The Many Types of 'Theme' in English:
their Syntax, Semantics and Discourse Functions

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This book is being worked on, intermittently, so please forgive any inconsistencies of numbering, etc. I would be very grateful if you felt able to send me your comments and suggestions for improvements, including improvements in clarity.

However, plans for publishing this work in this form in the near future have been shelved, as a result of the decision to focus on three other books: Fawcett forthcoming 2009a, forthcoming 2009b and forthcoming 2010 (for which see the References). The last of these will include material from the descriptive portion of the present work. I still intend to bring this work up to book-publishing standard at some point in the near future. Meanwhile I am happy for it to be used and cited, if you wish.

CHANGES TO BE MADE

Networks derived from Figure 2 will be added at appropriate points throughout.

The figure numbers will be changed to start anew for each chapter.

Notes comparing this approach with the networks in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 and Thompson 2004 will be added (noting Thompson's use of our term 'enhanced').

Other possible changes (marked by XXX) will be considered.

Perhaps I shall add the 'fact' that the word beginning with 't' that was looked up most frequently on dictionary.com in 2005 was 'theme'!

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Preface

Let me begin with two statements, each of which is likely to appear controversial to at least some readers. The first is that the linguist who has made the greatest contribution to our understanding of the nature of language in the last century is Michael Halliday. And the second is that no one - not even Halliday! - should be expected to get everything 'right' in the description of a complex phenomenon such as human language at the first attempt - or even to get virtually everything right.

Yet this is precisely what many people seem to believe that Halliday has achieved. Indeed, you need to believe this - or something close to it - if you are using the description of English in the second or third edition of *IFG* (Halliday 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) as your guide to analyzing texts. The reason is that, if you make a careful, page-by-page comparison between the 1994 edition of *IFG* and the 2004 edition (as I have done), you will find that the overwhelming majority of the substantive sections of description (as opposed to the examples) are, word for word and paragraph after paragraph, virtually unchanged from the 1994 edition. Moreover, the same relationship holds between the description of English given in the 1994 edition and that in the first edition, which was published over two decades ago, in 1985. So the substantive portions of the third edition are virtually unchanged from the first. One doesn't expect a completely new grammar from a new edition of a book, of course, but one would normally expect at least SOME significant changes, including changes derived from the work of other scholars working in the same framework.[1]

But this general pattern of 'minimal change' goes back even further. The first edition of *IFG* in turn reflects quite closely Halliday's unpublished *An Outlook on Modern English* (e.g. as cited in Berry 1975), which was circulating informally in the early 1970s. And *Outlook* in turn resembles extremely closely the description of English that Halliday was presenting in his lectures in 1970 (e.g. those at University College London, which I attended when working there on my PhD). Thus most of Halliday's current description of the lexicogrammar of English is essentially as it was in the late 1960s.

What are we to infer from this? It is surely that we have here a situation that is either extremely worrying or approaching the miraculous. But which?

What makes the fact that Halliday's description of English has changed so little particularly surprising is the set of three revolutionary changes in his theory of language that he made in the 1970s. The first of these was to give theoretical priority to the concept of the **system**; the second was to recognize that the choices made in the system network were **choices between meanings** (so that he often referred to them at that time as 'semantic'); and the third was the introduction of the concept that several 'metafunctions' are built into the semantics and the structure of a language, so that text analysis is best carried out in terms of **several different strands of meaning** - and so also, he suggests, in terms of different but simultaneously realized structures.[2] Yet through all these fundamental changes, the

[1] Matthiessen's 'revision' of Halliday 1994 was mainly (1) to replace the introductory Chapter 1; (2) to add a few system networks (whose use is unfortunately not demonstrated); and (3) a great many corpus-derived examples. But since almost all of the substantive description remains unchanged, we shall here simply refer to the three editions collectively as *IFG*. Page references will be to Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, unless otherwise stated. Much of the considerable additional length of the third edition of *IFG* over the second (an extra 255 over the earlier 434 pages) is taken up with the corpus examples, and quite a lot goes on a considerably expanded layout of the figures. But the addition of the system networks has required only a few new pages and, surprisingly, Matthiessen's over-theoretical new Chapter 1, which replaces both Halliday's original fascinating Introduction and his less useful Chapter 1, is actually 27 pages shorter than the earlier version.

[2] See Chapter 4 of Fawcett 2000 for a full account of the developments in Halliday's theory of language in this period.

intertwined concepts of 'rank', 'unit', 'class of unit' and 'element of structure' are retained as part of the structural description, and many of the system networks that finally appear (after many requests) in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 are broadly as they were in Halliday 1964/76 - with the same names for their features continuing to be used, even though the networks have changed from being seen as part of the level of 'form' in the 1960s, through being frequently described as 'semantic' in his writings in the 1970s., and back - somewhat - to being described as within the lexicogrammar, and so in some sense at the level of form again, with a separate level of 'semantics' above them, increasingly strongly in to 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, culminating in Halliday & Matthiessen 1999.[3] A large measure of continuity in the description of English is not surprising, of course, but the relative lack of modification to the description in the light of the recognition that system networks are choices in meaning is. Thus, while the theory has been extended in various interesting and often productive ways, Halliday takes the view that the lexicogrammar - which he views as the core of the model - has simply not needed to change.[4]

What are the possible explanations for this surprising lack of change? The first is that it was in this period that Halliday was making a number of major contributions in other areas of SFL.[5] It seems quite possible that Halliday was so busy with the exciting developments in areas other than the lexicogrammar that he simply had no time to take the long, self-critical look at his early working description of English that was required by the recognition that the system networks are no longer at the level of form, as they were in the early 1960s, but at the level of meaning.[6]

The alternative explanation for the lack of changes in Halliday's model of lexicogrammar is that there really is no need for any modifications to the original model other than merely tidying it up. But can it really be the case, we would then have to ask, that Halliday's revolutionary changes to the overall model didn't require any corresponding changes to the description of English and other languages? And can it really be the case that linguists haven't discovered anything new about the structures and meanings of language since the 1960s that might make a difference to what the lexicogrammar of a SFL model of language should be like?

[3] The biggest change in Halliday's description of English was in the further semanticization of TRANSITIVITY in the early 1970s, as described in the meticulous account of changes in the description of TRANSITIVITY in Neale 2002. But even this major change appears not to have affected Halliday's overall view of his model of language. Indeed, it is equally hard to detect any acknowledgement of a change in his theory in his own writings since that time.

[4] Halliday writes, for example, that 'systemic work ... has tended to expand by moving into new areas of activity, rather than by re-working earlier positions' (1993:4507). In Fawcett 2000a I argue that many of his new proposals do in fact relate to the core area (the lexicogrammar); that they have been revolutionary; and that they should therefore have led to a 're-working' of his earlier position. It is true that his own work was mostly on 'moving into new areas', but other SF linguists have indeed made proposals for 're-working' his earlier positions - including the suggestions in Downing 1991 and from members of the Cardiff group (e.g. Tucker 1996 & 1998 and Fawcett 2000a, b & c on syntax and lexis, Huang 2002 on the experiential enhanced theme construction and Tench 1996 on intonation).

[5] For a graphic reminder of this, see the ten volumes of Halliday's collected works, edited by Jonathan Webster, that have been published in the years starting in 2002.

[6] A good example of Halliday & Matthiessen's unwilligness to accept the evidence of other SFL studies is the fact that Matthiessen, in his new introductory chapter to *IFG* in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, assumes, more unquestioningly than ever, the principles of the much criticized concept of the 'rank scale', giving no recognition to the possibility that the concept of probability has a role to play in understanding the relationship between units. For a full summary of 'the rank scale debate', see Appendix C of Fawcett 2000a, which supplements and updates Butler's 1985 valuable summary to that point. For my advocacy of the role of probabilities as a replacement for the inaccurate predictions of Halliday's 'rank scale' concept, see Fawcett 2000a:238-43.

Modifications to the description of a language are - or should be - part of the natural process of improving our models of language. And in the last forty years or so there have been a number of enormously significant advances in both the conceptual and the physical tools available to us for studying it.

I shall now list six developments in the period since 1970, any one of which might have been expected to give Halliday (or any other linguist) fresh insights that would in turn lead them to re-work their description of English (and other languages) - and so, at least in some respects, their theory of language. I am happy to recognize that my current model of language is significantly different from my model in the 1970s (e.g. Fawcett 1973/81) - and that each of these six developments have had a significant influence on the way in which my thinking has developed in this period, and so on my current theory of language and descriptions of languages. The six developments are:

1 the enormous amount of work on using the early SFL descriptions of English (and to a much lesser extent, till recently, other languages) by university teachers, researchers and their students, for the detailed **analysis of very large quantities of text** - and so in turn on **extending** and **refining** those descriptions;
2 the great amount of traditional descriptive **work by other functionally-oriented scholars** working in linguistics and pragmatics (some drawing implicitly or even explicitly on SFL ideas, e.g. West Coast functionalists);
3 the important lessons to be learnt from developing and formalizing **very large systemic functional grammars in a computer model of language**, so that they can be tested by running them;
4 the enormous quantities of new evidence now available to linguists through our ability to study patterns of language in **very large corpora** (again, through the computer);
5 the growing appreciation of the role of **probabilities** in modelling language (in contrast with the crude 'grammatical v. ungrammatical' distinction still found in most formal grammars);
6 the growing recognition that no account of language and its use can be complete without being set within the framework of a **cognitive-interactive** model of communication, so that the model is not only socially-oriented but also, where appropriate, cognitive (e.g. for understanding such concepts as 'theme' and 'new').

I find it inconceivable that these major developments should not have enabled us all - including Halliday, if he had been able to find time to work with them - to produce better descriptions of the lexicogrammars of languages, and so in turn better theories of language.

It has been suggested to me by one leading systemicist (who shall be nameless) that the fact that Halliday's description of English has remained largely unchanged since the early 1970s is, in itself, independent evidence of its inherent 'rightness'. More accurately, what is remarkable is that quite large numbers of scholars - largely but not exclusively people working in education - have continued to accept that the Sydney Grammar is the best available model of language for this and many other uses. Hence the appearance of a third edition of *IFG* in 2004. But there could be other factors that contribute to the explanation of this success than the inherent rightness of the description of English given in *IFG*. One such factor could have been Halliday's personal charisma and presentational skills - coupled, of course, with the fact that he was working with what was, even in its earlier manifestation, already a genuinely innovative and insightful description of English. And a further element could have been the failure to maintain the essential balance between enthusiasm for a new idea and its critical appraisal - whether by Halliday himself or his closest colleagues, or by both. And I think that a fourth factor has been the politics of educational linguistics in Australia (as I have observed it in the course of several visits to Australia over the last three

decades), which has led to the view that to keep making changes would imply that the theory was not as soundly based as it was presented as being.

While it is beyond doubt, in my view, is that Halliday did 'get a lot right' in the series of insights into language that he has given us over the last half century. But I would say that some of them are only 75% or even only 25% 'right' (i.e. insightful for the construction of more complete models), and that a few have turned out to be downright 'wrong' (i.e. uninsightful). On balance, however, Halliday's contribution is one for which we should be deeply grateful. But it is equally important to recognize that very many of his most appreciative followers - i.e. those who, like me, continue to work in what is essentially a Hallidayan framework - have noted very many difficulties in making certain aspects of the model work, e.g. when describing real-life texts, and that our general experience has been that our proposals for resolving the difficulties have only very rarely been taken up by Halliday and his close associates.

Let us turn now to the specific case of 'theme'. In the 1960s Halliday made a number of innovative proposals relating to the concept of 'theme' which have been highly influential - both within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and in linguistics in general. Perhaps the best evidence of the influence of an idea (or set of ideas) comes when it passes into general usage, without special acknowledgement. The evidence that this has happened in the case of Halliday's ideas on 'theme' is widespread, but perhaps the most important instance was the incorporation of what are essentially Halliday's approaches to (i) 'theme' and 'rheme' and (ii) 'given' and 'new' in the great grammars of Quirk et al of 1972 and 1985 - and so in the numerous works that explicitly reproduced them or were influenced by them. Halliday modified his 1960s description of 'theme' in minor respects in his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985 & 1994, but it remains today - e.g. in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 - essentially as it was in the 1960s (e.g. Halliday 1964/76).

However, while most scholars who have worked in this area of language would acknowledge Halliday's seminal influence on their current understanding of this aspect of the grammar of English, many of them - including some working in the framework of SFL - have pointed out problems with his description of theme in English, and have suggested modifications. (We shall meet some of these proposals in Chapter 3.)

The version of Systemic Functional Grammar that is drawn on here has its roots in Halliday's writings in the early 1970s, but it has been developed under the influence of all these factors. The result is that Butler, in his very thorough comparison of SFG with two other leading 'structural-functional' theories of language, writes (2003b:471): 'there can be no doubt that SFG has lived up to its claim to be a text-oriented theory of language; ... it has achieved a much wider coverage of English grammar than other approaches, this being especially true of the Cardiff grammar.' And, in an internal comparison of the two leading versions of SFG, he states: 'in my view the Cardiff model represents a substantial improvement on the Sydney account'. (See Section 2 of Chapter 1 for a brief account of the similarities and differences between the two SFL models.)

This book describes a new SFL approach to the concept of 'theme' in English. It began as a modified version of Halliday's descriptions in the 1960s and 1970s - but it has now, under the influence of the five factors mentioned above, evolved into an approach that is, as we shall see, significantly different from Halliday's - while still being equally 'systemic' and equally 'functional'. It is important to note that this new account of 'theme' in English is part of a very large and fully integrated description of all aspects of the grammar of English, and that this description is set within the framework of a model of a communicating mind. But at the same time the most basic linguistic principles upon which it is based are essentially the same as those that underlie Halliday's model. However, the combined influence of the five major new sources of evidence mentioned above has led to a number of important changes in both the theoretical categories of the model (as set out in Fawcett 2000a) and in the categories used in the description of English. The result is that this alternative SFL model

avoids the many problems that Halliday's current description of English contains - including problems in the analysis of constructions that involve aspects of 'theme'.

The most basic assumption of this new SFL description - as one would expect in a SFL approach to understanding language - is that 'thematic' meanings are linguistic meanings between which a user of a language chooses, in order to serve the various purposes that may arise in a developing discourse - just as we choose between the available meanings of 'transitivity', 'mood' and so on. But the principle that 'thematic' meanings, like other types of meaning, necessarily involve a choice is, as we shall see in Chapter 14, one which Halliday's description sometimes ignores.

This new descriptive framework for 'theme' can also claim to be an advance on Halliday's in at least the following four ways. Firstly, it is MORE COMPREHENSIVE, in that it covers certain types of 'theme' that Halliday omits. Specifically, it provides for five types that are not covered in Halliday 1994, Matthiessen 1995 or Halliday & Matthiessen 2004. While some of these are fairly rare, others occur quite frequently.

A second way in which the present description is an advance on Halliday's is that it provides FULL DIAGRAMS OF THE ANALYSES for the various structurally complex types of 'theme'; these analyses are both different from those of Halliday and Matthiessen and easier to understand and to use for describing texts - a factor that will be welcomed by many!

A third advantage of the present description is that, for each choice in a system, it asks explicitly 'What makes the producer of the text make that choice?' - so seeking to establish the DISCOURSE FUNCTION that provides the motivation for using one or other of the various types of 'theme'. (Indeed, in some parts of the description this has led to new suggestions about the functions that 'theme' serves.)

Fourthly, facts about the FREQUENCIES OF THE VARIOUS STRUCTURES (and so the meanings they express) are treated as an integral part of the grammar - as we shall see at many points in the book. In a SFL model of language for the twenty-first century, it is particularly important that system networks should show not merely what the choices are, but also the basic probability that any given feature will be chosen - and, moreover, how this probability may change as a result of choices in, say, MOOD.

We shall examine each type of 'theme' through the use of an explicitly 'trinocular' approach.[7] In SFL the central organizing principle is the system network, as we shall see, but in deciding how best to draw the relevant parts of the system network we shall draw on evidence that is (i) 'from above' (i.e. the 'discourse functions' that the various 'thematic' constructions may serve); (ii) 'at their own level' (i.e. the relations of the various systems of choices in 'thematic' meanings to each other and to other systems, especially those in 'transitivity'); and (iii) 'from below' (i.e. the functional syntax that realizes the various 'thematic' choices in the system networks).

This fresh approach to the data of 'theme' from first principles leads to the recognition of eight distinct major types of 'theme', together with a number of minor variants. For convenience, the systems for the major types are summarized in one diagram (Figure 2). These include new syntactic and semantic analyses of the structures known in formal grammars as 'cleft', 'pseudo-cleft', 'extraposition' and 'left-dislocation'. However, we shall here replace these potentially misleading labels by explicitly functional ones, and at the time when each is introduced I shall give the reasons why we should make this change.

This book also has a chapter on 'Cases which some scholars treat as "theme" but which are not', and another on the important concept that a covert Subject Theme is still a Subject Theme, even when it is covert. While this concept is particularly important when considering the many misleadingly labelled 'pro-drop' languages, such as Spanish and Japanese, it also has major consequences for English. Once this concept is recognized, it has major

[7] I first suggested the value of this approach in Fawcett 1973/81:157, but it was Halliday who later coined the useful term 'trinocular'.

consequences for studies that depend on the analysis of different types of 'theme' in texts - and the many studies that have been based on a broadly Hallidayan approach might need to be re-interpreted in the light of this chapter, if the picture of 'theme' given here is accepted..

A feature of Chapter 2, which provides a selective survey of the literature of 'theme', is that it includes a critique of the mistaken hypothesis that different text-types exhibit different patterns of what has been termed 'thematic progression'. As we shall see, corpus-based studies have shown this to be a gross over-simplification of what occurs in most texts. Instead, the present approach reflects the view of discourse as dynamically generated text, such that its performers take planning decisions at every point which reflect the many different functions that they serve in the generation of discourse. The suggestion is that only very loose generalizations can be made about patterns of 'theme', and that what is important is to establish the discourse purpose of any given type of 'theme', rather than looking for patterns at the level of form.

Throughout the book there are diagrams that illustrate the functional syntax of the key examples. It also analyzes selected examples at the level of meaning, i.e. in terms of a 'multi-strand' semantic analysis. So there is a fairly full coverage of the syntax and semantics of 'theme'. But the picture of the discourse functions - or discourse purposes - served by the various types of 'theme' is rather less complete. Nonetheless, the book includes brief descriptions of work - including some carried out in the framework of the COMMUNAL Project - that models some of the types of 'higher' decision-making which in turn determine the choices in the semantic system networks for 'theme'.[8]

By the end of the book it will be clear that the various types of 'theme' that are identified in this comprehensive treatment cover a very wide range of different meanings, and that they serve an even wider range of purposes - and so functions - in discourse. But this raises the question of how far - if at all - it is helpful to work with a model of language in which 'theme' is treated as a concept that can be generalized across the various types of phenomenon that have been called 'theme'. Is there any sense in which 'theme' is a single, unified concept? The overwhelming weight of the evidence described in this book suggests that there is not. Instead, we need to resist the temptation to generalize - here as in other areas of the description of languages - where generalization obscures significant differences. Instead, we should be recognizing and celebrating the richness of the many types of 'theme' - both in English and in other languages - describing each in its own terms and recognizing the different meanings that they express and the different discourse functions that they serve.

[8] See Section 1.4 for the explanation of the relationship between the concepts of 'discourse function' and 'discourse purpose'.

1

Introduction

1.1 Three perspectives on 'theme'

It is a commonplace in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) - as it could in principle be in any theory of language - that we can look at a phenomenon in the grammar of a language 'from above', 'from below', and 'at its own level'.[9] Although you would not think it from a survey of the literature on 'theme' in SFL - which typically focusses on the realization of 'theme' in clause structure or on 'thematic progression' (for which see Section 2 of Chapter 2), - the concept of a **system network** that expresses **choices between meanings** is the most fundamental concept in SFL. This book seeks to make good this lack by presenting simple yet adequate system networks for the various types of choice in 'theme' - as well, of course, as presenting structural analyses of the various types of 'thematic' structure. And it also asks, for each type of 'theme', what discourse function (or functions) it serves. Here, then, I shall try to bring all three perspectives to bear on the problematical area of 'theme' in English - focussing in particular on the task of building the system networks of choices between meanings in the area - or areas of 'theme'. In Halllidayan terms, we shall be using a 'trinocular' approach to the 'meaning potential' of a language (1970:142).

The recent and current literature on this topic reveals a frustration with the inadequacies of the current published descriptions, and so a need for a clearer understanding of these phenomena - not only in the description of 'theme' in English, but also 'theme' (or its nearest equivalents) in the languages of the world. The first problem, then, is thee lack of good published **descriptions** of 'theme' at the level of meaning.

But for the many linguists for whom a significant part of their work is the analysis of texts, there is a need to have usable **tools** for use in that task. Having a good description of some phenomenon in your hands doesn't necessarily equip you to use it in text analysis. The apparatus for describing texts must be derived from the apparatus for describing the language, but the two are not the same, as we shall see in Section 2, when we consider the difference between the 'potential' as specified in the grammar, and the 'instance' that is one of many possible 'outputs' from the grammar. Yet the distinction between a description of some phenomenon and the derived apparatus for describing texts is a distinction that is not always sufficiently recognized by writers of grammar books, and the result is that the literature of linguistics is full of publications which describe some important aspect of language but which fail to provide the reader with the related tools for describing texts. This book will try to meet this second requirement as well as the first.

9 The research reported here arises out of the COMMUNAL Project. COMMUNAL was supported by grants from the Speech Research Unit at DRA Malvern for over ten years, as part of Assignment No. ASO4BP44, on Spoken Language Understanding and Dialogue (SLUD), by ICL (in Phase 1) and by Cardiff University. However, I would also like to express my personal thanks to the two friends and colleagues to whom I feel most indebted. The first is Michael Halliday, the 'father' of systemic functional linguistics and the linguist to whom I, like many others, owe the basis of my current model of language. However, this has not prevented me from differing from his position on certain points (indeed, as in this book). The second major debt has been to Gordon Tucker, who has been the main co-developer with me of the version of Systemic Functional Grammar that has come to be known as the Cardiff Grammar, and without whom the COMMUNAL Project could not have achieved all it has.

But there is a third challenge. This is that the need for better descriptions and better tools for analysis has to be met at the two levels of **form** and **meaning** - and, if possible, at the level of **discourse function**. This book provides both the descriptions and the tools for analysis at the levels of both form and meaning, and as much help as it can in understanding the discourse functions served by the various constructions. My intention in writing this book, then, is to provide you with better system networks and better structural analyses than those currently available in the published literature of SFL, and to provide guidelines that will enable you to analyze texts in these terms.

As a natural part of the methodology of linguistics in the twenty-first century, I shall draw wherever possible on two uses of computers in linguistics; the modelling of descriptions of languages in the computer, and corpus studies of the structures being considered. The first ensures that the grammars that we construct actually work, and the second is an important source of both (i) hitherto unnoticed data and (ii) statements about the probabilities of the various structures in various contexts.

For reasons that will become clear as this book progresses, I take the following two assumptions as axiomatic:

1that 'thematic' meanings are meanings between which a user of a language chooses, just as we choose between meanings of 'transitivity', 'mood', 'time' and so on, and
2 that the system networks for 'theme', like the systems networks for any other area of meaning, are part of a level of language that must relate, in an appropriate manner, both to what comes 'above' them and to what comes 'below' them.[10]

It is probably true that more work on 'theme' in English has been carried out in the framework of SFL than in any other theory of language. This can only be a tentative claim, because the term 'theme' has been used to cover very large areas of the grammar of English (and other languages) - and the limits of what uses are appropriate are not clearly defined. And it is probably also the case that most - and perhaps all - current functional theories of language have drawn significantly on Halliday's work on 'theme' in the 1960s - or else on the slightly modified version described in his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, second edition 1994, henceforth *IFG*).[11] Since SFL has provided a fruitful framework in the

[10] The construction of systemic functional grammars that are generative proves beyond doubt that 'thematic' choices are intimately interdependent with choices in 'transitivity' (and other systems). They therefore cannot be relegated to some area of 'meaning' that is outside 'true' semantics and that is labelled 'pragmatics', as some scholars have proposed. Indeed, if the word 'pragmatics' were not already in widespread use in a much broader sense, it could be used for the components of a SFL model which consult the various aspects of the 'belief system and then determine which semantic features - in all types of meaning - should be chosen. The interdependence of the systems for 'theme' with other types of system will be illustrated at many points in this book.

[11] Halliday's major contribution came in 'Notes on transitivity and theme', Parts 2 an 3 (Halliday 1967 & 1968), and although he has refined the picture in places in later publications, it remained essentially the same in Halliday 1985 & 1994. He made three great contributions to our understanding of 'theme'. Firstly, he showed that we need to provide two analyses of a clause in terms of what he was later to call its 'textual metafunction': one in terms of its 'informational' meaning and one in terms of its 'thematic' meaning. He has been absolutely consistent, from those early days, in providing two lines of analysis, one for each of the two strands of meaning, in almost every analysis of a text. We can perhaps say that the general acceptance of this important insight by most of the linguistic community was marked by its adoption in the two great comprehensive grammars of Quirk et al of 1972 and 1985. Halliday's second great achievement was simply that of putting this type of form and meaning on the linguistic map. Never again, one would hope, could a major description of a language be produced that did not pay due attention to the array of forms and meanings subsumed under this label. His third remarkable achievement is not (as some have appeared to suggest) that his description of 'theme' in English will stand for all time as the definitive description - because it is almost inevitable that, almost forty years later and with the benefits of corpus linguistics, changes will be needed. His third achievement is the remarkable extent

past for the exploration of 'theme', the attempt that is made in this book to sort out the major remaining problems of this area of English in a SFL framework should be relevant to all who adopt a broadly functional approach to understanding language (and not just to systemic functional linguists).[12]

System networks have their own intrinsic principles of organization, many of which will be exemplified in this book. This is so, even though it is also true that the design of a **system network** is closely interdependent with the design of the accompanying **realization rules** - i.e. the rules that turn the features in the networks into structures and items at the level of **form**. We shall assume here that 'form' is a level of language that includes (i) **items** (both grammatical and lexical), (ii) **syntax** and **morphology** and (iii) **intonation** or **punctuation** - the latter being dependent, of course, on the mode of discourse. So the term 'form' is to be understood here in a broad sense that encompasses all the realizations of linguistic meaning.[13]

1.2 The components of a Systemic Functional Grammar

At this point it may be helpful to provide a brief outline of how a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) works. Here we assume a model in which the **system network** that models the 'meaning potential' of a language constitutes its **semantics**.[14]

A SFG seeks to be both (i) a **descriptive** grammar, and so a grammar that is capable of being used to describe both languages and texts, and (ii) a **generative** grammar, and so one that is so well formalized that it can be run in a computer as part of a text generation system. I take it as axiomatic that work on one type of grammar benefits work on the other, because ultimately both draw on - and contribute to - the same model of language.[15]

to which his delineation of the areas of meaning and form to be covered still coincide with where we would today place the limits of this area of the grammar.

[12] It is a particular feature of SFL that it gives as central a place to paradigmatic relations in language as it does to syntagmatic relation - so to system as much as to structure. But even if you do not share the sense of the centrality of the system networks as strongly as do systemic linguists, you will find that this book provides plenty of structural descriptions as well a systemic descriptions. The systemic descriptions are both of illustrative sentence-length texts and of language as a whole. But there general benefits, I suggest, from viewing a language with at least one eye on paradigmatic relations, as SFL does, as a counter-balance to the over-emphasis on syntagmatic relations of much of the linguistics of the last century.

[13] For a discussion of what makes a 'good' system network good, see Fawcett 1988b. From the perspective of the present discussion, a 'good' system network is one in which (i) the semantic features capture transparently the **meanings** that are realized in the **forms** of the language that are 'below' it, and (ii) the semantic features are able to relate systematically to the various types of 'higher meaning' that may be involved in the input to language itself 'from above' (e.g. an appropriate 'logical form' representing the 'propositional content' and 'purposes', 'discourse planning' algorithms that specify these, 'higher semiotic systems' and so on).

[14] See Chapter 5 of Fawcett 2000 for a discussion of the broad similarities and the relatively minor differences between the generative versions of the Sydney Grammar and the Cardiff Grammar. In the Cardiff Grammar we interpret the system networks of choices in TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME and so on as the semantics, while the current versison of the Sydney Grammar (e.g. as proposed in Halliiday & Matthiessen 1999) treats them as the lower of TWO networks that specify 'meaning potential' - a controversial proposal that is as yet unsupported by a description of either a full set of networks at that level or how their output determines the choices in transitivity, etc.

[15] See Fawcett 2000a:78-81 for a discussion of the fact that we need to recognize that we find both 'text-descriptive' and 'theoretical-generative' strands of work in SFL - as in linguistics as a whole.

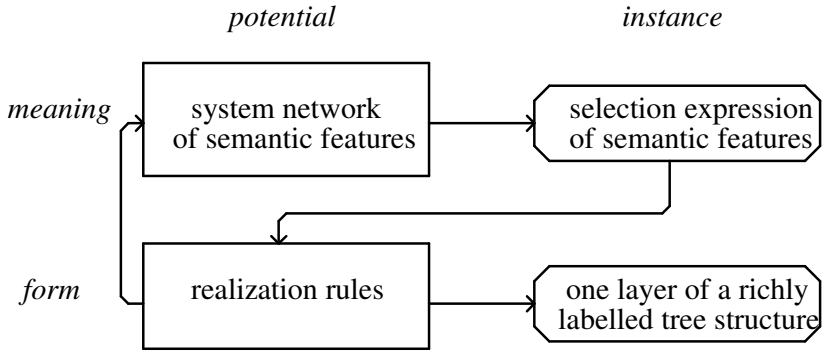


Figure 1:
The main components of a Systemic Functional Grammar and their outputs

The process of generation is controlled by the **system networks**. These model the 'meaning potential' of the language, and they consist of statements about relationships between semantic features. One uses a system network by 'traversing' it, collecting semantic features as one goes. The concept of a 'system network' will be illustrated at many points in this book.

Figure 1 shows (i) the two main components of the grammar of a language (on the left hand side), and (ii) their outputs (on the right). As the label above the two main components suggests, the grammar specifies the two main 'potentials' of a language: one at each of the two levels of **meaning** and **form**. Figure 1 also shows the two types of 'instances' - i.e. the outputs from each of the two components.

As the arrow leading from the level of meaning to the level of form shows, semantic features in the system networks generate the 'richly labelled' syntactic structures of the language - but not directly. A traversal of the system network typically results in a **selection expression** - this being the set of semantic features that have been chosen on that traversal of the network. This set of semantic features constitutes both (i) the representation at the level of **meaning** of the unit of the text-sentence that is currently being generated, and (ii) the input to the level of **form**.

The selected semantic features are then checked against the **realization rules**, and the rules that match the features are then applied. It is these that specify the 'form potential' of the language.[16]

The output from the realization rules is added to the structure being generated, and it typically consists of: (i) one syntactic **unit**, (ii) its **elements**, and (iii) the **items** that expound them - unless an element is to be filled by a further unit (for which see below). In comparison with other theories of language, the 'nodes' of a SFL representation are, as the label on the output at the level of form says, 'richly labelled' - as will be shown in many of the analyzed examples that we shall meet.

While the statements in most realization rules build structures, one type directs us to re-enter the system network (as indicated by the arrow on the left of Figure 1) to generate another unit. The generation of the tree structure of a complete text-sentence usually requires several such re-entries to the system network - and we shall see the results of such 're-entries' in the analyses in Figures 7 to 11. For a much fuller discussion of the implications of this

[16] The tasks of the realization rules, then, are (i) to insert a new unit in the structure currently being generated, (ii) to insert the required elements of that unit, ensuring that they are in the right sequence (with enormous variations being possible in the clause), and (iii) to ensure that they are expounded by the right items. While all these matters are attended to in the fullest detail in the very large computer model of English from which the present description is extracted, in this book we shall not need to concern ourselves with the technical details of the realization rules, because their function will be cleaer from the examples of analyzed examples.

diagram, see Chapter 3 of Fawcett 2000a, and for a full account of how a SFG works see Fawcett, Tucker & Lin 1993.

This model of language, with its clear distinction between two levels, is found in all fully explicit versions of SFG, i.e. in both the Cardiff and the Sydney version od SFG. This fact can be clearly seen by comparing Figure 1 above with the figure on p. 102 of Matthiessen and Bateman's definitive account (1991) of how the computer implementation of Halliday's 'Nigel' Grammar works.

It will be clear, then, that in the version of SFL assumed here - i.e. that of the Cardiff Grammar - fully semanticized versions of the system networks for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME, etc. are regarded as constituting the level of meaning in a language, and so as the **semantics** of the language.[17] However, despite the point made above about he system networks in the Sydney Grammar (the version of SFL developed by Halliday, Matthiessen and others) are described as defining the 'meaning potential' of the language so that, despite a number of important differences, we can for present purposes treat them as being intended to be at broadly the same level as the semantic system networks in the Cardiff Grammar. I say 'broadly the same level' because Halliday merely describes his grammar - and so also the networks in Matthiessen 1995 and in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 - as having been 'pushed fairly far ... in the direction of the semantics' (*IFG*, p. xix). But the equivalent networks in the Cardiff Grammar have been pushed ALL the way to the semantics, so that they ARE the semantics. The system networks for the various types of 'theme' presented in this book are therefore offered as replacements for those currently available in the framework of the Sydney Grammar, e.g. as in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:80. The present networks are not only more explicitly semantic than those of Halliday and Matthiessen; they are also (as I shall show at various points) more comprehensive. And they are related to the other system networks in a very different way - one which has emerged as the natural way to relate them in a fully explicit and so computer implementable version. It is the fact that these networks are both comprehensive and have passed this stringent test that gives me the confidence to suggest that they provide a sounder framework for analyzing texts than other currently available networks.[18]

[17] Thus I interpret Halliday's term 'meaning potential' straightforwardly, i.e. as meaning 'the set of possible choices in meaning'. I do not interpret it as 'a set of choices which have the potential for REALIZING meaning'. Butler (2002:65-6) suggests that the latter is a possible alternative interpretation, and so a possible source of the confusion caused by Halliday's varied uses of the term.

[18] In many of his writings in the 1970s, Halliday took the same position as that taken here on the level of language at which the system network of a language's meaning potential belongs; i.e. that the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME are **semantic** systems. However, he has since retreated from this major claim to one that is closer to his position in the 1960s. He now suggests that there is a higher stratum of system networks that model the semantics of a language, and that the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME are, after all, at the level of form. For a critical review of the changes in Halliday's position on this issue up to 1985, see Butler (1985:77-81), and for a picture of changes from the 1960s to the late 1990s see Chapter 4 of Fawcett 2000a. However, there are many systemic functional linguists who do not accept the position taken in Halliday's recent statements, including all who work in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar and at least some of those who work within the general framework of what we may call, by analogy, the 'Sydney Grammar'. In this book, I shall take Halliday 1994 and Matthiessen 1995 as representative of the lexicogrammar in the Sydney Grammar.

The Cardiff Grammar is described in works by Fawcett e.g. (1980, 1987, 1996, 1999, 2000a, b and c and forthcoming a and b), Fawcett & Huang 1995, Huang 1996, Huang & Fawcett 1996, Tench 1996, Tucker (e.g. 1996a & b, 1997, 1998), and others. Its computer implementation is called COMMUNAL and is described in Fawcett (1988a), Fawcett, Tucker & Lin 1993, etc. For an annotated bibliography of the 130 or so published works that relate to the Cardiff Grammar and COMMUNAL, see Fawcett 1998. One of the purposes of our work is to demonstrate that the problems found in Halliday's framework for describing English (and other languages) can be overcome within the framework of SFL - and so to strengthen SFL's claim to be a modern, comprehensive theory of language, i.e. one that is sufficiently complete in its coverage to be able to be used for the analysis of texts at the levels of both form and meaning, and sufficiently explicit to be implemented in computer models of human communication.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to regard the networks presented here as in some sense complementary to those in the Sydney Grammar - e.g. as a model of the level 'above' the 'theme' networks presented in Matthiessen 1995 and Halliday & Matthiessen 2004. Both the system networks presented here and the structural analyses are offered as replacements for - and I hope improvements on - those offered in Halliday & Matthiessen 2004.[19]

Most - though not all - of the chapters of the book describe one of the various types of 'theme' in English. Following the 'trinocular' approach to the problem of understanding the nature of 'theme', each of these chapters includes sections on (i) 'form' and (ii) 'meaning' (these usually being presented, however, in one combined section), and (iii) 'the Performer's discourse purposes' - and there are occasional other sections, as appropriate. So you will find in this book diagrams showing (i) system networks, (ii) semantic representations of text-sentences (i.e. in terms of the key semantic features in the **selection expressions** from which they are generated; and (iii) representations of text-sentences in terms of their **functional syntax**, i.e. a 'richly labelled tree structure'. You will also find a verbal description of the discourse functions that the structures serve.[20]

We are now ready to specify the range of data for which we shall try to provide an explanation. And, since it is easiest to do this in terms of the items at the level of form, this is where we shall start.

1.3 Functional syntax: the systems for 'theme' viewed 'from below'

As we have seen, it is the system networks that constitute the 'heart' of a SFL model of language. But a specification of the data to be covered in terms of their semantic features would be hard to interpret without at the same time seeing their realization at the level of form. So we shall begin by asking: What do the systems for 'theme' in English look like when viewed 'from below'? This involves, in principle, a description of both the **items** that expound the meanings and the functional structures of the **syntax** that relates them to each other.

[19] This is the relationship that one leading systemic linguist has suggested (personal communication) might hold between Halliday's system networks for the 'meaning potential' of TRANSITIVITY and the explicitly semantic system networks for TRANSITIVITY that I have proposed (e.g. Fawcett 1980, 1987, 1996 and forthcoming b). And the same approach might be taken here. But in my view both Halliday's and my networks lie within the lexicogrammar, i.e. they are system networks whose meanings are directly realized in structures at the level of form. For a fuller statement of this position, see Chapter 3 of Fawcett 2000a.

[20] One might think that, in principle, we should pay as much attention to what comes 'above' the system networks as to what comes 'below' them. But the empirical fact is that, in a SFG, the features in the networks are tied more intimately to their realizations at the level of form than they are to the various discourse purposes that motivate choices between them. Another way of putting this is to say, essentially as Saussure did almost a century ago, that the meanings that are selected in the system networks and the forms that are found in the structures are the two complementary halves of a 'linguistic sign' (Saussure 1916/74, Fawcett 1983 & 2000a:33-44).

One proposal for showing the different relationships between what comes 'above' and what come 'below' the system networks is to see form and meaning as together being the 'realization of what comes above, a concept that Lemke has termed 'metareduncancy' (1984). In the Cardiff approach we consider that, while this claim provides an interestingly different perspective on the model, it makes no practical difference to how the model works, and we therefore dispense with the added conceptual complexity that this proposal introduces. We regard the establishment of the relationship with what comes 'above' the system network as an empirical question, and the theory behind our model arises from our experience in making it work in a computer-implementable manner. Our experience in exploring this question is that the mechanisms that relate the 'discourse purposes' to the semantic features in the system networks are ones that are different from the realization rules that relate the semantic features to their realizations as items, syntax, morphology and intonation or punctuation. (At later points in this book that rather over-general statement will be expanded, and references will be given to works that describe these mechanisms.)

The full set of structural phenomena that have been described by scholars as realizations of 'theme' is extremely wide. The best answer that can be given is that in almost all cases the 'thematized' element occurs early in the clause.[21] However, while this generalization holds good for English and many other languages, we should note that in other major world languages the nearest equivalent meanings are realized in very different ways. I emphasize the word 'nearest', because on close study the supposed 'equivalence' is usually found to be incomplete. The most widely discussed language in which 'theme-like' meanings are realized in a form other than that of coming early in the clause is Japanese, but the same general point applies to other languages, such as Tagalog. In his valuable survey of 'theme' in a diverse set of eight languages from different parts of the world (from the Sydney Grammar's perspective), Rose points out (2002:111) that 'some languages ... indicate topical Theme by a nominal adposition [i.e. a prepositional or post-positional item] or special pronoun, rather than by sequencing'. This supports the view that there is no necessary connection between 'coming early in the clause' and 'realizing a thematic meaning'. And the clear corollary is that no linguist - and especially no functional linguist - should infer too readily that the set of phenomena that have the characteristic of occurring early in the clause in English have a corresponding generalized meaning at the level of semantics.[22]

The underlined portions of Examples (1a) to (9) below represent some of the most widely recognized types of 'theme' in English. But there are other important types, all of which we shall come to in due course, so these examples don't illustrate all of the eight types to be recognized here. Furthermore, there are quite a few other phenomena that are treated as types of 'theme' in the Sydney Grammar - but not in the Cardiff Grammar - so these are omitted here. (The reasons for omitting them are given in Chapter 14.) Note that in (1a), (1b) and (5) the underlining shows that the example illustrates two different types of 'theme' - and two of the same type in (2). Some of the other examples also include more than one type, but at this point I only want to draw attention to the one that is underlined.

(1a) Last night Ivy and half a million others watched the new Tom Hanks film.
(1b) Last night the new Tom Hanks film was watched by Ivy and half a million others.
(2) She went to bed at eleven and (...) was asleep within half an hour.
(3a) Tom Hanks' performance I really liked.
(3b) I've seen King Lear several times - (but) Coriolanus I haven't seen.
(3c) Unsubstantiated dismissals of major new productions don't deserve to be read, but well-supported criticisms we should welcome.
(4) However, French's review does make a few valid points.
(5) Perhaps it's quite a good thing to be counter-suggestible.
(6) Luckily, a good many linguists have that quality.

[21] In the framework of a grammar influenced by the transformational generative tradition, the term 'thematized' would be likely to be interpreted as implying the application of a 'movement rule', i.e. a rule that moved the 'thematized' element from some unmarked' position later place in the structure to a given place at or near the start of the clause. But is a systemic functional grammar there is - or should be - no such implication. The thematization of an element is simply the PLACING of the element at an early position in the clause, as the realization at the level of form of a choice of a 'thematic' meaning.

[22] For a fine overview of studies of the *wa and ga* particles in Japanese and for her own position, see Hori's article on 'Subjectlessness and honorifics in Japanese (1995:151-9); for a note on 'theme' in Tagalog see Martin 1992:434. For a brief discussion of 'theme' in Japanese, Tagalog and other languages from the Sydney Grammar perspective, see Matthiessen (1995:586-9), and for an excellent and much fuller discussion of more languages see Rose 2001. Understandably, the descriptions he draws on use what are essentially adaptations of the *IFG* framework, and it would be interesting to see how different they would be if the English description from which the systems for those other languages were adapted had been the system networks and their realizations in structure described here. Sadly, however, none of these studies actually offer system networks for the various types of 'theme' in those other languages.

(7) It's evidence from large quantities of text that I value most.
(8) It's absolutely wonderful that it's more readily available these days.
(9) There's a bee in Ivy's hair.

At this point we shall not examine the syntactic structure of these examples and nor will we discuss them further. But in Chapters 2 to 13 each will be examined in detail, and I shall present structural analyses for each type - as well as providing semantic analyses for many of them.

However, there are two general aspects of the structural realizations of 'theme' on which I should make my position clear from the start. We who work in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar see the contributions of the 'themes' to the structure of the English clause rather differently from the way that Halliday sees them - vital though his early work was in opening up the awareness among linguists of the importance of this strand of meaning. Perhaps the most fundamental difference is that, unlike Halliday, we do not see the clause as having a 'Theme-Rheme structure' - and so the two elements of a 'Theme' and a 'Rheme'. Interestingly, this approach, which is derived directly from the work of Danes (1974) is simply assumed to be right, e.g. in the analyses of examples throughout *IFG* (pp. 37f.) and in the many derived works. Yet neither Halliday nor Matthiessen see it as a claim that needs to be justified, despite the evidence of many of their own analyses which suggest that, if the Rheme is indeed an element, it is a very odd one. A second major difference for Halliday is that in the Cardiff approach we do not see the clause as having a single 'Theme' element with many sub-divisions within it, e.g. as Halliday does in the examples of 'multiple themes' on p. 56 of *IFG*. Let me comment briefly on these two issues.

Our position on the first issue is simple: we view the elements of the clause that are not types of 'theme' as precisely that - i.e. they are simply elements that are NOT types of 'theme'. Most such 'non-theme' elements come after the 'thematized' elements, but a small number may come before them.[23] In other words, we think that descriptions of English clauses such as those in *IFG* that bring these 'non-theme' elements together and label them as the 'Rheme' do not provide any greater sense of explanation than would be achieved by simply leaving the box labelled 'Rheme' blank. Indeed, labelling it as the 'Rheme' brings a whole raft of problems with it that are better avoided. One is that the 'Rheme' of a clause - in those grammars that recognize it - usually turns out to be a strangely large 'element' in the 'thematic' line of the representation. It is typically so large that it corresponds to several 'experiential' elements. The effect of labelling them all as the 'Rheme' is to give a misleading impression that these other elements together constitute one large element. And this concept in turn raises serious difficulties for the analysis, because SFL theory in fact predicts that any element that contains 'components' (i.e. other elements) should have a unit between the upper and the lower layers of elements. And so far neither Halliday nor any other scholar has yet said what that unit might be in the case of the elements within the supposed element - or unit - of the 'Rheme'.[24] A further problem with the concept of 'Rheme' is that there are several elements that Halliday treats as types of 'theme' which are no, (as I argue in Chapter 14. If these are not types of 'theme', they would , in Halliday's 'Theme-Rheme' approach need to be treated as types of 'Rheme' - and yet they typically come BEFORE the various 'true' types of 'theme'.

[23] This last claim will seem especially strange to the reader who has learnt about 'theme' through *IFG* and/or the various related works, and the reason why an item such as *it* in *It was a badger that we saw* is not part of the 'Theme' will be explained at the appropriate point - Chapter 9 in this case.

[24] While it is true that the elements within the supposed element of the 'Rheme' are specified in other strands of meaning, this fact does not make them any less elements in their own right, since all of the strands of meaning must be integrated into a single structure at some later point (as I have pointed out see Chapter 7 of Fawcett 2000a).

On the second issue - that of treating 'multiple themes' as being a single 'Theme' as well as being a string of independent 'themes' - we take the position that a simple English clause may contain one or more very different types of Theme, EACH OF WHICH IS A GRAMMATICAL PHENOMENON IN ITS OWN RIGHT. It is precisely this array of different types of 'theme' that are described and justified in Chapters 2 to 14.

The position as we see it, therefore, is that each clause has one or more elements that have one or other of several types of 'thematic' status, and several others that do not - just as there are some elements that have 'experiential' status and some that do not (e.g. the Adjunct *however*). It is particularly significant that, in the representations of the structures that are the output of the Penman computer implementation of Halliday's grammar in Matthiessen & Bateman (1991:109), the box that might have been labelled 'Rheme' is simply left blank. In other words, the grammar works as a sentence generator without any need to use the concept of 'Rheme'. For a discussion of the very considerable implications of this for the theory that underlies Halliday's model, see Fawcett 2000a:131-2.[25]

1.4 Discourse functions: the systems for 'theme' viewed 'from above'

Now let us ask: What does 'theme' look like when viewed 'from above' - i.e. from the viewpoint of the various purposes for which we use the array of constructions that are said to realize 'thematic' meanings? These 'discourse purposes' are, of course those of the Performer of the relevant part of the text; the text itself does not have 'purposes'. Thus, if we start from the viewpoint of the text, we may ask what **function** a construction serves, but if we start from the viewpoint of the person who is producing the text, we ask what **purpose** it serves. So the expressions 'discourse purpose' and a 'discourse function' refer to the same concept, and the difference merely reflects the viewpoint. Both will be used freely throughout this book.

The various 'thematic' constructions realized in the English clause may be used, for example, for the following 'discourse purposes' or 'discourse functions' (this list being representative rather than complete):

(i) to 'set the scene' for a subsequent stretch of discourse in terms of time or space or both - where the 'stretch of discourse' is often longer than the clause in which the

[25] It follows from this that there is no need for the related concept of 'N-Rheme' (where 'N' stands for 'new'), which was introduced in Fries 1992. The concept of 'new' belongs with 'contrastively new' and 'given', and they are a part of the different strand of 'informational' meaning (e.g. as illustrated in Figure 3 in Section 7 of Chapter 3 and Figure 6 in Section 3 of Chapter 7). As Martin rightly says (1992:434), 'Halliday is careful to distinguish Theme from Given, assigning distinct Theme ^ Rheme (realized by constituent sequence) and (Given) ^ New (realized by intonation) structures to the English clause.' So Halliday would be equally careful, presumably, to maintain the distinction between 'Rheme' and 'New'. While I see no value in labelling the elements that are not thematized elements as 'Rheme' (as I have argued in the main text) I support the view that disentangling the 'thematic' and the 'informational' strands of meaning in the clause has been one of Halliday's major contributions. Thus I suggest that the data for the description of which Fries introduces the term 'N-Rheme' can be explained more satisfactorily by recognizing that, when the unmarked Tonic falls on the last lexical item in an intonation unit (to oversimplify a little), it marks THE WHOLE OF THE CLAUSE ELEMENT ON WHICH IT FALLS as 'new'. Given this assumption, I believe that we have a framework that enables us to describe adequately both the 'thematic' and the 'informational' meanings in the clause - without introducing the additional term 'N-Theme'. I believe that Fries would in fact agree, since he writes (199b:335-6): 'I coined the term N-Rheme for **the last constituent of a clause** [my emphasis] - the constituent which is the unmarked location of New Information.' Fries appears, therefore, to be offering the term 'N-Rheme' as a descriptive convenience rather than as a new contribution to SFL theory. But I have to say that I think we would do better to manage without it. The reason is that we owe it to our colleagues and our students to keep the concepts of our descriptive apparatus as clear as possible, and the 'blending' of the metafunctionally distinct concepts of 'rheme' (and so 'theme') with 'new' could give the impression to the unwary that the two strands of meaning are not in fact two, but one.

'theme' occurs - as in the underlined portion of Examples (1a) and (1b) in Section 1.3, where the narrative continues in Example (2);

(ii) to say what the clause is 'about' - a type of 'theme' which is quite often (but certainly not always) the 'picking up' of a referent that can be said to be the 'topic' or 'subject' of the discourse, as in the first clause in (2);[26]

(iii) to express a fairly strong 'affective' feeling about some object, person, event or proposition, as in (3a) and also in the second clauses of (3b) and (3c)[27];

(iv) to express 'contrastive newness', as in the second clause of each of (3b) and (3c) - though this often seems to involve also some expression of the Performer's feelings as well - either implicitly as in (3b) or in an explicit lexical item as in (3c);

(v) to indicate a 'logical relationship with a preceding proposition' as in (4);

(vi) to express the Performer's evaluation of the validity of the following proposition or propositions, as in (5);

(vii) to express the Performer's affective attitude to the following proposition or propositions, as in (6);

(viii) to greatly enhance the prominence of a participant or circumstantial role in the proposition, often (but not necessarily) with the additional meaning of 'contrastive newness', as in (7),

(ix) to greatly enhance the prominence of an evaluative Attribute where the Carrier is filled by an event, as in (5) and (8).

(x) to introduce to the discourse a new person or object in such a way that it is presented for itself alone, as in (9).

Here, then, is a reasonably representative range of the different 'purposes' that are served by the various types of 'theme'. The answer to the question with which we began this section would seem to be pretty straightforward - and it is that, from this perspective, the various types of 'theme' have little or nothing in common with each other. Nonetheless scholars have persisted in seeking some superordinate semantic concept to which they may all be related, and I shall introduce some of these in Section 1.6. Then in Chapter 16 we shall return to this question for a final decision.

1.5 The systems for 'theme' viewed 'at their own level'

I have very little to say at this point about the systems for 'theme' when viewed 'at their own level', because it is the main purpose of this book to develop an adequate description of them. But there are two points that can usefully be made now. The first is the lack of accounts of the **meanings** of the various types of 'theme' in grammars other than SFL grammars - though there are in a few cases useful accounts of some of their discourse purposes. And the second concerns the paucity of published examples of the system networks themselves.

[26] It is this type of 'theme' that has given us the name of the element of the clause that typically does this, i.e. the 'Subject', as the examples of the early uses of this term in the OED show us (as cited in my discussion of the concept of 'Subject' in Fawcett 1999:244-5).

[27] This claim may at first seem implausible for (3b); see Section 5 of Chapter 4 for the justification for making this proposal.

XXX Bring the later material about theme systems occurring all over the network to here?

In many approaches to understanding language, there are statements about the **structures** associated with 'theme', and there are statements about what we are here calling the **discourse purposes** of 'theme'. Thus we find that in each of the two great successor grammars to Quirk et al 1985, Biber et al 1999 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002, there are regular sections for virtually all relevant structures on their discourse purposes. As Biber et al state (1999:41), each section (i) describes the structure under consideration, (ii) presents quantitative corpus-based findings, and (iii) offers a 'discussion' that attempts to account for the way in which 'linguistic features can be said to actually perform particular tasks in discourse'. Huddleston & Pullum provide a far fuller discussion of the details of the structures and, while they emphasize the concept of 'discourse' less, they have regular subsections that discuss the semantics and/or pragmatics of the constructions. Some systemic linguists have been too prone to dismiss this type of insight, which are often related to the cognitive processing of text-sentences, and some of the phenomena that we shall be considering - e.g. those that involve 'contrastive' meanings - require an explanation of their 'discourse purpose' in terms of what the Performer believes to be known already by the Addressee, and so on.

What is missing in all grammars except systemic functional grammars is the concept that there is a representation in terms of system networks that model the 'thematic' meaning potential of the language. In other words, other grammars make statements about syntax at the level of form and about the functions that they serve in discourse, but they fail to say anything about the representation at the intermediate level of meaning. This lack might be seen as an informal type of evidence that they are not needed - and that Halliday was mistaken in his original insight that we need system networks for 'theme' as well as for 'transitivity'. But Halliday was right - and the fact is that the systems for 'theme' in English are so closely interdependent with the other systems of English - and especially those for 'transitivity' - that it would be impossible to make a systemic generative grammar work if one did not include system networks for 'theme' in the overall network. Each of the networks presented in this book will provide its own corroboration of this position.

However, the plain fact is that most accounts of 'theme' - especially 'theme' in English - have focussed almost exclusively on the structures that realize 'thematic' meanings, rather than on the system networks for theme. `And the few that have been published - as we shall see in Section 5 of Chapter 2 - have been strongly influenced by the view 'from below'. In other words, there has been a widespread acceptance of the view that, because the different types of 'theme' in English (and in some other languages) have in common the fact that they involve locating an element of the clause in a relatively early position, they all express the 'same' meaning - even if only at a rather high level of generalization. Moreover, this general concept has led some scholars - including Halliday in *IFG* - to assume that ANY element that occurs early in the clause must be some type of 'theme'. (In Chapter 14, I shall give reasons why we should not treat elements of the clause that always occur early - such as *and* and *because* - as types of 'theme'.)

The only reasonably complete attempt (other than that in this book) to provide system networks for 'theme' in English that are both reasonably full and available to the public is the set of networks presented in Matthiessen 1995. Since Matthiessen's stated purpose is to provide the networks for the structural descriptions presented in *IFG*, we can take them as also being broadly representative of Halliday's view, and so as a replacement for the forty-year-old networks in Halliday 1964/76.

However, I would like to suggest that the system networks for 'theme' presented here express the meanings available in English more simply and transparently than the networks in Matthiessen 1995, and that they are at the same time more comprehensive. Specifically, they

provide for five types of 'theme' that are not covered in Matthiessen 1995.[28] And if they are easier to interpret they should also be easier to use in applications of SFG in various fields in which SFL descriptions are found useful, especially in the analysis of texts. Moreover, they are explicitly at the level of semantics, as the core component of a large systemic functional grammar that can be used both for the generation and the description of texts. They can therefore be used, in ways that I shall illustrate in many of the diagrams in this book, to represent directly the level of meaning in a text.[29]

In this book, then, we shall approach the system networks for the various types of 'theme' predominantly AT THEIR OWN LEVEL and IN THEIR OWN RIGHT - while bringing into the picture at appropriate points the views 'from above' and 'from below'. The patterns of contrasting **purposes** above the system networks and of contrasting **structures** below them will help us to identify the options in meaning that the system networks themselves must offer. But equally important will be the way in which the various system networks for 'theme' relate to each other and to the other networks such as those for 'transitivity' - an aspect that has been seriously under-represented in previous published work. In other words, we shall locate the system networks for the various types of 'thematic meaning' AT THEIR PLACES IN THE OVERALL SYSTEM NETWORK THAT DEFINES THE MEANING POTENTIAL OF THE LANGUAGE.

1.6 Is there a unified concept of 'theme'?

Given the very mixed set of discourse purposes listed in Section 1.4, it seems reasonable to question the widely held assumption that there is what we might call 'a unified concept of theme'. One possible candidate for characterising all of the types of 'theme' in Examples (1a) to (9) is to say that they are all types of 'prominence in the message'. The first problem with this concept is that there are various other types of 'prominence' besides 'theme' - including 'informational' prominence as either 'new' or 'contrastive' (i.e. 'contrastively new') information. A second problem is that the term 'prominence' does not seem a natural cover term to use in the case of some of the types of 'theme' exemplified in (1a) to (9). For example, the 'theme' of the first clause in (2) in Section 1.3, i.e. *she* in *She went to bed at eleven*, lacks 'prominence' in any normal sense of the term. Indeed, this type of 'theme' may be so lacking in prominence that it is ellipted (i.e. left unstated at the level of form), as in the second clause in (2), i.e. *and (...) was asleep within half an hour.* In the approach suggested here (in Chapter 15) *she* in the second clause in (2) is fully recoverable, and is therefore capable of realizing a type of 'theme'. If this is 'prominence' - and it is perhaps arguable that it is a type of 'thematic prominence' - it is an extended sense 'prominence' that many would not find helpful. In any case, we shall find that we need the term 'prominence' at another place in the overall description of English, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

All this suggests that we need to look for either a different label for the overall concept or for a different concept - if one can be found.[30] In Chapters 2 to 12 we shall build up a fuller

[28] The types of 'theme' described here that are not covered in Matthiessen 1995 are: (i) the second (and very rare) type of 'Marked PR Theme' described in Chapter 4, (ii) the second of the two types of 'Experiential Enhanced Theme' described in Chapter 9, (iii) the 'Evaluative Enhanced There' as described in Chapter 10, (iv) the Event-relating Enhanced Theme described in Chapter 11, and (e) the concept of a 'Thematized Process and dependent roles' described in Chapter 14.

[29] Thus they are part of a grammar in which the system networks constitute an attempt to model choices between meanings, and not merely part of a grammar that has been 'pushed in the direction of the semantics' (to cite Halliday's own description of the Sydney Grammar in *IFG,* p. xix). Nonetheless, this difference in the claim about the level at which the system networks operate is not in practice very great in this area of the lexicogrammar (though it is in others, such as MOOD).

[30] In Chapter 15 I shall show why it is necessary to recognize that, despite its apparent lack of 'prominence', there is in fact a 'Subject Theme' in the second clause in (2), even though it is unexpounded. And we shall see the far-reaching implications of accepting this position for those who wish to make a systematic analysis of the

and clearer picture of the enormous range of types of meaning that are covered by the various system networks for 'theme'. Furthermore, we shall discover that these networks do NOT occur in a neat cluster of systems in a 'theme' area of the overall network, as is implied in most introductory SFL texts, but that they are widely dispersed throughout the network. In Chapter 16, then, in the light of what we have learnt by that point about the 'theme' systems of English, we shall return to the question posed at the start of this section, and consider other suggestions that have been made for a concept that might unify all of the meanings of 'theme'. In particular, we shall discuss a suggestion by Matthiessen (1995:514), which picks up and seeks to synthesize a range of proposals among writers on 'theme'.

However, it will useful to anticipate those conclusions, so that the status of the term 'theme' as used in the rest of this book is not in doubt. The logical consequence of what we shall discover is that we need to recognize that the term 'theme' - when used without a modifier - is not really helpful at all. In this book, then, the term 'theme' will be treated as no more than an umbrella label for a broad range of semantic phenomena. It may be that we can argue for a generalizing concept, such as the idea that each type of 'theme' reflects some specified type of 'prominence', or that it is in some sense a 'contextualizing' of the clause, or that it in some broad sense reflects the viewpoint of the Performer.

Of these three possibilities, it is the last that is the most helpful. This is because it enables us to contrast the 'thematic' meanings of the **Performer** with the presentation of elements in a manner that expresses her view of what is 'new', 'contrastively new' or 'given' ('recoverable') for the **Addressee** - the latter meanings being those that are chosen in the 'informational' strand of meaning.[31] (We shall in fact need to refer to the interplay between 'thematic' and 'informational' meanings at various points in this book.)

It follows, then, that in the expressions that we shall use in order to refer to the different types of 'theme' - such as 'Subject Theme' and 'Experiential Enhanced Theme' - the modifiers that distinguish the various types of 'theme' are far more important than the head of the nominal group, i.e. the word 'theme'. However, we shall retain the adjectival form of the word - i.e. 'thematic' - as the name for the 'thematic' strand of meaning - both as a convenient label for the cluster of meanings that structure the message from the viewpoint of the Performer and, on historical grounds, as an acknowledgement of the ground-breaking work on 'theme' by Halliday, Fries, Downing, Berry and others, and indeed before them the members of the Prague School.[32]

The question of whether - or to what extent - it is helpful to think of 'theme' as a generalizing concept is one that we shall return to at the end of the book - and so after we have considered each of the system networks for the various types of 'theme'.

'themes' in texts - both texts in English and, especially, texts in languages such as Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. These are the misleadingly named 'pro-drop' languages; see Chapter 15 for a fuller critique of this name. Note too that it follows from the acceptance of such unrealized elements as Subject Themes that the case for treating the Process in an example such as as the second clause in (2) as a type of 'theme', which is already in my view weak, is weakened even further. Notice that in this cxample the word *was*, which would be pronounced as a weak syllable, lacks 'prominence' of any type - other than that which is has in virtue of being the Operator and the Process of the clause. But no one has yet proposed, so far as I am aware, that every Operator and every Main Verb should be treated as a type of 'theme'.

[31] However, the value of all of these rather general statements will be questioned by the end of the book.

[32] There is one fact to note that may appear to point to a different conclusion about the unity of the types of 'theme'. In the COMMUNAL Project, we have built a computer program whose function is to consult various parts of the Performer's **planning** and **belief systems**, and to make appropriate **decisions** as to which of the various types of 'thematic' meaning it will be appropriate to use in the clause currently being generated (Glover 1997, Fawcett 1997/8). However, these are not the purposes themselves; they simply (though the algorithm itself is far from simple) (i) specify the questions to be asked; (ii) set the sequence in which the questions should be put to the belief system and (iii) modify accordingly the **logical from** that is the input to the system networks and so predetermine the choices.

1.7 The goals of this book

The goal of this book, then, is to provide a framework for understanding the various types of 'theme' that we find in English. It must be a description that is grounded in systemic functional theory; one that has been developed pragmatically, i.e. as a response to the challenge of natural data (especially as found in corpus-based studies); and one that is reasonably comprehensive - while still not claiming to have covered every possible phenomenon that might be a candidate for being considered to be a type of 'theme'. It is moreover a framework that is able to deal with the problems that arise when one tries to apply to the analysis of texts the descriptions of 'theme' in Halliday's *IFG* - and so also in the many introductions to *IFG* and its expansion in Matthiessen 1995.[33]

This book focusses on 'theme' WITHIN THE CLAUSE (and so the text-sentence), and it approaches the relationship between clausal 'theme' and the texts in which the clauses occur through the concept of the 'discourse purposes' served by the various types of 'theme'. This concept, I shall argue, should replace the still quite widely accepted idea that texts can be usefully classified in terms of their patterns of 'thematic progression' - the latter being seen here as essentially an occasional by-product of recurrent patterns of discourse purposes, i.e. as an epiphenomenon (see Section 2.2 of Chapter 2).[34] Nor will we be concerned with clausal 'theme' in relation to possible concepts such as 'hyper-Theme' and 'macro-Theme'. (For a brief and exploratory discussion of these possible concepts, see Martin 1992:437.) It is only when we have a full understanding of the intra-clausal meanings of 'theme' - but illuminated, as I have said, by the evidence 'from above', 'at their own level', and 'from below' - that we shall develop truly satisfactory system networks for theme.

1.8 The role of Figure 2 in this book

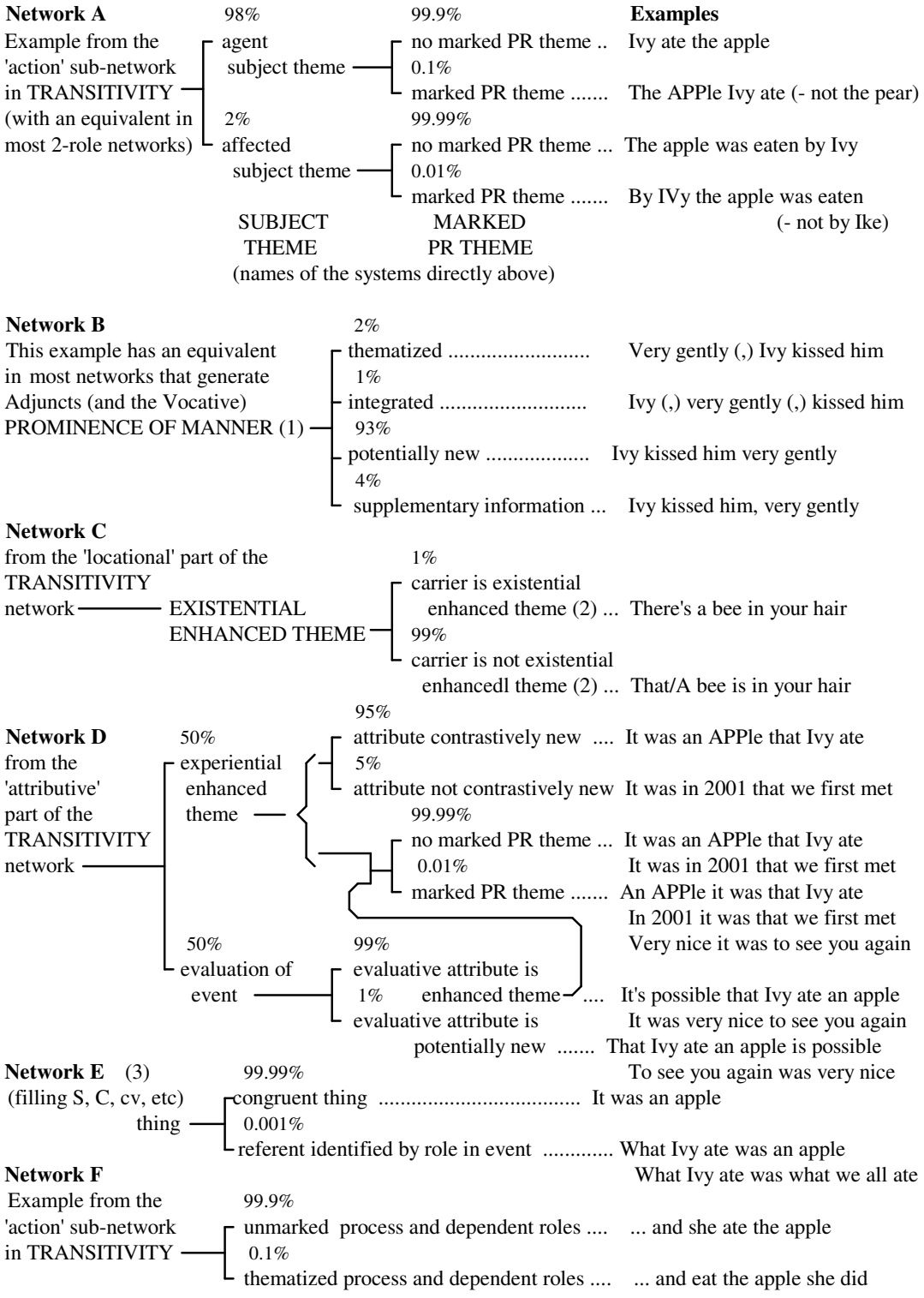
It will be convenient for users of this book to have a summary of the main proposals for the systems for 'theme' in one place - e.g. for consultation when making a semantic analysis of a text. In Figure 2, therefore, I give simplified system networks for the main types of 'theme' in English - all in a single, one-page diagram. A few relatively minor types are omitted, including the thematization of Vocatives and Main Verb Extensions ('particles' in the terms of traditional grammar), but these and the other minor omissions are all pointed out - using a bold typeface - at the end of the relevant sections.

The networks in Figure 2 cannot be used without the supporting explanations provided in the chapters that describe them, together with the analyzed examples given there. These are necessary, both as a guide to how to interpret the networks, and in order to understand why the choices in 'theme' are presented in these terms rather than in the ways set out in other SFL approaches to 'theme' - notably in Halliday's *IFG* and in Matthiessen 1995.

[33] One of these that is resolved in the right way in Martin, Matthiessen & Painter's useful guide to *IFG* (1997: 29) is that they point out that there is indeed a Subject and so a Subject Theme in examples such as (2). On the other hand it is odd to find them arguing (p. 34) that *there* in examples such as (9) is a 'topical [i.e. 'experiential'] theme'. Yet they do so, interestingly, on grounds that have at least some some similarities to the argument for the analysis in terms of 'thematic build-up' offered here, in Chapter 7.

[34] However, I should make it clear that I have strong reservations about the value of analyzing (and so classifying) texts in terms of any one aspect of the development of their meaning, such as its 'thematic development'. The position that I would wish to take - and it is one with which I would have thought all systemic functional linguists would agree - is that each strand of meaning contributes, in its own way, to the 'progression' or 'development' of a text. It is the MULTI-STRAND ANALYSIS of the text that gives a systemic functional analysis its richness and its power, and the greatest insights in text analysis typically come from the interplay between two or more strands of meaning.

In some of the later chapters of the book - and particularly in Chapter 13 - I shall explain why certain phenomena that Halliday has suggested should be treated as types of 'theme' (such as Linkers, Binders and initial *wh*-items) are NOT treated here as 'theme' - and so why they do not appear in Figure 2.



Notes

(1) Many other types of meaning - both experiential and non-experiential - are expressed through Adjuncts. Almost all enter similar systems to this, but the probabilities often vary greatly from those shown here.

(2) These probabilities reflect the proportion of ALL 'Carrier + Location' clauses. But if the Carrier is 'indefinite' the probabilities change and [carrier is existential enhanced theme] becomes 99.9% probable.

(3) This system only affects a 'theme' when the 'thing' fills the Subject, and so is the Subject Theme.

Figure 2: Simplified system networks for the major types of ‘theme’ in English
(For the essential supporting explanations, see the relevant chapters.)

2

A selective overview of the literature on 'theme'

2.1 The topics to be covered in this overview

I shall not attempt to survey all of the large and ever-growing literature on 'theme'. Indeed, no overall summary would be possible, because there is no general agreement in linguistics as a whole as to what the term 'theme' should cover. Nor is there agreement among functionally oriented linguists, nor even among those who work in the framework of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) - the theory that has provided the basis for more work on 'theme' than any other. We cannot secure agreement, for example, that the grammar of 'theme' should be concerned with 'what comes first (or early) in the clause', as the grammar of English might at first seem to suggest. This is because there are major languages in which the nearest equivalent concepts to those treated as 'theme' in English are simply not expressed in this way.

Two fairly recent collections of papers on 'theme' from a functional (and usually SFL) viewpoint are Hasan & Fries 1995a and Ghadessy 1995. For a full and detailed history of approaches to 'theme' see Gomez-Gonzales 2001, and for brief but authoritative overviews by the leading contributor to the field see Fries 1995a:318-3 and Fries 1995b:317-59.

Interestingly, much of the recent literature on 'theme' does not concern the nature of 'theme' within the clause, but the exploration of the concept that there are different types of 'thematic progression' - and that these different types of 'thematic progression' correlate with different types of test - and specifically, types of genre.

Here, then, we shall begin by briefly reviewing the literature of '**thematic progression**' - but only in order to set it aside as an unfruitful approach, for reasons that I shall explain. After that we shall evaluate some of the literature that describes the **structures** that realize 'thematic' meanings, then the literature concerning the **discourse functions** expressed in 'thematic' meanings and structures - and finally the literature of the **semantic systems** for 'thematic' meanings.

2.2 The literature of 'thematic progression': a critical survey

Arising out of his work on 'theme' in the general framework of the Prague School, Danes (1974) proposed that there are three different types of 'thematic progression':

(i) the 'simple linear' type, in which the Theme is picked up from the Rheme (i.e. any element that is not a Theme) of the previous clause;
(ii) the 'constant' type, in which the same Theme (i.e. the same referent) occurs in each clause; and
(iii) the 'derived hyperthematic' type, in which the clausal Themes are derived from a 'hypertheme', such as a heading.

Fries (1981) gave Danes' proposals renewed interest when he suggested the interesting hypothesis that there may be a correlation between the type of thematic progression and the genre type of the text. However, he later broadened his investigation of what he termed the 'method of development' of a text (specifically, the development of a paragraph of written text) to include other relevant concepts such as 'lexical chains' and 'reference chains'. These concepts were already well known, from the work of Halliday & Hasan (1976), as factors that

contribute to the 'cohesion' of a text, but Fries was additionally suggesting that they contribute to its 'method of development'. He related these concepts to his primary interest in 'theme' through a second hypothesis, namely that it is the **experiential** information in the Themes of the sentences of a paragraph that creates the 'method of development' of a paragraph.

We should note at this point that two influential works by Halliday and Martin, both written in the light of Fries 1981, repeat Fries' proposal as if it had already become an established 'fact'. And the effect of this was, of course, to help it to become even more widely accepted as 'fact'. Halliday, for example, wrote (1985:67) that 'the thematic organization of the clause .... expresses, and so reveals, the method of development of the text', and Martin (1992:434-5) presents Fries' hypothesis in a similar light. But what status does Fries himself give to his proposal? In two papers (Fries 1995a and 1995b) he summarizes the past and possible future research in this area, under the headings of four 'hypotheses' (the two cited above and two others). And, in contrast with Halliday and Martin, he is careful to present them as hypotheses rather than as generally accepted beliefs - though clearly they are hypotheses for which he still believes it is worth seeking supporting evidence.

The crucial question is 'How strongly do detailed studies of texts support Fries' first hypothesis?' Fries himself (1995b:322-3), in his authoritative summary of the then current state of play in work on 'method of development', rightly gives considerable space to the meticulous studies by Francis (1989 and 1990) and Bäcklund (1992). And he demonstrates an admirable objectivity in summarising evidence from these works that clearly undermines his own earlier hypothesis, writing as follows:

> In Fries 1981 I had predicted that [the] argumentative expository genre should use Danes' first pattern of thematic progression (linear thematic progression).[35] Francis found some examples of this pattern of development in her expository texts, but these texts also contained **many unexplainable exceptions to this pattern** [RF: my emphasis]. The exceptions were so varied that she was unable to discover any general pattern of thematic progression in her expository texts. She described the situation in the following terms: 'There is an extraordinary diversity here, and it is difficult to see a Theme-Rheme pattern emerging, even at paragraph level.' (Francis 1989:215)
>
> (Fries 1995b:322-3)

And, as Fries points out, Bäcklund (1992) reaches a similar conclusion in her study of a very different class of texts, telephone conversations. Fries clearly accepts Francis' and Bäcklund's conclusions, but he nonetheless ends his chapter (p. 354) with the statement that we should continue to explore this hypothesis, and with a call for further studies that are based on far more data than the studies carried out so far. No doubt he feels that even more evidence is required before we finally abandon this initially attractive hypothesis.

However, there is another conclusion that could reasonably be drawn from the evidence that Fries presents. This is that we should NOT expect to find a simple correlation between different patterns of thematic progression and different text types. As Fries himself says:

> one should expect the grammatical structures used in ... texts (including choice of Themes) [and so patterns of 'thematic progression'] to change as one or another **purpose** [RF: my emphasis] is addressed.' (Fries 1995b:323)

[35] In this type the content of the Theme of a second sentence (Theme 2) derives from the content of the previous Rheme (Rheme 1), the content of Theme 3 derives from Rheme 2, etc.

And he concludes this section of his chapter by saying that 'it is clear that hypothesis 1 does not account for all the data.' He even suggests a new direction in which research might go when he says that 'it is possible that it may be improved by integrating a view of text structure.' Later, he appears to give a hint of the sort of framework for analyzing 'text structure' that might shed light on why specific Themes get selected, when he says of one text that 'significant portions .... can be viewed as elaborations of several basic sentences' (Fries 1995b:353). The word 'elaboration' is a technical term in Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), as developed by Mann & Thompson (e.g. 1987), and here it seems possible that Fries is recognizing that the rhetorical structure relations that are internal to the genre structure of a text may be a factor that affects the choice of a Theme. This in turn ties in with a third hypothesis that he mentions, namely that 'the experiential content of Themes correlates with **different generic elements of structure within a text** [RF: my emphasis]' (Fries 1995b:319).

Matthiessen makes a similar point even more strongly when he writes (1995: 576) that 'there is good evidence that the method of development [of a text] is embodied in the rhetorical organization of the text as it is stated in terms of Rhetorical Structure Theory'. He then goes on to give examples of how a rhetorical structure relation of 'contrast', may affect the choice of Theme. Thus he comes close to saying that the choice of theme depends on the performer's purpose.[36] If one were to be limited to the use of descriptive frameworks available within Hallidayan SFL, which includes RST, this is indeed the way to go. However, I think that there is an even more promising way forward that emerges when we take a cognitive-interactive approach to language use, and I shall shortly introduce this alternative.

One important recent corpus-based study of the structure of discourse - specifically, the genre of appointment-scheduling dialogues - is that reported in Taboada & Lavid 2003. They rightly give central places to analysis in terms of (i) the elements of the text's genre structure and (ii) the RST relations through which these are expressed - as well as also applying the radical revision of Danes' framework proposed in Dubois (1987). This adds, as they say, 'a few new types', and their use of Dubois' framework resulted in a further significant modification to the already greatly modified descriptive framework. Thus they accept the three major modifications to the model that Dubois introduces, and add a further significant one of their own.

The first of Dubois' modifications to Danes' model is the recognition that a sequence of instances of a pattern is not required to be 'contiguous', and that it may be 'gapped'. The effect of this modification is that it seriously weakens the claim about the patterns the model predicts, because we then have the new problem of relating that pattern to whatever it is that happens in the intervening clauses. Dubois' second modification is the recognition (long overdue in such studies) that many clauses do not have just one theme, but several types of theme. The effect of this is to recognize, in turn, that each of the different themes in a clause with multiple themes may enter into different types of thematic patterning - assuming for the moment that some remnant of the concept of 'thematic patterns' remains plausible. Indeed, Taboada & Lavid record that in their texts a massive 60% of the clauses have 'multiple themes' (p.163), so that this challenge to the descriptive framework is clearly a very serious one. Thirdly, like Dubois, they reject the concept of 'hypertheme' as 'poorly defined' (p. 155). Finally, they introduce a new type of 'thematic progression', in order to handle cases when a Theme has not been mentioned before in the text. This is their 'New' type - a type

[36] I was tempted to insert, before 'close' the word 'perilously'. This is because, as a central figure in the Sydney School of SFL, Matthiessen would normally emphasize the social rather than the cognitive aspects of how texts come into being - following Halliday's pithy dictum 'I stop at the skin'. My view, as will be clear, is that any satisfactory explanation of the structure of discourse must embody aspects of both the social and the cognitive - hence our characterization of the Cardiff Model as 'cognitive-interactive'.

that is indeed needed in most studies of real text. These modifications are just the sort of change that good, text-based studies almost invariably suggest when over-simple models (such as that of Danes) are tested in this way.

What do Taboada & Lavid's results show? Firstly, that in 44% of cases the most frequent pattern of 'thematic development' was Danes' second type - the 'constant' one - but that almost two thirds of such cases were 'gapped'. In other words, in approaching half of Taboada and Lavid's corpus, the interlocutors followed the 'standard' pattern' (as we might call it) that the Theme was a referent that had been the Theme of an earlier clause - but that IN TWO THIRDS OF SUCH CASES IT WAS NOT THE THEME OF THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING CLAUSE! So how far it this a pattern? It is clear that we need to modify the claim made in Danes' original hypothesis so severely - i.e. by allowing this type of 'gapping' - that it is now so weak a claim that it is unilluminating. It can no longer be considered to constitute an 'explanation' of how texts develop.

A second significant result of Taboada and Lavid's study was that the second most frequent pattern was not any of the four types suggested by Danes, but THE TYPE IN WHICH THERE WAS NO EXPERIENTIAL ANTECEDENT AT ALL IN THE TEXT. Thus 36% of their clauses were, by their very nature, excluded from the possibility of showing 'thematic development', in the original sense of the term. So Danes' first type - the 'linear' pattern in which the Theme is an element taken from the 'Rheme' of the previous clause, and so not its Theme - was NOT the second most frequent, as one might expect if the general concept of 'thematic progression' was to be supported. Finally, it is interesting to note that, despite the enormously greater tolerance of a framework that allows both gaps in the occurrences of the defined patterns and Themes that are new to the text, over 10% of the clauses in their text could still not be analyzed in terms of the categories that Taboada & Lavid, greatly extending the categories Danes and Dubois, decided to recognize.

To summarize: Taboada & Lavid have made every possible modification to the framework of concepts proposed by Danes in an effort to find a way to make it work. Yet, taken together, the results of their study suggest that the categories of the various models of 'thematic progression' that have been proposed do not in fact provide a helpful model of relations within real life texts. And this is quite apart from the question of whether they help to EXPLAIN how and why texts develop in the ways that they do. Thus Taboada & Lavid's meticulous yet imaginative study not only provides an insightful description of the genre that they set out to examine, but it also provides evidence that enables us to evaluate the descriptive framework that they are attempting to apply - and so the theoretical implications that underlie it. The conclusion must be that, even with the modifications to Danes' original suggestions by both Dubois and Taboadi & Lavid, the framework fails to provide a useful framework for describing this type of genre - and so probably, given the similar findings from other studies reported above and below, for other genres.

There is a further study of the concept of 'thematic progression' that deserves mention. This is Crompton's incisive, corpus-based critique of the claims about this concept made in the SFL literature (Crompton 2004). He too examines previous work reporting text-based investigations of the hypothesis that texts are organized in terms of patterns of 'thematic progression' (including various works other than those cited here), and he reaches broadly similar conclusions to those presented here (the first version of which was written before his paper appeared). In summary, he writes (2004:244) that 'overall, these findings suggest that, rather than being a discourse norm, homogeneity of TP [thematic progression] may be associated with narrative texts' - and so not, he implies, with other types of text. And he concludes: 'the ... claim that all or most texts have a Theme-based MOD (Method of Development] [does not] seem to me to be tenable.'

Fries' own diminishing confidence in the value of the concept that types of 'thematic progression' correlate directly with genre type (as described above) is reflected in an interesting change in the wording of Halliday's statement on the place of 'thematic

progression' in the second edition of his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. In 1985 he had assigned it a key role in explaining the structure of text when he wrote (as we saw above) that 'the thematic organization of the clauses .... **expresses, and so reveals** [my emphasis], the method of development of the text'. But by 1994 he was making the much weaker claim that 'the thematic organization of the clauses .... is **the most significant factor** [my emphasis] in the method of development of the text'. And even Fries himself was writing by 1995 that 'work on thematic progression has only weakly supported hypothesis 1 (1995b:320).[37]

It is therefore time to ask this question: 'What is it that the hypothesis about types of "thematic progression" was set up to try to explain?' Fries states (1995b:320) that 'thematic progression concerns **where Themes come from** [my emphasis] - how they relate to other Themes and Rhemes of the text.' The question 'Where do Themes come from?' is a good one, but the second half of Fries' statement seems to imply that the answer lies in the patterns of the relations with other Themes - rather than looking beyond the text, as I shall suggest that we should, to the **discourse purposes** of the Performer of the text. And these, I suggest often relate directly to the categories of Mann & Thompson's model of Rhetorical Structure. It seems to me that the findings of Francis, Bäcklund and others (including my own unpublished observations) do NOT suggest that we need more studies that look for support for 'hypothesis 1', but that we need instead a rather more sophisticated model of 'where Themes come from' than that suggested over thirty years ago, against the background of a very different set of assumptions, by Danes.

One attractive alternative view is to start from the recognition that choices in 'theme' are made - normally quite unconsciously of course - by the Performer (or Performers) of a text as that text unfolds, as a consequence of the 'purpose' (or 'goal' of the Performer at any given point in an unfolding discourse. This requires in turn a **socio-cognitive** model that shows how a text typically develops dynamically, as the result of decisions made by one or more Performers. In making their decisions, each such Performer is sensitive to where they are in the potentially quite complex structure of the discourse that has been built up to that point. In other words, the model should provide specifically for the **discourse planning** that must logically be being carried out when texts are being produced - whether by the solo or multiple Performers - as they negotiate their way forward. And this is always done in the framework of the discourse structure that has been built so far.[38]

If the socio-cognitive framework that I have tried to evoke in the above brief and informal description is even partly justified, we need to allow that the decision to present some entity that is to be referred to in the discourse by the use of some specific type of 'theme' is taken AT EACH OF THE MANY SPECIFIC POINTS IN THE DISCOURSE AT WHICH CHOICES REALIZED THROUGH THEMATIZING CLAUSE ELEMENTS OCCURS. And since human discourse is rich and varied - so that there are only 'more typical' and 'less typical' examples of text types - it is

[37] It is interesting that Martin, who was writing at about the same time as Fries (i.e. 1995:228) and who even refers to some of the same studies (e.g. Francis 1989 & 1990), appears to remain completely persuaded of the rightness of Fries' 1981 hypothesis. How hard it is to give up an attractive hypothesis! This is especially so when it has already been incorporated into the accepted wisdom of a theory. But the practitioners of a theory should not allow this to happen until the hypothesis has been adequately tested. Yet this does happen, all too often, in SFL. Fries is to be commended on recognizing that his first hypothesis was just that - a hypothesis and not a fact about language.

[38] For monologue, Rhetorical Structure Theory provides the most useful framework developed so far (e.g. Mann & Thompson 1987), while for dialogue we who work in the COMMUNAL Project use the Systemic Flowchart Model developed by Fawcett, van der Mije & van Wissen (1988), which is in turn a development of the proposals of Sinclair & Coulthard 1972. Fawcett & Davies (1992) shows how to integrate the Rhetorical Structure framework of Mann & Thompson with the dynamic exchange structure model of Fawcett, van der Mije & van Wissen. For the higher structures of the different genre types, we adapt concepts from the SFL literature on genre, e.g. as found in the work of Hasan (1980/85/89), Martin (1992) and Ventola (1987).

not surprising that, when we go looking for hypothetical patterns of 'thematic progression' in real-life texts, we usually find, in the words of Francis (1999:215) cited above, that 'there is an extraordinary diversity'. On the other hand, of course, it is often possible to find short portions of text that do indeed illustrate one or other of Danes' three main types of thematic progression - especially, as Martin points out (1992:437), Danes' concept of a 'hyper-Theme' in a paragraph, aspects of which are taken up as the Theme of its constituent clauses.

But the fact that we can occasionally find examples of texts that illustrate Danes' three patterns neatly should not be taken as evidence that all texts can in some sense be 'explained' as variants of such patterns. Matthiessen (1995:572), for example, uses a passage of geographical description from a guidebook to illustrate two of Danes' concepts, but there is no warning that such examples may be untypical. My view is that, whenever such 'ungapped' strings of types of 'thematic progression' occur, they are simply the result of a series of similar planning decisions by the Performer in a socio-cognitive model of a dynamically unfolding text, resulting from a similar pattern of discourse purposes at a particular point in the discourse structure. Moreover, noting the occurrence of a pattern does not constitute an explanation of that pattern. An explanation must also address the question of WHY the pattern is as it is.

Let me summarize so far. The first major weakness in studies of 'thematic progression' is that the detailed study of texts only occasionally supports the hypothesis that Danes' three patterns of 'thematic progression' correlate with the type of genre. The second major weakness is that the concept of 'thematic progression' does not in fact provide an explanation as to WHY we choose the 'themes' that we do.

However, there are two further weaknesses in many studies of 'thematic progression'. This is that they rest on two assumptions, each of which is, to say the least, suspect. The first suspect assumption is that there is a broad consensus on how to identify and analyze the different types of 'theme' within a clause. While there is certainly some common ground - so that the place of various types of 'theme' is assured in general reference works such as Quirk et al 1985 and Biber et al 1999) - the plain fact is that there is no published account of 'theme' that commands general agreement. Halliday's account, as presented in Halliday 1994, is the most frequently cited, but it has a number of problems, some serious, many of which have been pointed out by more than one scholar. I shall identify these problems at the appropriate points in this book.

The second mistaken assumption that is sometimes made in studies of 'thematic progression' is to assume that anything that might be called a 'Theme' is, in some sense, the same type of phenomenon. By treating all types of 'Theme' as the same phenomenon, it becomes easier to claim to have found evidence for Danes' patterns. Yet often such claims would only be valid if one were to treat a Circumstance such as *last night* in (1a) as having the same status in thematic terms as the Participant *Ivy and half a million others.* Yet one can reasonably say that the clause 'is about' *Ivy and half a million other*, while one could not say that it 'is about' *last week.*[39]

(1a) Last night Ivy and half a million others watched the new Tom Hanks film.

In other words, many studies of 'thematic progression' operate with an over-simple concept of 'theme', in which it is assumed that each clause has just one 'Theme' - and that all 'Themes' are, in some sense, of essentially the same type. A more defensible position - but one that is still problematical - is to analyze only 'experiential Themes'. However, this still leaves the analyst treating *last night* and *Ivy and half a million other* as essentially the same type. If it is the case - as this book will demonstrate - that there are at least eight major types of 'theme', and that each is very different from the others in (i) its meanings, (ii) its discourse

[39] To make this point is to anticipate an argument that will be made in a future chapter.

functions and even (iii) its syntax, then the naature of the claims of the various hypotheses about types of 'thematic progression' become very unclear indeed.

For an introductory discussion of 'Theme in text' which makes a number of valid points about the functions of Themes - but without tying the patterns into specific genres - see Thompson 1996:141-4 and the equivalent pages in Thompson 2004. And for a survey of the literature on the concept which I propose as a replacement for 'thematic progression' see Section 2.4, which is about the **discourse purposes** that are expressed in 'thematic' meanings and structures.

My position, then, is that it is not just 'thematic' meanings that contribute to the development of a text, and nor is it just the types of meaning that Halliday brings together in the 'textual component' (roughly, 'thematic' and 'informational' meanings', which for him also include those that result in the types of 'cohesion' described in Halliday & Hasan 1976). The fact is that EVERY strand of meaning, in its way, has the potential to contribute to the 'development' of a text - just as, to adopt a different perspective on the same question, every strand of meaning contributes to the 'cohesion' of a text. And this, I would have thought, is a position with which all systemic functional linguists would agree. After all, one of the most basic assumptions of SFL theory is the concept that a clause needs to be analyzed in terms of many different strands of meaning, in order to bring out its full range of meanings. Choices in TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, TIME, LOGICAL RELATIONS, POLARITY and so on - in fact choices in every single system network - all contribute, each in its own way, to the 'development' of the text.

2.3The literature concerning the structures that realize 'thematic' meanings

There is a valuable summary of various approaches to the knotty problem of the **meaning** of saying that an element of a clause is its 'Theme' in Fries 1995a. Although Fries provides a wide range of references, there is a remarkably thin literature on the structures that realize thematic meanings in functional linguistics - i.e. on the formal criteria for identifying a 'Theme'. The account of 'theme' in English (or any other language) that is cited most often is that given by Halliday, who states (1970:161) that 'the Theme of a clause is the element which, in English, is put in first position'. But this is simply a way to recognize a 'Theme', and when Halliday wishes to describe its meaning he normally expresses himself in metaphors rather than in a straight description. Thus he describes the Theme of a clause as 'the peg on which the message is hung' (1970:161) or 'the point of departure of the message' (1994:36). Other attempts to provide an overall characterization of 'theme' similarly invoke metaphor, e.g. Fries' statement that 'Theme functions as an orienter to the message' (Fries 1995b:318). The one description that does not, i.e. 'what is being talked about', is by general agreement inadequate as a characterization of the meaning of all types of 'theme'.[40] It is almost as if those functional linguists who investigate 'theme' have agreed that its realization in structure is so obvious that there is nothing to discuss - at least, for those types of theme that are realized in a simple clause.

However, there is now widespread recognition among SFL scholars that Halliday's account of 'theme' brings with it a number of serious problems, both in what counts as a type of 'theme' and what does not, and in terms of their realizations in structure.[41] As Hasan &

[40] See Fawcett 1999 for a critique of Halliday's approach to the meaning of the 'Subject' in English and a comparison with that of the Cardiff Grammar.

[41] There was abundant evidence of this in the questions raised in plenary papers at the 14th Euro-international Systemic Functional Workshop, Lisbon 2002, by Anna McCabe on 'Everything's a Theme! Where's the Value?' and Susanna Shore on 'Thematic Progression and Informational Patterning in Finnish' - and also in the issues that arose in analyzing texts in the workshop convened by Erich Steiner and Elke Teich on 'Applying

Fries rightly say, in the 'Introduction' to their edited book *On Subject and Theme* (1995b), the 'discussion in modern linguistics [of 'theme'] is still surrounded by unresolved problems.'

In my view, the paper that has been the most helpful in pointing the way forward to an improvement on Halliday's proposals in *IFG* for the various types of 'simple theme' appeared over fifteen ago - and four years earlier than the two collections mentioned above. This was Downing's 'An alternative approach to theme' (1991). Drawing on a detailed textual study of H.G. Wells' *A short history of the world* (1922), she stresses the need for a distinction between the two concepts of 'theme' as (i) a 'point of departure' for the message and (ii) 'what the clause is about' (Downing 1991:141). In doing so she challenges one of Halliday's fundamental assumptions, namely that there should be no more than one experiential theme in any one clause - as I too had done in earlier writings (Fawcett 1973/81:169 and 1980:157-64), in both of which I presented the system for SUBJECT THEME as independent of other types of 'thematic meaning'. Interestingly, essentially the same challenge to Halliday's model of 'theme' is found in Berry's concepts that we need to recognize (i) 'basic ideational theme (realized by grammatical subject)' and (ii) 'additional ideational theme (realized by adjunct)' (Berry 1995:79). Downing (1991:119) clearly (and in my view rightly) implies that Halliday's term 'topical theme' should be dropped - since his claim is that it is the 'one, and only one, experiential element' (*IFG* p. 53). Her point is, in her own words, that 'only certain types of ideational theme [i.e. NOT all types] will tell us what the clause is about'.[42] Drawing on Chafe's concept that a clause-initial Adjunct may provide a 'framework' for what follows (Chafe 1976), she then goes on to suggest a useful taxonomy of the 'experiential' functions that a clause element (typically an Adjunct) serves when it occurs early in the clause. Sadly, she offers no treatment of 'non-experiential' initial phenomena, lumping the many different types together under the over-general heading of 'discourse Themes'.[43] However, her useful taxonomy of types of 'experiential' Adjunct can be seen as an early equivalent of the very full range of types of Circumstantial Adjunct that are distinguished in the Cardiff Grammar, e.g. as found in Ball 2002 and in Fawcett (in preparation b).[44]

There has, of course, been a large literature on various aspects of what we are here calling 'theme' in the literature of transformational-generative and its various successors, where it is usually referred to as 'topic'. While I shall occasionally refer to the analyses that have been

Systemic Grammars of Different Languages in Contrastive Textual Analyses - Insights, Problems, Perspectives'. Some of these are addressed at various points in this book, especially in Chapter 15.

[42] In other words, in Downing's view it is not the case that ALL types of 'ideational theme' 'tell us what the clause is about'. For her, the 'certain types of ideational theme' correspond roughly to (i) what we shall here term 'Subject Theme' and (ii) those types of 'Marked PR Theme' that are 'objects' rather than 'qualities'. This last pair of terms reflects her use of the distinction between 'Objects' and 'Complements', which is derived from the traditional one reproduced in Quirk et al. 1985 and many other works. It is not one that I recognize (as Halliday also does not), since the difference between the two types is already provided for by the difference between the Attribute and the other types of Participant Role which may be conflated with a Complement.

Note too that Downing's use here of the term 'ideational theme' should be replaced, strictly speaking, by 'experiential theme', because Halliday's 'ideational metafunction' includes both the 'experiential' and the 'logical' - and Downing, like Halliday, treats 'logical' themes as a completely different type of 'theme'. (For her, however, 'logical theme' seems to be a sub-type of 'discourse theme'.)

[43] Downing says that she is leaving out these other types of 'theme' on the grounds that they have 'been dealt with extensively elsewhere' (i.e. in Halliday & Hasan 1976). However, her category of 'discourse themes' appears to be very much wider than those covered in that work (wide though this is), since it includes what she terms 'subjective and logical frameworks' (p. 128) - and her 'subjective themes' are clearly intended to include the various types of 'evaluative theme' introduced in the previous chapter.

[44] The range of types of Adjunct provided for in the Cardiff Grammar is much fuller than that found in Halliday 1994 or even in Quirk et al 1985.

proposed in that framework in what follows, I shall not attempt a summary of it. This is because its pre-occupation with 'explaining' structures through the concept of movement rules makes it largely irrelevant to a book that takes an explicitly functional approach.

However, as well as the various types of 'simple theme' that we shall encounter in the first few of following chapters, there are a number of types that involve structural complexities of various types. These have presented formal grammarians with a considerable challenge, and they have led to quite large literatures on each. There is a particularly fine description and evaluation of the whole literature of the construction that we call here 'experiential enhanced theme' (also known as the '*it*-cleft construction' and 'predicated theme') in Huang 2003, and I particularly recommend his writings on this topic. The view of this construction presented in Chapter 9 is derived directly from the research of Huang, which he carried out in conjunction with myself.[45]

However, all of the studies mentioned so far have in common one important limitation - except for those by Huang and myself. They are studies of THE STRUCTURES THAT REALIZE 'THEMATIC' CHOICES IN MEANING - so that, from the viewpoint of an inquiry into the systems for 'theme', they provide a view of 'theme' that is 'from below'. They have relatively little to say about 'theme' when viewed 'from above' the level of choices in meaning, or when viewed 'at that own level'. In the next section, then, we shall turn to the literature on the subject of 'theme' when looked at 'from above', and in Section 2.5 we shall look at the literature that describes the system networks of 'theme'.

2.4 The literature concerning the discourse purposes expressed in 'thematic' meanings and structures

If we rule out the literature on 'thematic progression' as having failed to provide an answer to the answer to the question 'Where do Themes come from?' - as we did in Section 2.2 - the literature on the 'discourse purposes' of 'theme' is relatively sparse.

One important early contribution was the work of Prince (1976) - building in turn on Chafe 1976 - which draws on a small corpus consisting of the Nixon tapes.[46] In particular, she provides a detailed discussion of the two constructions that are here called 'experiential enhanced theme' and 'referent as role in event' - i.e. the constructions that are in many grammars called by their transformational grammar names of 'cleft' and 'pseudo-cleft' constructions. For the first of these two important constructions see Chapter 9, and for the second see Chapter 8. However, Huang (1996) has taken these ideas a great deal further in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar, first refining the descriptions of the semantics and the functional syntax of the 'experiential enhanced theme' construction, and then going on to provide a valuable taxonomy of the purposes for which, at certain points in discourse, a Performer may decide to use the construction. (For these see Chapter 9.)

Other researchers at Cardiff working on the COMMUNAL Project have modelled, as part of a computer representation of a communicating mind, the 'micro-planners' that model the way in which the Performer of a text decides to use one or more of the various types of 'theme' that are available in the language (including 'special constructions' such as 'experiential enhanced theme', which we shall meet in Chapter 9). This body of work describes how these algorithms consult various aspects of the model's **belief system**, and then use this information to reach decisions which then **predetermine** the choices in the

[45] For fuller accounts of our approach than there is space for in this book, see Fawcett & Huang 1995 and Huang 1996; for a comparison with the equivalent structure in Chinese see Huang & Fawcett 1996, and for a major work that includes many variants and a full survey of the literature, see Huang 2003.

[46] These are the tapes that secretly recorded all conversations in th Oval Office in the White House, and that eventually provided the evidence that would have led to the conviction of President Nixon, if he had not resigned.

system network. (See Section 5 of Chapter 8 for a slightly fuller picture, and for the relevant references). These studies focus on the most frequent type of 'theme', which we shall here term 'Subject Theme', but in due course equivalent algorithms will need to be developed to motivate the types of 'theme' studied by Huang. These studies, then, present a model of 'theme' as viewed 'from above', and they describe both the concepts and their implementation in the computer. Indeed, I consider that they constitute one of the most significant products of the research project out which the general approach to 'theme' presented here comes. While this book is not the place to give a full description of these detailed algorithms, I shall give you an outline of the model of which they are an important component when I describe the purposes served by the choice of 'Subject Theme' in Section 8 of Chapter 3.

In the framework of the Sydney model of SFL, there is in principle provision for algorithms called 'choosers' to address 'inquiries' to the 'environment' (= roughly the 'belief system' in the Cardiff Model), such that the response to the inquiry tells the grammar which feature in a given system should be chosen. (See Mann & Matthiessen 1983/85 for the general picture, and Matthiessen 1988 for a more detailed but still exploratory account of how such an approach might work.) A more recent project that draws on these ideas is the Dandelion Project, and in Section 6.2 of Ramm et al 1995 there is a sketch of how 'inquiries' may be addressed to what they term the 'text plan', in order to decide between alternative features in a system network for 'theme' in German. Although the description is too sketchy to evaluate properly, it is encouraging that others beside ourselves have at least been (1) drawing system networks for the semantics of 'theme' and (2) considering how various types of 'discourse purpose' may determine choices in the network, and so the resulting constructions.[47]

For a brief account of the equivalent work at Cardiff, see Section 8 of Chapter 3 and Section 5 of Chapter 8.

2.5 The literature concerning the semantic systems for 'thematic' meanings

Finally, we come to the literature on the systems of 'theme' in English when looked at 'at their own level'. Surprisingly, perhaps, this literature is even sparser. Systemic linguists have written extensively about the structures that realize 'theme' meanings, but they have been extraordinarily reluctant to publish system networks for 'theme'.

There were a few early system networks in Halliday 1964/76, 1967 and 1968. Then in Muir's introduction to Halliday's ideas (1972:100-01) there was a brave attempt to fill the gap (though with labels on features that reflect the level of form rather than meaning). And the systems in Berry's introduction (1975:90) are even simpler. Another relatively early set of system networks for 'theme' were my own proposals in Fawcett 1980:161) - but I soon replaced these by a fresh approach to the relations between 'theme' and the other major choices in meaning that were implemented in the GENESYS generator of the COMMUNAL Project but which remained largely unpublished - except for the portions that appeared in papers such as Fawcett, Tucker and Lin (1993). That work has led, after a continual process of testing and modification, to the proposals made in this book.

Apart from Halliday's early networks, we have had to wait till Matthiessen 1995 for the publication of the Sydney Grammar networks for 'theme'. It is perhaps not surprising that they are essentially a re-working of the detail in Halliday's more 'form-oriented' networks of

[47] Since the section on 'Future work' includes 'the specification and, to the extent that it is possible, the implementation' of these ideas, it seems likely that less of the task of building computer models of how such goals may be achieved with respect to choices in the systems for 'theme' has been done in that framework than in the COMMUNAL Project (as described in Duffield 1994, Glover 1997, Fawcett 1997/8 and Hood 1997).

1964/76, and they are essentially a fleshing out of the more 'meaning-oriented' approach that began to appear in Halliday's 1967-8 papers.

These fuller networks are found on pp. 536, 540 (part of this being expanded on p. 548), 543 and 591 of Matthiessen 1995, and I shall make comparisons with them at the appropriate points in Chapters 2 to 13. I shall also point out a number of internal problems in some of them.

A more general problem with these networks - as with many published system networks - is that they are not easy to interpret. There are two reasons for this, and they are related. The first is that the names of many of the features are not as transparent as they might be, so that it is hard to see what the choice of a features amounts to, without an example. The second reason is that the networks are, in most cases, 'consolidated' rather than 'displayed' - i.e. they involve both simultaneous and complex entry to systems, so emphasizing the principle of economy at the expense of the equally important principle of clarity. (See Fawcett 1988b for the terms 'consolidated' and 'displayed', and for a discussion of the criteria that I suggest are useful when assessing system networks.) The result of using 'consolidated' system networks - as Matthiessen does - is that it is not possible to have examples at the end of each possible 'pass' through the network. And an example at the end of a line of semantic features is something which helps enormously in interpreting a network, since it provides a clear clue as to what the result of choosing of a given feature may be for the resulting text.

A second weakness in the picture given in many introductory descriptions of Systemic Functional Grammar is that they suggest that there is a single large system network for 'theme' that is entered simultaneously (i.e. in parallel) with the system networks for TRANSITIVITY and MOOD. This picture derives directly from Halliday's early writings, in which he foregrounded the multifunctional nature of language - especially his influential 'Options and functions in the English clause' (Halliday 1969/72/81). This model of the relationship between the major systems is symbolized in the diagrams in that paper and in many others, such as the one on p. 40 of Halliday's widely read *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (1973).

In my own early work in SFL, which is described in Fawcett 1973/81 and 1980, I tried to make this approach to 'theme' work. But the demands of making the grammar sufficiently explicit to be expressed as a computer program forced me to abandon that position in favour of the very different position to be presented here. One of the main aims of the present book, then, is to provide a clear and comprehensive set of system networks for 'theme' in English. The networks are slightly simplified versions of ones that have been tested as central parts of a very large computer implementation of the grammar of English, and they have also been tested through the use of their features in analyzing texts - as is done in Figure 3 in Section 7 of Chapter 3, and in various other figures at later points in the book.[48]

[48] For examples in other published works, see Figure 10 on p. 148 of Fawcett 2000a, the diagram on p. 78 of Butler 2002, and especially, in due course, Fawcett forthcoming b.

3

The many systems for SUBJECT THEME

3.1 The structure of this chapter

This chapter is the first of a series of nine chapters, eight of which cover one of the eight types of 'theme' in English. But it will be unlike most of the others, in that we shall introduce a number of important concepts that are relevant to ALL of the later discussion - such as (i) the criteria that we should use in assessing system networks, (ii) the relations between different system networks for 'theme' to each other and to the other system networks within the overall network for the meaning potential of the language, (iii) the roles of probabilities in system networks (with more to come in Chapter 4), and (iv) an introduction to the Cardiff Grammar's method for showing the representation of a clause in terms of its semantic features.

We need to have a clear picture of these concepts as we consider the system networks for 'theme' that are the focus of our attention in this book, and it will be easiest to come to grips with them in the context of a description of a specific part of the grammar, rather than in abstract terms - and this is why we shall introduce them in the present chapter on 'Subject Theme'.

In the main, though, this chapter will follow the general pattern of those that follow, i.e. it will begin by considering the forms and meanings of this part of the grammar, and then going on to discuss the discourse functions that they serve.

3.2 Criteria in assessing system networks

We shall begin with the type of 'theme' that is the most frequent of all by far - and in all types of text. This is the type that we shall call SUBJECT THEME. A typical example of a SUBJECT THEME system is shown in Figure 1c, which is the equivalent of the first part of Network A in Figure 2.

[to be added, based on the first part of Network A in Figure 2]

Figure 2a: A typical system for SUBJECT THEME

Like the other examples of system networks to be summarized here, this network has been simplified from its equivalent in the full, generative version of the Cardiff Grammar. This simplification has the advantage of bringing out the most important aspects of the meanings that are being represented, but without distorting them. The result is that the features shown in Figure 2a for 'action' Processes - and their equivalents in the many similar networks that exist for most other Process types - can be used in the systemic analysis of a text, i.e. in making an analysis at the level of semantics.

Before we examine the system itself more closely, there are a number of issues that we need to address concerning the nature of system networks. The first is that, while it is easy to draw system networks, it is hard to draw 'good' system networks - a question that I discuss in 'What makes a "good" system network good?' (Fawcett 1988). The first requirement of a 'good' system network is that it has a fully explicit set of realization rules which show how its meanings are realized in items, syntax, morphology and intonation or punctuation, under

all possible variations in their grammatical and register contexts. Like the system networks themselves, these are all too rarely given in the published works about SFG.[49]

The system network notation is very helpful as an informal heuristic tool for exploring relationships in a new area of grammar, and this is one use for them. And system network-like diagrams that set out neatly the contrasts between the various types of 'adverbials' or 'ellipsis' or 'theme' can also be very useful. Such diagrams certainly have their uses as helpful summary diagrams, and there are examples of this in various descriptions of English, e.g. in Quirk et al 1985 on pp. 503, 567, 615, 634 and 894, and in Thompson 2004 on pp. XXX. But such a diagram is not a system network but a descriptive taxonomy, and to present it in the form of a system network can lead to misunderstandings about the nature of what the diagram is modelling. I therefore stand by my recommendation in Fawcett 1988:XXX (which has been heeded by some though not all systemic functional linguists!) that we should reserve the system network notation for modelling choice points in linguistic behaviour, and that, when we draw taxonomies that do not carry the additional claim that they can be used as part of a systemic functional generative grammar, we should represent them by branching diagrams such as that in Figure 2b.

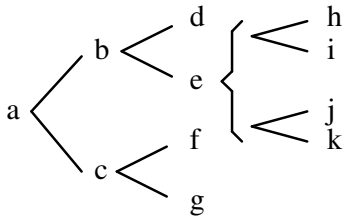


Figure 2b: The recommended notation for
descriptive taxonomies that are not system networks

In summary, then, we can say that the usefulness of a system network as something to consult when analyzing texts is insufficient evidence for deciding that what looks like a system network is a 'good' system network. The network must also be directly related to a full system network that is part of a grammar that actually works, i.e. that is capable of being used, when complemented by its realization rules, to generate English text-sentences.

The networks given in this book have all been 'extracted', as it were, from a very large lexicogrammar of English that has been developed in a fully explicit manner, such that it can be implemented - and so tested for parts that don't work - in a computer implementation. We know, therefore, that this set of networks actually works, because they are part of a fully generative systemic functional model of English. They conform to the dictum that I first suggested as the mantra for those drawing system networks, which is:

NO SYSTEM NETWORKS WITHOUT REALIZATION RULES (Fawcett 1988:XXX)

It is from system networks such as the one shown in Figure 2a that the vast majority of constructions containing a thematized element are generated. The networks shown in this book - or some broadly equivalent ones - are therefore an essential part of any full description of 'theme' in English.[50]

[49] Some exceptions that do describe the way that a systemic functional grammar works are Halliday 1969, Fawcett 197381, Fawcett 1980, Matthiessen & Bateman 1992, Fawcett, Tucker & Lin 1993, Tucker 1995, Fawcett 1996, and Huang 2002.

[50] For a discussion of the criteria for including features in system networks, see Martin 1987, and for a discussion of the different uses to which system networks may be put and of the criteria in assessing system networks, see Fawcett 1988.

3.3 How many systems are there for SUBJECT THEME?

We turn now to the relationship of the little system network in Figure 2a to the overall system network for the meaning potential of English.

The introductory picture of the overall system network that is given in most introductory descriptions of System Functional Grammar - either in words or in diagram form - suggests that the main system network for 'theme' is entered simultaneously (i.e. in parallel) with the system networks for TRANSITIVITY and MOOD. This can be seen as a way of reflecting in a system network representation of the language the concept of the multifunctional nature of language given in Halliday's early writings on this topic. Thus the diagrams in his early papers usually show THEME as a parallel system network to those for TRANSITIVITY and MOOD - e.g. in 'Options and functions in the English clause' (Halliday 1969/72/81) and the one on p. 40 of his widely read *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (1973).

In my early work in SFL, which is described in Fawcett 1973/81 and 1980, I made an enormous effort to try to discover a way to make this approach to 'theme' work. It was possible - but at a great cost in introducing an inadequately motivated set of categories such as 'typically first Participant Role', and the like. But the demands of making the grammar sufficiently explicit to be expressed as a computer program, back in the 1980s, forced me to recognize that this uninsightful and convoluted approach should be abandoned in favour of the rather different position to be presented here. I should make it clear that this was not a case of adapting the grammar to fit the needs of the computer, but a case of discovering, through the discipline of having to make the grammar sufficiently explicit to be written as a computer program, exactly which choices depend on which other choices in the grammar.

I maintain, therefore, that Halliday's introductory descriptions of the system networks for 'theme' do not in fact reflect the way in which we need to structure a systemic functional grammar if it is actually going to work - i.e. to function as a generative grammar. And the corollary of this, of course, is that the same comment applies to the directly derived descriptions and diagrams in the many introductions to Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, and the major complementary works such as Martin 1992 and Matthiessen 1995.

Let us now apply this general principle of asking 'Does it work?' to the small system for SUBJECT THEME that we are about to consider. When we do, it becomes clear that there is no point in entering the system for SUBJECT THEME until certain choices have been made in the TRANSITIVITY network. The general principle that this case exemplifies is as follows:

'THEME' SYSTEMS ARE ALWAYS DEPENDENT ON CHOICES IN OTHER SYSTEMS,
BECAUSE THE GRAMMAR CANNOT MAKE A DECISION ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT TO THEMATIZE
SOMETHING UNTIL IT KNOW THAT THERE IS SOMETHING THAT COULD BE THEMATIZED.

As we shall see in the later chapters of this book, this generalization holds good for all of the systems of choice in 'theme'.

To make this point completely clear, let me now re-express the generalization in a way that makes it specific to the system for SUBJECT THEME in 'action' processes that inherently have two Participant Roles. The position is that the grammar is simply not able to state which elements are available to be chosen for presentation as the 'Subject Theme' until it knows which Participant Roles (PRs) will actually be present in the clause.

This statement in fact involves one significant oversimplification. This is that there are cases where a PR has been chosen to be the Subject Theme, but where it is only 'present' in the clause **covertly**. The simplest case is a simple directive such as *Eat up your scrambled egg*, in which the Agent in the Process of 'eating up' is the Addressee, and so is typically presented as 'recoverable', so covert.

For a PR to be **overtly** present, it must be filled by a **unit** and expounded by one or more **items**. There is a second frequent case in which such unexpounded PRs nonetheless function as the Subject Theme, as we shall see in Chapter 15.

If we need to refer to the elements that are to be thematized in the system network itself, the obvious way to do this is to refer to them IN TERMS OF THEIR FUNCTION AS PRS - e.g. as either an Agent or an Affected, in the case of our example in Network A. This enables us to express the generalization that applies across all 'action' Processes that have these two PRs as inherent roles. Indeed, as we have discovered through testing the alternatives, it is the only way that can capture the required generalizations without resorting to extremely convoluted sets of conditions.

The corollary, however, is that we have to have similar systems for every type of Process that has two PRs, either of which may be chosen to be made the Subject Theme. This is not in fact a disadvantage, because the probabilities vary considerably between the different Process types, so that we can express this neatly by placing different percentages on the features in these systems. (See the next section for the role of probabilities in system networks.)

Thus the systems that present the choice as to which of two PRs is to be the Subject Theme, such as that in Figure 2a, are NOT independent of the other major systems - as diagrams showing simplified system networks in introductions to SFL often imply. Instead, they are logically dependent on the basic TRANSITIVITY systems, since it is these that specify which PRs are to be present in the clause.[51]

3.4 Probabilities in systems

Next, notice the probabilities on the features in the system. In some of Halliday's earliest writings we can find the general suggestion that probabilities are important in grammar, but the fact is that, with occasional honorable exceptions (such as Nesbitt & Plum 1988 and Halliday & James 1993) probabilities have so far played only a minor role in the Sydney version of SFL. In contrast, they have been integral to the working of the Cardiff Grammar since Fawcett 1988a, and that is why all of the system networks given here have probabilities on their features. Indeed, we have adopted a second dictum concerning system networks - which we are now extending so that its applies to text-descriptive system networks as well as ones used in the generative version of the lexicogrammar. It is:

NO SYSTEM NETWORKS WITHOUT PROBABILITIES.

This not the place to discuss the sources of the probabilities (which are many and various), nor is it the place to discuss the other questions that they raise, such as the fact that they can be changed, according to what other features are chosen, and according to variations in register, etc. See Fawcett 2000a:238-43 for some discussion of these questions, and Sections 2 and 3 of Chapter 4 of this book for some further discussion of the use of probabilities.

However, I suggest that a central commitment of SFL in the twenty-first century should be to the practical enactment of the theoretical position that probabilistic grammatical facts are just as important as the bare fact that a given choice exists. And, to return to Figure 2a,

[51] Note that, even if we wished to, we could not refer to the concepts of 'Subject' and 'Complement' in the features in the semantic system networks, because they are only created when the realization rules insert them in the syntactic structure at the level of form, which is after the traversal of the network. In contrast, the PRs occur at every level of language: in the logical form that is the input to the lexicogrammar; in the feature labels in the semantics; and in the functional syntax.

one such fact is the vastly greater likelihood that the Agent will be made the Subject Theme than that the Affected will - as the system shows.

3.5 Form and meaning

Most - though not all - parts of the TRANSITIVITY system network lead to a system for SUBJECT THEME of the type illustrated for 'two-role', 'action' Processes in Network A. (We shall consider those that do not shortly.) Such 'action' Processes are just one of the many types of Process with two PRs, either of which could be made the Subject Theme. In this system, then, the choice is between giving the additional semantic role of being the 'Subject Theme' to the 'typically first' or the 'typically second' PR - to the Agent or to the Affected, in this case.[52]

What is the difference between the two structures that result from each choice? Let us consider again (1a), focussing this time not on the Adjunct *last night* but on its Subject Theme, i.e. *Ivy and half a million others*. Now consider its 'passive' equivalent, i.e. (1b), in which *the new Tom Hanks film* is the Subject Theme. These are analyzed below in (1ai) and (1bi):

(1ai) Last night [A] Ivy and half a million others [S/Ag-Perc] watched [M] the new Tom Hanks film [C/Ph].
(1bi) Last night [A] the new Tom Hanks film [S/Ph] was [O/X] watched [M] by Ivy and half a million others [C/Ag-Perc].

Before I comment on the structures, let me explain the conventions for representing syntax that I shall use here:

(i) The label that identifies each clause element is placed immediately after it, in square brackets.
(ii) Any unrealized element is placed in round brackets - as in (10ai) below.
(iii) Here is a key to the abbreviations used in the above analyses:

A = Adjunct, S = Subject, M = Main Verb, C = Complement,
O = Operator, X = Auxiliary, / = 'is conflated with',
Ag-Perc = Agent-Perceiver (a compound Participant Role), Ph = Phenomenon.

See Fawcett (2000a:304) for a full key to the syntax symbols used here.
Note that, while I shall refer to a number of different types of Adjunct in the main text, we shall normally show them simply as 'A' in the analyses in this book, since the differences between them are not relevant to our topic.

Now we shall return to (1ai) and (1bi). These two examples illustrate the difference in FORM that results from the choices in the SUBJECT THEME system. The next question is: What is the ADDITIONAL meaning that the referent of a Participant Role acquires when it is

[52] Since such systems cannot be entered unless the choices have already been made that each of the two PRs is to be realized overtly, the TRANSITIVITY network from which this system is entered includes systems that give options as to whether or not a PR is to be realized overtly in the clause. This is done in the computer-implemented generative version of the Cardiff Grammar - though not in the simplified systems shown in Figure 2. (Note that the non-realization of the Subject in a simple 'directive' is 'covertness' of a different type. As we shall see in Section 3 of Chapter 14, this type of 'non-realization' is the by-product of a choice in the MOOD system rather than a choice in the network for TRANSITIVITY. In such cases the referent - i.e. the Addressee - is always fully recoverable. With 'covert' PRs the precise identity of the referent is not necessarily recoverable, and there are many reasons why the Performer may present a PR as covert. For one set of reasons see Sinclair 1990:404.)

made the 'Subject Theme'? For our present purposes, we shall simply characterize it in the traditional terms of 'that which the clause is about' (as in Quirk et al 1985:78-9). See Fawcett 1999 for a fuller discussion and a comparison of Halliday's and my approaches to this question.

The concept of 'that which the clause is about' works most naturally when the clause is an 'information giver' or a 'polarity seeker'. However, though it at first seems less satisfactory when it is used to characterize the Subject of 'simple directives' such as *Read this letter!*, they are part of a system network in which the realizations of other closely related features do indeed make the Subject explicit, such as those realized in *YOU read it!, Could you possibly read this letter for me, please,* and so on. If a 'directive' such as *Read this letter!* is addressed to you, I suggest that you are likely to perceive the clause as being at least as much about 'you', the Addressee, as it is about 'opening' or 'the letter' - even though the Subject Theme is covert. And in information seekers that seek 'new content' such as *What is Ivy reading?* the clause is arguably as much about 'Ivy' as it is about 'what she is reading' - even though the *wh*-element comes first. (See Section 3 of Chapter 14 for the status of such clause-initial 'sought' elements.)

The concept of 'Subject Theme' is a semantic one, and in English it is important to distinguish it from the concept of the syntactic Subject. The 'Subject' is the name of an element of clause structure at the level of form. In English - but in only a small number of other languages - the Subject plays a central role as one of two elements that realize some of the most frequent meanings of MOOD - the other being the Operator (or, when there no Operator, the Main Verb). We shall return to these briefly in Section 3 of Chapter 14.[53]

So much - for the moment - for the MEANING of the Subject Theme. But its representation at the level of FORM that is used here requires a further comment. As you may have noticed, the analyses in (1ai) and (1bi) do not include an explicit symbol for 'Subject Theme'. It would have been easy to include one, and following Halliday's earlier representations (e.g. Halliday 1969/72/81) the analysis of the Subject in (1a) could have been as in (1aii). Such a representation is designed to show explicitly the three functions that the Subject serves - as a 'mood-bearing' element, as a PR, and as the Subject Theme.

(1aii) ... Ivy and half a million others [S/Ag-Perc]/STh ...

However, the symbol 'STh' in (1aii) is in fact completely redundant. The reason is that EVERY SUBJECT THAT IS CONFLATED WITH A PR IS ALSO THE SUBJECT THEME. In other words, the label 'S', when it has a PR conflated with it (as it does in over 99 per cent of cases), means BOTH 'mood-bearing Subject' AND 'Subject Theme'. The only time when the Subject is not also the Subject Theme is the low percentage of cases when it does NOT have a PR conflated with it - as happens with 'environmental' clauses such as *It's raining* and the four types of enhanced theme that we shall meet in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 11. We therefore make use of this fact by allowing 'S' to mean 'Subject Theme' as well as 'Subject' - except when it is directly expounded by an experientially empty *it* or *there*, and so does not have a PR conflated with it. Moreover, when there is a semantic analysis as well as a syntactic analysis

[53] See Fawcett 1999 for the need to distinguish clearly between (i) the 'Subject Theme' part of the meaning of the Subject in the English clause and (ii) the contribution of the Subject to the interpersonal meaning of MOOD in English - and also for an evaluation of Halliday's attempts to characterize the meaning of the Subject in *IFG*. The term 'Operator' originates with Firth (1956/68:104-5), and it has achieved widespread acceptance though its use in Quirk *et al* (1972) and Quirk *et al* 1985:79), and all of the many other grammars that these works have influenced. It is only roughly equivalent to what Halliday terms the "Finite operator", or "Finite" for short (*IFG* p. 72), in that Halliday treats the 'finiteness' that is expressed in a Main Verb as a manifestation of the Finite. See Fawcett 2000a:172-3 for a fuller specification of this important difference, and Fawcett 2000b & c for the various arguments that all show that both the Operator and the Main Verb need to be treated as elements of the clause.

of the text-sentence - in the way that we shall see in the next section - the fact that a given PR is also the Subject Theme is made fully explicit at that level of analysis.

Before we leave the discussion of the representation of the Subject at the level of form, we should note one further point. This is that even in a simple 'directive' such as (10a) the system for SUBJECT THEME has been entered. In the case of (10a) the feature [agent subject theme] has been chosen - even though it is left unrealized. Thus the analysis of (10a) is as shown below in (10ai), where the fact that the Subject/Agent is unexpounded is shown by the rounded brackets.

(10a) Beat him by at least two lengths!
(10ai) ([S/Ag]) Beat [M] him [C/Af] by at least two lengths [A]!

Supplementary key: Ag =Agent Af = Affected.

But HOW do we know that the system for SUBJECT THEME has been entered in generating (10a)? It is because of the possibility of examples such as (10b), which might be spoken as a command to a crooked jockey to 'throw' a horse race, in order to help someone to win a bet.[54] What (10b) shows is that it is possible for the Affected to be chosen as the Subject Theme - even though it may be very unlikely.

(10b) Be beaten in the final furlong!
(10bi) ([S/Af]) Be [X] beaten [M] ([C/Ag]) in the final furlong [A]!

So the Process of 'beating', which may at first appear to 'come first' in the clause in the clause in (10a), is not in fact the 'theme' in such examples. For a fuller statement of the reason why this is so, see Section 3 of Chapter 14. And for the important implications of recognizing the concept that an element of a clause may be the Subject Theme even when it is not expounded by any items, see Chapter 15.[55]

In all types of MOOD, then, including a simple 'directive', the system for SUBJECT THEME is entered, EVEN THOUGH IN SOME CASES THERE IS NO OVERT REALIZATION.

3.6 The explicit representation of meaning - i.e. semantic features

Many readers will be familiar with the diagrams that are intended to represent the functional structure of a clause used by Halliday in *IFG* - and so in Matthiessen 1995 and all of the works that are derived from the *IFG* model. You may be wondering how the representation shown ii (1ai), (1bi), (10ai) and (10bi) relate to the Sydney Grammar representations. For those who are not familiar with them, I should explain that Halliday uses a series of lines of boxes, such that each line represents the functional structure of one 'strand of meaning' Sometimes Halliday uses more than one line of boxes to represent a 'metafunction' that includes two or more types of meaning, such as Halliday's 'textual metafunction'. There are typically seven lines for each clause in his analysis of the 'silver' text (1994:368-85).

[54] The computer-implemented version of the Cardiff Grammar changes the probabilities in the SUBJECT THEME system when 'proposal for action' is chosen in the MOOD network, making it very unlikely indeed for [affected-S-theme] to be selected.

[55] In Matthiessen 1995 the equivalent system to this is the EFFECTIVE VOICE system in Figure 6-27 on p. 591. He recognizes, like me, that equivalent systems 'are distributed across the grammar, more specifically across different transitivity types', so that 'there are comparable VOICE systems for the other transitivity types' (p. 591). This may in turn suggest that he accepts the general model presented here - though the fact that he does not treat the choice of the Subject Theme as a type of 'theme' is surprising.

For reasons that I have explained fully in Chapter 7 of Fawcett 2000a - and which I shall not repeat here - the Cardiff Grammar provides instead a SINGLE REPRESENTATION OF THE FUNCTIONAL SYNTAX of a text-sentence (as Halliday also did in his earlier work). This integrates the various strands of MEANING in a single structure at the level of FORM. But the Cardiff Grammar additionally provides a multi-strand analysis of the eight main strands of meaning that we recognize, in terms of the key semantic features. I give the analysis of an example in terms of both its syntax and its semantics is in Figure 3.[56]

The single functional structure that constitutes the representation at the level of form in the Cardiff Grammar can be thought of, from a Hallidayan perspective, as the final integration of Halliday's multiple structures. However, I have to say that this is not in fact the position taken in the Cardiff Grammar, as I explain in Chapter 7 of Fawcett 2000a. In the Cardiff Grammar, the semantic features chosen in the system networks are REALIZED DIRECTLY IN A SINGLE, INTEGRATED STRUCTURE. In other words, there are no representations of the *IFG* type that intervene between the **semantic representation** and the integrated **syntactic representation**. Thus the multi-strand analysis of the semantic features shown in Figure 3 is not, as one might at first think, equivalent to Halliday's multi-strand analysis. It is an analysis in terms of semantic features, not functional elements. The functional elements are certainly represented - but there are fewer of them and they are represented in the functional syntax.

It is interesting to note that Halliday's theoretical position is that there should be, in addition to his multi-strand analysis of the functional structures of a clause, A FURTHER LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION IN TERMS OF THE FEATURES CHOSEN IN THE SYSTEM NETWORKS. And it is this - rather than the *IFG*-style structural analyses - that would be the equivalent of the Cardiff Grammar's semantic representation.

We know that this is Halliday's position - even though it is not exemplified or even stated in *IFG* - because Halliday has declared, in a paper that explicitly sets out to summarize the theory, that

> in systemic theory **the system takes priority** [my emphasis]; the most abstract representation ... is in paradigmatic terms. ... Syntagmatic organization is interpreted as the 'realization' of paradigmatic features, the 'meaning potential'. (Halliday 1993:4505)

And a few paragraphs later he foregrounds the importance of the representation in terms of the features selected in the network more strongly still, writing that

> the selection expression [of features] constitutes the grammar's description of the item [e.g. a clause]. (Halliday 1993:4505)

Those who work in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar take precisely the view of the relationship between the semantic and syntactic representations that is stated here by Halliday. In diagrams such as Figure 3 below and the equivalent ones throughout this book, we provide a genuinely 'systemic' representation - as a complement to and enrichment of the representation of the functional syntax. Thus we provide a representation that is in terms of the semantic features selected in the system networks, precisely as specified by Halliday in his most recent paper on systemic theory. Yet nowhere in his published works does Halliday himself do this. A further lack is his failure to show us how the seven (or more) lines of boxes representing functional structure of the type found throughout *IFG* become integrated into a single structure. It is a strange irony, therefore, that we linguists who use the Cardiff

[56]The eight strands of meaning in a Cardiff Grammar analysis do not correspond in a one-to-one manner with Halliday's seven lines of boxes in his analysis of the 'silver' text (1994:368-85. Indeed, there are more than seven if the text contains what he terms 'grammatical metaphor'. See Fawcett 2000a:113-6 for a comparison.

approach can claim to be implementing Halliday's stated principles more faithfully than any of the Sydney linguists do - including Halliday himself.

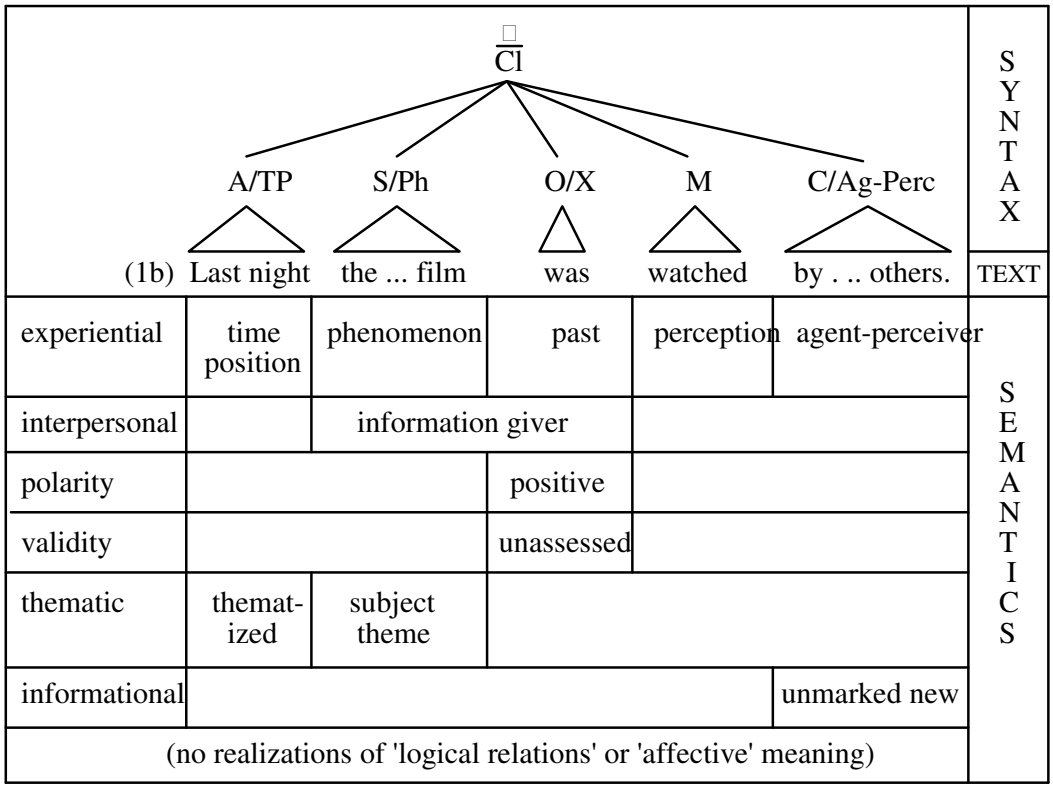
Let us now consider Figure 3. This provides an analysis of a short text-sentence in terms that meet Halliday's - and my own - specification of what a representation should be like. The text is a trimmed down version of (1b). Note that, while in many theories of language (including SFL) the semantic representation is traditionally thought of as being 'higher' than the representation of the level of form (e.g. in diagrams of the overall model), in diagrams such as that in Figure 3 the semantic representation is shown beneath the text itself - and so 'below' the syntactic representation. No inference of theoretical significance should be read into this; it is simply the most economical way of showing the two types of representation in a single diagram.

Figure 3 provides a complete key to the symbols used in the analysis, but from now on I shall only provide keys for additional elements.

As you will see, the syntactic analysis that stands above the line of text is simply a tree diagram representation of the analysis shown in (1bi). (In a full analysis the internal structure of the Adjunct, Subject and Complement would also be shown.) The fact that the structure contains an Adjunct in initial position means that we are here anticipating the type of 'theme' to be discussed in Chapter 5, but this isn't a problem.

Now let us turn to the semantic representation. As the line representing 'thematic' meaning shows, the key features from the system network are shown in the semantic representation. The key feature in the generation of each clause element is placed immediately below the element to whose meaning it contributes.

However, since we cannot think about choices in 'theme' until we have something to thematize, we shall start our examination of the diagram with the strand of meaning in which there is most obviously something to thematize, i.e. the 'experiential' strand. The 'experiential' line of analysis shows those semantic features, the choice of which has resulted in the generation of the two Participant Roles of (1) a Phenomenon (Ph) and (2) an Agent-Perceiver (Ag-Perc). Each is 'unmarked', in the sense that it is 'overt' (and not 'sought', which would have been realized in a *wh*-form such as *what* and *who*). The Process is one of 'perception' but it is the type of 'perception' in which the Perceiver is also an Agent, as the analysis shows (cp. *What they did last night was to watch the film*). The general 'time reference position' is 'past', and this is shown under the Operator (with which the Passive Auxiliary is conflated) and it is specified more precisely in the Time Position Adjunct (A/TP), i.e. as *last night*.



Key:
∑ = Sentence Cl = Clause S = Subject O = Operator X = Auxiliary
M = Main Verb C = Complement A = Adjunct / = 'is conflated with'
TP = Time Position Ph = Phenomenon Ag-Perc = Agent-Perceiver

Figure 3: The syntactic and semantic representation of a simple clause

Two of these elements are in the positions in the clause that they are as the result of a choice in a 'theme' system. The first is the result of the choice to present the 'typically second' PR - i.e. the Phenomenon rather than the Agent-Perceiver - as the 'Subject Theme' - and the second is the choice to 'thematize' the Time Position Adjunct. (We omit the name of the PR to save space, since it can be inferred from the 'experiential' strand of meaning.) I shall not comment on the other strands of meaning; see Fawcett 2000a:146-51 for a full description of an example of this type of representation. However, there are further examples of this type of analysis in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. Taken in conjunction with the relevant system networks (including the overall summary in Figure 2) these should be sufficient to illustrate the semantic analysis of most types of 'theme'.

There is a final point to make about the representation in Figure 3. This that neither of the two elements that have been thematized is explicitly marked in the analysis as a Theme, e.g. as 'A/TP/Th' and 'S/Ph/Th'. The reason is that the additional information that the addition of 'Th' would provide is in fact redundant, for the reasons explained in the last section. (An incidental benefit of not adding 'Th' is that in cases where the PR is a compound one, such as 'Ag-Perc', it helps to stop the label for the node in the diagram from becoming inconveniently long.)

3.7 The Performer's discourse purpose in making a Participant Role a Subject Theme

In many types of discourse (e.g. in description, narration and argumentation) the Subject Theme typically - though by no means necessarily - refers to a referent that could also be said to be the 'topic' or 'subject' of the longer discourse of which the clause is just a part. This concept, of course, is different from that of a 'theme' in a clause - and it is often even more difficult to pin down precisely.[57] What is clear is that it is NOT the case that one can determine the topic of a text and then automatically decide from it the Subject Theme of each clause. Nor, I believe, is it the case that a linguist can determine from the 'text type' (e.g. scientific research reports) anything more than a TENDENCY to use one or other of the various thematic 'patterns of development' that appear in the work of some scholar as hypotheses (though sometimes as more like assumptions).

I have always taken the view that if we are to model successfully the relationship between 'text-types' and thematic patterns in a text - and indeed patterns of any other types of meaning - we need to bring into the picture the **planning** (which is largely unconscious) that is carried out by the Performer at various stages in the production of a text (e.g. as described in Fawcett 1980, 1993). I suggest that any adequate explanation must be set in the framework of a model of communication that is explicitly both **cognitive** and **interactive**. In the COMMUNAL Project we have grasped the nettle of beginning on the work of modelling in the computer some of the major factors that lead the Performer of a text to select one object rather than another as the 'unmarked subject' of an 'event' that the Performer wishes to communicate to an Addressee - and so the Subject Theme of the clause that will realize it. Through this, a pattern may emerge - in some texts more strongly than others - in which the Performer regularly refers to the same referent in the Subject Theme of a succession of clauses, and so lends an apparent 'pattern' to a text. But the Performer does not set out, I suggest, to achieve this pattern; it is the by-product of her overall goal in producing the text.[58]

In the COMMUNAL Project, the procedure for deciding on a Subject Theme is implemented as an algorithm in which we seek to make explicit the essential steps that must logically underlie the planning that occurs in the human mind - which we assume works unconsciously and with great speed and, usually, with great efficiency. The algorithm takes in turn each of the two (or occasionally three, for 'giving-type' events) participants in the event, and for each it weighs the strength of the Performer's motivation to make it the Subject Theme. It measures this in terms of a number of factors, assigning a points score for each. Questions addressed include the following. Is the referent the Performer? Or is it the Addressee (which scores fewer points)? Or is it a relative or friend of either, or is there some other motivating relationship to the Performer or the Addressee, such as ownership? Is the object important in some current plan of the Performer or the Addressee? Is the referent human? Or an animal or object with 'personhood' status? Is it perceptually prominent in the immediate situation, or important in the shared culture (e.g. 'the Government')? Has the object been the Subject Theme (or indeed some other type of 'theme') in the preceding

[57] It is also a different sense of 'topic' from the one in which it has been used in formal generative grammars from Chomsky 1965 onwards, in which it is much like the concept of 'experiential' 'theme' as this is used in in Halliday's *IFG*.

[58] Naturally, there only needs to be a decision between referents when the event has two or three participants; if there is only one participant in the event it automatically becomes the unmarked Subject and so the Subject Theme. See Section 3.9 for a fuller specification of such event types.

clause, or in a 'mother' clause? Is it listed in what is termed 'Strongly Recoverable Discourse Memory'? (This is a continually changing list of objects, and its primary role is to enable the Performer to decide whether it is possible to use the 'token' referring expression of a 'third person pronoun'. The criteria are NOT simply 'distance' -however measured - back in the discourse.) The answers to these various inquiries are found in various parts of the Performer's belief system (which includes a model of the beliefs, plans etc. of the Addressee). Depending on the answers, points are assigned to competing objects, and the object with the most points becomes the Subject Theme. See Duffield 1994 and Glover 1997 for a fuller description of this work.[59]

3.8 Some TRANSITIVITY system networks that do not enter the SUBJECT THEME system

Finally, we should note the fact that there are some types of Process that do not enter a SUBJECT THEME system at all. There are two reason why this occurs - and so two broad categories of Process types to consider. However, in the second case there is entry to the system for MARKED PR THEME that we shall come to in the next chapter.

The first reason why a Process type does not enter the SUBJECT THEME system is the simple fact that there is only one PR in the Process (e.g. the Affected in (11). Clearly, in such cases the single PR is automatically conflated with the Subject, so that there is no choice. The analysis is as in (11i).

(11) His mother died in 1995. (11i) His mother [S/Af] died [M] in 1995 [A].

However, this raises the following question. Since the PR that is conflated with the Subject is not in this position as the result of a choice, does the Subject still have the meaning of 'Subject Theme'? My answer is that, in the view of users of the language, it does. The reasons are (i) that the overwhelming majority of Process types have two PRs, and (ii) most of them allow the typically second PR to be chosen to function as the Subject Theme - i.e. the choice is there in most cases. So, by association with this strong general pattern, users of the language make the assumption, in the relatively small proportion of cases in which the PR that is the Subject is not there as the result of a choice, that such PRs are Sunject Themes. Through the syntactic pattern of being a PR that is the Subject they have acquired the aura, as it were, of a Subject Theme.[60]

The second type of Process that does not enter a SUBJECT THEME system is the type where there are two PRs - but where only one of them can be the Subject. Examples are the Processes with a Carrier and an Attribute such as (12a) and (13a). The analyses are as in (12ai) and (13ai).

(12a) She became a doctor. (12ai) She [S/Ca] became [M] a doctor [C/At].
(13a) She is a genius. (13ai) She [S/Ca] is [O/M] a genius [C/At].[61]

[59] Interestingly, similar (but rather simpler) ideas - which are essentially those that one would expect to find in a 'cognitive-interactive' approach to the use of language, were introduced in Mann & Matthiessen 1983/85, but they seem to have played no further part in the development of the Sydney Grammar.

[60] This is the one place in the grammar in which we allow the position of an element to have a thematic meaning, even though it is not in the position that it is as the result of a choice. This may seem inconsistent with the principle expressed in Chapter 11, but it would feel even more unsatisfactory to deny the referent of the Subject in such clauses the status of being a Subject Theme on these grounds alone. See the main text for the reason.

[61] Additional key: Ca = Carrier, At = Attribute, O = Operator

However, while Processes of this second type do not enter the system for SUBJECT THEME, they do enter a system for MARKED PARTICIPANT ROLE THEME. We shall anticipate the next chapter by illustrating this with the underlined portions of the second clause in (12b), and of both clauses in (13b).

(12b) She had always wanted to be a doctor, and a doctor she became.
(13b) Clever she may be, but a genius she is not.

The analysis of the second clause in (12b) is as shown in (12bi):

(12bi) ... and [&] a doctor [C/At] she [S/Ca] became [M].

In a similar way, there is often the possibility that the Complements of other types of simple 'relational' Processes, such as the 'locational' and 'directional' Processes in (14a) and (15a), can be made the Subject Theme.[62]

(14a) A thick sheet of plastic was / lay under the carpet.
(15a) A knight dressed all in scarlet rode into the clearing.

However, it must be admitted that while (14b) and (15b) are possible but unlikely, (14c) is barely possible.

(14b) Under the carpet a thick sheet of plastic lay.
(14c) ? Under the carpet a thick sheet of plastic was.
(15b) Into the clearing a knight dressed all in scarlet rode.

This may be because there is in many such cases an interesting alternative pattern when the Process is one of 'being' that is associated with Marked PR Theme, as we shall see in the next chapter.

To summarize: in clauses with the types of Process that do not enter a system for SUBJECT THEME, we nonetheless treat the first PR as nonetheless having the value of 'Subject Theme' by association with the vast majority of clauses that do.

[62] In the Cardiff Grammar - though not in the Sydney Grammar - the Location in (14a) and the Destination (one of three types of Direction) in (15a) are treated as PRs (and so as Complements), on the grounds that they are 'expected' by the Processes of 'being', 'lying' and 'riding'. In *IFG* these elements are treated as CRs (and so as Adjuncts), on the grounds that they cannot be made the Subject. In the Cardiff Grammar this is not considered to be a relevant criterion in assessing the ability of an entity to be a PR. Indeed, it is effectively a criterion that reflects a transformational view of how structures are to be related to each other (as found in Chomsky's transformational generative approach to grammar). But it seems highly unlikely that the concept of using a syntactic transformation as a criterion would have been in Halliday's mind.

4

The many systems for MARKED PARTICIPANT ROLE THEME

4.1 Form and meaning

As the extension of Figure 2a that is illustrated in Figure 3a shows, each choice in the SUBJECT THEME system leads to its own system for MARKED PARTICIPANT ROLE THEME. Here the choice can be most simply described as being whether or not to thematize the PR that is about to be conflated with a Complement - i.e. as in the examples on the right in Figure 3a.[63]

[to be supplied, based on Network A in Figure 2]

Figure 3a: The place in the overall network of
the systems for MARKED PARTICIPANT ROLE THEME

The network in Figure 3a is an example of a 'displayed' system network - rather than a 'consolidated' system network. (See Fawcett 1988b for the original description of these terms.) Like all displayed system networks, the network in Figure 3a allows systems to be repeated - and so to be shown as being entered from more than one feature. (This pattern in the network is in contrast with one that presents the SUBJECT THEME and the MARKED PR THEME networks as 'simultaneous', as they would be in a 'consolidated' system network.)

One important reason for preferring a displayed network is that it makes it possible to illustrate, in a straightforward manner, the realization in structure of each of the different 'passes' through the network, by giving an example to the right of the network - as is done in Figure 3a.

However, there is a far more important reason for preferring a displayed system network, and I shall now explain what this is.

4.2 More on probabilities on features in systems

The more powerful reason for using a displayed system network is that it enables the grammarian to show that the probabilities of the features being chosen are significantly different in each of the two versions of the dependent system - even though they have the same features and so share the same realization rules. Notice first the probabilities on the features in the MARKED PR THEME systems. These are the **initial probabilities**. Some of these initial probabilities, such as those for having a 'marked PR theme', are very low indeed. As we saw in Section 4 of Chapter 3, the probabilities on the features in a system are often as important a fact about that system as the fact that it exists at all.

63 Notice, then, that in the Cardiff Grammar the term 'marked theme' is used ONLY for the thematization of a PR in this way, and NOT for the thematization of a Circumstantial Role (CR), as it is in the Sydney Grammar. See Chapter 5 below for the thematization of CRs.

Now note the significant difference between the probabilities in the two systems for MARKED PR THEME. While the probabilities are low in both, the fact that they are significantly lower in the second system is, in itself, a sufficient justification for showing the two systems separately in the network. Indeed, the probabilities of choosing [marked PR theme] in the second system are so low (0.01%) that some grammarians might be tempted to say that it was 'ungrammatical' - and so to omit it from their description of English - as all other grammars that I have consulted do.

Thus most descriptions of English describe the construction that is the marked option in the first of the two MARKED PR THEME systems - as in (16a) - but they do not allow for the second - i.e. (16b).[64]

(16a) The apple Ivy ate (- and not the pear).
(16b) By Ivy the apple was eaten (- and not by Ike).

This principle - i.e. the principle that we need different probabilities in otherwise similar systems - applies equally to all of the equivalent SUBJECT THEME and MARKED PR THEME systems in the other parts of the TRANSITIVITY network. In some 'mental' Processes, for example, the probabilities are significantly different from the 'action' Processes, as is well known (compare *I loathed that film* vs. *That film disgusted me)* And, as we shall see in Section 4, we need very different probabilities in the systems for the various types of Adjunct.

4.3 Changing the probabilities in systems

We come now to a vital point about the probabilities on features in systems. The grammar needs to have the power to change probabilities. The initial probabilities in the MARKED PR THEME systems in Network A, which are those shown in Figure 2, reflect the fact that most clauses have the structure of an 'information giver'.[65] These probabilities make it very unlikely indeed that, in an 'information giver' about 'Ivy eating an apple', a 'marked theme' will be chosen, with the probability being either 0.1% or 0.01%.

However, if the feature that generates a 'relative' clause is chosen - a choice which is located elsewhere in the overall network - the grammar will **re-set the probabilities**. In this case the likelihood of having a Marked PR Theme is reduced to 0%, because of the absolute requirement to place the 'relating out' element at the start of the clause, as in (17a).

(17a) (That's the man) who Ivy kissed.
(17ai) .... who [C/Af] Ivy [S/Ag] kissed [M].

[64] The reason for this may be that examples such as (16b) are considered to be ungrammatical (though this is an unlikely position for a SF linguist to take) or it may be that this structure has simply not been considered. And the reason for this is probably the extreme rarity of finding instances in texts that express this combination of choices - as the combined probabilities on the features in the systems indicates (0.01% of 2% of two-role 'action' clauses. However, a grammar clearly should allow for such examples, because they could occur - and probably do, if only very occasionally.

[65] The initial settings on these and all systems also assume that the MODE of the text is 'spoken' and the TENOR is 'consultative'.

If, however - in complete contrast - the feature 'exclamation' is chosen in the MOOD network, the probability of choosing [marked PR theme] is increased to 99.9%, as in (17b).[66] The analysis of (17b) is shown in (17bi).

(17b) What a big apple Ivy ate!
(17bi)What a big apple [C/Af] Ivy [S/Ag] ate [M]!

These examples illustrate neatly the value of having a grammar that provides for probabilities that change ACCORDING TO WHAT OTHER SEMANTIC FEATURES ARE CHOSEN. Thus the initial probabilities simply reflect the most frequent configuration of the relevant options - and they often need to be re-set.

4.4 The units that fill Marked PR Themes

While there are limits in certain cases on what unit may fill a thematized PR, it may in principle be filled by any unit, including a clause - as is illustrated in the underlined portions of (18a) to (18d).[67]

(18a)	Barlow's claim I simply do not accept.	(nominal group)
(18b)	Very clever at maths he may be, but ...	(quality group)
(18c)	To my daughter Ivy I leave my linguistics books.	(prepositional group)
(18d)	That he is a murderer I simply do not believe.	(clause)

(We shall deal with examples such as the second clause in the following in Section 12): *He had always had the ambition to order a boiled egg on a Saturday night in the Savoy, so order a boiled egg on a Saturday night in the Savoy he did.*)

4.5 The Performer's discourse purposes in making a Participant Role a Marked PR Theme

So far as I am aware, there is not an established body of literature on which to draw when trying to establish the discourse purposes of a Performer in using a Marked PR Theme.[68] Quirk et al. (1985:1377-9) suggest that 'the reason for fronting may be to echo thematically' something that has already been referred to in the preceding discourse, so providing 'direct linkage with what has preceded'. They rightly emphasize that this construction is not only used in colloquial speech but also in 'conventional written material' and 'the heightened language of rather mannered rhetoric'. In colloquial usage it is, they say, 'as if the thematic element is the first thing that strikes the speaker, and the rest is added as an afterthought'.

[66] The probability does not increase to 100%, because it is just about possible to exclaim at the PR that is the Subject, as in *What a clever boy ate up all his supper!* However, the more frequent usage by far would be *What a clever boy he is to eat up all his supper!*

[67] The analysis of (18a) to (18c) would be broadly the same in *IFG*, with the groups being analyzed as filling a thematized Complement (a Phenomenon in (18a), an Attribute in (18b) and an Affected-Carrier (which is close to Halliday's 'Beneficiary') in (18c). In the Cardiff Grammar (18d) would be analyzed in exactly the same way as (18a), except that the unit that fills the Complement/Phenomenon is a clause rather than a nominal group. But Halliday would analyze examples such as (18d) as consisting of two clauses that are related 'hypotactically' (i.e. by dependence without embedding) - so missing the generalization that the Phenomenon in both (18a) and (18d) can be thematized - whether it is filled by a clause, as in (18d), or by a nominalization of an event in a nominal group, as in (18a).

[68] Indeed, this would make a good area for a doctoral research project, and a corpus study may well reveal more insights.

This sounds reasonable, as far as it goes, but here we shall explore an explanation of the motivation for using this structure that goes a little further. There is also the well-recognized use of this construction 'to point a **parallelism** between two parts of a clause [= sentence?] or between two related but **contrasting** parts of neighbouring clauses' (Quirk et al. 1985:1378), as in their examples *In London I was born and in London I shall die* and *Defiantly they have spoken but submissively they will accept my terms.*

I want to suggest that, in many uses of this construction - including many that involve parallelism and contrast - the full explanation involves recognizing that some sort of **affective** response to the event by the Performer is involved - either overtly or covertly. (This is perhaps hinted at in Quirk et al's suggestion that 'the thematic element is the first thing that strikes the speaker'.) It may even be the case that putting this element first prototypically expresses the performer's emotional involvement with the referent. The fact that the structure involves what is often perceived as a disruption of the prescribed syntactic norms may perhaps be seen as a marker of the strength of the emotion that the Performer is experiencing. However, we must also recognize that this association can become conventionalized over time, and so be weakened, with the result that the structure can be used in cases where the emotion is not particularly strong.

This explanation is consistent with very many of the examples cited in Quirk et al. 1985, such as *An utter FOOL she made me feel* and *Really good MEALS they serve at that hotel*. It is less immediately obvious that it is relevant to some of their other examples, such as *This latter topic we have examined in Chapter 3 and need not reconsider,* but even here it can be argued that feelings are involved, since the writer is voicing his or her - and our - feeling of relief that we do not need to go over all that material again at this point. And similar comments come to mind for their other apparently unemotional examples, such as *Most of these problems a computer could take in its stride.*

One piece of evidence that supports the hypothesis that this construction is associated with the Performer's feelings comes from the fact that it often co-occurs particularly frequently with 'desiderative' Processes such as 'loving' and 'hating', as in *That book I just loathed* and in (3a), which is repeated here from Section 3 of Chapter 1 for convenience.

(3a) <u>Tom Hanks' performance</u> I really liked.

Now consider (3b) and (3c), which are also repeated from Section 3 of Chapter 1. The second clause of each illustrates the fact that a Marked PR Theme often occurs in cases where the PR is 'contrastively new'.[69] As with the non-contrastive examples that we have just been considering, there may be no OVERT expression of the Performer's feelings, as in (3b). Here they are expressed in the likely implications, which might in this case be 'but I would love to see it if I get the chance, because it's a marvellous play' or perhaps 'and I don't want to see it, because it is so horribly violent'. But typically there is at least some sign of the Performer's emotion, as in the words *well-supported* and *we should welcome* in (3c).

(3b) I've seen King Lear several times - (but) <u>Coriolanus</u> I haven't seen.

(3c) Unsubstantiated dismissals of major new productions don't deserve to be read, but <u>well-supported criticisms</u> we should welcome.

[69] Notice that it is not necessarily the case that the Marked PT Theme is the 'contrastively new' element. In (3b), for example, the Tonic marking the contrastively new element is likely to fall on the Operator *haven't*, since it is the Operator which in the unmarked case expresses the 'polarity' of the clause. (It would also be possible to place a Contrastive Tonic on BOTH of *Coriolanus* and *haven't*.

I am therefore suggesting (i) that there are two motivations for the selection of the feature [marked PR theme] - the affective and the contrastive - and (ii) that the two very often occur together. Thus either or both may trigger the choice of the feature [marked PR theme].[70]

4.6 Marked PR Themes of Location and Direction: a variant of the construction

Before closing the topic of Marked PR Theme, we should note two types that have an unusual effect on the sequence of the remaining elements. Consider:

(14c) Under the carpet was / lay a thick sheet of plastic.
(15c) Into the clearing rode a knight dressed all in scarlet.

In (14c) and (15c), then, there is not only a Marked PR Theme, but also a Main Verb that precedes the Subject. Some analysts might wish to interpret this as the 'thematization' of both the Complement and the Process (expressed in the Main Verb) - so we should ask: 'Are the Processes in such cases also being thematized?'

The answer is that they are not. The explanation lies elsewhere. It is that in such cases the word that realizes the Process type is relatively predictable - and so relatively recoverable. The element that contains the most 'new' information is the Subject - *a thick sheet of plastic* in (14c) and *a knight dressed all in scarlet* in (15c). The Subject is therefore placed at the end of the clause, in order to receive the unmarked Tonic, which marks the element explicitly as 'new' information. (While The Tonic can only fall on one syllable - i.e. *plastic* in (14c) and *scarlet* in (15c) - it nonetheless marks the whole of the clause element within which it falls as 'new'.) The result is that the sequence of the clause elements is C M S, e.g. *Under the carpet* [C] *was* [O/M] / *lay* [M] *a thick sheet of plastic* [S].

But why, we might ask, does the language allow us to treat verbs of location or direction in this way? One possible reason is that the acceptability of sentences such as (14c) is increased by the existence in the language of the phonologically - and experientially - very similar *Under the carpet there was a thick sheet of plastic.* See Section 2 of Chapter 7 for the analysis of such examples.

The C M S construction that we are considering here occurs with two limited classes of Process types and, although the thematization of the Location type of Complement may occur a little more frequently than the thematization of an Attribute - as in (12b) and (13b) - it is still an infrequent phenomenon, and so a fairly typical case of a Marked PR Theme.[71]

[70] Victor Castel has pointed out that 'contrastive newness' itself can be seen as implying emotion (personal communication). The reason is that, given that the Performer uses 'contrastive newness' to correct a possible misapprehension on the part of the Addressee, the Performer is typically surprised at the misapprehension, and that 'surprise' is itself a type of feeling.

[71] The nearest equivalent system in Matthiessen 1995 is the one on p. 540 (amplified on pp. 543 and 548) in which the choice is between [marked theme] and [unmarked theme]. His [marked theme] leads on to three features, as shown in his Figure 6-15 on p. 543, one of which is the equivalent of our [marked PR theme]. However, that system also contains the equivalent of our [thematized] - an option in Network B that applies to Adjuncts), and also to the equivalent of our [thematized process and dependent roles]. Yet these are in principle separate systems, and it is not impossible to have both a thematized CR and and a Marked PR Theme, as when a pregnant woman might say *Last week I quite enjoyed eating chocolate, but today even the thought of it I just loathe.* Furthermore, it is not clear how Matthiessen's highly generalized network would be used by the various Process types, many of which differ significantly from each other in their needs. I suggest that the logical way to achieve this is to have a separate system for each Process type in which one may choose [marked PR theme] (as he already does for VOICE, which is his equivalent of our SUBJECT THEME systems) - i.e. as we do in the Cardiff Grammar in the way indicated in Network A of Figure 2. The 'thematization' of Adjuncts needs to be separated from those systems, so allowing them to co-occur as freely as is appropriate with the various Process types.

4.7 The meaning of 'marked PR theme'

I must admit, at this point, that the name of the feature in the semantic system in Network A whose choice results in this construction - 'marked PR theme' - tells us less than a semantic label normally should about the meaning of this feature.

There are two factors that have led me to retain Halliday's term 'marked theme' as part of the label for this type of 'thematic' meaning. The first is simply that it maintains, in some measure, continuity with his pioneering work on this and other types of 'theme'. And the second is that it acknowledges the difficulty of finding a single label that clearly invokes the 'meaning' of this construction. 'Emotion-marked PR theme' would be quite close to what seems to be needed, but it is rather long. So 'Marked PR Theme' it is (sic!)

5

The thematization of Adjuncts, Vocatives and Main Verb Extensions

5.1 Adjuncts in general

We shall look first at the system network of options that is open to a typical **Adjunct,** and then briefly at those for **Vocatives** and **Main Verb Extensions**.

In terms of the places in the clause at which it may occur, the Vocative behaves quite like a typical Adjunct - but it plays a very different role in the structure of discourse from any of the Adjuncts, and this warrants giving it a completely different name. We shall also look briefly at the Main Verb Extension, which some approaches treat as yet another type of Adjunct but which functions completely differently. There are two main types, one of which has a 'thematic' option.

The vast majority of Adjuncts express an 'experiential' meaning, and these are often grouped together as Circumstantial Roles (CRs). Other types of Adjunct realize non-experiential meanings, and these include: (i) those that realize a 'validity' meaning such as *probably, maybe, obviously,* etc; (ii) those that realize an 'affective' meaning such as *unfortunately, luckily, I'm afraid*, etc.; and (iii) those that realize a 'logical relationship' meaning, such as *although he's poor, despite his poverty, however, moreover, indeed,* etc. There are many other such general types, some of which are mentioned in *IFG* and other such works. Research in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar suggests that there are over sixty altogether, of which the vast majority are Circumstantial. For a full account of the types of Adjunct that we need to recognize in a full description of English, see Ball 2002 and Fawcett forthcoming b.

However, since virtually all types of Adjunct enter essentially the same type of system with respect to their thematization, we shall use one or other of a few high frequency types of Adjunct to illustrate various points that apply to Adjuncts as a whole. Network B in Figure 2 is illustrated with a Manner Adjunct, and we shall also consider cases with a Usuality and a Time Position Adjunct.

Each of the many types has its own equivalent of Network B in Figure 2 - and so also of the network in Figure 4, to which we shall come shortly. These networks are dispersed throughout the grammar - rather like the various systems for SUBJECT THEME that we met in the last section. The key system in each such network is a version of the simplified system for the PROMINENCE of Manner Adjuncts shown in Network B in Figure 2 - with the important exception that they vary greatly with respect to the probabilities on each of the four features.

Notice that Adjuncts have a completely different 'thematization potential' from that of PRs that are Complements. In other words, the system network in which the choice to thematize an Adjunct occurs is quite different from the system network from which a marked PR theme is chosen. The thematization of many types of Adjunct - including CRs - occurs quite frequently, and so is very much less 'marked' than the marked thematization of a PR. This is one reason why it not helpful to treat (i) thematized Adjuncts and (ii) marked PR theme as two sub-types of 'marked theme', as is done in the Sydney Grammar's approach to

these two phenomena. Another is their markedly different purposes in the discourse (for which see Section 5.4).[72]

5.2 The form and meaning of a typical circumstantial Adjunct

As the system in Network B shows, Adjuncts enter a four-term system for PROMINENCE, the realizations of which are in terms of (i) the place in the clause at which the Adjunct will occur, and (ii) whether or not it will be assigned a separate information unit. The latter is indicated in speech through intonation and in writing by commas.

Here, then, the choice is NOT between different types of 'thematization', as it was in the SUBJECT THEME system, but between 'thematization' and other types of what we shall term 'prominence' - or the lack of it. 'Thematization' and the other three main types are illustrated in the underlined portions of (19a) to (22), where the examples illustrate the choices with respect to the Usuality Adjunct *very often*. In these examples there also happens to be a Time Position Adjunct (*on Sunday afternoon*).

(19a) Very often Ivy visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon.
(19b) Very often, Ivy visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon.
(20) Ivy visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon very often.
(21a) Ivy very often visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon.
(21b) Ivy, very often, visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon.
(22) Ivy visits my aunt on Sunday afternoon, very often.

The feature [thematized] has been chosen in (19a) and (19b) - and we shall come back shortly to the difference between these two. Downing (1991:128), following Chafe (1976) and others, has characterized the function of such thematized Adjuncts as being to provide 'circumstantial frameworks' for the events referred to in the rest of the clause. It would be possible to replace the term 'thematized' in Network B in Figure 2 by 'as framework', and this term would at least have the merit of helping us to escape the near-circularity of saying that the 'Theme' is the element that serves as 'the point of departure of the message' (Halliday 1994:37). This characterization of the meaning of 'theme' has long been recognized as too close to a description of its realization at the level of form as 'coming early in the clause' to be helpful.

However, we shall retain the term 'thematized' as the name for the semantic feature in the system, because it seems to be the only term that doesn't carry connotations at are too narrow to accommodate all types of Adjunct. As we shall see in the discussion of the 'discourse purposes' of thematized Adjuncts, the term 'framework' is only really suited to a sub-set of cases. The alternative SFL approach would be to abandon the position that the same system is relevant to all Adjuncts (except for differing probabilities) and to use different labels for each major type of Adjunct. In such an approach we could use the term 'framework' - meaning 'presented as a framework for the event' - for those types of Adjunct to which it is suited and some other label for the others. But here we have opted to used an underspecified term in the system network and to leave the work of differentiating the different functions served by the thematized Adjuncts to the higher components that predetermine the choices in the system networks.

[72] This is what Matthiessen does (1995:543), following Halliday in *IFG* - also yoking with these two the even less frequent concept of the Process as a 'marked theme'. In Chapter 13 I shall provide a different account of the concept of the 'Process as marked theme', which provides for phenomena not covered in Matthiessen's description. Thus Networks A and B in Figure 2 are offered as a more comprehensive replacement of the relevant part of Matthiessen's Figure 6-15 (p.543).

Let us now look briefly at the great variation in the probabilities in the PROMINENCE system. As I have already emphasized, there are many types of Adjunct other than those mentioned so far - and the probabilities in the systems for each that are the equivalent of Network B in Figure 2 vary greatly. The type of Adjunct that expresses a logical relationship with a preceding proposition, such as *however* and *in fact,* have a particularly high probability of being thematized - for the obvious reason that it is helpful to the Addressee if the logical relationship of the current event to some relevant earlier event is made clear at the start of the clause. And there are several other types of Adjunct that occur early in the clause with particular frequency - and usually for broadly similar reasons, such as *unfortunately* and *perhaps*. Interestingly, even though they do not express 'experiential' meanings, Downing (1991:128) treats all of these as different types of 'framework'. We shall return to this matter in Section 5.4.

However, the most frequent option in the PROMINENCE system for most circumstantial Adjuncts is, as in the present case, to place the Adjunct at the end of the clause - and so, typically, at the end of the information unit - as in (20). When this happens the Adjunct has the potential, in a spoken text, to receive the Tonic (the major pitch movement). And when this happens it is explicitly marked as 'new' information.[73] However, being marked as 'new' is a type of prominence that is quite different from that of thematization; it is a type of meaning that belongs in the 'informational' strand, which concerns the presentation of the clause from the viewpoint of the needs of the Addressee. In contrast, thematization can be thought of as being more likely to reflect the concerns or the viewpoint of the Performer. (But see Chapter 16.)

The 'integration' of the Adjunct illustrated in (21a) and (21b) can be regarded as a third type of 'prominence', in that it locates the Adjunct at the 'heart' of the clause. It is typically placed immediately after the Operator, if there is one, as in the variant of (21a) exemplified in *She has very often visited my aunt on Sunday afternoon*, and after the Subject if there isn't one, as in (21a).[74] Usuality Adjuncts also occur in this place particularly frequently, as do many (but not all) Validity Adjuncts (e.g. *probably* and *possibly* but not *perhaps*) - and a number of other types. And here too there is the possibility of variation in terms of whether or not the Adjunct is assigned a separate information unit, as it is in (21b).

The fourth option is to mark the Adjunct as conveying information that is merely a 'supplementary afterthought'.- i.e. to present the Adjunct as a separate information unit that is tacked onto the clause after the main Tonic, as in (22). Here the information conveyed in *very often* can be said to be 'non-prominent', in that it is presented as 'supplementary', while at the same time it clearly has a modicum of 'prominence', since it has at least sufficient 'newness' to be given its own information unit.

However, the system in Network B in Figure 2 is dependent on a feature in the fuller network for each type of Adjunct. Figure 4 shows where that system fits into within the full

[73] The reason why the feature in the network is 'potentially new' rather than simply 'new' is that it is possible for another element to occur after it (e.g. another Adjunct) - and in that case the later Adjunct would be likely to receive the Tonic, and so be marked as 'new'.

[74] Halliday suggests in *IFG* (p. 82) that there is a systematic difference between the two variants of the choice of [integrated] - which he simply calls 'neutral' - that is observable in negative clauses. This is not very clear in his first pair of examples, i.e. *They usually don't open before ten* and *They don't usually open before ten,* but it is much clearer in his second pair, i.e. *He possibly can't decide* and *He can't possibly decide.* Although he doesn't explain it in this way, it is a difference that is equivalent to that between 'It is possibly the case that he can't decide' and 'It is the case that he can't (possibly) decide' - where *possibly* functions as an re-enforcement of the negation in *can't.* And this contrast in forms - and so in meanings - can be applied to the first pair too: compare 'It is usually the case that they don't open before ten' and 'It is the case that they don't usually open before ten'. The fact that it wouldn't matter which of this second pair of examples was uttered in a given situation doesn't invalidate the use of this test in those cases where it does matter.

network from which a typical Adjunct is generated. Here the examples are those for a Time Position Adjunct, and the probabilities are those for typical cases of this type of Adjunct.

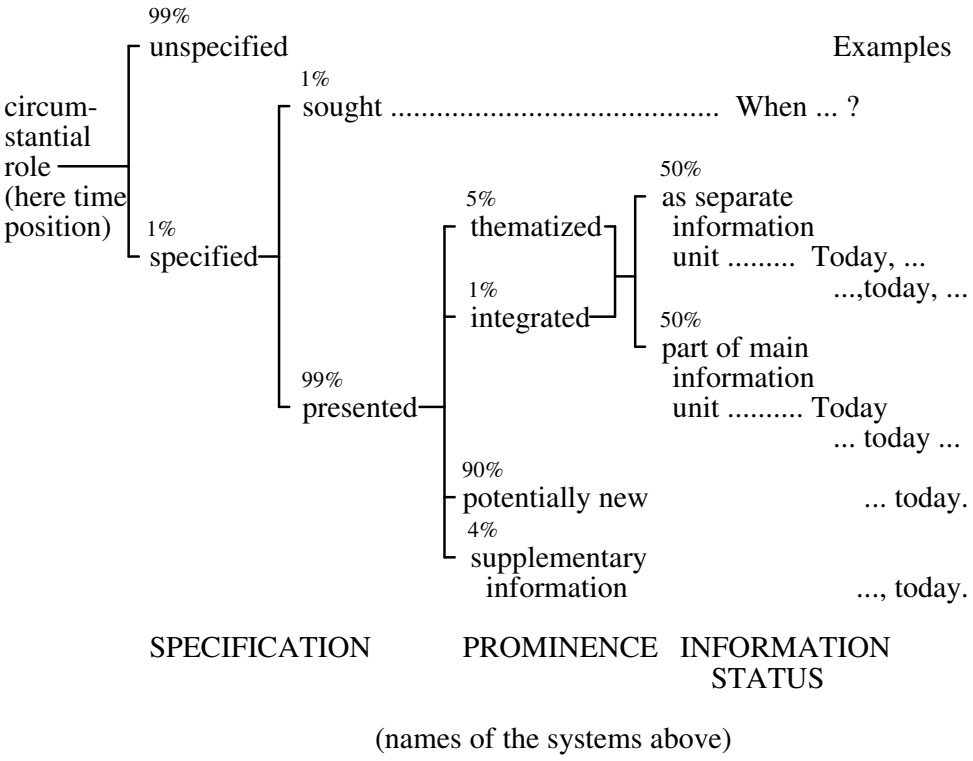


Figure 4: A generalized system network for a 'circumstantial' Adjunct

As you can see, two of the four features in the PROMINENCE system leads to a further system. Its features refer to options in what Tench, in his valuable extension of Halliday's description of English intonation, calls 'information status' (Tench 1996). The feature [as separate information unit] results in a separate information unit, this being realized by commas in written texts (as illustrated) and by intonation in spoken texts. And the realization of [supplementary information] is similar. Finally - and only if the text is a spoken text - each of these two features leads into a final, yet more delicate system of 'information status', in which the realizations are in the Tone (typically a rising or falling pattern) of the Tonic of the information unit (The names of the main systems have been written below them, to save space.)

Finally, when there is a separate information unit, there are further choices in 'information status' that are realized in the Tone - but these are omitted in Figure 4.

5.3 The units that fill Adjuncts and the items that expound them

While there are limitations in specific individual cases, an Adjunct may in principle be filled by any unit, including a clause - as is illustrated in the underlined portions of (23a) to (23d). It may also be directly expounded by an item, as in (23e).[75]

[75] The analysis of (23a) to (23c) would be broadly the same in *IFG*, with the groups being seen as filling a thematized Adjunct. In the Cardiff Grammar (23d) would be analyzed in exactly the same way as (23a) to (23c), with the unit that fills the Adjunct being a clause. (We make provision for the fact that semantically heavier units are more likely than semantically light units to receive a separate information unit.) But in *IFG* examples such as (23d) are said to consist of two clauses that are related 'hypotactically' (i.e. by dependence without embedding) - so missing the generalization that the class of unit that fills an Adjunct is typically

(23a) The day before yesterday I visited my elderly aunt. (nominal group)
(23b) Very often I visit her on a Sunday afternoon. (quality group)
(23c) During my absence abroad Ivy will visit her. (prepositional group)
(23d) While I am away Ivy will visit her. (clause)
(23e) However, Ivy will visit her in that period. (item)

The networks that generate the different types of Adjunct have probabilities that differ from each other very greatly, so requiring a different system network for each type of Adjunct. For example, most of the Usuality Adjuncts strongly prefer 'integrated', as we saw when considering (19a) to (22), but some such as *perhaps* prefer the thematized position. Finally, note that it is only the 'experiential' Adjuncts and some of the 'logical relations' Adjuncts that have the option [sought], realized in *when, where, why, how often?* etc.[76]

So far I have been assuming that the unit for which an Adjunct specifies a meaning is the clause. Indeed, an Adjunct is, by definition, an element of the clause at the level of form. But despite this fact there are some Adjuncts which carry a meaning that is relevant to a longer stretch of discourse than a single clause, of which the clause in which the Adjunct occurs is merely the first part. This happens in 'Scene-Setting' Adjuncts such as the first underlined Adjunct in (24). This is a Time Scene-Setting Adjunct, and it applies to the following stretch of discourse until it is cancelled. The second underlined Adjunct in (24) is an ordinary Time Position Adjunct, and it applies just to the current clause. This explains why some clauses may at first appear to have two 'Time Position' Adjuncts.

(24) Last year Ike used to have coffee with Ivy at about eleven.

5.4 The many discourse purposes of Adjuncts

I stated in Section 5.1 that there are over sixty different types of Adjunct in English, and that, while the majority of them express an 'experiential' meaning and can loosely be characterized as 'circumstantial Roles in the clause, others express meanings of 'logical relationship', 'validity', 'affective' feeling, and so on. The question is: 'Is there any general concept that captures the discourse purpose of the Performer when she thematizes an Adjunct that is applicable to ALL types of Adjunct?'

The best attempt at an answer that I have come across is the concept of a 'framework'. This was introduced to descriptions of English by Chafe, who originally used it for describing Mandarin Chinese (1976:50). He describes the concept as 'the spatial, temporal and individual frameworks within which the main predication holds'. This notion is taken up and extended to develop a basic taxonomy of types of Adjunct in Downing (1991:128-41). But how generally valid is it? It certainly feels quite natural to regard the 'scene-setting' roles of

immaterial in the question of whether it can enter the system of PROMINENCE. Halliday's grammar has to make provision separately for (i) the thematization of Adjuncts and (ii) the thematization of 'beta' clauses of certain classes - so missing a generalization and therefore complicating the model unnecessarily.

[76] The choice to treat a 'final' Adjunct as 'supplementary information' is treated here as being qualitatively different from the choice to give a thematized or integrated Adjunct a separate information unit. The reason is that, in the case of these last two, the contrast is simply that between the presence and absence of a separate information unit. But in the 'final' position the same formal difference realizes a contrast between (i) being a 'supplementary afterthought' that is tacked onto the end of the main message, and (ii) being the part of the main information unit that is 'POTENTIALLY NEW'. It is because of the considerable difference between these two meanings that we treat this choice as part of the main system of choices in PROMINENCE. Interestingly, Halliday too recognizes the 'afterthought' status of this type of Adjunct in his helpful description (with its neat examples) of the way in which the probabilities of both thematization and having a separate information unit vary, depending on the type of Adjunct (*IFG* pp. 82-4).

some types of 'experiential' Adjuncts as a type of 'framework' - i.e. those that specify the 'time' and 'place' of either the event realized in the clause or the series of events for the next stretch of the discourse. But it is much less well suited as a cover term for experiential roles such as Instrument and Accompanier, and the concept of an 'individual framework' seems to be intended to provide for all of the many types of Adjunct that do NOT realize a spatial or temporal meaning - both 'experiential' and 'non-experiential - and so to be essentially a rag-bag category that includes most types of Adjunct.

The fact is that while the type of meaning conveyed in an Adjunct that expresses a logical relationship to some preceding proposition or larger chunk of text (such as *however*) may perhaps be said to provide a 'framework' for what follows, it is a very different kind of 'framework' from the kind of 'framework' that expresses the location in time or space of an event (*yesterday* and *in the car*). And the same point can be made with respect to initial 'evaluative' Adjuncts such *perhaps* and *unfortunately*. Moreover, each of these is very different from the meaning of 'Manner' that some Adjuncts express, in which an Adjunct is sometimes little more than a lexical extension of the type of Process (compare *He ran quickly into the house* and *He dashed into the house*). So we have to ask: 'Is the concept of a "framework" really a helpful characterization of such Adjuncts?'

Thus, while the concept of the thematized Adjunct as a 'framework' may take us a little further than the concept of the 'point of departure of the message', it does not seem to me to be a major advance. The fact is that Adjuncts serve so many different functions, both in the clause and in discourse, that there can be no simple, overall generalization that covers them all, on those occasions when they are thematized in the clause. Most can be seen as contributing in some way to the 'development' of the discourse - but the variety of ways is great. And we would not want to claim to have characterized a thematized Adjunct by saying that it contributes to the development of the discourse - for the simple reason that every element can be said to contribute in one way or another. Again, the supposed generalization is to general to be helpful.

There is an alternative research strategy. Rather than trying to find some high level generalization that will unite all of the possible purposes that thematized Adjuncts may serve for the Performer in discourse, we should consider carefully the purpose of each type of Adjunct, and seek to characterize it in its own right. Indeed, some of these discourse purposes have been mentioned in describing the meanings of Adjuncts in the preceding sections. Interestingly, there are clear parallels between the purposes of certain Adjuncts in relation to the clauses in which they occur and some of the discourse purposes that Huang (1996:92-107) identifies as those served by the experiential enhanced theme construction (for which see Section 9.7 of Chapter 9). For example, his 'topic-setting' purpose, which is relevant to the discourse, is fairly similar to the function of a Respect Adjunct in the clause (for which see Section 5.5 of Chapter 5).

This, however, is not the place to attempt to characterize the 'purposes' of all of the sixty or so different types of Adjunct that occur in English. What is clear, however, is that we need to be able to map the discourse purposes onto the choices in the system networks - and that they are in a relationship that is far from being one-to-one. And the breadth of coverage of types of meaning of the Adjuncts is such that this is how we should expect it to be.

5.5 The 'Respect' and 'Topic-Marking' Adjuncts

Because all other grammars that I know of analyze certain sub-types of the two types of Adjunct to be examined in this section in a different way from that proposed here, it may be helpful to begin by examining the similarities to and differences from the accounts of this phenomenon given by other scholars.

5.5.1 The 'Respect Adjunct'

Let us begin with the Respect Adjunct, hose domain is the clause, and †hen move on to the Topic-Marking Adjunct, which serves a similar function with respect to units of discourse that are longer than a single clause -typically a paragraph in writing and so a unit of similar length in speech.

In naming this Adjunct the **Respect Adjunct** I am following Quirk et al 1985.[77] The test for it is that you can always re-express it as 'With respect to X, ...', where the element X is presented as a 'thing' to which the following clause is relevant. In (25a), then, *As for my friend Peter* is a Respect Adjunct, just as it would be if *as for* was replaced by *as regards, with regard/respect to,* etc.

This brings us to the question: How should we analyze *my friend Peter* in (25b)?

(25a) As for my friend Peter, you'll just love him.
(25b) My friend Peter, you'll just love him.

The answer, from a functional perspective, is that we should also treat an example like (25b) as a Respect Adjunct. The analysis suggested here is therefore as in (25bi):

(25bi) My friend Peter [A/Resp] you [S/Em] 'll [O] just [A] love [M] him [C/Ph].[78]

The reason is that the only difference between (25a) and (25b) is that in (25a) the meaning of 'with respect to' is made explicit through the use of *as for*, while in (25b) it is not.

The type of structure shown in (25b) - but not (25a) - is known in formal grammars as 'left-dislocation', and in some systemic functional grammars (e.g. Berry 1975:164-5) as 'preposed theme'. In Quirk et al (1985:1310) it is termed 'anticipated identification' and in Biber et al (1999:957) a 'preface'. Matthiessen (1995:372) terms it an 'absolute theme'. But while all of these studies take a functional approach, none of them recognize the functional similarity between (25a) and (25b).[79] Perhaps the reason why some of these scholars appear

[77]The term 'Respect' is preferred to Halliday's equivalent term 'Matter', because it gives us a clearer label for the meaning and a more transparent test. In the words of Quirk et al (1985:483), a Respect Adjunct provides 'a relevant point of reference with respect to which the clause derives its truth value'.

Curiously, the wording used here by Quirk et al is close to Halliday's characterization of the 'interpersonal' meaning of the Subject (1994:76), which is that it is something 'on which the validity of the information is made to rest'). However, I have shown (in Fawcett 1999) that what Halliday is in fact referring to here is not the Subject in its 'interpersonal' meaning, but the 'thematic' meaning of the Subject, i.e. its meaning as 'Subject Theme', which is typically - but not inevitably - present when there is a Subject. (It is absent in each of the many types of experientially empty Subjects that are expounded by *it* or *there* such as *It's nice to see you, It was you that I saw, It's raining* and *There's a spider in the basin.*) Thus, while I am unhappy with Quirk et al's invocation of 'truth' (preferring the term 'validity', since it avoids the 'absolute' implications of 'truth'), I see Quirk et al's 'Respect' as picking up on essentially the same notion of 'theme' that Halliday suggests in *IFG* to be involved in the 'interpersonal' meaning of the 'Subject' - while recognizing that what is thematized in the present case is functioning in the clause as an Adjunct. Halliday would agree with me that it is an Adjunct (the name which he uses because it is for him, as already stated, a 'Circumstance' of 'Matter'). However, he might not agree that an example such as *My friend Peter, you'll just love him* is an example of a Respect Adjunct. In terms of Matthiessen's useful warning (1995:532) that 'it is important not to confuse the textual function Theme with the ideational function Matter ([i.e. Respect]', I may seem to have been sailing close to the wind in noting the similarity between Quirk et al's characterization of the Respect Adjunct and Halliday's characterization of the Subject. But the fact that I can do so simply indicates that, at a higher level of planning than the options in the system networks, a decision needs to be made between expressing an element as a thematized Respect Adjunct and using one of the other choices in 'thematic' meaning.

[78] Additional key: Em = Emoter, Ph = Phenomenon.

[79] Matthiessen, however, tells me that he would treat *As for my friend Peter* in (25a) in the same way as *My friend Peter* in (25b) (personal communication, 2007).

to accept an explanation that implies some sort of syntactic transformation (as in the use of terms such as 'left-dislocation' or 'preposed theme') is the continuing influence of the habit of giving priority to patterning at the level of form, rather than patterning at the level of meaning. Specifically, they appear to be working on the assumption that, if the element is filled by a simple nominal group such as *my friend Peter*, it is likely to fill a Participant Role in the clause. But there is no 'rule' that says that an element that is filled by a simple nominal group must be a PR, and in a functional approach to syntax there are plenty of counter-examples to this broad generalization (such as the Time position Adjunct *this week* in *I'll clean it this week*).

Notice that the initial nominal group in (25b) is not a 'fuller version' of the Subject, as it would be in *My friend Peter, he'll just love you,* but a 'fuller version' of the Complement. So the position is, as this example suggests, that a Respect Adjunct can foreshadow an element at ANY position in the rest of the clause. It may even be embedded deeply inside it, as in *My friend Peter, I just know that you'll like him,* and so on. See Section 3 of Chapter 13 for a further comment on the Respect Adjunct as a replacement for the concept of 'preposed theme'.[80]

The Respect Adjunct illustrates the fact that some forms of some Adjuncts do not have the freedom to occur in all of the various positions in the clause that are indicated in Network B of Figure 2. Thus a Respect Adjunct that begins with *As for ...* has to be thematized. But notice that there are other types of Respect Adjuncts that can occur at the end of the clause, e.g. as in (26a), which can occur in al three of the main positions associated with an Adjunct, and (26b), in which the end position is strongly favoured.

(26a) Everyone's feeling pretty satisfied, <u>with respect to the school's recent exam results</u>.

(26b) She'll help you <u>with / over / with respect to that</u>.

This illustrates again the fact that we not only need to allow for the possibility of variation in the probabilities of the different types of 'prominence' between the different types of Adjunct, but also for variation WITHIN specific sub-types of some. And this is done in the full, generative version of the Cardiff Grammar.[81]

[80] Thus an adaptation of Network B covers the choice that Matthiessen (1995:540) expresses in the top system in his Figure 6-14 - except that his network is wrong in suggesting that there is a choice between having a Respect Adjunct (a 'Matter' Adjunct in his terms) and having a 'transitivity role' as 'theme'. The reason is that, as we saw in Section 4 of Chapter 3, there is an independent choice in most clauses as to which PR is to be made the Subject Theme, so that both may be chosen for the same clause.

[81] Here we have been considering the case for 'preposed theme'. It may be useful to add that in the Cardiff Grammar there is also no need for the notion of 'postposed theme'. This concept has been proposed by some systemic functional linguists, and it corresponds to the concept of 'right-dislocation' that is found in formal grammars. It is not needed in the Cardiff Grammar because such cases are treated as one of several types of 'Replacement' - a concept that is part of what is termed the 'ancillary grammar (see Fawcett forthcoming a). In principle, the Performer may offer a 'Replacement' for any experiential role, either a PR or a CR. Consider, for example, (i) *You'll just love him* [C/Ph] <u>*my friend Peter*</u> [Repl/C/Ph], and (ii) *I saw him later* [A/TP], *at about twelve* [Repl/A/TP]. The 'replaced' PR may of course also be the Subject Theme, as in (iii) *He's very clever,* <u>*my friend Peter*</u> [Repl/S/Ca]. This explanation is fully consistent with the set of examples in Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1411-2 - and indeed with their account of the 'pragmatic functions' of the construction.

In some dialects of English there is what may at first appear to be a variant of the Replacement, but in fact it is a 're-enforcing tag', i.e. a clause with only a Subject and an Operator. The preferred sequence varies from one dialect to another, e.g. (i) *He's seen her today,* <u>*Peter has / has Peter*</u>, and, with a medial 're-enforcing tag', (ii) *He's very clever,* <u>*Peter is / is Peter*</u>*, at getting his own way*. These are even more clearly not cases of 'postposed theme'. Interestingly, J.K. Rowling concludes Chapter 8 of *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999:121) with a combination of this construction and a Marked PR Theme, thus: *Nasty temper he's got, that Sirius Black*. The equivalent without the Marked PR Theme and with the tag expressed in full would be *He's got a nasty temper, that Sirius Black has* - which is much less effective. By using this combination of

5.5.2 The 'Topic Marking Adjunct'

XXX The following is lifted from the notes on this in the semantics handbook and needs complete revision.

Topic Marking Adjuncts (A/TM)

This type of Adjunct needs to be carefully distinguished from the Respect Adjunct, for which see Section XXX of Chapter 3).

There are several subtypes, as the examples given below illustrate. The sub-types indicate the range of meanings of this type. They are not different types of Adjunct from each other, as is shown by the fact that we do not find more that one of them in any one clause.

Test: 'With respect to X, ...', with the scope of the 'respect' **EXTENDING BEYOND THE CURRENT CLAUSE**. (Contrast the test for the Respect Adjunct, in Chapter 3.)

Examples:

Subtypes include:

topic establishing (?)

On the subject of politics, he's quite ignorant.
As for my friend Ivy, she likes to stay up late.
My friend Ivy, she likes to stay up late.

topic changing:

Filled by: pgp: p < with respect / reference / regard to (formal), in respect of, concerning, respecting, re (written), on the matter of, about, as for, as to
Cl: B < so far as / as far as / where ... X is concerned

topic continuing: ??? No?

topic resuming:

Anyway, To get back to ...., To return to the subject / matter / question / issue, etc of .... (any others?).
Further to out my letter of 6th April concerning your mortgage,

Examples with A/DOA as well as A/TM:
Finally, as for my friend Ivy, she's very clever.

constructions, JK Rowling ends her chapter with a 'cliff-hanger': the last clause of the chapter is presented as being merely a re-enforcing tag that repeats and 're-enforces' supposedly known information (the referent of *he* in the main clause of *(i) nasty temper he's got)*, but its Subject - and so the final nominal group of the chapter, turns out to be the person who is believed at that point in the book to be a killer who is out to murder our hero. And the very last words of the chapter reveal that he is already inside Hogwarts School - so could attack Harry at any moment.

Talking about fishing, I actually caught a small trout last week.
Anyway, To get back to fishing, I must tell you about ...

5.6 The Vocative

When a Vocative occurs with other elements in a clause, the places at which it can occur are quite like those of an Adjunct - that it, it can occur initially, it can occur medially, and it can occur at the end of the clause. But it is unusual - though not impossible - for it not to be given a separate information unit, and in this it differs strongly from a typical Adjunct. For this reason and reasons that derive from its functions in discourse it should be viewed as an element in its own right, rather than as a type of Adjunct.[82]

The purpose of a Vocative may at first seem obvious. In spoken texts a simple Vocative such as *Ivy!* frequently functions in discourse structure as an independent element, i.e. as an 'attention-getter' (Fawcett 1980:235-6). In such cases it is clearly a complete utterance, and so not as an 'adjunct' to anything. But we need to ask how far it is performing this function when it occurs as an element of a clause. The answer is that it may still have just this one function - and this may be the case with (27a) when spoken by a teacher in a primary classroom - but that usually it does not.

Far more frequently, its function is to mark the relative social and/or personal distance between the Performer and the Addressee. When it occurs non-initially in the clause, as do *Sir, darling* and *Jim* in (27a), this is by far the more likely purpose. But it may in fact serve both functions - as may well be the case in (27b). The analysis of (27b) is as in (27bi).

(27a) Could you possibly speak a little louder, Sir / darling / Jim?
(27b) James, be quiet!
(27bi) James [V], ([S/Ag]) be [M] quiet [C/At]!

Note that the system for the PROMINENCE of a Vocative, which is fairly similar to that of an Adjunct, is not included in Figure 2.

5.7 The Main Verb Extension

Finally, we should note the possibility that one of the two main types of Main Verb Extension can be thematized. There is no question of thematization in the difference between *She put her coat on* and *She put on her coat,* but there is in the difference between *They went off for a walk* and *Off they went for a walk*. Compare (28a) and (28b).

In some grammars the Main Verb Extension is simply termed a 'particle' (which has the disadvantage of giving no indication of its function), and in others (including *IFG*) it is treated as yet another type of Adjunct. No reason is given for this analysis; perhaps the reason is that it can occasionally be thematized, as in (28b). But in other respects the syntactic behaviour of the Main Verb Extension is quite different from that of most Adjuncts - e.g. it cannot be 'integrated' to occur after the Operator.[83]

[82] Because a Vocative occurs in something like the same range of positions in the clause as an Adjunct does, it may be tempting to think of it as a type of Adjunct. Indeed, it is possible to infer that this is Halliday's position from his first presentation of the concept in *IFG* (pp. 53-4). But his later uses of the term (pp. 85 and 95) and Matthiessen's discussion of it (e.g. 1995:398) make it clear that that they, like me, regard it as a clause element in its own right.

[83] See Fawcett 2000a:304-5 for brief notes on this element of the English clause, and Chapter 5 of Fawcett (forthcoming a) for a full description of the central place in the English clause of this element, and why it is not simply another Adjunct.

(28a) They [S/Ag] went [M] off [MEx] for a walk [A].
(28b) Off [MEx] they [S/Ag] went [M] for a walk [A].

Note that the system for this 'minor' type of thematization is not included in Figure 2.

6

Multiple 'themes'

6.1 Halliday's position on 'multiple themes'

Most types of naturally occurring texts include many examples of what Halliday has described as '\multiple themes' (*IFG* pp. 52-5). He is right to recognize the importance of the concept of multiple themes. It is not a phenomenon that can ignored, and yet many scholars continue to write as if a clause had a single 'theme'. The first point to make is that this is not a new type of 'theme' but the bringing together - by relevant choices in various systems - of types of 'theme' that we have already considered (and sometimes also of types to be considered in due course.

Halliday suggests (p. 55) that there may be up to seven 'themes' in a clause, citing as an example the underlined portion of (29).

(29) Well but then Ann surely wouldn't the best idea be to join the group?

However, there are three problems with the particular description of 'multiple themes' that he offers us in *IFG*.

6.2 The problem of 'One Theme or many?'

The first problem with his account of 'multiple themes' is that he writes about them as if, in such cases, the clause had a simple structure consisting of a 'Theme' and a 'Rheme' - so suggesting that a clause such as (29) has, in some sense, a single 'Theme'. For example, he states (p. 53) '**the Theme** [my emphasis] extends from the beginning of the clause up to (and including) the first element that has a function in transitivity.' (We shall return to a separate problem that concerns the definition itself shortly.) So we might ask, in analyzing (29); 'Is there one 'theme' or are there seven?' The answer, as suggested by the analysis in IFG, is that there is both one and seven, in that he provides one layer of analysis that shows one 'Theme' and another that shows all seven.

He then goes on to suggest that the diagram representing such a clause should also show also a third layer of analysis that lies between the other two - i.e. that there are three 'sub-themes' (this being my term, not his) within this overall 'theme': the 'textual', the 'interpersonal' and the 'experiential'. And these three 'sub-themes' correspond, of course, to the three meta-functions that he claims provide three types of structure in the clause. Thus he states that 'the **textual theme** [my emphasis] is any combination of (i) continuative, (ii) structural and (iii) conjunctive [elements]' and similarly that 'the **interpersonal theme** [again, my emphasis] is any combination of (i) vocative, (ii) modal, (iii) mood-marking [elements]'. Thus for Halliday two of the three 'sub-themes' in fact consist potentially of three different 'sub-sub-themes'.[84] Again we might ask, in analyzing (29); 'Is there one 'theme' or are there three, or are there seven?'

[84] The idea that the seven types of 'theme' should be grouped in three internal clusters and that these are named as 'textual', 'interpersonal' and 'experiential' 'sub-themes' is derived from Halliday's 'three-metafunction' model of the clause. But more variation in the sequence is possible than this claim suggests, e.g. there is nothing odd about *Very slowly and carefully, therefore, we lowered the boat.* And even if the 'thematic'

This makes for a complicated approach to 'multiple themes': one with three layers of analysis for every case. But the only value that the middle layer has is as a hypothesis that this sequence of 'textual' preceding 'interpersonal' preceding 'experiential' - together with the specification of the sequence of the three types within each of the first two - summarizes the sequence in which the seven types of 'element' occur. If we assume for the moment that the hypothesis holds good (which it often doesn't, as we shall shortly see) we have to ask if this three-layer model the most helpful way of expressing it. In fact it is not. Halliday could instead simply have listed the seven elements in their expected order, and omitted both the layer of analysis in terms of the metafunctions and the layer which suggests, misleadingly, that there is just a single 'Theme'.

The fact is that in (29) EACH OF THE SEVEN ELEMENTS OCCURS IN THE PLACE IT DOES AS THE RESULT OF AN INDIVIDUAL CHOICE IN THE SYSTEM NETWORKS. If this is so - as it incontrovertibly is - the logical corollary is to recognize that it causes unnecessary complications to imply that there are three different 'layers' of structure in the analysis of such cases rather than one. Yet Halliday does so in his diagrammatic analysis of (29) on p. 55 of *IFG*, and in almost all of the analyses of clauses in 'The "silver" text' (pp. 368-85 of *IFG*). In other words, the *IFG* analyses would be both simpler and more accurate if the seven elements were simply presented in their own right.

Halliday's hypothesis about the sequence of elements is just that: a hypothesis. It is true that it expresses certain broad probabilities, but exceptions to its predictions occur quite frequently. Note the ordinariness of examples such as *Unfortunately, then, I shall have to withdraw my consent* (where we find, in defiance of Halliday's prediction, what he would call an 'interpersonal' element before a 'logical' element. And in *Very slowly and carefully, therefore, we lowered the boat* we find an 'experiential' element before 'logical' element, so that it is another counter-example.[85]

6.3 The problem of the claim that there can be only one 'experiential' Theme

The second problem with the *IFG* approach to multiple themes is one that many other systemic functional linguists have noted (e.g. Downing (1991) and Berry (1995). The problem lies in Halliday's 'principle' (as he rather grandly terms it) that 'the Theme always contains one, and only one, ... experiential element' (the experiential elements being defined as 'the process itself; any participants in that process, ... and any circumstantial factors such as time or place'). He calls this element the 'topical theme'.[86]

elements that he recognized did always occur in the sequence he names, it still would not be necessary to group those that may be generated from the same 'metafunction' or 'strand of meaning' together as some sort of 'constituent' - as Halliday always does, as we have seen, in his diagrams for theme.

[85] The model for the proposal that (i) the supposedly seven different types of 'theme' should be grouped in three internal clusters, and (ii) these should be named as 'textual', 'interpersonal' and 'experiential' 'sub-themes' is Halliday's 'three-metafunction' model of the clause. However, even if the seven 'thematic' elements that he recognizes did always occur in the sequence he names (which they don't, as we have just seen) there would still be no point in grouping those that may be generated from the same 'metafunction' or 'strand of meaning' together, as if they were some sort of 'constituent'. Yet Halliday always does this, as we have seen, in his diagrams for 'theme'. Martin, Matthiessen & Painter (1997:24f.) deal with the problem of how to minimize the theoretical implications of Halliday's approach by writing about the three 'stages' (and sometimes the three 'parts') of the 'theme'. But unfortunately they follow Halliday - as they are perhaps bound to, in a work that is explicitly written to help students and others to understand better how to use *IFG* when analyzing text - in referring to all of the varied elements in 'multiple themes' as 'the Theme'.

[86] He introduces this term to show common ground with the 'topic-comment' analysis found in Chomsky's early transformational generative grammars (p. 52). But, as Downing rightly implies (1991:119) this concept, as defined by Halliday, should not be a part of the SFL descriptive framework.

Consider Examples (30a) to (30d).

(30a) Ivy kissed Ike.
(30b) Last night Ivy kissed Ike.
(30c) Ike was kissed by Ivy.
(30d) Last night Ike was kissed by Ivy.

In (30a) 'Ivy' is for Halliday the 'topical theme'. But in (30b) he would say that the 'topical theme' is 'last night', and that 'Ivy' is not a 'theme' at all. Yet the fact is that IN BOTH CASES 'Ivy' (rather than 'Ike') has been selected as the Subject Theme. The evidence is the fact that 'Ike' could have been chosen as Subject Theme instead - as is done in both (30c) and (30d).

In other words, ALMOST ALL CLAUSES THAT CONTAIN A THEMATIZED CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCT WILL ALSO CONTAIN A SUBJECT THEME. This is because the choices in (i) the relevant SUBJECT THEME system is independent of the choices in the PROMINENCE system for that Adjunct type (as we have seen in Sections 2 and 3).[87] It seems to those systemic functional linguists who have noted this fact that it is impossible for someone who has acknowledged it to continue to hold the view that there can only be one experiential Theme in a clause. We await the third edition of *IFG* with interest, to see if this point has finally been accepted.

6.4 The problem of the claim that initial *well* and *but* are Themes

The third problem with the *IFG* approach is that the first two elements in the underlined portion of (29) - i.e. *well* and *but* - are not in fact types of 'theme' at all. The reason is that they do not occupy the positions in the clause that they do because of a choice to have them at this position in the clause. In other words, since these elements cannot occur at any other place in the clause than these early places, they are not in fact 'themes'. See Section 1 of Chapter 15 for a full explanation of the principle at work here.[88]

6.5 Summary so far

To summarize so far: it is clear that we should not think in terms of a single 'multiple theme' with various sub-components - which seems to be what is being suggested in the approach taken in *IFG (pp.* 52-3 & 55). The fact is that we sometimes find the CO-OCCURRENCE of two or more choices, each of which results in the thematization of an Adjunct, at the same time as the generation of a Subject Theme. In all cases of such

[87] Indeed, the same principle applies when there is a Marked PR Theme (rather than a thematized Circumstantial Adjunct), in that here too the Subject Theme is selected independently, so generating clauses with two 'experiential themes'.

[88] Perhaps I should say how the elements of the clause in Example (29) would be handled in terms of the Cardiff Grammar. The item *but* is a Linker (and so not a thematized element); *then* is a thematized Adjunct that expresses a logical relationship with a preceding proposition (as is shown by the fact that it could occur, with the same sense, later in the clause); *Ann* is a thematized Vocative; *surely* is a Validity Adjunct that serves the function of re-enforcing a 'confirmation-seeker', and *the best idea* is the Subject Theme. The initial item *well* (which Halliday terms a 'continuative'), would be analyzed as a Frame. This is an element that occurs at the start of a move in the grammar of discourse structure (as described in Sinclair and Coulthard 1975:25-7), and so it is not, functionally speaking, part of the clause. However, it is attached to it and it is often realized as part of the same information unit - as it presumably is in (29). The same description applies to the other elements that are analyzed in *IFG* as 'continuatives', such as *well then* and *now* (as a weak syllable. as in *Now I don't know what you mean, but ...*) Note, however, that I treat *yes* and *no,* when they occur initially as in *Yes I do*, *Yes and I think ...* and *No but I didn't say tha*t, etc. differently from Halliday, i.e. as separate one-element clauses; see Chapter 4 of Fawcett (forthcoming a).

'multiple themes' the Subject remains a Subject Theme, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS ALSO A THEMATIZED CR OR PR.

6.6 The three main sources of 'multiple themes'

What, then, are the main types of 'multiple themes'? The most frequent reason for having more than one type of 'theme' in a clause is that there may be both a PR as the **Subject Theme** and a **thematized Adjunct** - e.g. one expressing the 'Time Position' of the event, such as *yesterday* in (31) or the 'Validity' of the proposition, such as *Perhaps* as in (32).

(31) Yesterday Ivy bought a new pair of shoes.
(32) Perhaps she is feeling rich.

The same principle applies when there is a **Subject Theme** and a **Marked PR Theme**. So in an example such as the second clause in (3b), which is repeated here for convenience, there is a Subject Theme (*I*) as well as a Marked PR Theme (*Coriolanus*).

(3b) I've seen King Lear several times - (but) Coriolanus I haven't seen.

However, this type occurs only infrequently. The second most frequent source of multiple themes is the occurrence of **two or more different types of Adjunct** in the same clause, e.g. as in (34) - though there is nearly always a **Subject Theme** as well, as in this case.[89]

(34) In the morning, quite unexpectedly, she told her parents that she was leaving home.

Interestingly, when two Adjuncts are thematized in the same clause they are typically - but not absolutely obligatorily - from two different strands of meaning, so that the thematized elements normally express significantly different types of meaning. (In (29), for example, the Adjunct *then* expresses a logical relationship, and the Adjunct *surely* expresses the 'obviousness' type of 'validity'.[90] As a further example, consider the second of the two co-ordinated clauses in (35):

(35) Last month Ike lost four pounds in weight, but this month, sadly, because he's been on holiday in France, he's put it all back on again.

Here we have three thematized Adjuncts - one experiential, one affective and one expressing a logical relationship. (The item *but* is not treated here as a type of 'theme'; for the reason see Section 1 of Chapter 15.) And such clauses usually have a Subject Theme too, of course - so that in (35) there are four types of 'theme' altogether. The analysis of the early elements in the second clause is as in (35i):

(35i) ... but [&] this month [A], sadly [A], because he's been on holiday in France [A], he [S/Ag] ....

[89] One type of exception is an example such as *Unfortunately* [A], *my friend* [V], *it* [S] *is you who has drawn the short straw* - in which the Subject *it* is an experientially empty Subject. However, there is a third type of theme: the Experiential Enhanced Theme of *you* (as described in Chapter 9).

[90] Specifically, *surely* in (29) is a type of Validity Adjunct that typically co-occurs with a 'polarity check' such as *The best idea would be to join the group, surely?*. (i.e. a 'positive' rather than a 'negative' clause). So the use of *surely* in (29) is atypical.

However, there is no absolute rule that there can be only one Adjunct of each type; it is not unusual to find a clause with two or even more thematized Circumstantial Roles, e.g. a Time Position and a Manner Adjunct, as in *Suddenly, at about midnight, I experienced a jabbing pain in my stomach.*

As a final example of multiple themes, consider this example (taken from near the end of the first section of Chapter 1 of this book): *Here, then, in the general framework of a 'trinocular' approach to the problem of understanding the nature of 'theme', we shall focus primarily on the system networks for the various types of 'theme'.* The first Adjunct (*here*) is a Place Adjunct and so 'experiential', the second is a Grounds Adjunct, and so of the 'logical relations' type, but what is the third? In the Cardiff Grammar it is a Subject Viewpoint Adjunct (so like *from the viewpoint of politics, speaking politically* etc), and so a meaning that is handled as part of the minor 'discoursal' strand of meaning in the clause (Fawcett 1980:234-9). But in terms of the choices available in *IFG*, the third thematized Adjunct does not correspond to any of the 'modal' or 'comment' Adjuncts exemplified in the table on p. 49 (which Halliday treats as 'interpersonal'), so it seems likely to need to be treated as an 'experiential' meaning.[91] So an example such as this, which appears from the *IFG* framework to have two thematized 'experiential' Adjuncts, would be a counter-example to Halliday's claim that there can be only one 'experiential theme' in a clause.

6.7 From 'simple themes' to 'thematic structures'

As you will have noticed, our consideration of 'multiple themes' has not required us to recognize a 'multiple theme' as a new type of 'theme'. This is because 'multiple themes' are simply the co-occurrence of two or more types of what we may call a 'simple theme'. 'Simple themes', then, are realized by the thematization of a single element of the clause - i.e. by locating it at a place at or near to the start of the clause.

Now, however, it is time to move on to consider four types of 'enhanced theme', each of which has a more complex syntactic and semantic structure than the simple types of 'theme' that we have considered so far. And we shall also look at a related construction that is not in fact a type of enhanced theme at all. Indeed, it isn't necessarily generated as a type of 'theme', in that this construction is frequently generated by a means that is not a choice in a system for 'theme'. But there are three reasons to consider it here. The first reason is that it is considered to be a type of 'theme' in most other grammars, so that I need to explain how it is generated when it is not one. The second reason is that - paradoxically, in view of my last statement - this construction can be generated as the result of a decision in the overall algorithm for determining the structure of the logical form, whose structure determines the choices in the semantic system network. (See Section 8.6 of Chapter 8 for the explanation of this situation.) The third reason is that, if we first understand the semantic and syntactic structure of this 'non-thematic' construction, it will be easier to explain the structure of one of the four major types of 'thematic structure'. Indeed, it is probably because of this relatively close syntactic relationship that it is assumed to be a type of 'theme'. We shall therefore consider this important 'non-thematic' choice in the grammar in Chapter 8.

[91] Halliday's category 'Angle', which corresponds to our Personal Viewpoint, probably provides the nearest approximation to a match with our example. But it is the Cardiff Grammar's category of Subject Viewpoint, which is not found in Halliday's taxonomy, that provides the best fit - and this is surely even more clearly 'experiential' than Halliday's 'Angle'. For Quirk et al. (1985:568-9) it would be a 'Viewpoint Subjunct', which is the same as our Subject Viewpoint Adjunct.

7

Existential Enhanced Theme

7.1 Form and meaning: a first account

Network C in Figure 2 shows the system for the EXISTENTIAL ENHANCED THEME - the first of the three types of 'enhanced theme'.[92] Here, when the feature [carrier is existential enhanced theme] is chosen, we generate the words *there is,* followed by the **existential enhanced theme** that these words introduce. Indeed, the traditional label for this type of clause is 'existential', and since this term recognizes an important part of the construction's meaning - as I shall explain shortly - we make use of this standard term in our name for the construction. (The principle that I follow is to use the traditional term for a construction unless it is seriously misleading - but unfortunately we shall find that this is the case with the next three constructions to be considered.)

The Enhanced Theme is typically an **object** of some type. It may however be an **event** represented as an object, such as *a marvellous game* or *a fearsome gnashing of teeth.*

The discourse function of this construction is to introduce a new object - often a new person - to the discourse. Since the referent is 'new' to the discourse it is naturally not 'particularized' (or 'definite'), since forms that signal the meaning of 'particularized' such as *the driver* and *he* mean 'this is a particular object that is identifiable by the Addressee' - and it cannot therefore be 'new'. The result is that the referent is almost always unparticularized (or 'indefinite') - as in the following examples (the first of which is repeated from Section.3 of Chapter 1).

(9) There's a bee in Ivy's hair.
(36) There's a restaurant over there.
(37) There were over fifty major wars in the 1900s.

Consider (9). In terms of its 'experiential' meaning, this is a 'locational' clause with a Carrier and a Location: the Carrier *the bee* is being located at the Location *in Ivy's hair.* But, while in the simple equivalent of *A bee is in Ivy's hair* the word *is* comes between the Carrier and the Location, in (9) it comes before the Carrier. And the 'empty' item *there* has appropriated the Subject - and in so doing it has turned it into an element that can contribute to the part of the clause that we shall term the **thematic build-up**. The Enhanced Theme itself is presented a little later in the clause - i.e. as the first of the two Complements that typically occur in existential clauses.

This type of Subject is traditionally described as an 'empty' Subject. However, while it is 'empty' in terms of the 'experiential' strand of meaning, it is not completely empty semantically, since it has a 'thematic' meaning - as we shall see shortly. The second Complement, when it is overt, is always a 'location' of some sort. Typically it is a location in space, as in (9) and (36), but it can also be a location in time, as in (37). Here the 'object'

[92] It will be clear, I trust, that this use of the term 'enhance' is completely different from the concept of 'enhancement' as used in *IFG.* Here it means 'increasing the strength', while there it means 'expanding' and 'embellishing' (*IFG,* p. 220). Indeed, 'embellishing' seems to me to provide a more transparent label for the type of meaning for which Halliday intends the term 'enhancement' to be used than does 'enhancement'.

that is the Carrier is an event that is presented as if it was an object in the nominal group *over fifty major wars*, and it is often more important to locate an event in time than in space.

The syntactic analysis of (9) is shown in Figure 5. (For this and the next three sections we shall show full syntactic analyses, down as far as the layer of the elements of the clause, as we did in Figure 3. In this case it we have a structure with a single layer of elements, but in later examples there will be an embedded clause, and so two layers of structure.)

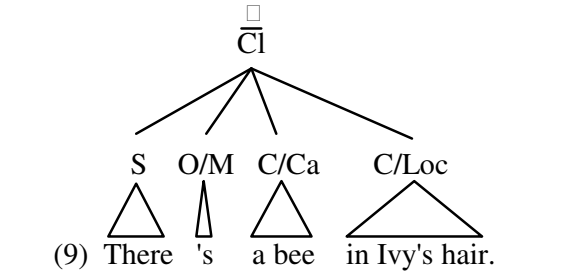


Figure 5: An example of an existential enhanced theme construction

There are three unusual things to note about the Subject in this example. Firstly, it doesn't have a Participant Role conflated with it, showing that it is an 'empty' Subject in 'experiential' terms. Secondly, it is directly expounded by the item *there* - rather than being filled by a nominal group, as a Subject usually is. And, thirdly, it is not pronounced like *there*, as in *She isn't there*, but like *the*, as in *She isn't the one* - i.e. as a weak syllable, not a strong one. This fact is brought out by the contrasting pronunciations of the first and last words of (36). Thus the initial *there* does not mean 'at that location', as it does in *She isn't there*; if it did it would strike native speakers of English as a tautology - which it does not.

The semantic contributions of the Subject *there* to the clause are as follows. Firstly, it expresses, with the Operator, the MOOD meaning of 'information giver' (just as all Subjects do). Secondly, it signals, through a combination of the item *there* and the following form of *be* (typically but not always) that an Existential Enhanced Theme is about to be presented to the Addressee. This combination of an experientially empty Subject with a form of the verb *be* creates what we may refer to informally as the 'thematic build-up', and it is this that warns the Addressee that the existence of the object or event that is the referent of the Enhanced Theme is about to be announced. In other words, making this preparatory 'announcement' is the primary function of the construction.

Let us be more specific about what else is involved in announcing the 'existence' of an object or event. Every object or event occurs at a particular intersection of space and time, so that it is part of the Performer's task to ensure that the Addressee knows where and when any new object or event exists, before the discourse can satisfactorily continue. The second function of this construction is therefore a to locate the object or event in time and space. (From here on we shall assume that the referent is an object rather than an event, since this construction is used far more often to introduce an object to the discourse than it is used to introduce an event.)

Typically, however, the Performer does not need to specify BOTH the time AND the place of the object. This is because, in practice, the location in time can usually be recovered or inferred from the preceding text, so that the only the 'location' that needs to be specified in the location in space - as in the typical existential enhanced theme construction illustrated in (9). Indeed, the fact that it is space rather than time the we need to specify is reflected in the spelling of the item that expounds the experientially empty Subject, i.e. *there*. In the typical cases illustrated in (9), (36) and (37), then, the location in time is deemed to be recoverable.

However, when the referent is not an object but an event, as in (37), the location that is most useful to the Addressee is likely to be a location in time. In such cases it is typically the location in space that is deemed to be recoverable.

We shall now go one step further, and consider cases when BOTH types of location are recoverable - either from the discourse or by inference from the existing 'knowledge' in the Addressee's **belief system**. Thus we shall often find examples such as (38a) and (39a). We analyze these as having a covert Location, as in (38b) and (39b).[93]

(38a) There are plenty of lions in Africa, but there are no tigers.
(38b) ... there [S] are [O/M] no tigers [C/Ca] (C/Loc])
(39a) I'm sorry, but there is no possibility that he will survive.
(39b) ... there [S] is [O/M] no possibility that he will survive [C/Ca] (C/Loc])

In (38a) the location 'in Africa' is recoverable from the preceding clause, and in (39a) the Addressee will infer that the location is something like 'in my mind'.

7.2 A variant of the construction

Next, consider the interesting case of (40).

(40) Under the carpet there was / lay a thick sheet of plastic.

The first point to make about this example is that it is - in both its form and its meaning - remarkably like the type of 'Marked PR Theme' in which the Complement is a Location or a Direction that we considered in Section 6 of Chapter 4, i.e. *Under the carpet was / lay a thick sheet of plastic.* The only difference between the two is the unstressed item *there* (which is pronounced, as we have seen, as if it was merely *the*). Indeed, some scholars suggest that the examples we considered in Section 9 of Chapter 3 should be considered to be examples of the present construction - but ones with an unrealized *there*.

But this doesn't explain WHY the word *there* has been ellipted. An alternative way of looking at the relationship between the two examples - which I think is the more is insightful one - is to see the existence of the present construction as, in a sense, 'licensing' the other. In other words, I suggest that our awareness (which is usually unconscious, of course) of the normality of text-sentences such as *Under the carpet there was a thick sheet of plastic* makes us more willing than we might otherwise be to accept as normal examples such as *Under the carpet was a thick sheet of plastic*.

The position taken here, then, is that in examples like (40) the presence of the weak form of *there* signals that this is a case of an Existential Enhanced Theme construction, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE FACT THAT THE MAIN VERB ISN'T NECESSARILY EXPOUNDED BY A FORM OF *be*.[94] It is simply an Existential Enhanced Theme construction in which the Location has been made a Marked PR Theme. So the analysis of (40) is as in (40a):

93 Here I am using a linear notation to save space; the full analysis can be worked out from Figure 5.

94 I am indebted to Geoff Thompson (in a contribution to sysfling on 08.08.08) for the following examples of other verbs than forms of *be* and *lay* that may occur with this construction (all found in the corpus available on the internet via google (along with a few others that were less clearly natural examples of native speaker usage): (i) *There came a moment [on] Saturday afternoon when I almost gave up,* (ii) *In the summer of 1959 there occurred a series of events …*, (iii) *But over the whole piece there hovered the melancholy suggested by the music*; and (iv) *With that, there was an opening of a door, and there waddled in a little fat mestizo.* Typically the Processes are 'locational' or 'directional' and typically they are semantically low on specificity (*be*, *lay, came* and *occurred* (but not necessarily, e.g. *hovered* and *waddled*).

(40a) Under the carpet [C/Loc] there [S] lay [M] a thick sheet of plastic [C/Ca].

In this case, then, *a thick sheet of plastic* is both a 'theme' that is enhanced by the thematic build-up of *there was* and, at the same time, the clause element that is presented as 'new'. Thus the sequence of elements is untypical of an 'information giver', i.e. it is Complement + Main Verb + Subject (C M S).

Note that this relatively infrequent variant of Marked PR Theme is not shown in the summary of types of 'theme' in Figure 2.

7.3 Form and meaning: a fuller account

We saw in Section 7 of Chapter 3 the way in which a diagram may show the semantic features that have been selected in a 'theme' system, as one strand in the representation of the semantics of a text-sentence. It may be helpful to provide a similar analysis for the existential enhanced theme construction, to show that similar principles apply here too. Please examine, therefore, the analysis of (9) in Figure 6.[95]

Here we have allowed ourselves to introduce the term 'thematic build-up'. Notice that it is in 'scare quotes'. This is because it is not a semantic feature from the system network - as all the other labels are - but an informal name for the part of the structure that contributes the 'enhancement' of the thematic value of the existential theme - here, the bee.

We turn next to two examples of patterns that are sometimes thought to be problematical. Consider (41) and (42), in which the final PR (a Location) may be either overt or covert:

(41) There was a man playing a violin (in the square).
(42) There were two seeded players knocked out in the first round (at Wimbledon).

The temptation for grammarians whose theoretical background leads them to look for transformational relationships between the syntax of experientially equivalent text-sentences is to analyze such examples as being 'derived' from, respectively, *A man was playing a violin (in the square)* and *Two seeded players were knocked out in the first round (at Wimbledon).*[96] In the approach taken here each involves (i) a **partial clause** embedded as the **qualifier** in a **nominal group** and (ii) a **covert Location**, as shown below.

(41a) There was <u>a man playing a violin</u> [Ca] (<u>in the square</u> [Loc]).
(42a) There were <u>two seeded players knocked out in the first round</u> [Ca] (<u>at Wimbledon</u> [Loc]).

So *playing a violin* in (41a) is a qualifier in the nominal group *a man playing a violin*, and *knocked out in the first round* is a qualifier in the nominal group *two seeded players knocked out in the first round*. In other words, it is the inherent nature of the type of clause being considered here that it contains as a PR a Location (either overt of covert). So the existence

[95] The analysis of the 'thematic' line of features could be adapted for use as the 'theme' line of analysis in a standard *IFG* type of analysis. This would involve re-interpreting the labels for semantic features chosen here as elements of functional structure - and so perhaps giving them capital initial letters.

[96] While this would clearly be an attractive analysis from the viewpoint of transformational generative grammar, we should note that these clauses must also be related systematically to *There was a man <u>who was playing a violin</u> (in the square)* and *There were two seeded players <u>who were knocked out in the first round</u> (at Wimbledon).* In other words, the words *was* and *were* may be needed in BOTH the 'thematic build-up' of *There was ...* AND *There were ...* and the embedded clause. This suggests that the analysis of (41) and (42) should be shown in (41a) and (41b), i.e. as including the non-realization of *who was* and *who were* in the embedded clause - so avoiding introducing an unnecessary syntactic transformation. (Note that the ellipsis of *who was*, etc, happens quite frequently with clauses embedded in a qualifier, and not just with the existential enhanced theme construction.)

of such examples is NOT evidence that we should introduce an additional type of Process, i.e. one for 'existential' clauses without a Location.[97]

The final point to be made is to remind you that, in Section 6 of Chapter 3, we established the convention that we would not mark every element that was thematized by 'Th'. So, in a simple clause such as *Ike ate Ivy's ice-cream, Ike* is not only the Subject (because of its role in contributing to the expression of the MOOD meaning) but also a type of 'theme' - the type that we have here called 'Subject Theme'. But we do not mark this explicitly in the analysis, because it is redundant. We know that every Subject that is conflated with a PR is also the Subject Theme. In other words, if 'S' has a PR conflated with it (as it does in over 99 per cent of cases), it means BOTH 'mood-bearing Subject' AND 'Subject Theme'. On precisely similar grounds, there is no need to insert 'ETh' in Figure 6 to show that *a bee* is both (i) a Carrier that is conflated with a Complement and (ii) an Enhanced Theme. And this in turn enables us to avoid using the rather lengthy symbol of 'C/Ca/ETh' in our tree diagrams to represent the functional syntax of the construction.[98]

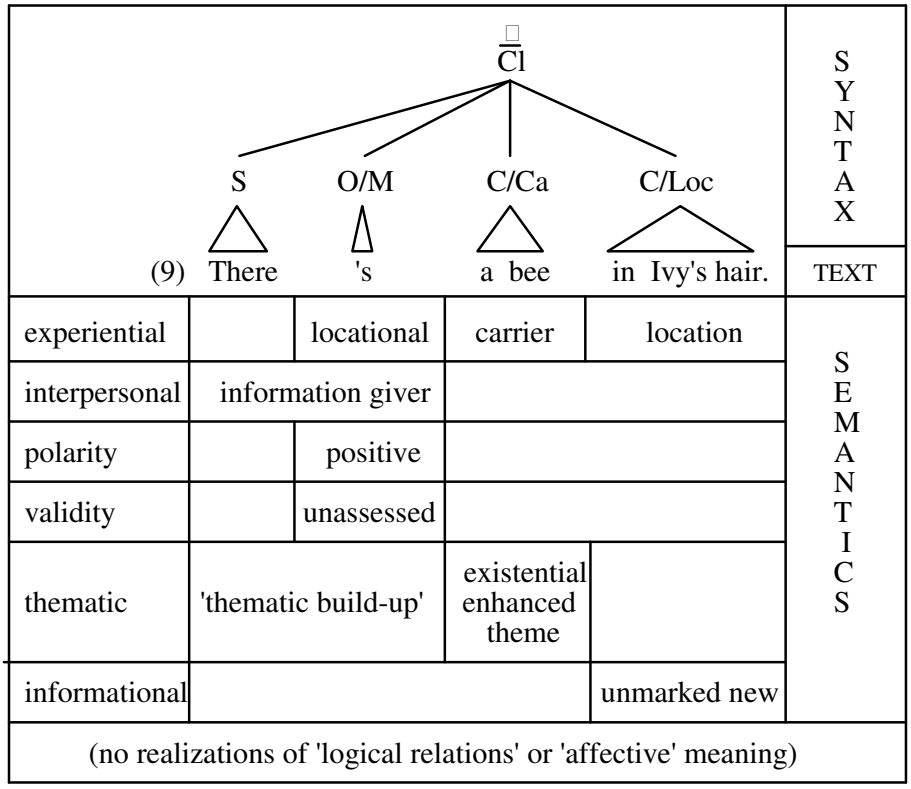


Figure 6:
The syntactic and semantic analysis of an existential enhanced theme construction

[97] Indeed, all events are, in their very nature, located in both time and place, and in the vast majority of clauses the Performer simply assumes that the Addressee will be able to infer the time and place of the event (two of its 'Circumstances') from the preceding discourse. 'Locational' clauses are simply a type of clause in which the 'place' (or occasionally the 'time') has been given the more central role of a PR.

[98] However, it does no harm to introduce 'ETh' as a visual aid - as Huang does, for example, in his analysis of an example equivalent to that in Figure 6 in Huang 2003:11.

7.4 The Performer's discourse purpose

The purpose for which a Performer typically uses this construction is relatively straightforward, and I have already mentioned it in explaining the meaning of the construction. Its typical discourse function, then, is to enable the Performer to introduce to the discourse a new OBJECT - often a person - in such a way that it is presented FOR ITSELF ALONE - rather than as playing a role in some EVENT that advances the story, for example.

In other words, it explicitly notifies the Addressee of the existence of the object - rather than presenting it as merely one of several semantic elements of a typical clause (the Process and its associated Participant and Circumstantial Roles). And it does this by using a construction that carries the additional meaning of 'This element is going to be important in the current discourse.[99] In other words, the Carrier in such a clause is presented as something whose 'thematic' status is being 'enhanced' - and this is why any object that occurs as the Carrier (typically but not necessarily) in this construction should also be seen as being an **Existential Enhanced Theme**. The referent is therefore being presented by the Performer as being considerably more important than a simple Subject Theme. It is not merely a Theme; it is an Enhanced Theme.

I have said that the object that this construction introduces is typically 'new'. Notice, however, that this doesn't necessarily mean that the object has not been referred to earlier in the discourse. As an example, consider the underlined clause in the following text:

> *If you are wondering why the drawings of Kenyan schoolchildren regularly include lions but hardly ever tigers, the answer is almost certainly that <u>there are plenty of lions in Africa, but there are no tigers</u>.* (38a).

Here, then, the meaning is the same as that of the other examples that we have considered, in that what is being foregrounded is simply the existence of this class of animals.[100]

This has been a simplified presentation of this construction, its meaning and its role in discourse, and there is a great deal more to be said about it - including the explanation and analysis of examples such as *There was a man playing a violin*, and *There's my father, my mother, my aunt Mabel, the dog, the cat, ...* etc. Notice that in this last case the Carrier is not - as it usually is in this construction - 'indefinite'. For fuller accounts of the existential enhanced theme construction, see Quirk et al (1985:1402-14), Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1392-1403), and Fawcett (in preparation a).[101]

[99] The fact that this is its meaning does not guarantee that every Performer always uses it this way; sometimes a Performer exploits this assumption for some other purpose, or uses it at an inappropriate time out of sloppiness.

[100] Notice that, while it seems at first sight anomalous to talk about the existence of 'no tigers', it is in fact perfectly feasible, because this clause is a case of 'transferred negation' - in that it is the equivalent of 'It isn't the case that there are tigers in Africa.' I am grateful to Sarah North (personal communication) for drawing to my attention the fact that these are not straightforward cases of introducing a new participant to the discourse. She suggests that, in the case of *There are no tigers in Africa,* the discourse purpose may be said to be to counter the Addressee's possible mistaken expectations about a new discourse direction.

[101] There is an important consequence of taking this approach for the TRANSITIVITY network. It is that we make no distinction between the use of *there*-constructions that are 'purely existential' and *there*-constructions that are 'locational', except to say that the 'location' is overt' or not. And since there is a continuum along the line of circumstances that might trigger the Performer to decide one way or another, there is little point in setting up a major new TRANSITIVITY type, the 'existential Processes', to account for those that lie towards the 'inferable location' end of the continuum. In this we differ from Halliday (1994:142-3), who sets up a separate type of Process to handle these cases. The problem is: How can the analyst tell whether a given example is an existential process, or one with a covert 'location'? The fact that the item *there* expounds the Subject in this construction (rather than *it*) is simple a vestige of the construction's earlier history. We can see that the word *there* carries no meaning, because we can use it in the same clause as an instance of the word *there* that carries its full meaning, as in *I went into the room and there was a strange man there.*

8

‘Referent as role in event’ as Subject Theme

8.1 The relationship between this construction and some others

Although it may at first seem somewhat illogical, this chapter will present a construction that is NOT generated as the result of a choice in a ‘thematic’ system. There are three good reasons for introducing it at this point, and for giving it the dignity of a chapter to itself.

The first reason is the obvious attractiveness of the established alternative position to that taken here. If I am to persuade you that this construction is not in fact a type of ‘theme’ (in the defined sense that it is the result of a choice in a system network that makes it a ‘theme’) I need to explain why I take the apparently perverse position that I do. The fact is that there is a cognitive near-equivalence between this construction and some versions of the **experiential enhanced theme** construction that is described in the next chapter, and the result is that the systemic grammarian is strongly tempted to try to treat the two as being in a close systemic relationship (e.g. as in Thompson 2004:XXX). In the frequently used terms derived from the transformational-generative tradition, the two constructions are commonly termed the *it*-cleft construction and the *wh*-cleft construction. (We shall consider the implications of using these terms in Section 8.4.) Examples of the two constructions are:

(1) It was a Margarita that she had.
(2a) What she had was a Margarita.

Indeed, I myself took the position that the two were systemically related for some years. It was only when we implemented in the computer a very large SFL grammar that had to include both of these constructions that I realized that it was a mistake to try to handle this near-equivalence in the system network, and that it should instead be handled as a near-equivalence at the higher level of **logical form** - along with many other such equivalences which would be impossible to handle within the system networks of the lexicogrammar. I shall say more about the reasons for this change and the framework that makes it possible in later sections of this chapter.

A subsidiary reason to include a thorough treatment of this construction is the number and the quality of the scholars who take the view that it is indeed a type of ‘theme’. These scholars include all of those who work in the transformational-generative tradition and its various successors, as well as functional grammarians such as Halliday, Matthiessen and probably all of those who work within the Sydney model.

And the reason for introducing this construction at this point is that it will be easier to explain the structure of the important construction to be introduced in the next chapter if I have first established clearly the analysis of the present construction.

8.2 The form and meaning of the construction: a first account

Let us picture a situation in which three friends - Fred, Fiona and Ike - are chatting in a desultory fashion about what aperitif various other friends had before a recent meal in a Spanish restaurant. However, only Ike was present at the event. The conversation goes like this:

Fiona: Ivy's quite ladylike in her tastes, so I expect she had a sherry.
Ike: No, what she had was a Margarita.[102]

We shall take the part of Ike's response shown in (2a) as a typical example of this construction:

(2a) What she had was a Margarita.

In (2a), an element of an event that might otherwise have been realized in a nominal group - such as the underlined portion of (2b) - is instead presented as a referent that is identified by its role in an event - as in the underlined portion of (2a). In terms of the Participant Roles in (2a) *what she had* is the Carrier and *a Margarita* is the Attribute. (I shall present the full structural and systemic analyses of (2a) in Section 8.5, where I shall also discuss the question of whether it is right to analyze cases of this construction as Carrier + 'attributive' Process + Attribute, as is done here .)

(2b) Her drink was a Margarita.

Let me now try to explain what I mean by saying that the referent of *what she had* is 'identified by its role in an event'. (We shall return shortly to the question of why it is appropriate to treat (2a) as a 'Carrier + Main Verb + Attribute' structure.)

When Ike is planning (unconsciously, or course) to utter (2a), the cultural beliefs that he shares with Fred and Fiona enable him to assume that they know that Ivy had some sort of drink before the meal on the occasion in question - so this is 'presupposed' as shared information. His discourse purpose in uttering (2a) is clear; it is to correct Fiona's mistaken guess that Ivy had a sherry - and he does this by telling them that what Ivy in fact had was a Margarita. He could also, of course, have simply said (3) - a possibility that we shall return to shortly - or just possibly (2c). This, of course, consists of a nominal group that contains the embedded relative clause *that she had* as its qualifier.

(3) She had a Margarita.
(2c) The drink that she had was a Margarita.

Thus the underlined portions of (2a), (2b) and (2c) are all ways of referring to the object 'Ivy's aperitif'. Even though (2c) is a different construction from (2a), we again find that it contains the concept of a referent that is identified by its role in an event. But this time the clause that expresses it is embedded one layer further down in the structure, as a qualifier in the nominal group *the drink that she had*. In our scenario, however, Ike decides (again unconsciously, of course) not to say this - preferring instead the punchier and more economical form and meaning shown in (2a). The reason may well be that in this construction the concept of identifying a referent by its role in an event is expressed in the simplest and the most direct way possible.

The other form with which we may wish to compare (2a) is, of course, (3):

(2a) What she had was a Margarita.

[102] For the uninitiated, a Margarita is a heady mixture of tequila and lemon juice, so quite a powerful tipple.

(3) She had a Margarita.

At first sight, (2a) and (3) may appear to express the same experiential meaning - but there is the following difference. In (2a), the fact that the Performer had chosen to express the referent of her Subject Theme in terms of the referent as role in event construction means that its meaning is 'everything that she had'. So the clear inference is that, in the period of time assumed by both Performer and Addressee, 'she' had a Margarita AND NO OTHER DRINK. But in (3) there is no such inference: she might have had two or three other drinks. This meaning of 'excluding other referents in a possible associated set' is always part of the meaning of this construction - and this is so irrespective of whether it occurs as the Subject Theme, as here, or in any of the many other places in structure at which it may occur.

The strength of the analysis of (2a) that is offered here is that it is an analysis of the data in their own terms. It has the great advantage of avoiding the complications that arise when such examples are analyzed, as some scholars have suggested, as an aberrant type of 'relative clause' that fills the qualifier of a nominal group, as in (2c) all the rest of which is missing. The fact that the meaning of 'identifying a referent by its role in some known event' is involved in both (2a) and (2c) should not lead us to assume that the two necessarily share the same 'relative clause' syntax.

8.3 Where this construction occurs (1) systemically and (2) structurally

The first step in understanding this construction is to note the system from which it is generated. The 'referent as role in event' construction is provided for in Network E in Figure 2, which I reproduce here as Figure FFF.[103]

[to be added]

Figure FFF:
The system from which the referent as role in event construction is generated

As I said in Section 8.1, this system is not, strictly speaking, a 'theme' system at all. If you look at the entry condition for the system in Figure FFF, you will see that it is the feature [thing] - and a 'thing' is typically realized in a nominal group. And examples such as the underlined portion of (2a) are generated through the selection of [referent identified by role in event] - so that this feature, as Section 8.5 will show explicitly, is directly realized by a clause.

However, the concept of the **referent as role in event construction** explains far more than the so-called *wh*-cleft construction. It also explains what is happening in a second type of supposedly 'cleft' construction. This is the 'reversed *wh*-cleft' construction, as in *That's what I said, So this is why I did it* and (4) - a construction which is, incidentally, much less prominent in the standard literature than the *wh* -cleft construction.

(4) A Margarita is what she had.

[103] Other systemic functional linguists have produced system networks that put the nearest equivalent feature elsewhere, as an inspection of Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:80 and Thompson 2004:164 will show. But both of these miss the important generalization that is captured here - i.e. that this construction occurs at many different places in structure, and not just as the Subject Theme. In the Cardiff model we capture the 'equivalence' that they seek to capture in the system network at the higher level of logical form.

Work in corpus linguistics by Biber et al (1999:961) suggests that examples of such constructions are OVER TWICE AS FREQUENT as the more frequently discussed 'ordinary *wh*-cleft' - i.e. the construction that we are considering in this section.[104]

But there are in fact many other phenomena which can be insightfully explained in terms of the referent as role in event construction - and these are not normally thought of as a special construction of the clause, as '*wh*-cleft' and 'reversed *wh*-cleft' constructions are.

The plain fact is that the referent as role in event construction can occur, in principle, at ANY ELEMENT IN STRUCTURE WHERE A NOMINAL GROUP CAN APPEAR (though with the considerable limitation that this usually cannot be done when the referent is a 'person', a point to which we shall return in Section 8.5).

Consider first the underlined portions of (5) to (8):

(5) We all ate <u>what Ivy ate</u>.
(6) <u>What happened next</u> really frightened me.
(7) That's <u>what he said</u>.
(8) After <u>what he said</u> I have no wish to see him again.

In (5) *what Ivy ate* is the Affected that is functioning as a Complement in an 'action' clause. In (6) the words *what happened next* are the Phenomenon in a 'emotion' clause that is functioning as the Subject.. In (7) the 'referent as role in event' construction *what he said* is the Attribute functioning as a Complement in an 'attributive' Process, while in (8)*what he* said is the completive in a prepositional group. Yet only one of these - Example (7) - could be handled as a 'reversed *wh*-cleft' construction.

Indeed, we may even find two 'referent as role in event' constructions in the same clause, e.g. as the Carrier and the Attribute in (9a) and (9b), and as the Agent and the Affected in (10).

(9a) <u>What Ike had</u> is <u>what Ivy had</u>.
(9b) <u>What you see</u> is <u>what you get</u>.
(10) <u>What you eat today</u> will affect <u>how well you perform tomorrow</u>.

Examples such as (8a) and (8b), in which there are two 'referent as role in event' constructions in one clause, seem to be ignored in most grammars - even though they must look to a transformationally-minded grammarian like an intriguing combination of the '*wh*-cleft' and a 'reversed *wh*-cleft' constructions. Perhaps this omission is because they do not fit neatly into the established framework of categories, which is already committed to including both a '*wh*-cleft' and a 'reversed *wh*-cleft' transformation. Indeed, it is hard to see how a transformational grammar could generate such a clause because, while it is relatively easy to invent transformational rules to turn *She had a Margarita* into *What she had was a Margarita* and to turn *You had a Margarita* into *A Margarita is what you had,* it is not possible to then further develop either into *What she had was what you had.* This fact

[104] However, this figure may not be entirely reliable. This is because Biber et al (1999:961) state that also include in the category of the 'reversed *wh*-cleft construction' 'occasional related constructions [such as] *I'm the one who..., they're the ones who ... etc'.* Here they appear to have fallen into the trap of assuming that, because *the one(s)* can be omitted in such cases, ellipsis has occurred. But it has not, as precisely parallel examples where *what* replaces *who clearly* demonstrate. Consider the case of *That book is what I'm looking for.* It is clearly NOT derived from *That book is the one what I'm looking for* (not, that is, in Standard English). While they may be cognitively equivalent, we must respect the data, and the data show that in an example such as *That book is the one that I'm looking for*, the words *the one that I'm looking for* simply constitute a nominal group with *one* as its head - so that such examples are emphatically not examples of the supposed 'reversed *wh*-cleft construction'. The fact that they share a cognitive equivalence is another matter - one that needs to be modelled at the appropriate level. For this, see Section 6 of Chapter 8.

suggests strongly that the whole basis on which the '*wh*-cleft' and 'reversed *wh*-cleft' constructions are generated is shaky. What is needed is an approach in which *What she had* in both *What she had was a Margarita* and in *What she had was what you had* are generated in the same way. This is precisely what is proposed here.

Thematized elements occur, by definition, in the structure of the clause.[105] It is therefore odd that we find ourselves, in an examination of 'theme', looking at a system whose entry condition is [thing]. Why, then, are we considering it at all? I mentioned some of the reasons at the start of this chapter, and at this point I shall spell out one of them more fully. The line of argument has four steps, as follows:

(i) the Subject Theme is one type of 'theme' (as we saw in Chapter 3);
(ii) over 99% of Subjects are filled by nominal groups;
(iii) this construction occurs as the filler of most elements that a nominal group can fill, including the Subject; so
(iv) this construction occurs fairly frequently as one type of Subject Theme, in that there are about 700 examples per million words, according to Biber et al (1999:961).[106]

It is therefore an important construction in its own right, as well as being one that is assumed by many scholars to be a type of 'theme' - for reasons that will now be clear. Nonetheless, the fact is that it is not a choice in 'theme' that leads to this construction; it is a choice in how to identify a referent. Identification can either be achieved by choosing among the usual set of options that are realized in a nominal group, or, much less frequently, it can be achieved by specifying the role of the referent in some event - as in the examples we have been considering.

There is one final point to be made about the name of this construction. In the **logical form** that is the input to the semantics (which we shall return to in Section 8.5), the major concepts are **events**, together with the **objects** that constitute their elements. But the referent of a **referent as role in event** construction may be either an object or an event, so we use the term 'referent' to cover both. Thus the name of this construction refers to its origin in the 'conceptual' representation, as also does the feature in Figure FFF, i.e. [referent identified by role in event].

8.4 The problems caused by the established name for this construction - and the solution

Many linguists these days would accept without question that the construction exemplified by *What she had was a Margarita* should be called a 'cleft' (or '*wh*-cleft')

[105] Since the 1960s, Halliday has been attracted by the idea that the 'deictic' elements in the nominal group such as *the* are in some sense also types of 'theme' - and, for scholars such as him who recognize the unit of the 'verbal group', the same applies to the 'Finite', or 'Finite Operator. It is an intriguing idea, typical of Halliday's wish to identify new generalizations, but in my view it is not a useful insight. Firstly, there is often no 'deictic' element in a nominal group (e.g. *tall girls, five girls*), while every clause has at least one type of 'theme'. Secondly, when there is a deictic element it is frequently preceded by a non-deictic element, as in *five of the girls.* Thirdly, the deicitc element is not in its early place in the clause as the result of a decision to place it there; the positions of almost all elements in the nominal group are fixed. And the supposed 'deictic' element in the 'verbal group' - the 'Finite Operator' - is typically represented in all analyses of clauses in *IFG*as an element of the clause. For the many persuasive reasons why the elements of the 'verbal group' are all in fact better analyzed as direct elements of the clause, see Fawcett 2000b & c. For these reasons, then, I consider that the concept of 'theme' in its various mainifestations, is best restricted to the unit of the clause - the one unit in English in which many elements may occur in many different positions in sequence.

[106] However, the experiential enhanced theme (*it*-cleft') construction occcurs over twice as frequently, as we shall see in Chapter 9.

construction, and that *It was a Margarita that she had* should be termed a 'cleft' (or '*it*-cleft') construction. The reason why this terminology is so widely accepted today is the near-hegemony established by transformational generative grammar in the 1960s and 1970s, when these phenomena were becoming more widely recognized.[107] The effect is that the name of '*wh*-cleft' has been widely adopted, even by functional grammarians such as the authors of Biber et al 2002 - and this is despite the fact that they are usually scrupulous in avoiding giving any hint that a syntactic transformation is a helpful part of the explanation of such constructions.

But these terms present a seriously misleading picture of the two constructions. In the case of the 'cleft' construction the term implies that some pre-existing syntactic unit has been 'cleft', and that a part of it (usually *a Margarita*) has been moved to a different position of in the generation of *It was a Margarita that she had*. And, despite the label of 'pseudo-cleft', similar explanations are offered for the generation of *What she had was a Margarita*. But here we assume that no such syntactic transformation has taken place. Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1423) take a similar view, writing that 'it would be unsatisfactory to attempt to describe the pseudo-cleft derivatively, in terms of a cleaving operation applied to a more elementary construction.' And the same point is valid, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 9, for what they would call 'the cleft construction'.

Interestingly, Huddleston & Pullum describe their use of these terms as 'serving simply as convenient metaphors' (p. 1423). These labels may be 'convenient', in the sense that they are widely used nowadays (as a by-product of the days when transformational grammarians gave constructions names that reflect their supposed derivation. But I want to suggest that the widespread use of these 'metaphors' may well have made it significantly less easy for linguists to develop genuinely functional analyses of these constructions.[108]

The purpose of a metaphor is to increase our understanding of some phenomenon. In the spirit of Lakoff & Johnson's *Metaphors we live by* (1980), I suggest that the 'metaphor' of the syntactic transformation has made it harder - rather than easier - to understand the form and function of the constructions considered in this and the next two chapters. This section will explain the reasons for introducing the equivalent term that is used in the Cardiff Grammar - and there are equivalent sections in each of Chapters 9 and 10.

In just the way that Lakoff & Johnson describe, the names that we use for constructions may condition - and so limit - the ways in which we perceive them. And this may in turn lead (as I think it has in the present case) to a failure to perceive which structures belong with which, as the realizations of closely related features in the overall system network. I shall demonstrate that this has indeed happened in the cases of the constructions that we are considering.

There would be widespread agreement that, in a functional theory of language, it would be preferable to avoid the implication that a syntactic transformation has taken place. The best strategy, then, would be to avoid the use of terms that imply that one has taken place, and to use instead names that denote - or at least evoke - the major semantic function of the constructions. (This, after all, was the earlier practice in writing grammars, which gave us such traditional terms as 'Subject', 'Complement' and 'Adjunct'.) So in the Cardiff Grammar we introduce functional names for constructions wherever the existing standard

[107] See Fawcett & Huang (1995) for a summary of the preceding literature, which shows that the concept of 'clefting' - and so the concept of some type of 'transformational' rule - goes back to the first decade of the last century. While it was Jesperson (1928/65) who gave it its initial currency, it was the phenomenal success of transformational generative grammar is establishing itself as the dominant theory of syntax in the 1960s and 1970s that brought it into general use.

[108] Indeed, the analysis of the present construction by Huddleston & Pullum in terms of what they term 'fused relatives' suggest that, even thought they reject the 'explanation' of the construction in terms of a syntactic transformation, they have nonetheless given priority to form rather than function.

term is misleading. We shall therefore refer to the present construction as the 'referent as role in event' construction, rather than as the 'pseudo-cleft' or *wh*-cleft' construction.

Taking this position may sometimes result in a slightly longer name (as in this case), but this is a price that is worth paying when it brings greater clarity for students and other newcomers to the theory - and above all when it helps one to avoid into the trap of using misleading labels and so thinking in terms of misleading concepts.

The first reason for replacing the established name for this construction is therefore that it states transparently the function that the construction serves - which neither of the other terms does. But there are in fact three more reasons.

The next is one that I have pointed out already - namely that it avoids the implication that some pre-existing syntactic structure has been 'cleft' into two parts, and that extra bits have been added to it - i.e. a form of the verb *be* in the 'cleft' between *She had* and *a Margarita*, and a *wh*-form appropriate to *a Margarita* at the start. Thus the use of such a name carries the clear implication that a syntactic transformation has taken place, and this in turn may lead one to make a structural analysis in terms that reflect this concept.

The third reason to use the new term is the most important. It is that the new functional name allows us to include in this category occurrences of the referent as role in event construction that occur at other positions in the clause than the Carrier in an 'attributive' clause. Some of these are treated in the standard set of transformationally-motivated categories found in many grammars as different types of construction. But from the functional viewpoint adopted here we can see that they are in fact the same construction.

The fourth and final reason for avoiding the name '*wh*-cleft' is to avoid the false implication that its use suggests, namely that it is closely related syntactically to the other main type of 'cleft' construction, the *it*-cleft. Indeed, it seems likely that the reason why the *wh*-cleft construction was given its name is that linguists noted the cognitive equivalence between it and the so-called '*it*-cleft' construction, i.e. between *What she had was a Margarita* and *It was a Margarita that she had*. But 'cognitive equivalence' should never be treated as evidence that two constructions are syntactically related - or even that they are systemically related. We do not treat all cognitively equivalent clauses as being related transformationally or systemically (the nearest equivalent to a supposedly 'meaning-preserving' transformation in SFL). For example, no linguist has yet proposed, so far as I know, that *This table has only three legs* should be related within the model of language itself to *There are only three legs on this table*, yet the two are cognitively equivalent. The only sensible position to take is to relate those meanings and structures that can be insightfully related within the grammar, and, for those that cannot, to look to some other component in the overall model to show the equivalence. See Section 8.6 for the way in which the Cardiff Grammar models the type of cognitive equivalence in *What she had was a Margarita* and *It was a Margarita that she had*.

As we have seen, corpus studies have shown us that the type of '*wh*-cleft' construction that had earlier been assumed to be the canonical type occurs less than half as often as 'reversed *wh*-clefts' do, and this fact supports the new perspective that I am suggesting that we should adopt. In other words, I suggest that it is a mistake to try to explain the 'referent as role in event' construction as one that is closely related to the type to be considered in the next section - which is the clear implication of calling one the 'cleft' or '*it*-cleft' construction and the other the 'pseudo-cleft' or '*wh*-cleft' construction.[109]

To summarize: I have given here four reasons why we should replace the term '*wh*-cleft' by an explicitly functional name - for which I propose 'referent as role in event'. I have

[109] It is perhaps worth saying that the way in which the constructions considered in Chapters 8 and 9 of this book are characterized in Biber et al 1999 has - naturally enough - influenced their presentation and interpretation of the statistical findings, making it harder (though not in this case impossible) to interpret the probabilities in terms of the explicitly functional categories recognized here.

shown that the latter concept in fact covers a rather wider range of clausal structures, since the referent as role in event construction can occur, in principle, wherever a nominal group can appear. And I have shown that there can be no close systemic relationship between the two constructions that are considered in this chapter and the next three. There are other reasons too, some of which I shall mention later, e.g. the much greater range of classes of unit that can fill the 'focussed' element in the experiential enhanced theme construction (Biber et al 1999:960).

Terminology is often taken to be a trivial matter, and yet I have devoted a fairly substantial section of this chapter to a discussion of the name to be used for this construction. I make no apologies for this. This is because the terms we use to describe a phenomenon tend to predetermine the way in which we think about it, as Lakoff & Johnson (1980) have shown us - and indeed before them Whorf (1956) and others. But it seems that this is a danger that we need to remind ourselves of anew in each generation. I suggest that functional linguists should reject transformationally-tainted terms such as 'cleft' and 'extraposition', and use instead terms that are functionally motivated - as I have sought to do here. This, then, is the reason for using the four names for the different types of 'enhanced theme' found in this book. Thus, while I understand the motivation of Biber et al (1999) in their decision to 'use categories and terms that are familiar and unobjectionable to the widest range of grammar users' (p. 7), I regret that they missed the opportunity to use their great work, which is an unequalled mine of probabilistic information about the lexicogrammar of English, to give a lead to functional linguists in jettisoning transformationally named labels for constructions - and so move on this way too from the earlier great mine of information which their book in part replaces and which they rightly describe as 'terminologically conservative': Quirk et al 1985.

8.5 The form and meaning of the 'referent as role in event' construction: a fuller account

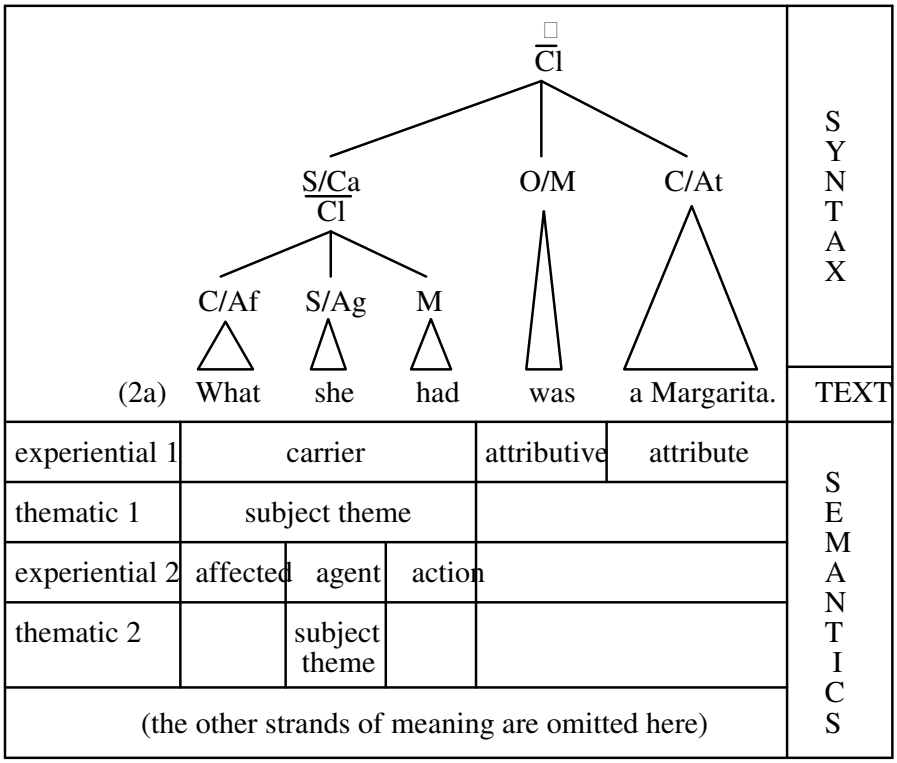
How should an example such as (2a) be analyzed? The Cardiff Grammar's answer is shown in Figure 7. The top half shows the syntactic analysis, and it states that *what she had* is a clause that is embedded as the unit that fills the Subject/Carrier (S/Ca) of a higher clause whose Main Verb is *was*. And exactly the same clause analysis would be used for examples beginning with *all ...*, such as *All she had was a Margarita.*[110]

Now look at the semantic analysis in the bottom half of Figure 7. (This analysis is unlike the semantic analysis in Figure 6, in that this analysis saves space by showing only the features chosen for the 'experiential' and the 'thematic' strands of meaning.) The main difference to notice is that there are two lines of analysis for each type of meaning: the first two for the matrix clause and the next two for the embedded clause. In the matrix clause the 'experiential' structure is simply 'carrier' + 'attributive' process + 'attribute'. (Note that the labels in the boxes represent the **semantic features** chosen in the system networks and, since they are not the Participant Roles themselves (since these occur in the functional structure) they are not written with an initial capital letter.) In the embedded clause the 'experiential' structure would, in its typical sequence, be 'agent' + 'action' process + 'affected' - but in the present case the Affected must come first, because it is a 'relating out' element. (The reason why the initial 'relating out' element *what* is not treated as a type of 'theme' will be explained in Section 4 of Chapter 15.)

If you now look at the 'thematic' analysis of the two clauses in Figure 7, you will see that in each case it is as simple as it could be. In the matrix clause, the clause is the type

[110] Notice that here 'having' a Margarita is analyzed as 'drinking' a Margarita, so that the Participant Roles associated with this sense of 'having' are not a Carrier and a Possessed, as they would be in She *has a mountain bike*, but an Agent and an Affected.

identified in Section 9 of Chapter 3, in which the Carrier is obligatorily the Subject Theme. And in the embedded clause the Performer is following the usual pattern of making the 'typically first' PR the Subject Theme (here the Agent). The reason why *what* is not a type of 'theme' is explained in Chapter 14.



Supplementary Key: At = Attribute Af = Affected Ag = Agent

Figure 7:
The syntactic analysis and a partial semantic analysis of
a 'referent as role in event' construction

You may be wondering how the Cardiff Grammar handles the cognitive equivalence between pairs of examples such as *What she had was a Margarita* and *It was a Margarita that she had*. I shall give the answer in the next chapter, i.e. after we have looked at the 'experiential enhanced theme' construction - an example of which would be *It was a Margarita that she had.*

In view of the 'cognitive equivalence' of such pairs of examples, it may at first seem surprising that we do not also treat the present construction as the result of a choice in Network D. But this would be a major mistake, because the 'choice' to generate a 'referent as role in event' construction is one that must be located in the system network for 'thing'. The reason is, as we saw in Section 8.2, that this construction can occur at virtually any place in syntax that a nominal group can occur.

There is another important - and surprising - characteristic of this construction that we should note. This is that the feature [referent identified by role in event] can only be selected WHEN THE REFERENT IS BEING PRESENTED AS A 'NON-PERSON' - though there is one class of exceptions which I shall identify in a moment. Contrast the extreme improbability of *Who Ike saw was a tall man* with the naturalness of *What Ike saw was a black cat*. You might point to the acceptability of *What Ike needs is a wife* as a possible counter-example, but the expression *a wife* places the emphasis on the role rather than the 'individual personhood' of

the referent. The main exception, however, occurs with examples with *-ever* such as *Whoever designed that must have been very clever* (in contrast with the unlikelihood of *Who designed that must have been very clever*). So it seems that what is unacceptable as the referent of this construction is an object that (i) has 'personhood' and (ii) is a particularized individual. In summary, then, we cannot say **Who had a Margarita was Ivy* - while we CAN say (11)[111]

(11) The one who had a Margarita was Ivy.

Example (11) demonstrates that, even though we cannot use the 'referent as role in event' construction for a particularized person, the language nonetheless provides a way of identifying that person in terms of their role in an event. This is because it is possible - as we have already seen in (2c) - to choose a series of features in the 'thing' network that will generate a nominal group in which (i) the head is expounded by *one(s)* or a general noun such as *person, man, woman* or (ever more frequently and for either sex) *guy*, and (ii) there is a qualifier that is filled by a clause that itself expresses the 'role in an event' - as in the underlined portion of (11). But this strategy for identifying the referent has the disadvantage of introducing another layer of structure and so increasing the complexity of the syntax. Indeed, this may well be the reason why we generally prefer the 'referent as role in event' construction - if it is available to us.

Interestingly, one fairly frequent use of this construction occurs when the referent is simply the 'happening' or 'doing' of an event. It is a 'happening' event in (12a) to (12c) and a 'doing' event in (13a) to (13c) - either a report of a present or past event or a prediction about a future event. Examples (12c) and (13c) illustrate that fact that this construction is a particular favourite of TV chefs. Finally, notice the possibility of omitting the Main Verb *is* in (13c), as in *What we are going to do next we're going to make a lovely roux sauce.*

(12a) What happened (next) was (that) she slapped him.
(12b) What's happening (at present) is (that) they're reading the Sunday paper.
(12c) What's going to happen (next) (is (that)) we're going to make a lovely roux sauce.
(13a) What she did (next) was to slap him.
(13b) What I'm doing right now is resting.
(13c) What we are going to do (next) (is (that)) we're going to make a lovely roux sauce.

Another favourite use of this construction is for 'reports', as in (14a) and (14b).

(14a) What I/they said was that Ivy didn't notice anything.
(14b) What I/they meant (to say) was that Ivy didn't note anything.

And as a last example of a 'referent as role in event' - which we shall compare with the construction to be discussed in the next chapter when we come to contrast the four types of 'enhanced theme' in Chapter 12 - consider (15):

(15) What we saw was a badger.

We come finally to a controversial point. This is that we have analyzed all examples of this construction as consisting of a Carrier + 'attributive' Process + Attribute. Yet many grammarians - including Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 - would claim that examples of this construction are necessarily 'identifying' rather than 'attributive', so that the clauses are said

[111] Pets, boats and other 'namable' objects are often treated as 'honorary persons', and when this happens they too do not occur in this construction.

to be 'equative'. No doubt the reason is that in the vast majority of examples the second role (which we are here terming the Attribute) is filled by a 'particularized' (or 'definite') nominal group 'Identifier' and a 'particularized' (or 'definite') Identified'. This, however, is an incorrect assumption, and to demonstrate that this is so I have used as the standard example throughout this chapter *What she had was a Margarita* - and (15) is a further example of this type. So (2a) and (15) demonstrate that the second PR can equally well - though much less frequently - be an 'unparticularized' entity, and so an 'Attribute'. Here, then, we use the term in a sense that embraces both types - which has the helpful effect that we can treat all examples in the same way.[112]

8.6 The Performer's discourse purposes

We come now to the purposes for which a Performer may decide to select the feature [referent identified by role in event].

As we have seen, the construction is used when the Performer considers that the most salient 'attribute' of an object (or event) for the Addressee is likely to be ITS ROLE IN AN EVENT THAT IS COMMONLY KNOWN TO BOTH THE PERFORMER AND THE ADDRESSEE. When this happens it is natural to identify the object solely through its role in the event - perhaps in part because it is more economical to say *what she had* than *the aperitif that she had*. But this is only possible, as we have seen, so long as the referent is not a 'person' - i.e. a human or some other entity that the Performer has elected to treat as a 'person', such as a pet of a ship. So far, this discussion of the construction's 'discourse purpose' has not added much to the account of its meaning given above.[113]

But now we shall ask how the Performer decides between *She has a Margarita* and all of the other constructions discussed in this and the next chapter. In the Cardiff model of how text-sentences are generated, the Performer's decision to present a referent (an object or an event) in this way is made in one of two **micro-planners.** These are algorithms that operate on the **basic logical form** (which is represented in a new type of logic called Systemic Functional Logical Form). Let us see how these work.

The basic logical form is the input to the whole process of generation that is formulated by the overall **discourse planner**. Each of a series of a dozen or so micro-planners then successively 'enriches' the basic logical form to the point where it becomes an **enriched logical form**. In other words, the basic logical form has been developed to the point where it can **predetermine** the choices in all of the types of meaning found in the system networks of the language.

Each such micro-planner has the structure of a decision tree, and it (i) consults the relevant parts of the Performer's belief system with respect to each possible alternative decision; (ii) balances the relative 'weights' of each in terms of a simple points system; (iii) makes its decision; and (iv) enriches the logical form accordingly. Such micro-planners have been described in detail and implemented as computer programs in the framework of the

[112] Halliday has always laid great emphasis on the concept that 'identifying' and 'attributive' clauses are contrasting types of 'relational' Process, and he claims in *IFG* that the construction that we are considering here is always an 'identifying' clause (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:69). Here we treat all such cases as 'attributive' clauses, and the type of clause that might be said to be 'identifying' is simply seen as a sub-type. So in the Cardiff Grammar we use the PRs of Carrier and Attribute for all cases. This greatly simplifies the task of analysis, and we find that no great insights are lost by simply treating all supposedly 'identifying' clauses as 'attributive' clauses. For a fuller statement of the reasons for adopting this position, see Fawcett 1987.

[113] Interestingly, 'persons' typically have a third major way in which they can be referred to - that of 'naming'. So, since 'non-persons' cannot normally be referred to by a name, the availability of this option means that both 'persons' and 'non-persons' have available to them three broad types of referring expression: (i) the use of a 'third person pronoun'; (ii) the use of a nominal group with a noun (or *one* or *ones* as its head); and (iii) either a name or a 'referent as role in event' construction.

Cardiff Model for several areas of meaning - and especially for types of 'theme' - (Duffield 1994, Glover 1997, Fawcett 1997/8, Hood 1997). They specify the choices from which we generate (i) Subject Theme, (ii) Marked PR Theme, (iii) the present construction, and (iv) the experiential enhanced theme construction.

Before we move to the next construction, let me emphasize again that this construction is not in fact the result of a choice in a 'theme' system. However, there is a decision point in the micro-planner that results in various 'theme' constructions at which a decision may be made to predetermine the choice of [referent identified by role in event] when the 'thing' fills the Subject of an attributive clause. But this choice may be made in principle at any point in a structure at which a nominal group can be used - within the limits outlined above - so that it is not necessarily the result of a choice in the overall microplanner for theme.

9

Experiential Enhanced Theme

9.1 The high frequency of this construction

Now that we have understood how the 'referent as role in event' works, we are ready to look at the experiential enhanced theme construction. Figure XXX shows Network D from Figure 2. It provides for the generation of two major types of 'enhanced theme' construction: the **experiential enhanced theme** and the **evaluative enhanced theme**.

[to be added]

Figure XXX: The system network for experiential enhanced theme

As you can see, this sub-network is entered, like most 'theme' system networks, from a part of the TRANSITIVITY network - specifically, from the most frequent sub-type of 'attributive' Process, i.e. the type that has a simple Carrier. And within that, it is entered from the feature [at_being]. This prior choice of features provides that the clause that is its structural realization will have as its Main Verb a form of the verb *be*, together with a Carrier and an Attribute - just as in the examples that we saw in the last chapter. In the present chapter we are concerned with the effects of choosing the feature [experiential enhanced theme], and in the next chapter we shall discuss the somewhat different structures that result from choosing [evaluative enhanced theme].[114]

As Figure XXX shows, there are four main variants of the experiential enhanced theme, and three of the feature [evaluation of event] - of which one does not result in the evaluative enhanced theme construction.

What the two constructions have in common is that each enables the Performer to present an element of the clause to the Addressee with its thematic status 'enhanced' - a characteristic which they share with the Existential Enhanced Theme.[115] In each case this 'enhancement' is achieved through the use of (i) an experientially 'empty' Subject and (ii) a form of the verb *be*. In the two types introduced in Figure XXX, however, the sense of **thematic build-up** is created by the use of *It is/was* etc ... rather than *There is/was* etc ....

Let us begin with a real-life example of this construction. It occurred in a conversation about an evening drive along a mid-Wales lane that that had taken place a month earlier, and it was:

A: Didn't we see a fox at about this point the last time we were here?
B: No, it was a badger that we saw.[116]

[114] However, the network shown here is slightly over-simplied. In the full network, the choices dependent on [evaluation of event] can be entered from features that specify a Main Verb expounded by *seem, feel,* etc, as well as *be*. This will generate examples such as *It seems/feels important for her to be there*.

[115] They also share this characteristic with the much less frequent 'event-relating enhanced theme' construction, which is introduced here for the first time, in Chapter 11.

[116] Notice that the speaker could easily have added the words - *not a fox* but she didn't. In such constructions the last part - *not a fox* or its equivalent - is often absent, and in some forms of the construction it is not even

The experiential enhanced theme construction is one that has often been treated as grammatically problematical - and it has given rise to a large literature. Yet we shall find that the present framework allows it to be analyzed in a completely natural way, where form reflects function. It has also sometimes been characterized as a structure that only occurs with any frequency in academic prose - and so, arguably, as relatively peripheral in an account of the syntax of English. Yet it occurs widely widespread throughout a wide range of text types, as Huang 2003 has shown. Biber et al describe it (1999:961) as 'relatively common in all registers', and it is interesting to note that their corpus-based figures show that it is over twice as frequent as the construction considered in the last chapter. In their million word corpus it occurs 1,600 times, and this fact alone establishes it as an important phenomenon that requires explanation as a central phenomenon in any functional grammar of English. Indeed, as I shall show in Section 9.6, many texts contain realizations of this structure that have so much ellipsis that the fact that they are experiential enhanced theme constructions usually goes unnoticed. This is especially likely to happen in computer-aided studies, since it is hard to provide for the automatic counting of items that, by definition, are not overtly present in the text. So it seems certain that the true frequency of this construction is even higher than Biber et al suggest.[117]

9.2 The problems caused by the established name for this construction

This construction, then, is broadly equivalent to what is termed in transformational grammars the 'cleft construction' - or, more frequently these days, the '*it*-cleft' construction'. It is also equivalent to what Halliday has unfortunately termed the 'predicated theme' construction. (I shall shortly explain why the term is unfortunate.) But in a functional model of language the term 'experiential enhanced theme' seems preferable to both of these - and for reasons that are essentially the same as those set out in Section 3 of Chapter 8, with respect to the **referent as role in event** construction.

There are two positive reasons for preferring the explicitly functional term that is used in Fawcett & Huang 1995, Huang 1996, Huang & Fawcett 1996 and Huang 2003.[118] The first reason is that it states transparently the type of MEANING - a 'thematic' meaning - that the construction realizes, which neither of the other terms does.

The second positive reason is that it relates this construction neatly to the other types of 'enhanced theme': the 'existential', the 'evaluative' and the 'event-relating' types. (We considered the first in the previous chapter, and we shall consider the last two in Chapters 0 and 11 respectively.)

The negative reasons for preferring the term 'experiential enhanced theme' are that each of the two terms 'cleft construction' and 'predicated theme' is seriously misleading. Let us begin with the term '*it*-cleft'. This signals a description in terms of the application of a transformational rule, such that (i) an earlier syntactic structure such as *We saw a badger* has

implied, so we shall ignore it for the moment. Notice that, even if the words *not a fox* had occurred, they would have been an ellipted version of *It was not a fox that we saw*, and so a separate clause and a second case of the experiential enhanced theme construction.

[117] See Section 2 of Fawcett & Huang 1995 for a brief summary of the long history of alternative approaches to the experiential enhanced theme construction, and Section 3.1 of that paper for a fuller critique of the widely used but seriously misleading terminology that implies that the construction is the result of a syntactic 'movement rule', as used in the transformational generative grammars of the 1970s.

[118] Thompson (2004:164) goes some way in this direction, adopting our term 'enhanced' for use in the very informal system network that he supplies at that point - but only, unfortunately, as a feature that leads on to a system in which the term 'predicated' occurs. But this is understandable, since his book is, as he states on p. ix, expressly designed to be used as an introduction to reading Halliday & Matthiessen 2004.

been 'cleft' into the two segments of *we saw* and *a badger*, (ii) that *we saw* has been moved to a later position that follows *a badger*, (iii) that the words *it* and a form of the verb *be* have been added at the start of the clause and (iv) that *that* has been placed after *a badger* to form, in the present case, *It was a badger that we saw*. Thus the term 'cleft implies that a rather complex syntactic transformation has taken place. Yet, even if this transformation could be shown to have some sort of psychological basis - which it has not - such an 'explanation' doesn't actually 'explain' the construction, since it does not attempt to answer the question 'Why?'. In every way, then, it runs counter to the principles on which SFL and most other functional grammars are based.[119]

The second term - Halliday's 'predicated theme' - raises a different type of problem. This is that it signals the presence in the clause of a 'Predicator', i.e. of an element that in some sense 'predicates' the 'theme'. Thus in *It was a badger that we saw* the 'Predicator' is the verb *was.* But in this construction there is in fact no 'theme' that has been 'predicated' by anything. If we are going to introduce the verb 'predicate', it would make rather more sense to say that the construction 'predicates something of the theme', i.e. that the words *that we saw* are 'predicated of the 'theme' *a badger*. But in this case it is the 'something' that is 'predicated' - and not the 'theme', so it cannot be described as a 'predicated theme'. And, from the viewpoint of the Cardiff model, there is a second problem with the term 'predicated', in that it presupposes the presence of a 'Predicator'. While this was a prominent element in Halliday's early Scale and Category Grammar (1961), it plays virtually no role in the version of Systemic Functional Grammar described in *IFG.*[120] And it plays no role whatsoever in any version of SFL that treats the elements of Halliday's 'verbal group' as direct elements of the clause, as in the Cardiff Grammar (Fawcett 2000a, b & c).

Here, then, we shall employ the explicitly functional names for this and the other 'enhanced theme' constructions that are used in the Cardiff Grammar. And the reason for insisting on using the term 'experiential enhanced theme 'rather than the longer established terms that we have just discussed is the same that I gave in Chapter 8 for rejecting the term 'pseudo-cleft' - i.e. it is that the terms we use to describe a phenomenon have a powerful subconscious influence on the way in which we think about it. Indeed, it is possible that, if we had been using those other terms we might never have discovered the new analyses described here.

9.3 Form and meaning

Let us first assume that, having chosen the feature [experiential enhanced theme] in Figure XX, we have gone on to select the high frequency options in each of the two dependent systems. A typical realization of this set of choices would be (49a) - which is to be compared with (48). We shall say that (48) expresses the 'substantive' event of (49a).

(48) She had a Margarita.
(49a) It was a Margarita that she had.

119 See Section 2 of Fawcett & Huang 1995 for a brief summary of the long history of alternative approaches to the analysis of the experiential enhanced theme construction, many of which assume that some sort of syntactic transformation has taken place. And see Section 3.1 of that paper for a rather fuller critique than that given here of the widely used - yet seriously misleading - terminology that implies that the construction is the result of a syntactic 'movement rule', as used in the transformational generative grammars of the 1970s.

120 All the functions that Halliday describes it as performing (*IFG* p. 79) are in fact functions that are performed by elements of the 'verbal group' other than the 'Finite', and these are all restated more fully in the section on the 'verbal group' (*IFG* pp. 196-210). See Fawcett 2000b & c for a critique of Halliday's concept of the 'verbal group'.

To give our example a discourse context, please recall the situation described in the last chapter, where Fiona has just said *Ivy's quite ladylike in her tastes, so perhaps she had a sherry?* Ike then says *No* - and one way in which he could follow this is, as we have seen, with (2a) *What she had was a Margarita.* But he could also follow it by one of (48) or (49a).

While (48) is a simple clause, (49a) is an example of the experiential enhanced theme construction. In every such construction, the Performer takes one of the elements of an event that could have been be realized in a simple clause such as (48), and presents it as an Enhanced Theme. And, since it is always an element that realizes an **experiential** meaning, we use the term 'experiential' as the defining term in the name of this type of construction.

Figure 8, which can usefully be compared with Figure 7 to identify the similarities and differences, illustrates the structure of this important construction.

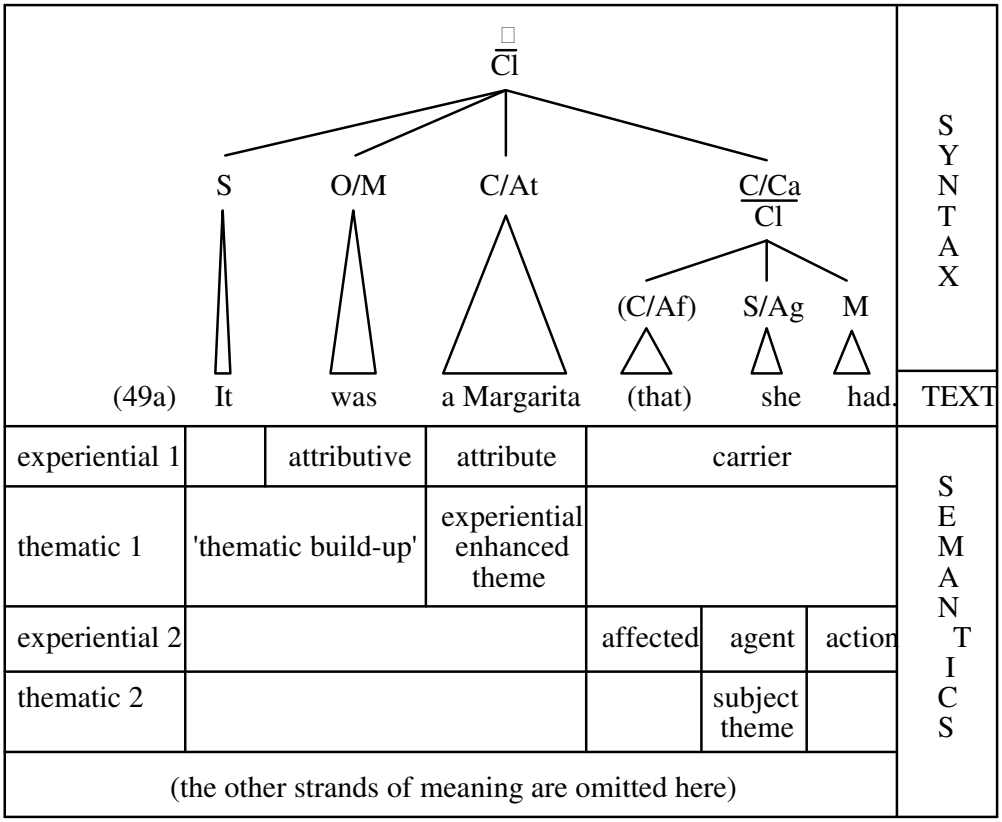


Figure 8:
The syntactic analysis and a partial semantic analysis of
an experiential enhanced theme construction

As with Figure 7 in the last chapter, we shall start by examining the syntax, i.e. the top half of the diagram. Notice first that no PR is conflated with the Subject - just as was the case with the existential enhanced theme construction in Figure 6 in Chapter 7. Next, notice that the Subject is directly expounded by the item *it*, showing that it is experientially empty - again, like the item *there* in the existential enhanced theme construction. So, as with that construction, the Subject's two contributions to the clause are (i) to express, with the Operator, the MOOD meaning of 'information giver', and (ii) to contribute to the **thematic build-up** that announces the Enhanced Theme.

In other ways, however, the analysis in Figure 8 is more like that of the 'referent as role in event' construction. Consider the 'experiential' analyses given below the text, and their realizations in the functional syntax above. Here too there is a matrix clause with the features

'carrier' + 'attributive' process' + 'attribute', and so the corresponding Participant Roles in the structure of Carrier and Attribute. But there is an important difference, which is that in the present case the sequence is not Carrier + Main Verb + Attribute, as in Figure 7, but Main Verb + Attribute + Carrier - with both the Carrier and the Attribute being conflated with Complements. And here too there in a second clause embedded in the Carrier, with a structure whose typical sequence would be Agent' + Main verb + Affected - but which is here, as in the 'referent as role in event' construction, Affected' + Main Verb + Agent. So, in terms of its experiential meaning, this structure is the same that of *What she had was a Margarita* - and the only difference in terms of the items at the level of form is the use of *that* instead of *what*. Thus in the written version of the present example the only difference is that of one letter. In a functional grammar, however, we should not attach great importance to the difference in form between *what* and *that* - especially in the light of the fact that in some dialects of English - e.g. Cockney - *It was a Margarita wot she 'ad* would be fully grammatical. As we shall see in a moment, it is the 'thematic' choice that causes the untypical sequence of elements in the matrix clause.

Once we acknowledge the experiential similarities between (2a) in Figure 7 and (49a) in Figure 8, we are forced to give full recognition to the existence of the matrix clause as a full clause - so acknowledging that it too has a Process and Participant Roles. For readers who are unfamiliar with other accounts of this structure, the description given here may well seem the obvious one. But the fact is that most earlier analyses do not treat the clause that we have analyzed here as the matrix clause as a clause at all. Surprisingly, the analysis shown in Figure 8 is one that has not been proposed so far in the literature on this construction - despite the fact that it goes back to Jesperson (1928/65) and beyond - other than in the writings of Huang, myself and others working in the framework of the Cardiff model.

9.4 The two basic types

There are several variants of this construction, and here we shall focus on the four that are identified in the system network in Figure 2, and illustrated in the accompanying examples.

Drawing on his own large corpus of examples, Huang (1996:75-89) accepts the essentials of the distinction described by Prince (1978), and then adapts, extends and in places corrects her analyses. Crucially, he demonstrates that the several variants of the construction fall into two main types, as exemplified by the underlined clauses in (50) and (51).

(50) A: We're going to have to face it.
B: <u>It's you who have to face it</u>.
(51) My dressing-gown was soaked with dark blood, my hands were sticky, and my feet felt slippery by the pedals. <u>It was then that I heard the voice.</u>

One way to illustrate the difference between the two types is to ask: 'Is the underlined clause in (50) more like (49a) or (51)?' To discover the answer, try reading each of the three aloud. In other words, we need to examine each in terms of the intonation which it is likely to be spoken - and so in terms of its 'informational' meaning. If you do this, you are likely to agree that the clause in (50) is almost certain to be spoken with an intonation that is like that of (49a). In other words, in (50) the Tonic, marking New information, is likely to fall on the Experiential Enhanced Theme, i.e. *you*, just as it falls on *Margarita* in (49a). Indeed, it is not a simple Tonic but a Contrastive Tonic, signalling that the object is not merely 'new' but 'contrastively new'. In (51), however, the Tonic falls on the last lexical item, i.e. *voice*, just as it falls on *Margarita* in (48) - so signalling that the whole clause element of *the voice* is 'new'.

It is not in fact necessary to read examples of the two types of enhanced theme construction aloud, in order to discover which is which. Even when they occur in writing the 'information structure' is automatically 'read in' by the experienced reader, who is able to work out the sentence's information structure on the evidence of (i) assumptions derived from the preceding text and (ii) probabilities derived from experience - e.g. the strong but not absolute likelihood that the Enhanced Theme in the 'non-contrastive' type will be an anaphoric pronoun of place or time. And the result is that the distinction between the two versions of the structure can be confidently used by experienced writers and their readers, as well as by speakers and their hearers.

The difference between these two is represented in the system network that is the first of the two systems that are dependent on [experiential enhanced theme]. In the type that is much the more frequent, i.e. [attribute is contrastively new], the Attribute is 'contrastively New'. There are relative degrees of explicitness in the contrast, e.g. we could add to (49a) - *and not a sherry*, and to (5) - *not me* to make the contrast fully explicit. But in the less frequent type of [attribute not contrastively new] the unmarked Tonic falls on the last lexical item - which is likely to be the Attribute, as in (51) - and, since it is not 'contrastive', we cannot add to it in the way we can with the 'contrastive' type.

Many variations on these canonical examples occur. In particular, we should note that the Enhanced Theme is not necessarily a nominal group, as all of our examples so far may have implied. It may be any class of group, for example a prepositional group, as in the underlined portion of *It was in spite of her worst fears that she went into teaching*, or a quality group (or 'adverbial group'), as in *It was only very slowly that the great ship began to move*, or even a full clause, as in *It was after we had lived there for ten years that we slowly began to be accepted by the locals.* And, perhaps surprisingly (in view of the frequency with which the Enhanced Theme is contrastive) it may be a simple pronoun that expresses the meaning of 'recoverability', as in *It will probably be him that gets caught*. Any element in the 'substantive' event may in fact be made the Enhanced Theme - so long as it is one that is deemed to be experiential.[121]

Finally, there are corresponding variants on the item *that* - and in the clause element that it expounds. It may also, in suitable contexts, be *who, which, to who(m), to which* (etc), and also *when, where* and even *why* and *how* - in questions such as *Why was it that you left at that point?* and *How is it that you feel like that?* Finally, it can be ellipted. Thus it is treated, unless it is ellipted, as a pronoun in a nominal group that may fill any Participant or Circumstantial Role.

But, whatever the variation, the construction is always one or other of the two basic types.

9.5 Three combinations of an experiential enhanced theme and another type of 'theme'

We saw in Chapter 4 that English allows its users to combine a choice in MARKED PR THEME with a choice in SUBJECT THEME, as in examples such as *The APPle Ivy ate - not the pear* and *By IVy the apple was eaten - not by Ike.* As Network D in Figure 2 shows, the choice to have an experiential enhanced theme similarly leads to a system of MARKED PR THEME.. But in this case the PR that becomes the **Marked PR Theme** is the Attribute, as in

[121] Interestingly, the test of turning re-expressing the clause that expresses the 'substantive' event as an experiential enhanced theme construction indicates a difference of meaning between two items that at first seem to share a common meaning. It suggests that clauses introduced by the Binder *because* are 'experiential', whereas clauses introduced by *since* (in its sense that expresses 'reason' rather than 'time position') are not - so expressing a 'logical' relationship. Compare the acceptability of *It was because she was tired that she didn't go out* and the extreme oddness of *It was since she was tired that she didn't go out.*

An APPle it was that Ivy ate, In 2001 it was that we first met - and, to continue the Margarita theme, (49b) - where I have provided the analysis of the matrix clause.

(49b) A Margarita [C/At] it [S] was [O/M] that she had [C/Ca].

In this case it is even more probable that the option of [no marked PR theme] will be chosen, but it does happen from time to time - and for the same discourse purposes.

A second type of construction that can be combined with this one is the **referent as role in event** construction. Occasionally this occurs as the Attribute in the matrix clause, as in the underlined portion of (52) - where again I have provided the analysis of the matrix clause.

(52) It [S] was [O/M] <u>what she drank last night</u> [C/At] that made her ill [C/Ca].

You might wish to analyze (52) for yourself in terms of the syntactic and semantic frameworks exemplified in this book. As you will find, (52) is simply a combination of the types of analysis found in Figures 7 and 8. (However, one new configuration of PRs is needed in order to analyze the three-role sense of 'making' found here, and it as follows: *The five Margaritas* [agent] *made* [attributive process] *her* [Affected-Carrier] *ill* [attribute].)

Finally, this construction, like most others, can be combined with a thematized Adjunct, as in <u>*Most unfortunately*</u> */* <u>*On this occasion*</u> *it was one of Juan's Margaritas that she had.*

9.6 The frequency of ellipted forms of this construction

This is a major subject in itself, and one that is still largely unexplored. Here I shall simply offer a couple of exchanges that illustrate the use of clauses which may at first appear to be simple clauses, but which we can now recognize as instances of ellipted versions of this construction. Such cases suggest that the construction may well be even more frequent than Biber et al's figure of 1,600 examples per million word suggests. To be specific, an analysis that involves ellipsis in an experiential enhanced theme construction explains the use of *it* in a number of cases where we might logically have expected *he* or *she*.

Consider what the analysis should be of the apparently simple utterances in the following three exchanges: *It was Madonna* and *Madonna,* and *It's me* and *Me*:

Ike and Ivy are listening to pop music as they wash the dishes.
Ike: Who was it that first sang that song?
Ivy (R1): It was Madonna.
Ivy (R2): Madonna.

Clearly, Ike's question requires an analysis in terms of the experiential enhanced theme construction, as shown below:

Ike: Who [C/At] was [O/M] it [S] that first sang that song [C/Ca]?

But what about Ivy's two possible responses of *It was Madonna* and *Madonna*? There is widespread agreement among linguists that such responses are ellipted versions of a full clause that the Addressee is expected to reconstruct by adapting the forms used in the preceding text. If this position is justified (and I take it that it is), the first version of Ivy's response should be analyzed as follows (where rounded brackets show the reconstructed items, and so the reconstructed structure), and where underlining shows the actual reply):

Ivy: <u>It [S] was [O/M] Madonna [C/At]</u> (that first sang it [C/Ca]).

And if that analysis is correct, we should logically make a similar analysis of what at first appears to be the simplest response of all, i.e. as follows:

Ivy: (It [S] was [O/M]) Madonna [C/At] (that first sang it [C/Ca]).

This pattern is quite frequent in casual conversation, e.g.:

Ike: I saw Fred yesterday.
Ivy: Right ... Where was it (that you saw him)?

And the same construction is used frequently with the 'new content seeker' form of the experiential enhanced theme construction, with sentences beginning with *Who was it that ...?. What was it that ...?, When was it that ...?, Where was it that ...?, Why was it that ...?, How was it that ...?* etc.[122]
Now consider this slightly different but even more frequent type of exchange:

Ivy (hearing a knock at the door): Who is it?
Ike R1): It's me.
Ike R2): Me.

In this case the sound of the knocking at the door makes even more ellipsis possible, and the analyses of the three utterances, based on the model of the preceding exchange, is like this (with the original sentence underlined):

Ivy: Who [C/At] is [O/M] it [S] (that is knocking at the door [C/Ca]) ?
Ike R1): It [S] 's [O/M] me [C/At] (that is knocking at the door [C/Ca]).
Ike R2): (It [S] 's [O/M]) me [C/At] (that is knocking at the door [C/Ca]).

In other words, the apparent oddness of using *it* to refer to a person is explained, once we see that each of the clauses is in fact an ellipted version of the experiential enhanced theme construction.

I suggest that, if a group of linguists were to be asked to analyze text-sentences such as these out of their context, it is likely that the analyses of many would be rather simpler than those shown here - but also less true to the functional structure of such texts. My conclusion is that the experiential enhanced theme construction probably occurs even more frequently that is normally assumed - especially in casual speech.

9.7 The Performer's discourse purposes

Huang (1996:92-107) makes a further valuable contribution to our understanding of this construction by providing a corpus-based list of the purposes for which the Performer of a text may use one or other of the various versions of the construction. His account takes us considerably further than the comments, useful though they are, in Biber et al (1999:962-3). He identifies and exemplifies NINE DISTINCT FUNCTIONS IN DISCOURSE that the enhanced theme construction can serve - some 'initiating' (scene-setting, topic-setting and ritual genre marking), some occurring 'in mid-discourse' (picking an object out from a set, reactivating a

[122] As the examples show, the element that is both the Experiential Enhanced Theme and the 'sought' element may correspond to any one of the possible Participant and Circumstantial Roles in the substantive event. We do not seek to reflect that status when it occuss in the matrix clause, where it is simply treated as an Attribute in an 'attributuve' clause with a Carrier and and Attribute. The place in the overall structure where its 'substantive status' IS expressed is in the PR or CR that is conflated with the Complement whose exponent is *that,*

referent, and highlighting a rhetorical relationship), some 'concluding' (expressing a climax or a summarizing statement) - and some simply repairing the discourse by using the 'contrastive' version to correct a possible misapprehension.. Note that only some of these are included in the sample list of 'purposes' given in Section 3 of Chapter 1, and that the inclusion of the rest would extend it significantly.

What all examples of this structure have in common is the fact that the element that is presented as the 'Enhanced Theme' is always **experiential** - and so it is always a Participant Role or a Circumstantial Role. For a much fuller account of the enhanced theme construction and its variants, see Fawcett & Huang 1995, Huang 1996 and, for a study of the remarkable similarity between this construction in English and the equivalent construction in Chinese, see Huang & Fawcett 1996.[123]

[123] The nearest equivalent system in Matthiessen 1995 is that in Figure 6-14 on p. 540. But it is not set within a TRANSITIVITY network from which forms of *be* are generated, so it is not clear where the Process of 'being' fits into the *IFG* analysis. Matthiessen is one of the few grammarians who allow for the possibility of examples such as (47b). But for some reason that is not clear he analyzes *Ernest it is that lives in the country* as having the same features as *As for Ernest, it's him that lives in the country.* The features are said to be: [predicated theme, unmarked theme, substitute theme]. There seems to be problems here, one being that in his network (p. 540) the system in which [substitute theme] is selected can only be entered if [unmarked theme] and [non-predicated theme] are chosen. Network D in Figure 2 works more straightforwardly. I suspect that a large part of the problem stems from the attempt in *IFG* to analyze such clauses without allowing there to be an embedded clause in the structure - a problem that led Huang and me to our very different analysis of this structure.

10

Evaluative Enhanced Theme

10.1 Introduction: its place in the system network

The second choice in the initial system in Network D of Figure 2 is [evaluation of event]. The effect of this choice - not surprisingly - is that the Performer gives the Addressee an **evaluation** of an event that is realized in a clause.[124] But there are two constructions that do this, and the Performer must choose between them. The names of the features in the dependent system indicate their key characteristics.

We can illustrate the two neatly by describing the brilliant way in which a now aging British TV comedy star, Bruce Forsyth, exploits two otherwise equivalent clauses when he first meets his audience. He bounds onto the stage, crying *Good evening, good evening!,* and then initiates the following ritualized exchange:

Bruce Forsyth:	Nice to see you!
	To see you ...
Audience (in unison):	... nice!

So, right from the start of his act, he establishes that there is the sort of close rapport between himself and his audience that enables them to finish each others' sentences - and that being together is, to employ the most frequent of all adjectives expressing a favourable feeling, *nice*. At the same time he engages them in a little verbal by-play, as together they express the same 'experiential' meaning in two clauses that differ in their 'thematic' and 'informational' structure.

Clearly, this little exchange consists of slightly ellipted forms of *It's nice to see you* and *To see you is nice.* Notice that it is the second of the two that is simpler: it is a straightforward 'attributive' clause, in which the event *to see you* (i.e. 'for me to see you') is the Carrier, and the evaluation expressed in *nice* is the Attribute. And yet it sounds a little odd. The reason is that users of English very strongly prefer the alternative construction of *It's nice to see you*. The question is 'Why?'

As the name of the lower feature in the system in Network D implies, the effect of choosing the less frequent feature is that the Attribute is likely to come at the end of the clause, and so to receive the unmarked Tonic, and so to be marked as 'new' information. This certainly gives the evaluation of *nice* prominence of one kind, and this may be part of what makes it satisfying for Bruce Forsyth's audience to supply this final item in their response.

The other feature in the system is [evaluative attribute is enhanced theme], and it is this one whose realization is in the **evaluative enhanced theme** construction. I shall allow myself to describe this construction a little more fully than the others that we have met - and for two reasons. The first is that it has so far not received the attention that its frequency merits in SFL, having been largely ignored in both Halliday 1994 and Matthiessen 1995. The

[124] This use of the term 'evaluative' corresponds roughly to the terms 'epistemic stance' and 'attitudinal stance', as used by Biber et al 1999, who also however use 'evaluative' in roughly the same sense as I do. It is narrower than 'appraisal' in the work of Martin and his colleagues (e.g. Martin 2000), but it corresponds closely to the use of the term 'evaluative' in Francis 1995 and Lemke 1988.

second is that I shall present here - and I hope justify - a new explanation of why its structure is as it is.

10.2The problems caused by the established name for this construction

Virtually all grammars that describe this construction - including the great functionally oriented grammars of Quirk et al 1985 and Biber et al 1999 - use the name for it which implies that it is to be 'explained' in terms of yet another syntactic transformation of the type found in Chomsky's standard transformational theory of syntax. This name is 'extraposition', and it brings with it the same 'baggage' that the terms '*it*-cleft' and '*wh*-cleft' do. In other words, it carries the clear implication - wrongly from the viewpoint of most functional grammarians - that there was an earlier syntactic structure to which a transformational rule has been applied. This rule is said (i) to 'extrapose' an element (an initial embedded clause, usually described as the Subject) from its typical position at the start of the clause to a position at the end, and (ii) to replace it by *it*. Thus in *To see you is nice* the words *to see you* are supposed both to have been moved to the end of the clause and to have been replaced by the new Subject of *it*. The alternative approach, of course, is to place the elements in their correct order from the start - as we do in SFL. My reasons for not using the term 'extraposition' are therefore the same as those given in Section 3 of Chapter 8 for not using the term '*wh*-cleft sentence' and in Section 3 of Chapter 9 for not using '*it*-cleft': in other words, the use of the term implies, wrongly, (i) that a transformational rule has been applied when it has not, and (ii) that an 'explanation' of the construction has been given when it has not - because nothing has been said about the function that it serves.

10.3 Form and meaning

Here, then, I shall set out an integrated description of (i) the functional syntax of this construction, and (ii) the semantics that shows why its structure is as it is. I shall then cite, in support of my account of the construction, the findings of a number of corpus-based studies, which together provide strong supporting evidence that this account is right - as well as bringing into the picture a number of variants of the construction.[125]

We begin with a set of typical examples, as set out in (53) to (59). The Enhanced Theme is filled in each case by an expression that provides an evaluation of the event, and it is identified by underlining.

(53) It's absolutely marvellous to see you again.
(54a) It's a real pleasure to be here.
(54b) It's a great pity / a crying shame that Ike's going to be late.
(55) It's wrong / a good thing / important that he's coming.
(56) It's reassuring / a bit of a problem that he's coming.
(57) It is very likely / pretty obvious / quite reasonable that Ivy had a Margarita.
(58) It's a real possibility that Fred won't come.
(cp. There's a real possibility that. ..)
(59) It's a fact that Fiona's not coming.

The term 'evaluative' is a broad one - and necessarily so. In (53) to (55) the general type of evaluation that the Performer offers is 'affective', i.e. it expresses how she feels about the event. The term 'affective' in turn needs to be interpreted in a broad sense, i.e. to include (i) 'personal feeling' (on a scale of 'nice' to 'nasty'), as in (53) to (54b); (ii) social judgement

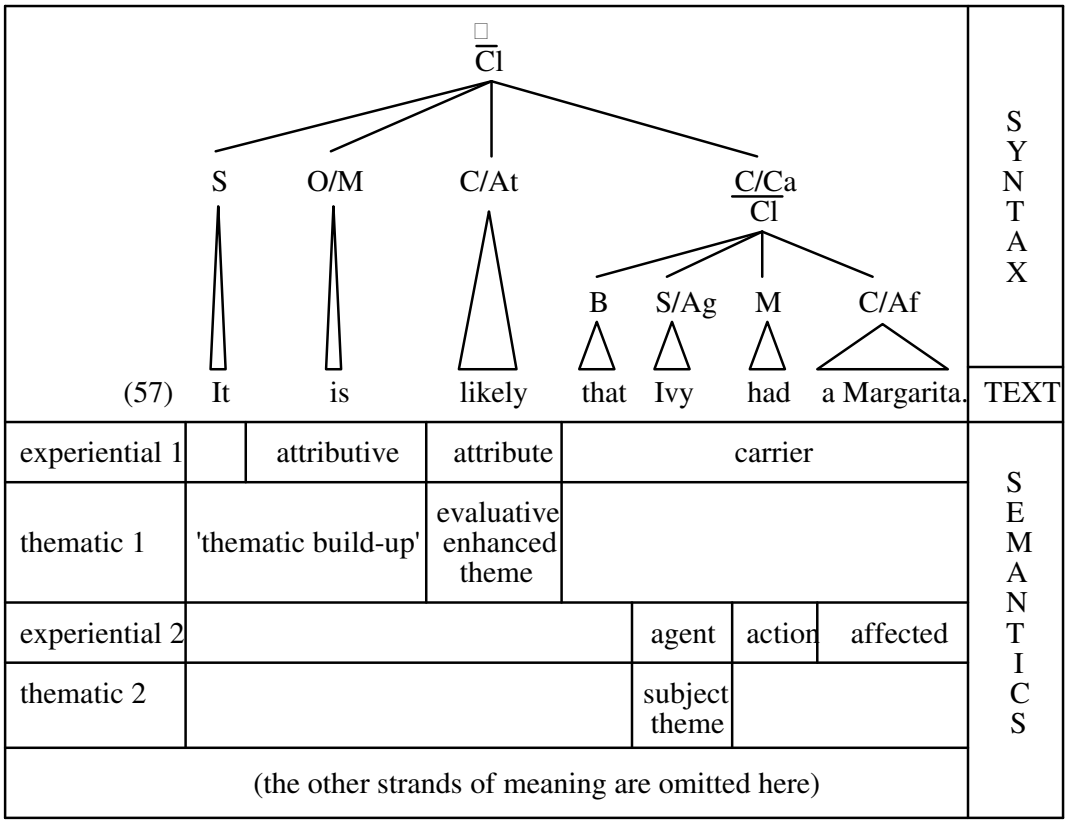
[125] This is the first published analysis of examples such as these in terms of the evaluative enhanced theme construction, though it has been described in the draft for Chapter 23 of Fawcett forthcoming b, that draft being referred to in Lemke 1998.

(on a scale of 'right' to 'wrong'), as in (55); and (iii) 'importance' (on a scale of 'vital' to 'irrelevant'), as also in (55). A second major type of 'evaluation' is a combination of the 'experiential' and the 'affective', and these express (i) the predicted emotional response and (ii) 'difficulty', both being illustrated in (56). The third major category is exemplified in (57) to (59), where the Performer is expressing her evaluation of the 'validity' of the event - sometimes in an extended sense of the term, as in the case of *pretty obvious* and *quite reasonable* in (57). (Four valuable corpus-based studies that cast light on the range of meanings that occur in this position are Quirk et al 1985, Francis 1995, Lemke 1998 and the relevant sections of Biber et al 1999. For a fuller statement about the classes of evaluation that occur as the Enhanced Theme see Chapter 23 of Fawcett forthcoming a.)

Let us be more precise about where, in the structure of the clause, these 'evaluations' are expressed. In some cases, the evaluation is expressed through an element of the 'substantive' clause, as when 'validity' meanings are expressed in Adjuncts such as *probably*, as in *Ivy probably had a Margarita,* and when 'affective' meanings are expressed in Adjuncts such as *unfortunately,* as in *Unfortunately Ivy had a Margarita.* But in the present case they do not. (We first met the concept of the 'substantive' event in Section 3 of Chapter 9). Instead, as Figure 9 shows, the substantive clause is EMBEDDED IN THE CARRIER OF A MATRIX CLAUSE.

Figure 9, then, illustrates a typical case of this construction. The matrix clause consists of an 'attributive' clause with a Carrier and an Attribute. The 'attributive' Process is realized in a form of *be* (but see below for examples that will suggest the need to modify claim). And, since the Subject is the experientially 'empty' *it*, each of the Carrier and the Attribute is conflated with a Complement. It is the Attribute that is the Enhanced Theme, and the embedded clause - since this is what is being evaluated - that is the Carrier. Thus the example in Figure 9 has the same experiential meaning as *That Ivy had a Margarita is likely.*

One of the interesting features of this construction is that there is variation (i) in what fills the Attribute and so expresses the Evaluative Enhanced Theme, and also (ii) in the structure of the clause that fills the Carrier. The most frequent class of unit that fills the Attribute is a **quality group**, as in *absolutely marvellous* in (53), *wrong* and *important* in (55), *very likely, pretty obvious* and *quite reasonable* in (57) and *quite true* in (59). But the Attribute is also quite often a **nominal group**, as in *a real pleasure* in (54a), *a great pity / shame* in (54b), *a good thing* in (55), *a bit of a problem* in (56), *a real possibility* in (58) and *a fact* in (59). It may even be a prepositional group, as in *It was of great importance that she did it*, though it could be argued that this is an ellipted version of *It was a matter of great importance that she did it.* Finally, as we shall see in Section 15 of Chapter 10, the Attribute may be unrealized or, as I shall suggest at the end of that section and in Section 8 of Chapter1 0, there may be no Attribute at all. 'But how,' you might ask, 'can we have an evaluative enhanced theme construction without an Attribute to be the Enhanced Theme?' We shall see in Section 10.8.



Supplementary Key: B = Binder

Figure 9:
The syntactic analysis and a partial semantic analysis of
an evaluative enhanced theme construction

The variations in the structure of the clauses that fill the Carrier are less significant; the most frequent types are *that*-clauses and *to*-clauses, but we shall also find clauses introduced by *if* and *whether*, e.g. *It's doubtful if / whether ...*, and even *as to whether*, as in *It's unclear as to whether ...* Other forms include *-ing* clauses, as in *It's actually quite nice being over forty*, and *wh*-clauses, as in *It's still pretty good when you're sixty.* But they are always events that are realized as clauses - and not as nominalizations.

10.4 An alternative functional explanation of the construction

However, there is an alternative functional explanation of this construction to the one offered here - and before we consider the variants of this construction, we should consider it and evaluate it. It is essentially the explanation implied in the description given in Quirk et al, 1985 (to which we shall return in Section 10.8), and it is as follows. Since the Carrier, i.e. *that Ivy had a Margarita* in (57), is semantically richer - or 'heavier' - than the Attribute (i.e. *likely*), it is a stronger candidate than the Attribute to be marked explicitly as 'new' information, and so to receive the unmarked Tonic. And, since the unmarked Tonic always falls on the strong syllable in the last lexical item in the clause (to oversimplify slightly), the Performer places the semantically 'heavy' Carrier (which is typically the first PR in the clause) at the end of the clause - and the effect is typically that it will receive the unmarked Tonic and so mark the whole of the Carrier as 'new' information.

This, then, is Quirk et al's 'end-weight' principle (1985:1361-2), but re-expressed in SFL terms. Interestingly, however, Quirk et al do not say explicitly that this is their explanation of the construction. But the section is one of several that deal with various types of what they term 'postponement' - and it is the 'end-weight' principle that that they propose as the motivation for all 'postponement' constructions (Quirk et al 1985:1392f.).

While the end-weight' principle is indeed one of several that guide the sequencing of clause elements, it would be hard to claim that it actually 'explains' why the present construction is as it is. This is because it would be possible - at least in theory - to place the Carrier at the end of the clause WITHOUT BEGINNING IT WITH THE THEMATIC BUILD-UP of *It is ...* In other words, the 'end-weight' principle does not explain why this part of the construction is as it is.

However, we do not in fact need to choose between the two 'explanations', because they are in fact fully compatible. When the Performer places the clause elements in a sequence that presents the evaluative Attribute as the Enhanced Theme, this has the convenient side-effect of causing the semantically heavy Carrier to come later in the clause, and so typically to be marked as 'new' information.

I suggest, then, that the concept of the Evaluative Enhanced Theme contributes far more to the unusual characteristics of this construction than does the 'end-weight' principle, because it motivates both the thematic build-up of *It is ...* and the unusual position in the clause of the Attribute. In contrast, the 'end-weight' principle explains rather less, and the desirability of placing the Carrier so that it receives the unmarked Tonic fails to explain the 'enhancement' of the thematic build-up. The conclusion must therefore be that it is indeed appropriate to call this the 'evaluative enhanced theme' construction. (However, see the end of the next section and Section 10.8 for a discussion of possible counter-examples to the assumption that there is always an Attribute and so an overtly realized Evaluative Enhanced Theme.)

We might have expected that there would be a functional explanation for this construction in Halliday's *IFG* - but there isn't one. Examples of it occur at two places (pp.:58-60 and 97-8), but Halliday seems to be unclear about its relationship to the 'predicated Theme structure' (pp. 58-60) - which is, as you will recall, his label for our 'experiential enhanced theme'. Thus, after proposing his structural analysis of the latter (which is rather different from that provided here in Figure 8), he writes (p. 60) that 'one very common type of this construction is that in which the postposed Subject is a 'fact' clause' - citing as an example *It helps a lot to be able to speak the language.* The first problem with this statement is that the evaluative enhanced theme construction isn't a 'type' of experiential enhanced theme construction, but a very different construction - as a comparison of Figures 8 and 9 clearly shows. Notice too that Halliday's description of the syntax as having a 'postposed Subject' seems to imply that there has been a syntactic transformation - something that it is surprising to find in Halliday's writings. (It echoes the description given in Quirk et al 1985, as we shall see shortly.[126]) In a later chapter of *IFG*, however (p.98), Halliday introduces several other examples of the present construction that are more typical, including *It was fortunate for me that the captain was no naturalist* and *It is impossible to protect individuals against the ills of poverty*. This time, however, he describes the examples as different from the 'predicated Theme structure', writing that 'the two are not the same clause type.' This is certainly a move in the right direction, but Halliday still does not suggest a name - functional or formal - for this functionally different 'clause type'.

Matthiessen (1995:559) follows the first of Halliday's two positions, including this construction as a type of 'predicated theme' and giving examples such as *It is certain that she did her best.* Interestingly, however, his verbal description of its structure seems to be fairly

[126] See my analysis of (67a) below for an example of how to analyze this variant of the construction in which the Main Verb is a form of *help* (i.e. a variant that does not have a form of *be* followed by an Attribute).

close to ours. He says (i) that 'it is an ... ascriptive clause with the proposition/proposal as Carrier and the modality [which is however an over-narrow specification of 'evaluation'] as Attribute' and (ii) that 'it is a thematic variant of *That she did her best is certain*'. But he does not identify it as the entirely separate construction that it undoubtedly is. It seems safest to assume that this is an area of the grammar of English on which the Sydney Grammar so far has only a tentative position.

Thompson (1996:129, 2004:152) goes further that either Halliday or Matthiessen in identifying this construction as existing in its own right. While he rightly points out that an example such as *It's interesting that you should say that* 'in some ways resembles predicated theme', he gives it its own name, i.e. 'thematized comment'. Unfortunately he does not provide a full analysis of it, simply describing *It's interesting* as the Theme and *that you should say that* as the Rheme. Earlier (pp. 65-7) he introduces a similar example as illustrating the concept that this structure is associated with 'evaluative' meaning, so on that occasion using the same overall label that is usd here. The term 'evaluative' is perhaps preferable to 'comment', because it gives a clearer picture of the range of meanings involved. But to call such a structure the 'thematized evaluation' construction would be inadequate, because that description could also be applied to an example of a simple thematized Adjunct such as *Unfortunately his guinea pig has died.* It therefore seems preferable to use a name that brings out the fact that, in this construction, the element that expresses he 'evaluation' is not merely a Theme but an Enhanced Theme - as we do here.

10.5 Some problematical examples: the case of *the case* etc.

Let us now examine the examples in (60a) to (61a).

(60a) It isn't (the case / true) that she was unwilling to come.
(60b) It's simply (the case / a fact) that she can't afford the rail fare.
(61a) It may be (the case / true) that Ivy has had too many Margaritas.
(61b) It seems / appears / looks / sounds (to me) to be (the case / a fact) that she has something to celebrate.
(62) It seems / appears / looks / sounds (to me) that / as if she has something to celebrate.

The brackets indicate that the evaluative Attribute, which might be expounded by items such as *the case, true* or *a fact,* can be left unexpounded in such cases - giving us, for example, *It isn't that she was unwilling to come* as one version of (60a), with a similar pattern in (60b) to (61b). Notice that each of these is more likely to occur without the words in brackets than with them.

Notice too that the unexpounded Attribute always carries a meaning equivalent to *the case* or *true* - and that it is this fact that makes it possible to leave it unrealized.[127] In analyzing such cases, the unrealized Attribute should be shown in rounded brackets, so that the resulting construction is analyzed in the same way as in Figure 9 - but with brackets round 'C/At' and no exponent of it.

One might at first think that in the version of (61) without any exponent of the Attribute - i.e. *It may be that Ivy has had too many Margaritas* - the use of *may be* rather than *is* is a replacement for *the case* - so that *may* has taken over the role of being the Evaluative

[127] This type of 'non-realization' should not, in my view, be treated as ellipsis, because in ellipsis the unexpounded items are in principle fully recoverable. It seems likely that many users of English who regularly use the shorter version of (60a) would never uttering the full version, and may never even have heard or read it. Thus, while we can say that the Attribute is unrealized, we cannot say which items would have been used if it had been overtly expressed.

Enhanced Theme. However, it is unusual to find examples such as *It is that ... (though there is nothing odd about* It is simply that ...).Thus the items *may* and *the case* realize independently selected meanings, and the decision to use one or the other or both as the overt expression of validity will be specified from the micro-planner for 'validity' (the basic components of which are described in Hood 1997).

With examples where *the case* is omitted, e.g. *It isn't that she was unwilling to come* (60a), it is natural to ask: 'How do we know that this is an evaluative enhanced theme construction?' (Here 'we' can be interpreted as either 'we linguists' or 'we users of the language', so including the Addressee.) The answer is that we first recognize the pattern of *It is ...* as being likely to signal an enhanced theme construction of some type, and that the following *that* signals then it is almost certainly the evaluative type. And this is sufficient evidence to enable the Addressee (or the analyst) to recover the unrealized Attribute with the value of 'fact' that would be realized as *true* or *the case*, etc.

Now consider the cases of (61b). This appears to be quite complex, in that it introduces four verbs, each of which may precede the Main Verb of *be*, followed by an optional - but typically present - *the case, a fact* or *true.* In essence, the analysis is the same as that in (61a). In other words, in the Cardiff Grammar, the verb *seem* - together with the other three verbs that function like it and are listed in (61b) - can occur as an Auxiliary Verb (though of a type that cannot function as the Operator) - so that in these examples, as all the others so far, *be* is the Main Verb. There is also an optional Adjunct *to me* - and the analysis of this element as an Adjunct is strongly supported by the fact that it can also occur initially or finally. The analysis of (61b) is therefore as follows: *It* [S] *seems* [X] *to me* [A] *to* [I] *be* [M] *the case* [C/At/ETh] that she has something to celebrate [C/Ca].

Finally, consider the apparently similar case of (62b). This contains the same set of verbs as (61b), but notice that (i) there is no Main Verb *be*, and (ii) the Binder that introduces the embedded clause may be *as if* (as well as *that*) - unlike all the examples considered so far. So this question arises: 'Is it possible to add *to be*?' The answer is that, when the Binder is *that* , it may just be possible, - giving the rather doubtful sentence *It seems (to me) to be that she has something to celebrate* - but it is quite unacceptable when the Binder is *as if* - i.e. we don't say **It seems (to me) to be as if she has something to celebrate*. The analysis that I suggest for the examples in (62) - i.e. *It seems (to me) that ...* - is to treat *seems* and the other verbs as being 'cognition' Processes of an unusual sort, in which the Cognizant (when realized overtly) is *to me* and the Phenomenon is *that she has something to celebrate* - so expressing a meaning similar to that of *I think that she has something to celebrate.* But if this is so - and we shall assume that it is - we are still left without an explanation for the initial *It is ...* Perhaps the best explanation is that in this case the Main Verb is itself functioning as a type of Evaluative Enhanced Theme. In Section 10.8 we shall see that there are a good many other cases that suggest this analysis.

Note that the types of evaluative enhanced theme construction with a covert Attribute described in this section are not covered in the summary diagram in Figure 2.

10.6 The combination of an evaluative experiential enhanced theme with other types of 'theme'

As we have seen, it is usually possible to combine any construction with a thematized Adjunct, and examples such as *In December it is sometimes possible to reach the summit* and *Only occasionally is it possible to reach it* illustrate this.

But is it also possible to combine it with a Marked PR Theme? We saw in Section 5 of Chapter 9 that we can combine an experiential enhanced theme with a Marked PR Theme, so it is natural to ask this question. The answer is that we can, in principle, and that we do - as Figure 2 shows. But we do so only quite rarely, and almost always with an Enhanced Themes that expresses an affective meaning - and with the further limitation within this that

it occurs with only a small number of items. Thus the examples in Figure 2 demonstrate that we may say, alongside *It was very nice to see you again, Very nice it was to see you again*. Such combined constructions will often preceded by *and* and followed by *too*, as in:

Alice: It's lovely to see you again, Marjorie.
Marjorie: And very nice it is to see you again too, my dear.

10.7 The Performer's discourse purposes

As for the purposes served by the evaluative enhanced theme construction, this is an area in which more work is needed. We saw in Section 10.4 that Quirk et al 1985 don't have an inadequate explanation, and the most recent 'comprehensive' grammar, that of Huddleston & Pullum 2002, has even less to say (no doubt because it is conceived in markedly less functional terms). Even the relevant sections in Biber et al 1999, which they say will explain how 'linguistic features can be said to actually perform particular tasks in discourse' (p.41) are remarkably thin.[128] Surprisingly, they have five pages of discussion of the reasons why the much less frequent 'preposed *that*-clauses' (such as *That Fred did it is obvious*) might be chosen instead. However, they do state that what they term 'adjectival predicates with extraposed *that*-clauses mark a stance or attitude towards the proposition in the *that*-clause,' and that 'in most cases this ... represents the attitude of the speaker/writer' (p. 673). But we need an answer the question: 'Why is this construction used rather than one of the other ways of stating an evaluation of the event?' The relatively high frequency of this construction suggests that it plays an important role in carrying out some higher decision by the Performer about giving the Addressee her/his evaluation of an event, and perhaps part of the answer may emerge from the work on 'appraisal' by Martin, White and their colleagues (e.g. as in Martin 2000), which I see as being at that 'level' of planning (rather than as 'semantics'). On the other hand, it may be that there is relatively little to be added to the explanation that is implied in the name that we have given the construction - i.e. it is a means by which the Performer gives particular prominence to the evaluation of the event.

10.8 Testing the model: variants in the form of the evaluative enhanced theme construction

As I have emphasized, the structural analysis of this construction and the explanation of why it is as it is that are set out here are both new proposals. It may therefore be useful to check that the database is broad enough, so that it doesn't exclude semantically similar examples that happen not to conform to its semantic and structural patterns.

These potential counter-examples could be of three main types. The first type would begin with an experientially empty Subject *it* and express an evaluative meaning early in the clause, but it would not use the verb *be* in the matrix clause. We have met one example of this type in (62), as discussed in Section 10.5. But there are many more, as we shall see, and we shall focus on these in the present section. The second type of variant would conform fully to the structural pattern in formal terms, but the Enhanced Theme would not express an evaluative meaning, and we shall focus on this issue in the next section. The third type would combine the first two, and consist of a construction that begins with an empty *it,* that is

[128] This may be in part because they make the mistake of regarding this construction as centring round what they term a 'predicative adjective', i.e. an adjective with a verb-like 'predicative' ability, rather than recognizing it as an 'attributive' clause that has a Carrier and an Attribute. Thus they take as the base of their model for understanding this construction the relatively small proportion of such constructions that have a verb but no Attribute, and assume that '*be* + quality group or nominal group' are an extended versions of that, whereas we assume that the latter establish the basic framework and then interpret the former in that framework.

followed by a Main Verb other than a form of *be*, and that does not express an evaluative meaning.

To address the first issue, we shall look examine the data offered in the large, functionally-oriented grammar of Quirk et al 1985, which is based on pioneering corpus work in the Survey of English Usage. Then in the next section we shall address the second issue more briefly, examining the findings of (i) a corpus study of the pattern of *It is (very) ... that* ... by Francis (1995), (ii) the findings in Biber et al 1999, and (iii) those in Lemke 1998.

We shall begin with Quirk et al's account of this phenomenon (1985:1391-3). There are two surprising things about it, given that this is essentially a functionally oriented grammar. The first is that they don't describe its structure in terms of its observable syntactic categories, but in terms of the type of syntactic 'movement' rule found in transformational grammars. Thus they write that 'the subject is moved to the end of the sentence [not 'clause'] and the normal subject position is filled by the anticipatory pronoun *it*,' and they call it by its transformational name of 'extraposition'. The reason why I find this analysis odd is that Quirk et al normally use the minimum of theoretical apparatus to describe structures. The second unusual aspect of their account is that, while they normally suggest the functional for using a construction, in this case there is none. However, since their account of 'extraposition' is set within the general framework of what they see as other types of 'postponement', we may safely assume (as I did in Section 10.4) that their explanation of this construction is essentially the same as their explanation of the structures that precede and follow this chapter. And this 'alternative explanation' is, as we saw in Section 10.4, somewhat less insightful than the one offered here.

Their account is nonetheless useful in that this section of Quirk et al 1985 is, like every other section, packed with examples of both the canonical forms and the many possible variants of the construction - many of which are derived from their Survey of English Usage corpus. It is interesting, therefore, to use their examples as a test of the hypothesis advanced here - namely, that the evaluative enhanced theme construction is motivated at least as much by the Performer's wish to present the 'evaluating' element as an Enhanced Theme as it is to present the event that is being evaluated as 'new'. Thus, if we were to find significant numbers of examples of this construction in Quirk et al 1985 in which there was no evaluative element, the main hypothesis of the explanation proposed here would be invalidated. (However, if we found only a small number of exceptions, the explanation of these might be in terms of the start of a new semantico-syntactic construction, as an aspect of language change.)

The examples in Quirk et al 1985 include many that conform to the pattern described above, including *It is a pleasure to teach her, It is a pity that we missed the show, It was easy getting the equipment loaded, It wouldn't be any good trying to catch the bus,* and *It's fun being a hostess.* What is odd about their examples is the almost complete lack of examples of the commonest form of the construction, i.e. *It's (very)* [adjective] *that ...* (which was the subject of a study that is reported in Francis 1995, to which we shall come shortly).

Here, then, are the examples from p. 1392 of Quirk et al (1985:1392) that raise problems for the current proposal. I have re-arranged their order to bring out the features that they have in common from a functional viewpoint, and I have added one additional example (64b) to show the link between two of their examples which I treat as similar. I have also added certain items and elements to Quirk et al's versions of (66a) and (66b), these all being elements that might have been present but which are unrealized in Quirk et al 1985. Finally, I have added a linear analysis of the elements of the matrix clause (in which all of the elements used have been introduced in previous analyses.

(63) It [S] was <u>on the news</u> [C/At] <u>that income tax is to be lowered</u> [C/Ca].

(64a) It [S] surprised [M] <u>me</u> [C/Em] <u>to hear him say that</u> [C/Ph].

(64b) It [S] amuses / angers / annoys / delights / displeases / pleases / satisfies / upsets / worries [M] Ivy [C/Em] that Fiona is so cheerful all the time [C/Ph].

(64c) It [S] makes [M] her [C/Em] happy [MEx] to see everyone enjoying themselves [C/Ph].

(65) It [S] doesn't matter (to me [C/Em]) what she said [C/Ph].

(66a) It [S] is said (by some [C/Ag]) (to their friends [C/Af-Cog]) that she slipped arsenic into his tea [C/Ph].

(66b) It [S] was considered / thought (by the authorities [C/Cog]) (to be) impossible for anyone to escape [C/Ph].

XXX Consider adding

Obama would have been unlikely to become the Prime Minister in Britain, it has been claimed by Trevor Phillips. (Yahoo news, November 2008)

This is not the place to set out a full justification for the analysis of each example, but a few comments are required, in order to explain the approach that I am suggesting to cases such as these. The first thing that strikes one about them is that most, like the earlier analysis of (62), cannot be accounted for in terms of the choice in the 'attributive' system shown in Figure 2 - for the simple reason that MOST ARE NOT 'ATTRIBUTIVE' PROCESSES.

Interestingly, in only two of Quirk et al's main set of examples is the Process 'attributive'. The first is *It is a pleasure to teach her* (which I have just mentioned) and the second is (63). One might initially assume that (63) is not 'attributive', but 'locational'. But notice that the meaning of *on the news* in (64) is not the location of the proposition 'that income tax is to be lowered', but a statement of 'how valid' the proposition is - so that this is in fact a simple case of an evaluative enhanced theme construction, like most of those considered so far.

Now consider (64a) and (64b). All the variants included in (64b) are 'emotion' Processes, so they have an Emoter (Em) and a Phenomenon (Ph). But almost all of them also have a close conceptually equivalent version, e.g. for (64a) *It is surprising that ...,* and for (64b) *It is amusing / annoying /delightful / unpleasant / pleasant / satisfying / upsetting that* .... The analysis of (64c) - where 'MEx' stands for 'Main Verb Extension' - shows that I am treating *make ... happy* as a phrasal verb that is essentially similar to the simple verb *please* - as indeed its ability to be used in conjunction with this construction also suggests that it is.[129] (Note that in all of these cases the Participant Roles meet the standard tests, as set out in Chapter 2 of Fawcett forthcoming b.) In (65) *It matters / doesn't matter (to me) that ...* is equivalent to *It is/isn't important (to me) that ...* - which would of course be a simple evaluative enhanced theme construction. Then in (66a) and (66b) the two full versions of the examples shown here illustrate a few of the many ways in which a Performer may distance herself from offering a full endorsement the validity of the proposition by assigning it the status of a **report**. Thus the validity in such cases depends on one's confidence in the authority of the originator and transmitter of the report. In these examples the word *said, thought* or *considered* is handled as an Auxiliary Extension (XEx), where the Auxiliary (X) is the preceding form of *be*. For the full justification of this analysis and similar problematical items (and associated extensions of the concept) see Chapter 14 of Fawcett forthcoming a.

These are the examples from Quirk et al 1985 that present problems of one type or another for the current proposal. There are others, as I have said, that conform to the semantic and syntactic patterns described in Section 10.3 - and the fact that they can all, without exception, be interpreted as variants of the evaluative enhanced theme construction

[129] Compare *make ... sad* and *sadden.* This analysis is part of a current exploration in the Cardiff Grammar of the expansion of the concept of the 'phrasal verb' to include such cases.

must be significant. The fact is that insufficient attention has been paid to the semantics of 'evaluation' in linguistics until the last decade, and this may be the reason why Quirk et failed to suggest the function that this construction serves. However Biber et al (1999) do at least indicate, as we saw in Section 10.7, that it expresses an 'evaluation' of the proposition.

To summarize: we have found that all but one of Quirk et al's apparent exceptions to the pattern established in Section 10.3 can be handled in the canonical framework - once we recognize that such structures are subject to the conventionalized non-realization of a recoverable element equivalent in meaning to *the case*, as described in Section 10.5.

Finally, I should mention the work that is undoubtedly the best source of evidence on this and many other constructions. This is Francis, Hunston & Manning 1996, which provides copious (but still not comprehensive) lists of which verbs enter into which patterns. Again, the overwhelming majority of the verbs in their lists (pp. 519-31) that fit the pattern of *'It* + Main Verb (+ nominal group) + clause' support the proposal made here. (I shall return to a few apparent exceptions in Section 10.10.)

10.9 Testing the model: variants in the range of 'evaluative' meanings in the construction

Now we shall turn to the question 'Are the meanings of the items that expound the Enhanced Theme in this construction necessarily evaluative?' There are four works that provide evidence that is directly relevant to the answer, all published since 1995. The first is Francis 1995, the data for which come from a search of the COBUILD 'Bank of English' corpus. Her study is the first to suggest the semantic classes of the adjectives that occur at the first slot in the pattern *It is (very) ... that ...* (where *that* introduces an embedded clause). Her names for her semantic classes are 'modality' (including *possible that. ..*),'ability' (including *possible to ...*), 'importance', predictability', 'obviousness', 'value and appropriacy', 'rationality' and 'truth'. And she describes them collectively as the 'main parameters of evaluation'. (See below for a comparison of her classes with those of two other studies.)

A second corpus-based study that contributes to our understanding of this structure is Biber et al 1999 (the relevant sections of which are scattered over a number of chapters). Their study is like that of Francis, in that they focus primarily on adjectives, though they also include a few examples of nouns and verbs that enter into the construction, and their three major categories are 'certainty', 'affective or evaluative' and 'importance' - all of which are types of 'evaluation', in our terms. A particularly interesting finding is that the most frequent type of evaluation with *that* clauses is 'certainty' (= our 'validity') - rather than what we (and they) call 'affective' meanings. The specific adjectives that are most frequent are *clear, (un)likely, (im)possible* and *true.* With *to*-clauses, however, the most frequent adjectives are *(im)possible, difficult* and *hard*, and since *possible to* expresses a 'difficulty' meaning rather than a 'validity' meaning the dominant type here is 'difficulty' - again pushing the 'affective' meanings into second place. However, 'affective' meanings of various types are very frequently used in both structural types, as the examples in this and most other studies (except Quirk et al 1985) all amply demonstrate.

Thirdly, we need to note again that the fullest source of evidence is that provided in the semantically grouped word lists for the evaluative enhanced theme constructions associated with nouns and adjectives (in Francis, Hunston & Manning 1998) and verbs (Francis, Hunston & Manning 1996). As before, the contents of these carefully constructed lists confirm the main proposal of this chapter, namely that this construction is inherently evaluative. Overall, then, the findings of three of the major relevant corpus studies of the end of the twentieth century support the major proposal made here.

Finally, there is the work on 'attitudinal meaning' reported in Lemke (1998). He drew on Francis 1995 when developing his own set of 'semantic dimensions of evaluative

orientation' (p. 37) for use in analyzing his corpus of newspaper texts, but he was interested in overt expressions of evaluation anywhere in syntactic structure. Interestingly, he compares his categories with those of Greenbaum (1969), Francis (1995) and myself (then unpublished but now to appear as Fawcett forthcoming a). Greenbaum's categories were part of a general study of 'Adverbials', so they don't necessarily correspond to the semantic classes that occur in this present construction. This is not the place for a full comparison between the various independently proposed categories, but it is satisfying to find that Lemke (1998:40) summarises his own three-way comparison by stating that he is 'very pleased by this substantial convergence of findings'.

10.10 Three final possible counter-examples

The emerging picture is one in which the Attribute in this construction is always interpretable as expressing the Performer's evaluation of the event expressed in the Carrier, in one of a wide range of types of 'evaluation'. So, while the item that expresses the evaluation may well also express an 'experiential' meaning - especially when meaning of evaluation is incorporated in the Main Verb - it will always express an 'evaluative' meaning as well.

The best source of possible counter-examples to this claim is the list of verbs in Francis, Hunston & Manning 1996, and I have also scoured texts for other counter-examples. Some representatives of the more problematical candidates that I have found are those in (67a), (68a) and (69a).

(67a) It helps (us) that / when / if you get to work before nine.
(68a) It hurts (me) to breathe.
(69a) It follows (from this) that fungi aren't plants. (See Chapter 11.)

'Helping' and 'hurting' are both predominantly 'experiential' meanings of the 'action' type, yet even here there is an conceptually equivalent clause that conforms completely to the standard structure, as shown in (67b) and (68b) - so demonstrating, I would now argue, that they are indeed interpretable as containing evaluative meaning. At the simplest level, 'helping' is 'good' and 'hurting' is 'bad'. But is this also true of (69a)? 'Following from' is an 'event-relating' Process (for which see the next chapter), and even though there is a conceptually similar adjectival equivalent in (69b), I prefer to treat both (69a) and (69b) as inherently containing two events - so that (69a) and (69b) are not to be interpreted as evaluative enhanced theme constructions. In these examples one of the two events is the referent of *this*. Supporting evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that, if we did not analyze these examples in this way, we would need to add another type of Adjunct that would otherwise not be needed, in order to account for *from this* in (69a) and (69b).

(67b) It is helpful (to us) that / when / if you get to work before nine.
(68b) It is painful (to me) to breathe.
(69b) It is inferable (from this) that fungi aren't plants. (See Chapter 11.)

I do not claim that every lexical verb that enters into this construction has an adjectival equivalent. But the pattern is so strong - and there are so many cases in which there is a conceptual equivalent that invites analysis in these terms - that it seems reasonable to suggest that the lexical verbs that occur in this construction all have 'evaluation' built into them - of one or other of the broad range of types that we have recognized here.

Note that the types of evaluative enhanced theme construction that have a Main Verb with an 'evaluative' interpretation, as described here and in Section 10.8, are not

covered in the summary diagram in Figure 2 - and that in such cases the Main Verb may be shown in the semantic analysis as the Enhanced Theme.

10.11 Summary

Let me summarize. In Sections 10.3 and 10.4, I established, on the basis of a Carrier + Attribute analysis of the TRANSITIVITY of the matrix clause of examples of the construction, that the Attribute can be most insightfully analyzed as an Enhanced Theme - and that in the canonical examples it is filled by a quality group such as *very nice* or a nominal group such as *a fact*. Then at the end of Section 10.5 we found that we had one example of what seems to function as an evaluative enhanced theme construction, but where we could not 'read in' an ellipted verb *to be*. That single example has now been joined by considerable numbers of other examples (around 30 in Francis, Hunston & Manning 1996) - most of which are not 'attributive' and all of which invite analysis as evaluative enhanced theme constructions. In these cases the 'evaluative' element is expressed in either the Process or a Process or Auxiliary Extension with 'evaluative' implications. The appropriate response to these data is to treat these examples as variants of the evaluative enhanced theme construction in which it is the Main Verb (or other element) that expresses the Enhanced Theme.

In such cases, therefore, it is appropriate to write, when making a semantic analysis like that in Figure 9 of such examples, the words 'evaluative enhanced theme' in the 'thematic line of analysis, under the clause element Main Verb.

Above all, this survey of corpus-based studies of the construction confirms that it is indeed appropriate to name this construction 'the evaluative enhanced theme construction'.

11

Event-relating Enhanced Theme

11.1 Introducing the 'event-relating' class of Process

We come now to a different and much less frequent type of enhanced theme construction: the **event-relating enhanced theme** construction. However, before we look at the construction itself, I must introduce you to the class of TRANSITIVITY Processes that it presupposes, which we shall call **event-relating** Processes.[130] (The first reasonably full published description of them is set out in Chapter 2 of Fawcett forthcoming b.) The function of this recently identified Process type is to provide a broad set of relationships between pairs of events - whether those events are expressed in clauses or nominalizations, i.e. as nominal groups. As two typical examples, consider (70a) and (71a). The underlined portions of the examples show the two events which event-relating Process relates.

(70a) That he failed to put the issue to the voters [Ca] implies / shows a lack of genuine confidence [Ra]
(71a) That a mushroom isn't a plant [Ca] follows from the basic but little known fact that fungi are not plants [Ra].

The two Participant Roles used in such Processes are a Carrier and a Range. We don't need to introduce new PRs for the roles filled by the two events, because (i) the standard tests for each can be used in these cases and (ii) this combination of PRs is unique to this Process type. We are now ready to look at the event-relating enhanced theme construction itself.

11.2 Form and meaning

Consider the following pair of examples. As you will see, they are conceptually equivalent to (70a) and (70b) respectively. Yet they clearly have many of the characteristics of an enhanced theme construction.

(70b) It implies / shows a lack of genuine confidence [Ra] that he failed to put the issue to the voters [Ca].
(71b) It follows from the basic but little known fact that fungi are not plants [Ra] that a mushroom isn't a plant [Ca].

In each example, the PR that would typically come second (i.e. the Range) is made the Enhanced Theme, with the words *It implies, It signifies* and *It follows from* performing a function that clearly has similarities to the thematic build-up of *It is/was* etc in the types of enhanced theme described in earlier chapters. And, as with the evaluative enhanced theme construction (but not the experiential), the typically first PR, i.e. the Carrier, is thereby placed at a later position in the clause, where it is likely to receive the unmarked Tonic and so be

[130] Halliday deals with these relationships by borrowing existing TRANSITIVITY relationships and re-interpreting them through his notion of 'grammatical metaphor', but in the Cardiff Grammar they are treated as a type of TRANSITIVITY in their own right.

marked as 'new' information. It is also like the evaluative enhanced theme construction in that the Main Verb in the matrix clause isn't a form of *be.*

But this construction is unlike the evaluative enhanced construction in that most of these Process types occur more frequently in the unmarked construction - i.e. in a simple 'active' clause in which the Carrier occurs before the Range. However, there is a small number that are more frequent in the enhanced theme version as e (71a) and (71b illustrate).

There is a considerable range of constructions that occur within both the Carrier and the Range. In particular, the event is not necessarily expressed in the form of a clause (as it is in the evaluative enhanced theme construction). Two ways of nominalizing the event are illustrated by *a lack of genuine confidence* in (70a) and *the basic but little known fact that fungi are not plants* in (71b).

11.3 A second type of enhanced theme construction that occurs with 'event-relating' Processes

We should note that clauses with event-relating Processes can occur in a version that is a second type of enhanced theme construction - i.e. with an Experiential Enhanced Theme. To demonstrate this, let us take a third example, as in (72a).

(72a) Smoking cigarettes [Ca] leads to ((your) getting) lung cancer [Ra].

Notice that (72a) is not one of the event-relating Processes that permit the thematization of the Process - but it can be re-expressed as an experiential enhanced theme - in which case the two PRs are a Carrier and an Attribute, as you will recall from Chapter 10. Since there are two semantic roles in (72a), there are two elements that mat be made the experiential enhanced theme and these are shown inr (72b) and (72c) (in which it is the Enhanced Theme that is underlined):

(72b) It is (getting) lung cancer that smoking cigarettes leads to.
(72c) It is smoking cigarettes that leads to (getting) lung cancer.

It is necessary, then, to distinguish carefully between the two types of enhanced theme construction. This isn't hard, because in the event-relating enhanced theme construction it is the Process that is thematized, whereas in a standard experiential enhance theme the thematized element is a Participant or Circumstantial Role.

11.4 The Performer's discourse purposes

I have only become aware of the need to recognize this construction in preparing this book, so there has been no time as yet to make a study of its discourse purpose - or purposes. Yet we may perhaps speculate that its function is to foreground the event-relating Process, which is itself in some cases close to an evaluative meaning - as (69a) and (69b) suggest.

To summarize: we have met in this section a relatively infrequent construction that seems to have many of the features of an enhanced theme construction. But more work needs to be done on both the concept of event-relating Processes and this construction to establish it as a generally recognized construction.

Note that the event-relating enhanced theme construction described in this section is not covered in the summary diagram in Figure 2.

12

The four types of Enhanced Theme construction compared

Here are typical examples of each of the four types of enhanced theme construction, so that we can see clearly both the similarities and the differences.

(73) There was a badger on the road immediately in front of us.
(74) It was a badger that we saw.
(75a) It was absolutely marvellous that we saw a badger.
(75b) It delighted us to the badger.
(76) Does it follow from seeing the badger that you might be interested in joining the Radnorshire Wildlife Protection Society?

The Enhanced Theme is the underlined portion of each. But notice how this enhancement is achieved. Paradoxically, it is by a means that involves placing the element further from the start of the clause than it might otherwise be (e.g. if it were made a Marked PR Theme). In (74) to (76) the 'enhancement' is brought about by the presence of the 'empty Subject' *it* followed by a form of the verb *be* , and in (73) by the 'empty Subject' *there*, also followed by a form of *be* (almost always, that is, but as we saw in Section 6 verbs such as *lay* may occur also).

In each type, then, there is the phenomenon of **thematic build-up**, through which the Performer signals to the Addressee that an Enhanced Theme is about to be presented. It is as if the delay between announcing that the Theme is coming and its actual presentation builds up the Addressee's expectations, so enhancing the effect when finally - but only milliseconds later - the Performer presents the Enhanced Theme itself. And in each case it is an important part of the effect that the Subject of the clause, which is otherwise almost always both a Participant Role and the Subject Theme, is 'empty' - in the sense that it carries no experiential meaning at all. (It does, of course, contribute importantly to the clause's overall meaning, since it also plays a role in the realization of the MOOD meaning of the clause: contrast *It was a badger that we saw* with *Was it a badger that we saw?*)

But there the similarities between the three types end. The existential enhanced theme has no embedded clause, while each of the experiential and the evaluative enhanced themes have one and the event-relating type has two. And notice the important difference between the two embedded clauses in the experiential enhanced theme construction in (74) and the evaluative one in (75a). In *that we saw* in (74), a key element is left unidentified (being referred to simply by the 'relative pronoun' *that*) and we need the referent of the Enhanced Theme from the matrix clause to complete the proposition. But the embedded clause in (75a) consists of the Binder *that*, followed by a 'complete' clause with no Participant Roles left unspecified, i.e. *we saw a badger.* So there should be no question of treating them as variants of the same construction.

Note too that the element expounded by *that* is quite different in each case. In (74) it is the head of a nominal group (where all 'pronouns' appear), while in (75a) it expounds the Binder in a clause. And finally note that in (75b) and (76) the element that is presented as the Enhanced Theme is the Process.

13

A thematized Process and its dependent roles

13.1 Form and meaning

The final type of 'theme' to be described here is the most infrequent of those shown in Figure 2 - and it is summarized in Network F. In such cases it is often just the Process that is thematized - and so just a Main Verb - as in the second clause in (66):

(66) You seem bent on suffering, so <u>suffer</u> you shall!

But in principle it is more than just the Process that is thematized, as the heading of this section suggests. The fact that examples like (66) occur more frequently than the more complex versions may help to explain why, on the rare occasions when it is mentioned in the SFL literature, it is usually treated as being the thematization of the Process alone (e.g. in Matthiessen 1995:543).[131] But this is a mistaken view, because what is thematized is in fact BOTH THE PROCESS AND ITS DEPENDENT ROLES, where 'dependent' means 'any associated roles other than the Subject'. These are, in effect, any roles that typically follow the Main Verb - whether a Participant Role (and so a Complement) or a Circumstantial Role (and so an Adjunct) - or both.

To illustrate this point, consider the underlined portion of the invented example in (78):

(78) He had always had the ambition to order a boiled egg on a Saturday night in the Savoy, so <u>order a boiled egg on a Saturday night in the Savoy</u> he did.

And the analysis of the early elements of the second clause is as in (78i):

(78i) ... so [&] order [M] a boiled egg [C/Pos] on a Saturday night [A] in the Savoy [A] he (S/Ag-Ca] did [O].

Here, the elements that have been thematized are (i) the Main Verb (the Process *order*), (ii) the Complement (*a boiled egg*) and (iii) the two Adjuncts (*on a Saturday night* and *in the Savoy*).[132]

131 Downing (1991:123) is an honorable exception, but even she only allows for the thematization of a Complement, rather than for thematizing both Complements and Adjuncts. Her example is the second clause of *Exulted the Chief of the Gauls: Sack Rome we did.* See Section 5 of Chapter 15 for further discussion of 'quoted text' examples such as this.

132 This is one of the very few places in the grammar of English in which it would be useful to be able to treat as a single 'unit' all the experiential elements of the clause that follow the Operator - something that is possible in those grammars that divide a clause into its Subject, Operator and the rest (the Predicate' in some approaches). There is a partial equivalent to this in the *IFG* version of SFL, in the concept of the 'Residue', i.e. what follows the 'Mood' block of the 'Subject + Finite'. But since the boundaries of this supposed very large 'element' of the clause - i.e. the 'Residue' - do not coincide with those of the more strongly established elements (even within the *IFG* model) it cannot be 'thematized' in one chunk without affecting the proper working of the other parts of the grammar. (See pp. 123-9 of Fawcett 2000a for a full discussion of this problem.) There are in fact overwhelming advantages in maintaining the approach adopted here, in which the

Now consider this interesting example of the underlined portion of the following example, written by the political commentator Andrew Rawnsley (*The Observer*, 13 July 2003, p. 25):

(79) Tony Blair is desperate to get away from it all. Getting away from it all the Prime Minister may think he will be when he embarks on a circumnavigation of the planet which will take the Phileas Fogg of Downing Street spinning around the globe, from London to Washington ... [etc]

Notice that here the thematized elements are the Main Verb *getting*, the Main Verb Extension *away*, and the Complement *from it all* - and furthermore that the clause to which these elements belong is not the matrix clause of the sentence, but one that is embedded as the Complement of the Main Verb *think*. Thus the unmarked sequence of elements would have been *The Prime Minister may think (that) he will be getting away from it all* - so illustrating the following two facts: (i) more than one element of an embedded clause may occasionally be thematized to function as a theme, and (ii) when those thematized elements occur in an embedded clause they are located at a place in the matrix clause.[133] For an account of how such constructions (sometimes called 'raising constructions') are handled in the Cardiff Grammar, see Fawcett 2000a: 224-6 and 261-2 and more fully in Fawcett forthcoming a.

Finally, try to decide how you would analyze the unusual case of the underlined portion of the second sentence in (80). Is this an example of yet another type of 'Thematized Process and its dependent roles'?

(80) This rule returns a list of potential elements. Also returned are the probabilities that the item expounds each element.

One might at first be tempted to explore the possibility of an analysis in which there are three thematized elements: the Adjunct *also,* the Main Verb *returned* and the Operator/Auxiliary *are*. But this would not explain the sequence of *returned* and *are*. I suggest that it is only *Also* and *returned* that are thematized, and that (80) is therefore not a counter-example to the claim made in this section, i.e. that it is the Process itself and what follows it that is thematized. In (80), then, we have (i) a thematized Process and its dependent roles, but also (ii), within that, a thematized Adjunct - just as we have found this co-occurring with several other types of 'theme'. But there is one other factor. It is that is the nominal group *the probabilities that the item expounds each element* has vastly greater semantic weight than the single word *are*, and that it is this that makes it occur after *are*, in order to receive the unmarked Tonic and so be marked as 'new' information.

Subject, Operator, Auxiliaries, Main Verb, Main Verb Extension, Complements and Adjuncts are all treated as direct elements of the clause - as assumed in Fawcett 2000a and as summarized in Fawcett 2000c. Thus the grammar must be capable of thematizing more than one element at a time.

The type of thematization illustrated in this section must be distinguished from superficially similar examples, such as (i) *Eating a pizza in the Savoy, he was* and (ii) *Eating a pizza in the Savoy, Ike was*. In these last two cases *he was and Ike was* are functioning as a type of 're-enforcing tag'. This is demonstrated by the further possibility of both (iii) *Ike was eating a pizza in the Savoy, he was* and (iv) *He was eating a pizza in the Savoy, Ike was*. These 'tag' patterns occur most typically in Northern dialects of British English, but their use in Southern dialects seems to be on the increase.

133 This type of thematization therefore follows the pattern set by examples such as *Where does the Prime Minister think he will be in a year's time?* (in which *where* is an element of the embedded clause *he will be where in a year's time*).

13.2 The Performer's discourse purposes

As a first approximation in what is undoubtedly an under-described part of the grammar, I suggest that the purpose in using this construction may be fairly similar to that for Marked PR Theme. In other words, the Performer has strong feelings about the Process and its attendant roles.

14

Cases which some scholars treat as 'theme' but which are not

14.1 The basic principle: meaning implies choice

Chapter 13 presented the last - and by far the least frequent - of the various phenomena that are recognized in the Cardiff Grammar as types of 'theme' in English (as summarized in Figure 2). However, there are a number of other elements that are described as types of 'theme' in *IFG* - and so in the various derived texts. In this section I shall explain why these should not in fact be treated as 'themes'.

Let us approach this question by reminding ourselves of the basic principle of SFL. Indeed, it is one that is also given a significant role in the writings of certain other linguists. For example, there is a section in Lyons' *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (1968:413) whose heading is 'Having meaning implies choice'. This could in fact be taken as a statement of the guiding principle of SFL, since the theory's basic concept is that of 'choice between meanings'. A system, then, is a choice between two or more meanings and these meanings are typically realized in two or more contrasting forms. And a system in the 'theme' areas of meaning is as much a choice between meanings as a system in any other area of meaning. In Downing's words (1991:122): 'Theme is a meaningful choice.'

There are two sorts of question that we can ask about the elements that come early in the clause in English. One starts from the level of form and the other from the level of meaning, and they are:

(A) Which elements come early in the clause, and why do they do so?
(B) Which choices between meanings are realized by making an element come early in the clause?

Question (A) is primarily a question about the sequence of the elements at the level of form, and only secondarily about the function - or functions - that they serve when they do so. The danger in taking this first approach is that it allows one to avoid making the crucial distinction between (i) those elements that ALWAYS come early in the clause and (ii) those elements that come early in the clause AS THE RESULT OF A SEMANTIC CHOICE TO PLACE THEM THERE RATHER THAN ELSEWHERE. In contrast, Question (B) is primarily about the systems in the meaning potential of the language. Question (B) is therefore the crucial question to ask in a SFL approach to language, because it enables us to separate out what we might call the 'true themes' from the 'pseudo-themes'. It focusses attention on those elements that come early in the clause AS THE RESULT OF A SEMANTIC CHOICE TO PLACE THEM THERE.

In the next sub-section we shall review the half dozen elements that are described as types of 'theme' in *IFG* (and so in the many textbooks that introduce Halliday's ideas), but which do not in fact occur early in the clause as the result of a 'thematic' choice in meaning. Indeed, these elements all occur where they do AS THE RESULT OF A CHOICE IN A TYPE OF MEANING OTHER THAN 'THEME'.

14.2 Elements that ALWAYS come early in the clause: Linkers and Binders

Let us take as our first two examples the **Linker** (or 'co-ordinating conjunction'), e.g. *and, but, or* etc, and the **Binder** (or 'subordinating conjunction'), e.g. *when, while, if, because, that* etc. These two elements can be contrasted with the type of Adjunct that expresses logical relations such as *moreover* and *however*. The difference is that the Linker and the Binder can only come at their early places in the clause, but the Adjuncts *moreover* and *however*, like almost all other types of Adjunct, occur in a range of different places in the clause - while typically coming early.

It is not surprising that the places in the clause at which the Linker and the Binder occur are early ones, since their function is to express the **temporal** or **logical relationship** between the current clause and a preceding clause (in the case of a Linker) or a superordinate clause (in the case of a Binder). (The preceding clause may be in a different sentence, and may be spoken by a different Performer.) Clearly, it is extremely valuable to the Addressee if the Performer makes explicit the logical relationship of the current clause to any other clause to which it is structurally related at the start of the clause - and so at the start of the work of interpreting it. It is these two elements that are the ones that are used most frequently to express the 'rhetorical relations' of 'reason', 'temporal relations' and so one, as described in Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann & Thompson 1987).

The key point is that Linkers and Binders - unlike Adjuncts and Vocatives, for example - DO NOT OCCUR IN ANY OTHER POSITION IN THE CLAUSE. In other words, they do not occur in the early places that they do as a result of a choice to thematize them; they occur where they do because this is where their realization rules say they must occur. And, since they are not there as the result of a choice, they are not true 'themes'.

Let us be specific about their sequence. The Linker always precedes the Binder, as in the underlined portions of (81) - but not immediately, because it is possible for a thematized Complement or Adjunct to precede the Binder, as in the underlined portions of (82).[134]

(81) Ike likes her both because she's reliable and because she has a sense of humour.
(82) Mousy though she may look and quietly though she may speak, she has a very firm-minded person.

The analysis of the second of the two co-ordinated clauses in (82) is as in (82i), and it shows that he Adjunct *quietly* occurs between the Linker (&) *and* and the Binder (B) *though*. Thus in the second clause in (82) it is only the Adjunct that is thematized.

(82i) ... and [&] quietly [A] though [B] she [S/Ag] may [O] speak [M], ...

14.3 Elements that ALWAYS come early in the clause: Mood-marking elements

The same general principle holds for several other elements that are treated in *IFG* as types of 'theme'. Consider the MOOD elements of the **Subject** and the **Operator** (which is roughly equivalent to the 'Finite' in Halliday's terms; see Fawcett 2000a:172). There is an important difference between the approach to 'mood' and 'theme' that is taken here, and the approach taken in *IFG* (pp. 43-8) and so in Matthiessen 1995 (pp. 541-7). The Sydney Grammar assumes that 'the general principle is that the unmarked Theme is such that it will

[134] You can make up your own example that combines the two - or seek it in a corpus if you prefer, though that may take some time....

identify the key to **the interpersonal status** of the clause [my emphasis] (Matthiessen 1995:541). But the Cardiff Grammar makes no such assumption. Let us see why.

Halliday and Matthiessen both bring out clearly the fact that the type of meaning that is realized by the occurrence and sequence of the Subject and the Finite (or Operator, in Cardiff Grammar terms) in these positions is **interpersonal**. Typically (but not invariably) their relationship to each other realizes a meaning of 'mood'. Specifically, it is the choice of either 'information giver' or 'information seeker' ('declarative' or 'interrogative' in *IFG's* terms) that locates the Subject and the Operator. Thus THE PLACES IN THE CLAUSE OF THE SUBJECT AND OPERATOR (so the Subject and Finite in *IFG* terms) ARE NOT THE RESULT OF A DECISION TO MAKE THEM SOME TYPE OF 'THEME'. As with the Linker and the Binder, then, the choice of a certain meaning in a 'non-theme' system network - here in the network for MOOD - results in these elements being placed where they are in the clause. So once again there is no choice by the Performer of the text to present these elements as a 'theme'.

For this reason, the passages in each of *IFG* and Matthiessen 1995 that suggest that 'mood' elements are a type of 'theme' are best interpreted as accounts of the reasons why it is helpful to the Addressee if the Performer establishes the 'mood' meaning of a clause relatively early in it. Indeed, while 'mood' meanings are different in kind from 'logical relationship' meanings, they too express a type of 'rhetorical relation', and this is why it is helpful to introduce them too at an early position in the clause. So, as with the Linker and the Binder, the fact that the Subject and Operator occur relatively early in the clause should not be taken as evidence that these are choices in 'theme'.

The same principle applies when the meaning of 'new content seeker' is chosen in the MOOD network, to generate '*wh*-questions' such as *Who did Fred hit?* and *Where did you put the paper?* As with the Linker, the Binder and the 'mood' elements, these ***wh*-elements** do not occur early in the clause as the result of a choice to make them a 'theme', but because it is helpful to establish early in the clause what its rhetorical status is. The fact is that in English, when this option is chosen, the 'sought' element ALWAYS comes early in the clause.[135]

It has occasionally been suggested that we can nonetheless justify treating the 'sought' element in *Who did Fred hit?* as a 'theme', on the grounds that it is the thematized version of *Fred hit who?* But this difference is one that should be accounted for within the semantic network for MOOD (as it is in the Cardiff Grammar , though not in the Sydney Grammar). A clause such as *Who did Fred hit?* is a straightforward 'new content seeker', while *Fred hit who?* is a 'content challenging check' (an 'echo-question' in the terms of traditional grammar). In other words, it is NOT the thematization of the 'sought' element that differentiates the two (as might appear in a form-based approach to their relationship), but a choice between two meanings in the MOOD network.[136]

Now consider the case of an **exclamation** such as *How clever she is!* Has the **Complement** *How clever* been thematized? It has not, because it is obligatory that it occurs in this position in an 'exclamation'; if it did not the clause wouldn't be one. So this too is a choice in MOOD rather than in 'theme'.

A further early 'mood' element that is not early in the clause as the result of a 'thematic' choice is the **Let Element**. This is the element that is expounded by *let* in a clause such as

[135] However, there is a genuine sense of 'thematization' about a 'sought' element WHEN IT IS ALSO THE SUBJECT THEME. This is because the PR concerned has been made the 'Subject Theme' in the SUBJECT THEME system considered in Section 2 above, e.g. *Who hit you?* vs. *Who were you hit by?*

[136] However, very occasionally there are cases with TWO OR MORE 'SOUGHT' ELEMENTS. For example, in *Who kissed who? v Who did who kiss?*, and there is a choice in whether to thematize the Agent or the Affected - and in such cases there is a choice as to which is to be the Subject Theme. This system is implemented in the computer version of the grammar, but it is so infrequent that it is omitted from Figure 2.

(Do) let's (all) try to be there. Here *do*, if present, in the Operator, *let* is simply the 'Let element' and *us (all)* is a nominal group that fills the Subject).[137]

We turn now to a rather different realization of a type of 'mood' option. In *IFG* it is suggested that in a simple 'directive' such as *Eat it!* the **Main Verb**, i.e. the element realized by *eat* (there called the 'Predicator') is an 'unmarked Theme' (p. 47). But the position is NOT that the Main Verb *eat* occurs early in the clause because it has been obligatorily placed there (as for example the *wh*-elements have); rather it is that the various other elements that might have preceded it have not on this occasion been generated (such as *Do, Don't, You should* or *Could you*), so that the Main Verb happens to find itself first. And in any case there is always an unexpounded Subject Theme in such cases, as we saw in Section 2.4.

In a fully semantic systemic functional grammar, all of the 'mood-related' elements discussed here are placed at their positions in the clause as a direct result of the realization rules for the relevant features in the MOOD network, so that once again - as with all of the other cases discussed in this section - they are NOT where they are in the clause as the result of a thematic choice.

14.4 Elements that ALWAYS come early in the clause: 'relating out' expressions

Finally, consider the 'relating out' expressions, of which the most frequent type are the **wh-pronouns**. Examples are *who* (or *whom*) in a relative clause such as the one underlined in (83), and *what* in a 'referent as role in event' clause such as the one underlined in (2b). (The whole clause of *what she had* is of course the Subject of the matrix clause, as we saw in Chapter 8, the example being repeated here for convenience).

(83) ... a man who(m) you know.
(2b) What she had was a Margarita.

Once again, these elements are placed in their early position in the clause as a direct result of the choice of their 'relating out' meaning; there is no other place at which they can occur.

We turn next to two cases that have occasionally - though less frequently - been suggested as 'themes' but which are not 'themes' in the present framework.

14.5 A Respect Adjunct or a 'Preposed Theme'

Berry (1975:164-5) treats an example such as *The apple, Ivy ate it* as a case of 'preposed theme'. However, as I pointed out in the section on the Respect Adjunct (Section 5.5), we

[137] I am grateful to Alvin Leong for reminding me of this type of 'unthematized' early element, and also of the somewhat unsatisfactory description of *let's* given on p. 87 of IFG as 'a wayward form of the Subject' (personal communication). A Subject is indeed involved in a construction with *let's*, as the analysis of *'s (all)* in the main text shows, but it would be wayward indeed to treat the *let* element as part of it! It cannot be treated as the Operator, because may this element be needed for *do*, as in the example, or for *don't*, so that it is necessary to treat *let* as an element in its own right. Once we recognize this, everything falls into place.

A further type of element that obligatorily occurs early in the clause is the Adjunct *so* in *So do I*. But note that *neither* and *nor* in *Neither / Nor do I* are simply Linkers. The fact that they introduce 'interrogative syntax' when they are thematized is not a matter of the thematization of *do* but of the presentation of *I* as 'new' information - as with *So do I*. Compare the treatment of examples such as *Under the carpet was / lay a thick sheet of plastic* in Section 4.6. The same 'non-assertive' syntax is obligatory after two types of thematized Adjunct: (i) 'negative' Adjuncts such as *hardly, barely* and *scarcely* and (ii) Adjuncts filled by clauses introduced by *only* such as *only when the rain comes (do the desert flowers blossom)* (cp Quirk et al 1985:781) - perhaps originally for the same reason?

can capture more generalizations if we do not treat such cases as the thematization of a PR, but as the thematization of a 'Respect Adjunct'. It has, by the very nature of its meaning, a very high probability of being thematized.

The concept of 'preposed theme' would in any case be a very strange type of 'them', in that the supposedly thematized element still has a pronominal representation of it at its unmarked place in the clause, in the form of *it*. Indeed, the 'preposed theme' analysis has the feel of a transformational approach to the problem, i.e. one in which the initial nominal group is seen as having been moved from its unmarked place in the clause to the initial position, leaving behind a 'trace' of the 'original' nominal group in the form of the pronoun. In the functional analysis suggested here there is no such complication, and the use of the pronominal form of reference follows naturally from the prior specification of the referent in the Respect Adjunct.[138]

14.6 Reporting Processes as 'Marked Themes'?

Any change in the description of a language that is used for analyzing a text has the potential to change the findings of an analysis that uses that description, and the analysis of a text in terms of the categories of 'theme' established so far would yield significantly different results from an analysis that sought to follow the account of 'theme' in *IFG*. For a start, none of the phenomena discussed in this section so far would be treated as 'themes', and the concept of what a 'marked theme' is has been completely redefined.

But the case to be discussed now is one that is more likely than most to affect seriously the findings of a study of a text that concerns the balance between different types of 'theme' - at least, in a text that contains dialogue. Thus, if a text analyst decides to use the *IFG* approach to analyzing 'theme', they will find that the phenomenon of 'Process as Marked Theme' - which was discussed in Chapter 13 and which is as we saw there an unusual occurrence - occurs very frequently indeed.

As an example of the most frequent type, consider the role of *said* in examples such as (73a). As we shall see, the description of English in *IFG* leads some of those who analyze texts in its terms to say that *said* in (73a) is a 'Process as Marked Theme', in contrast with (73b), in which it is not. And they would probably reach a similar judgement with respect to the less frequent pair of (73c) and (73d), i.e. that *said* in (73c) is a 'Process as Marked Theme' while *said* in (73d) is not. I shall draw on the Cardiff Grammar descriptions of these structures to argue that none of these are cases of a 'Process as Marked Theme'.

(73a) "I love you," said Ike (to Ivy).
(73b) "I love you," Ike said (to Ivy).
(73c) Said Ike (to Ivy), "I love you."
(73d) Ike said (to Ivy) "I love you."

However, to discover the most functionally revealing analyses for these examples it will be helpful to start from the simpler case of (73e), and then to extend the analysis back to (73d) and so in turn to the other examples above.

(73e) Ike said (to Ivy) that he loved her.

I shall first explain the Cardiff Grammar analyses of each of (73e) and (73d), and then describe the *IFG* analysis. Consider first (73e). This is a simple case of one clause being

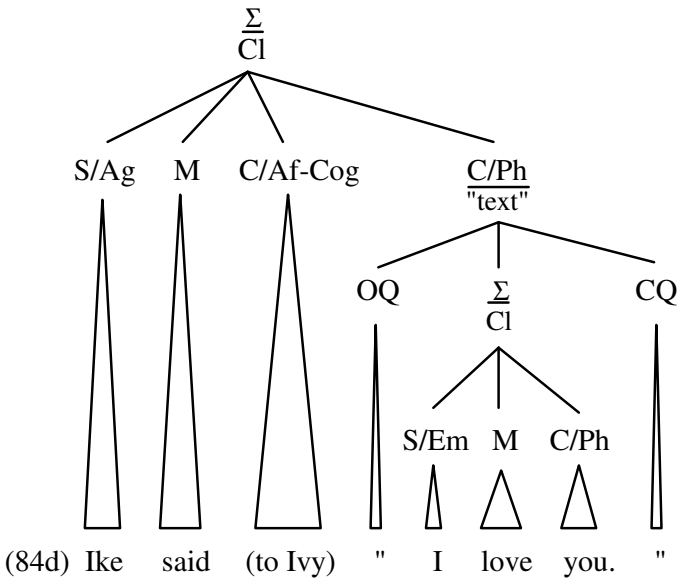
[138] If for any reason you are not persuaded by the reasons summarized here, and you wish to add a network for 'preposed theme' to Network A, you could do so. (Note that it would need to be entered from the two 'no marked PR theme' features.)

embedded in another (which is essentially the same analysis that virtually all grammars except Halliday's version of SFL would provide).[139] In other words, the analysis is the same as that shown in Figure 10 for (73d), except that:

(i) the embedded clause *that he loves her* in (73e) fills the Complement / Phenomenon (C/Ph) DIRECTLY,
(ii) it is introduced by the Binder *that*, and
(iii) there are no quotation marks.

Thus in the structure of (73e) there is no "text" and no sentence (Σ).

But in (73d) there is. I am suggesting, therefore, that the 'report' in both (73e) and (73d) is a component of the clause of which Process - and so the Main Verb (M) - is *said*. In other words, both cases consist of a single sentence that contains a single, unco-ordinated clause, and in both sentences the Process of 'saying' predicts three possible Participant Roles (PRs): an Agent (Ag), the 'sayer'; an Affected-Cognizant (Af-Cog), the one who 'comes to know' as a result of the 'saying'); and the Phenomenon (Ph), 'what is said'.[140] The main difference between (73e) and (73d) is that in (73e) the report is a report of the MEANING of the clause that was actually used - in a loose sense of the term, i.e. what Halliday has called the 'gist' (*IFG* p. 255) - while in (73d) it reports the clause at the level of FORM - i.e. it claims to report the actual 'wording'.[141]



Supplementary Key: Af-Cog = Affected-Cognizant Ph = Phenomenon
Em = Emoter OQ = Opening Quotation mark CQ = Closing Quotation mark

Figure 10: The analysis of a sentence reporting direct speech

[139] This doesn't mean that they are right and he is wrong - but nor does it necessarily mean that he is right.

[140] These are the Participant Roles used in the Cardiff Grammar framework; thus 'communication' Processes (Halliday's 'verbal' processes) are treated as meaning '(try to) cause someone to know something'. See Chapter 2 of Fawcett forthcoming b. However, with the Process of 'saying' (in contrast with 'telling') the Affected-Cognizant is frequently left covert on the grounds that it is recoverable.

[141] Another difference is that the structure in (73d) has the potential to report a "text" that contains more than one sentence, as in *Ike said to Ivy "I love you. Will you marry me?"*.

To provide an adequate description of direct quotations of this type, we need to recognize that the usual syntactic expectations as to what may fill an element of a clause need to be extended. We do this by allowing what we are here calling a "text" to fill the Phenomenon. In the simplified model of the structure of a 'move' in discourse that is all we need here, such a "text" may consist of one of more sentences (∑), these elements typically being preceded and followed by quotation marks. (The term 'move' is to be understood in the sense of Sinclair & Coulthard 1975.)

In the analysis of (73d) in Figure 10, then, there is no question of there being a marked theme of any kind - just as there is not in (73e).

Now let us turn to the *IFG* analysis, where the position is rather different. (We shall simplify matters from now on by considering only the shorter version of the examples - i.e. leaving the meaning of *to Ivy* covert - but the same general principles apply to the fuller version.) The *IFG* analysis of (73e) is that it consists of two clauses that are related **hypotactically** - where 'hypotaxis' is defined by Halliday as 'the relation between a dependent element and its dominant', (p. 218), i.e. it is said to be like the relation of a modifier to a head in a nominal group, and so a type of 'dependence without embedding'. Thus the 'report' in (73e) is analyzed as not being a part of the matrix clause. Even more surprisingly, the *IFG* analysis of (73d) is that it consists of two clauses that are related **paratactically** - where 'parataxis' is defined by Halliday as 'the relation between two like elements of equal status, one initiating and one continuing' (*IFG* p. 218). So the *IFG* analysis of (73d) and (73e) would in both cases be that there are two clauses: *Ike said* and *I love you.*

Let us concentrate on (73d). It will be clear from my analysis in Figure 10 that I do not think that these two clauses are 'of equal status', my reason being that the first is incomplete without the element that is provided by the second, in the manner shown in Figure 10 - so that one of the two clauses is not in fact a complete clause.[142] But for those who accept the *IFG* analysis one of the two clauses consists solely of *Ike said.*

With the *IFG* analysis of (73d) in mind, consider now what the *IFG* analysis of (73c) would be, i.e. *Said Ike, "I love you."* It seems likely that it would be analyzed as consisting of the two paratactically related clauses *Said Ike* followed by *I love you.*[143] This interpretation is confirmed by the analysis given in Matthiessen (1995:552) - who also makes the interesting point that this pattern is particularly frequent in written news articles. The following question then arises in an *IFG* analysis of the supposed clause *Said Ike*: Which part is the Theme and which is the Rheme? In *IFG* terms, the answer would have to be that *said* is a 'Process as Marked Theme'. Whatever we may think about the claim that (73c) consists of two clauses 'of equal status', it is at least clear that in *Said Ike, "I love you."* the Process comes first in its clause. Notice too that the pronunciation would typically have two information units, with a Tonic on each of *Ike* and *love*, as follows: */ Said Ike / I love you /,* and the fact that *said Ike* is given its own information unit shows that it is not being presented as 'recoverable information' - as it typically is in the final example to be discussed.

142 It is interesting that, while many of Halliday's other proposals have been taken up by other linguists, his analysis of examples like (73d) has not - except, of course, by those who adopt Halliday's description as a complete package and those who write textbooks designed to introduce Halliday's ideas to a wider readership. Yet the fact is that his analysis has influenced two generations of systemic functional linguists - and, for those who accept it, it leads logically to the recognition of a very large number of cases in dialogic texts in which a reporting verb such as *said* must logically be interpreted as a 'Process as Marked Theme'. In studies based on this analysis, I would therefore claim, such a model leads to a misrepresentation of the frequency of this type of 'theme' in English.

143 I say 'seems likely', because there are no examples in *IFG* of an analysis of this type of structure - nor of the more frequent type exemplified in (73a).

Let us now turn to this and ask: What would be the *IFG* analysis of (73a), i.e. *"I love you," said Ike*. Here too the supposed clause *said Ike* would be analyzed as having *said* as a 'Process as Marked Theme', as Matthiessen's analysis again confirms (1995:551-2).

However, the *IFG* analysis of this second case seems particularly counter-intuitive - not only because the two clauses are not 'of equal status' (for the same reasons as before) but also because in this case the item *said* is not initial in the clause - at least, not in the Cardiff Grammar analysis. Moreover, *said* has none of the semantic characteristics that are typically associated with an element's being treated as a 'theme', the only grounds being that it (supposedly) 'comes first in the second clause'. (We shall consider a more satisfactory way to analyze such examples in the next section.)

Downing (1991:123) includes the equivalent of (73c) in her list of types of 'theme', suggesting that *exulted* in (85a) is a 'fronted Predicator'. (The fact that her example (85a) ends with a colon suggests that it and (85b) may be intended to form a single (if slightly odd-sounding) text that is structurally similar to (73c) i.e. *Exulted the chief of the Gauls: Sack Rome we did.*)[144]

(85a) Exulted the chief of the Gauls:
(85b) Sack Rome we did.

The Cardiff Grammar analysis agrees with that of Matthiessen and Downing with respect to (73c), in that we too would say that the Process *said* is thematized. But for us it is thematized in a clause that consists of *Said* [M] *Ike* [S/Ag] *"I love you."*[C/Ph]. In other words, *said* is a thematized Process (as provided for in Section 7 of Chapter 13) - this being an option that is chosen with a relatively low frequency, as are all thematized Processes.[145]

However, I shall offer a completely different analysis of (84a) from that of Matthiessen - as we shall see in the next section.

To summarize: in the *IFG* analysis of the relationship of a 'reporting' clause to a 'reported' text that is in direct speech, the very frequent structure exemplified in *"I love you," said Ike* (84a) would be said to contain a 'Process as Marked Theme'. And so would the much less frequent type found in (84c), i.e. *Said Ike (to Ivy), "I love you."* However, while the *IFG* analysis is essentially right for (84c) - whose sequence of elements M S C can be seen as a marked variant of S M C in (84d) - I don't consider that it applies to (84a). In (84a) the unmarked sequence of S M C in (84d) is completely reversed to C M S.

It now remains for me to say what the Cardiff Grammar analysis of (84a) would be - and also, incidentally, of (84b). In these two cases this question arises: Does the fact that the quoted text of the Complement / Phenomenon comes first mean that it is a type of Marked PR Theme? Since this is a possible type of 'theme' not considered so far, it deserves a separate section.

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[144] Downing presents (85a) as a separate example from (85b), but one that is similar to it; she describes the latter as 'a fronted Predicator + its complementation'. However, the two cases are in fact different: (85b) is an example of a 'thematized Process and its dependent roles' (the relatively infrequent type of 'theme' introduced in Chapter 13), whereas (85a) is an example of the same construction as that in (73c) - which we are now about to consider.

[145] Notice that in such cases the informational structure of the intonation unit *said Ike* complements neatly the thematic organization of the clause, in that *Ike* has greater 'newness' than *said*. It is therefore natural that within this information unit the speaker *Ike* should be placed at the end, in order to receive the Tonic and so to be marked as 'new'. And the same principles apply in Downing's example: in (85a) *the chief of the Gauls* has greater 'newness' than *Exulted*.

14.7 Reported texts with direct quotations as 'Marked PR Themes'?

In the Cardiff Grammar, the syntactic analysis of *"I love you," said Ike* (84a) is directly inferable from the analysis of (84d) in Figure 10 - as also is the analysis of *"I love you," Ike said* (84b). In other words, each is simply a re-arrangement of the elements in (84d) expounded by (i) the Complement *"I love you",* (ii) the Main Verb *said* and (iii) the Subject *Ike*. The question to be addressed here is this: Is the occurrence at the front of the clause of the Complement *"I love you"* in (84a) and (84b) an example of the 'Marked PR Theme' construction that I introduced in Section 2.5? If it is, my description of it there as 'infrequent' would be seriously misleading, since texts which use the pattern illustrated in *"I love you," said Ike* are very frequent indeed in reports of dialogues (as in most novels) - especially when the Subject is a pronoun such as *he*.

Let us now consider the pronunciation of (84a) and (84b). The first point to note is that they would both typically have only one information unit. The Tonic would be on *love,* with a falling Tone, and the words *said Ike* or *Ike said* would be included, along with *you*, as part of the 'tail' of the Tonic, i.e. they would be spoken with a low pitch, signalling 'recoverable information'. Thus (84a) would be spoken as follows (with a falling Tone on *love*):

/ I <u>love</u> you said Ike /.

It is easy when working in the medium of writing to ignore the importance of the intonation with which a text would be spoken if it were to be spoken aloud. But the implicit intonation is important, because carries information about what is 'recoverable' and what is 'new', and this information is 'read into' a written text by any competent reader, and its meanings are then inferred.

I suggest, therefore, that the structure of examples such as (84a) and (84b) is NOT the result of a choice to present the Complement as a 'marked theme', but the result of a decision to present the information in *said Ike* and *Ike said* as 'recoverable'. Indeed, in a typical passage of reported dialogue in a novel expressions such as *Ike said* are little more than 'nudge' reminders to the reader of which participant in a dialogue is making which contribution - and when these cues are judged to be fully inferable they are frequently omitted altogether.[146] As a small final piece of evidence in favour of this analysis, note that what gets presented as a 'theme' in a clause is typically a simple clause element, rather than a unit the size of a reported text. (However, the grammar does allow for the thematization of Adjuncts that are filled by a clause, such as *While I was in Lisbon I learnt to appreciate coffee again*, as we saw in Section 4.2.)

I conclude, then, that while the syntax of examples such as (84a) may appear to suggest that the Complement that contains the direct quotation is a thematized PR, a functional analysis that includes the evidence from the information structure suggests that the

[146] This still leaves us with the need to explain the difference between *said Ike* in (84a) and *Ike said* in (84b). In the present model, this is not a matter of 'theme', but I shall nonetheless suggest why this difference occurs. The first point to note is that overwhelmingly the most frequent sequence is S M, i.e. *I said, he said, she said, Ike said, he replied, etc.* so that the question becomes: What motivates a Performer to place the Subject at the end of the clause? The answer depends on a re-assessment of the concept of the 'tail' of the Tonic. I have said that these expressions typically occur in the Tonic's 'tail', and this is so. But sometimes one or more 'secondary' information units - and so 'secondary' intonation units - are constructed within the tail - especially when prototypical expressions such as *said he* are expanded to expressions such as *replied the man in the blue suit, who had so far remained silent.* (But note that these 'secondary' intonation units are still spoken at a low pitch - paying lip service, as it were, to their lesser informational 'newness' than the quoted text.) Thus, when when *said Ike* is preferred to *Ike said*, this reflects the Performer's view that the identification of the speaker is more likely to be 'new' information to the Addressee than the highly predictable meaning of *said.* And the effect of this decision is to place the relevant element, realized here by *Ike*, at the end of the clause, where it will receive the Tonic.

Complement actually comes first by default - i.e. as a by-product of a decision to present the elements of *said* and *Ike* as recoverable.[147]

14.8 Summary

In this section I have explained why a considerable number of elements that 'come early in the clause' do not do so as the result of a choice to thematize the element. I have argued that, while there are good reasons why they should do so - largely to establish the 'rhetorical structure' relationship to another clause - such elements should not in fact be treated as 'themes'. If we accept the logic of this argument we have a definition of what is and is not a type of 'theme' in English that is narrower than that described in Halliday 1994 and Matthiessen 1995, and truer to the concept of 'meaning as choice'.

The difference between 'true themes' and elements that obligatorily occupy early places in the clause comes out most clearly when one considers the nature of a full systemic grammar of English, i.e. a grammar that includes BOTH THE SYSTEMS AND THEIR STRUCTURAL OUTPUTS. It is then that the grammar itself demonstrates that it is simply the choice to include the meanings that matters in the cases we have been considering here - and that none of these elements is generated from a system that gives options in making it a 'theme'. Thus the only major systems that give options in types of 'theme' that we need are those that are exemplified in Figure 2. (Some infrequent systems and variants on the system networks in Figure 2 have been indicated in boldface type at the ends of sections.)

Then, in Sections 14.6 and 14.7, I have tackled a number of problems that arise when we consider direct quotations - and here too I have proposed solutions that are different in many important ways from those proposed in the work of Halliday and Matthiessen.

We turn next to another major issue in the study of 'theme', and here too the results of an analysis of the 'thematic' meanings in a text will vary greatly, depending on which position you adopt in this matter.

[147] One reason for not analyzing (84a) as an example of a Marked PR Theme is that structures such as that in (84a) are overwhelmingly the more frequent pattern. And, while it is not invariably the case that what is 'marked' is less frequent than what is 'unmarked', this is the typical correlation.

15

Overt and covert Subject Themes

15.1 Two types of covert Subject Theme

It was in Chapter 3 that we saw that most simple clauses have a Subject Theme, and that it is typically the realization of a choice in a thematic system that results in one or other of two PRs being accorded the status of also being the Subject Theme.

Subject Themes, however, have the characteristic that they are quite frequently **covert**. That is, they are not there in the spoken or written text, but they are recoverable, and so can be said to be there in the in the mind of the Performer - i.e. in the input to the generation of the text - and in the mind of the Addressee - and so in the output from the understanding of the text. An element that is 'covert' is, by definition, also 'present' - in some sense.

For the text analyst, the implications of recognizing that Subject Themes may be **covert** - and yet fully recoverable - are far-reaching. This is not only true for the description of English, but also - and to a far greater extent - for the description of languages other than English, such as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Japanese, to name just a few.

There are two types of covert Subject Theme.

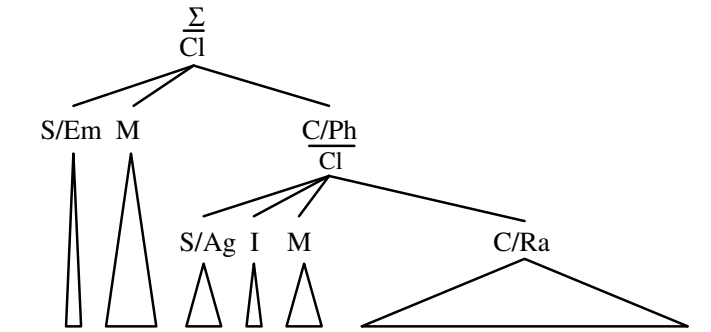
15.2 Covertness arising from non-realization

We shall approach the concept that a Subject Theme may be covert by noting that, in those 'dependent' clauses that are 'partial' (or 'non-finite' in traditional terms), the clause may have either an 'overt' or a 'covert' Subject Theme.[148] For example, in (86) the Subject Theme in the embedded clause (the 'reader') is the same as the Subject Theme in the matrix clause (the 'wanter'), and so it is recoverable from the matrix clause's Subject Theme by the Addressee. It is for this reason that it can be left covert.

(86) I want to read the new 'Harry Potter' book.
(87) I want you to read the new 'Harry Potter' book.

But in (87) the Subject Themes of the matrix and the embedded clauses have different referents, in that the 'reader' in the embedded clause is different from the 'wanter' of the matrix clause. On this case the Subject of the embedded clause is NOT recoverable, and so has to be expressed overtly. The analyses are as shown in Figure 11:

[148] The reason why this system is not shown in Figure 2 is that it does not introduce a new type of 'theme'.



Supplementary Key: I = Infinitive Element, Ra = Range

Figure 11:
The analysis of two dependent clauses
with (1) a covert and (2) an overt Subject Theme

Notice that, even in the first case (i.e. where there is no overt realization of the Subject Theme), we know that a choice has been made as to which of the two possible PRs has been made the Subject Theme. We know this because the other PR in the Process of 'reading' could have been chosen instead - as would have happened if the sentence was as in (88):

(88) I want the new 'Harry Potter' book to be read (by everyone).

Here, the embedded clause has the structure shown in (88i):

(88i) .... the new 'Harry Potter' book [S/Ra] to [I]be [X] read [M] (by everyone [C/Ag]).

So there can be no question that the embedded clause in (86) has a Subject Theme, and that it is there as the result of a choice.[149]

We have in fact already met a frequent type of non-realization of the Subject Theme that is similar to this. That was in Section 6 of Chapter 3, when we were considering the case of simple 'directives', such as (10a):

(10a) ([S/Ag]) Beat [M] him [C/Af] by at least two lengths [A]!

15.3 Covertness arising from ellipsis

Now we shall consider a second type of covert Subject Theme. This type too is very frequent, and it is the ellipsis of a Subject Theme.

In such cases a possible realization at the level of form is fully recoverable (even if ambiguities sometimes occur). A typical example is the ellipsis of the Subject Theme (*he*) in the second clause of *Ike went home and had a bath.* But in many of the world's languages (those that are anglocentrically called 'pro-drop languages' by some linguists) it is obligatory

[149] Further evidence comes from the set of tests that show that the second clauses in such cases are embedded clauses (and not part of an 'Auxiliary-like Main Verb + Main verb' relationship, as in the 'verbal group complex' analysis discussed in Halliday 1994:290). For example, the fact that a different Time Position Adjunct can be added to each, as in *Last week I wanted to read the new 'Harry Potter' book this week (but now I've decided to leave it till next week)* shows clearly that there are two events, and so two clauses. See Fawcett forthcoming c.

that there should be no pronoun where there would be one in English. In the Cardiff Grammar approach to such languages, the unrealized Subject Theme in such clauses is recognized as being fully recoverable by the Addressee, and so a part of the analysis of the text.[150]

15.4 Summary: the importance of this concept

In all of the examples cited above, we are recognizing the covert presence in the text of an element that conflates the two semantic roles of (i) a Participant Role and (ii) the Subject Theme AT PLACES WHERE THERE IS NO OVERT REALIZATION OF THE ELEMENT AT THE LEVEL OF FORM.

Once we recognize this fact about the nature of Subject Themes, and put it together with our earlier recognition of the equally self-evident fact that 'theme' is not a unified concept but a broad umbrella label for a constellation of phenomena, we also have to acknowledge that analysis of the types of 'theme' in a text would be very different from that suggested in *IFG* (Halliday (1994:37f.) This is because, when we are trying to establish what referent or referents a text is 'about', we need to look at the Subject Themes, WHETHER THEY ARE OVERT OR COVERT. And in languages which use zero pronominalization it means that the majority of the elements to be counted as the Subject Theme will not be realized in the text.[151]

In this approach, then, as in that in Downing 1991, there is no place for the concept for which Halliday has coined the term 'topical theme'. This is because it is too broad to be useful, including as it does not only our Subject Theme but also our 'marked PR theme' and many cases of our 'thematized Adjunct' - i.e. when it is a Circumstantial Role, and is therefore an 'experiential' meaning. Moreover, the presence in a text of a 'marked PR theme' or a 'thematized Adjunct' is motivated by considerations that are quite different from 'that which the clause is about'.

[150] Matthiessen (1995:542) takes a similar position.

[151] Hori appears to be taking a similar position on the supposed 'subjectlessness' of Japanese, when she writes (1995:159) that 'the subject appears on the surface in a Japanese clause only when it is marked; when it is unmarked, it does not do so.'

16

Summary: the many types of 'theme'

What can we say, in summary, about the concept of 'theme'? Is there any sense in which we can usefully say that there is a unified concept of 'theme' in English? The closest that we can come to a positive answer is to say that, if we limit ourselves to the level of FORM (and to English and certain related languages), the various types of 'thematic' meaning identified here all have in common the fact that they are realized by occupying early positions in the clause. However, we saw in Chapter 13 that this does not mean that every element that occurs early in the clause is where it is as the result of a choice to thematize it. Linkers, Binders, the 'mood-bearing' aspects of the meaning of the Subject and Operator (or 'Finite') and *wh*-elements are not early in the clause because they have been thematized, but because that is where they are realized. And we have noted the fact that this generalization does not hold for other languages such as Japanese and Tagalog.

We have seen that the diversity in the 'purposes in discourse' is too great to allow any but the most general of generalizations, but we may still want to ask: 'Is there any useful generalization that can be made about 'theme' at the level of MEANING?' Any such generalization has to be broad enough to encompass the meanings of the following:[152]

(1) 'This is what I am/we are talking about' (for Subject Themes).

(2) 'I have strong feelings about this object'
(for one type of Marked PR Theme).

(3) 'This is where I have to correct your possible misapprehension' (the 'contrastive newness' found in one type of Marked PR Theme and one type of Experiential Enhanced Theme).

(4) 'This is my affective evaluation of the event referred to in the clause' (for Affective Adjuncts such as *Unfortunately she was late* etc., and for the 'affective' type of Evaluative Enhanced Theme, e.g. *It is unfortunate that she was late*).

(5) 'This is my evaluation of the probability of the event' (for Validity Adjuncts such as *perhaps*, etc., and for the 'validity' type of Evaluative Enhanced Theme, e.g. *It is possible that she was late*).

(6) 'This is my evaluation of the likely emotional response evoked by the event', or its 'difficulty' or its 'importance', etc. (for the various other types of Evaluative Enhanced Theme, e.g. *It is unsettling / difficult that she was late*).

(7) 'This is a circumstance of the event in the clause that I want you to see as particularly important' (as in experiential Adjuncts such as *carefully* and *with his teeth*, etc).

(8) 'I am locating the time and/or place of the event realized in the clause for you - and so for subsequent main clauses until there is a need to re-set the time and place' (Time Position and Place Adjuncts such as *In the churchyard at midnight* etc).

(9) 'I am setting the scene for the next stretch of text by specifying the broad time and place of the events (Scene Setting Time Position and Place Adjuncts such as *In London last year* etc), and their equivalents for longer texts, and one type of Experiential Enhanced Theme (*It was in 1998 that I first met Ike...*).

[152] These informal glosses of the **meanings** of the semantic features in the system networks inevitably sound like a specification of the **purposes** behind the meanings, but as we have seen in the various sub-section on 'purposes' there are many more purposes than these.

(10) 'This is the logical relationship between the following proposition and another one', for *therefore, because of this*, *because he knew the answer,* etc.

(11) 'This object or person is both new to this discourse and important to it' (for the Existential Enhanced Theme, e.g. *There was a tall man over by the bar*)).[153]

In Section 1.6 I suggested that the concept of 'prominence' is not a helpful term to introduce as a means of characterizing all of the different types of 'theme'. Another that has been suggested - in Matthiessen (1995:514) is 'local context'. Matthiessen suggests that 'the speaker contextualizes the clause by setting up part of the clause AS ITS OWN LOCAL CONTEXT OR THEME' [my emphasis], and that 'this local context indicates how the clause is located IN RELATION TO THE PRECEDING DISCOURSE [again, my emphasis]. How helpful is this generalization? Like 'prominence', this term has problems. Firstly, the concept of a 'theme' as a 'local context' is less clear than it should be. The reason is that something that is a PART of a clause (as a 'theme' clearly is) cannot logically also be a 'context' for that clause (whether the local context or some wider context). My guess is that what Matthiessen intended to say here is that a 'theme' points back to that part of the context of the clause that is provided by the preceding discourse (the context of co-text', as it has been termed, in contrast with the 'context of situation' and the 'context of culture').

The second problem is that Matthiessen's proposal relates 'theme' explicitly to the context of the 'preceding discourse' - and yet there are many types of 'theme' in which that does not seem to be a major aspect of the meaning (in terms of the meanings discussed in Chapters 3 to 11). And others in which no such interpretation is possible. The most obvious case is when the clause is the initial clause in a discourse, so that there is simply no 'preceding discourse'. But there are also types of 'theme' that look FORWARDS in the text rather than backwards, e.g. Scene-Setting Adjuncts as in (8) above, and constructions that introduce a new object to the discourse, as in (10) above. And in none of these cases is it insightful to say that the 'theme' 'indicates how the clause is located IN RELATION TO THE PRECEDING DISCOURSE [again, my emphasis].

But there is a third problem in adopting a generalization such as Matthiessen's as an 'explanation' of the meaning of 'theme'. This is that accepting it as an explanation may lead one to miss out on the many insights that come from an approach which combines (i) modelling the various types of 'theme' in their own right, and (ii) modelling them in the framework of a COGNITIVE-INTERACTIVE MODEL OF COMMUNICATION (as we do in the Cardiff model). In other words, it misses out half of the explanation if we allow ourselves to examine a text for the way in which the various types of 'theme' 'develop' it; they only 'develop' it - in so far as they do - as a by-product of a decision by the Performer (made unconsciously, of course) to express one of the wide range of what we have here called, somewhat loosely, discourse purposes - each of which play one role or another in the complex process of human communication though language.

It seems that the generalization that holds out the best hope of being helpful is the idea that the various types of 'theme' all reflect in some sense the 'concerns' (or 'interests' or 'viewpoint') of the Performer. But notice the vagueness that is needed in the words 'concerns', 'interests' and 'viewpoint'. And with some of meanings listed in (1) to (10) above it is hard to justify the idea that they express a meaning that is explicitly the Performer's'. We might ask, for example, 'In what way are Scene-Setting Adjuncts, as in (8), motivated by a concern or a viewpoint that can be justifiably said to be that of the Performer?' Only, surely, in the sense that the Performer has decided that the Addressee needs to have the time and place of the event spelled out explicitly, at this point in the unfolding text (as opposed to inferring it from the previous discourse or from his/her general belief system). But the criterion of 'Do I need to say this?' applies to practically everything

153 We saw in Chapter 9 the nine discourse purposes which Huang has identified that the experiential enhanced theme construction serves.

that the Performer considers building into the text as an overtly expressed meaning. Should we therefore say that EVERYTHING in the text is part of the meaning of 'Theme'? Clearly not![154]

I have been hard on the attempts of others to find a generalized meaning of 'theme', but I have been equally hard on my own. But there is one last line of argument to try.

It would not be unreasonable to put to me the following question: 'If there isn't a unified concept of "theme", why is it that, in the diagrams showing the semantic analysis of the examples in Figures 3 and 6 to 9, you have included a "thematic" strand of meaning?' Perhaps the pragmatic fact that this way of representing the various 'thematic' meanings functions is evidence of their semantic unity? The reason is more humdrum. The reason why we can do this is simply that, in English, the 'thematic' meanings are all realized as aspects of what Huddleston & Pullum (19991363-1447) call 'information packaging'. The 'packaging' consists largely of arranging clause elements in the most appropriate sequence, with some coming early in the clause and some late. It is because of the two empirical facts that (i) the set of meanings in English that we have characterized as 'thematic' are all realized by coming early in the clause - and (ii) the form of their realization is such that they cannot be co-extensive with each other in the same clause. As a result, we are able to place the features that show the 'thematic' aspect of 'information packaging' for each clause on one line. (The other set of types of 'information packaging' - those concerned with 'given', 'new', and 'contrastively new' - are placed on a separate line, as Figure 3 shows - because these do at times coincide with realizations of 'thematic' meaning.)

Interestingly - but perhaps predictably - this brings us full circle - i.e. back to the ultimately misleading concept with which studies of 'theme' began, which we first met in Section 1.3. This 'misleading concept' is, of course, the idea that in English - and some languages - there is a closely related set of choices in meaning that are concerned with how 'information' is presented, all of which are realized by 'coming early in the clause'. Where this idea goes wrong, as we can now see, is its assumption that they all express a similar sort of meaning, and that they all belong together in one area of the system network of a language.

My conclusion, then, is that the most sensible approach to trying to understand and explain the systems of 'theme' in English is a pragmatic one - even though the goal is ultimately a matter of theory. Here I have been guided by the following two principles: (i) to provide THE BEST POSSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR EACH 'THEMATIC' PHENOMENON IN ITS OWN TERMS, and (ii) to bring to the task a 'trinocular' approach. This requires placing at the centre of our model the relationships between the features in system networks, and so in turn the relations between each of the various system networks that model the meaning potential of 'theme' in English and the other system networks of the language. A simplified version of the result is summarized in Figure 2. Yet at the same time we must continually also (i) bear in mind the realizations of these meanings in structures at the level of form, and (ii) the need to group them in such a way that facilitates their selection when this is required by the ever-changing need for planning the next stage of the ongoing discourse. As Figure 2 shows, the various systems for 'theme' are always dependent on prior choices in other systems, so that they are not grouped in a part of the grammar of their own. The reason for this is clear: you can't thematize something until you have something to thematize.

It is the natural instinct of a functional linguist of any school to look for a semantic generalization to match a generalization at the level of form - but the fact that there isn't one in the case of the various types of 'theme' in English should neither surprise us nor disturb us too greatly. In other words, while it is justifiable to have a general expectation that form and

[154] The point is illustrated by the fact that Berry (1996:18-20), in trying to provide a general definition of the meaning of 'Theme', is unable to be more specific than stating that it is 'a priority meaning for the speaker or writer'.

meaning will, on the whole, match, the fact is that any natural language is full of places where this is not the case. It is this, in part, that makes linguistics fun.

However, no great harm would result if one wished to say that the various types of 'theme' in English are concerned with various aspects of the presentation of the Performer's viewpoint (or indeed any of the other proposed generalisations). This is because such generalizations are so general that they do not, in my view, give a genuine sense of explanation. So no great good would come of it either!

Thus there are many different reasons - as we saw in Chapter 13 - why an element of a clause should be placed early in that clause - but only some of these involve choices in the semantic systems for 'theme' that are the topic of this book.

The simplified system networks set out in Figure 2, together with the analyzed examples that occur throughout the book, summarize the comprehensive framework for conceptualizing the major types of 'theme' in English that is presented here, and can be used for analyzing text-sentences at the levels of both form and meaning.

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