I haven't even met Mrs McCaffrey. I suppose I ought to have done [= met Mrs McCaffrey]?

One substitute form that is relatively formal and more associated with written text is the combination 'do so':

> So despite Spence having no religious or lawyerly certification, he was able to preside at the wedding. He did so [= preside at the wedding] very capably.

Note that 'do' also appears in elliptical clauses as Finite rather than as a substitute form. In this case, we have ellipsis proper, since the filled-out clause would preserve 'do' in most cases:

> 'I don't care about the scandal – '
> 'Well, you ought to [care about the scandal] and I do [care about the scandal].'

This can be confusing if you are trying to identify exactly what grammatical structure is involved; and in some cases it is not possible to decide. In the following example, 'do' in the response could equally well be seen as the emphatically positive Finite (i.e. with elliptical Residue) or as the substitute form:

'Strong probabilities amount to proof.'
'Perhaps they *do* in philosophy, but I prefer to believe what I see clearly.'

Fortunately, in practice the distinction is rarely crucial (and is anyway only an issue for linguists).

In the **nominal group**, the substitute form 'one(s)' can replace the head noun or the nominal group as a whole:

Are they rare birds? Have you seen *one* [a bird]?
The penultimate part of this process was a set of three line drawings for each of us, depicting the possible style and content of the final product. From these we selected *the ones* [= the drawings] we wanted Paul to paint

The negative substitute form in these cases is 'none'. The following example combines the use of this substitute form with ellipsis in response to a WH-question (see above):

'What wonderful things have you told her about me?'
'[I have told her] None [= no wonderful things].'

Possessive pronouns also act as substitute forms for nominal groups:

Lady Emma was considered a saint by all who knew her, but even saints have their faults. *Hers* [= her fault] seems to have been a habit of making favourites among her children.
'What about our images of ourselves?'
'You have *none* [= no images of yourself]. *Yours* [= your images of yourself] are illusions.'

The use of these substitute forms can be compared with the fairly common type of ellipsis in the nominal group where only the determiner is kept:

Whisky? I'll get *some* [whisky].
I didn't know you'd written a novel. I hope you'll write *another* [novel]?

As with the ambiguous cases of 'do' mentioned above, ellipsis and substitute forms are very close to each other here: in functional terms they are doing essentially the same job.

This has, of necessity, been only a very brief summary of ellipsis. This area of the grammar is complex and comprises a highly developed set of resources; but in terms of text analysis the details are less important than the general role of ellipsis in the cooperative negotiation of meaning between speakers. In certain texts ellipsis can contribute to a distinctive 'tone': one reason for selecting the majority of the examples in this section from *The Philosopher's Pupil* is that Murdoch is a writer who frequently makes conscious use of rapid dialogue, with ellipsis creating a constant chain of tight

links from one utterance to the next (one of the characters in the novel in fact characterizes the conversations as 'patball').

8.3 Conjunction

In Chapter 7, we looked at the ways in which clauses may be combined in clause complexes. However, the resource of conjunction is wider than that; and this section will give a very brief overview to indicate some of the important features of the role of conjunction in creating coherence. (I should point out, however, that my use of 'conjunction' as a general term for the ways in which messages can be connected does not match the terminology in Halliday and Matthiessen. They use the term 'conjunction' to refer only to cohesive linking – i.e. between clause complexes/sentences – and they distinguish strictly between conjunction and clause complexing.)

Conjunction (as I am using it) refers broadly to the combining of any two textual elements into a potentially coherent complex semantic unit. Whereas reference and ellipsis are based on repetition across messages – the management of textual continuity – conjunction is concerned with transitions between messages, managing progression as the text unfolds. There are basically two ways of approaching the investigation of conjunction. On the one hand, we can start from the clause constituents that we have already identified as serving a textual function – in particular, conjunctions such as 'but' and 'because', and conjunctive Adjuncts such as 'nevertheless' and 'therefore'. The outline of circumstantial elements in 5.2.7 suggests that we might also want to include prepositions as textual linkers within the clause. These three sets of linkers reflect that fact that we have three basic levels at which conjunction can be investigated: within the clause (prepositions), between clauses (conjunctions) and between clause complexes/sentences (conjunctive Adjuncts) – these levels have in fact been introduced in Figure 5.23 above. Once we have the list of constituents which function in this way, we can proceed to classify the different kinds of conjunctive relations that are signalled by them. Of these, of course, only the last contributes to cohesion as we have defined it here (between clause complexes), and this will be the focus of discussion in this section.

On the other hand, we can go from the assumption that in normal language-use any clause will be interpreted as being in a coherent relation with the clause or clauses preceding it (and will therefore, of course, provide the context in which the following clause(s) can be interpreted coherently). We can then identify as far as possible the general kinds of relations that are set up between clauses in texts; and finally we can look for any cohesive features in the text that signal the relation in each case. This approach will lead us to identify a set of cohesive signals that include some which are not traditionally counted as conjunctive items. Here are just a few examples:

> The Prince alienated the aristocracy because he did not visit. *This was probably not a question of* snubbing them or of snobbery *but of* a certain rectitude.
> After 10 years of standardization, there should be a healthy UK market for used models. *Curiously*, there seems to be only one big second-hand PC dealer in London.

The signals are: in the first example, the textual label 'question' (functioning as a kind of alternative to 'because of'); and in the second, the comment Adjunct (functioning as an interpersonal equivalent of 'however').

The two approaches to conjunction result in rather different perspectives, although, as one might expect, there is a good deal of overlap. Hoey (2000) provides the most fully developed account of the second approach, which, amongst other things, serves the essential function of ensuring that we do not restrict our view of conjunction in text too narrowly (see also Winter, 1994; and, for a similar approach, Rhetorical Structure Theory, see Mann *et al.*, 1992). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) rely primarily on the first approach, but they indicate that a wider view is needed to account for all the ways in which the texture of a text is constructed. They also make the useful point that different types of discourse draw differently on the various resources of conjunction (and clause complexing, see Chapter 7) and use different types of signals; we will see a particularly clear example of this in 8.4 below.

I have already related conjunction to circumstantial elements in the clause; and the similarities also hold in the difficulty that linguists have in agreeing on a list of types of conjunctive relations. As with circumstantial elements, there are certain types which are clearly important, as is reflected in the frequency with which certain labels recur in grammatical descriptions: cause and effect (signalled at the three levels by, for example, 'because of', 'because', 'therefore'); condition (e.g. 'assuming', 'if', 'in that case'); concession (e.g. 'despite', 'although', 'nevertheless'); comparison and contrast (e.g. 'like', 'whereas', 'similarly'); time (e.g. 'during', 'while', 'meanwhile'); and so on. However, each list tends to contain categories that are less familiar and less generally agreed on: for example, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 612) include the categories of distractive ('by the way') and resumptive ('as I was saying'), while Hoey (2000) includes Instrument–Achievement (the relation in the 'laying down wine' example at the beginning of this chapter: by buying good wine, which improves the longer it is kept, Hugo was preparing to have a happy time when he was older and the wine was ready to drink). Hoey also goes beyond relations between clauses to examine larger textual patterns that help the creation of coherence in a text, of which the most fully discussed is Problem–Solution.

Rather than attempt to set out a detailed classification here, which would almost inevitably suggest an illusory definitiveness, I prefer to leave the question at the general level. In Chapter 7, we looked at Halliday and Matthiessen's system for the grammatical categorization of relations within the clause complex. Many of these relations also hold between clause complexes: the extent to which the same relations can be identified at both levels (and between larger chunks of texts, such as paragraphs) is still being investigated, but the basic principle seems to be that the same set of relations holds good, although some are more commonly found within complexes and others between complexes. This is certainly the assumption on which influential models of conjunction are based, especially Rhetorical Structure Theory (see Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014: 658) and the account of conjunction given in Martin and Rose (2007). I also found that, in the corpus study described in 7.6.2, I was able to use the same categories for all relations that I identified, whether they were intra-complex or inter-complex.

It is also worth noting that the internal vs. external division that was discussed in 7.4.4 in relation to expansion applies to cohesive conjunction. Rather than involving interpersonal negotiation, however, internal conjunction is concerned with textual organization. It can be most clearly seen in cases of textual sequencing. In the following example, the two events are sequenced in chronological 'external' time – if the order were reversed it would represent the events as happening in a different sequence:

First he conquered the press. *Then* it rebelled.

In the next example, on the other hand, the sequencing is in terms of text time:

It is expected that the Multics system will be published when it is operating substantially. ... Such publication is desirable for two reasons: *First*, the system should withstand public scrutiny and criticism volunteered by interested readers; *second*, in an age of increasing complexity, it is an obligation to present and future system designers to make the inner operating system as lucid as possible so as to reveal the basic system issues.

In principle, the first and second messages could be reversed without affecting their status as the elaboration of the 'two reasons'. There will be discoursal factors which will have guided the writers to order the reasons as they did (e.g. relative salience); but *first* and *second* refer to the order in which the reader comes across each in the text. Here are just a few other pairs of examples to illustrate the distinction. The first pair shows external addition (two separate events) and internal addition (a further point in the argument):

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, announced in May that Germany would phase out its 17 nuclear reactors, … Switzerland has *also* decided not to replace its five existing nuclear reactors
A case study of health club-based networks is, therefore, an important corrective to the bias of much contemporary work. *In addition*, evidence from Norway suggests that sports club membership, which is similar, correlates with higher levels of general social and political trust.

The next pair shows external cause (the first event brings about the second) and internal consequence (the conclusion to a line of argument):

Airplane flight recorders must be able to survive catastrophic crashes. *Therefore*, they are typically encased in crash-resistant steel or titanium.
While I agree that people should not smoke, I believe that the statistics stated above for second-hand smoke are misleading, and as such citing them is unethical. If one goes to the actual report, it is clear that the statistics for second-hand smoke pertain to potential future smoking related deaths, and not to annual deaths. *Thus*, the only possible conclusion is that second-hand smoke may cause some future

deaths, but there is no evidence in the report cited above that current deaths are being caused by second-hand smoke.

It is not always easy to decide whether a cohesive relation is internal or external: there are numerous cases that could be seen as realizing either. However, it is a crucial distinction that (as with internal and external expansion) is necessary to make full sense of how messages in texts hang together.

8.4 Cohesion and register

To gain some idea of how cohesion operates in different registers, we can look at a short extract from a textbook (*Evolution*, Prentice Hall Science, 1994), which has been chosen because the cohesive signals are unusually (even abnormally) dense and explicit in some ways but not in others. Before reading the analysis below, try identifying as many features as possible that contribute to the cohesion (the sentences are numbered for ease of reference).

> (1) Today, scientists know that chromosomes play an essential role in heredity.
> (2) Chromosomes control all the traits of an organism. (3) How do they perform this complex task? (4) The main function of chromosomes is to control the production of substances called proteins. (5) All organisms are made up primarily of proteins. (6) Proteins determine the size, shape, and other physical characteristics of an organism. (7) In other words, proteins determine the traits of an organism. (8) The kind and number of proteins in an organism determine the traits of that organism. (9a) So by controlling the kind and number of proteins produced in an organism, (9b) chromosomes are able to determine the traits of that organism.

Probably the most striking feature of the text is its lexical explicitness. This comes out especially in the reliance on lexical repetition rather than reference items such as pronouns. Apart from 'they' in (3), the main participants (chromosomes, proteins, organisms) are always referred to by full nominal groups; and there is also obvious repetition of the near-synonyms for the main process, 'control' and 'determine'. Related to this is the way in which many of the sentences build on the preceding one by repeating nearly all the elements and simply changing one. This is most evident in (6), (7) and (8), where 'the size, shape, and other physical characteristics' becomes 'the traits', and then 'The kind and number (of proteins)' is added; but there is a similar relationship between (2) and (9b) and between (4) and (9a).

Interestingly, this high degree of lexical repetition seems to leave very little need for cohesive use of demonstratives: 'the' is always used to point forward to a postmodifying prepositional phrase within the same nominal group, not to signal anaphorically that a participant has already been mentioned; and 'that' in (8) and (9) refers back to a participant mentioned in the same sentence, not in an earlier sentence. There is also relatively little signalling of conjunction. We do have 'In other words' in (7), just in case the reader misses the relationship between 'the size, shape, and

other physical characteristics' and 'the traits'; and 'So' in (9) – we will come back to this in a moment. But there is, for example, no signal of the relation between (1) and (2): to construct the coherence, the reader here needs to see that (2) specifies what the 'essential role' mentioned in (1) is (this assumes that the reader knows or can deduce that controlling the traits of an organism is somehow relevant to heredity).

The main exception to this relative lack of cohesive signals apart from repetition comes in (3), a sentence which plays a key role in organizing the extract. Here we have the demonstrative 'this' which, together with the general noun 'task', refers back to the message in (2). Sentence (3) is also a question: since the rest of the extract provides the answer, the interrogative Mood choice in fact plays a cohesive role. It is in relation to (3) that we can explain 'So' in (9): it is used in a way which is more typical of informal speech than of formal writing, and signals roughly 'Here comes a summary of the most important information which answers the question above'. Thus (4) to (8) are bracketed off as preparation for the main answer in (9).

The overall effect of the text might be characterized as myopic: the impression is given of a reader who can only just about manage to handle one sentence at a time and cannot really cope with understanding logical connections between messages, except at the most basic level of question and answer. The writer, we feel, does not trust the reader to do much coherence-construction, so each little chunk of information is presented as largely self-contained. Given that, as you can probably guess, the extract is from a school textbook for relatively young children, this is perhaps understandable: the intended reader almost certainly does not have the ability to make much sense of a fairly complex topic without help. I leave it to you to decide whether or not you feel that the writer has given help in the most appropriate way.

The way in which cohesive devices are exploited in this extract can be compared with what happens in a different register. Below is a slightly extended version of the extract from the article by Christopher Butler that we looked at in 4.4.5 in terms of its modality. The main cohesive signals are italicized.

> The key evidence *here* is the occurrence of the contracted form 'dunno', which appears 34 times in the BNC. (2) In 12 of *these* occurrences *the* item occurs by itself, in the other 22 cases it is preceded by I. (3) Where *the* form occurs alone, the context indicates that it is equivalent to 'I don't know' rather than to the theoretically possible 'we/you/they don't know'. (4) *This* suggests that 'I don't know' is indeed formulaic, at least for many speakers, while expressions such as 'they don't know' are not. (5) It could perhaps be objected that if 'dunno' is formulaic (which seems to be beyond reasonable doubt), 'I don't know' is unlikely to be, since this would mean that we have two formulaic expressions for the same message. (6) *Furthermore*, the non-reduced nature of 'I don't know' might be taken to indicate that it is constructed from its parts. (7) I believe *both* of *these* challenges are answerable. (8) *Firstly*, it is surely quite plausible to suppose that formulaic material expressing a particular meaning might be stored in more than one phonological form, the one used being dependent on such factors as formality and utterance rate: Wray's model is, after all, a somewhat extravagant rather than a parsimonious one. (9) *Secondly*, although reduction clearly increases the

likelihood of formulaic status, it is equally obviously not a requirement for it, as witness the large number of non-reduced strings postulated as formulaic sequences.

Although lexical repetition plays an important role here, grammatical cohesive devices are also deployed, not least in support of lexical repetition. For instance, in (2) 'these (occurrences)' repeats 'occurrence' from (1); and 'the item' uses a general noun to refer back to 'the contracted form "dunno"', with 'the' signalling that the reader knows which item is being referred to (subsequently referred to as 'the form' in (3)). On a slightly larger scale, Butler introduces two possible objections to his views in (5) and (6), and then encapsulates them as 'both of these challenges' in (7): the grammatical signals 'both' and 'these' indicate that 'challenges' is now being used as a kind of variant way of expressing 'it could be objected'. In (4) 'This' encapsulates the evidence presented in (1) − (3), and allows Butler to move to an interpretation of what the evidence means. In (1) *here* refers back to the whole topic of formulaic language that has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. It is worth noting that these three cohesive signals all appear in the experiential Themes of their sentences: what has been established is encapsulated as the starting point for the next step in the argument. Conjunctive signals are also used to signal the organization of the argument: 'Furthermore' introduces the second objection, while Butler's own counter-arguments are sequenced 'Firstly' and 'Secondly'. These three signals are all instances of internal conjunction: it is in formal, carefully planned text of this kind that internal cohesive conjunction is most often used. For example, in my corpus study nearly 75 per cent of inter-complex relations in the academic journal articles were internal, compared with, at the other extreme, just over 5 per cent in the fiction data.

Both of the extracts above, of course, deploy cohesive resources very differently from casual conversation. Most of the examples in 8.2.2 above, on ellipsis, are from conversations (real or fictional), but the following extract from the ICE-GB corpus (which you saw in Chapter 4) illustrates how the various cohesive resources work together in naturally occurring informal chat. Elliptical elements are added in square brackets, and reference and conjunctive items are italicized.

B: Do you still see Leo
A: Yeah [I still see Leo]
B: How's *he*
A: [He's] Fairly OK I think
B: Really
A: Uhm
B: Does *he* live out of London
A: Yeah *he* went to live in *he* went to uh Colchester // *He's* training to be uh don't know what you call it sort of the step above uh an E F L teacher
B: Really
A: Uh a sort of cour course director I think it is
B: Is *he* still writing
A: *Well* still isn't really the word // *It it* stopped around uh

B: I know *he* stopped years ago
A: Yeah
B: *But* is *he* writing at all
A: [is he writing at all] Again
B: Yeah [is he writing at all again]
A: No // No [he isn't writing at all again]
B: *So he's* not interested in *it*
A: *Oh* yeah yeah *he* thinks of himself as a writer

I have only added elliptical material where it seems necessary, especially in responses to questions. As indicated in 8.2.2, responses to yes/no questions often simply specify the polarity ('yes' or 'no'), and the rest of the information is assumed to be carried over from the question, as in the second line above; and in the responses to WH-questions, only the information that fills out the WH-element is given, as in the fourth line above. There are several other minimal responses ('really', 'yeah') where it could be argued that ellipsis occurs, but these are mostly acknowledgements of what the other person has just said rather than replies to questions, and in some cases it would be difficult to identify what the elliptical material might be. As we saw in the examples in 8.2.2, even taking this parsimonious approach, ellipsis is fairly frequent, typically coming in short bursts (here at the beginning and end of the extract), with other stretches where new information is being passed on with less ellipsis.

The talk is about 'Leo' throughout, and, once the name is introduced, he is referred to by the pronominal form 'he': this is in fact the most frequent cohesive item in the extract. There is also a somewhat vague use of 'it' twice to refer to 'writing' (even though the word 'writing' only occurs as a verb in the talk). This kind of use of pronouns (especially 'it') where there is no specific nominal form earlier in the discourse to be picked up is typical of informal talk – in more formal written contexts, writers are more likely to ensure that pronouns have clear referents (and teachers often correct instances where students forget to do this).

A final point to note is the kind of conjunctive signals used. In casual conversation, it is comparatively rare to find the signals that come to mind when we think of sentence linkers – 'for example', 'on the other hand', 'firstly', etc. In the conversation data in my corpus study of conjunction, there are only 10 instances of these linkers in 1,000 relations (and only 16 instances in the personal blogs), compared with 131 instances in 1,000 relations in the academic journal data. What we find instead are linkers that can also appear as co-ordinating conjunctions in clause complexes ('but' and 'so' above), and items which are largely restricted to spoken contexts (sometimes called discourse markers): 'well' and 'oh'. In the extract above 'But' seems to connect back over A's 'Yeah' to B's preceding utterance – speakers frequently jump over other speakers' contributions in this way and continue what they were saying before the break. On the other hand, 'So' connects the utterance of one speaker with that of the other: it signals that B is drawing his own conclusion from what A has just told him. Discourse markers are multi-functional, and it is often difficult to pin down exactly what they are doing in a particular context – but they clearly serve a

communicative purpose. In the extract, both 'well' and 'oh' signal that A is about to disagree with what B has just said. The difference here is that 'well' softens the disagreement by suggesting that A is considering whether 'still' is the appropriate word and deciding that it isn't (this is also reflected in the hedge 'not really'), whereas 'oh' occurs when A flatly contradicts B's suggestion that Leo is no longer interested in writing.

These three short examples show that, as with all the systems that we have explored so far, the patterns of choices in cohesion vary significantly in different registers.

● Refer to Exercises 8.1 and 8.2.

Exercise 8.1

Look back at the extracts from the doctor's consultation in Exercise 4.3 (page 89). Identify any cohesive signals: reference, ellipsis and conjunction. Also identify the Themes. Consider any insights that the analysis gives you into the way the texts develop.

Exercise 8.2

Analyse the cohesive signals in the following extract from a newspaper editorial, and consider how the cohesive choices in reference and conjunction (there is no ellipsis) reflect the register, especially in comparison with the consultation that you analysed in Exercise 8.1. I have added sentence numbers.

(1) Treasury mandarins are even now hard at work on how to ensure the levy keeps within the new, lower target. (2) In this way the chancellor wants to make it clear that, whatever strong words were used before the May general election, he will treat the banks with all the care and consideration of a hotel concierge. (3) That is fast becoming a running theme of this new government. (4) Last week this paper revealed that Mr Osborne was not going to implement the proposal of a government report recommending that any bank paying employees above £1m a year would have to make public the precise number of such lucky staff. (5) This was a proposal from Sir David Walker, whose report on City governance from last year was already remarkably timid. (6) You might expect such mildness from a former chairman of Morgan Stanley International – but not from a government whose business secretary, Vince Cable, has previously suggested that any bank paying staff more than the prime minister's salary of £142,000 should disclose the fact. (7) Transparency of this kind is one of the least potent regulatory weapons of all. (8) And yet Mr Osborne shied away from making even that minor reform.

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9

Grammatical metaphor

9.1 Introduction

We have now completed the basic overview of how meanings are made in clauses, how clauses are combined into complexes, and how connections are made between different messages in text. So far, we have been working (except at a few points) with the assumption that the connection between meaning and wording is relatively straightforward. However, this is by no means always the case. For example, in 4.2, we saw that speech roles are typically associated with particular mood choices, but that the roles can be performed by other choices. In an utterance like:

It would be better to wait till tomorrow

a command, which would most naturally be expressed by an imperative ('Wait till tomorrow'), is expressed by a declarative, which would most naturally be used to express a statement. The meaning is then a fusion of the function of command and the declarativeness of the structure (which also allows modalization, in a way that is not possible with imperatives). In this case the fusion results in an utterance that would be described in everyday terms as advice (i.e. a command that puts less pressure on the addressee to obey). In this chapter, we will be exploring facets of this potential for 'disjunction' and recombination between meanings and wordings, between the semantics and the lexico-grammar. The disjunction is actually a natural consequence of having a grammar; and, as you will see, it has a more far–reaching impact on language than might at first appear. Its most significant effect is that it multiplies the ways in which meanings can be made, since it allows many new combinations.

Halliday argues that the potential for this kind of decoupling and recombination is a basic design feature of human language. The possibility of re-setting the relationships between meanings and wordings, which is a central resource for expanding the meaning potential of language, is known as **grammatical metaphor**.

9.2 Grammatical metaphor

We can start the exploration of grammatical metaphor by considering a practical issue. When you analyse texts, especially when you work on transitivity, you are likely to run up against problems in deciding how best to code certain wordings: the transitivity labels that seem most easily applicable do not seem to capture all the meanings. These problems arise for a number of reasons; but one of the most common sources of difficulty is metaphor – though of a kind that you might not think of as metaphor.

Metaphor is a familiar concept, and it is generally taken to be easy to recognize. In the following sentence, for example, it is clear that 'crippled' and 'burden' are being used metaphorically:

> The north is crippled with the burden of the industrial revolution to an extent that the south hardly begins to understand.

A typical analysis of the metaphors will point out that 'crippled' has a literal meaning of 'disabled', while 'burden' literally means 'something heavy' (although both words are nowadays far more frequently used in the metaphorical way illustrated in the example). In this view, metaphor is seen as relating to the way a particular word is used, and the term metaphorical is used as the opposite of literal, to describe the meaning of the word. We can show this as in Figure 9.1, with the wording in italics and the meaning in quotation marks (you may remember that in Chapter 3 I introduced the convention that the symbol ↘ indicates realization: the move from meaning to the wording used to realize that meaning.

= 'disabled'	= 'in a difficult situation'	**meaning**
↘ crippled		↘ **wording**
e.g. *a crippled child*	e.g. *crippled with the burden of the industrial revolution*	
literal use	**metaphorical use**	

Figure 9.1   Literal and metaphorical meanings of a wording

However, it is also possible to look at metaphor from the perspective of the meaning being expressed. For example, a 'translation' of the example above (overlooking the personification in 'the north' and 'the south') into less metaphorical language might be:

> The north is in a difficult situation because of the effects of the industrial revolution
> …

If we compare this translation with the original, we are no longer comparing literal and metaphorical meanings of the same words ('crippled' and 'burden'); instead, we

are comparing different ways of expressing the 'same' meaning. If we want to talk about metaphor from this perspective, it is less confusing to use slightly different terminology. We can still say that the original expresses the meaning in a **metaphorical** way; but we can use the term **congruent** to describe the way in which the reworded version expresses the meaning. We can show this as in Figure 9.2 (again the wording is in italics and the meaning in quotation marks).

'in a difficult situation'		meaning
↘ *in a difficult situation because of the effects of the industrial revolution*	↘ *crippled with the burden of the industrial revolution*	↘ **wording**
congruent wording	**metaphorical wording**	

Figure 9.2   Congruent and metaphorical wordings of a meaning

The rationale for introducing this alternative perspective becomes clearer when we look at examples like the following (from the same article as the example above):

> The north emerges from every statistical comparison that can be made as significantly poorer than the south.

Here it is difficult to talk in terms of a literal meaning for 'comparison' that differs from its metaphorical meaning. But a transitivity analysis, shown in Figure 9.3, does not seem like a fully satisfactory reflection of what we feel is being talked about.

The north	emerges	from every statistical comparison that can be made	as significantly poorer than the south.
Actor	**Pr: mat**	**Circumstance**	**Circumstance**

Figure 9.3   Transitivity analysis of a grammatical metaphor

If we think in terms of the meaning being expressed, we can see that, just as with the first example, we can 'translate' it into something like:

> Whenever people compare statistics about the north and the south, they find that the north is significantly poorer than the south.

This way of expressing the meaning is intuitively closer to what we can think of, in over-simple terms, as the physical and mental events in the external world that are being represented: we know that it is people who compare statistics and interpret what they find. But in terms of transitivity the representation is very different. In the

original, the process of 'comparing' is represented as an entity or location from which something else can 'emerge' of its own volition; whereas the re-worded version represents it as an event involving human participants that results in those participants understanding a phenomenon. Using the terms introduced above, we can say that the 'translation' is more congruent – in other words, the term congruent can be informally glossed as 'closer to the state of affairs in the external world'. Figure 9.4 shows part of the example in a way that highlights the similarities with Figure 9.2.

'people compare statistics'		**meaning**
↘ *people compare statistics*	↘ *statistical comparison*	↘ **wording**
congruent wording	**metaphorical wording**	

Figure 9.4   Grammatically congruent and metaphorical wordings of a meaning

The metaphor is no longer simply in the non–congruent use of a lexical item (as was the case with 'crippled'); instead it is in the grammar (which, amongst other things, makes it more difficult to do a transitivity analysis that captures the meanings adequately). In simple terms, nouns congruently encode things, and verbs congruently encode happenings. The original wording above is an example of grammatical metaphor because there a noun ('comparison') encodes a happening, and a verb ('emerges') encodes a complex meaning that is only partly a happening: it also involves the logical relation of cause and effect ('as a result of comparing, people find'). We can therefore give a provisional definition of grammatical metaphor as: the expression of a meaning through a lexico-grammatical form that originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning. The expression of the meaning is metaphorical in relation to a different way of expressing the 'same' meaning that would be more congruent. This description is deliberately formulated in a broad enough way to include cases like the declarative command in the first example above.

   This formulation is also designed to cover lexical metaphor like 'crippled': there is no essential difference between the two kinds, and lexical metaphor can be seen as a sub-category of grammatical metaphor. It should be stressed that metaphor is simply a natural extension of the in–built flexibility and multi–functionality of language. In some respects, we are admirably economical in our linguistic behaviour: language forms are constantly being recycled to perform new functions. Any language element (a word, a grammatical structure, etc.) initially evolves to serve a particular function; but once it exists as part of the language, it is available for other recognizably related uses. The use of the word 'foot' can be extended to refer to part of a mountain (and we no longer think of this as metaphorical because it is so well established); the use of the word 'crippled' can be extended to express the idea of a 'difficult situation'; or the use of the grammatical class of nouns can be extended to cover actions, events and states (e.g. 'comparison'). And in essentially the same way, the use of a grammatical structure such as a declarative can be extended to express commands (or questions, or offers).

Before exploring the concept of grammatical metaphor in more detail, there are four general points that it is worth highlighting. First, strictly speaking we should not talk as if a particular way of expressing a meaning were either metaphorical or congruent in absolute terms: it is always a matter of degree, and we should think of a wording being more or less metaphorical or congruent in relation to a different way of expressing the meaning. For convenience, I will in fact describe certain wordings as metaphorical; but it should be borne in mind that this is shorthand for 'more metaphorical than another wording that could be used'.

Second, I have talked about metaphorical and congruent ways of expressing the 'same' meaning; but one of the fundamental assumptions of a functional approach is that it is not possible to separate expression and meaning in this simple way. As I pointed out in the case of the declarative command, the choice of a more metaphorical wording construes a different meaning from the choice of a more congruent wording. Let us return to the example given above:

> The north emerges from every statistical comparison that can be made as significantly poorer than the south.

The wording here construes an objective world in which facts 'emerge' unmediated by human consciousness and in which 'comparison' is a fixed, countable entity rather than a dynamic process. Although the more congruent wording suggested above refers to recognizably the same state of affairs in the external world, it clearly represents that state of affairs very differently: in other words, it expresses a different meaning. It represents a different way of talking, and thinking, about the world.

The third point follows from the second: a metaphorical expression of a meaning is different from a more congruent expression because it fuses two ways of meaning. A noun always carries with it at least some degree of 'noun-ness' (which we can informally describe as the meaning of 'thing-ness'). When a process meaning is realized as a noun, as in 'comparison', some aspects associated with verbs, such as finiteness, are lost, but other aspects associated with nouns, such as 'thing-ness', are gained. Similarly, a declarative always carries some degree of 'declarativeness' (that is 'information-giving') with it. A command expressed by a declarative has the force of a command combined with information-giving (rather than directly demanding goods-&-services). I will expand on this point in 9.3 and 9.4 below.

The final point is that congruent rewordings can be useful in exploring metaphorical wordings; but it is important not to see them as in some sense expressing the 'real' meaning. More metaphorical wordings are inherently neither better nor worse than more congruent wordings: they are simply doing different jobs. There will be many factors influencing the extent to which metaphorical wordings of a particular kind might be preferred in particular contexts. In certain registers such as scientific writing the metaphorical 'objectivization' illustrated in the 'comparison' example above tends to be highly valued, whereas in others such as informal conversation it is not. But, conversely, in conversation certain kinds of interpersonal metaphors (see 9.4) will be heavily relied on which will hardly appear in scientific writing.

9.3 Experiential and logical metaphors

In the preliminary discussion above, I have mentioned that grammatical metaphor involves both experiential (transitivity) and interpersonal (mood and modality) meanings. In this section, I will focus on grammatical metaphor in the experiential domain. The key phenomenon here is **nominalization** – the use of a nominal form to express a process meaning.

To illustrate this phenomenon, we can take the following three short extracts from various online sources, which are all on the topic of how the body reacts when someone begins to bleed. The bold typeface is in the originals; I have put instances of nominalization in italics.

> After getting a cut, scratch, or abrasion, your skin may start bleeding. This happens because the injury breaks or tears the tiny blood vessels that live right under the skin's surface. Your body wants to stop the *bleeding* so the **platelets** (say: **plate**-lutz) in your blood come to the rescue.
>
> At the site of a wound (say: **woond**), which is another word for injury, platelets stick together, like glue. This is called *clotting*, which works like a plug to keep blood and other fluids from leaking out.
>
> *(© 1995–2012. The Nemours Foundation/KidsHealth®. Reprinted with permission.)*

Blood *Clotting* is one of three mechanisms that reduce the *loss* of blood from broken blood vessels. These three mechanisms are: [first item omitted]

- **Platelet Plug *Formation*** – When blood platelets encounter a damaged blood vessel they form a '**platelet plug**' to help to close the gap in the broken blood vessel. (The key stages of this process are called **platelet *adhesion***, **platelet *release reaction*,** and **platelet *aggregation***)
- **Blood *Clotting* (*Coagulation*)** … Blood *clotting* (technically '**blood coagulation**') is the process by which (liquid) blood is transformed into a solid state.

Inhibition of thrombin generation in recalcified plasma
Abstract:
Eight inhibitors of thrombin *generation* were compared in recalcified unfrozen plasma. … Thrombin was generated by addition of 5micorl fresh 250 mmol/l CaCl2 to 50 micorl plasma in polystyrol flat-bottom wells and *incubation* for 20 min at 37 degrees C (recalcified *coagulation activity assay*). Arginine stopped hemostasis *activation* and then the generated thrombin activity was specifically quantified. … The 50% inhibitory *concentration* values for corn trypsin inhibitor or aprotinin at plasmatic concentrations above 4-100 U/ml might increase patho-logically the thrombin *generation*.

It is immediately clear that the three extracts are intended for different audiences. This is partly a question of age – the first extract is for young children; but equally importantly it is a question of specialization – the second and third extracts are both

aimed at adults, but the third is written for readers who have a far more advanced knowledge of the scientific perspective on blood clotting than the second.

In the first extract, there are only two instances of nominalization: 'bleeding' in the third sentence, and 'clotting' in the final sentence. This absence of nominalization is part of what makes the text easier to process for the inexperienced readers at whom it is aimed: the wording is generally congruent. The forms used in the nominalizations are also those that are likely to be easiest for the readers to cope with, since they will already be familiar with the –ing form in its use as a verbal form (such as in the first sentence – 'start bleeding'). It is also noticeable that, while 'the bleeding' is used with no signal that it might be unfamiliar, 'clotting' is explicitly introduced as a new term, following the explanation of the process that it refers to.

In the second extract, the use of nominalization is more extensive and more specialized. This is taken from a revision booklet for people preparing to take an examination, and some of the nominalizations are explained – note the explicit description of 'blood coagulation' as the technical term for 'blood clotting'. Other nominalizations are simply listed, presumably because the readers are revising known material; and the 'simpler' nominalizations are used without explicit glossing: 'clotting', 'loss'. The nominalizations are also more complex. Although I have only italicized the head noun, it is in fact the nominal group that is involved. For instance, 'platelet plug formation' could be expressed as a clause with a material process and Actor as 'platelet plugs form'. In some cases the term condenses a lot of information and the precise clausal variant can only be decided on the basis of technical knowledge. For example, the term 'platelet adhesion' does not make it explicit whether the platelets adhere to each other or to something else (in fact, a specialist dictionary informs me that they adhere to the damaged area of the blood vessel).

This condensation is taken further in the third extract, with several nominal groups including more than one nominalization, which increases the complexity: with each nominalization there is the possibility of different readings. Even in the title, which is a stand-alone nominal group, it is assumed that the reader will understand that it is a particular set of molecules which can inhibit thrombin generation, and that there are recognized ways for researchers to generate thrombin. In some cases, a non-specialist (like myself) struggles to make sense of the complexity. For example, 'recalcified coagulation activity assay' refers (I think!) to researchers assaying (testing) how actively recalcified plasma coagulates (and note that although the way it is presented in brackets suggests that the preceding stretch of text explains what this term means, the connection is in fact only clear to specialists).

The three extracts are designed to illustrate not only some of the different ways in which nominalization may be deployed in text, but the close association of increasing and increasingly complex use of nominalization with greater technical specialization. Young language users typically find it much easier to cope with more congruent wordings, which are in a sense more natural; but as technical knowledge increases, writers and readers are expected to handle more 'un-commonsense' ways of talking about the world. Experts do not need to go through the process of unpacking nominalizations, as I have attempted to do above: at the level of specialization

assumed in the third extract, the heavily nominalized style is the conventional way of representing the topic.

In 9.2, I drew a distinction between the meaning of a message and the state of affairs referred to by the message. This distinction has already been implied in the discussion of transitivity; and in fact transitivity analysis provides one rule of thumb for the recognition of grammatical metaphor. If a transitivity analysis does not seem to reflect adequately the state of affairs being referred to, it is very likely that the meaning is being expressed metaphorically. In this case, it is usually possible to give a **parallel analysis** that does reflect the state of affairs more closely – in other words, more congruently. We can then see the meaning of the clause as being derived from the combination of the two readings reflected in the different analyses. This amounts to a claim that in understanding the clause we are in effect understanding both readings simultaneously. (As we shall see, this rule of thumb also works to a large extent for interpersonal and textual metaphors.) As an example of a relatively straightforward parallel analysis, see Figure 9.5.

Proposals	have been made	for the adoption of critical perspectives on the teaching of literature			
Scope	**Pr: mat**	**Circumstance**			
'People	have proposed	that	people	should adopt	critical perspectives on the teaching of literature'
Sayer	**Pr: verbal**		**Actor**	**Pr: mat**	**Goal**

Figure 9.5   Metaphorical and congruent readings combined

Deciding on a satisfactory congruent reading is not always so straightforward. Consider this headline from a newspaper:

Fears mount for ailing King

A simple transitivity analysis would show a material process with 'fears' as Actor. If we then '**unpack**' the experiential meanings of the clause, we could arrive at a possible more congruent reading such as the following:

People fear more strongly because the King is ailing

Figure 9.6 shows how we can present both of these readings together.

Fears		mount		for ailing King		
Actor		**Pr: material**		**Circ: behalf**		
'people	fear	more strongly	because	the King	is ailing'	
Senser	**Pr: mental**	**Circ: manner**	**Circ: reason**			
					Behaver	**Pr: behavioural**

Figure 9.6   A double analysis of a less straightforward case

However, as well as being disturbingly clumsy, the more congruent reading leaves certain questions unanswered. In particular, it makes explicit the Senser of the process, but not the Phenomenon. We can guess that what people fear would be something like 'the idea that the King might die'; but it is difficult to decide whether we should include this as part of the meaning of the original clause.

   Nevertheless, even if we cannot always decide how best to unpack metaphorical meanings, we can identify the main ways in which grammatical metaphor arises. As I indicated above, one of the most important is nominalization – the use of a nominal form to express a process meaning. You can usually recognize nominalizations by the fact that the nominal form is derived from a verbal form.

> These ideas have been subject to widespread *criticism*. ['Many people *have criticised* these ideas']
> Our basic *assumption* is that the *retention* of unfamiliar words is conditional upon the degree of *involvement* in processing these words. ['We basically *assume* that (learners) *retain* unfamiliar words depending on how much they are *involved* in processing these words']
> *Immobilisation* and the prompt *administration* of the appropriate antibiotics may occasionally lead to *resolution*. ['If (the doctor) *immobilises* (the patient) and promptly *administers* the appropriate antibiotics, the problem may occasionally be *resolved*']

Nominalization can also be used to express an attributive meaning – a relational process together with the Attribute:

> *This ambivalence* towards literacy seems to be a strong element in contemporary culture. ['People *are ambivalent* towards literacy ...']

This type of grammatical metaphor plays a key role because, as the examples suggest, it involves a realignment of all the other elements of the message. As we have seen, the process is central in the clause, and the other elements are defined by their relationship to it: they are participants in, or circumstances for, the process. If the

process is nominalized, it has an inevitable knock-on effect on these other elements. In simple terms, a verb has a Subject, for example, but a noun does not; on the other hand, a noun can have attributes. When a process is expressed as a 'thing' by nominalization, the participants may be expressed as attributes of the 'thing'. The following examples show just a few of the possibilities:

Select the printer settings recommended for enhanced *printer* performance. ['*the printer* (= Actor) performs better']

The coming *of writing* is associated with the development *of towns* ... ['*Writing* (= Actor) comes at the same time as *towns* (= Actor) develop']

The use *of the term* implies something more than development or change ['When people use *the term* (= Goal) ...']

They ignored *his* suggestion that it was too late. ['*he* (= Sayer) suggested that it was too late']

The conduction *of electricity by a metal such as copper* occurs by the movement of electrons ['*a metal such as copper* (= Actor) conducts *electricity* (= Goal) ...']

These are cases where the participant is relatively easy to retrieve; but the congruent expression may need a little more filling out:

These ideas have been subject to *widespread* criticism. ['*Many people* (= Sayer) have criticised these ideas']

Under the *no boundary* proposal one learns that ... ['I have proposed that there is *no boundary* (= Existent) ...']

If a nominal group is used to express a process, what happens in the process slot in the clause? In many cases, the process is 'normal', with the nominalization as an abstract metaphorical participant – compare these two examples, where the Phenomenon is a nominalization in the first case but not in the second:

They ignored *his suggestion that it was too late.*
They ignored *him.*

In other cases, the process contributes relatively little to the meaning of the clause. It may be a lexically empty verb that combines with the following nominalization (functioning as Scope) to express the process:

It may also be that the analysis of fads and fashions could *make a substantial contribution* to a more rounded picture of the period.

Alternatively, it may be a neutral process meaning roughly just 'happen':

Further encouragement for the existence of black holes *came* in 1967.
When a non-rigid body is subjected to stresses, it *undergoes* deformation and distortion.

As mentioned in 7.5.2, there are certain similarities between nominalizations and facts. One feature they both share is that they can wrap up a proposition as a 'thing' that can be evaluated as the Carrier in a relational process:

> *His rejection of the proposal* is completely understandable. (Compare: It is completely understandable *that he has rejected the proposal*.)
> At present *the distinction between senses and features* is not convincing. (Compare: It is not convincing *to distinguish between senses and features*.)

Frequently, however, the choice of a nominalization is part of a more generally metaphorical way of representing the state of affairs that affects the whole clause. One fairly common feature of formal language is the use of the process slot at least partly to encode **logical relations** that would more congruently be expressed by conjunctive elements linking two separate clauses:

> This world-wide expansion of English *means* that it is now one of the most widely spoken languages in the world ['*because* English has expanded world-wide ...']
> But the introduction of a capital gains tax *would permit* a reduction in the level of personal income tax ['*if* they introduced a capital gains tax, they could reduce ...']
> The repeated exposure of individuals to free-swimming, skin-penetrating larvae *can result in* the development of intermediate hypersensitivity skin reactions to the larvae ['*if* individuals are repeatedly exposed …, they can develop …']

As these examples suggest, it is particularly logical relations in the area of cause and effect (including conditional relations) that are expressed by the process.

The result of all of these ways of exploiting nominalization tends to be a wording that is extremely simple at the level of the clause complex – often just a single clause – but extremely complex at the level of the group. This is what happened when we unpacked the 'comparison' example in 9.2; and the following is another fairly typical (and relatively short) example:

> The unification of England under the West Saxon kings led to the recognition of the West Saxon dialect as a literary standard.

This type of wording is instantly recognizable as associated above all with formal written registers; and it is one of the main bases for Halliday's (1985b) claim that written English tends to be characterized by syntactic simplicity. A more 'spoken' rendering of the example would unpack the metaphors (i.e. be more congruent) and in the process would create greater syntactic complexity (more subordinate clauses):

> When/Because England became unified under the West Saxon kings, people recognized the West Saxon dialect as a literary standard.

This insight leads us towards the question of why grammatical metaphor of this experiential kind has evolved, and why it tends to be associated with formal uses of

language. There is no space here to do more than indicate briefly some of the functional reasons, and also some of the wider ideological implications; but I will suggest lines of enquiry that you might like to follow through for yourself.

One important function of nominalization is **encapsulation**. Broadly speaking, cooperative text typically introduces new meanings in the form of clauses, since clauses are negotiable (see 4.3.3): they represent claims by the writer that the reader can, in principle, reject. Once a meaning has been introduced in this way and has been accepted (i.e. the reader has continued reading), it can then be used as a basis for the next step in the argument. Now, nominal groups have two qualities that are useful here. First, as mentioned above, a noun typically refers to a 'thing' – i.e. something that exists. By 'nouning' a process, writers can reflect the fact that they have negotiated and established the meaning of the clause centred around the process – in other words, that meaning can now be treated as existing, as a kind of abstract 'thing'. Second, a nominalization is itself available to function as a participant in another process. It can also, therefore, function as Theme. One pattern found in formal discursive text is where a meaning is brought in as a full clause, and is then encapsulated in a nominalization that serves as the starting point for the next or a later clause. Here are a couple of examples from textbooks from different fields (linguistics and chemistry). In the first example, the nominalization encapsulates a proposition in the preceding sentence, whereas in the second the nominalization comes at the start of a new section, referring back to the phenomenon that was introduced and discussed at length in the preceding section.

> Because intra-speaker variation has been studied within frameworks associated with a number of different subject areas [...], it is practical *to treat style-shifting and code-switching separately* in this chapter. But *such a separation* has no theoretical justification.

> As an instantaneous dipole forms in one particle, *it causes the electron density in its neighbour to become unsymmetrical, too. As a result the second particle also becomes a dipole* [...] *The creation of a dipole in a neighbour* is not restricted to instantaneous irregularities in the electron densities of atoms or molecules.

The first example above also illustrates another important use of nominalization. The **technical term** 'code-switching' is itself a nominalization encapsulating a concept that has been established clausally a couple of sentences previously:

> ... some communities have access to linguistic repertoires which allow them to switch between codes which they (or others) perceive as different languages or different dialects of the same language.

Exactly the same is true of 'style-shifting'. The relationship between the technical terms and their clausal expression is reasonably easy to identify in these cases: the technical term **condenses** a clause so that it can be referred to more economically in the rest of the discussion. But there is another nominalized technical term in the

example that works slightly differently. 'Intra-speaker variation' has appeared earlier as 'variation in the language of a single speaker on different occasions'. This is also a nominalization, though it is much less condensed and thus easier to translate into a more congruent wording ('a single speaker varies the language they use on different occasions'). However, this nominalization itself relates back, not to a specific clause earlier in the text, but to the general concept of variation in language use that has been the subject of the whole book: this nominalization expresses a new sub-category of a phenomenon which should, by this point in the book, be understandable to the readers (it is worth remembering that at the start of the book uninitiated readers might well not have fully understood the idea that language varies, since most people assume that language is uniform). Nominalized technical terms are clearly very economical; but equally clearly the reader needs to be able to identify the uncondensed wording that the nominalization relates to (that is why, as an uninitiated reader, I am still uncertain how accurately I have understood 'recalcified coagulation activity assay' in the third extract at the start of 9.3).

In textbooks, there will normally be an explicit uncondensed wording, often when the technical term is introduced, since the writer assumes that the technical term is unfamiliar to the reader; but even here it may not be immediately obvious what the relevant uncondensed wording is (as we saw with 'platelet adhesion'). Once you deal with more specialized writing, there are many concepts that the writer assumes will be familiar to the reader and which are therefore introduced directly in their condensed form as technical terms. The uncondensed wording may have occurred in a different text entirely – perhaps the one in which the concept was introduced – and if you have not read that text, there is a good chance that you will not fully understand the term. From this point of view, education at every level can be seen as largely a question of learning to handle condensed wordings.

As a final point, we can examine this concept of 'meaning condensation' (note the nominalized technical term derived from the discussion above) from a slightly different angle. What is it that gets reduced or lost in the condensation? One key loss is often that of the doer of the process. As we have seen above, the doer can be mentioned as different kinds of attributes; but whereas clauses normally require a Subject, nominalizations do not have to have attributes. One reason why nominalization is in harmony with the ideology of science, and of academic, formal writing in general, is that it makes it easy for processes to be **de-personalized**: to be expressed without the human doer. This de-personalization, as noted above in the case of 'emerge', is often carried over into the verbs that express the process. Nominalized meanings may, for example, 'indicate' conclusions or 'reveal' insights, without it being necessary to mention the human being who is in fact interpreting:

Here, a statistical analysis of the actual vote *indicates* that opposition was localised. The relatively recent focus on spoken language *has revealed* the inability of available models to account for the process nature of language.

At the same time, nominalized processes cannot be finite: they are not tied to any specific time in relation to the time of speaking. Thus a nominalized process is

detached from the here-and-now in a way that is not normally possible for a process expressed by a verb. It is therefore inherently generalized – again, in harmony with the aim of science to establish general truths not tied to specific conditions of time or observer.

If we go a step further, we can see that, by removing the option of a Mood, a nominalized process has been made **non-negotiable**. This is intimately connected with the fact that it is also 'thingified' by being expressed as a noun. Science aims to establish not only timeless truths, but also unassailable, certain truths. Our current ideology of science is far happier with a view of the world as a series of fixed constants acting on each other in logically definable ways. In linguistic terms, this is reflected in, and reinforced by, the preference for nominalizations that represent '**fossilized**' processes and verbs whose primary function is to express not dynamic action but relationships between the nominal groups. In speech, the more obvious here-and-now interaction means that this tendency may be toned down: for example, talks on science will often deliberately 'humanize' and de-condense the topic to make it easier for the hearers to take in. Writing, on the other hand, is more susceptible for a range of reasons to the fossilization of knowledge. We cannot know whether it was possible for Western science to have evolved in a different way from the way it did; but its evolution is intimately bound up with the development of the register in which it is carried out, and if the evolution of science had somehow been different the language of science would also have had to be different.

● Refer to Exercise 9.1.

9.4 Interpersonal metaphors

To simplify a complex phenomenon somewhat, what we think of as typical 'formal written language' (e.g. in scientific or bureaucratic writing) tends to be construed as primarily content-oriented, concerned with transmitting information; and this correlates with a tendency to draw on experiential metaphor as discussed above, since that kind of grammatical metaphor involves non-congruent ways of representing content. Typical 'informal spoken language', on the other hand (e.g. in conversation) tends to be primarily interaction-oriented, concerned with establishing and maintaining relations with other people; and this correlates with a tendency to draw on the resources of interpersonal metaphor, which involve non-congruent ways of enacting interaction. (It is worth noting that whereas experiential metaphor typically leads to condensed wordings and simpler clause grammar, interpersonal metaphor typically leads to expanded wordings: the more we need to attend to negotiating relationships, the more we tend to draw on relatively complex grammatical choices.)

As I mentioned at the start of this chapter, one area where we can identify interpersonal metaphor is in the expression of **mood** meanings. This is essentially a matter of reinterpreting a phenomenon that we have already investigated: the fact that mood choices and speech roles do not always coincide (see 4.2). For example, questions are most naturally (congruently) associated with interrogative mood; but we can also ask questions with a declarative mood choice:

'And he's been back with this girl since he's been with Gertrude?'   'Yes.'

(Here we cannot show the metaphor by a double transitivity analysis, as we did with experiential metaphors above, because the metaphor operates completely within the interpersonal meanings.) This mismatch between mood and speech roles is usually discussed under the label of **indirect speech acts** in studies of spoken discourse and pragmatics; but to see it as a kind of grammatical metaphor allows us to explain it in terms of a more general phenomenon. As with other cases of metaphor, it involves the use of one linguistic form to express a meaning that is not its most 'natural' function. Perhaps more clearly than in the cases we have seen so far, the meaning comes from the combination of both form and function. This is easiest to see when politeness is involved:

Could you get me a drink?

This functions as a demand for goods-&-services, but it is worded as a question about the other person's ability; the effect is therefore to soften the demand. Commands are obviously the most sensitive kind of speech role, since they involve an attempt to influence the other person's behaviour; so it is no surprise that the resources of mood metaphor tend to be drawn on most fully for this function. Here are a few other examples, of commands and other speech roles: I have added the response to help show how the other person interpreted the utterance. I leave you to identify the mismatch between wording and function, and the possible reasons for it.

'Would you like some tea?' 'Ooh, lovely.'
'Could you drop me off on the way.' 'Of course, no problem.'
'There's still some beer left.' 'No thanks.'
'We don't put those glasses in the dishwasher.' [said to 'helpful' guest] 'Oh, right.'
'I'd leave it, if I were you.' 'Yes, I suppose I should.'
'Have you finished with that newspaper?' 'Sure, here you are.'
'How could anyone want to harm a child?' 'Absolutely!'

Another area where we have already come across interpersonal grammatical metaphor is in **modality**, particularly when we consider modal responsibility (4.4.4). As we saw, modality is the expression of the speaker's attitude towards the likelihood or necessity of the proposition, and is congruently realized by modal verbs (which do not have a transitivity role). Explicit subjective modality is a kind of metaphor, in which the attitude is 'experientialized': the modality is expressed in a separate clause that 'frames' the proposition that is being modalized. This modal clause typically takes the form of a mental process with 'I' as Senser, projecting the other clause. Thus, on the surface it appears to express transitivity-type meanings, but it is not actually what the proposition is 'about': as we saw in 4.4.4, any tag question picks up the Mood of the projected clause rather than the Mood of the modal clause. This means that there is a tension between the structural dominance of the modal clause (which is the main clause in traditional terms) and the semantic dominance of the

'reported' clause. In this case, we can show this tension with a double analysis (see Figure 9.7; the third analysis in the figure shows a related kind of metaphor in the area of evaluation rather than modality).

I	think	Mrs Taylor	would like	a drink.
Senser	**Pr: mental**	**Senser**	**Pr: mental**	**Phenomenon**
'probably		Mrs Taylor	would like	a drink'
		Senser	**Pr: mental**	**Phenomenon**

I	doubt	if I	could help	anyway
Senser	**Pr: mental**	**Actor**	**P r: material**	
'probably		I	could (not) help	anyway'
		Actor	**Pr: material**	

I	'm	afraid	they	've left.
Carrier	**Pr: rel.**	**Attribute**	**Actor**	**Pr: material**
'unfortunately			they	've left.'
			Actor	**Pr: material**

Figure 9.7 Explicit subjective modality as grammatical metaphor

Since modal meanings are not part of the propositional 'content' of a message, the main difference in the more congruent reading is that the interpersonal meanings disappear from the transitivity analysis. Because of this similarity between the two readings, in practice it is often simplest just to ignore the modal clause in the transitivity analysis – i.e. to analyse the clause as if it were expressed congruently. The modal and evaluative meanings can then be accounted for in the interpersonal analysis of the clause. However, it is important to keep in mind that both the readings are 'correct', in that they reflect different aspects of the meaning–wording combinations; and in different contexts it may be preferable to focus on one or the other (or both together).

 If we now consider the other end of the modal responsibility cline, we can also see explicit objective modality as a kind of interpersonal metaphor, in which the modal

meanings are again experientialized. In this case, however, the proposition is packaged as a fact (see 7.5.2), and the speaker's modal assessment of it is treated as if it were an attribute of the fact. For example:

> *It seems possible that* the ageing process might be cured through medical means.
> *There is every chance that* she could still be alive.

These can be given a double transitivity reading, in which the interpersonal meanings again disappear from the more congruent version: see Figure 9.8.

It	seems	possible	that	the ageing process	might be cured	through medical means.
C-	Pr: rel	Attr.		-arrier		
		perhaps		the ageing process	might be cured	through medical means'
				Goal	**Pr: material**	**Circ: means**

There	is	every chance that	she	could still be	alive
	Pr: exist.	**Existent**			
'perhaps			she	could still be	alive'
			Carrier	**Pr: rel., attrib.**	**Attribute**

Figure 9.8   Explicit objective modality as grammatical metaphor

As with subjective modality, it is normally simpler just to ignore the modal expressions in a transitivity analysis – while keeping in mind the fact that both readings are simultaneously present in the wording chosen by the speaker or writer.

We can also go even further along the path of experientialization of interpersonal meanings, and express modality through a nominalization:

> But *the possibility* always existed of giving it a second runway. [= 'it was always possible to give it ...' = 'people could always have given it ...']

The clause that has been nominalized here is a modal clause: the grammar is taking advantage of the fact that a modal clause experientializes the expression of attitude, and is therefore available for the operation of nominalization. Thus, as the paraphrases indicate, the nominalization is not one but two steps away from the most congruent

wording. With such cases, it can become increasingly difficult to give a double transitivity analysis, since the interpersonal meanings are so tightly interwoven with the experiential ones.

As with other kinds of nominalization, this can be simply a form of cohesive signal, with the modal nominal picking up on an earlier expression of modality:

> *We don't really know* what causes this inefficient nursing or the prompt waking. *One possibility* is that the babies' nervous system and digestive system are not yet working well enough ...

However, the non-negotiability that I mentioned earlier as associated with nominalization can clearly be a powerful weapon in cases where the speaker or writer wishes, for whatever reason, to avoid negotiation, with its possible outcome of rejection. In persuasive text, one common technique is to objectify opinion by nominalizing it, so as to make it more difficult for the reader or hearer to disagree with it.

> *Doubts* remain whether BSE can infect man. [who doubts this?]
> *The likelihood of a lengthy planning process* means that the decision is not yet a 'done deal'. [= it is a fact that it is likely]

Similarly, evaluation can be expressed through a nominalization, which can make it appear more objective and factual:

> I wonder how many of your readers share my sense of disbelief in *the Government's indifference to the present crisis*. [= it is a fact that the Government is indifferent]
> *This failure to apply common sense* led to a nonsensical conclusion. [= it is a fact that people failed to apply common sense]

The experientialization of interpersonal meanings can in fact be seen as extending not just to modality but also to speech roles, adding an extra resource to the kinds of metaphorical expressions of mood meanings that we examined above. In 7.5.1, I mentioned self-projection, which is a form of interpersonal grammatical metaphor. Instead of simply enacting a speech role by, for example, making a statement or asking a question, we can choose to represent that aspect of meaning as a separate clause. This can be a matter of 'annotating' the utterance with an explicit signal of the speech role. For example:

> *I must admit* I hadn't thought of that before.
> *Can I ask* when exactly you're expecting to get it finished?

But since this interpersonal annotating clause is an independent clause, it has its own mood choice; and this allows a further interplay between the speech role and the wording. For example:

I was just wondering what time dinner was. [demand for information, with declarative annotating clause]

Tell me what you saw. [demand for information, with imperative annotating clause]

I wouldn't advise you to get too excited. [demand for goods-&-services, with declarative annotating clause]

(Note in this last example that the negative polarity, which relates to the command 'Don't get too excited', is expressed in the annotating clause – compare 4.4.4 on modal clauses.)

- Refer to Exercise 9.2.

9.5 Textual metaphor

It is debatable whether the label '**textual metaphor**' is really justified – Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) do not include this category in their survey of grammatical metaphor. I include it here because, as I have argued, the presence of metaphor can generally be recognized by the need for a double transitivity analysis, one of the original wording and the other of a more congruent rewording; and there are in fact two types of thematic structures which also need a double analysis. These are thematic equatives and predicated Theme. They have been fully discussed in 6.4, so all that is needed here are some sample analyses: thematic equatives in Figure 9.9, and predicated Themes in Figure 9.10 (in some cases, the rewordings are so close to the original that the congruent analysis is simply given on the line below). In doing a transitivity analysis of cases like this, you usually need to include both readings.

What	you	need to do	is	to write	me	a letter
Value/Identified			**Pr: rel.**	**Token/Identifier**		
	'you	need to write			me	a letter'
	Sayer	**Pr: verbal**			**Beneficiary**	**Verbiage**

What happened	was	that	Whorf	picked up	Boas' example
Value/Identified	**Pr: rel.**	**Token/Identifier**			
			Actor	**Pr: material**	**Goal**

Figure 9.9 Double transitivity analysis of thematic equatives

It	's not	the technology	which	is	wrong
V-	Pr: rel.	Token/Identifier	-alue/Identified		

	'the technology		isn't	wrong'	
	Carrier		Pr: rel.	Attribute	

It	wasn't	until 1986	that	we	came back	to the UK
V-	Pr: rel.	Token/Identifier	-alue/Identified			

	Circ: location, time		Actor	Pr: material	Circ: location, space

Figure 9.10   Double transitivity analysis of predicated Theme

9.6 A cautionary note

The examples in this chapter, particularly of experiential metaphor, have shown that metaphorical wordings, amongst other things, allow a compactness of meaning that more congruent wordings typically dilute: I have often restricted the suggested re-wordings to part of the original version because a complete re-wording would result in a long, clumsy and frequently unsatisfactory version. In many cases, in fact, you will find that it is impossible to decide on a congruent reading which adequately reflects the meanings encoded in the metaphorical wording. One of the dangers of the concept of grammatical metaphor is that it opens a potentially bottomless pit of possible rewordings. It is difficult to decide at what point you are crossing from unpacking the meanings that are there to importing meanings that were not there before; it is also difficult to decide at what point you have arrived at a reading that is sufficiently congruent; and it is even difficult sometimes to decide whether a wording is actually metaphorical or not (for one thing, many wordings that were originally metaphorical have now become the normal wording: e.g. many mental processes of cognition are routinely expressed as material processes like 'grasp', 'take in', 'master', etc.). There is no answer to this dilemma: the concept is essential in explaining how the language works, but it is a dangerously powerful one. The only practical advice for the analyst is to use it carefully and with caution.

Exercise 9.1

Identify any cases of nominalization in the following extract from a medical textbook, together with any associated features in the clause, such as verbs expressing logical

relationships. Look particularly at the almost complete absence of people from the text: how is this done?

After that, try converting the text into a more 'spoken', de-condensed form, as if the information were being given in an informal talk to trainee doctors. You won't be able to get rid of all the nominalizations, passives, etc. but you can put the people back in many cases. The text will be discussed in Chapter 10.

> 'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint. These can seldom be differentiated and treatment is empirical. It is a condition affecting the middle-aged, in whose shoulder cuffs degenerative changes are occurring. The outstanding feature is limitation of movements in the shoulder. This restriction is often severe, with virtually no gleno-humeral movements possible, but in the milder cases rotation, especially internal rotation, is primarily affected. Restriction of movements is accompanied in most cases by pain, which is often severe and may disturb sleep. There is frequently a history of minor trauma, which is usually presumed to produce some tearing of the degenerating shoulder cuff, thereby initiating the low-grade prolonged inflammatory changes responsible for the symptoms. Radiographs of the shoulder are almost always normal. In some cases the condition is initiated by a period of immobilisation of the arm, not uncommonly as the result of the inadvised prolonged use of a sling after a Colles' fracture. It is commoner on the left side, and in an appreciable number of cases there is a preceding episode of a silent or overt cardiac infarct. If untreated, pain subsides after many months, but there may be permanent restriction of movements. The main aim of treatment is to improve the final range of movements in the shoulder, and graduated shoulder exercises are the mainstay of treatment. In some cases where pain is a particular problem, hydrocortisone injections into the shoulder cuff may be helpful. In a few cases, once the acute stage is well past, manipulation of the shoulder under general anaesthesia may be helpful in restoring movement in a stiff joint.
>
> (from R. McRae, 1990, *Clinical orthopaedic examination*
> (3rd edition), Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, p.42)

Exercise 9.2

Below is an extract from the doctor–patient consultation that you have already seen part of in earlier exercises. This extract is the main part of the examination stage, moving into the diagnosis at the end. Identify all the cases of mood and modality grammatical metaphor, and think about how the differences between this extract and the one above construe different perspectives on the practice of medicine. The extract will be discussed in Chapter 10.

D ok how long did you say again
P I mean all last night I couldn't turn on my side / I couldn't stand up / I couldn't go to the toilet

D   so it got worse overnight

P   yeh / when I walk it hurts me to walk / I don't know what it I don't know if probably it's lifting the residents in the nursing home or what

D   no remembered injury / you don't remember doing anything in particular

P   I don't think so / I've worked with elderly people for ten years moving them around

D   can I ask you to climb on the couch while I have a look at your back just lie flat on your back

P   lie back oh ooh *[inaudible]*

D   what I want you to do first then is to press down with your feet against my hands press down hard / ok now pull up against my fingers / can you press your feet together press your knees apart / just relax while I do your reflexes which are fine / can you bend your knees

P   oh

D   yes ok take your time can I sit you forward now while I while I hit you

P   *(laughs)* I think that's as far as I can't go any further

D   tell me where the tender spot is

P   there oh

D   come and sit yourself down

P   I thought I'd better come to the doctor because with me working with residents I thought well I don't want to put my back out

D   er no you can't work like this at the moment you find that any movement catches it so lifting people is just out at the moment / I'm sure this is a muscle tear because it's typical of them that er the time you do it you don't feel much it's often overnight that the pain steadily develops

10

Implications and applications of Functional Grammar

10.1 Three-dimensional analysis of texts

With the detailed discussion in Chapters 4 to 9, we have moved a fair way from the broad overview with which I started this book; and I am sure that at times it has been hard to keep in mind how everything fitted in. As a way of beginning to draw the threads back together again, I will sketch a three-dimensional analysis of two texts that you have already come across in the exercises: the conversation in the doctor's surgery (Exercise 4.3, page 89; Exercise 8.1, page 232; and Exercise 9.2, page 253); and the extract from a medical textbook (Exercise 9.1, page 252). The discussion which follows is based on an analysis of the following grammatical features in both texts: mood and modality; transitivity; Theme; cohesion; grammatical metaphor; and clause complexes. The exercises have asked you to do each of these types of analysis on one or other of the texts, but, before reading on, you may find it useful to carry out the analyses that are 'missing' – e.g. mood and modality in the medical textbook extract.

   The reason for choosing these texts to compare is that they both deal with closely related topics (back/shoulder pain) but represent two different registers. The contextual factors and the linguistic choices that construe those contexts are therefore very different. Some of the differences are obvious (e.g. the fact that the conversation is produced by two interactants, whereas the textbook has only one producer) but that does not make them less interesting to explore, in order to see both exactly how these differences are realized in the wordings and how they reflect the cultural and ideological expectations of the producers and their audience.

   In the conversation, the best path in to exploring the meanings is the way the interaction is carried on. The range of **mood** choices is clearly greater than in the other text: here we have declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives, as well as Mood tags and 'queclaratives' (4.6) – e.g. 'so it got worse overnight'. As one might expect,

the imperatives are from the doctor to the patient. Some of these occur in the physical examination stage: e.g. 'now pull against my fingers'; and others in the prescribing treatment stage: e.g. 'just stop them'. The established roles allow the doctor to issue the commands with little or no modal softening (such as 'I wonder if you'd mind …'): it is accepted by both interactants that the doctor has the authority to control the patient's behaviour, particularly in these two stages, since it is for her own good. This power imbalance is also reflected less obviously in the questions: the patient asks exclusively interrogative questions – e.g. 'what is it' – whereas a number of the doctor's questions are queclaratives. The patient is therefore signalling that she is genuinely seeking information that she does not have, whereas the doctor is signalling that he wants confirmation of something he already knows. The function of the queclaratives is typically to present his (authoritative) wording of what the patient has told him in lay terms. Even when he does use his sole interrogative question – 'how long did you say again' – it is to check the patient's wording rather to elicit information. The doctor does use other interrogatives, but to give commands – e.g. 'can you press your feet together'; and, when he is seeking information, he uses either queclaratives or imperative annotating clauses – e.g. 'tell me where the tender spot is'. The patient responds to all this not as bossiness but as sympathy and reassurance: a doctor is expected to be in control and to take responsibility from the patient who is, by definition, in a vulnerable position.

In terms of **modality**, most of the realizations are easily explicable: the patient talks about what she can't/couldn't do because of the pain, and the doctor uses modalization in stating the medically established facts ('it'll try and go into spasm'), and setting out his own course of action ('I'll give you some painkillers'). As far as the final outcome of this specific case is concerned, however, he is careful to hedge a little ('it should recover', 'I think you're going to be off work'), though balancing this with higher value modalization ('I'm sure this is a muscle tear'). The patient indicates her uncertainty, in places making this quite salient ('I don't know what it I don't know if probably'), partly to project herself as not knowledgeable and thus show deference to the expertise of the doctor. There is a particularly revealing exchange of modality at one point: 'you wouldn't think it was so painful would you' 'oh no it is'. The patient advances a tentative, modalized view, and the doctor de-modalizes it and confirms it as categorically valid. The doctor also uses modulation, in alternation with imperatives, in setting out the patient's obligations ('you don't have to finish the course').

The most frequent **Subjects** are 'I' and 'you', highlighting the personal interaction (note that this is not inevitable just because the conversation is face to face: we could imagine the discussion focusing more exclusively on the problem). Other Subjects tend to be pronouns rather than full nominal groups: e.g. 'it' referring (often rather vaguely) to the patient's problem. On the one occasion when there is a heavy nominal group as Subject it is in fact split up to make the message easier for the patient to process: 'the tablets I'm going to give you a common side-effect' (instead of 'a common side-effect of the tablets I'm going to give you'). The doctor's knowledgeable, authoritarian role is being tempered by consideration for the (relatively ignorant) patient on a personal level.

The same impression of keeping the discussion at a manageable level of complexity is given by the **Themes**, which are nearly all unmarked: Subject (and therefore mainly pronouns in this case), or WH-element ('how long', 'what') or Predicator in imperatives. The signals of conjunction, most of which appear as textual elements in Theme, are those that are most frequent in unplanned conversation – especially 'so', which is used either to signal the doctor's queclarative reformulations ('so it's pain in the lower back') or to mark a new stage in the interaction ('so the first thing is rest'). Both technical reformulation and staging of the consultation are, of course, the doctor's prerogative in this context. There are four marked Themes (I am excluding '*there*'s your note', which is the unmarked Theme in this idiomatic expression). Of these, two are preposed Themes ('the bottom of my spine', 'the tablets I'm going to give you'), which function to establish a topic clearly before going on to discuss it. The other two are temporal subordinate clauses ('as soon as you move', 'simply when your back is fine'). In many cases, circumstantial Themes like these would have a text-structuring function (see, for example, the repeated 'in … cases' Themes in the textbook extract); here, however, they seem to be prompted by more local, interactive considerations (the doctor's wish to contextualize specific points).

There are a good many **cohesive signals**. The relatively frequent ellipsis (e.g. 'oh no it is [so painful]') reflects the cooperative nature of the meaning construction that is going on; while the pronominal reference, which often extends over long stretches without the full referent being explicitly specified or needing to be repeated (e.g. 'it' = the problem), reflects the constant focus on the same topic (this is not just a casual conversation), and the fact that both interactants expect the other to cooperate in accepting a fair degree of inexplicitness. There is one instance of contextually determined ellipsis that is worth noting: the doctor asks 'no remembered injury'. The precise wording that is 'missing' is difficult to establish – perhaps '[you have]'. What seems to be happening here is that the doctor is running systematically through his own mental agenda, with items that need to be checked in order to make the diagnosis; and he uses a more technical term than the patient is familiar with. After a very brief pause, he is fact rephrases the question (as a queclarative) in a wording that is more accessible to the patient: 'you don't remember doing anything in particular'.

In terms of **clause complexes**, the utterances are mostly relatively simple: there is little of the syntactic complexity that Halliday (1985b) argues is characteristic of much speech. The patient typically extends: that is, she adds on further chunks of information, without indicating any connections between them apart from addition ('I can't bend forward and I can't like turn sideways'). The doctor, on the other hand, elaborates: he restates the information and instructions he gives, presumably to ensure that the patient understands ('they don't speed up the healing, it's just to make life comfortable for you'). He also enhances, filling in the background conditions, and explaining actions in terms of their purpose ('take them with food just to protect yourself'). This again reflects their relative roles in the interaction: the patient feeds in the raw data, as it were, which the doctor restates ('so') and then interprets and places in context, in a way which reflects his simultaneous role as knowledgeable expert. Most projection is metaphorical ('I think that's as far as I can go'), although

there is one instance where the patient reports a quote of her earlier thoughts in order to justify her visit ('I thought well I don't want to put my back out').

If we look finally at **transitivity**, we have, as we might expect, mainly material and attributive relational processes: accounts of the patient's actions ('couldn't stand up') and the doctor's proposed response ('give you some painkillers'); and descriptions of the problem ('it got worse'). We also find identifying relational processes at key points in outlining the treatment (e.g. 'the first thing is rest'), creating a comforting feeling of resolution as to the course to take (though this is balanced by the modal hedging in expressing the final outcome that I mentioned above). The **grammatical metaphor** in the dialogue is almost entirely interpersonal (e.g. 'I think', 'what I want you to do first') rather than experiential. As noted earlier, this is typical of face-to-face conversation. Although the doctor needs to show that he is in command of his subject (which could be done by the use of technical experiential nominalizations), he also needs to keep his meanings accessible to a non-expert. As noted above, when he does at one point slip into a technical register, he quickly rewords his message in a more congruent way: 'no remembered injury/you don't remember doing anything in particular'. Equally importantly, he needs to avoid 'objectifying' the patient's experience too much, since this might stress too strongly his role as scientific observer – to whom illness and pain are professionally interesting rather than humanly distressing – at the expense of his role as healer. The congruent expression is the more natural, and thus in this context more human, one.

I hope that it has become clear that a number of constant threads run through these analyses: we are seeing the same phenomena from different perspectives. Perhaps the most salient is the doctor's need to balance a reassuringly authoritative display of his expertise with a concern to be understood by the non-expert and to show appropriate consideration for her on a personal level. This impacts on a number of different kinds of lexico-grammatical choices. It is also noticeable that the patient is slightly less skilled at fulfilling the linguistic demands of the role of patient than the doctor, with more overt training, is at fulfilling those of his role. She presumably draws on her everyday experience of conversation, occasionally introducing information that is important to her but not needed by the doctor: it is noticeable that the doctor does not acknowledge some of this information (e.g. 'I've worked with elderly people for ten years moving them around' 'can I ask you to …'). Nevertheless, the doctor gently controls the interaction, so that the necessary information is exchanged in the conversation, but in an explicit framework of cooperation and negotiation: interpersonal meanings play as great a role (if not greater) in the success of the communication as experiential ones.

If we now turn to the textbook extract, the contrasts with the conversation are very obvious. This is language that sets out to reduce interaction to a minimum, at least at the overt level; and thus it seems more promising to start the analysis from the **experiential** meanings. Perhaps the most striking feature, given that the topic is medicine, is the almost total absence of people: it is the objective-science face of medicine that is being presented here. The only overt mention of people is in terms of an impersonal classificatory group: 'the middle-aged'. The removal of human involvement or agency is carried out by resort to **nominalizations** (e.g. 'treatment'

– by doctors; 'rotation' – by patients) and **passive clauses** ('these can seldom be differentiated' – by doctors). In the place of humans, we get disembodied bits of bodies – shoulders, arms, joints – which are typically represented as the location or Goal of processes (which are themselves often nominalized): e.g. 'movements in the shoulder', 'manipulation of the shoulder'.

The entities that comprise the main participants in the text are inanimate medical concepts, in many cases nominalized processes or states: the symptoms (e.g. 'restriction of movements'), the causes (e.g. 'inadvised prolonged use of a sling') and the possible treatments (e.g. 'manipulation of the shoulder'). This list shows that the text is in fact covering very much the same topics as the consultation, though the similarities may be obscured by the differences in expression. Many of the processes are attributive relational, reflecting the main purpose of the text, which is to describe the condition. Identifying processes are used at two keys points: to sum up the little that is definitely known about the condition ('the outstanding feature is ...'); and to indicate the little that can be done about it ('the main aim of treatment is ...', '... are the mainstay of treatment').

There is also a relatively high number of existential processes: three in this short extract. That is, just under one in ten of the processes is existential. Across a range of registers the generalized probability is that only about one in forty processes will be existential (Matthiessen 2004: 120); and in fact there are none in the spoken consultation. This helps give the impression of the written extract as a 'checklist', since existential processes are typically used to bring a new participant into the text. This checklist character is reinforced when we look at the function of the extensive **grammatical metaphor** in the text. Apart from 'This restriction' in the fifth sentence, which encapsulates the preceding Rheme, the nominalizations overwhelmingly have indefinite deixis, even where cohesively definite deixis could easily be used (e.g. 'Restriction of movements' in sentence 6) – in other words, they do not represent encapsulations of propositions that have been mentioned earlier in the text. The impression is of a series of independent points about frozen shoulder (try re-ordering the sentences: in many cases this has little effect on the overall coherence). Within each sentence, we do find logical linking in terms of cause and effect, often realized by the processes, which are either metaphorical wordings of the logical relation between nominalized processes (e.g. 'initiating') or resultative material processes (e.g. 'restore'). But the linking is chiefly *within* rather than between sentences: if we go back to the three existential processes, for example, it is remarkable that none of the three new participants (the Existents) is actually picked up again in the following sentences.

Rather than being used for encapsulation, experiential grammatical metaphor in this text is used primarily for de-personalization and condensation (for example, you will probably have found it difficult to unpack the ninth sentence beginning 'In some cases the condition ...'), and for fixation (see 9.3). The writer actually admits in the second sentence that little is known about frozen shoulder; but this does not hinder him from describing it in terms of concepts such as 'a period of immobilisation of the arm', which are represented as fixed and classifiable (as we will see, this fixedness contrasts markedly with the modal meanings).

As noted above, relatively little use is made of grammatical resources for signalling **cohesion**. When definite deixis occurs, it is mostly generic rather than cohesive (e.g. 'the shoulder' is better interpreted as 'any shoulder' rather than 'the shoulder mentioned earlier'). Lexical repetition occurs extensively, but typically each repetition is treated as if it were a new start, because of the absence of cohesive deixis. For example, 'movements' occurs in six of the fourteen sentences; but even in the last sentence there is no explicit signal that the word has occurred earlier. Though less extreme than the repetition in the extract from the children's textbook (8.4), there is a similarly unusual degree of explicitness within each sentence. This explicitness suggests that the writer is relying very little on cooperation from the reader in constructing meanings by supplementing the information in one sentence with information carried over another; but it contrasts somewhat oddly with the fact that he clearly does expect the reader to be knowledgeable enough to see how the information chunks fit together – there are, for example, no conjunctive Adjuncts at all to signal any connection between sentences. The writer seems to be projecting a reader who is familiar with the typical pattern of information in texts like this and who can make the necessary connections, but who lacks the specific information to complete each slot in the pattern for the particular condition of frozen shoulder.

In the **clause complexes**, the dominant relationship is extension – the 'adding on' relationship – which again reflects the impression of the text as a series of detachable information chunks. Even where it would be possible to add a note of enhancement, which would contextualize the information, the writer tends not to do so explicitly: for example, the fact that the condition is commoner on the left side is clearly linked to the fact that it often follows a heart attack, but this is not spelt out in the conjunction 'and'. This mirrors the absence of inter-sentence conjunctive signalling mentioned above.

The **Theme** analysis picks up most of the few cases where cohesive pronouns and demonstratives occur ('These', 'It', 'This restriction', 'It'), indicating that we should not overemphasize the self-contained nature of the sentences in the text. Nevertheless, the other Themes do reinforce the impression that the text is moving systematically through all the important aspects of the condition separately one by one. The first unmarked Subject Theme, 'Frozen shoulder', sets up the main topic, while the others, apart from the four noted above, all signal new sub-topics ('treatment', 'Restriction of movements', 'Radiographs of the shoulder', etc.), as do the two existential Themes. All but one of the marked Themes have exactly the same basic pattern 'in ... cases' (five times). Once again, these signal different aspects of the topic: note that these are not contrastive groupings of 'cases' ('in some cases' vs. 'in other cases'), which would be cohesive (see 8.2.1 on comparison as a signal of cohesion); each set of cases is independent of the others.

If we turn finally to the interpersonal meanings, the Mood choices are completely uniform: all are declaratives functioning congruently as statements. On the other hand, the expressions of **modality** are noticeably varied. As mentioned above, there is a great deal of uncertainty about the causes of and appropriate treatment for frozen shoulder; and the writer hedges constantly, using a wide range of modalizing resources, often in reinforcing combinations (e.g. 'can probably', 'is usually presumed

to', 'not uncommonly', 'almost always'). From this perspective, the 'in … cases' mentioned under Themes can also be seen as working with these modal resources, since they limit the validity of the writer's claims. The impression is of an established general framework of explanatory concepts expressed through the nominalizations, but of uncertainty as to which are the appropriate concepts to call on in the case of this particular condition. We can note in passing that this uncertainty is unusual for textbooks: unlike, say, research article writers, who are expected to be cautious in advancing their claims of new knowledge (see Myers, 1989), textbook writers are normally expected to treat their topic as fully understood and unproblematic.

It is also worth noting that there is no modulation: although the textbook does include discussion of how the condition can be treated, the writer chooses to express this in the form of information ('injections into the shoulder cuff may be helpful') rather than of instruction ('injections into the shoulder cuff should be given'). This contributes to the distancing effect: the text is a timeless statement of information about the condition, rather than being explicitly oriented towards potential future use by the reader (as, for example, a recipe is).

I started the analysis of this text by saying that there is little overt interaction; but, of course, there cannot be communication without interaction of some kind. In this case, the writer has made the conventional (in this context) choice of de-personalizing the interaction just as he de-personalizes the topic: unrelieved declaratives are matched by an absence of direct address. The effect of this choice comes out more clearly if we imagine a more interactive textbook on the same topic in which, say, sentence 2 was worded in a different way: 'You may find it difficult to decide exactly what has produced the frozen shoulder in particular patients, and you should be ready to try out various forms of treatment until you hit on the best one.' (Note that interactivity, as usual, involves sacrificing brevity, not least because it tends strongly to be accompanied by relatively congruent – i.e. unpacked – wordings.)

Overall, the main threads that have emerged from this text are de-personalization, information focus, and 'chunking'. The writer uses a range of resources to 'hide' behind the information and to make it sound as authoritative and fixed as possible. Unlike the doctor in the conversation, there is every reason for him to play wholeheartedly the role of dispassionate scientific observer, since he is communicating with other experts (or at least people training to be experts) whose interest in the topic is professional rather than personal. He also avoids overt interaction, projecting a reader who, like himself, is interested above all in the compact, efficient transfer of necessary information within a framework – symptoms^causes^treatment – which is familiar enough to need little or no overt signalling. Less predictably, perhaps, he breaks the information into self-contained chunks. This seems to be due partly to the desire for compactness (like interactiveness, reader-friendly textual guidance takes up space), and, perhaps, partly to the fact that his book may be used as a reference book for rapid consultation by inexperienced doctors in the middle of medical examinations. (Its main use as a textbook may also influence the chunking: the writer may be aware that testing in medical training relies heavily on the memorization of facts – each sentence typically presents a memorizable gobbet).

Having read these analyses, you might find it useful to try the same kind of three-dimensional analysis, relating lexico-grammatical choices both across to each other and outwards to the context, on the two history extracts that you analysed for transitivity in Exercise 5.3 (page 143). As I noted in Chapter 5, you will often find that a contrastive study of two texts from different registers that are similar in, say, topic but not in audience will help to highlight key features in each. It is not always easy to find spoken and written pairs like those above, but one fairly accessible source is television material with written spin-off, such as the kind of cookery programmes with an accompanying book that are very popular in Britain. Other possible pairings are: reports of the same event from quality and popular newspapers; advertisements aimed at different kinds of consumers; texts for or by experts vs. texts for or by novices – e.g. research papers or advanced level textbooks vs. school textbooks or reports from magazines for the general public such as *New Scientist* (the newspaper text and specialist journal article that we looked at in 5.4.2 is an example of this pairing); texts with clearly different political and ideological stances – e.g. left-wing vs. right-wing newspapers, or pro- and anti-global warming polemical texts; texts for 'outsiders' vs. texts for 'insiders' – e.g. a persuasive publicity leaflet for a bank account vs. the regulatory small print of the contract for the account; or even an original of, say, a short story and a translation.

10.2   A summary review of Functional Grammar

The analyses above have not by any means covered everything that could be said: for example, I have not touched on tense and polarity, which function very differently in the two texts. However, I hope that they have provided a practical demonstration of two fundamental features of Functional Grammar that I stressed in the opening chapters and which have underpinned all the detailed discussion of grammatical systems: **multifunctionality** in the clause, and the way in which **context** determines and is construed by the kinds of choices that are made. The view from different perspectives illuminates different but equally important aspects of the meaning construction going on (and, when combined, each perspective throws light on the others); and the description that we end up with leads us smoothly and inevitably to an explanation in terms of the wider context of situation.

This intimate link between language and context is also the source of a third crucial point about Functional Grammar which has been constantly emphasized: it is designed for use on **text** (i.e. language in use), not simply on isolated, decontextualized sentences. Part of the meaning of any clause is its function in relation to other clauses around it (to take an obvious example, it is part of the meaning of an answer to a question that it is an answer); and the grammar of the language reflects this (e.g. by allowing certain kinds of ellipsis in answers, where part of the question is treated as carried over). Equally, the clause only makes sense – performs its function of expressing meaning – if we look at it in its whole context of use. The fact that English has different declarative and interrogative clause structures, for example, can only be fully understood in terms of the reasons why speakers need to differentiate between the functions that those structures perform (i.e. to make statements or to ask questions – to give or to demand information).

It is important, though, to stress that in terms of analysis this is not a one-way process of using the categories outlined above to explore texts. We can understand how texts work by applying what we know about the meaning of grammatical resources (e.g. we might apply our definition of Subject as 'the entity responsible for the validity of the proposition' – see 4.3.3 – to specific texts in order to show how the interaction develops); but we can also learn more about the general grammatical resources of the language by looking at how they are used in text (e.g. we might investigate what the role of Subject 'means' – what function(s) it performs – by examining many instances of Subjects in text). This latter perspective in particular will lead us towards the possibility of establishing the systemic probabilities, which are a central fact about language (as discussed in 3.2.1). To take a simple example, the fact that a clause is nine times more likely to be positive than negative in the language as a whole (Halliday and James, 1993) is part of our knowledge of the language; and we are sensitive (normally unconsciously) to the way in which texts in certain registers have noticeably more or fewer negative clauses. For example, recipes are typically at the lower end of the scale of negative use (in the complete recipe of which you saw a short extract in 5.2.8 there are no negatives in 35 ranking clauses: compare this with the doctor–patient consultation in Exercise 9.2, which has 11 negatives in 52 clauses); and someone writing a recipe will 'naturally' tend to use fewer negatives (thus contributing, however minimally, to the general tendency in the register by adding another instance in which fewer negatives are used). This does not mean that a recipe that has more negatives will necessarily seem odd: it is not the presence or absence of any one feature that makes a recipe sound natural, but the combinations of features. But if you try writing a recipe which has the same ratio of negative to positive as the conversation (with almost one in five clauses negative) you are likely to end up with a noticeably strange kind of recipe.

The overall approach is summed up by Halliday's description of language as a system of '**meaning potential**', which is realized in use. This focus means that 'rules' in Functional Grammar are expressed as sets of possible options, as systems of **choices**. In any context, there are a number of meanings that speakers might express, and a number of wordings that they might use to express them. There are also factors that make it more or less likely that specific kinds of meanings or wordings will be chosen. Note that unless we do see language as choice there is no principled way in which we can link it with context: if context and language are interdependent, different linguistic choices must be available to reflect and construct different contexts. As I said in 1.1.2, choice does not necessarily mean conscious choice – it is unlikely that the doctor in the consultation would be aware of his use of queclaratives rather than interrogatives, or that the patient would be aware that she is using a very high proportion of negatives (eight out of her nineteen clauses – almost one in two – are negative). We can, however, identify at least some of the socio-cultural factors that make that wording more likely to occur in that context than others. We could then go on to hypothesize that in other similar contexts that option might be statistically more likely to present itself as the most appropriate to the speaker: we might, for example, think it possible that teachers, as experts in a dialogue with non-experts, will use more queclaratives than their pupils, and we can look at classroom

interaction to see if this is true. Note that this can be reversed: if we find that in other contexts the same linguistic choices are made, we can hypothesize that there may be shared socio-cultural features of the contexts that we may not have been aware of – for example, if we do find that doctors and teachers both use queclaratives, we can then examine the similarities in their social roles which lead to their making similar linguistic choices. (In fact, in a small-scale study, I found that teachers use proportionally fewer queclaratives than doctors, but still significantly more than are found in casual conversation between peers – see Thompson, 2009b.)

Many approaches to linguistic description take a strictly **modular** view: structure (syntax) is dealt with separately from meaning (semantics), which is dealt with separately from use (pragmatics). Thus the syntactician would describe the doctor's 'So it got worse overnight' as structurally declarative (with all the constituents in their expected places); the semantician might talk about comparative change of state encoded in 'got worse'; and the pragmatician would comment on the use of the declarative form for an interrogative purpose, and the fact that the doctor is reformulating what the patient has just said. This 'divide and conquer' approach clearly has advantages in making each module more manageable; but it also has the disadvantage that it is much less easy to see the links between each part of the description. For language users, meaning is the central fact about language, and meaning emerges from a seamless union of wording and context. Functional Grammar attempts to face that uncomfortable fact head-on and to establish a **unified** model of language that, in principle, allows the links to be made within the same description.

10.3 Using Functional Grammar

The way I have summed up Functional Grammar above implies throughout that it is designed for **application**. It is, of course, intended to help us understand more fully the theoretical issue of how language itself is structured; but it expressly does this in a way that encourages the investigation of wider practical issues relating to the uses that we make of language. In this section, I want briefly to indicate some of the areas in which you may find it useful to apply Functional Grammar.

As an approach, it is clearly in harmony with the aims of **discourse analysis**. Halliday (1994: xvi) argues forcefully that 'a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all'; and this view has become increasingly accepted. Not all discourse analysts use Functional Grammar as set out here, but the great majority rely on recognizably similar models of language. As probably the most fully developed version of a text-oriented functional approach, Functional Grammar has the great advantage that it is there ready for use by analysts whose main focus may be on different aspects such as the text structure of newspaper editorials, the functions of citations in academic articles, or the major themes running through a poem.

As this last example suggests, Functional Grammar can be applied in the particular branch of discourse analysis traditionally known as **stylistics**, which tends to concentrate on literary texts. Literature is one of the clearest cases of a 'constitutive' use of language (by definition, literature can only be realized through language,

whereas, for example, in face-to-face giving of instructions language may have an ancillary role, helping the interactants to get things done but not constituting the whole of the social action). Therefore it is clear that any interpretation of literary text needs to be firmly based on an understanding of what is happening at the lexico-grammatical level: all the effects of literature are created by the language used.

An important aim of stylistics is not just to describe but to **evaluate** the text: to show why it is (or is not) worth valuing. In this respect, it has much in common with testing and assessment of language performance: deciding, for example, whether a university student's assignment is good enough to pass, or a doctor has the necessary interactional skills to handle consultations effectively and sympathetically, or a business manager can respond persuasively to letters of complaint. Because Functional Grammar allows us to describe objectively the appropriate patterns of language use in specified contexts, it can help to clarify the often intuitive and subjective criteria on which assessment (including that of literary texts) is based.

Equally importantly, Functional Grammar can help to decide what language to teach: it can provide the basis for **educational** decisions about what the university student, or the doctor, or the business manager needs to know about successful communication in their field. This applies equally to students of the mother tongue and of a foreign language. One of the areas where Functional Grammar has had an immensely powerful effect is in the teaching of English as a Foreign Language. This does not mean, fortunately, that foreign learners are taught to label the three metafunctions; but the overall view of language from the FG perspective has fuelled the Communicative Language Teaching movement, and, in many cases, insights on specific areas such as cohesion, modality and Theme choice have in fact been adapted for practical use in the classroom. In English for Academic Purposes particularly, the concepts of register and genre have proved immensely valuable in helping students master the often unfamiliar conventions within which they are expected to conduct their specialist study.

On a wider scale, linguists working in the FG tradition, especially in Australia, have undertaken a sustained critical investigation of the **language of education** itself. They have started from the insight that the process of education is very largely a process of learning how to handle the specialized conventions of the language in which education is conducted (see 9.3): for example, how to understand textbooks or how to write essays. Once these conventions are made explicit, it becomes possible both to train children linguistically to cope with education with greater assurance, and to bring to light the unspoken ideological assumptions underlying the educational process – and thus, if necessary, to challenge them.

This brings us to the final area of application that I want to mention: **critical discourse analysis**. Over the past 30 or so years, there has been increasing interest in looking at the often hidden ideology construed (i.e. reflected, reinforced and constructed) by text. As well as educational texts, the use of language in the media has been the focus of special attention; but the scope has widened more recently to include many kinds of institutional practices in science and medicine, business, the law, politics, and so on. Since Functional Grammar is deliberately designed to look outwards from specific instances of linguistic choices to the socio-cultural – and,

eventually, ideological – factors influencing their existence and use, critical discourse analysis is a natural extension into practical application.

This list of possible applications is far from complete. However, I hope that it has suggested lines of enquiry that you may want to follow up in more detail, exploring for yourself the central claim that Functional Grammar is a **grammar of use for application**.

10.4 Closing

I will close, as I began, with an old joke. It is the middle of a very dark night. A policeman comes across a man crawling around at the foot of a lamp–post, and asks him what he is doing. 'I've lost my keys.' The policeman gets down on his knees and begins searching with him. After a few minutes, when they have still found nothing, the policeman asks, 'Are you sure you dropped them around here?' 'No, it was over the other side of the road.' 'Then why are you looking here?' 'Because there's no light over there.'

In doing Functional Grammar, you will often feel that you are groping round in the dark, trying to capture the almost unmanageable complexity of keeping track of so many different aspects of meaning and wording, each of which impacts on and works together with the others. You may be unsure of whether you are interpreting the meaning of a wording correctly, or identifying the differences in meaning between two different wordings accurately. I have frequently mentioned uncertain or fuzzy cases where two analyses (or a blend of them both) seem equally appropriate; and the descriptions have often been couched in terms of clines and tendencies rather than absolutely separate categories. There is sometimes uncertainty in the analysis of authentic utterances even in terms of their 'objective' constituent structure (e.g. whether a reported clause that precedes the reporting clause is dependent or not – see 7.5.1). Once we bring in inherently messy issues such as the relationship between speakers or the influence of the preceding clause on the wording of the present one, the uncertainty increases exponentially. There are two responses to this. You can limit your investigation to the relatively well–lit, separate areas that you feel able describe in definite yes/no terms, labelling isolated, decontextualized bits of language, and ignoring as far as possible the complexity and uncertainty that meaning and function inevitably introduce; or you can accept the multidimensionality and fuzziness as an inherent and central feature of language, without which it could not function effectively as a system of communication, and build this in to your linguistic description in as ordered and generalizable a way as is possible. As you have seen, functional grammarians take the latter course. They know that the keys are on the other side of the road in the dark: the search conditions may be worse than under the lamp–post, but the potential results are much more rewarding.

Answers to exercises

Exercise 1.1

The following comments simply confirm the context and indicate some of the features that could be explored in greater depth.

1   Buying a train (or coach) ticket. The roles of the two participants are fixed in advance, so there is little need to spell out aspects such as 'Give me [a day return]', or to negotiate politeness. If the speaker started 'I wonder if you could …' the ticket seller would assume a non-standard request (e.g. for help) was coming.
2   From an advertisement. The only modality 'can' comes when the writer is not talking about the product (the Heineken slogan '*Probably* the best lager in the world' played precisely on the expectation that advertisers do not modalize or hedge their claims). The punctuation separates parts that are grammatically linked, probably to suggest the unplanned afterthoughts of speech rather than writing. The deliberate use of 'we' rather than 'the company' suggests a more personal, human interaction with the reader/customer.
3   From an informal conversation. There are some discourse markers that belong to informal speech ('Well you see'); 'this' used for what is clearly the first mention of the letter is typical of oral narratives (including jokes); and the repeated 'she' is unlikely to occur in more formal writing. It is syntactically fairly complex (you will be analysing it in detail in Chapter 7): this is actually typical of speech – see Halliday (1985b/89) – as is the use of 'simple' conjunctions ('and', 'so') to hold together the complexity.
4   From a novel, *Monk's-Hood* (Ellis Peters, 1980). Clearly a narrative, because of the past tense and the personal details (i.e. it is not, for example, a history textbook). A written rather than an oral narrative because of the amount of detail: the way the character is named; the purely 'scenic' detail ('nodding his head') – in an oral narrative, details, if given, are normally evaluative or advance

the storyline; the piling up of attributive clauses (e.g. 'stubbly chin jutting') and of adjectives. The writer is clearly determined to let the reader 'see' the scene.

5 From a handbook for overseas students planning to study in Britain. The addressees are clearly students but they are referred to in the third person rather than as 'you'. The verbal group 'must ... write' is interrupted by a long interpolation setting out exact details of the requirements; where there are choices in structural and lexical forms the formal option is chosen ('will have decided' rather than 'decide'; 'to which institutions they wish to seek admission' rather than 'the institutions (that) they want to apply to'). One aspect of the formality is a preference for nominalizations rather than verbs ('admission', 'receipt'). The whole sentence is very complex indeed (as you will discover when you analyse it in Chapter 7).

6 From a recipe. There is a typical pattern of purpose ('to make') followed by unsoftened commands ('divide', 'press', etc.). Step-by-step instructions are given, but with little explicit sequencing ('next'): writer and reader expect each step to follow in order. It is also accepted, though, that equipment ('an unfloured surface') need not be brought in as a separate step. Some signs of informal chattiness ('nicely') tend to occur in the middle of an otherwise relatively neutral style. (See Chapter 3 for more on the organization of recipes.)

7 From a textbook, *University Physics* (H. D. Young, 8th edition, 1992). The technical terminology stands out, often consisting of nominal groups with densely packed information in front of the main noun (e.g. 'a two-source interference pattern' rather than 'a pattern of interference from two sources'). The use of 'we' reflects the writer/teacher cooperatively taking the reader/student through the steps of the operation; and the future-oriented discussion ('we may', 'we have to'), guiding the reader's actions, is more typical of textbooks written by experts for non-experts than of research papers written for other experts.

8 A cheat: it's from a poem, 'Song at the Beginning of Autumn', by Elizabeth Jennings; but to make it a bit less obvious that this was a poem, I didn't keep the original layout. There are unusual collocations ('evocations in the air'); the present tense does not refer to habitual actions as usual but is used for 'instantaneous narration'; there is a tension between the highly personal content and the relatively formal style, which suggests literature rather than conversation (which is the other likely context for talk of memories, etc.); and the reader needs to make an effort to construct coherence in the text – the connections between the statements are not immediately obvious (poetry shares with informal conversation the readiness of interactants to do more collaborative work on interpreting meanings).

Exercise 2.1

Ranking clauses are divided by slashes; embedded clauses are in square brackets.

1 The reasons for the difference confirm the analysis of Chapter VI.
  One independent clause ('… confirm …'), finite.

2   Benn's strategy was shaped by his analysis of Britain's economic problems and the political situation [[as he saw it]].
    One independent clause ('… was shaped …'); one embedded clause ('… saw …'). Both finite.

3   Since I had been inoculated against hepatitis / before leaving New Zealand, / I had never considered it as a risk.
    One independent clause ('… had … considered'), finite; two dependent clauses, one finite ('… had been inoculated …'), the other non-finite ('… leaving …')

4   Since the middle of June the joint shop-stewards' committee had been examining the issue of direct action.
    One independent clause ('… had been examining …'), finite.

5   While you are poised for a significant development on the work and personal front / you would be advised / to separate fact from fiction.
    One independent clause ('… would be advised …'), finite; two dependent clauses, one finite ('… are poised …'), the other non-finite ('to separate …').

6   With Mercury's move forward, you will soon be hearing the news [[for which you have been waiting]].
    One independent clause ('… will … be hearing …'); one embedded clause ('… have been waiting'). Both finite.

7   She told me / that she had not expected / Gareth to react quite so violently.
    One independent clause ('… told …'), finite; two dependent clauses, one finite ('… had not expected …'), the other non-finite ('… to react …').

8   They were probably worrying themselves sick about the delay, // but there was nothing [[we could do about it]].
    Two independent clauses ('…were … worrying …'; '… was …'); one embedded clause ('… could do …'). All finite.

Exercise 2.2

Don't worry too much about the details of the conventions used to show the boundaries of clauses, etc. The main thing here is to check that you have identified the constituents.

[Elizabeth] [was] [the last sovereign of the house of Tudor].
    S   P   C
[She] [was] [born] [at Greenwich], [September 7, 1533].
 S   P   C   A   A

- 'Be born' is an oddity. It could be treated as a passive verbal group, since historically it developed from the passive form of 'bear (a child)'; but in modern English that connection has been completely lost, and it has no sense of a passive. It is probably better seen as 'be' + adjective (though it doesn't easily fit that structure either).

[Her childhood] [was passed] [in comparative quietness], // and [she]
      S   P   A   S

    [was educated] [by people [[[who] [favoured] [reformed religion]]]].
        P   A   [[S   P   O]]

- This sentence consists of two coordinated independent clauses. I have analysed the embedded clause functioning as Postmodifier of 'people'. Note that in the second clause, although 'people who favoured reformed religion' did the educating, the grammatical Subject is 'she'. There will be more on passive forms in Chapter 5. The conjunction 'and' is ignored in this analysis, as are other conjunctions below (see Chapter 7).

    [In 1554], [Elizabeth] [was confined] [in the Tower] [by order of Queen Mary].
      A   S   P   A   A
    [She] [narrowly] [escaped] [death], / because [some of the bishops and courtiers]
     S   A   P   O   S
    [advised] [Mary]/ [to order] [her execution].
      P   O   P   O

- An independent clause followed by a dependent clause which itself has another clause (non-finite) dependent on it. 'Mary' is actually an Indirect Object, but since the distinction between Direct and Indirect Objects has not been introduced in the chapter, I have labelled it simply as O.

    After [she] [had passed] [several months] [in the Tower], / [she] [was removed]
         S   P   O   A   S   P
    [to Woodstock] // and [appeased] [Mary] / by [professing] / [to be] [a Roman
                                                Catholic].
        A   P   O   P   P   C

- A complicated instance, which you have to tease out by identifying the verbs: each is the centre of a new clause. 'Several months' may seem more like an Adjunct than an Object, but grammatically it is O: we will see a way of capturing that intermediate status in Chapter 5.

    But [to understand] [the genesis of English anti-Catholicism], / [we] [must return]
           P   O   S   P
    [to the sixteenth century] [and to the problem of the two queens].
            A   A

- The two final As could be seen as a single complex A; but since they refer to different kinds of entities (time location and an abstract concept) I have separated them.

    [We] [can begin] / by [exploring] [the linkage between gender and religion
     S   P   P   O
    [[[that] [fuelled] [fears of female rule] [in the early modern period]]].
    [[S   P   O   A   ]]

● Again I have analysed the embedded clause Postmodifier. Note that the Object of 'exploring' is everything from 'the linkage' to the end of the sentence.

[Early modern culture] [defined] ['male' and 'female'] [as polar opposites].
        S   P   O   A
[This hierarchical dual classification system] [categorically] [differentiated]
               S   A   P
[between male and female], / [privileging] [men] [over women]
          A   P   O   A
[as both spiritual and rational beings] [in ways [[[that] [underpinned]
        A   A [[S   P
[social order and hierarchy]]]].
      O   ]]

● Here an embedded clause is Postmodifier of the Head in an Adjunct.

Exercise 3.1

Clearly, no answer is possible since it will depend on the texts that you have chosen. But it would surprise me if the predictions you made before doing the analyses were completely wrong: we do, after all, have a very good intuitive sense of what different registers 'sound like' in our own language (even though we may not always be able to bring this sense to conscious attention).

Exercise 3.2

Again, what you find will depend on the texts that you have chosen. Some texts will be more clearly divided into stages, while others may be less easy to discern. It will usually help if you pay attention to changes in the language choices: for example, advertisements often have a stage near the end where for the first time in the text they use what we can call 'contact imperatives' (e.g. 'Phone free on …', 'Contact us …'), which are aimed at prompting the next step in the interaction between customer and company.

Exercise 4.1

1 Kate // didn't
2 the universe // should
3 Tears // *[past]*
4 they // *[past]*
5 the four we have //don't
6 That // might
7 The other few items in the printing history of this work // are

8 the titles of works which we have had to cite fairly frequently // have
9 It = that one can describe the position of a point in space by three numbers, or coordinates // is
10 It = I'm worried about // isn't

Exercise 4.2

1

He	[past]	picked up	ideas about form	from his teachers
S	F	P	C	Circumstantial A
Mood		Residue		

2

He	had	already	been	over the house
S	F	Mood A	P	Circumstantial A
Mood			Residue	

3

Where		have	all the flowers	gone?
Circumstantial A		F	S	P
		Mood		
		Residue		

4

Of course	Tim	could not	really	banish	care
Comment A	S	F	Mood A	P	C
Mood				Residue	

5

To the inmates of the Grange	that ceaseless murmur	must	inevitably	evoke	the tantalizingly close but unobtainable freedom of wide blue horizons
Circumstantial A	S	F	Mood A	P	C
	Mood				
	Residue				

6

In her waking hours	she	would	never	let	us	out of her sight
Circumstantial A	S	F	Mood A	P	C	Circumstantial A
	Mood					
	Residue					

7

The union involved	certainly	has to	face	criticism	for its lack of activity on health and safety over many years
S	Mood A	F	P	C	Circumstantial A
Mood			Residue		

8

Put simply,	you	will	probably	find	it	difficult	to find a job as a student
Comment A	S	F	Mood A	P	C1=	C2	=C1
Mood				Residue			

9

Meanwhile	B G's days at Liverpool	could	be	over	this week
(Conjunctive A)	S	F	P	C	Circumstantial A
	Mood		Residue		

10

Right now	however	you	might	have to juggle	your finances	around
Circum. A	(Conjunct. A)	S	F	P	C	Circum. A
		Mood				
	Residue					

Exercise 4.3

Expressions of modality are italicized. The discussion of the interaction will come in Chapter 10.

DEC	statement	P	I *can't* bend forward
DEC	statement		and I *can't* like turn sideways
DEC	statement		it's like the bottom of my spine it *just* feels like I'm sitting on a pin
DEC	question	D	so it's pain in the lower back
–	statement	P	lower back just about there
–	statement	D	ok
INT	question		how long did you say again
DEC	statement	P	*I mean* all last night I *couldn't* turn on my side
DEC	statement		I *couldn't* stand up
DEC	statement		I *couldn't* go to the toilet
DEC	question	D	so it got worse overnight
–	statement	P	yeh …
DEC	command?	D	so the first thing is rest
DEC	offer?		secondly I*'ll* give you some painkillers
DEC	statement		they don't speed up the healing
DEC	statement		it's *just* to make life comfortable for you while it's healing
DEC	question		now it's *[Although not clear from the text alone, this is a question because at this point the doctor turned to his computer to check the patient's name]*
INT	question	P	what is it

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INT	question		is it like a thing I've got with my spine or
DEC	statement	D	it's a torn muscle in your back yeh
DEC	statement		it *should* recover
DEC	statement	P	you *wouldn't* think it was so painful
INT	tag		*would* you
DEC	statement	D	oh no it is
DEC	statement		but it's all right as long as you don't move
DEC	statement		as soon as you move it*'ll* try and go into spasm to stop you using those muscles you've injured
INT	question	P	how long *will* it take to um
DEC	statement	D	*I think* you're going to be off work at least a week …
DEC	statement	D	there's your note
DEC	statement		the tablets I'm going to give you a common side-effect is indigestion
IMP	command		so take them with food *just* to protect yourself
DEC	command?		it's one three times a day
DEC	statement		they don't make you drowsy
DEC	command		you *don't have to* finish the course
IMP	command		*simply* when your back is fine *just* stop them
–	statement	P	ok
DEC	statement	D	it's not like an antibiotic

Exercise 5.1

In some cases possible alternative analyses are given in brackets.

1

She	bought	the car	from him	for £3,000.
Actor	Pr: material	Goal	Circ:location, space	Circ:?

2

He	sold	her	the car	for £3,000.
Actor	Pr: material	Recipient	Goal	Circ:?

3

She	paid	him	£3,000	for the car.
Actor	Pr: material	Recipient	Scope	Circ: purpose

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4

He	got	£3,000	for the car.
Actor	Pr: material	Scope	Circ: purpose

5

The car	cost	her	£3,000.
Carrier	Pr: relational: attributive	Beneficiary	Attribute

6

The car	was sold	to her	for £3,000.
Goal	Pr: material	Recipient	Circ:?

7

The cat	's eaten	all the fish.
Actor	Pr: material	Goal

8

All our pasta	is made	daily.
Goal	Pr: material	Circ: extent, time

9

This decision	was	the most difficult of her life.
Token	Pr: relational: identifying	Value

10

A car	backfired	outside	in the street.
Actor	Pr: material	Circ: location, space	Circ: location, space

11

They	finally	announced	their engagement	to the press.
Sayer		**Pr: verbal**	**Verbiage**	**Receiver**

12

The house	is	a real bargain.
Carrier	**Pr: relational: attributive**	**Attribute**

13

I	worry	about her health.
Senser	**Pr: mental: emotive**	**Circ: matter**

14

Her illness	worries	me.
Phenomenon	**Pr: mental: emotive**	**Senser**

15

It was snowing	heavily	outside.
Pr: material	**Circ: manner**	**Circ: location, space**

16 (= the man had the guitar)

The house owner	then	hit	the man with the guitar
Actor	**Circ: location, time**	**Pr: material**	**Goal**

or (= the house owner used the guitar)

The house owner	then	hit	the man	with the guitar
Actor	**Circ: location, time**	**Pr: material**	**Goal**	**Circ: means**

Exercise 5.2

I	can't bend	forward
Actor	**Pr: material**	**Circumstance: location**

and	I	can't [like] turn	sideways
	Actor	**Pr: material**	**Circumstance: location**

so	it	's	pain in the lower back
	Token/Identified	**Pr: relational: identifying**	**Value/Identifier**

ok	how long	did	you	say	again
	Verbiage		**Sayer**	**Pr: verbal**	**Circumstance: extent**

I mean	all last night	I	couldn't turn	on my side
	Circ: extent	**Actor**	**Pr: material**	**Circ: location**

so	it	got	worse	overnight
	Carrier	**Pr: relational: attributive**	**Attribute**	**Circ: location**

so	the first thing	is	rest
	Value/Identified	**Pr: relational: identifying**	**Token/Identifier**

secondly	I	'll give	you	some painkillers
	Actor	**Pr: material**	**Recipient**	**Goal**

they	don't speed up	the healing
Actor	**Pr: material**	**Goal**

it	's	just to make life comfortable for you while it's healing
Value/Identified	**Pr: rel: ident**	**Token/Identifier**

(This could be attributive, but I am taking 'it' as representing something like 'the reason I'm giving the painkillers to you')

?	to make	life	comfortable for you
Attributor	**Pr: relational: attributive**	**Carrier**	**Attribute**

(The Attributor appears to be something like 'giving you painkillers [will make ...]')

while	it	's healing
	Actor	**Pr: material**

is	it	like a thing I've got with my spine
Pr: relational: attributive	**Carrier**	**Attribute**

a thing	I	've got	with my spine
Attribute	**Carrier**	**Pr: relational: attributive**	**Circ: accompaniment?**

it	's	a torn muscle in your back	yeh
Carrier	**Pr: relational: attributive**	**Attribute**	

it	should recover
Actor	**Pr: material**

you	wouldn't think	it	was	so painful	would you
Senser	Pr: mental: cognitive	Carrier	Pr: rel: attrib	Attribute	

they	don't make	you	drowsy
Attributor	Pr: relational: attributive	Carrier	Attribute

you	don't have to finish	the course
Actor	Pr: material	Scope

simply	when	your back	is	fine
		Carrier	Pr: relational: attributive	Attribute

just	[you]	stop	them
	[Actor]	Pr: material	Goal

Exercise 5.3

Extract 1

1 [Token/Identified] Queen Elizabeth [Pr: rel: ident] was [Value/Identifier] the last sovereign of the house of Tudor.
2 [Carrier] She [Pr: rel: attrib] was [Attribute] born [Circumstance: location] at Greenwich, [Circumstance: location] September 7, 1533.
   (As I noted in relation to this sentence in the Chapter 2 exercise, 'be born' is an anomalous structure and therefore difficult to analyse. An alternative to the analysis suggested here would be to label 'be born' as a non-passive behavioural process, with 'she' as Behaver.)
3 [Scope] Her childhood [Pr: material] was passed [Circumstance: location] in comparative quietness,
4 and [Goal] she [Pr: material] was educated [Actor] by people who favoured reformed religion.
      [Senser] (people) who [Pr: mental: emotive] favoured [Phenomenon] reformed religion

5 *[Circumstance: location]* In 1554, *[Goal]* Elizabeth *[Pr: material]* was confined *[Circumstance: location]* in the Tower *[Circumstance: reason]* by order of Queen Mary,

6 *[Actor]* She *[Circumstance: degree]* narrowly *[Pr: material]* escaped *[Scope]* death,

7 because *[Sayer]* some of the bishops and courtiers *[Pr: verbal]* advised *[Receiver]* Mary

8 *[Sayer]* (Mary) *[Pr: verbal]* to order *[Verbiage]* her execution.

9 After *[Actor]* she *[Pr: material]* had passed *[Scope]* several months *[Circumstance: location]* in the Tower,

10 *[Goal]* she *[Pr: material]* was removed *[Circumstance: location]* to Woodstock

11 and *[Actor]* (she) *[Pr: material]* appeased *[Goal]* Mary

12 by *[Carrier]* (she) *[Pr: rel: attrib]* professing to be *[Attribute]* a Roman Catholic.
(It would also be possible to analyse this as two clauses, with 'professing' as a verbal process.)

Extract 2

1 *[Actor]* The spectre of a feminine succession *[Pr: material]* ended *[Circumstance: means]* with Mary's execution, *[Circumstance: location]* in 1587.

2 *[Circumstance: location]* Thereafter, *[Actor]* the parameters of debate over kingship *[Pr: material]* shifted *[Circumstance: quality]* in ways that have obscured the centrality of gender to the genesis of English anti-Catholicism and thus to early modern English nationalism.

    [Actor] (ways) that *[Pr: material]* have obscured *[Goal]* the centrality of gender to the genesis of English anti-Catholicism and thus to early modern English nationalism

3 But *[Senser]* (we) *[Pr: mental: cognitive]* to understand *[Phenomenon]* the genesis of English anti-Catholicism,

4 *[Actor]* we *[Pr: material]* must return *[Circumstance: location]* to the sixteenth century and *[Circumstance: location]* to the problem of the two queens.

5 *[Actor]* We *[Pr: material]* can begin

6 by *[Senser]* (we) *[Pr: mental: cognitive]* exploring *[Phenomenon]* the linkage between gender and religion that fuelled fears of female rule in the early modern period.

    [Actor] (linkage) that *[Pr: material]* fuelled *[Goal]* fears of female rule *[Circumstance: location]* in the early modern period.

7 *[Assigner]* Early modern culture *[Pr: rel: ident]* defined *[Token/Identified]* 'male' and 'female' *[Value/Identifier]* as polar opposites.

8 *[Actor]* This hierarchical dual classification system *[Circumstance: degree]* categorically *[Pr: material]* differentiated *[Circumstance: manner]* between male and female,

9 *[Actor]* (system) *[Pr: material]* privileging *[Goal]* men *[Circumstance: comparison]* over women *[Circumstance: guise]* as both spiritual and rational beings *[Circumstance: quality]* in ways that underpinned social order and hierarchy.

10 *[Actor]* (ways) that *[Pr: material]* underpinned *[Goal]* social order and hierarchy

Even from such short extracts, key differences emerge very clearly. A count of the process types is in itself not revealing: in both, material processes predominate (7 out of 13 processes in the website text, 9 out of 12 in the journal article). What is more significant is the type of entities that appear as participants. In the website text, 17 out of 23 participant roles are human – either individuals (Elizabeth and Mary) or specific groups of people from the historical period (e.g. bishops and courtiers). The circumstances are nearly all location in place or time ('at Greenwich, September 7, 1533' illustrates both). In the journal article, on the other hand, no individuals appear as participants, and only one group of people – and that is a much less specific group, 'men'. The great majority of entities (15 out of 20 participants) are what may be termed abstract 'concepts', such as 'the spectre of a feminine succession' and 'the parameters of debate over kingship'. These concepts even act on each other, as Actor and Goal in material processes (e.g. 'the *linkage* between gender and religion that fuelled *fears* of female rule'). On the very few occasions when individuals are mentioned, they are in circumstances: 'with Mary's execution', 'to the problem of the two queens'; and even here the people are not the Head of the nominal group in which they appear. It is worth noting that 'with Mary's execution' not only backgrounds this event by putting it in a circumstance but presents it as already known to the reader (who knows, for instance, that this is Mary Queen of Scots, not the Queen Mary mentioned in the first extract). The other main participant in the journal article is 'we' – the writer and reader, represented as moving through the text ('begin', 'return to') and interpreting the historical events ('understand', 'exploring').

   Thus the first extract represents history in a way that most people with no specialist training in history as an academic subject accept as 'normal': the report of a series of events, ordered chronologically with only occasional indications of cause and effect, involving famous people or specific groups acting and/or acting on each other. The second extract shows a much more specialized view of what it means to do history. Here, history is represented in terms of concepts being elaborated and acting on each other; when specific historical facts are mentioned (such as Mary's execution), these are typically represented as the background already familiar to readers (presumably through having read texts like the first extract before they became professional historians). In the website text, the report is represented as 'fact', with no indication that it is actually an interpretation of what went on: this is history as unproblematic truth. In the academic article, the overt textual presence of the writer and reader serves as a signal that the account is being filtered through an interpreting mind – that of the writer – and offered for acceptance by the reader. You can find a further discussion of the transitivity choices in these two texts in Thompson (2008).

Exercise 6.1

1 This *(declarative, unmarked)*
2 In this same year *(declarative, marked)*
3 What *(WH-interrogative, unmarked)*
4 Don't you *(yes/no interrogative, unmarked)*

5   Print *(imperative, unmarked)*
6   More heads at independent schools *(declarative, unmarked)*
7   *(elliptical, no Theme)*
8   How many times a week *(WH-interrogative, unmarked)*
9   Actions which are inconsistent with an individual's usual behaviour and which give rise to some concern *(declarative, unmarked)*
10 For enquiries relating to this offer *(imperative, marked)*
11 Don't forget *(imperative, unmarked)*
12 With a CharityCard *(declarative, marked)*
13 Out of the pub *(declarative, marked)*
14 What sort of car *(WH-interrogative, unmarked)*
15 A £2 million, two-hour adaptation of Emma, Austen's fourth novel, planned for ITV's autumn season, *(declarative, unmarked)*

Exercise 6.2

1   What often happens *(thematic equative)*
2   It's not only our engine *(predicated Theme)*
3   These mass parties *(preposed Theme)*
4   This *(marked alternative to thematic equative)*
5   All I want *(thematic equative)*
6   What we didn't realize *(thematic equative)*
7   The most important thing to remember when you're roasting a duck *(Subject Theme)*
8   That book you were talking about *(preposed Theme)*
9   It was with an infinite feeling of tolerance *(predicated Theme)*
10 Eating at home *(marked alternative to thematic equative)*

Exercise 6.3

1   If she were to survive,
2   The workmen // and she
3   While drinking it,
4   He
5   When talking about people in industrialized countries with problems in reading or writing,
6   As long as the Chancellor funds tax cuts by cutting spending
7   To find out more about this unique, new way of giving and how you can make the most of your generosity,
8   Eventually, when the region got small enough, // and in this way

Exercise 6.4

1   Now *(textual)* at first sight *(experiential)*
2   However, *(textual)* I *(experiential)*

3   Surprisingly, *(interpersonal)* however, *(textual)* this tendency *(experiential)*
4   And *(textual)* no doubt *(interpersonal)* he *(experiential)*
5   Well, *(textual)* perhaps *(interpersonal)* he *(experiential)*
6   The first three letters *(experiential)*
7   Oh, *(textual)* Alice, *(interpersonal)* you *(experiential)*
8   The coming of print in Europe at this point in history *(experiential)*

Exercise 6.5

	WWI		*WWII*
1	Although the United States participated heavily in World War I,		
2a	The earlier conflict	2b	the latter
3a		In both wars	
3b	but in the 1917–1918 conflict	3c	whilst between 1941 and 1945
4a	American **soldiers** who engaged in World War I	4b	in World War II
5a	**Airpower**, in the earlier conflict,	5b	in the latter
6a	In World War I		
6b	and Battle Line	6c	but in World War II

The extract is constructed on a comparison between the two wars. One of the functions of the Themes is to signal which war is being referred to. The Themes also signal, though less systematically, the particular aspects being compared: in this case, the different military services. For example 'soldiers' in (4a) indicates that we are concerned with the army, as opposed to 'airpower' in (5a). Thus we can see the conceptual map in terms of a grid, with two columns (WWI and WWII), and four rows (overview, 2–3; army, 4; airforce, 5; navy, 6). The Themes tell us which cell in the grid we are in, and the Rhemes give is the information that fills each cell. As with the 'language family' text, we could devise an effective comprehension activity by giving students the grid and asking them to fill in the cells.

Two details are worth commenting on. The first Theme links the whole paragraph back to the preceding paragraph(s), in which WWI has clearly been described. And, strictly speaking, in (5a) the Theme is only 'Airpower', but I have included the second phrase because the writer is signalling both a switch in specific topic (from army to airforce) and a switch in conflict (from WWII to WWI). In a sense, he is taking a second bite at Theme before getting his message properly under way.

Exercise 6.6

'you'	'me/us'	other
you		
		For Inspectors in our Special Operations Unit (SOU)
	I	
	and I	
You		
		That
		But today
		There are
	We	
	and we	
	Ours	
	we	
	We	
	so we	
		but nothing
Take		
		Catching these kind of criminals and bringing them to justice

The groupings here are designed to highlight the fact that at the start of the letter the writer's main focus is on 'you' and 'me/us'. Before moving to the main purpose (which will be to ask for money), the writer clearly feels the need to establish a relationship with the addressee and, in particular, to introduce himself and his organization. We can see this in terms of interpersonal concerns taking priority over experiential ones; the main thematic choices are therefore interactional (though interestingly there are no instances of multiple Themes with interpersonal elements). The final Theme signals the beginning of the 'meat' of the letter: it is a heavy Theme that sets up a major change of framework. Note the very neat example of a thematic triplet at the point where the writer shifts from 'I/you' to 'we' (backward-looking 'That' summarizing what has been said; signal of change, with a contrast marker 'but' and a marked Theme 'today'; and an existential Theme launching the new topic).

Exercise 7.1

This activity obviously applies only to the longer utterances. Three slashes show clause complex boundaries within utterances; two slashes show independent clause boundaries within a complex. The clause complex analysis is problematic in a number of places where we could argue that there is intended to be implicit conjunction tying two clauses into a complex, but they could also be treated as separate. The following shows the most 'generous' analysis – i.e. wherever possible, clauses are treated as combined in a complex; where needed a conjunction is added in square brackets to show the possible link.

P   I can't bend forward // and I can't like turn sideways /// it's like the bottom of my spine it just feels like I'm sitting on a pin

P   I mean all last night I couldn't turn on my side // *[and]* I couldn't stand up // *[and]* I couldn't go to the toilet

D   so the first thing is rest /// secondly I'll give you some painkillers /// they don't speed up the healing // *[but]* it's just to make life comfortable for you while it's healing /// now it's

P   what is it /// is like a thing I've got with my spine // or

D   it's a torn muscle in your back yeh /// it should recover

D   oh no it is // but it's all right as long as you don't move // *[to be precise]* as soon as you move it'll try and go into spasm to stop you using those muscles you've injured

D   there's your note /// the tablets I'm going to give you a common side-effect is indigestion // so take them with food just to protect yourself /// it's one three times a day /// they don't make you drowsy /// you don't have to finish the course // *[but]* simply when your back is fine just stop them

Exercise 7.2

I have put the analysis label under the relevant verb of each clause.

1   'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome [[which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint]]

2   These can seldom be differentiated // and treatment is empirical
                     1   2

3   To detect viruses // and remove them from your computer,
          β1   β2
    / choose the Detect and Clean button.
                         α

4   She did not see the flocks / as she passed them, // but she heard them,
              1α   βb   2
    // and thought of the poor boy [[she had seen face down before her]].
                         3

5   The Queen appears at rugby matches very rarely,
                         αα
    / though she did attend the final in Cardiff four years ago
                              βα
    / to hand the trophy to Australia's captain.
                     ββ

6   Where the route is unclear, / you should find a sign [[to set you on your way,]]
              1β   1α
    // but,< although a few walkers claim to have walked on way marks alone,>
                              2β
    we do not recommend this.
              2α

I have analysed 'claim to have walked' as a verbal group complex; but it would also be possible to analyse it as two separate clauses 'claim / to have walked' (in which case the analysis is 2βα/2ββ)

7   Do you think / it might be a good idea / if I gave the first class in Spanish
      α   βα   ββ1
// and introduced some of the terminology, // told them [[what the English terms are]] ?
                 ββ21   ββ22

8   The article deals with an area [[which broadly falls within the scope of your expertise]],
                                            1
// so we wondered / if you could do us a favour / by kindly refereeing it
      2α   2βα   2ββ1
// and sending us your feedback within four to six weeks
                        2ββ2

9   While this handbook will give intending applicants the information [[they need]], /
                                   β
students must, < in order to obtain up-to-date, full and official information about
                                  ααβ
entrance requirements and courses, > write direct to the institutions of their choice /
                                  ααα
at least a year before they hope to begin their studies, // so that they will have
                   ααβ   αβ1α
decided / to which institutions they wish to seek admission // and obtained the
                    αβ1β
necessary application form, well before the closing date for receipt of applications.
                    αβ2
This is very complex indeed! Note that 'hope to begin' and 'wish to seek' are analysed here as verbal group complexes rather than clause complexes.

10 Well you see she wrote this letter / saying / that she'd been ringing // and
              1α   1βα   1ββ
[[what we couldn't understand / when we spoke to Liz]] was [[she knew /
         [[α   β]]   2   [[1α
you were going to Peru // and she knows / you don't put the cats in the cattery /
        1β   2α   2βα
when you go away]] // so it was obvious [[where we were]]
      2ββ]]   3
I have ignored 'you see', taking it as an interpersonal discourse marker rather than a real clause; I have analysed 'saying' as equivalent to 'and she said' rather than 'which (= the letter) said'; and I have analysed the final 'so' clause as a paratactic comment on the whole utterance, rather than as part of the embedded explanation of 'what we couldn't understand'. None of these decisions is entirely certain!

Exercise 7.3

I have added the notation for the logico-semantic relations. Where the relation is enhancing, I have added the sub-category in brackets (compare the categories for circumstances in 5.2.7).

1   'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome [[which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint]]

2   These can seldom be differentiated // and treatment is empirical
          1   +2

3   To detect viruses // and remove them from your computer,
          xβ1   xβ+2
    / choose the Detect and Clean button.
                  α
    (The enhancing relation is cause: purpose)

4   She did not see the flocks / as she passed them, // but she heard them,
              1α   1xβ   x2
    // and thought of the poor boy [[she had seen face down before her]].
              +3
    (The first enhancing relation is temporal: same time; the second is concessive.)

5   The Queen appears at rugby matches very rarely,
                          α
    / though she did attend the final in Cardiff four years ago
                      xβα
    / to hand the trophy to Australia's captain.
              xβxβ
    (The first enhancing relation is concessive; the second is cause: purpose.)

6   Where the route is unclear, / you should find a sign [[to set you on your way,]]
              1xβ   1α
    // but, < although a few walkers claim to have walked on way marks alone,>
                              x2xβ
    we do not recommend this.
              x2α
    (The first enhancing relation is spatial; the second and third are concessive.)

7   Do you think / it might be a good idea / if I gave the first class in Spanish
          α   'βα   'βxβ1
    // and introduced some of the terminology, // told them
                  'βxβ+21
    [[what the English terms are]] ?
              'βxβ+2=2
    (The enhancing relation is conditional.)

8   The article deals with an area [[which broadly falls within the scope of your expertise]],
                      1
    // so we wondered / if you could do us a favour / by kindly refereeing it
          x2α   x2'βα   x2'βxβ1
    // and sending us yourfeed back within four to six weeks
                          x2'βxβ+2
    (The first enhancing relation is cause: reason; the second is manner: means.)

9   While this handbook will give intending applicants the information [[they need]], /
                          xβ
    students must, < in order to obtain up-to-date, full and official information about
                          ααxβ
    entrance requirements and courses, > write direct to the institutions of their choice
                                              αααα
    / at least a year before they hope to begin their studies, // so that they will have
                      αααxβ   αxβ1α
    decided/ to which institutions they wish to seek admission // and obtained the
                      αxβ1'β   αxβ+2
    necessary application form, well before the closing date for receipt of applications.
    *(The enhancing sub-categories are: the 'While' clause is concessive; the 'in order to' clause
    is cause: purpose; the 'before' clause is temporal: earlier; the 'so that' clause is cause: result.)*

10 Well you see she wrote this letter / saying / that she'd been ringing // and
                      1α   1+βα   1+β'β
    [[what we couldn't understand / when we spoke to Liz]] was [[she knew /
              [[α   +β]]   +2   [[1α
    you were going to Peru // and she knows / you don't put the cats in the cattery /
          1'β   +2α   +2'βα
    when you go away]] // so it was obvious [[where we were]]
          +2'βxβ]]   x3
    (The 'when' enhancing relation is temporal: same time; the 'so' relation is cause: reason.)

Exercise 7.4

I have indicated where an embedded clause functions as a Fact. There are a couple
of cases where I am not sure of the best analysis; I have marked these with (?)

– [[fact]]	One of the outcomes of corpus studies in the last 20 years has been [[to draw attention to two aspects of a single phenomenon]].
	The first is the interdependency of lexis and grammar,
α =β, elaborating	/ such that lexical choices cannot be seen as independent of grammar, or indeed as consequent upon grammar,
β1 +β2, extending	/ but rather as driving grammatical context.

	The second is the importance of recurrent but variable sequences of words
α xβ, enhancing	/ in creating meaning.
[[fact]]	These sequences demonstrate [[that meaning is prosodic]],
α =β, elaborating	/ in that many sequences have a meaning [[that exceeds that of the words within the sequence]].
–	A number of studies develop these themes in different ways.
α "β, projecting, locution	Sinclair (1991), for example, suggests / that much naturally-occurring language is comprehended in accordance with 'the idiom principle',
"βα "β=β, elaborating	/ where meaning is attached to frequently-occurring sequences rather than to their constituent lexical or grammatical items.
[[fact]]	It can certainly be shown [[that a large proportion of any naturally-occurring text,
α xβ, enhancing	< when compared with a large corpus, > represents typical language use (e.g. Hunston 2001]]
α "β, projecting, locution	Sinclair also argues / that lexical and grammatical processes are not independent of each other, or of meaning.
=β α, elaborating	Continuing the theme [[that meaning and grammar are connected]],
αα α"β projecting, locution	Francis (1993) shows / that any grammatical sequence or 'pattern' will occur with a restricted set of lexical items only,
α"β1 α"β+2, extending	/ and that those items will share aspects of meaning.
α "β, projecting, locution	Thus, Sinclair's and Francis's work suggests / that each recurring word sequence represents a single language choice, with an unanalysed meaning for the language user, rather than a series of grammatical and lexical operations. ///
"1α 1'β, projecting, idea	"Are you sure / she is quite safe?"
"1 2, projecting, locution	// whispered Jo,
2α 2xβ, enhancing	/ looking remorsefully at the golden head,
2βα 2β=β, elaborating	/ which might have been swept away from her sight for ever under the treacherous ice.
"1 =2, elaborating	"[She is] Quite safe, dear; / she is not hurt,
"2 +3, extending	// and won't even take cold,

"3α 3=β, elaborating	/ you were so sensible in covering and getting her home quickly,"
"3 4, projecting, locution	// replied her mother, cheerfully.
1 =2, elaborating	"Laurie did it all; // I only let her go. Mother, if she should die,
xβ α, enhancing	/ it would be my fault";
1 +2, (?)extending	// and Jo dropped down beside the bed, in a passion of penitent tears,
2α 2xβ, enhancing	/ telling all that had happened,
2xβ1 2xβ+2, extending	/ bitterly condemning her hardness of heart,
2xβ2 2xβ+3, extending	/ and sobbing out her gratitude [[for being spared the heavy punishment [[which might have come upon her]]]].
-	"It's my dreadful temper! I try to cure it; // I think I have,
1 +2, extending	I try to cure it; // I think I have,
2 x3, enhancing	// and then it breaks out worse than ever.
–	Oh mother, what shall I do?
"1 2, projecting, locution	what shall I do?" // cried poor Jo, in despair.
"1 +2, extending	"Watch // and pray, dear;
"2 +3, extending	// never get tired of trying;
"3 +4, extending	// and never think
"4α 4'β, projecting, idea	/ it is impossible [[to conquer your fault]],"
"4 5, projecting, locution	// said Mrs March,
5α 5+β, extending	/ kissing the wet cheek so tenderly [[that Jo cried harder than ever]].

One of the clearest differences is that the narrative text includes a lot more projection in the form of quoting – and some of the quotes do not have a projecting clause but are only marked off by quotation marks. The focus in this scene (as in much narration) is on what the characters said as much as what they did, and the quoting has the effect of dramatizing the scene. In academic text, quotes can sometimes be used but more rarely; and in the extract the projections are all reports: what matters is less how the other writers expressed their ideas and more what they said. The academic extract also includes a non-human Sayer involved in projecting: 'work'; whereas projection in the narrative is restricted to human Sayers. There are three Facts in the academic text and none in the narrative: whereas narrative typically deals with people and events, academic text typically deals with ideas and information, and Facts are, as noted, a way of packaging information so that it can be commented on or brought into relationships with other information.

Perhaps the main feature to note about the clause complexing in general is that the narrative has much more of it, even though the stretch of text is shorter. Formal

written text tends to be simpler at the level of the clause and clause complex (the complexity is at the level of the groups – see Chapter 9); whereas informal speech (even invented speech, as here) tends to rely more on complexing at clause level. In narrative, this tendency is also found in the non–quoting stretches, because the author typically includes details about the events being described (e.g. 'looking remorsefully', 'kissing the wet cheek').

Exercise 8.1

The text will be discussed in Chapter 10.

The Themes are shown in bold. Minimal responses (e.g. 'ok') are ignored, but elliptical replies to questions are treated as cohesive.

The cohesive signals operating between clause complexes are in italics. Several of the occurrences of 'it' and 'the' could be seen as either anaphoric or exophoric, but I have included all these as cohesive (i.e. I have treated them as anaphoric). I have added a plausible version of ellipted material in square brackets where it is reasonably clear what is carried over. In three places, the speaker does not complete an utterance, although it is fairly clear how it would be completed; I have not treated these as elliptical, although it would be possible to do so. Lexical repetition is not marked, and neither is clear exophoric reference.

P   **I** can't bend forward // **and I** can't like turn sideways /// **it's like the bottom of my spine** it just feels like I'm sitting on a pin

D   *so it*'s pain in the lower back

P   [*it*'s pain in the] lower back just about there

D   ok // **how long** did you say again [you have had the pain]

P   **I mean all last night** I couldn't turn on my side // **I** couldn't stand up // **I** couldn't go to the toilet

D   *so it* got worse overnight

P   *yeh* +

D   *so the first thing* is rest /// *secondly* **I**'ll give you some painkillers /// *they* don't speed up *the* healing // *it*'s just to make life comfortable for you while *it*'s healing /// ***now it***'s [incomplete]

P   **what** is *it* /// **is** *it* like a thing I've got with my spine // **or** [incomplete]

D   *it*'s a torn muscle in your back yeh /// *it* should recover

P   **you** wouldn't think / *it* was so painful would you

D   **oh no it** is [so painful] // **but it**'s all right as long as you don't move // **as soon as you move** *it*'ll try and go into spasm to stop you using those muscles you've injured

P   **how long** will *it* take to um [incomplete]

D   **I think you**'re going to be off work at least a week

P   [*it* will be] a week

D   [*it* will be] possibly two weeks

D **there**'s your note /// **the tablets I'm going to give you** a common side-effect is indigestion // **so take** *them* with food just to protect yourself /// **it**'s one three times a day /// *they* don't make you drowsy /// **you** don't have to finish *the* course // **simply when your back is fine** just stop *them*
P *ok* [I'll do that]
D *it*'s not like an antibiotic

Exercise 8.2

Reference items are italicized; conjunctive items are in bold. Note that I have taken 'this new government' and 'this newspaper' as exophoric, since neither is mentioned earlier in the text.

> Treasury mandarins are even now hard at work on how to ensure the levy keeps within *the* new, lower target. (2) In *this* way the chancellor wants to make it clear that, whatever strong words were used before the May general election, he will treat the banks with all the care and consideration of a hotel concierge. (3) *That* is fast becoming a running theme of this new government. (4) Last week this paper revealed that Mr Osborne was not going to implement the proposal of a government report recommending that any bank paying employees above £1m a year would have to make public the precise number of such lucky staff. (5) *This* was a proposal from Sir David Walker, whose report on City governance from last year was already remarkably timid. (6) You might expect *such* mildness from a former chairman of Morgan Stanley International – but not from a government whose business secretary, Vince Cable, has previously suggested that any bank paying staff more than the prime minister's salary of £142,000 should disclose the fact. (7) Transparency of *this* kind is one of the least potent regulatory weapons of all. (8) **And yet** Mr Osborne shied away from making even *that* minor reform.

The most common type of cohesive signal here comprises pro-forms that refer back to preceding propositions. For example, in (3) 'that' refers back to the proposition 'he will treat the banks with all the care and consideration of a hotel concierge'; and in (5) 'this' refers back to 'any bank paying employees above £1m a year would have to make public the precise number of such lucky staff'. The cohesive item sometimes works together with a noun which encapsulates a preceding proposition: 'this' and 'that' in 'in this way' in (2), 'of this kind' in (7), and 'that minor reform' in (8) all signal that the following nouns refer back to whole propositions earlier in the text. I would also argue that 'such mildness' in (6) refers back to the proposition that Sir David Walker's report was remarkably timid, rather than simply signalling the lexical link between the words 'timid' and 'mildness'. Thus no fewer than six of the eight sentences include this kind of cohesive link, meaning that the text is closely woven together, with each proposition encapsulated as part of the next. It is noticeable that other reference forms are almost absent: 'the new, lower target', referring back to a spending target specified in the sentence before the beginning of the extract, is the only case ('he' in (2) is not strictly cohesive, since it refers back to 'the chancellor' in

the same sentence). There is only one clear conjunctive signal 'And yet' in (8), marking the proposition as counter-expectation. The reliance on proposition-encapsulating pro-forms is typical of formal, planned text (there are none in the spoken consultation in 8.1); and in a sense, it means that other forms of reference, and even conjunction, are less necessary.

Exercise 9.1

The nominalizations are in italics, and the 'logical' verbs are in bold.

'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint. These can seldom be differentiated and *treatment* is empirical. It is a condition affecting the middle-aged, in whose shoulder cuffs degenerative changes are occurring. The outstanding feature is *limitation of movements in the shoulder*. *This restriction* is often severe, with *virtually no gleno-humeral movements* possible, but in the milder cases *rotation, especially internal rotation*, is primarily affected. *Restriction of movements* **is accompanied** in most cases by pain, which is often severe and may disturb sleep. There is frequently a history of minor trauma, which is usually presumed to produce *some tearing of the degenerating shoulder cuff*, thereby **initiating** *the low-grade prolonged inflammatory changes* **responsible** for the symptoms. Radiographs of the shoulder are almost always normal. In some cases the condition **is initiated by** a period of *immobilisation of the arm*, not uncommonly as the result of *the inadvised prolonged use of a sling after a Colles' fracture*. It is commoner on the left side, and in an appreciable number of cases there is a preceding episode of a silent or overt cardiac infarct. If untreated, pain subsides after many months, but there may be *permanent restriction of movements*. **The main aim** of *treatment* is to improve the final range of *movements in the shoulder*, and graduated shoulder exercises are the mainstay of *treatment*. In some cases where pain is a particular problem, hydrocortisone injections into the shoulder cuff may be helpful. In a few cases, once the acute stage is well past, *manipulation of the shoulder under general anaesthesia* **may be helpful in restoring** *movement* in a stiff joint.

The following is only one possible de-condensed version, where I have amended only the nominalizations. As you can see, the changes inevitably mean that the meanings are changed in some places; and occasionally I have had to guess who the 'missing' participant is.

'Frozen shoulder' is a clinical syndrome which can probably be produced by a variety of pathological processes in the shoulder joint. We often can't differentiate these and we have to treat the problem empirically. It is a condition affecting the middle-aged, whose shoulder cuffs are degenerating. The outstanding feature is that patients are limited in the extent to which they can move their shoulder. Patients are often severely restricted and can virtually not move their

gleno-humerus, but in the milder cases the main symptom is that they can't rotate their shoulder, especially internally. As well as being restricted in how much they can move their shoulder, in most cases they also feel pain, which is often severe and may disturb their sleep. They have frequently had minor trauma before, which we presume usually tears their degenerating shoulder cuff, which makes their shoulder begin to get a bit inflamed over a long period and causes the symptoms. When we take radiographs of the shoulder they are almost always normal. In some cases the condition starts because the patient's arm has been immobilised for a while, not uncommonly because their doctor has inadvisedly made them use a sling for a long time after a Colles' fracture. It is commoner on the left side, and in an appreciable number of cases the patients have previously had a silent or overt cardiac infarct. If untreated, the patients stop feeling pain after many months, but they may be permanently restricted in how much they can move their shoulder. Our main aim when we treat the problem is to improve how much the patients can finally move their shoulder, and we mainly treat them by getting them to exercise their shoulder gradually more and more. In some cases where pain is a particular problem, we may be able to help them by injecting hydrocortisone into the shoulder cuff. In a few cases, once the acute stage is well past, if the joint is stiff we can help them to move it more by manipulating the shoulder under general anaesthesia.

Exercise 9.2

Mood metaphors are italicized with a brief indication of the speech role and structure; modal metaphors are in bold.

D   ok how long did you say again

P   I mean all last night I couldn't turn on my side / I couldn't stand up / I couldn't go to the toilet

D   *so it got worse overnight* [question: declarative]

P   yeh when I walk it hurts me to walk / **I don't know what it I don't know if** probably it's lifting the residents in the nursing home or what

D   no remembered injury / *you don't remember doing anything in particular* [question: declarative]

P   **I don't think** so / I've worked with elderly people for ten years moving them around

D   *can I ask you to climb on the couch* [command: interrogative annotating clause] while I have a look at your back just lie flat on your back

P   lie back oh ooh *[inaudible]*

D   *what I want you to do first then is to press down with your feet against my hands* [command: declarative annotating clause] press down hard / ok now pull up against my fingers / *can you press your feet together* [command: interrogative] press your knees apart / just relax while I do your reflexes which are fine / *can you bend your knees* [command: interrogative]

P   oh

D yes ok take your time *can I sit you forward now* [command: interrogative] while I while I hit you

P *(laughs)* **I think** that's as far as I can't go any further

D *tell me where the tender spot is* [question: imperative annotating clause]

P there oh

D come and sit yourself down

P **I thought** I'd better come to the doctor because with me working with residents I thought well I don't want to put my back out

D er no you can't work like this at the moment you find that any movement catches it so *lifting people is just out at the moment* [command: declarative] / **I'm sure** this is a muscle tear because it's typical of them that er the time you do it you don't feel much it's often overnight that the pain steadily develops

Further reading

As I mentioned in the Foreword, one way of using this book is as preparation for reading Halliday and Matthiessen's *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2014); and if you want a fuller exposition of any of the ideas here you should turn first to that source. There is now a very good range of other books that provide introductions to the approach, each useful in different ways. These include: Bloor and Bloor (2013), which is particularly good on the detailed analysis of clauses, looking upwards from that to meanings in text; Butt *et al.* (2000), which includes a discussion of implications of FG for language teaching; Eggins (2004), which focuses more on the concepts of register and genre, looking downwards to the clause-level choices that realize the generic choices; and Martin *et al.* (1997), which provides a wide variety of practice activities in applying FG to clauses and texts. Thompson (2005) and (2009a) offer brief introductions to Michael Halliday's life and works and to Systemic Functional Linguistics. Ravelli (2000) is a concise and accessible introduction to using FG in text analysis.

Halliday's collected papers, some of which have up until now been difficult to get hold of, have been published in a series of ten volumes by Continuum (see Halliday, 2002–2009 in the References). This is an immensely valuable resource, which demonstrates the range of Halliday's linguistic interests – most of the individual articles and chapters by Halliday referred to below are reprinted in the set. The two-volume set edited by Hasan *et al.* (2005) contains chapters by leading SFL scholars on a wide range of topics. Matthiessen (1995) is a more advanced treatment in great depth of SFG, which includes the system networks for each area of the grammar. There is also an increasingly rich array of web-based resources. You can find out about SFL conferences and other events at the website of the International Systemic Linguistics Association at http://www.isfla.org/; and that has a link 'About SFL', which leads to a large number of webpages with SFL bibliographies, software for SFL, and so on. Another very useful set of resources can be found at http://www.ling.mq.edu.au/nlp/.

For each chapter, I will suggest below other titles that you can read if you want to follow up on a particular issue. The list is, naturally, far from complete: I will generally give just a couple of representative references for each area, selecting as far as possible those which are easily available and accessible in content.

In preparing this edition, I unfortunately could not reinstate the chapter on groups and phrases that was included in the first edition. This does not mean that the grammar of groups is less important, simply that I have consciously chosen to focus on the grammar of clauses in order to make the transition to text analysis easier. However, the chapter on groups and phrases is now available as part of the supporting online materials. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) deal with groups and phrases in Chapter 6 and with group and phrase complexes in Chapter 8; and Bloor and Bloor (2013) also deal fully with this topic. A further resource is Morley (2000). An account of Functional Grammar that starts from Halliday's approach but develops in very different ways, including a detailed account of group structure, is offered in Fawcett (2008).

Chapter 1

On the general rationale for a functional approach, the Introduction to the second edition of Halliday's book (1994) is well worth reading twice: first as an introduction and later as a review. Berry (1975) includes a discussion of the main features that make Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) different from other approaches. Bloor and Bloor (2013), Chapter 12 shows how FG relates to other schools of linguistics. Coffin *et al.* (2009) is specially designed for readers who may have a background in traditional grammar, leading them in an accessible way towards an understanding of a functional perspective; and McCabe (2009) demonstrates how systemic insights can be incorporated with other approaches. There are many introductions to Transformational–Generative grammar in its early manifestations: the one I personally find most useful is the first chapter of Horrocks (1987). For an introduction to later developments, try Radford (2004).

Chapter 2

Two descriptive grammars of English within a functional framework are the *Collins Cobuild English Grammar* (1990) and Downing and Locke (2002). Biber *et al.* (1999) is also functional in orientation. It is based on extensive corpus analysis, and includes very useful indications of how frequent certain choices are in different registers. Huddleston (1984) defines word classes and looks at areas of mismatch between the traditional categories and actual use.

Chapter 3

In the first part of Halliday and Hasan (1985/89), Halliday gives a clear overview of the FG model of clause grammar; in the second part, Hasan does the same for register and genre. Eggins (2004) also deals very thoroughly with register and genre in Chapters 1–3. Although the title of Halliday (1985b/89), *Spoken and Written Language*, does not seem directly related to the model as a whole, the book does provide an interesting view of it from a side-angle. An early summary of the three metafunctions is given in Halliday (1970); and Halliday (1976) brings together a number of his

writings up to that point. Martin (1992) is by no means an easy read, but it represents a sustained attempt to show exactly how lexico-grammatical choices interact with contextual factors. Martin and Rose (2007) is a very accessible introduction to FG-based text analysis, drawing heavily on Martin (1992); and Martin and Rose (2008) makes ambitious claims for a genre-based approach. Matthiessen (2004) reports on a ground-breaking exploration of the probabilities of systemic choices in a corpus of texts. Fawcett (1988) discusses the points to consider in designing effective system networks. Two very useful sources of papers on many aspects of SFG are the journals *Functions of Language* (John Benjamins), and *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* (Equinox).

Chapter 4

Simpson (1990, 1993) is good on modality in text, and Thompson and Thetela (1995) and Thompson (2001) discuss how interpersonal resources can be used for persuasive purposes in written text. Berry (1987) and Ventola (1987) analyse interaction in dialogue; Hasan (2009) includes a number of articles in which she looks particularly at exchanges between mothers and children. Much of the discussion in Eggins and Slade (1997) centres around interpersonal meanings, especially how dialogic exchanges are conducted. Jordan (1998) provides a wealth of examples of how negation is used in text, underlining its interpersonal functions. In Thompson (1999), I discuss in greater depth the doctor–patient consultation that you analyse in Exercise 4.3. Hyland has published extensively on interpersonal choices especially in academic text − e.g. Hyland (2002). There is now a very extensive literature on appraisal. Martin (2000) is an early exposition of the model, and Martin and White (2005) provides the authoritative overview. The special issue of the journal *Text* (Macken-Horarick and Martin 2003) gives a good sense of the variety of analyses of appraisal that have been carried out. Peter White maintains a website that includes an accessible introduction to the approach: http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/. Hunston and Thompson (2000) and Lemke (1998) exemplify a range of different approaches to the analysis of evaluation.

Chapter 5

The basic model of transitivity is first set out in Halliday (1967–8, parts 1 and 3). Hasan (1987) pushes transitivity analysis towards the more delicate levels at which individual lexical choices are made, while Hasan (1985) introduces the useful concept of a cline of dynamism in transitivity roles. Jones and Ventola (2008) includes a range of studies of different aspects of transitivity in text. Matthiessen (1999) is a study of the frequency in text of certain choices and combinations of choices within the transitivity systems. Halliday (1998) surveys the transitivity options available in the way that pain is talked about in English. His analysis of William Golding's novel *The Inheritors* (most easily accessible in Volume 2 of the Collected Works) is a classic example of transitivity/ergativity analysis in action on text. Davidse (1992) presents highly complex arguments in favour of regarding ergativity as a different phenomenon

from transitivity. Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) is a heavyweight (in all senses!) account of the semantics of transitivity, showing how transitivity categories reflect the way that we make sense of our experience.

Chapter 6

Halliday (1967–8, part 2) is the first full exposition of his ideas on Theme. Fries has written extensively and lucidly on Theme in text (e.g. 1981/83, 1994, 1995), and also on other aspects of texture and cohesion (e.g. 1992). Other interesting treatments of Theme include Francis (1989) and the chapters in Ghadessy (1995), especially those by Matthiessen and Martin. Halliday and Martin (1993) contains several chapters on Theme in academic text. Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2007) are particularly interesting on the concept of 'hyper-Theme' (Theme at paragraph level). On the specific topics of thematizing structures (which he calls 'special operations clauses') and interpolation, see Winter (1982). On the issue of alternative ways of identifying Theme, Berry (1996) reviews the different possibilities; while Downing (1991) and Davies (1997) are examples of studies that use the notion of contextual frames.

Chapter 7

Haiman and Thompson (1989) covers a range of different approaches to clause complexes, including the Hallidayan approach. Matthiessen (2002) is a more recent, exhaustive treatment of how clause complexing fits into the SFL model. Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2007) both include chapters with an exhaustive outline of conjunctive resources within and between clause complexes, and place appropriate emphasis on the distinction between external and internal conjunction. S. A. Thompson (1985) discusses reasons for the ordering of subordinate clauses in relation to the dominant clause; while Schleppegrell (1992) is interesting on the difficulties of separating parataxis and hypotaxis. For a full description of reporting in English, including analyses of its function in text, see Thompson (1994); Hyland and Tse (2005) examine a particular use of projecting structures in academic text.

Chapter 8

The classic treatment of cohesion is Halliday and Hasan (1976). Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan (1985/89: Chapter 5), sets out to explore the links between cohesion and coherence. Salkie (1995), despite the misleadingly broad title, is a useful basic introduction to the mechanics of cohesion. Parsons has an interesting chapter on cohesion in academic text in Ventola (1991). Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2007) are as illuminating on cohesive conjunction as on clause complexing. S. Thompson (1994) explores the interaction of different cohesive resources in speech; see also Fox (1987) on anaphoric reference in spoken and written text. Scott and Thompson (2001) includes a number of papers on different aspects of cohesion. Francis (1994) looks at the cohesive function of labelling. Hoey (1991a, 1991b)

makes a powerful case for lexical repetition as the most important cohesive resource. On the clause relational approach to conjunction, see Hoey (2000) and Winter (1994). One influential approach to conjunction in text is Rhetorical Structure Theory, which is drawn on in Chapter 9 of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014): see Mann *et al.* (1992), and see the webpage maintained by Maite Taboada at http://www.sfu.ca/rst/.

Chapter 9

Martin (1992 – especially Chapters 3, 5 and 6) explores the all-pervasiveness of grammatical metaphor, while Halliday (1985b/89) shows how it is typical of written language. A number of chapters in Halliday and Martin (1993) explore grammatical metaphor in scientific text; see also Halliday (1988), Martin (1991) and Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: Chapter 6). Simon-Vandenbergen *et al.* (2003) includes papers covering grammatical metaphor from a range of perspectives. For an accessible study of experiential grammatical metaphor in student writing, see Thompson (2009c). Halliday (1992) shows how exactly the 'explosion into grammar', which is the foundation for the development of grammatical metaphor, happens in children.

Chapter 10

There is a huge range of writing on functional text analysis and applications of Functional Grammar, and the list here can only scratch the surface. Published analyses include Francis and Kramer-Dahl (1992, medical case histories); Drury (1991, students' summaries); and Ravelli (2000, advertisement and legal notice). Martin and Rose (2007) centres around the analysis of a small number of texts from different perspectives; and Mann and Thompson (1992) contains 12 analyses in functional terms of the same text. Christie and Martin (1997) includes analyses of a wide range of discourse types and genres. For functional approaches to literary text, see Hasan (1985/89) and Birch and O'Toole (1988). For educational applications of Functional Grammar, see Hasan and Martin (1989) and Martin (1985/89); and for its application in foreign language teaching in particular, see Hasan and Perrett (1995). For analyses of language in educational settings, see Christie (1999). For Critical Discourse Analysis, see especially Hodge and Kress (1993), Butt *et al.* 2004, and many of the papers in the journal *Discourse and Society* published by Sage.

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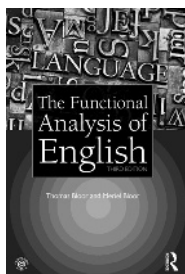
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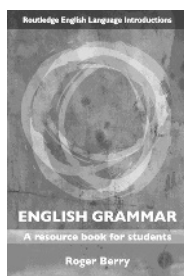
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