

Syntax in Functional Grammar

an introduction
to lexicogrammar
in systemic linguistics



G. David Morley

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Introduction

One of the many remarkable things about language is that we can use it daily without any real awareness of how it is structured. Likewise we can use it in very different circumstances without being at all conscious of the important role played by the particular situation on our choice of language wording. Yet a change, for example, in the social role we are playing or in who we are talking to will typically prompt us to alter, sometimes quite significantly, the actual form of words we use. Indeed, it is by the selection not just of lexical items but also of grammatical structures that we are able to express different meanings. In this way we can begin to point to the link between language wording, meaning expressed and situational context.

The theory of systemic grammar was originally formulated by M.A.K. Halliday in the early 1960s. Michael Halliday had been a student of the British linguist J.R. Firth and his early formulation owes much to the influence of Firth's teaching. But as the theory developed, it increasingly began to represent an advance on Firth's own thinking. From its very beginnings, though, systemic grammar has been marked by its recognition that all language, whether it occurs in the form of a book, a letter, a group discussion, a casual conversation, or a person's emotional outpourings, takes place in the context of a social situation, that the situation has an impact on the nature and meaning of the language used and that any account of language must therefore include reference to that context of use.

In the first half of the 1960s the theory was known as 'scale and category grammar' (see Halliday 1961). To begin with, attention was focused largely on grammatical structure alone. The theory saw the linguistic system as comprising the level of form, itself made up of lexis and grammar, together with two interlevels, context and phonology. Context provided the link between situation and form, and phonology provided the link between form and sound. The grammar set out to handle the analysis of stretches of language that had actually occurred, so that at this stage the grammar was descriptive rather than generative. Any corpus of written or spoken language material selected for descriptive analysis was known as 'text' and to facilitate grammatical description a framework of categories ('unit', 'structure', 'class' and 'system') and scales ('rank', 'exponence', 'delicacy' and 'depth') was established. Hence the derivation of the name 'scale and category grammar'.

During the latter half of the 1960s Halliday's work became influenced by ideas on the functional nature of language. This appreciation of functions of language was not, of course, in itself new. In the 1920s and 1930s Malinowski¹ and Bühler² had discussed the notions of a conative function in which language acts as a form of social control, of an expressive function in which language serves to express a speaker's feelings, and of an ideational/representational function in which language is a means of communicating ideas. These ideas about function now had a profound effect on the nature of systemic grammar, and a multifunctional semantic dimension was not just added to the overall grammatical framework but in fact became central to it (see, for example, Halliday 1967–68, 1969b, 1970b). Resulting from the inclusion of this new dimension, which was presented in terms of three broad metafunctions – the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual – reflecting three types of meaning in language, the grammar no longer sought merely to analyse the syntactic (or, in Halliday's terms, the lexicogrammatical) structure of stretches of actual text. Interest now switched to accounting for the nature of the total system of linguistic meaning available to the native speaker of a language and for the selection of actual options which a person makes when using that language on any particular occasion. These options are thus selected not from the syntax but from the semantics of the grammar, and they represent the choices of meaning which the speaker or writer selects and

2 Introduction

expresses in the context of a given situation. The options are then realized as elements of the language structure, that is to say as the various component parts of the lexical, grammatical and phonological form being spoken or written. In this way the grammar had thus become generative.

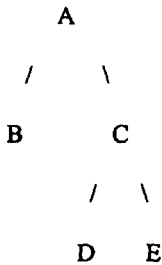
Simultaneously with this reorientation of goals, the earlier name of the theory, 'scale and category grammar', was replaced by the label 'systemic grammar'. The fuller title is 'systemic functional grammar', which for working purposes is often abbreviated to 'SFG'. Most linguists operating in the systemic tradition nowadays use versions of the modern label to denote all the work – syntactic, semantic and contextual – in the Hallidayan mould since 1961, and that is the line adopted in this book. With the increasing international interest in the functional nature of language and in the linguistic analysis of texts, Halliday is of course today only one of a large and growing number of linguists working within a broadly systemic framework, and writings by systemicists such as Berry, Fawcett, Gregory, Hasan, Martin and Matthiessen, along with many others, have made a substantial contribution to the development of the theory. However, the major contemporary reference work is Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, appearing first in 1985 and with a second edition in 1994. It should be stressed too that one of the theory's hallmarks, as evidenced for example in programmes of International Systemic Functional Congresses, is the extent to which systemicists have applied the grammar to other areas of study, e.g. language generation, literary analysis, discourse analysis, legal analysis, translation, education and language development.

In a sense this book goes back to the theory's scale and category roots in that the main aim is to present a descriptive syntactic framework, but now in the light of the overall semantic functional dimension. The contents are divided into four parts. In the first I outline briefly the nature of systemic grammar as a whole, including the linguistic system, context of situation, and language functions. This, though, is intended merely to provide the setting for the main thrust of the book – the lexicogrammar, which concentrates on the analysis of syntactic structure. In the second part, formal units and their classes are outlined, but the principal focus of the descriptive framework is in the third part which is concerned with their role as elements of syntactic structure. Essentially, therefore, the intention is to show how the analysis of syntactic structure can more fully and accurately reflect the meaning structure of the language. To quote Gregory (1987: 99), 'there are a host of purposes, such as stylistics, text description and language pedagogy, for which semantically revealing syntactic analysis has a place'. As an integral aspect of the presentation, approaches by other systemic (and, at times, non-systemic) grammarians are also considered. At each stage the text is illustrated by examples and at the end of the second and third parts ('Class' and 'Structure') the formal and functional frameworks are applied to the analysis of a range of sample sentences. Part IV discusses several areas of structural complexity, and concludes with a chapter which contains some further examples of analysis and which also proposes a number of refinements to the actual presentation of the analysis.

The book has two purposes. Firstly, although there are several recent, good introductions to systemic grammar on the market which focus primarily on the semantic functional dimension (e.g. Bloor and Bloor 1995, Eggins 1994, Thompson 1996 and, of course, Halliday 1985a/1994a), many lecturers wish to teach the syntactic framework **before** tackling the semantic dimension. Following this sequence allows them to provide students with the lexicogrammatical terminology to be able to discuss later how semantic features are realized in the wording. At the same time, it is important that the syntactic framework should be both rigorous and well-developed. So, whilst I fully accept the underlying orientation of systemic grammar that it is the choices from within the semantic system networks (that is to say from the total range of options available) that are realized through the lexicogrammatical wording, I would argue that a book on systemic syntax fulfils a role in its own right and, indeed, one for which there is a real need. (Any criticism, therefore, that, in not first developing semantic system networks and integrating their output, the text deals with only half the grammar, completely misses the book's very rationale.) A second and very different reason for the book is that, for the lecturer who wishes to teach a course in syntactic structure on its own, it is important that there should be an alternative to the many contemporary textbook introductions to syntax which are written, to a greater or lesser extent, from a transformational generative perspective. As will be

seen, by contrast with the tree diagrams which are found so often in linguistics textbooks and which are associated with the representation of structure from a logical dependency perspective, the structural representations used in systemically orientated syntactic analyses present a much flatter appearance. They operate rather on a minimal bracketing basis in that word sequences are grouped in terms of how they function in the next largest unit. This approach to the analysis of structural constituency is one which Halliday (1994a: 22) calls 'functional bracketing' and although it is orientated inherently towards the analysis of functional structure, it can of course be applied also to the analysis of formal constituency. The differences between the two approaches can be illustrated with a contrastive analysis of *The cat sat on the mat* using non-technical terms:

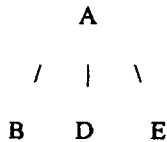
maximal bracketing



The cat sat on the mat

Here the analysis marks that A rewrites as B and C and that C rewrites as D and E. D and E are thus dependent on node C and only indirectly and jointly, through node C, dependent on A.

minimal/functional bracketing



The cat sat on the mat

Here the analysis marks that B, D and E each have a direct role in the structure of A.

This book is designed principally for students of language and linguistics, and applied linguistics. It should, in addition, be of interest to students of language education and to advanced students of English. The first three parts, on the linguistic framework, class, and structure, are suitable both for intermediate undergraduate and for graduate study, whilst Part IV on complexity and complementation delves into some more advanced topics.

Notes

- 1 B. Malinowski (1923) 'The problem of meaning in primitive languages', Supplement I in C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards (eds) *The Meaning of Meaning*, London: Kegan Paul; B. Malinowski (1935) *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, vol. 2, London: Allen & Unwin.
- 2 K. Bühler (1934) *Sprachtheorie: die Darstellung der Sprache*, Jena: Fischer, and translated by D.S. Goodwin (1990) as *Theory of Language: The Representational Function of Language*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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Part I

The linguistic framework

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The systemic functional framework

1.1 The linguistic system

Language represents just one of the ways in which we as humans can behave, that is to say can perform a behavioural act. We can, of course, behave without resorting to the use of language: for example, we can play the piano, mow the lawn or cook the dinner. We frequently behave partly with the assistance of language, as for example when we greet someone by shaking hands at the same time as saying *Hello, Jill, pleased to meet you* or when we offer to help with the washing up by asking *Can I give you a hand?* as we pick up a tea towel and start to dry the dishes. But a great deal of our behaviour is performed by the use of language alone, e.g. *Can you tell me the way to the Post Office, please?; Would you like a cup of tea?; I'll be there by eight thirty; Do make less noise, will you!*

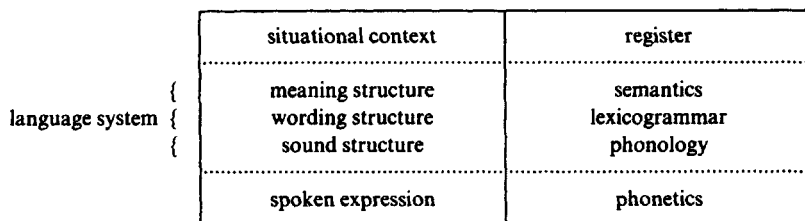
Whenever language is involved, we are dealing with 'verbal behaviour'. Whether the language occurs in spoken or written form Halliday has labelled it as **text**, though, with the increased interest in the nature of spoken language, other writers have employed the term **discourse** when referring to conversation or indeed any examples of language in the oral medium, preferring to restrict 'text' to occurrences of written language. (Indeed, somewhat confusingly, some linguists have assigned the label 'discourse' the same scope that Halliday has given 'text' – to encompass both spoken and written language.)

However, irrespective of whenever and wherever language is used or encountered, systemic grammar holds that it is a social activity which always takes place in a context. The **context of situation** handles the dimensions of the situation which have a bearing on the language used and is studied under **register**. Related to the contextual dimensions, language is interpreted as fulfilling a number of different **functions**: **ideational**, **interpersonal** and **textual**, in that it enables people to express different types of meanings. The ideational function provides for the expression of our experiences of the world as the 'factual' or 'content' element of what we say. The interpersonal function enables us to develop social relationships, to interact with others and to get things done. The textual function allows us to organize what we say or write into a coherent and cohesive piece of text which will both relate to what has already been said and take account of relevant aspects of the context. (See Section 1.3, Language functions and the semantic stratum.)

In systemic linguistics the grammar or linguistic system of a language itself is seen as comprising three levels or strata: the **semantic stratum**, the **lexicogrammatical stratum** and the **phonological (or graphological) stratum**. The **semantics** account for the structure and patterning of the different components of linguistic meaning of a text and, reflecting the different functions which language fulfils, are normally seen as constituting the grammar's generative base. The **lexicogrammar** accounts through syntax, morphology and lexis for the wording structure and patterning of a text, and the **phonology** accounts for its sound structure and patterning (or the **graphology** accounts for the written/printed form structure and patterning). Together the lexicogrammatical and phonological/graphological strata realize the output from the semantic stratum, that is to say they translate the meaning of each of the semantic components into discrete lexicogrammatical and phonological/graphological structures which are then mapped onto one another. A text thus involves the fusion of several different layers of structure, in which the lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology give linguistic form to the semantic output. In turn this linguistic form is given sound (or written) expression through phonetics (or graphetics).

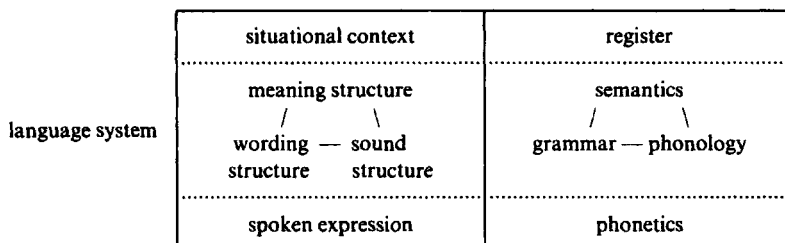
8 The linguistic framework

The basic relationship of the three constituent strata of the linguistic system to context and phonetics is represented in the diagram below.



This diagram may, however, be slightly reoriented to reflect rather better the relationship between semantics and the two realizational strata.

The linguistic system:



The semantic generative orientation of systemic grammar thus stands in sharp contrast to that found in versions of the standard theory of transformational grammar. There it is the syntactic component, with its phrase structure rules, lexicon and transformation rules, which is the generative source of the grammar and the semantic and phonological components fulfil, rather, an interpretative role.

1.2 Context of situation

The situational context surrounding acts of verbal behaviour is studied through the parameters of **register**. Originally based on the thesis that 'language varies with situation' and therefore that 'a certain kind of language is appropriate to a certain use', register was defined as the variety of language used in a particular situational context. In this early interpretation, register was seen as merely providing a framework for describing the background setting for a text. During the 1970s, however, a stronger claim was made that the contextual dimensions of register account for the nature and meaning of the text and can even be said to determine it.

Register is, traditionally in systemic grammar, studied in terms of three parameters: **field of discourse**, **tenor of discourse** and **mode of discourse**. In the process of language generation these parameters would be seen as projecting forward to a text, but for someone engaged in textual/discourse analysis they would be derived rather from the text, with backward reference to it.

The **field of discourse** is concerned with the subject matter of the text, what the text is about, e.g. mountaineering, choral music, gardening, car maintenance, interior decorating, meteorology. In addition to specifying the general nature of the subject matter or topic area, however, field is concerned with what is happening, who is doing what, and how, why, when and where they are doing it. It thus seeks to identify the participants or things involved, the actions and

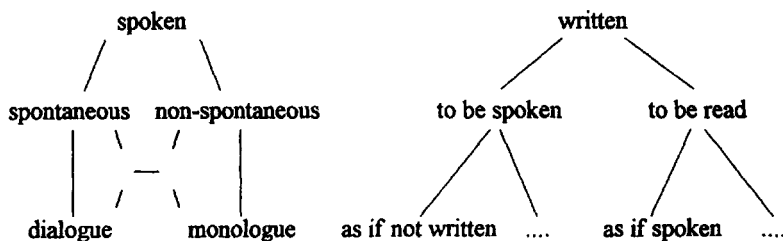
events taking place, and any relevant surrounding circumstances such as the time, location, manner, purpose, etc. For example, the text *Whip the cream until it is thick* relates to the field of food preparation and concerns the processing (*whip*) of a food (*cream*) for a given period of time (*until thick*). The text *Staccato at bar forty-nine, please* relates to the field of music and involves the speaker indicating the manner (*staccato*) of the singing or instrumental playing required at a given point (*at bar forty-nine*).

The **tenor of discourse** is concerned with the social status and role of the various participants and the relationship between them in the situation. This will be reflected in the degree of formality or familiarity in the wording of the text. It takes account, therefore, of the fact that during the course of a day a person may operate in very different capacities both in respect of their status relative to that of other interlocutors and in respect of their actual role. So, for example, the same person may be a manager giving advice to an employee, someone seeking approval for action from a senior manager, a patient describing his/her symptoms to a doctor, a parent discussing the progress of his/her child with a teacher, a parent discussing a problem with his/her spouse, a parent discussing a school matter with his/her child, a student at a language evening class, a potential customer talking to a car salesman, or one of a group of guests chatting to each other at a party, etc.

Together with the question of interpersonal relationships is that of what the language is doing, the purpose of the discourse – its speech function. For example, *Could we stop for a minute, please?* is a request, *Follow the path along the ridge for a mile past the summit cairn* is a direction, *Would you like a sweet?* is an offer, *Don't let go of the rope, whatever you do* is a warning command, *Well done* is a congratulation, *Hello, ???, pleased to meet you* is a greeting. Any text, of course, involves a continuous sequence of speech functions, and even a single sentence may contain more than one, e.g. *Could you make a pot of tea, please, and I'll mow the lawn*. Traditionally in register studies, the social role or purpose of the discourse was always handled as a subparameter of tenor. Thus Gregory (Gregory and Carroll 1978: 51), for example, distinguishes between personal and functional tenor. A decade later, however, Gregory (1988: 314) specifically renounces his earlier distinction, now believing that too limited a view of communicative function was given by confining it to the interactive relationship. Under this realignment, 'speech function' is accounted for simultaneously alongside all interpersonal systems, including discursal 'turn', 'social distance', personal 'mediation', etc.

The **mode of discourse** is concerned with the language medium through which the text is expressed. The two primary contrasts are 'spoken', which people might initially associate with 'spoken to be heard' as in ordinary conversation, and 'written' which might be most readily connected with 'written to be read' as with a book, newspaper, letter, e-mail or fax. But between these basic divisions are several intermediary and often interrelated stages. Thus, within spoken language there is a distinction between 'spontaneous' and 'non-spontaneous' language. Spontaneous spoken language is the normal way of characterizing conversation or 'dialogue'. In addition, it can be found in a 'monologue' situation in which participation by more than the person speaking is effectively ruled out either because the speaker is 'hogging the conversation' and not letting anyone else get a word in edgeways, or where someone is giving a running verbal commentary on, say, a football match. Non-spontaneous spoken language requires the participant(s) to learn the material beforehand and then deliver their lines from memory; it would perhaps be most readily associated with the concert monologue when a person recites a poem or tells a narrative tale, such as 'Albert and the lion' by Stanley Holloway. (There is also the possibility of non-spontaneous 'dialogue' in the form of a concert sketch.) Written texts, in addition to being 'written to be read', may be 'written to be read as if spoken', as is the case with dialogue elements in a novel. Or they may have been written specifically 'to be spoken', as for example with the script for a radio or television news bulletin. They may even be 'written to be spoken as if not written', as with the script for a play or television soap opera.

Adapting from a useful diagram by Gregory and Carroll (1978: 47), below is a summary of the types of medium which have been mentioned.

Register mode: type of medium

Together with these discrete types of medium, account must be taken of the possible interplay between spoken and written language. For example, when someone reads aloud a story to a child, it is an instance of 'speaking what is written to be read'. A radio or TV news bulletin as heard by the listener illustrates the 'speaking of what is written to be spoken'. The actual performance of a play or television soap requires the 'speaking of what is written to be spoken as if not written'. The verbatim transcription of a recorded interview involves the 'writing down of spoken spontaneous dialogue'. This interplay can also be handled by distinguishing between 'medium', the mode of the source text as already outlined, and 'channel', the modality in which the hearer/reader actually encounters the language, i.e. the modality of the received output (see also Halliday and Hasan 1989). Channel employs the terms 'phonic' and 'graphic'. By phonic is meant that the language text is encountered orally, i.e. the recipient hears it as speech. By graphic is meant that the recipient encounters the language as reading material. Within channel, account should also be taken of two further aspects which have a bearing on the form of language used. There is interest, on the one hand, in the use of any technological aid, e.g. radio, telephone, audio recorder, television or computer, as a vehicle for the transmission of the phonic/graphic output to the hearer/reader, and, on the other, in the type of textual base, e.g. newspaper, book, brochure, poster or letter.

Before going further, however, I would draw attention to the fact that, in addition to the study of context of situation, there has been increasing interest in what is termed the **context of culture**. This reflects the social and cultural background in which the language is set and the participants' understanding of the prevailing social meanings and cultural values. In systemic linguistics it is studied under **genre**, which is concerned with the classification of types of social behaviour within a given cultural environment and, using that framework, with the assignment of the function of any given interaction. In determining the purpose of a discourse or text in this way and hence the genre to which it belongs, the linguist is concerned to identify the socio-behavioural activity – through its various component stages – which the participants engage in, as evidenced in the language text. For example, a transactional visit to a bank to withdraw money might include the following stages:

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------|
| A: | <i>Next, please.</i> | (offer of service) |
| B: | <i>Can I take out £50, please?</i> | (request) |
| A: | <i>How would you like it?</i> | (question) |
| B: | <i>Four tens and two fives, please.</i> | (response) |
| B: | <i>Thank you.</i> | (thanks) |

A strong exponent of the study of genre, Ventola (1988) sets out an overview of the linguistic system which identifies three planes: genre, register and language, and she describes these as representing a 'systemiotic analysis'. The plane of genre handles systems of social behaviour and it is this plane which controls the choices in register, the semiotic plane. The components of register – field, tenor and mode – are then realized by the plane of language.

In being thus pragmatically orientated towards establishing the purpose of the discourse/text, the nature of genre study clearly overlaps with the study of speech function / social role as outlined earlier under tenor. The problem, of course, ceases to exist if the scope of tenor in register is confined to the nature of the interpersonal relations and social distance between the

participants, thereby leaving interactional function/purpose to genre. However, not all writers have chosen to operate that limitation – for example Gregory (1988) and, in practice, Halliday and Hasan (1989) have not done so. Added to this, there is the issue of the degree of match between tenor in the register context and the interpersonal component of the semantics. Suffice it to say, the study of a text or discourse does, somewhere and somehow, require the specification of both the communicative purpose (the speech function) and the subject field, interpersonal tenor and role of the language mode.

1.3 Language functions and the semantic stratum

As stated earlier, systemic grammar views language as a social activity taking place within a situational context and fulfilling a number of different functions. It was there pointed out that this idea is not, in principle, new, and reference was made to the earlier work of Bühler and of Malinowski. Halliday posits the view that there are essentially three main linguistic functions which adult language fulfils: ideational, interpersonal and textual. These in turn are seen as reflecting the different aspects of linguistic meaning and are accounted for respectively by the three components of the semantic stratum under the same headings.

Ideational function

Reflecting the field parameter of register, the ideational function of language is concerned with the communication and interlinking of ideas and may itself be broken down into the experiential and logical functions. The **experiential function** is the one whereby a speaker expresses the propositional content elements of his/her utterance, in other words communicates his/her ideas. In operating this function the speaker refers to people, objects and abstractions, actions, events and states, features and qualities, and relationships of location, time, manner, reason, etc. Within the experiential component of the grammar these are grouped and accounted for under the headings of participant / participating entity (relating to people, objects and abstractions – typically nominal), process (actions, events and states – typically verbal), attribute (features and qualities – typically adjectival), and circumstance (relationships of location, time, manner, reason, etc. – typically adverbial). The role relationships between the participants and the process would also be specified. Thus, for example, the experiential content in the sentence *John planted a vine in the greenhouse* can be said to be:

person = *John*,
 + action, past = *planted*,
 + object = *a vine*,
 + location = *in the greenhouse*,

and could be handled in the grammar as follows:

(participant)	(process)	(participant)	(circumstance)
agent	action	goal	location
<i>John</i>	<i>planted</i>	<i>a vine</i>	<i>in the greenhouse</i> .

In *Your tiny hands are frozen* the content is:

object, plural = *hands*,
 + attribute = *tiny*,
 + possession by addressee = *your*,
 + state, present = *are*,
 + attribute = *frozen*,

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and would be analysed in the grammar initially as follows:

(participant)	(process)	(attribute)
patient	state	feature
<i>Your tiny hands</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>frozen.</i>

This sort of data is handled in the grammar through the systems of transitivity and voice.

The **logical function** relates the propositional ideas and elements of these ideas to each other on an equal or subordinate basis. It thus encompasses relationships of coordination, subordination, apposition and modification, as illustrated by the following examples. (Actual word insertions in the text whose sole function is to mark these logical relationships I would, however, see as being part not of the logical function but of 'conjunction' in the textual function, often working in concert with the experiential function.)

coordination:

Jack and Jill went up the hill.

This tune has a good melody line but the harmony is weak.

subordination:

When she comes home, she always makes a cup of tea.

Out here we burn peat on our fires, which you can't do in London.

apposition:

The president, a pilot, is giving a talk on the history of aviation.

Their latest rule, that all members must wear a tie, won't last long.

modification:

The news of the party's victory came as quite a surprise.

The talk that she gave last time was absolutely fascinating.

We can then illustrate the interaction of the experiential and logical subcomponents by reference to the above example *When she comes home, she always makes a cup of tea*:

	time		agent	frequency	action	goal
time	agent	action	location			
<i>When</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>comes</i>	<i>home,</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>makes a cup of tea.</i>

Interpersonal function

The interpersonal function mirrors the tenor parameter of register and is evidenced in two main ways: through verbal interaction and exchanges with others and through personal mediation/modulation of the main idea/content.

In terms of **social interaction**, language serves to establish and maintain social relations, as is found in greetings and various forms of phatic communion. Thus, in everyday conversation *Good morning* and *Hello. How are you?* and *Nice to meet you* are typical examples of greetings, serving to open or further social contact. Normally such expressions are used to make such contact on a very superficial level, and reference to the weather or to a person's health is purely a way of achieving the initial acquaintance. Thus, for example, as a social greeting *How are you?* is not a serious enquiry into the state of health of the person being addressed. Irrespective, therefore, of that person's actual condition it would be usual, especially where the participants

are not well acquainted, to reply not with a comprehensive medical account but rather something along the lines *Very well, thanks. And you?* or *Not so bad, thank you*. The exchange of utterances in the social function thus follows very much a formulaic pattern which can be anticipated, and the language used merely serves to pave the way for more substantial discourse. Indeed, someone who in reply to a comparative stranger did break this pattern and embark on a full account of his or her ailments would quickly be marked out as a bore. It is, however, quite possible for phrases such as *Nice day* or *Lovely weather, isn't it?* to provide the opening for a fairly lengthy conversation about the weather. But in such circumstances the conversation could well remain at a superficial level because the topic is still being used as one which can be 'discussed' non-controversially and which will thereby help to remove the barriers to further social interaction.

With respect to **instrumental interaction**, language may be used to seek to influence the behaviour of others in order to get things done. It accounts for the fact that through the use of their chosen 'illocutionary force' people issue commands, make requests and put forward suggestions to direct people's actions/behaviour; they offer goods to the addressee, offer to perform a service for him or her; and they express their will/wishes. Some of the manifestations of this function are illustrated below.

- command: *Keep out.*
 Turn left at the lights.
- request: *Will you pass me the teapot, please?*
 Could you lend me a pound?
 May I borrow the map, please?
- suggestion: *How about making pancakes for tea?*
 What about trying a different brand?
- offer: *Would you like a cup of tea?*
 Can I give you a hand?
- will/wish: *Let this be a lesson to you!*
 May you never do this again!
 Long live the king!

With **informational interaction** people give or seek (content/factual) information. They make statements to impart information and ask questions to seek information; they utter exclamations (incorporating some content element) by way of reactive comment.

- statement: *The Chancellor has abolished income tax.*
 Today only one train was late.
- question: *How much will it cost?*
 What's the time?
 Was it expensive?
 Will you go by car or take the train?
- exclamation: *What a good idea!*
 How stupid!

Closely linked to the idea of reactive comment through exclamation, through **expressive interaction** people can, again through exclamations, give vent to their emotions, but here without a content element, e.g.

Heavens above!
Good gracious!

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Through **personal mediation/modulation** the speaker can also express his/her own **personal attitudes** towards the ideational content of what is being said (and his/her **personal assessment** of it). These reactions and comments by the speaker thus serve to modulate in a subjective way the mainstream idea or proposition in the utterance, as seen in the following examples:

Frank has probably got it.

Maybe the letter didn't reach her.

She may never have received it.

She must have received it.

You've surely finished with it by now.

Unfortunately the parcel never arrived.

Astonishingly Max came back after only two days.

Thankfully she didn't stay long.

Wisely they didn't wait around.

Also the speaker can set out the **terms of reference** in which he/she is speaking:

To be frank it's not worth the trouble.

Honestly it was great!

Essentially all you need is extra RAM.

From an economic point of view the situation is improving.

Environmentally it could be a disaster.

Travelwise we've got three possibilities.

Textual function

The textual (or discursual) function is described by Halliday as the one whereby language serves as a means to create texts as opposed to merely isolated and disconnected sentences. It is the function which organizes the language in a textual corpus in such a way as to give it narrative coherence (in which the ideas are presented in an acceptably logical sequence) and message cohesion (in which the wording of a sentence in a discourse takes account of and is linked to that of previous sentences), to arrange it as units of information, and to avoid unwanted redundancy. It can be said to be concerned with shaping the nature of a text in its spoken or written mode, in other words with fashioning the texture of a passage. The scope of the textual function thus extends beyond individual sentence boundaries.

Through the textual function the speaker is, firstly, able to give a **thematic structure** to the elements of the clause content, thereby highlighting one or other element in first position and giving it thematic prominence. Compare, for example, the following:

They bought the computer yesterday. (Agent *they* as theme)

The computer they bought yesterday. (Goal *the computer* as theme)

Yesterday they bought the computer. (Time *yesterday* as theme)

Secondly, the speaker organizes the clause content in terms of **information units**. Each of these contains an element which is being presented as **new information** in respect of previous discourse and may also contain an element of **given information**, which is being presented as being recoverable from previous discourse. Then through the use of phonological stress, the speaker centres attention on one (or more) part(s) of each information unit as the information focus, e.g.

They bought the computer yesterday.

(Normal, unmarked interpretation. Job done.)

They bought the computer yesterday.

(i.e. but not the printer or the scanner.)

They bought the computer yesterday.

(i.e. they didn't hire or steal it.)

They bought the computer yesterday.

(i.e. it wasn't me or you who bought it.)

Thirdly, he/she is able to use **pro forma expressions** to refer to one or more elements previously mentioned in the discourse without having to repeat their information content in full. In this way language avoids sounding like a robotic product. See for example the following:

(i) *Have you got your map of the Lake District?*

Yes, it's in my coat pocket.

(ii) *Last year we went to Salzburg in Austria and travelled by car.*

Oh, so did I.

(iii) *Ruth is going to the new museum by the art gallery.*

Can I come? I've never been there.

Compare these responses above, which make use of pro forma expressions, with the ones below, which merely repeat the reference from the previous utterance in full, thereby creating a very unnatural effect:

(i) *Have you got your map of the Lake District?*

Yes, my map of the Lake District is in my coat pocket.

(ii) *Last year we went to Salzburg in Austria and travelled by car.*

Oh, last year I went to Salzburg in Austria and travelled by car.

(iii) *Ruth is going to the new museum by the art gallery.*

Can I come to the new museum by the art gallery? I've never been to the new museum by the art gallery.

Fourthly, through **ellipsis** a person can omit entirely repeated mention of those elements which he/she considers to be recoverable from an earlier part of the discourse, e.g.

I'm not available. Are you _____?

Will you be in the cellar? No, _____ in the loft.

I can't understand his reluctance. Neither can I _____.

Have you got the tickets? No, _____ not yet.

As with the use of pro forma expressions for reference, through this streamlining in the degree of mention of elements of message content, ellipsis enables the speaker to avoid redundancy in utterances and hence again a possible robotic quality.

Lastly, within the textual function, through the resources of **conjunction** (a broader concept than 'conjunctions') the speaker can insert words and phrases to mark different types of cohesive relationships between clauses and sentences, e.g.

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She is, however, a good judge of character.

By the way John won't be there tonight.

On the other hand you could hire a minibus.

Consequently he lost his place.

By thus linking the ideas being expressed and minimizing the amount of redundant material, speakers are able to create unified texts. Indeed, without such resources, many texts would be intolerable to read.

The semantic stratum

The meaning structure associated with each of the different language functions above is technically accounted for by the semantic components of the grammar. The outline here broadly represents Halliday's schema, in which three components are recognized: the ideational component with its experiential and logical subcomponents, the interpersonal component with interactional and personal subcomponents, and the textual component comprising thematic, informational and cohesive subcomponents.

The ideational component reflects the field of discourse from the situational context and is concerned with content meaning input and patterning. It deals with systems such as transitivity and voice. The interpersonal component mirrors the tenor of discourse and handles all aspects of the speaker's interpersonal meaning input and patterning. It includes the interactional meaning of the language used, i.e. the meaning of what the **language** is doing, in terms of its illocutionary force. (This is distinct from the contextual/speech function of the language – the purpose to which the speaker is putting it.) The interpersonal component also deals with the speaker's personal attitudes, comments and terms of reference, together with interpersonal aspects such as attention-getting frames, modes of personal address, greetings and politeness expressions. This component thus embraces those elements which have either a 'modulatory' impact on the ideational content or a mediating role in respect of other participants in the situation. The textual component deals with the message organization and cohesion in the text, e.g. conjunction, thematic and information structure, reference and ellipsis.

An important feature regarding the organization of this semantic stratum is that although each of the components is discrete and distinct in its own right, they all contribute to the overall meaning and structure of the text. They are, further, seen as doing so simultaneously, without any sense of priority being accorded to one or other of the components. Indeed, in most sentences more than one meaning component will be found to be involved. Let us take a look, for example, at meaning elements in the sentence *John must have worked very hard at his project because he got a distinction*. Here a crude, first stage analysis may be given as follows:

ideational: *John . . . have worked very hard at John's project;*
because;
John got a distinction.

interpersonal: giving information:
must.

textual: selection of *John* as first element of sentence;
referential (anaphoric) use of *his* in main clause;
referential (anaphoric) use of *he* in subordinate clause.

In *John must have worked very hard at his project*, the factual content is specified in the form of who (*John*) performed the process (*work*), in respect of what (*project*), and in what manner (*very hard*). In *because he got a distinction*, the reason for this is given. In interactional terms, the

sentence serves to give information as opposed to seeking it or even to directing anyone's behaviour. In personal terms, the speaker concludes (*must*) that the information is so. Textually, the mention of *John* as the first element in the sentence highlights him thematically as the entity being talked about; the use of *his* and *he* in place of *John's* full name helps give cohesion to the passage. Also the word *because* binds the two elements of the sentence in a logical and causal relationship, thereby giving the passage coherence.

The standard Hallidayan arrangement of the components of the semantic stratum and their relationship to the components of the register context can be represented as follows:

context	field	tenor	mode
semantics	ideational	interpersonal	textual

It should be said, however, that not all systemic linguists are agreed upon this division of the semantics into three components. Perhaps the most divergent is Fawcett (1980), who delineates eight main components: experiential, logical, negativity, interactional, affective, modality, thematic, informational, and three minor ones: inferential, metalingual and discourse organizational. Earlier Fawcett had handled 'negativity' under the 'logical' component, and 'affective' (the speaker's evaluation) and 'modality' under the 'expressive' component (which was roughly equivalent to Halliday's personal subcomponent). The 'metalingual' is found 'when the performer stands back from his message' and interpolates an appraisal pause check on it, e.g. *so to speak, as it were*. Within 'discourse organizational' Fawcett includes conjunctive cohesion, 'attention-getting frames', e.g. *Right then, Excuse me*, and the use of the 'vocative', e.g. *Fred, could you . . .*

Ventola's overall linguistic framework (1988) is built around three planes – genre, register and language. Her plane of language is organized on three strata: discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology. The level of discourse handles reference, lexical cohesion, conversational structure and conjunction. For her, the lexicogrammar encodes the structure of a clause as representation, as interaction, and as message, and is the level where the systems of transitivity, mood and theme operate. (The phonology, of course, encodes the phonological patterning.) Interestingly, though Ventola's outline does not actually include a level of semantics as such, it still operates on the basis that the lexicogrammatical structures of the clause 'realize, in the Hallidayan framework, the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctional choices of semantics' (1988: 59).

1.4 The systemic orientation

The name 'systemic grammar' is derived from the fact that a language is seen as being a huge, integrated series of systems networks of meaning potential. This represents the generative potential of the language, and it is the task of the grammar to specify this total grid of options available to a speaker.

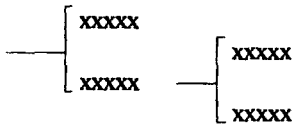
The situational context provides the semiotic parameters and constraints, including the interactional purpose of what the speaker 'is doing' behaviourally in using the language. The semantics accounts for what the language 'can mean' and, within that, what the speaker 'is meaning'. The lexicogrammar then specifies the word form which the meaning can take, what the speaker 'can say' and, in any one instance, what he/she 'is saying'. What he/she does actually say on any occasion therefore reflects the way that he/she operates or actualizes the language's potential. In a broad sense the grammar seeks, through the semantic networks, to display the meaning potential which the speaker can utilize and, through the lexicogrammar, to indicate the wording which a given meaning may take. However, unlike the notions of competence and performance in transformational grammar, systemic grammar draws no distinction of principle between the meaning potential and its actualization or use in a given

context. Meaning potential is thus not seen as some sort of abstract deep structure requiring transformations to form the concrete surface structures that we in fact employ. Actualization of the potential is rather a matter of the speaker making a selection from the range of options which the language has to offer; it is a grammar of use.

Although the orientation behind this book is descriptive and analytical rather than generative, I shall now briefly outline the basic principles behind network systems. A system is composed of one or more sets of features or 'terms' in contrast with one another and organized in a pattern of relationships ranging from the most general to the most detailed. The list of terms within a system is finite and the options are mutually exclusive. The meaning and scope of any one term is so interlinked with that of each of the other terms that if a new term is added to a range of options, the meaning and scope of at least one of the existing terms is affected. As a crude analogy, a system accounting for a particular area of grammar may be likened to the number of pieces into which a cake is cut; the size of the cake remains constant, but the size of each slice depends on the number of portions into which the cake is divided. A system can, however, also be developed through the establishment of subsystems, but these further options would not change the form of the initial system.

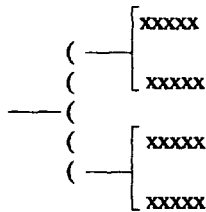
Each system has as its point of origin a specific rank of grammatical unit, e.g. clause or word (see Section 2.2, Units and the rank scale) and may operate with hierarchical or simultaneous entry conditions.

hierarchical:



The symbol { denotes disjunctive choice (either/or).

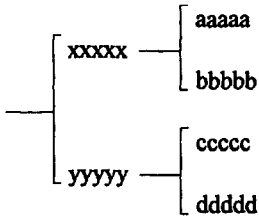
simultaneous:



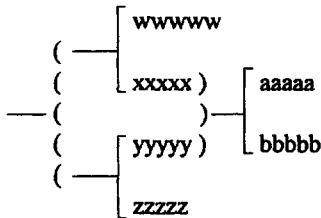
The symbol (indicates simultaneous choice (both/and).

The entry conditions to a point in a system may be as follows:

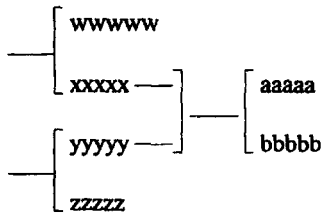
(a) simple – requiring, for example, that only feature x need apply before a further choice between a or b is made.



(b) compound/conjunctive – requiring, for example, both features x and y to apply before the further choice between a or b can be activated.

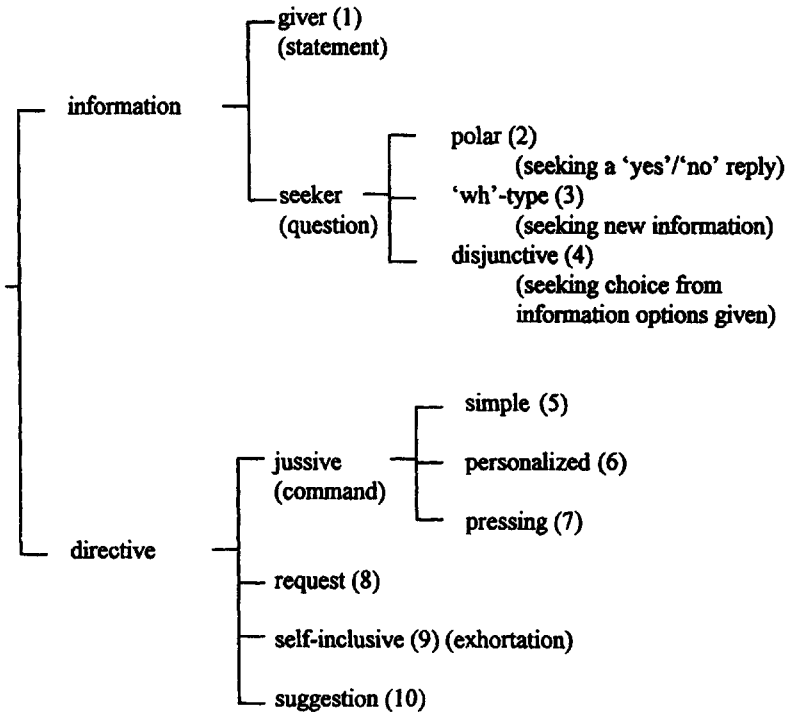


(c) disjunctive – requiring, for example, either feature x or feature y to apply before the further choice between a or b can be activated.



A systemic specification thus appears as a set of features selected from the range of options drawn from the different networks which together constitute the grammar. Ideally a system should be drawn up to account for similarities and differences in such a way that the features develop from the most general to the most particular as the system progresses further from the point of origin. To illustrate the nature and operation of a systems network, I set out below a simplified partial system of illocutionary force from the interpersonal meaning component.

Partial system of illocutionary force



Below are some sentence examples illustrating the output generated by the various combinations of terms:

1. *Jill'll wash it.*
2. *Will Jill wash it?*
3. *What will Jill wash?*
4. *Have you washed this or this?*
5. *Wash it.*
6. *You/Jill wash it.*
7. *Do wash it.*
8. *Will/can you wash it?*
9. *Let's wash it.*
10. *What about washing it?*

However, as stated, this example is included purely as an illustration. The intention of this book is not to examine how syntactic structures can be generated from semantic functional networks. The aim is rather to outline and develop the syntactic analytical framework in the light of that semantic functional dimension and thus to show how the analysis of syntactic structure can more fully and precisely mirror the meaning composition.

The grammatical framework

2.1 The nature of the lexicogrammar

Lexicogrammar in systemic linguistics is the stratum which handles the wording of a text. It is the level at which the various patterns of semantic structure are realized in word form and is concerned with the classes of grammatical (and in principle also lexical) unit and the relationships which may be established between them. This book concentrates on the lexicogrammatical component and in particular on syntax, which in linguistics is traditionally defined as the grammar above the word or the grammar of sentence structure. Relatively little attention, therefore, will be paid to morphology. Notwithstanding the generative nature of the link between semantics and syntax in a fully-fledged systemic grammar, the focus here is on the development of a framework for the analysis of the syntactic structure of a text rather than on semantic networks and the realizational rules which map them into the lexicogrammatical wording.

Language is an open-ended organism. Only by recognizing this can we account for the fact that it does not stand still – indeed has never stood still – but is constantly evolving. Any descriptive grammar of a language is therefore merely a snapshot in history. There can thus be no definitive grammar of a language which can be held up as a point of reference for all time. Indeed for parents and grandparents it can sometimes be a point of contention that ‘young people today don’t speak the way I was taught when I was at school’. Although typically made in a judgemental manner, from a factual point of view the observation is perfectly correct; the way people speak and write now is different from that of 25, 50 or 100 years ago. To a greater or lesser extent this always has been the case and with each successive generation it will continue to be so. Consider, for example, people’s differing reactions to *It is I* versus *It is me* or *To whom were you talking?* versus *Who were you talking to?* It is to grammars of a language from different ages that we look to record the accepted norms and acceptable forms of the day. (In this context we wait to see what history makes of the more recent instance *between you and I* versus *between you and me*.)

The study of grammar exists at all because a language does not consist of a fixed number, say 100,000, of possible sentences. On the contrary, owing to the creative potential of language, we can produce utterances which we have never heard before and, likewise, can understand sentences which we may not have come across previously, e.g. *I will check the speed of these spiders with John’s digital watch*. As an integral aspect of this creative property of language, we form sentences not by stringing words together in a random, haphazard way but by following certain patterns or rules of structural composition. Thus, for example, we can say *I want a banana*, perhaps even *?A banana want I*, but not **I banana want a*, still less **A want banana I*. (An initial question mark (?) is used to mark a doubtful structure or occurrence, and an asterisk (*) denotes a non-grammatical one.) It can also be shown that in the structure of sentences some words have a closer relationship to each other than to other words in the same sentence. Put another way, we find that words can be grouped together to form larger units. In fact, several possible groupings of different sizes of unit can be identified between ‘word’ and ‘sentence’. For instance, in *I want a banana* we point to a close relationship between *a* and *banana* but not between *I* and *a* or between *want* and *a*; there is, however, a relationship between *I* and *want* and between *want* and *a banana*.

Grammar then provides us, the language user and the language learner, with a basis for understanding how a language is structured, what the possibilities of patterning are and indeed

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what the constraints are. It is not just a matter of a person declaring that you can't say **A want banana I* because the grammar says you can't. The position is rather that **A want banana I* is the type of structure which speakers of the language don't produce for very good reasons of language patterning and relationships. It is the grammar which accounts for these regularities of language structure and which thus explains why speakers avoid such malformations. In this way it can be seen that grammar is 'language led' rather than the other way round. It reflects the way in which language is used / can be used. If, to take the reverse position, a language had been 'grammar led', then grammar would have determined the way we use the language and, given authoritarian enforcement, its nature might not have changed over the centuries and millennia in the extensive way that it has. (This is not to say, of course, that we might not from time to time have recourse to a reference grammar specifically for guidance on the form of a particular grammatical norm.)

Differences of wording in a text reflect differences of meaning. Accounting for differences of meaning is, as has been said, the job of the semantics. It is the semantics, therefore, which would handle, for example, the meaning contrasts between the following, related sentences:

I'll give John the map; I'll give the map to John;
Shall I give John the map?; Give John the map!;
John has been given the map; The map has been given to John;
John is fighting Bill; John is fighting with Bill;
John has turned off the light; John has turned off the road.

It is then the task of the lexicogrammar to account for the differences (and the similarities) in the actual wording of these sentences, that is to say differences and similarities of syntactic structure.

Syntactic structure can be approached in two ways: formal and functional. Formal syntax deals with how words can combine to create larger units of form and eventually sentences. One can perhaps visualize this as an orientation towards unit building, with a progression upwards from the word to the sentence. This bottom-upwards perspective reflects the question 'What increasingly larger, formal units can we build up with words?'. Functional syntax, on the other hand, handles the way in which sentences are structured in terms of smaller functional elements and eventually words. (A functional element marks the syntactic role that a unit is playing in structure. For example, although a clause is determined as the next largest formal unit to a sentence, it may function as an element of structure not only of a sentence but also of a unit smaller than a sentence.) One can see this as an orientation towards structural decomposition, in which there is a progression downwards from the sentence to the word. This top-down view of the situation reflects the idea that, in terms of what an utterance is doing, a functional syntactic analysis is interested firstly in the question 'What (ever smaller) functional elements can we break sentences down into?' and only secondly in its formal composition. Witness, for example, the case of the native speaker of a language who goes into a self-service cafe to order him/herself a cup of coffee and says merely *Coffee, please*. This doesn't lead to a breakdown of communication because the speaker didn't utter the more fully formed *I'd like a cup of coffee, please* or even *Could you please sell me a cup of coffee*. Witness, too, the efforts of the visitor abroad who knows only a smattering of the foreign language but who in a shop doggedly displays his/her, possibly monosyllabic, linguistic prowess to purchase the goods in question. In such a context it is thus not completeness or even accuracy of formal structure that is the primary consideration. That does not mean, though, that the formal composition is to be disregarded. Indeed, an educated native speaker of a language requires not just to be able to get things done by the use of language (the get-by approach) but should be able to do so by having recourse to linguistic structures which are well-formed and appropriate to the context. Formal and functional syntax are thus seen as complementary: they have different basic concerns but they are interdependent. The lexicogrammar, therefore, will incorporate both the formal and functional features of syntactic structure.

As mentioned in the Introduction, in its early stage the lexicogrammatical framework for systemic grammar was developed against a background of four **categories**: unit, structure, class

and system, and three (or four) **scales**: rank, exponence, delicacy (and depth). In subsequent chapters, 'class' and 'structure' will be discussed in detail, but we offer here a brief overview of all the categories and scales, in other words, of the 'scale and category framework'. Essentially the categories are theoretical constructs, whereas the scales serve to relate the categories both to each other and to the textual data.

The category of **unit** accounts for stretches of language of varying lengths and composition, such as 'sentence' or 'word', which carry grammatical patterns or which operate in grammatical patterns. The different units are set out on a hierarchical basis and are related to each other through the scale of **rank**. Thus, for example, the sentence belongs to a (much) higher rank than the word. In accordance with the category of **class**, members of a unit are assigned to a particular class according to similarities and differences of their grammatical behaviour. In these terms, 'noun' and 'verb', for example, can be established as two classes of word. The category of **structure** accounts for the composition of a unit in terms of the functional elements it consists of as well as for the relationship between these elements. Thus, for instance, in a sentence such as *Will you ring or will you wait till I come* one might consider (a) *Will you ring*, (b) *or will you wait*, and (c) *till I come* as elements of sentence structure and then examine the different relationships between them. Through the scale of **exponence** the categories are related to each other and to the textual data. Proceeding down this scale also involves regularly changing rank. So, for example, a sentence unit would be said to have a structure in terms of one or more functional elements, each of which is expounded (or – using the more contemporary term – realized) by a unit of the rank next below. Eventually, when for each element the scale of exponence has completed its passage down the rank scale, the process then goes on to specify the lexical item by which each ultimate unit is expounded/realized, that is to say, it moves out to lexis. The category of **system** in lexicogrammar operates in the manner already illustrated in relation to semantics and is able to account for the choices (classes and subclasses) available within each unit. Instead of just listing the range of options, through system the analyst can set out the options in terms of the relationships of similarity and difference between them. The scale of **delicacy** is concerned with the degree of detail which is incorporated into the analysis. The scale of **depth**, on the other hand, if included at all, considers the degree of complexity of a stretch of language in terms of the number of stages by which it is removed from what is termed the point of origin or the source / top node. For example, in the sentence *That nest in the corner of the shed by the lilac bush belongs to a robin* the phrase *by the lilac bush* is part of a fairly complex structure of which *nest* is the head element, the point of origin, from which it is several stages removed, thus:

That nest
 in the corner
 of the shed
 by the lilac bush

I would make the point, however, that nowadays this framework of scales and categories is not invoked in the same strict manner as formerly. Nevertheless, the basic principles behind it still apply and underpin the operation of the lexicogrammar, even if not overtly.

2.2 Units and the rank scale

Syntactic structure in systemic grammar is traditionally based around five **formal units**: sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme. (Henceforth, as a matter of terminology we shall, like Hudson (1971), use the term 'phrase' in place of 'group' to refer to the intermediary unit between clause and word.) These five grammatical units can be illustrated as follows.

Sentence

|||*After John has finished his exams, he is planning a trip abroad.*|||

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Clause

||After John has finished his exams, || he is planning a trip abroad.||

Phrase

|After | John | has finished | his exams, | he | is planning | a trip abroad.|

Word

:After:John:has:finished:his:exams,:he:is:planning:a:trip:abroad.:

Morpheme

-After-John-has-finish-ed-his-exam-s,-he-is-plann-ing-a-trip-abroad.-

The use of vertical lines for sentence, clause and phrase in systemic grammar is thus: three lines are used to separate sentences, two for clauses and one for phrases. (In syntactic analysis, word boundaries are merely indicated by the normal space divider and morphemes are not involved.) However, the normal notational practice for indicating boundary markers operates on a hierarchical basis such that the insertion of a boundary marker for a larger unit obviates the need to also mark a smaller unit boundary which occurs at the same point. Thus, the presence of a sentence boundary label means there is no need to mark a clause, phrase or word boundary there, and the use of a clause boundary marker similarly dispenses with the need to mark the phrase or word boundary. Consequently, in a proper syntactic analysis the sentence, clause and phrase boundaries would be recorded not as:

|| || |After | John | has finished | his exams, | || | he | is planning | a trip abroad. | || ||

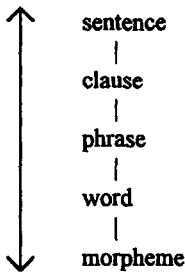
but rather as follows:

|||After | John | has finished | his exams, || he | is planning | a trip abroad.|||

A **unit** is defined as a stretch of language which itself carries grammatical patterns or which operates in grammatical patterns. The sentence is seen as the largest of the four units carrying grammatical patterns: sentence, clause, phrase and word, and the morpheme is the smallest of the four units operating in grammatical patterns: clause, phrase, word and morpheme. Thereafter each of the units is described in terms of its relationship with the other units. All five units are arranged hierarchically, from the largest down to the smallest, on a **scale of rank**. Each unit except the largest has been defined by its function in the structure of the unit next above, and conversely each unit except the smallest has been described as being composed of one or more units of the rank below. Thus a word, e.g. *exams*, *finished*, *after*, consists of one or more morphemes, viz. *exam*|s, *finish*ed, *after*; a phrase consists of one or more words, e.g. *John*, *has finished*; a clause consists of one or more phrases, e.g. *After*|*John*|*has finished*|*his exams*; and similarly a sentence is described as consisting typically of one or more clauses.

In terms of the way systemic grammar has traditionally been formulated, all utterances require to be described at each rank. Thus, the sentence *After John has finished his exams, he is planning a trip abroad* would be analysed as consisting of two clauses: *After John has finished his exams*, and *he is planning a trip abroad*, of which the first clause contains four phrases: (i) *After*, (ii) *John*, (iii) *has finished* and (iv) *his exams*, comprising six words and eight morphemes (including *finish* and *ed*, and *exam* and *s*), and the second clause contains three phrases: (i) *he*, (ii) *is planning* and (iii) *a trip abroad*, six words and seven morphemes (including *plann* and *ing*). But it also means that a reply *No!* is described as a sentence consisting of one clause containing one phrase composed of one word which is itself a single morpheme.

The scale of rank



However, the structure of a unit at one rank is not always composed of units from the rank below. For example, whilst the phrase *the girl* does consist of two units of word rank, the phrase *the girl in the corner* consists of the same two units of word rank plus the sequence *in the corner*, which is itself a phrase unit. In other words we have a phrase operating within a phrase. The structure of the phrase *the girl who beat the record* involves again not just the two units of word rank but also the sequence *who beat the record*, which is in fact a clause. In this instance, therefore, we have a clause operating within the structure of a phrase. This phenomenon whereby the structure of a unit of one rank is realized not merely by units of the rank below but (also) by units of its own rank or even units from the rank above is traditionally known in systemic syntax as **rankshift**. This is a concept which, whilst it will crop up incidentally from time to time in the exposition, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 14, Section 14.1, Recursion.

2.3 Sentence, clause, phrase, word and morpheme

Orthographically the sentence begins with a capital letter and is terminated by a full stop. With the increased interest, also, in the nature and structure of text as distinct from grammatical form alone, the sentence has come to be regarded as an element of textual structure and as such may be seen as a constituent of the paragraph. Strictly speaking then, the sentence is a textual unit which it has been convenient to adopt as the largest grammatical unit for the purposes of syntactic analysis. In meaning terms, the typical role of the sentence is to express one or more ideas or 'propositions' from the ideational component, each proposition being realized by a clause. Indeed, it is very much a matter of the individual writer's style how many propositions, with the help of commas, semicolons and colons, are incorporated into a single sentence. Compare, for example, the extremes in the following two texts:

(a) *This is the maiden all forlorn that milked the cow with the crumpled horn that tossed the dog that worried the cat that killed the rat that ate the malt that lay in the house that Jack built.*

(b) *This is the maiden. She is all forlorn. It was she who milked the cow with the crumpled horn. That was the cow that tossed the dog. It was that dog that worried the cat. The cat had killed the rat. The rat had in fact eaten the malt. The malt had lain in the house. The house had been built by Jack.*

In the first text, the traditional rhyme is presented as a very complex sentence (see Chapter 14, Section 14.1, Recursion) comprising an ongoing sequence of propositions embedded inside one another. Potentially, other than that the writer/speaker might run out of ideas or, perhaps, breath, there is no reason from the point of view of the sentence structure why the rhyme sequence should not continue on – and on – still within the framework of a single sentence. In the second text, the sequence has been broken up and each proposition has been presented within its own sentence. From totally opposite perspectives, therefore, both passages have an artificiality about their format.

I have already mentioned that, in terms of the rank scale hierarchy, a sentence consists of one or more clauses. These are interrelated with one another on a basis which is grammatically coordinate or subordinate and, in consequence of this, some grammarians prefer to think of the largest grammatical unit as being a grouping or complex of clauses, a 'clause complex', rather than a sentence. In fact, the classification in traditional grammar of non-simple sentence types under the three headings 'compound' sentence (e.g. |||*I've finished that book* || and written my essay. |||), 'complex' sentence (e.g. |||*When you've finished your tea* || can you give me a hand? |||) and 'compound-complex' sentence (e.g. |||*If you want a lift* || just give me a ring || and I'll come round. |||) illustrates a crude, if practical, labelling of different modes of clause complex.

A **clause** in meaning terms typically expresses a single proposition. Grammatically, it consists of one or more phrases, e.g. *I've finished that book*. As we shall see, clauses do not all share the same grammatical status, and relationships of subordination and superordination can be established within groupings/complexes of clause units. Consider, for example, the relationship between *can you give me a hand* and *when you've finished your tea* in the sentence *Can you give me a hand when you've finished your tea?* Equally, relationships of fixed and free sequencing can be found between clauses which do share the same grammatical status. For example, in the sentence |||*Just give me a ring* || and I'll come round || or Jill will call |||, provided we leave the linking words *and* and *or* where they are, the second and third clauses could be switched around, but the first clause must stay in its initial position.

A **phrase** in meaning terms expresses one of the elements of a proposition. Grammatically, it is the grouping of one or more words which together fulfil the role that in other circumstances might be expressed by a single word. So, for example, *the fastest winner of the 100 metres heats* could be replaced by *he* or *she*, *might have been training* could be substituted by *trained*. Indeed, as we have already mentioned and will discuss further in Chapter 4, Phrase class, the traditional systemic term is 'group' rather than phrase, though Halliday actually distinguishes between 'group' and 'phrase'.

The **word** is the basic unit of syntax. Orthographically, words are typically bounded by a blank space either side of them, as for example in *a bunch of flowers*. Compound words like *birthday* and *sunshine* are still individual units, but the position is complicated by the fact that the same expression may be written as a single, compound word with or without a hyphen or as two separate words, e.g. *airlock*, *air-lock*, or *air lock*. The normal practice of writing words with a blank space before and after them is violated in cases such as *Ruth's out*, where *Ruth* belongs to one word class and 's', which here is a contracted form of *is*, belongs to another. The 's is a clitic, a word form which cannot stand on its own and which, in this instance, is fused or leeches onto the preceding word. Indeed, as a result of their belonging to separate word classes, if one substitutes the first component *Ruth* by the pronoun *They*, then the second component 's also has to change to 're. See also *They've disappeared* (contracted *have*), *He'll play* (contracted *will*), *She'd object* (contracted *would*) or *I didn't know* (contracted *not*). So in these various instances the sequences *Ruth's*, *They've*, *He'll*, *She'd*, and *didn't* are handled as two words.

The word, then, is a unit which can be assigned to a recognized word class and which is not a (hyphenated or unhyphenated) component of a compound unit. In accordance with this, the analysis of *They've* and *didn't*, etc. above as two words is shared by *black bird*, *air lock* and *computer game*, whereas units such as *blackbird*, *airlock*, *air-lock* and *home-made* are handled as one word. It also means that forms such as *girls*, *works*, *worked*, *working* remain analysed as single word units because the elements *s*, *ed* and *ing* serve to mark variant grammatical forms of a given word unit and cannot themselves be assigned to word classes.

At the bottom end of the rank scale, the **morpheme** is the smallest unit of grammatical form and meaning – though in traditional grammar a distinction is often made between morph and morpheme. (See Chapter 12, Section 12.1, Morpheme, morph and allomorph). The morpheme is involved in word formation in a number of ways:

- (a) lexical compounding, e.g. *blackbird*, *sunshine*;
- (b) lexical derivation of one word (or rather lexical item) from another, often involving a change of word class, e.g. *act*, *action*, *active*, *inactive*, *proactive*, *activate*, *actor*, *actress*;
- (c) grammatical inflection altering the form of a word to fit the grammatical context but not thereby changing the word class, e.g. *car* – *cars* (plural), *mend* – *mended* (past tense).

With regard to grammatical meaning as illustrated under (c) we can say that a change of morpheme inflection within a noun, for example, leads to a change in the syntactic relations into which the word enters. But unless the morpheme is a free form and therefore able to function as a word, it does not by itself enter into syntactic relations. A morpheme can thus be described as having syntactic significance, but it is not in its own right a syntactic unit. The point was also mentioned above that in grammatical terms the sentence and the morpheme, unlike the clause, phrase and word, have only a one-way relationship: the sentence downward to lower units and the morpheme upward to higher units.

With respect to syntax, therefore, the central grammatical units may be delimited as clause, phrase and word, and the primary interest in this book is with these three units.

2.4 Unit complex and complex unit

In addition to the basic grammatical units we introduce the concepts of a 'unit complex' and a 'complex unit'. Berry (1975: 95) sees these terms as merely alternative labels but we would argue that there is a significant difference between them. When considering the sentence, we made reference to the term 'clause complex' and that can be seen as a model for a unit complex more generally. By contrast with a simple unit, which consists of a single exponent of a unit from a given rank, a **unit complex** may be explained as a coherent grouping or configuration of two or more units (a complex of units) from the same rank, which together may also constitute a unit of the rank next above. For example, other words may be grouped round a given headword, as in *a brilliant student*, to form a word complex which is a phrase. (This is different from Huddleston's early formulation (1965a), in which with the example of three nominal phrases in apposition he sees a unit complex as a grouping of units from one rank which form a unit intermediate between that rank and the one above.)

If another unit of the same status is involved, then the relationship between them is one of equality, in other words a relationship involving units of equal grammatical status. In systemic grammar this has normally been referred to as one of the types of **paratactic** relationship. The sentence *Jack fell down and Jill came tumbling after* exemplifies a unit consisting of two main clauses coordinated in one such relationship. In *Frank Jones, the butcher, is the best candidate* the type of paratactic relationship between the units is one of apposition, in which two phrases, *Frank Jones* and *the butcher*, are juxtaposed and thus, here, operate as alternative expressions referring to the same person. Where a subordinate unit is involved, the relationship between the main and subordinate units is known as a **hypotactic** relationship. A hypotactic relationship thus involves units of unequal grammatical status, as illustrated by the subordinate and main clauses in the sentence *When Jack fell down, he broke his crown*. Traditionally in systemic grammar paratactic and hypotactic structures have been grouped together as subtypes of **univariate** structure, that is to say a structure involving the repeated utterance of the same type of unit, where the relationship between the units is a logical one of equality or dependence. Where, on the other hand, the relationship is one between different types of element, as for example between the units in *Jack Sprat could eat no fat* ('subject', verbal element, and 'object'), it represents the type of structure known as **multivariate**. (For further discussion of types of structure, see e.g. Halliday 1965).

In these terms, therefore, a clause complex comprises more than one clause unit; it is a complex of clauses and typically operates as a sentence. A phrase complex involves more than one phrase unit (same or different classes) forming a coherent grouping which in some circumstances can also serve as a clause. A word complex is more than one word unit and can form a phrase. A morpheme complex – more than one morpheme unit – normally forms a word. Below are some examples of unit complexes.

Clause complex:

Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after.

(paratactic, coordination)

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What I really want, what I must have, is a new car. (paratactic, apposition)

After Keith was awarded his degree, his confidence increased enormously.
(hypotactic)

Phrase complex:

Goldilocks and the three bears (paratactic, coordination)

Frank Jones, the butcher, is the best candidate. (paratactic, apposition)

His latest book, on singing technique, comes out next week. (hypotactic)

Mark is very clever, though erratic. (hypotactic)

Frank's cat was found in the coal cellar. (multivariate)

Word complex:

Mark is a brilliant student.

He is very keen.

Rover has been lost.

Morpheme complex:

She is becoming very nation al ist ic.

Whereas a unit complex involves a grouping of units which can frequently operate as a unit of the rank above, a **complex unit** is composed of two or more elements typically, but not only, realized by units of the rank below. The relationship between the elements, however, is normally one of dependency involving different grammatical status, e.g. main-subordinate, headword-modifier, root-affix, though it may possibly be one of interdependency.

Complex sentence:

After Keith was awarded his degree, his confidence increased enormously.

Complex phrase:

The latest news about Jill

Complex word:

ab normal ly

hit and miss

dyed-in-the-wool

In the terms outlined above, the relationships between the basic syntactic units can, then, be summarized by saying that

- (a) a textual sentence may be composed of a clause or a complex of clauses, a clause complex;
- (b) a clause contains at least one phrase and more normally a (multivariate) phrase complex;
- (c) a phrase consists of a single (head)word or of a word complex; and
- (d) a word may comprise a morpheme or a morpheme complex.

Part II

Class

In systemic grammar members of a unit are grouped together and assigned to a particular class firstly according to the way they function in the next largest unit, secondly according to how they combine with units of the same rank, and thirdly according to the similarities and differences of their internal structure. I consider here the various classes of formal unit.

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Word class

Words are traditionally allocated to one of the following range of word classes: noun, pronoun, article, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection; and, anticipating later discussion on the genitive phrase (see Chapter 4, Section 4.7), at the end we add the 'genitive'. Some grammars, e.g. Leech *et al.* 1982; Halliday 1985a/1994a; Greenbaum and Quirk 1990; Greenbaum 1996; Quirk *et al.* 1985, include the determiner among the list of word classes. However, we will argue that the determiner is not a separate word class but rather an element of phrase structure which is most typically realized by pronominal subclasses.

The allocation of words to word classes is undertaken on the basis of grammatical behaviour. By grammatical behaviour is meant, firstly, the wording environment in which the word appears, its location in the word string and the other words with which it can co-occur; and, secondly, the range of different forms which the word can display. Thus, for example, the word *orange* can occur in a variety of word contexts and hence belongs to more than one word class. When it denotes a colour, it occurs in contexts such as *The (very) orange bulb has blown* and *The bulb which has blown is (very) orange*. With the meaning here *orange* can be assigned to the word class to which *white*, *pink* and *new* belong. On the other hand, the word *orange* referring to a fruit occurs in contexts such as *This ripe orange is tasty*, *These ripe oranges are tasty*, *This fruit is an orange*, *These fruits are oranges*. *Orange* with this meaning is therefore assigned to a different word class, to which *apple*, *nectarine*, *pear* and subsequently *tree*, *bird*, *car*, *house*, etc. also belong. Let us take another example. With one of its meanings the word *like* can occur in the contexts *I like peaches*, *He/she likes peaches*, *I/he/she liked peaches*. We note that neither of the occurrences of the word *orange* above has these contexts or variations of form. One does not hear **I orange ...*, **He/she oranges ...*, **I/he/she orangeed ...*. The word *like* here consequently requires to be assigned to yet another class, to which *eat*, *enjoy*, *buy* and *wash* belong.

3.1 Noun

With respect to the meanings which they convey, nouns denote what we will call 'entities'. Nouns will thus be regarded as a form, indeed the main but not the only form, of nominal word. They may be 'concrete' or 'abstract'. If concrete, the entities referred to are made of material/physical substance and are thus 'animate' (human or animal), e.g. *girl*, *gorilla*, or 'inanimate' (solid or liquid), e.g. *chair*, *water*. If abstract, they are intangible, e.g. *beauty*, *depth*.

Nouns are usually associated with the ability to inflect (i.e. change their form) for the plural, involving either the addition of a syllable to the end of the word or the modification of a word root in some way, e.g. *grape* – *grapes*; *peach* – *peaches*; *mouse* – *mice*; *goose* – *geese*; or perhaps a combination of both, e.g. *knife* – *knives*; *index* – *indices*. In some instances, though, the plural form shows no change from that of the singular, e.g. *sheep* – *sheep*; *deer* – *deer*. However, the ability to have a plural form does not apply to all nouns. Indeed, as we shall see, these examples above illustrate just one particular subclass of noun known as 'common, count' nouns.

Nouns are also associated with the property of being able to follow the articles *a* and *the* as well as quantifiers such as *some*, *many*, e.g. *the car*, *some warmth*. Whilst this property does not apply to all nouns, and most nouns can only follow certain of these words, it is a distinguishing feature of nouns inasmuch as articles and quantifiers do not co-occur in such a relationship with other word classes, e.g. adjective – *beautiful*, preposition – *before*, verb – *write*.

Nouns are traditionally divided into the classes proper and common. **Proper nouns** denote the name of entities which have unique reference. They refer to instances where the entity is viewed as having a single specific or generalized denotation and this includes the names of people, places and geographical locations, days and months, festival occasions, newspapers, magazines and journals, organizations, and institutions, e.g. *Ruth, Scotland, Glasgow, Queen Street, the Clyde, Skye, Ben Lomond, Monday, May, Christmas, the Radio Times, the Beano, The Guardian, The Listener, the Scottish Office, the House of Commons, the Scout Association, the University of Strathclyde, the Bank of Scotland.*

Proper nouns may well be associated in people's minds with the absence of an article (*a, the*), e.g. *Ruth, Mr Bishop, Scotland, Edinburgh, Saturday, May*, etc. But whilst this is frequently true, it is not necessarily the case. We do, for example, refer to *The Times, the Clyde, the Cairngorms, the Scottish Office, the Hook of Holland*. A more significant feature of proper nouns is that they do not, whilst retaining their unique reference, display a variation of article contrast or of plurality. Thus, the examples above at the beginning of the paragraph do not appear as **a Ruth, *the Ruth, *Ruths* or **a Scotland, *the Scotland, *Scotlands*, e.g. **I saw a Ruth today; *We visited the Scotland this summer*. Apparent contradictions of this are to be found in the sentences *I'll have a Times, please* and *We're out of Guardians*. However, in such instances the focus has now shifted away from the uniqueness of reference towards the concept of an entity with a multiplicity of possible specimens. Thus *a Times* denotes one sample from the overall stock of newspapers and *Guardians* here refers to all immediate specimens – the shop's whole stock – of the paper. The principle of selection from or generality across a multiplicity of instances can similarly be seen in *He came on a Thursday* and in *Mondays can be miserable*. These are, therefore, examples of where a proper noun is being treated rather as a countable type of common noun.

Common nouns refer to entities which do not have unique reference. They are divided into two classes: count/countable and mass nouns. **Count nouns** denote entities which can be counted / are countable using ordinary numbers such as one, two, three, four, five, etc., e.g. *compass, map, torch, cagoule*. **Mass nouns** are nouns which cannot be counted; here the entity is seen as a mass which cannot be increased or decreased in terms of countable units, e.g. *warmth, happiness, furniture, rubbish, milk, enlightenment*. So, for example, if milk is added to milk, we merely have more milk, not two milks; similarly, if some milk is poured from a jug into a cup, the quantity of liquid remaining in the jug is less milk rather than, say, three-quarters of a milk.

The following table compares the behaviour of common count and mass nouns, showing how they combine with the articles *a* and *the* and the quantifiers *some* and *many*:

	common nouns	
	count	mass
sing. minus art.	<i>*car</i>	<i>warmth</i>
sing. plus <i>the</i>	<i>the car</i>	<i>the warmth</i>
sing. plus <i>a</i>	<i>a car</i>	<i>*a warmth</i>
sing. plus <i>some</i>	<i>*some car</i>	<i>some warmth</i>
plural plus <i>many</i>	<i>many cars</i>	<i>*many warmths</i>

A number of common nouns, however, can occur as either count or mass nouns, as illustrated in the (a) and (b) examples below:

- (a) *A dozen eggs, please.*
 (b) *You've got egg on your tie.*
- (a) *Two teas, please.*
 (b) *Tea has gone up enormously.*

- (a) *Look at these fascinating rocks.*
 (b) *It's made of solid rock.*
- (a) *I'll take three of those cakes, please.*
 (b) *Would you like some/ a piece of cake?*

When nouns can operate in a mixed capacity like this, they are not subject to the constraints which count and mass nouns experience separately. Thus, for example, in different contexts we can refer to *cake, the cake, a cake, some cake, many cakes*.

As we shall see in Part III, Structure, nouns typically act as the headword element of a nominal phrase.

3.2 Verb

In meaning terms, verbs may be said to express processes which can be classified in one of three broad ways. Firstly they can denote actions, e.g. *walk, draw, watch, work, feel (pulse), sound (horn)*, inasmuch as they involve someone doing something and may be identified by questions of the type 'What is X doing / did X do?'. Secondly, they can record events, e.g. *occur, collapse, melt, become, see*, which involve something happening or a change of state and are identified by 'What is happening / happened?'. Lastly, they can refer to states (a state of affairs, state of mind . . .), e.g. *be, seem, like, feel (ill), sound (noisy)*, which relate to any point in time – past, present or future – and which are identified by 'What is / was / will be the state of the subject?'. Systemic grammarians have also classified processes into material, e.g. *walk, draw, occur, collapse, melt*, mental, e.g. *watch, see, listen, hear, expect, like*, and relational, e.g. *be, seem, become*. The grammatical definition of verbs, however, relates to the fact that their form can potentially be inflected/modified to mark tense, aspect, voice, mood and the person form of the subject with which they agree. The variations of the verb *work* below show some of these inflections in action:

tense

present: *work, works*
 past: *worked*

The sequence *will work*, however, is nowadays generally interpreted not as a future tense – the main verb *work* has not been inflected – but rather as a marking of future time with the help of the auxiliary verb *will*.

aspect

progressive/continuous: *is working, was working*
 perfect: *has worked, had worked*

In these terms *is working* is the present tense of the progressive/continuous aspect, *had worked* is the past tense of the perfect aspect, and *has been working* is the present tense of the perfect continuous aspect.

voice

active: *worked, is working*
 passive: *was worked, is being worked*

mood

- indicative: *She works/worked hard.*
 imperative: *Work hard/er!*
 subjunctive: *They insist that she work harder.*

subject agreement

I/you/we/they work; he/she/it works.

In practice, the verb in modern English offers little scope for marking agreement with a change of subject. Thus, for example, in the past tense the verb *work* shows no variation to mark agreement with the subject:

I/you/he/she/it/we/they worked.

In English it is the present tense of the verb *to be* which displays the greatest range of subject agreement forms: *I am; you/we/they are; he/she/it is.*

Verbs have been traditionally classified as main or auxiliary. A **main verb** is one which can operate as the headword or pivotal element of the verbal phrase, e.g. *works, worked, is working, will have been worked*. If the verbal phrase contains more than one verb word, then the main verb is the rightmost element. There is only a limited range of **auxiliary verbs**, e.g. *do, be, have, will, shall, may, can, must* (together with *would, should, might, could*). As seen above, auxiliary verbs typically co-occur with the main verb, though in conversation it is very possible for repeated mention of the main verb to be omitted, e.g.

- (Mother) *Are you working?*
 (Young daughter, indignantly) *Yes, I am ___.*

In a tensed verbal phrase, it is the leftmost verb word which carries the tense inflection. That means that in a single word verbal phrase this is the main verb, e.g. *works*, whereas in a multiple word verbal phrase it is the leftmost auxiliary, e.g. *has been working*.

There are also constraints on the sequence in which the auxiliary verbs can appear, thus *will have been being worked* is normal, **been have being will worked* is not. Unlike main verbs, the first auxiliary verb can also frequently take a contracted and 'clitic' form of the negative *n't*, e.g. *aren't, shan't, won't, mustn't, can't, mightn't, don't* (but not, in standard British English, **mayn't, *amn't*). (A few auxiliaries can also take a clitic form with the preceding subject noun, e.g. *I'm, he'll, we'd, you've*, but in the case of *be* and *have* this ability is not restricted to their use as auxiliaries.) Again, auxiliary verbs can be inverted with the subject to form an interrogative, e.g. *Do you take sugar?, Will she paint the kitchen?*, whereas main verbs typically cannot, e.g. **Take you sugar?, *Paints she the kitchen?*. (But in German, for example, such subject-verb inversion is the norm for this type of question.)

A further distinction is usually made between **primary auxiliaries** *do, be, have* and **modal auxiliaries**, e.g. *can, will, shall, must, may*. With the primary auxiliaries some variation is possible in the present tense form of the verb to mark agreement with the subject person, e.g.

- I am / you are / she is writing.*
I have / she has written.
I do / she does write.

With modal auxiliaries, on the other hand, a change of subject does not prompt a change of verb form, e.g.

- I must / you must / he must write.*
I can / you can / he can write.

Only one modal auxiliary occurs in a verbal phrase. If a modal is one of several auxiliaries in the phrase, then it is always the first mentioned one, with the remainder being primary auxiliaries. Thus one does not encounter sentences such as **I must can work* or **You will may have finished*, nor **She be must working* or **He have could finished*.

In addition, there are some further modal auxiliary verbs – *dare*, *need*, *ought to* and *used to* – which are regarded as **marginal modals**. *Dare* and *need* receive this label because whilst on the one hand they can seem to behave exactly as ordinary modal auxiliaries, as in *Dare I ask?* / *I daren't ask* (but note also *I didn't dare ask*) and *Need we leave so early?* / *We needn't leave so early*, on the other hand they can sometimes take the infinitive particle *to*, as in *I didn't dare to ask* or *Do we need to leave so early?* / *We don't need to leave so early*, thus behaving like non-auxiliary verbs. *Ought to* can take a contracted negative, e.g. *You oughtn't to miss the opening*, and as part of an ellipted reply the word *ought* can stand without the infinitive particle, e.g. (*Ought I to bring some food?*) *Yes, you ought*. However, in most (though not all) people's speech the infinitive particle is normally required in non-ellipted sentences, e.g. *You ought to bring some food* rather than **You ought bring some food*. *Used to* expresses the idea that something was the case formerly/ in the past but is no longer, e.g. *She used to play very well*. (*She did play very well* can express the same meaning (given appropriate intonation) but, to do so explicitly, should perhaps be followed up with *but doesn't any more*.)

A number of verbs have a meaning and role akin to that of some auxiliaries above but consist of more than one word and are variously classed as **phrasal auxiliaries** or **semi-auxiliaries**, e.g.

(must)	<i>have to, have got to, be to, be supposed to, had better, be bound to, be due to;</i>
(will)	<i>be about to, be going to, be likely to;</i>
(can)	<i>be able to.</i>

In most instances they have the facility to be able to combine with other auxiliaries and with other semi-auxiliaries, e.g.

She must be about to go.

He will be able to come.

She is supposed to be about to go.

He is going to be able to come.

The three verbs *do*, *be*, *have* can also operate as main verbs. Compare:

They are in France. (main verb)

They are living in France. (auxiliary accompanying main verb *living*)

I have an answer. (main verb)

I have suggested an answer. (auxiliary verb)

She did a good essay. (main verb)

She did write a good essay. (auxiliary verb)

When used as main verbs, *have* and *be* can still be inverted with the subject to form an interrogative, thus:

Have you an answer?

Are you deaf?

But this does not apply to *do* as a main verb: **Did she a good essay?*

(In view of this ability of *do*, *be*, *have* to operate as both main and auxiliary verbs together with the fact that the labels auxiliary and main can be thought of as functional positions within the verbal phrase, one current approach (see e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985) is to classify verb types not

as main verb, primary auxiliary and modal auxiliary but as full verb, primary verb and modal verb. In such a schema, the concepts of main and auxiliary are then handled as structural elements within the verbal phrase.)

Verbs display finite and non-finite forms. **Finite** forms are those which potentially show marking for tense (present or past), mood (indicative, imperative, subjunctive), and agreement with the subject person (first, second or third person):

I play, he plays, they play;

I played, we played;

I am playing, she is playing, they are playing;

I was playing, they were playing.

Play well. Write neatly.

It is essential that you be here on time. If I were you, ...

Non-finite forms are not marked for tense; they occur either as a base **infinitive** (with or without the particle *to*):

She helped him (to) learn Russian.

She watched him learn Russian.

She invited him to learn Russian.

or as a **participle**. Although participles are not subject to tense as such, they have two forms, a present and a past participle. They are typically found when the verbal phrase is in a so-called 'compound tense', either where the main verb is non-finite and accompanied by one of the auxiliary verbs *be* or *have* (one or more of which may also be non-finite), or when the verbal phrase as a whole is non-finite:

Now he is studying Russian. (present)

He has studied Russian for two years. (past)

He has been studying Russian for two years. (past & present)

Having studied Russian, I found German easy. (present & past)

Russian has been studied here for 40 years. (past & past)

Where a participial form is seen as having a noun-like function, it is traditionally called a gerund, e.g. *Studying is not difficult*; *Smoking can damage your health*.

The label **phrasal verb** is given to verbs which include after the headword verb element an adverbial particle whose meaning is fused with that of the headword and which is therefore analysed grammatically within the verbal phrase:

She switched on the cooker.

I looked up the word.

He turned off the fire.

We found out the cause.

There are several differences between phrasal verbs and verbs which are followed by a prepositional phrase. Compare, for example:

(i) *I looked up the word.*

(ii) *I looked up the chimney.*

(iii) *He turned off the fire.*

(iv) *He turned off the road.*

With a phrasal verb it is normally possible to switch the particle to the right of the object. This particle switching is possible in (i) and (iii) above:

I looked the word up.

He turned the fire off.

But in sentences (ii) and (iv), which contain prepositional phrases, this is not possible:

**I looked the chimney up.*

**He turned the road off.*

Though with phrasal verbs it is perfectly in order to ask questions beginning with the verbal object, of the type *What did you look up?*, *What did he turn off?*, and get the replies *the word / the fire*, it is not possible to pose questions beginning with the adverbial particle, e.g. **Up what did you look?*, **Off what did he turn?* With the non-phrasal verbs in (ii) and (iv), however, both forms of question can be posed, the first beginning with the prepositional object, i.e. *What did you look up?* and *What did he turn off?*, and the second beginning with the prepositional phrase as a whole, i.e. *Up what did you look?* and *Off what did he turn?* Furthermore the replies can either be confined to the prepositional object or can embrace the whole prepositional phrase, viz. *the chimney / up the chimney*; *the road / off the road*. Related to this questioning test is the fact that it is only with non-phrasal verbs that the normal word order can be inverted, thus:

Up the chimney I looked.

Off the road he turned.

but not

**Up the word I looked.*

**Off the fire he turned.*

In respect of verbs plus a prepositional phrase it is possible to use the preposition within the relative construction, e.g.

The chimney up which I looked ...

The road off which he turned ...

The same, however, does not apply to particles within phrasal verbs, thus:

**The word up which I looked ...*

**The fire off which he turned ...*

A further point of difference is that in respect of (some) non-phrasal verbs taking a prepositional phrase it is possible to begin the questions with an interrogative adverb in place of a prepositional phrase, e.g. *Where did he look?*; *Where did he turn?* But, related to the fact that the particle in a phrasal verb does not carry its literal, locational meaning, this mode of question is denied to phrasal verbs.

In respect of verbs taking a prepositional phrase, it is often possible to modify the preposition, e.g.

I looked straight up the chimney.

He turned right off the road.

This is typically not possible with phrasal verbs with unswitched particles, e.g.

**I looked straight up the word.*

**He turned right off the fire.*

Some phrasal verbs can in fact be replaced by simple verbs, e.g. *switch on – ignite, turn off – extinguish, find out – ascertain, hand in – submit, set up – establish*. But this is not a requirement nor a distinguishing feature, as may be seen from the fact that *He turned off the road* (non-phrasal verb) can be replaced by *He left the road*.

Verbs acting as main verbs can be classified as **lexical** or **copular** according to whether they have ‘content’ meaning or merely provide a relational link (denoting the actual/apparent state or change of state) between the subject and the post-verbal completive element (the complement in traditional grammar).

lexical verb:

Ruth does not sell/grill/enjoy/make cheese.

copular verb:

Jill is/seems/appears/looked/felt/became/grew/remained tired.

Lexical verbs are traditionally divided into intransitive, transitive or ditransitive according to the number of objects with which they can combine. (See later sections on Complement in Chapters 9 and 10.) Intransitive verbs do not take an object, transitive verbs have one object, and ditransitive verbs have two objects, e.g.

intransitive

The ship sank; Keith slept; The liquid cooled; Tom fell;

The cats returned home (home here is not an object, it is not ‘what’ the cats returned but rather ‘where’);

She wept all night.

transitive

They sank the ship; I watched the match; First we cooled the liquid;

The batsman hit the ball with tremendous power;

Jill sang an Austrian song.

ditransitive

They gave her a beautiful watch; We sent him the photos;

Pass Jane the butter, please; Mary asked Jill a favour.

However, in view of the fact that many verbs can operate in more than one category, cf.

Jill sang very well; Jill sang an Austrian song;

They gave £10; They gave her £10

it is perhaps more helpful to think in terms of a verb being **used** intransitively, transitively or ditransitively rather than being assigned to a particular class.

Copular or relational verbs combine with a complement – an element which, in the examples below, refers back to the subject:

- (a) *Ian is the doctor / the best doctor in Glasgow.*
(identity of the subject)
- (b) *Ian is a doctor / a good doctor.*
(classification of the subject)
- (c) *Ian is clever / rather clever / very clever indeed.*
Ian is in good health / in high spirits / out of condition / of no importance.
(features/qualities/states of the subject.)

3.3 Adjective

Thought of in traditional grammar as a ‘describing’ word, the adjective has the role of ascribing an attribute or feature to a noun. It may occur either attributively within the nominal phrase, in which case it serves to modify the headword noun, or predicatively outside the nominal phrase to which it relates. Where the adjective functions attributively, then in English it is mainly found before the headword noun, in a pre-head position (prenominal), but in selected contexts it can come after the headword noun, in a post-head position (postnominal).

attributive adjective (within the nominal phrase):

(a) prenominal:

*a new car; a responsible child;
the principal problem; complete nonsense;*

(b) postnominal:

*anything different; somebody new; the child responsible;
the court martial; the secretary general; the president elect;
the Princess Royal; from time immemorial.*

Where the adjective functions predicatively, it is mostly in relation to the subject, in which case in English it is separated from the subject by the verb. If, however, the adjective relates to an object nominal phrase, then it will typically be adjacent to the object but structurally distinct from it.

predicative adjective (outside the nominal phrase):

(a) *This car is new.*

A child is responsible for this damage.

The problem is simple.

Jack is fond of Jill.

(b) *We stood the bookcase upright.*

She drinks her tea black.

Some adjectives can occur in just one of these roles. For example, *main*, *principal*, *mere* and *utter* are found only attributively in the prenominal position, so one does not hear **The problem is main*. Equally, *unwell*, *alone*, *afraid*, *asleep*, *alive* and *aware* normally occur only predicatively, so one does not normally hear **the asleep child*. (However, this latter structure may be found where a speaker is giving contrastive focus, e.g. *The dead frog ... , whereas the alive one ...*, or if the adjective is modified by *very*, e.g. *a very aware child*.)

In English, unlike many other languages, adjectives have a fixed form: their spelling does not vary according to whether the headword noun is singular or plural, or whether it refers to

a male or a female being. However, some are able to be modified for **gradability by comparison or degree**. Comparison of the adjective implies (and often includes) reference to a second entity or to a previous state of the first entity, e.g. *My bike is cleaner than yours*; *My bike is cleaner than it was*. It is formed either by inflecting the base/absolute form of the adjective (mainly by adding *-er* and *-est*) or by the addition of the words *more* and *most*. The *-er* ending and the word *more* are used to create the comparative form, and *-est* and the word *most* to create the superlative:

new, newer, newest;
happy, happier, happiest;
good, better, best (note the change of adjective stem);
luxurious, more luxurious, most luxurious;
exciting, more exciting, most exciting.

As a rule of thumb, adjectives of just one or two syllables, such as *new* or *happy* above, will add the *-er* and *-est* inflections, whereas adjectives with three or more syllables, such as *luxurious* or *exciting*, make use of the separate words *more* and *most*. The norm, however, is not universally adhered to, as can be observed in weather forecasters' references to both *cloudier* and *more cloudy*.

Gradability of the adjective by degree requires the use of modifying adverbs to mark the relative state or intensity of the adjectival feature in question, e.g. *This book is very/most/fairly/quite interesting*. It does not imply or require reference to any second entity and to do so would involve the addition of words such as 'by comparison with the one I read yesterday'.

The difference between comparison and degree is illustrated in the following examples:

<i>Keith was the most interesting speaker.</i>	(comparison)
<i>Keith was a most interesting speaker.</i>	(degree)

Only in relation to the first of these sentences could one add *of them all*, and only in respect of the second would one replace *most* by *very* and retain the same meaning.

3.4 Adverb

Although many adverbs can also be modified for comparison or degree, e.g. (i) *tunefully, more tunefully, most tunefully*; (ii) *very/most/fairly/quite tunefully*, like adjectives they too have an invariable base form.

Traditionally in grammar, adverbs have been seen as performing a so-called modifying role in relation to verbs. This role is associated with **circumstantial adverbs**, which are single words marking the circumstances – how, why, when, where – of the verbal process.

verbs, e.g. *She sings beautifully/tunefully/clearly*;
He came yesterday/annually/here/upstairs.

Circumstantial adverbs can in fact also take on what might be thought of as the 'adjectival role' of modifying nouns within the nominal phrase.

nouns, e.g. *the match tomorrow*; *an away fixture*; *our holiday abroad*.

Secondly, however, adverbs operate in relation to adjectives or to other adverbs, where they indicate the **degree** of the adjectival attribute or adverbial circumstance.

adjectives, e.g. *She is quite tuneful / very clever / extremely kind / particularly keen / really grateful.*

other adverbs, e.g. *He sings very well / quite tunefully / so expressively / amazingly clearly / rather delightfully.*

Thirdly, adverbs can modify whole nominal and prepositional phrases or the active or passive verb by focusing in on and heightening or tempering the entity/relator/process concerned. They thus indicate the extent or intensity of the phrase and are known as intensifying adverbs or **intensifiers**.

nominal phrases, e.g. *He is rather a nuisance / almost a teenager / only a lad / quite a character;*

prepositional phrases, e.g. *He ran almost into the house / fairly near the river / right at the back / just behind you.*

verb, e.g. *She almost fell; I quite forgot;
The house has just been painted;
The potatoes have only been peeled (not cooked).*

Lastly, adverbs can 'modify' the whole (of the rest) of a clause, though the concept of modification here needs to be interpreted in an increasingly liberal way. Indeed, the relationship is no longer one of modification at all but rather one of interrelationship with the rest of the clause or sentence. Three subgroups of adverb can be listed here. In the first group, known in traditional grammar as 'sentence adverbs', are those which have the function of providing a connective link between the preceding clause and the present one. A more contemporary term is **conjunctive adverb**.

clauses, e.g. *Therefore the performance should now be better.
However, it doesn't make sense.*

In the second group of adverbs relating to the rest of the clause are those which express different facets of the speaker's perspective on the sentence and which have been labelled **modal** or **disjunctive adverbs**, e.g.

- (i) the speaker's assessment of the degree of certainty or doubt surrounding the factual content of the clause:

Jill has probably/possibly gone by bus.

Apparently/clearly there was some confusion.

- (ii) the speaker's comment on / reaction towards the clause content:

Amazingly/luckily, no-one was hurt.

Unfortunately/regrettably, the car failed its MOT.

- (iii) the speaker's terms of reference for the clause:

Briefly/basically, it doesn't meet our demands.

The third group of sentential/interclausal adverbs embraces expressions regularly used in social discourse and can thus be labelled **interpersonal adverbs**, though strictly speaking some of the examples below involve more than one word.

politeness/courtesy adverbs, e.g.

Would you pass me the jam, please.

Kindly leave the room.

continuity markers, e.g. *well, well now, now then, right then.*

greetings and farewells, e.g. *hello, hi, goodbye, cheerio.*

polarity and agreement responses, e.g. *yes, no, okay, all right, certainly, sure.*

approval formulae, e.g. *hurrah, cheers.*

This range of expressions represents, rather, speaker activity in relation to other participants. (In several instances, they could in fact possibly constitute an utterance entirely on their own, without reference to any other words.) The continuity markers act as attention getters, preparing the way for imminent new discourse. The greetings, politeness expressions, responses and approval words are used by a speaker actually to engage in discourse interaction.

Under the heading of adverb are also included several types of particle: the adverbial particle in a phrasal verb, the infinitive marker *to*, and the negative marker *not*:

- (i) A **phrasal verb particle** has its meaning, which is typically no longer circumstantial, fused with that of the main verb, as illustrated by *off* in *She turned off the fire.*
- (ii) An **infinitive particle** *to* frequently, but not always, accompanies the infinitive form of the verb. Indeed, in a sentence like *I helped John (to) mend his bike* the inclusion of the infinitive particle is optional.
- (iii) The **negative particle** *not* is often associated with verbs / verbal phrases, e.g. *did not arrive*, and in this context can take the contracted form *n't*. But the negative can also modify other classes of word and phrase, e.g. *Not a single person withheld their support; I would describe her as not very helpful.* However, the contrast might be less obvious between examples such as *He isn't very bright, He's not very bright, and He is not very bright.* Across these instances different interpretations are possible, depending on the assignment of word stress and the intonation pattern. There could be a denial or negation of the assertion that he is very bright, i.e. where *not* is seen as linked to *is*, or a positive assertion that he is rather dim, i.e. where *not* is linked to (*very*) *bright*, or even an assessment of how bright he is, i.e. where *not* is linked to *very*.

By contrast with phrasal verb particles, the infinitive and the negative particles have basically only a single form available (*to* and *not/n't*) and consequently there is a direct relationship between form and function.

Adverbs often used to be thought of as words ending in *-ly*. A large number of them do, e.g. *beautifully, tunefully, clearly, amazingly, fairly, basically*, but many do not, e.g. *yesterday, here, rather, well, quite, almost, just, very*, etc. Equally, of course, some words which do end in *-ly* are not in fact adverbs, e.g. *friendly, likely, lively, lovely, manly*.

3.5 Preposition

Prepositions have the feature of being accompanied, indeed normally followed, by a completive element in the form of a (single or multiple word) phrase or a clause.

phrase: – *in bed, from Mary, at home, for sure, on time, between us, without delay;*
 – *into the lounge, near the river, off the record, inside the house, over the edge, to the hills;*

clause: – *from what I heard, near where the bus stops,*
 – *by working all morning, after visiting the museum.*

Sometimes the preposition itself is separated from the completive element and placed at the far end of the clause:

Which garage do you go to?

Which port are we travelling from?

As indicated above, most prepositions in English are positioned before the completive element, that is to say they are 'pre-positioned' (hence their name), but in just a few instances they occur after the completive element, e.g. *three weeks ago*, *that fact apart*. For such cases the term **postposition** has been used. Indeed, in order to account for both possibilities under a single heading Huddleston (1984: 337) uses the term **adposition**.

Although all the examples of prepositions given above are single words, i.e. **simple prepositions**, there are several **complex prepositions**, which comprise more than one word, e.g. *apart from*, *out of*, *owing to*, *together with*, *except for*, *because of*, *instead of*, *in view of*, *in addition to*, *in spite of*, *on behalf of*, etc.

In the context of contrasts such as:

She went in/outside/past/through the house;

She went in/outside/past/through

some grammarians (see, e.g. Radford¹) propose the concept of an **intransitive preposition**. In the same way that verbs have transitive and intransitive uses, e.g. *I don't know the answer*; *I don't know*, it is suggested that contrasts such as *She went in the house* | *She went in*; *We got off the train* | *We got off*; *They climbed up the mountain* | *They climbed up* can be interpreted as reflecting a similar transitive–intransitive alternation for prepositions. However, arguing that prepositions require a completive whereas adverbs do not, we here opt for the traditional analysis in which the 'intransitive' form is handled not as an intransitive preposition but as a **prepositional adverb**.

3.6 Conjunction

Traditionally, conjunctions have been seen as grammatical connectors and are classified into two subtypes: coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions, also called coordinators or linkers, link units of equal grammatical status, primarily clause with clause (main with main, or subordinate with subordinate) and phrase with phrase. Subordinating conjunctions, also called subordinators or binders, introduce subordinate clauses and join or bind clauses of unequal grammatical status, for example a subordinate clause with a main clause, or one subordinate clause with another subordinate clause which is immediately superordinate.

Coordinating conjunctions / **coordinators** have a purely logical connective function and the principal ones are (*both ...*) *and*, *but*, (*either ...*) *or*, (*neither ...*) *nor*, as illustrated below:

clause: *Ruth plays the flute and Jill sings.*
 Will you go by train or will you drive down?
 The daffodils are out but the tulips are only in bud.
 He thinks that John is ill and that Audrey is away.

phrase: *Jill and David sang a duet.*
 Stephen has washed and dried the dishes.
 Will you go by train or by car?
 She writes both quickly and neatly.
 He is either very clever or very lucky.
 Neither Jim nor Ken can come.

Thus, *and* can be equated with the mathematical 'plus' concept, *or* with 'alternatively', and *but*

with the idea of 'plus, at a tangent'. It should be said that some grammarians use the label 'conjunction' to refer only to coordinating conjunctions.

Subordinating conjunctions / subordinators are much more numerous and include, for example, *after, although, as, because, before, if, since, until, unless, whether, while, when, where, that, so that, in order that*, etc. But in addition to their binding function, they introduce one of two further dimensions of meaning.

On the one hand, they incorporate a **circumstantial element** in terms of which they then introduce a particular type of **adverbial clause** (see Chapter 5, Clause class), as illustrated by the following examples:

- He declined because he has no money.*
She left after the vote had been taken.
They will be relegated if they lose this match.
The trains run although our local station is closed.
They went when the rain eased off.
He raced down the hill in order to catch the bus.

(Further subordinators in this subgroup include *as, before, since, until, unless, while* and *so that*.) These subordinators thus both introduce the adverbial subordinate clause and mark the content nature of its circumstantial relationship. In the examples above, this relationship includes reason (*because*), time (*after/when*), condition (*if*), concession (*although*), purpose (*in order*). Thus, though not labelled as such in the literature, they may be thought of as 'adverbializing subordinators' or 'adverbializers'.

On the other hand, subordinating conjunctions may introduce a **nominal clause** (in transformational generative literature also called a complement clause), as illustrated in:

- The captain confirmed that Ruth would play.*
I wonder whether the camera still works.
He asked if they could go.

Here, in addition, they mark the modal type of the nominal subordinate clause. Thus, in these examples the word *that* marks the start of a declarative subordinate clause, associated with statements, whereas the words *whether* and *if* denote an interrogative subordinate clause, associated with questions. They may thus be seen as 'nominalizing subordinators' or 'nominalizers' (or perhaps 'modalizing subordinators' / 'modalizers'). Indeed, in a transformational framework they are known as 'complementizers'.

Although both **subordinating conjunctions** and **prepositions** may be followed by a subordinate clause, there is traditionally a difference recognized between them in terms of the nature of the clause patterning. The clause following a subordinating conjunction is tensed and, when separated from the conjunction, is patterned like a declarative clause (subject, which is not a wh-word, followed by verb), as typically found in a statement. Frequently, though not always, if taken out of its context, it could stand on its own grammatically as a main clause, e.g. (*because*) *he has no money* → *He has no money*; (*after*) *the vote had been taken* → *The vote had been taken*. The clause following a preposition, on the other hand, if separated from the preposition, does not have this patterning and may be non-finite. For example, in the prepositional sequences *from what I heard* and *after writing the cheque*, the clauses *what I heard* and *writing the cheque* are not structured as declaratives, the second is also non-finite, and neither of them could stand on their own grammatically as a main clause. One might therefore argue that, though formally analysed as clauses, the post-prepositional sequences *what I heard* and *writing the cheque* actually function rather more like phrases than as 'full clauses'.

Adding a further potential dimension to the issue, some grammarians, on the basis of data such as

She left after she had drunk her coffee.

She left after drinking her coffee.

The match was cancelled because the weather was bad.

The match was cancelled because of the bad weather.

have drawn a parallel between prepositions and subordinating conjunctions which introduce adverbial clauses and have proposed that adverbializing subordinators should be reclassified as prepositions. The argument is that the tensed declarative clauses following the subordinating conjunction can be interpreted equally well as a complement element following a preposition. Though the data may appear compelling and the proposal is very appealing, we do not pursue it here on the grounds that whilst in English some subordinators and prepositions, e.g. *after*, *because*, *before* and *until* (and even a few prepositional adverbs), do indeed have identical forms, if one turns to some other European languages, one finds that their equivalents do not, cf.

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>German</u>
conjunction	<i>after</i>	<i>après que</i>	<i>nachdem</i>
preposition	<i>after</i>	<i>après</i>	<i>nach</i>
adverb	<i>after/afterwards</i>	<i>après</i>	<i>nachher</i>

As in the case regarding the identical form of subject and object nouns in English, therefore, we hold to the view that similarity of appearance between conjunction and preposition conceals a more meaningful difference.

3.7 Interjection

Interjections are typically described as those words which are used to express the speaker's exclamation or emotional reaction but which have no further lexical content. They include words like *oh*, *wow*, *aha*, *ouch*, *alas*, *hey*, together with expletives such as *damn*, *golly*, *hell*, etc. The actual scope of interjections is not, however, well-defined, but in any case they are generally regarded as a minor class.

3.8 Article

The words *the* and *a/an* are classed as the definite and indefinite articles respectively, e.g. *the title*, *a video*. Articles are used to mark specificity, generalization or universality of reference to the entity denoted by the following noun. For example, *the* in the sentences *The title has been agreed* and *The strawberries are ripe* makes specific reference to a particular noun entity. Normally the entity concerned has been already mentioned or it is assumed that its identity can be determined from the situation. In *Did you hear John on the radio?* and *I'll take the bus*, however, the article is making more generalized reference in that the concern is not with a particular radio or bus – any that 'fit the bill' would do. The indefinite article *a* in the sentences *I know a good restaurant* and *We've got a ticket* makes reference to an entity which is presented as a sample, a member of a type or class but whose specific identity is not an issue, and it may be that the entity is being mentioned for the first time. On the other hand, the articles in *The pen is mightier than the sword* and *A flat can be bigger than a house* denote universal or generic reference of the noun entity.

3.9 Pronoun

The pronoun used to be thought of as a class of word which may be substituted in place of a

noun. However, this normally applies only where a noun is the sole element in a nominal phrase, e.g. *Cars are very expensive*. If, however, the nominal phrase consists of more than one word, e.g. *These new cars are very expensive*, then typically the pronoun replaces the whole nominal phrase, e.g. *They are very expensive*. One says that this is typically what happens because there is the exception which proves the rule: so, for example, whilst one would not say **These new they are very expensive*, the sentence *These new ones are very expensive* is perfectly acceptable. A pronoun, further, can sometimes replace the whole of a clause, e.g. *It is a new car* instead of *What you need is a new car*. We therefore revise the characterization of the pronoun to say that the pronoun may be substituted for a nominal clause, a nominal phrase or, in just some cases, a nominal word, i.e. a noun. Several subclasses of pronoun may be identified within this category: personal, possessive, demonstrative, relative, typic, interrogative, exclamative, reflexive, reciprocal, emphatic, indefinite, substitute, numeral and quantifier.

In addition to functioning in an independent headword role within the phrase (see Chapter 11 on Phrase structure), a number of these pronoun subclasses will be seen to have identical or similar word forms – and with identical meanings – which function in an adnominal, pre-headword determiner role (see Section 3.10 on Determiner – a functional element), denoting a subset of the noun entities referred to. In this capacity they are dependent on the rest of the phrase containing the headword noun.

Personal pronouns specify the first person (speaker and pro-speaker – *I, we*), second person (addressee – *you*), or third person (other referent – *he, she, it, they*) in the singular and plural. They have only the headword role.

I/you/he/she/it/we/they laughed.

(also me/him/her/us/them)

(Generic) One shouldn't laugh.

Note that the first person plural form *we*, except in such instances as the Gilbert and Sullivan opera line *Three little maids from school are we*, typically does not refer to several speakers but rather involves one person speaking also on behalf of others, as in *We normally finish at 9 p.m.* There is, of course, also 'the royal we' exemplified in *We are not amused*, where on the basis of assumed personal status the speaker adopts the plural form to refer solely to himself or herself.

Possessive pronouns mark possession by/ belonging to a person or other entity and fulfil determiner and headword roles. As determiners they form part of a phrase with a noun, whereas as headwords they constitute a phrase on their own and are separated by a verb from the noun or adjective to which they relate, e.g.

(determiner) my/your/his/her/our/their house;

(headword) *That set is mine/yours/his/hers/ours/theirs.*

Mine are very comfortable.

Note also the historical form of the determiner preserved in lines from some hymns: *Mine eyes have seen the glory* and *God be in mine eyes*. (As will be outlined in Section 4.7, Genitive phrase, these possessive examples can be replaced by whole genitive nominal phrases, thus:

David's house

That set is David's.

David's are very comfortable.)

Demonstrative pronouns have the deictic function of pointing out a thing/entity. They are divided on the basis of proximity, that is to say, whether the entity referred to is presented by the speaker as being 'near' or 'remote', and they too can operate in either a determiner or headword role. Though nowadays they are typically seen as a class of pronoun, with respect to their determiner role they have also been handled as adjectives.

- (determiner) This model is new.
That soup was delicious.
- (headword) This is a new model.
That was a delicious soup.

In addition to marking the proximity of an entity, demonstratives can also refer to 'What I am talking about / referring to', e.g.

This is what you should do. You ...
That doesn't make sense.

Relative pronouns have the job of binding a relative subordinate clause either to a particular nominal phrase in the main/superordinate clause or to the whole of the main/superordinate clause. In the latter case the relative clause is known as a sentential relative. Relatives perform a dual role in that, on the one hand, they form an integral part of the content of the subordinate clause and, on the other, they refer back to an antecedent element in the main clause (or to the whole of it) and now within the subordinate clause they act as a substitute for it.

- (determiner) The man whose leg is in plaster ...
 I shall be off at 8 a.m., by which time the newsagent will be open.
- (headword) The thing that pleased us ...
 The car which we hired ...
 The person who bought it ...
 The girl with whom I sang ...
 The girl who I sang with ...
 He now trains every evening, which will improve his fitness.

(Although people generally think of relative words as being pronouns, they can in fact also be adverbs, as seen below:

The time when/that you fell in the stream was hilarious.
 The reason why/that she does it is to earn some money.
 The place where we stopped for lunch was ideal.)

The words *who*, *what*, *which*, *whose* (and the related adverbs), which also occur in interrogative and exclamative sentences, are also known as wh-words.

Typic pronouns are used to refer to the type/ the sort of entity. They can also be found in an exclamative context, as above.

- (determiner) Such things aren't real.
 (headword) Do such exist?

Interrogative pronouns are typically used to form questions about an entity, its possession and determination. Separate from their headword and determiner roles, they can be seen as combining, in an interrogative context, with the roles of personal, possessive, demonstrative and typic pronouns.

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| (personal: | headword) | <u>Who</u> did that? |
| (personal: | headword) | <u>What</u> did she do? |
| (possessive: | determiner) | <u>Whose</u> mug is this? |
| (possessive: | headword) | <u>Whose</u> is the green mug? |

(demonstrative: determiner)	<u>Which</u> mug is Jill's?
(demonstrative: headword)	<u>Which</u> is Jill's mug?
(typic: determiner)	<u>What</u> subject are you studying?

(Like relatives, interrogative words also extend to adverbs, but these have only a headword role: *How/why/when/where* is it destroyed?.)

Exclamative pronouns occur in contexts where a speaker is giving vent to personal feelings about / reactions to an entity or situation.

(determiner)	<u>What</u> a nuisance! <u>What</u> nonsense!
(headword)	<u>What!</u> Another essay!

Reflexive pronouns are used where the object refers to the same entity as the subject. They have only a headword role. (For a consideration of 'subject' and 'object', see Chapter 9 on Clause structure.) This may be

(a) a 'direct' object – the entity affected or encompassed by the verbal activity, e.g.

I've cut myself.

(b) an 'indirect' object – the recipient or beneficiary of the verbal activity, e.g.

She's bought herself a new skirt.

or

(c) a prepositional object, e.g.

She's bought a new skirt for herself.

He doesn't know what to do with himself.

(also yourself/itself/ourselves/yourselves/themselves).

Reciprocal pronouns mark the fact that the verbal activity is not just unidirectional but rather interactive, bidirectional or even multidirectional, between/among the participants denoted by the subject. Again they have only a headword role and are found in similar positions to reflexive pronouns. Different from reflexives, however, reciprocals are compound structures.

They greeted each other / one another like old friends.

They brought a present for each other.

Emphatic pronouns serve to emphasize/reinforce the role in the message of a participant who has already been mentioned. They thus modify the main headword of the nominal phrase, most typically occurring immediately after the noun/pronoun that is being emphasized.

I myself would write to the manufacturer.

(also yourself, etc.)

Note, however, the possibility of alternative reflexive or emphatic interpretations in the following:

She could have played herself.

They should have washed themselves.

The reason for the potential ambiguity here is that verbs like *play* and *wash* can express an object but do not necessarily have to. To draw attention to an emphatic pronoun interpretation, a comma could be placed before the emphatic pronoun.

Indefinite pronouns denote an entity whose identity is not specific and whose determination is not important to the issue. They too have only a headword role.

Somebody/anyone might notice it.
(every-/any-/some-/no- + -body/-one/-thing)

Substitute pronouns are used to refer to an entity whose identity has been previously mentioned, or is determinable from the context, and where selection is involved. They typically form the headword of a multiple word nominal phrase, as they substitute for the headword noun alone.

Which would you like? I'll have this one.
Which one? The green one.

Numerals can be thought of as exact numeratives. They embrace two types which are known, firstly, as cardinals or plain numbers, e.g. *one, five, forty-nine*, and secondly, as ordinals, which list the order of the entities specified, e.g. *second, fourth, sixty-fifth*. Each of these functions equally in a determiner or headword capacity, e.g.

- (a) cardinal: *The four climbers unpacked their rucksacks.*
Four passed.
- (b) ordinal: *Her second attempt was successful.*
The second was better.
Jill came second.

Quantifiers. By contrast with numerals, quantifiers may be thought of as inexact numeratives. They specify in non-numerical terms how much of an entity or how many entities is/are being referred to. Most, though not all, quantifiers again function equally in a determiner or headword capacity:

All/both/many/some/few/no girls finished.
All/both the players arrived.
All/both/many/some/few/none finished.
All/both/many/some/few/none of the players arrived.
(also *several | each | every | any | much | either | neither | any | a few | a lot | a great deal*).

Numerative words are sometimes divided into **quantitatives** and **ordinatives**. Under such a schema, quantitatives specify the quantity being referred to either as a precise number – using cardinal numerals (exact quantitatives) – or in general terms – quantifiers (inexact quantitatives). Ordinatives mark the position of the entity under consideration in the overall order, either in precise terms using ordinal numerals (exact ordinatives) or in relative, non-numerical terms, employing adjectives, e.g. *the next, my last* (inexact ordinatives).

Pronominal groupings

In terms of the roles that pronouns perform, the various subclasses above may perhaps be grouped under three headings:

(1) **substantive**, referring to / denoting an entity:

personal, interrogative, relative, reflexive, reciprocal, indefinite, emphatic, substitute.

These pronouns answer the question 'Who?' or 'What?'.

(2) **determinative**, pointing out/to an entity:

possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, typic, exclamative.

With a headword function they answer the questions 'Whose?', 'Which?', 'What kind?' and with a determiner function they specify 'Whose X?', 'Which X?', 'What kind of X?'.

(Note that interrogative and relative pronouns straddle both the substantive and determinative subgroupings.)

(3) **numerative**:

(i) quantitatives, indicating a number or quantity:

cardinal numeral, quantifier.

As headwords they answer the questions 'How many?' or 'How much?' and as determiners, 'How many X?' or 'How much X?'.

(ii) ordinatives, marking the numerical or relative position in the order:

ordinals.

They answer the questions 'Which?' or 'Which X?' in sequential positional terms.

3.10 Determiner: a functional element

At this point it should be mentioned that the area of language spanned by these independent headword and determinative forms is a fairly 'difficult' area for grammarians, with respect to the terminology used. In essence the situation arises because the words fulfilling a determiner function are nowadays generally not regarded as adjectives any more, even as limiting adjectives. (See, however, the references by Simpson² and Lyons³ to demonstrative adjectives, indefinite adjectives, interrogative adjectives.) The reasons given for this are that, unlike adjectives, the determinative forms are not gradable for comparison, cf. *The dark/er/est room*; *The more/most attractive room* (but not *My/*myer/*myest room*), or for degree, cf. *A fairly/very dark room* (but not **Fairly/very these problems*), and several can not occur predicatively after the verb, cf. *The room is dark* (but not *The idea is *my*). On the other hand, Burton-Roberts⁴ argues that, like adjectives, numerals and quantifiers do co-occur with and follow determiners, e.g. *those many books*, *the one mistake*, and quantifiers are gradable, e.g. *very many books*.

Equally, many linguists prefer not to call these words pronouns in their determiner role. This view is not universally adopted, however, as evidenced in for example Freeborn (1987: 61), who remarks that 'Some linguists put determiners in a word-class of their own, but except for *the* and *a/an*, all the determiners are pronouns' which constitute 'a special group of modifiers of nouns in NPs'. Hudson⁵ states that determiners are just pronouns that can combine with a common noun as a dependent and he thus dispenses with the determiner as a word class. (Using this argument, he also includes *a* and *the* as pronouns, the difference being that in their case the common noun dependent is obligatory.)

Against this background it is therefore interesting how many foreign language reference grammars (of French, Italian, Russian and Spanish, in particular) published in Britain in the last ten years still make no mention of determiners at all and continue to handle this area in terms either of limiting adjectives or of pronouns alone.

Finally, note Greenbaum's proposal (1996: 163-4) for a single word class 'determiner-pronoun'. His argument is that this grouping of words, including articles, can fulfil an independent (headword) pronominal role or a dependent determinative role, using either the same or similar forms. Some exponents can be pronominal only, some can be determinative only, some can function as both.

The situation is further complicated terminologically by the fact that some grammarians (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985) use the term 'determiner' to denote the umbrella word class together with its several subclasses and the term 'determinative' to mark the function which determiner words (as well as certain phrases, such as *Mary's* in *Mary's lamb*) fulfil. The determiner word class is thus almost a mirror image of the functional element of structure 'determinative'. Then just to confuse matters, other grammarians (see, for example, Huddleston 1988a; Downing and Locke 1992) opt for the term 'determinative' as the formal word class and 'determiner' as the functional label, which is the complete reverse of the orientation above.

The approach here will be to regard 'determiner' as a functional, specifier element of structure in the nominal phrase, which may be expressed by a range of word subclasses (and by some phrases) which occur in an adnominal position. 'Determinative' then is seen not as a formal word class but rather as a loose term referring to the grouping of some pronominal subclasses which in functional structure can fulfil a determiner role. Indeed, after Greenbaum (1996), it is perhaps more appropriate to think of the word class 'pronoun' as an umbrella grouping of 'determinative-pronominal' subclasses. Following this interpretation, we will enter the pronoun label only where the word is in headword position. Conversely, where the word has a determiner role, at this stage the subclass label alone will be entered.

3.11 Labelling the word classes

In syntactic analysis the various word classes will be labelled as follows:

noun = noun; **pron** = pronoun; **art** = article;
verb = verb; **adj** = adjective; **adv** = adverb;
prep = preposition; **sub** = subordinating conjunction / subordinator;
conj = coordinating conjunction / coordinator;
interj = interjection; **gen** = genitive (see Section 4.7, Genitive phrase).

Pronominal subclasses

pers = personal; **int** = interrogative; **rel** = relative;
poss = possessive; **dem** = demonstrative;
refl = reflexive; **rec** = reciprocal;
indef = indefinite; **emph** = emphatic; **subst** = substitute;
typ = typic; **excl** = exclamative;
num = numeral; **quant** = quantifier; **ord** = ordinative.

Note that for the purposes of formal analysis (see Chapter 7 on Formal syntactic analysis), two sets of changes will be made with regard to the labelling of verbs and adverbs.

verb → **aux** = auxiliary verb; **verb** = main verb;
adverb → **adv** = adverb / adverbial particle,
except that **inf** = infinitive and **neg** = negative.

These modifications will not apply within the later functional syntactic analysis, where 'aux', 'inf' and 'neg' will be handled not as word subclasses but as functional elements of phrase structure.

Notes

- 1 A. Radford (1988) *Transformational Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 134–7.
- 2 J.M.Y. Simpson (1982) *A Reference Book of Terms in Traditional Grammar for Language Students*, University of Glasgow, p. 12.
- 3 J. Lyons (1977) *Semantics*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 452–5.
- 4 N. Burton-Roberts (1997) *Analysing Sentences: An Introduction to English Syntax*, 2nd edn, London: Longman, p. 161.
- 5 R. Hudson (1998) *English Grammar*, London: Routledge, pp. 36–7.

Phrase class

Though in traditional grammar a phrase involved a grouping of two or more words, nowadays the phrase is regarded as a grouping of one or more words which focus around a headword element and which together perform the grammatical role which in other circumstances could be expressed by a single word. A phrase thus inherently involves the expansion around a head element. (Certain phrases will be seen also to incorporate a completive element.) If, therefore, a phrase consists of only a single word, that word is the phrasal headword. Where a phrase consists of more than one word, then the phrasal headword is the one which operates as the pivotal word within the word grouping. In meaning terms, what essentially a phrase does is to express a component element of an idea or 'proposition'.

Phrases are formally classified according to the class of word which functions as the headword. So, for example, a nominal phrase has a nominal headword, a verbal phrase has a verbal headword, and so on. (By contrast with elements of clause structure, therefore, the formal classification of phrases is not undertaken in terms of their syntactic function.) Traditionally five main classes of phrase are recognized: the nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial and prepositional, and together with these we here also include the genitive and subordinator.

We have already mentioned that many systemicists prefer the term 'group' to 'phrase'. Halliday (1994a: 180) actually distinguishes between 'group' and 'phrase': 'A phrase is different from a group in that, whereas a group is an expansion of a word, a phrase is a contraction of a clause.' Against this background he recognizes just one class of phrase, the prepositional phrase, which he describes as consisting of 'a preposition plus a nominal group, for example *on the burning deck*', in which the preposition is seen as a minor verb, a minor predicator, having the nominal group as its complement (Halliday 1994a: 212).

He goes on to say that the internal structure of *across the lake* is like that of *crossing the lake*. But whilst Halliday presents the prepositional phrase as an overarching term for a minor (prepositional) predicator and its complement, he employs no similar overarching term (such as, for example, predicate or predicate phrase) for a major (verbal) predicator and its complement, as for example in *We found the map*. Equally, if he is to recognize special, phrasal (rather than just group) status for the prepositional phrase because the prepositional headword takes a complement as its norm, then would he not similarly need to do so for adjectival word groupings, in which the adjectival headwords can also take a complement, such as *I am keen on/ fond of choral music* (cf. *I enjoy/like choral music*)? And what about *I am an enthusiast/ a lover of choral music*? (Note that, by contrast with Halliday, Fawcett (1974/81; 1997; forthcoming) is happy to retain the same label 'group' for complete prepositional phrase structures.)

In the presentation of the different phrase classes which follows, the focal headword of the phrase is underlined.

4.1 Nominal phrase

The nominal phrase has a noun or pronoun as its headword. I prefer the term 'nominal' phrase to 'noun' phrase for several reasons. Firstly, the headword may be a pronoun as well as a noun, that is to say it may be a nominal word, e.g.

They are on holiday.

This is the way.

Hers is the blue *cagoule*.

Six have accepted.

Many haven't proper footwear.

Secondly, the use of 'nominal' then marks a commonality of terminology across units of word, phrase and clause rank, and it will be seen further that a nominal phrase shares a commonality of function with a nominal unit of clause rank. Thirdly, the label nominal phrase gives it a commonality with the other core phrase labels, e.g. adjectival, verbal, adverbial, prepositional.

Nominal phrases with noun headwords may typically be preceded and modified (pre-headword modification or **premodification**) or determined by an article, a genitive phrase, a pronoun, an adjective (adjectival phrase) or another noun (nominal phrase), and they may be followed and qualified (post-headword modification or **postmodification**) by a prepositional phrase or subordinate clause, or in certain cases an adjective or nominal phrase, e.g.

this Russian course;

my most enjoyable climb;

her sister's new bicycle;

all our recent holidays;

a voice from the past;

the song that Jill sang;

the secretary general;

Jones the butcher.

Nominal phrases with pronoun headwords are often assumed to be single word phrases and not to include other words, e.g.

She is on holiday.

This is the way.

Hers is the blue *cagoule*.

Jane has hurt herself.

But this is not inevitably so, particularly where the headword is *one* or an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *anybody*, *someone*, or where a numeral or quantifier is involved:

The one in the green jacket. The wild one.

Anyone could have seen it. Something strange.

Six have accepted. The Secret Seven.

Several hadn't got proper footwear. The first few. Too many.

Indeed, even the pronoun forms cited earlier can occur with determinative and adverbial limiter words, e.g.

We three are keen.

You could win all this.

Just hers has been torn.

She can blame only herself.

4.2 Verbal phrase

Verbal phrases have a verb headword, which is a main verb. It may be preceded by an infinitive particle *to* and/or one or more auxiliary verbs. In the case of phrasal verbs, the main verb is followed by an adverbial particle.

starts; started;
to start; *to have started*; *to have been started*;
is starting; *was starting*; *will be starting*; *has been starting*;
was started; *is being started*; *might have been being started*;
switch on; *put off*; *turn down*; *give in*; *find out*.

As can be seen from these phrases, the main verb (underlined above) in all verbal phrases appears as the rightmost verb word. (Note, therefore, that the adverbial particle in a phrasal verb, though within the verbal phrase, is itself an adverb.) Where the phrase is finite, it is the leftmost verb word (main or auxiliary) which carries the tense.

(It is perhaps important that the term 'verbal phrase' here should not be confused with 'verb phrase' as found in transformationally orientated grammars. In that tradition the verb phrase is seen as spanning both the verbal grouping and the following complement phrase(s). Here, however, the scope of the verbal phrase is strictly limited to the verbal group.)

4.3 Adjectival phrase

Adjectival phrases have an adjective headword. They may be modified (premodified) by a preceding adverb and qualified (postmodified) by a following adverb, prepositional phrase or subordinate clause, e.g.

quick;
fairly quick;
very quick indeed;
quicker than me;
much quicker than I was.

Typically also adjectival complements / completive elements are handled within the adjectival phrase, e.g.

fond of animals;
keen on music;
interested in history.

4.4 Adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases have as their headword an adverb. This headword adverb may also be premodified by an adverb and qualified by a following adverb, prepositional phrase or subordinate clause, e.g.

quickly;
fairly quickly;
quite quickly enough;
more quickly than me;
more quickly than I did.

(It should be noted that the label 'adverbial' is also used to denote an element of structure of the clause: see, for example, Quirk *et al.* 1985. This usage is taken up further in the chapters relating to clause structure.)

4.5 Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase comprises a preposition as the headword plus a second, complement or completive element which is integral to the structure of the phrase. This complement element is most typically realized by a nominal phrase. Indeed, Halliday (1994a: 212) states that 'A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition plus a nominal group'. In practice, however, the completive element can also be an adjectival or adverbial phrase, a further prepositional phrase, or even a subordinate clause. In the examples below we label the class of complement which follows the preposition:

<u>in the morning</u> ; <u>at the beginning</u>	(nominal phrase)
<u>in brief</u> ; <u>for sure</u>	(adjectival phrase)
<u>after tomorrow</u> ; <u>until fairly recently</u>	(adverbial phrase)
<u>from off the shelf</u> ; <u>to by the tree</u>	(prepositional phrase)
<u>from what Jill said</u>	(nominal subordinate clause)
<u>after listening to the news</u>	(nominal subordinate clause)

There are, however, one or more instances in which the preposition follows rather than precedes the completive element, e.g. *two weeks ago*, *these problems apart*, for which cases the term **postposition** has been coined. (*Ago* and *apart* are not regarded as adverbs here as they cannot appear on their own without the preceding completive element. In this respect *two weeks ago* thus contrasts with *two weeks earlier*, where *earlier* can stand on its own and is an adverb. Similarly, note that *these problems apart* can be used as a variant form of *apart from these problems*, containing the complex preposition *apart from*, and that both expressions can be paraphrased as *except for these problems*. The meaning of *apart* above, therefore, differs from that in *They now live apart*, where *apart* operates as an adverb.)

4.6 Subordinator phrase

Subordinating conjunctions serve to introduce subordinate clauses. Halliday himself (1985a/1994a) briefly outlines the 'conjunction group', but generally the concept of a unit (group/phrase) above word has not been recognized for conjunction/subordinator.

In Chapter 3 on word class, a distinction was made between subordinators which introduce adverbial subordinate clauses, which we referred to as 'adverbializers', and those which introduce nominal subordinate clauses – 'nominalizers'. Adverbializers, e.g. *because*, *when*, *after*, etc. mark the particular circumstantial nature of the adverbial subordinate clause. Nominalizers – *that*, *if*, *whether* – have no lexical content meaning but serve to mark the modal type of the nominal subordinate clause.

Adverbializing subordinators can readily be expanded by modification, e.g.

only if ...; *even though* ...; *ever since* ...; *just when*;
merely because ...; *immediately after* ...; *almost until* ...

So although many adverbializing subordinators do consist of just a single word, the fact that they are typically able to be modified by limiting adverbs (or nominal phrases) means that they do thereby enter into phrase relationships and, consequently, need to be handled as phrasal constituents, e.g.

Frank will come only if he can be back by 6 p.m.

Even though Jill will be there, ...

Just because you've lost your ticket, there's no need ...

I realized the mistake immediately after they had gone.

I realized the mistake five minutes after they had gone.

Shortly before she left, she gave Tom a letter.

There are instances also where a modifier can be placed in front of a nominalizing subordinator. (The point is highlighted when the modifier and subordinator are uttered together and emphasis is placed on the subordinator.)

John asked only if he could come.

Jill queried just whether the team was fit.

Merely that the event had been postponed was sufficient.

4.7 Genitive phrase

Genitive phrases are perhaps most readily associated with marking possession, e.g. *Jim's car*, and are also variously known in the literature as possessive phrases or genitive noun phrases. They can, however, convey other meanings, e.g. *The workers' strike* (by), *The students' entrance* (for). These phrases may fill the determiner slot in a larger nominal phrase or form their own independent element, and they can typically be substituted by a possessive pronoun, cf.

Genitive phrase:

David's sister is here.

This book is Ruth's.

Possessive pronoun:

His sister is here.

This book is hers.

(In contrast to the analysis in Leech *et al.* (1982: 60, 63, 65), however, we would not see a possessive pronoun also as the head of a genitive phrase but rather, where it does occur as a phrasal headword, as the head of a nominal phrase. The pronoun *hers* in the example *This book is hers* above is a fixed form, single word. Unlike *Ruth's* in *This book is Ruth's*, it is not composed of separable constituents between which expansion may take place. Compare the rather stilted but nevertheless possible *This book is Ruth from Glasgow's*.)

Genitive phrases are formed by adding an apostrophe and *-s* at the end of the nominal phrase which specifies the possessor, viz. *-s*. They thus comprise a nominal phrase together with a genitive morpheme. This genitive ending is a clitic form which cannot stand on its own but must be attached to an adjacent word. Contrary to some people's understanding, however, it is not a case inflection of the noun, as it is attached to the rightmost word of the nominal phrase. That end word may indeed be the actual headword noun of the phrase but, equally possibly, it may be the last word of a qualifying element within the nominal phrase, as shown below:

Mary's / my friend's / the college's car;

That car is Mary's / my friend's / the college's;

The Principal of the University's appointment;

The children's department.

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 328) comment that 'The *-s* ending is not a case ending in the sense which applies to languages such as Latin, Russian and German. It can be more appropriately described as a "postposed enclitic": i.e., its function is parallel to that of a preposition, except that it is placed after the noun phrase.'

If the noun in the particular nominal phrase to which the genitive marker is attached is in the plural and ends in *-s*, the genitive marker comprises the apostrophe only.

the cars' engines; the tadpoles' tails;

The director of finances' account.

(Some Greek names which end in *-s* are handled the same way as plurals in *-s* in that they too add just an apostrophe, e.g. *Pythagoras' theorem*.)

Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 36) labels possessive genitive phrases as 'clusters' rather than phrases (groups) because they cannot, he states, fill elements of structure directly. However, in clauses such as *These boots are Ruth's*, is that not precisely what the possessive genitive phrase *Ruth's* in fact is doing?

4.8 Labelling the phrase classes

NP = nominal phrase;

VP = verbal phrase;

AdjP = adjectival phrase;

AdvP = adverbial phrase;

PrepP = prepositional phrase;

SubP = subordinator phrase;

GenP = genitive phrase.

Line marking

| = phrase boundary which is not also a clause boundary.

5

Clause class

With respect to their formal grammatical composition, clauses consist of one or more phrases:

<i>What a mess! Enter! Out!</i>	(one phrase each)
<i>She left.</i>	(two phrases)
<i>The best time is before sunrise.</i>	(three phrases)
<i>Professor Plum murdered Miss Scarlet with a rope in the bedroom.</i>	(five phrases)

In meaning terms what a clause does is to express a single idea or proposition. This may involve giving or seeking information, e.g. *I have a flask of coffee back in the car; Have you finished with the dictionary?*; it may be concerned with requesting or offering services, e.g. *Could you lend me a screwdriver, please?; Would you like some of this cake?*, or it may express an emotional reaction, e.g. *What a fantastic goal!*

Clauses which include a verbal phrase are called major clauses and those without a verbal phrase are called minor clauses.

major clause:

Rita has come.
*The technician explained
that he would need a video camera
in order to edit the film.*
*Whether you have a map
is not important.*

minor clause:

What a mess!
Yes please.
No dogs!
Fresh strawberries for sale.

5.1 Main and subordinate clauses

In terms of their relationships of grammatical dependency, clauses are traditionally classed as main or subordinate.

Main clause

A main clause is one which, whether or not it can stand on its own without the assistance of a subordinate clause, is not dependent grammatically on a higher node (a node is a position in a

diagram of the syntactic structure) or **superordinate** clause. The main clause is itself a top node clause, as illustrated in the underlined sections of the examples below.

I'm going to town.

I'm going to town when I've finished this job.

When I've finished this job I'm going to town.

A main clause which is grammatically well-formed is typically able to stand on its own as a simple sentence in its own right. This applies to *I'm going to town* above, as it does to the various major and/or minor main clauses below.

The fares have been reduced.

What have you done?

Kindly leave the room!

What a fascinating toy!

How interesting!

Where main clauses include a verb and operate as statements, they generally answer questions of the type 'What did X do?', 'What happened?' or 'What is the situation?'.

Although not dependent grammatically on a superordinate clause, a main clause may be dependent in terms of contextual sequence on another main clause in the same sentence.

1	2	3
<i>Jack fell down</i>	<i>and broke his crown</i>	<i>and Jill followed.</i>
<i>Ruth got out of bed,</i>	<i>had a shower,</i>	<i>and got dressed.</i>

In these examples, clauses 1, 2 and 3 are all main clauses; they are all top node clauses and formally of equal grammatical status with each other. But, in terms of contextual sequence, 1 takes place before 2, and both 1 and 2 occur prior to 3. To reverse the sequence of clauses would misrepresent the order of events and depict an entirely illogical situation into the bargain. (These clauses also display grammatical sequencing in relying on the fact that the subjects *Jack* and *Ruth* are specified in their particular clause 1 and therefore do not require to be, and on grounds of grammatical cohesion are not, repeated in clause 2 or – in the second example – clause 3.)

It is, of course, also possible for one main clause to be linked to another main clause in just a list sequencing relationship, without there being any contextual sequencing relationship between them, e.g.

<i>The fares have been increased</i>	<i>and the service is now less frequent.</i>
<i>We can hire a machine</i>	<i>or we can call in a contractor.</i>
<i>Jill has been given a woolly lamb</i>	<i>but she still likes the brown bear.</i>

Thus, in these instances, we could happily reverse their order and not lose any logicity of meaning:

The service is now less frequent and the fares have been increased.
We can call in a contractor or we can hire a machine.
Jill still likes the brown bear but she has been given a woolly lamb.

However, irrespective of whether main clauses are linked through a relationship of contextual or list sequencing, with respect to grammatical dependency they are joined or coordinated on the basis of equal status.

Subordinate clause

Where a main clause is connected to another clause which is not a main clause, the other clause is a subordinate clause dependent upon the main clause, which is then the superordinate clause. In many people's minds, subordinate clauses are typically associated with major clauses containing a verbal phrase, though as we shall see below they can occur also as minor clauses, without a verb.

Functionally, the subordinate clause plays an integral or a supplementary role in relation to the main clause. Where the role is an **integral** one, the subordinate clause provides a constituent element within the meaning structure of the main clause and may readily be interpreted as operating within the structure of the main clause, in the same manner as a phrasal constituent:

main
subordinate

I've discovered why this light doesn't work.
(cf. *I've discovered the problem.*)

main
subordinate

The captain announced that his team would score 300 runs.
(cf. *The captain announced his prediction.*)

subordinate
main

How we get there is not important.
(cf. *This issue is not important.*)

main
subordinate

The captain declared when his team had scored 300 runs.
(cf. *The captain declared with a score of 300 runs.*)

subordinate
main

If the weather is good tomorrow, we'll go to Bridlington.
(cf. *In those circumstances we'll go to Bridlington.*)

The principle extends equally to non-finite subordinate clauses:

main
subordinate

I consider Jim to be an excellent leader.

main
subordinate

I want you to come home by 5 p.m.

main
subordinate

I'd like the radio to be put in the kitchen.

In the context of these integral examples and with them the recognition that a main clause may require a subordinate clause in order to stand on its own, a distinction can be made between the overall span of the main clause and the (possibly more limited) domain of its unsubordinated constituents. This unsubordinated part of a main clause is frequently called the **matrix clause**, and the first three examples above illustrate well the reason for the difference between a matrix and a main clause. For instance, in the third sentence, *How we get there is not important*, there is no way that the matrix clause *is not important* could operate as an independent main clause without the involvement of the subordinate clause *How we get there*. (For *How we get there* one could substitute a variety of possible subordinate clauses, such as *Whether you go by car*, *What you did*, *Who you met*, *Where you go*, *When you set off*. They would all have the same relationship to *is not important*.) In such cases and indeed generally where an integral subordinate clause is present, a test can be applied to determine which of the clauses is the matrix part of the superordinate, main clause and which of them is the subordinate clause. If, here, we take the part suspected of being the matrix clause and use it as the basis of a question, we can seek to target a question beginning *What?* at the suspected integral subordinate clause. Thus, for example, in respect of *How we get there is not important*, we can ask *What is not important?* and get the sensible reply *How we get there*. If, however, we tried to frame the question in reverse, in other words if we tried to use *How we get there* as the basis of a question which we then begin with *What?*, we could not even form the question **What how we get there?*, let alone expect a sensible reply. On this basis we can confirm that *is not important* is the matrix part of the main clause and that *How we get there* is an integral, indeed indispensable, subordinate clause.

The question principle illustrated here is one which can be applied to determine both matrix clauses and all types of integral subordinate clause. It is a matter of whether the suspected superordinate clause can be used as the basis for a question such that, if an interrogative word of the type *What?*, *Who?*, *Which?*, *How?*, *Why?*, *When?* or *Where?* is added to that base, it will form a sensible question which can be targeted at the suspected subordinate clause and can receive a sensible reply using the wording of the subordinate clause. For example, in respect of the sentence *The captain declared when his team had scored 300 runs* above, we can take *the captain declared* as the basis for our question, add the question word *When* and pose the question *When did the captain declare?* (Note that *did declare* is merely another way of saying *declared*.) The reply is provided in the wording of the subordinate clause *when his team had scored 300 runs*.

In other instances the subordinate clause plays a **supplementary** role and its presence merely provides optional extra information or comment on (the whole or part of) the superordinate clause:

main

subordinate

As you probably know, I shall be in Moscow in May.

main

subordinate

I could eat chocolate every day, which would be very bad for me.

main

subordinate

The president, who works very hard, will be re-elected.

(Here the subordinate clause *who works very hard* provides supplementary information within the structure of the nominal phrase beginning *The president*.)

In these instances, as in all supplementary examples, the subordinate clause could be removed without affecting the grammaticality or altering the meaning content of the remaining main clause, e.g. *I shall be in Moscow in May*; *I could eat chocolate every day*; *The president will be re-elected*.

Subordinate clauses can also occur as minor clauses without a verbal phrase, e.g.

I consider Jim an excellent leader.

I find this music very difficult.

I expect everything in order for this evening.

I want you home by 5 p.m.

I'd like the radio in the kitchen.

In each case here it can be shown that the NP following the verb has no direct relationship by itself with that verb. The relationship which it does have is firstly and directly only with the following phrase(s), e.g. *Jim an excellent leader*, *this music very difficult*, etc. It is only secondarily and indirectly, when taken together with the following phrase(s), that the NP referred to has a relationship with the preceding verb. Thus, the meaning of *I expect everything in order for this evening* does not include the meaning of *I expect everything*. In support of this analysis, we can paraphrase the meaning and structure of the whole sentence as *I expect that everything will be in order for this evening* or *I expect everything to be in order for this evening*, and in these expanded sentences the added finite or non-finite copular verb now provides an explicit pivot for the relationship between the other phrases in the subordinate clause. Then also, the question *What do you expect?* can elicit for its reply all the words following *I expect* from each of the three sentence variants, viz. *everything in order for this evening* / *that everything will be in order ...* / *everything to be in order ...*. Indeed, the ability to parallel sentences containing a contracted minor subordinate clause with ones containing a major clause is quite normal, as shown by the following contrasts:

I consider Jim an excellent leader.

I consider Jim to be an excellent leader.

I consider that Jim is an excellent leader.

I find this music very difficult.

I find that this music is very difficult.

I want you home by 5 p.m.

I want you to be home by 5 p.m.

I'd like the radio in the kitchen.

I'd like the radio to be in the kitchen.

In terms of their role in structure, subordinate clauses are classed as nominal, adjectival/relative or adverbial.

5.2 Nominal clause

Nominal clauses (in traditional grammar known as noun clauses) are subordinate clauses which usually play an integral role in relation to the superordinate clause. They are called nominal clauses because they specify a concrete or abstract entity and typically could be interrogated by the word *What?* (sometimes also *Who?*) or replaced in the sentence structure by the pronoun *it* or *that* (or *he/she*). In this way they are seen as performing a 'nominal' function. As indicated under Nominal phrase in Section 4.1, the label 'nominal clause' is chosen in preference to 'noun clause' as a term which is more generalized and which captures the fact that the nominal function is fulfilled both by a subordinate clause or a phrase, which may itself be a single word (a noun or pronoun).

How you do it is your business. (cf. *It is your business.*)

What you need is a computer.

When you go is not important.

Whoever wrote this must be crazy.

I know what the answer is. (cf. *I know it.*)

We guessed where you went.

David said that the tomatoes were nearly ripe.

We wondered whether the tomatoes were ripe yet.

This is what you should do. (cf. *This is it.*)

5.3 Adjectival clause

Adjectival clauses are also known as relative clauses, though there is one type of relative clause which is better regarded as an adverbial. They are typically (but not necessarily) introduced by a relative word in the form of a pronoun or adverb. These clauses serve to qualify a foregoing (antecedent) noun headword, and in this way they fulfil a role which potentially might be performed by a simple word. Indeed, the relative clause can provide the answer to a question of the type 'Which + antecedent headword?'. The term 'relative' denotes the fact that the clause relates back to the antecedent noun headword in the superordinate clause and is bound to it by the relative word (with or without a preposition), though this relative word can sometimes be omitted. In analysis the relative word is marked according to the class to which it belongs in the subordinate, relative clause, and this is not necessarily the same as the class of the antecedent in the superordinate clause.

relative pronoun:

The people who led the march carried huge banners.

(Which people?)

The problems which we encountered were soon solved.

(Which problems?)

The law to which you refer has now been changed.

The law which you refer to has now been changed.

(Which law?)

The problems we encountered were soon solved.

The law you refer to has now been changed.

(In the last two examples the relative word is omitted.)

They didn't arrive till late evening, by which time the shops had closed.

(This is a supplementary not an integral relative and as such is not susceptible to the Which? test.)

The lady whose son is in China is over there.

(Which lady?)

(In these last two examples the relative pronoun has a determiner function.)

relative adverb:

The building where I used to work has been knocked down.

(The antecedent *The building* is nominal.)

(Which building?)

The time when she cooked spaghetti was the funniest.

(The antecedent *The time* is nominal.)

(Which time?)

The time she cooked spaghetti was the funniest.

(Relative word again omitted.)

It should also be noted that most of these relative clauses could be introduced by the relative word *that* in place of *who* or *which*. This facility does not, however, apply where the relative word is either part of a normal order prepositional phrase, e.g. *to which* (though with the 'fronted' order *which ... to* it is fine), or a determiner element within a nominal phrase, e.g. *whose son*.

The people that led the march carried huge banners.

The problems that we encountered were soon solved.

*The law to that you refer has now been changed.

The law that you refer to has now been changed.

*The lady that son is in China is over there.

The time that she cooked spaghetti was the funniest.

Replacement for the adverbial relative *where* requires the use of a prepositional phrase with *that* as a fronted complete element:

The building that I used to work in has been knocked down.

Reduced relative clauses

Sometimes the form of the relative clause is reduced in that not only is the relative word omitted but also the verb is in a non-finite participle or infinitive form and therefore without an auxiliary.

If the reduced relative clause is participial, the participle can be in the present (ending in *-ing*) or past (ending in *-en/-ed*). (Note that a participial form which may happen to end in *-ed* should not to be confused with the past tense ending *-ed*). The antecedent noun headword also has to act as the subject of the relative clause, as the omission of the relative word means that there is no separate specification of the subject in the relative clause.

The people leading the march carried huge banners.

The man beaten into second place had a broken finger.

It is therefore not possible in a relative clause both to omit the relative word and to have a solely participial verb if the subject of that clause is different from the antecedent noun. This can be seen if we try to alter some of the examples above. Compare:

The problems which we were encountering were soon solved.

*The problems we encountering were soon solved.

The law (which/that) you refer to has now been changed.

*The law you referring to has now been changed.

The time (when) she cooked spaghetti was the funniest.

*The time she cooking spaghetti was the funniest.

Reduced relative clauses in which the verb is expressed in the infinitive can be illustrated as follows, e.g.

The person to leave last was Jane.
The thing (for you) to remember is ...
The man (for you) to talk to is Eric.
The time (for you) to cut the cake is

Here the relative word that has been omitted is not limited to the subject of the infinitive clause, as may be seen from the following paraphrases in which the relative clauses include the relative words but have finite verbs:

The person who left last was Jane.
The thing which you should remember is ...
The man who you should talk to is Eric.
The time at which / when you should cut the cake is

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives

Except for *They didn't arrive till late evening, by which time the shops had closed*, all the examples of relative clauses so far are **restrictive** or **defining** in that the relative subordinate clause specifies the nature of the foregoing noun headword. The relative clause in such instances thus integrates with the antecedent headword to form a single unit of functional meaning in which it – the relative clause – serves to define the reference of the nominal phrase.

Some relative clauses, however, are optional, extra clauses. In other words they are supplementary clauses, which do not define the antecedent noun headword but provide additional information to it or a comment on it. They are thus **non-restrictive** or **non-defining**.

John Brown, who is also a lawyer, would make a good candidate.
The Lake District mountains, which are quite close to Manchester, are becoming very popular for day trips.

(Contrast this with the restrictive/defining relative clause *The mountains which are quite close to Manchester are becoming very popular for day trips.*)

In 1965, when there was no VAT, petrol cost just 25p per gallon.
In Austria, where mountain huts are very plentiful, you can do some excellent walking tours.

With non-restrictive relative clauses it is normally possible to insert words such as *in fact*, *incidentally*, *by the way* or *I might add*, thereby emphasizing their supplementary, optional nature. It is also the case that non-restrictive relative clauses neither omit the relative word nor begin with the relative word *that*.

5.4 Adverbial clause

Subordinate clauses which fulfil an integral adverbial function mark the circumstances surrounding the main or superordinate clause. They can specify time (when?), place (where?), reason (why?), purpose (why / what for / to what end?), result (what was the consequence/outcome?), condition (in what circumstances?), concession (in spite of what?), manner (how?), degree (to what extent?) or preference (instead of what?).

We'll set off when Ruth arrives home.
They put the jars where no-one could find them.
The match was cancelled because it had snowed all morning.
She quickly mended her coat in order that / so that she could wear it.
He ran so well that he was selected for the county team.
If you are going away next week, would you let me know?
Although the quality is better, there is still room for improvement.
You behave as if / as though it wasn't your fault.
He is doing as well as can be expected.
Rather than spend the day indoors, I would sooner work in the garden.

Questions to determine integral adverbial clauses are thus formed by adding one of the circumstantial interrogative words/phrases above to the superordinate clauses and targeting it at the suspected subordinate clause, e.g. *When will we set off?*

Adverbial clauses can also fulfil an optional, supplementary role in relation to the main clause, in that they express a connective link to, add a comment on or provide an information sequel to it.

What is worse, we didn't even know.
As you all know, we haven't had the official reply yet.
We still haven't had an official reply, which doesn't help matters.
There may be a rail strike, in which case I'll go by car.
The speaker rose, whereupon the hall immediately went silent.

The adverbial clauses in the last three examples represent in fact a type of relative clause which traditionally has been known as a **sentential relative**. The relative words *which* and *whereupon* here do not just link to an antecedent noun but refer back to the whole of the antecedent main clause. Again, similarly to the situation with non-restrictive adjectival clauses, with supplementary adverbial clauses it is normally possible to insert words such as *in fact*, *incidentally*, *by the way* or *I might add*.

It has been argued that sentential relative clauses are not subordinate clauses at all but rather main clauses. The reasons offered for this claim are twofold. Firstly, in some texts sentential relative clauses can be found as separate sentences, in which the relative *wh-* word begins with a capital letter, e.g.

We still haven't had an official reply. Which doesn't help matters.

Secondly, it is explained that the relative *wh-* word can be replaced by *and this*, thus:

We still haven't had an official reply, which doesn't help matters.
We still haven't had an official reply, and this doesn't help matters.
There may be a rail strike, in which case I'll go by car.
There may be a rail strike, and in this case I'll go by car.
The speaker rose, whereupon the hall immediately went silent.
The speaker rose, and upon this the hall immediately went silent.

Against these points, however, I would counter, firstly, that any occurrence of a sentential relative clause as a textual sentence is purely an orthographical feature of the writer's style, designed to highlight the relative clause. But that does not alter the subordinate status of the clause. It rather points to the possibilities of interplay between textual form and grammatical status for effect. Secondly, I would point out that, whilst the *wh-* word can indeed be replaced

by *and this*, the sentential relative clause in fact fails the ordinary, standard coordination test. One cannot successfully add just the conjunction *and* to link the main clause with the unaltered sentential relative:

We still haven't had an official reply, which doesn't help matters.

**We still haven't had an official reply, and which doesn't help matters.*

There may be a rail strike, in which case I'll go by car.

**There may be a rail strike, and in which case I'll go by car.*

The speaker rose, whereupon the hall immediately went silent.

**The speaker rose, and upon which the hall immediately went silent.*

5.5 Labelling the clause classes

main clause = main clause;

sub.clause = subordinate clause.

Line marking

|| = clause boundary which is not also a sentence boundary.

6

Sentence class

6.1 Formal types of sentence

The formal classification of sentences is traditionally in grammatical studies undertaken according to the number and class (main or subordinate) of clauses they contain. Where a sentence consists of a main clause only, it is known as a simple sentence.

simple sentence:

I'm off to town now.

Did you get a newspaper?

Do tell me the story of the red monk.

What a price these cagoules are!

Where the sentence contains two or more main clauses, it is known as a compound sentence.

compound sentence:

She's playing hockey || and then she's going to the theatre.

I've tried all day || but I still can't get through.

Would you like chicken || or do you prefer beef?

A sentence which comprises a main clause and at least one subordinate clause is called a complex sentence.

complex sentence:

When we've washed up || we'll have a game of dominoes.

If you don't like the heat || get out of the kitchen.

She bought three bars || because she adores the taste.

We went via Birmingham || in order to save time.

What he thinks || is not important.

That is || what was announced.

Has Jill said || whether she'll be available?

This is the draft || which I wrote yesterday.

The line is to be closed || which doesn't surprise me.

Lastly, where a sentence consists of at least two main clauses and at least one subordinate clause, it may be termed a compound-complex sentence.

compound-complex sentence:

If you need a hand || give me a call || and I'll pop round.

Our plans are now complete || and an order will be placed || as soon as we have received the quotations.

It has to be said, however, that this formal classification of sentences is rather arbitrary and as such not particularly helpful. Thus, for example, the compound class includes sentences with any number of main clauses, provided it is more than one. The complex label does not place any constraint on the number of subordinate clauses which may be present, nor does it provide a way of recording dependency relationships which may exist between two or more subordinate clauses in a sentence. Analysis of a text based solely on a classification of this sort would therefore give only a partial indication of the degree of the complexity of its sentence structure.

6.2 The sentence as clause complex

Grammatically, as indicated above, a sentence consists of one or more clauses which are interrelated on a coordinate or subordinate basis. Given that, in terms of meaning, each clause expresses an idea or proposition, then what the sentence does is to express one or more ideas or propositions, interwoven to present a coherent whole. (Arguments used to abound regarding the notion of completeness of the ideas. But irrespective of how this concept might best be defined, we take the view that it is not a productive line to pursue and that it is not necessary to think either of each idea or of the totality of ideas as being 'complete'. There is surely always another relevant detail which could have been added.)

In these terms the sentence can be seen as a unit of textual structure which combines and interacts with other sentences to form larger coherent units of text, such as paragraph and chapter. By 'coherent' is meant the logical sequencing and interrelatedness of ideas. Of course, in order to help ensure that the coherence of the message content reads smoothly, a writer would normally employ the various grammatical devices of cohesion, as mentioned under 'textual function' in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, Language functions and the semantic stratum. Some linguists indeed choose to reserve the label 'sentence' for the unit of textual study. In such circumstances, the preferred term when discussing units of grammatical form would be **clause complex**. As outlined in Chapter 2 (Grammatical framework), this relates to the logical grouping of clause units around at least one main clause and in any configuration. The scope of the textual sentence (bounded by an initial capital letter and a final full stop) and the grammatical clause complex might normally be expected to be the same. For example, the strings *This semester there will be a course on formal syntax. Then next semester there will be a module on functional syntax.* are presented as two sentences and two (simple) clause complexes. They could easily be coordinated into the single sentence and a single (now compound) clause complex *This semester there will be a course on formal syntax and then next semester there will be a module on functional syntax.* However, it is quite possible for the scope of sentence and clause complex to diverge. Thus, whilst the sequence *Ruth has passed her violin exam, which should please her parents* is one sentence containing one clause complex, it could for effect be written as two sentences *Ruth has passed her violin exam. Which should please her parents.* But the two sentences would still involve only the one clause complex, because the second sentence – a sentential relative – remains a subordinate clause.

I adopt a middle way. Although I accept that the sentence is primarily a textual unit, I also see it as one which by tradition in linguistic description serves as a unit of grammatical form for the purpose of analysing grammatical structure. In this capacity and within the standard orthographical boundaries, the sentence is a cohesive grouping of one or more clauses, i.e. a clause complex.

6.3 Labelling the sentence

#S# = Sentence

Line marking

||| = sentence boundary.

Formal syntactic analysis

Systemic grammar was not originally developed for formal syntactic analysis. The grammar is orientated rather towards functional syntax, where reference to formal units and classes is made in order to mark how a functional element is realized. In a functional syntactic analysis the roles of the elements of structure are shown, and each structural element is set out on an equal basis. The framework thus does not need to use a hierarchical tree patterning for marking dependency; instead it employs a rank-based mode of analysis which leads to an essentially flat tree patterning. If, as now, this patterning is applied to the analysis of formal units alone, it will not register, for example, the different relationship which can obtain between NPs and a VP. Thus, if one takes a sentence such as *John gave his friend the map*, a formal analysis of the clause will record merely 'NP + VP + NP + NP', showing that its structure (and the meaning) involves elements realized by these four classes of phrase. It does not, at this formal stage, mark any particular relationship between them. Nevertheless, in order to illustrate the impact of an analysis in terms of units and classes, we will, subject to the two (temporary) modifications within word class, apply the framework which has been built up to a range of example sentences.

The description will mark off sentence units and analyse sentences in terms of their clause constituents, specifying the dependency class of each clause. It will then analyse clauses in terms of their phrase constituents, stating the class of phrase. Finally, it will analyse phrases in terms of their word constituents, indicating the class of word. Not infrequently, of course, a clause has to be analysed as operating within the structure of a clause, or a clause or phrase within the structure of a phrase.

Line marking

||| = sentence boundary

|| = clause boundary which is not also a sentence boundary

| = phrase boundary which is not also a clause boundary

Labelling

Sentence #S#

Clause main clause = main clause; sub.clause = subordinate clause.

Phrase NP = nominal phrase; VP = verbal phrase;
 AdjP = adjectival phrase; AdvP = adverbial phrase;
 PrepP = prepositional phrase; SubP = subordinator phrase;
 GenP = genitive phrase.

Word noun = noun; pron = pronoun; art = article;
 verb = verb; adj = adjective; adv = adverb;
 prep = preposition;
 sub = subordinating conjunction / subordinator;
 conj = coordinating conjunction / coordinator;
 interj = interjection; gen = genitive.

Pronominal subclasses

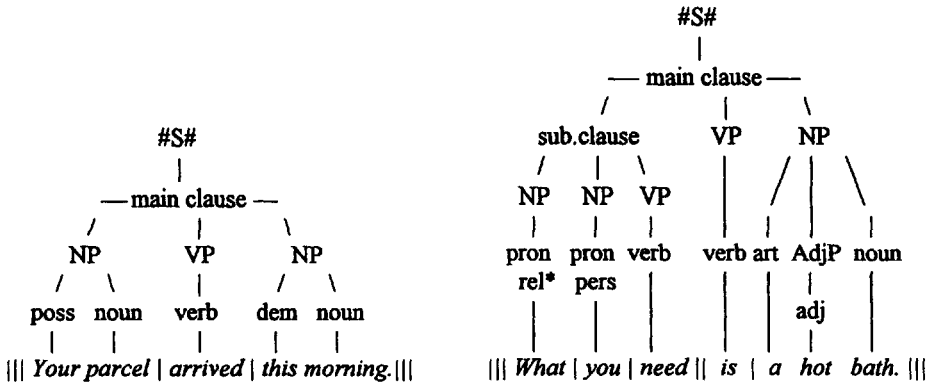
- pers** = personal; **int** = interrogative; **rel** = relative;
- poss** = possessive; **dem** = demonstrative;
- refl** = reflexive; **rec** = reciprocal;
- indef** = indefinite; **emph** = emphatic; **subst** = substitute;
- typ** = typic; **excl** = exclamative;
- num** = numeral; **quant** = quantifier; **ord** = ordinative.

(As mentioned in Chapter 3, Word class, the pronoun label will be entered only where the pronoun is in headword position. So where a pronoun has a determiner role, only the subclass label will be entered.)

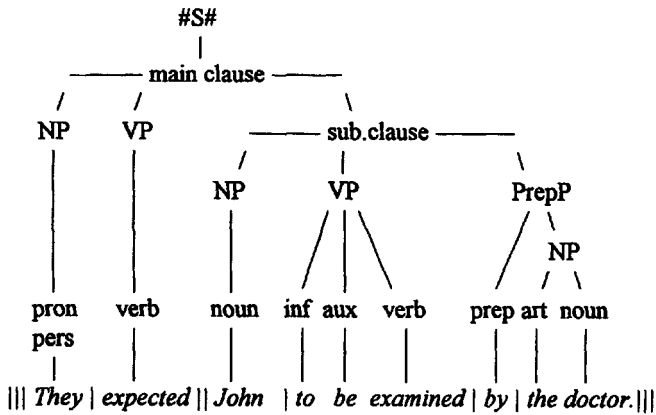
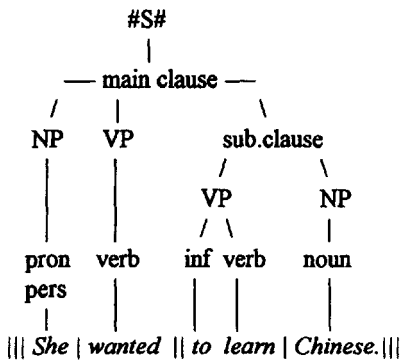
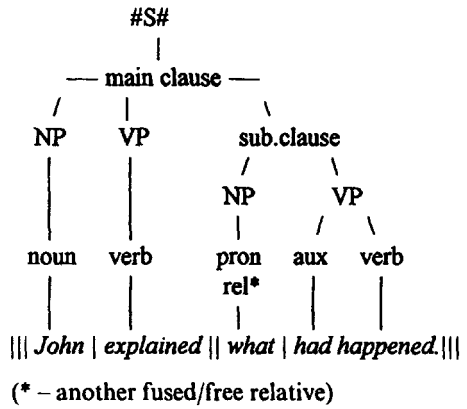
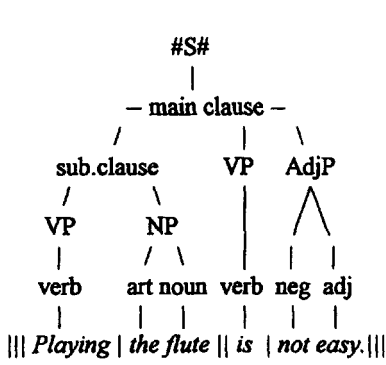
For the purposes of formal analysis, two temporary sets of changes are made with regard to the labelling of verbs and adverbs:

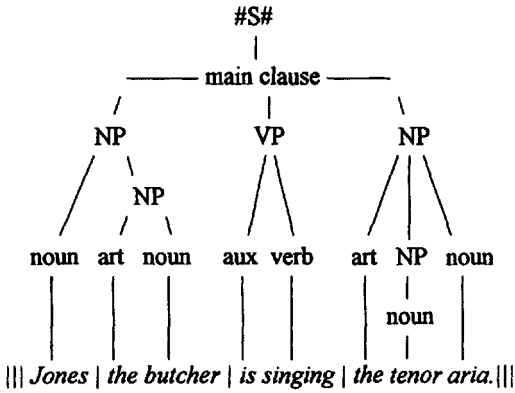
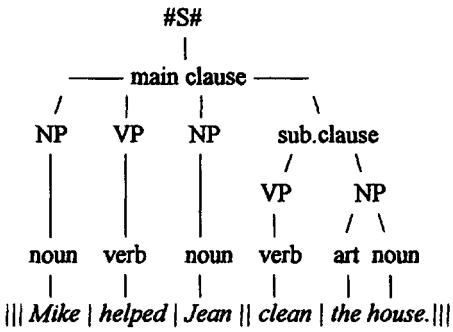
- verb → **aux** = auxiliary verb; **verb** = main verb;
- adverb → **adv** = adverb / adverbial particle,
- except that **inf** = infinitive and **neg** = negative.

These modifications will not apply within the later functional syntactic analysis, where 'aux', 'inf' and 'neg' will be handled not as word subclasses but as functional elements of phrase structure.

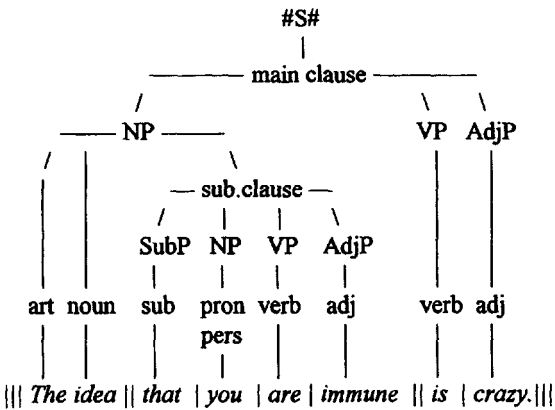


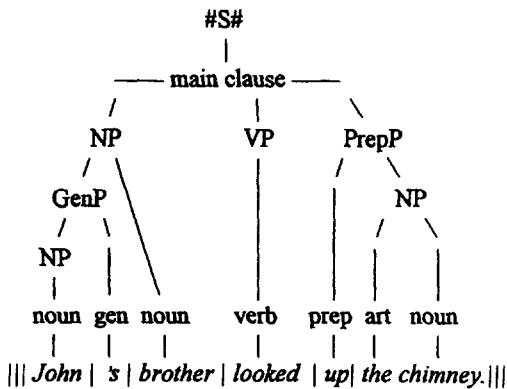
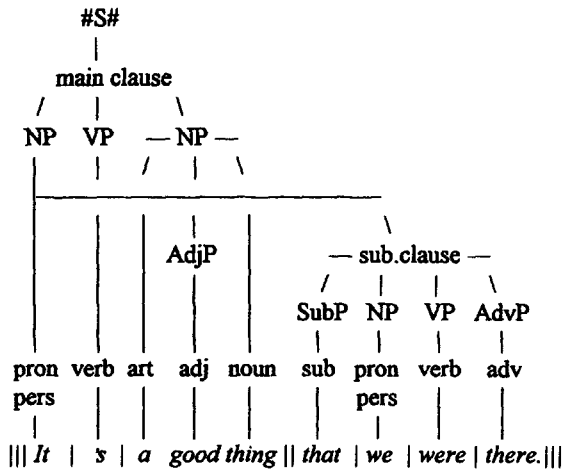
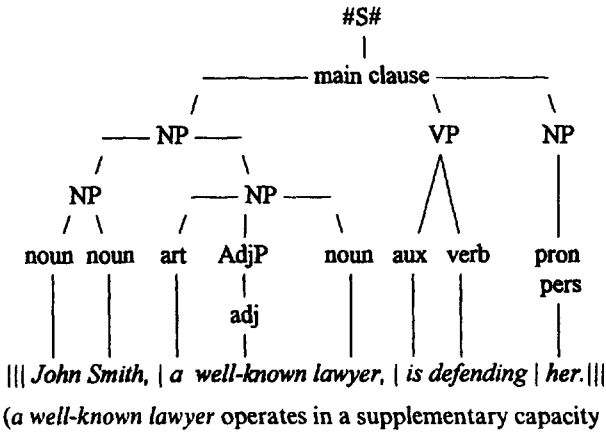
(*The relative pronoun *what* here would be described as a 'fused' or 'free' relative pronoun, where the antecedent entity to which it refers is fused within the relative word and where the single word *what* can in consequence be paraphrased as *that which*.)

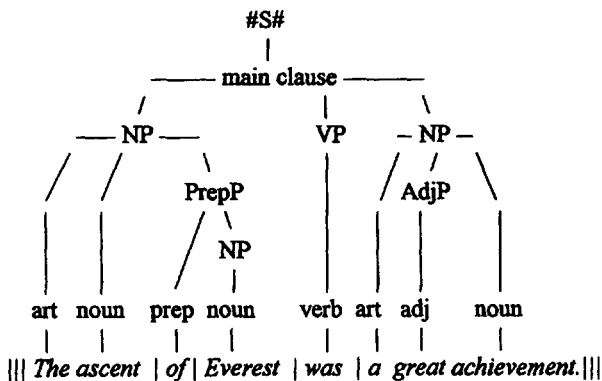
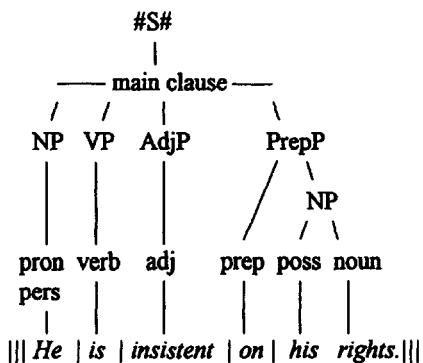
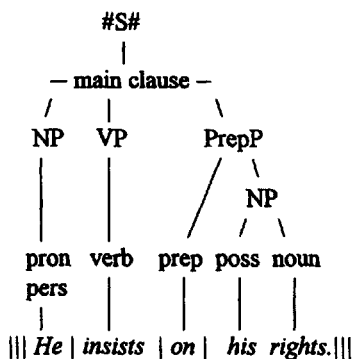
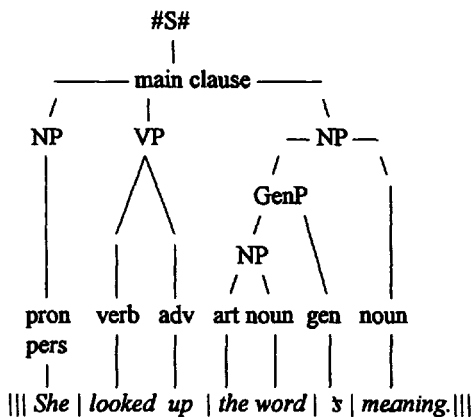


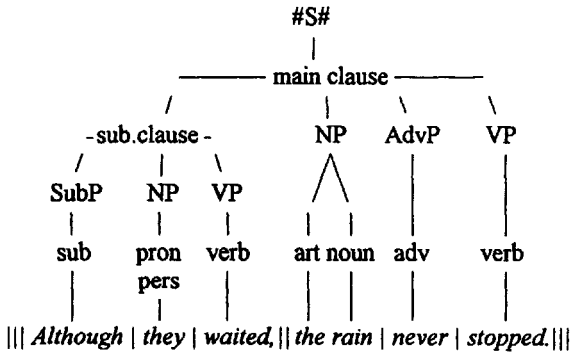
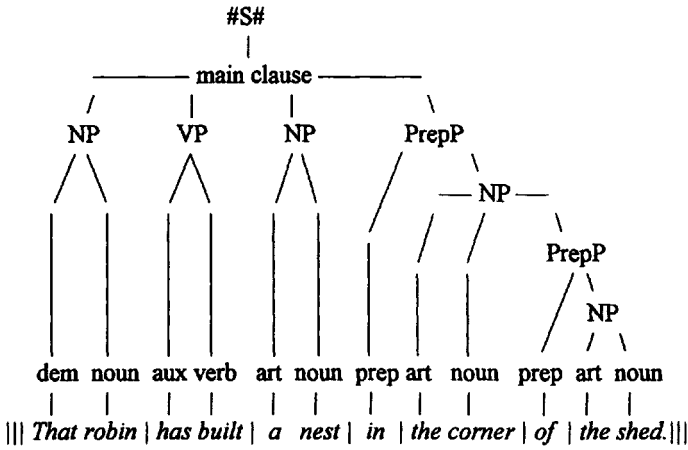


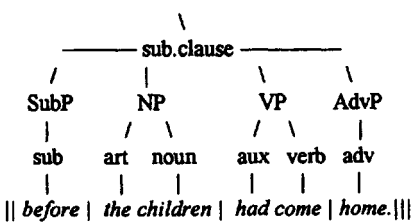
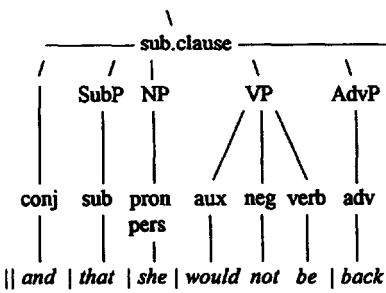
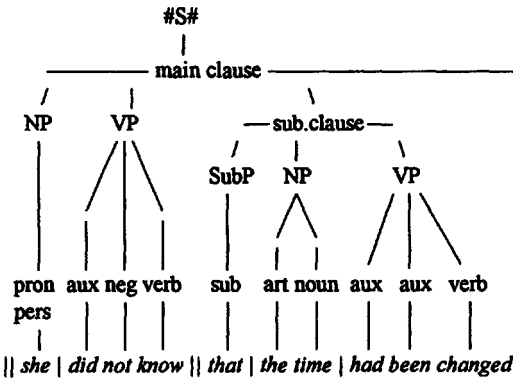
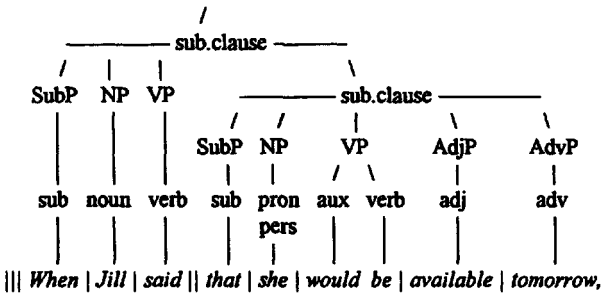
(the butcher here operates in a defining capacity to Jones)











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Part III

Structure

Structure accounts for the composition of a unit in terms of its functional elements and for the nature of the relationship which can be established between these elements. In keeping with the view of a functional orientation outlined earlier, I shall here adopt a top-down approach to the presentation of structure, from sentence through to word.

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Sentence structure

8.1 Free and bound elements

For the description of the functional structure of the textual sentence and in place of the formal labels main and subordinate, initially two basic elements can be recognized: free and bound, as illustrated below.

- free:** *I have planted the seeds.*
 John explained that the trip was off.
 After she had been to the meeting, Jill was furious.
- bound:** *John explained that the trip was off.*
 After she had been to the meeting, Jill was furious.

Like a main clause, a free element of sentence structure needs to be capable of functioning as a simple sentence. In the first sentence *I have planted the seeds*, which consists only of a main clause, fulfils this requirement. But in the second and third sentences, the matrix parts of the main clauses, *John explained* and *Jill was furious*, rely on the subordinated elements to complete the message structure of the sentence. Thus, whilst technically it is true that *John explained* on its own can make sense, the situation being presented in *John explained that the trip was off* is not so much that John was the person who did the explaining but rather that John explained something, and it is the bound clause which expresses that something. The bound clause thus acts as an element which is completing the sense of the sentence. Likewise, *Jill was furious* would stand grammatically on its own, but in the situation being presented here she was furious in the circumstances of having been to the meeting, and again it is the bound element which provides the information about those circumstances. In support of this interpretation we can point to the fact that in each sentence the subordinate clauses can be replaced by phrases, e.g. *John explained the situation*; *After the meeting Jill was furious*, and that these replacement phrases would be automatically analysed as elements within the structure of the main clause. In the context of the meaning of each of these two sentences, therefore, the scope of the free element extends across the whole sentence and thus includes the bound element. The bound clause is thus playing an integral role within the free clause. Subordinate clauses which have this type of role will respond to the question words and phrases *Who?*, *What?*, *Which?*, *How?*, *Why?*, *When?*, *Where?*, *In what circumstances?*, etc., which when added to the superordinate clause may be targeted at the bound clause. I should perhaps comment that, although the terms 'free' and 'bound' strictly relate to elements of structure whilst 'main' and 'subordinate' refer to formal classes of clause, in practice one readily encounters the terms 'free clause' and 'bound clause'.

If, however, we consider a sentence such as *There may be a rail strike, in which case I will go by car*, consisting also of a free and a bound element, then we find a different relationship in operation. As was said above, bound elements play a role in relation to the free element. However, in terms of the message structure here the bound element *in which case I will go by car* does not supply a completive element or circumstantial constraint to the free element but rather serves to add an optional, supplementary comment. The same is true in sentences such as *The tax on petrol has been increased, which won't please Dave* or even *The tax on petrol, which has never been low, has been increased again*.

##S#

α

β

γ

||John knew || that we would be leaving || before the meeting had finished.||

##S#

α

β

γ

||Jim said || that Bill had stated || that he couldn't go

δ

ξ

|| if advance payment was required || before he got his salary.||

8.2 Traditional classification of bound elements

In earlier writings on systemic grammar the classification of bound elements / subordinate clauses was presented in terms of three types: conditioning (or contingent), adding (or adding) and reported.

Conditioning bound elements serve to modify the information in the clause to which they are subordinated by placing a constraint or 'condition' on the content of the superordinate clause, in that they specify the circumstances surrounding it. Adding elements supply further, optional information in the form of a comment or an aside on the whole of or part of the content of the superordinate clause. Reported bound elements include reported speech and thoughts, which act as a complete element to the verb in the superordinate clause.

conditioning:

The guests left after the meeting had ended.
When the plane arrives, John will give us a ring.
We missed our connection because the train from London was late.
If you arrive before 7 p.m., we can go to the theatre.
Although your wrist is weak now, it will be much stronger in six months.

adding:

Frank, who is a patient man, got very cross.
The meeting finished early, which pleased everyone.
As you probably know, we lost on Saturday.

reported:

Jill said that the parcel had arrived.
The patient enquired whether the injuries were serious.
I wonder if that is the best tactic.

8.3 Contemporary classification of free and bound elements

More recently the classification of free and bound elements has been undertaken in terms of an elaborated framework of paratactic and hypotactic relationships – which can in fact be applied

to units of any rank. **Parataxis** handles the linking relationship between units of equal grammatical status, for example, coordinating two free clauses, coordinating two bound clauses of equal status (e.g. both β), or linking two phrases with the same function. **Hypotaxis**, on the other hand, is concerned with the binding relationships between units of unequal grammatical status, for example, between a free and a bound clause or between two bound clauses of unequal status (e.g. β and γ).

Free clause relationships

Halliday (1994a: 225–73) sets out two broad types of conjunctive relations between clauses of equal status: projection and expansion, and with some modifications and observations we paraphrase these below.

(1) **Projection** is associated with direct speech, e.g. *'Pass me the salt,' said the White Rabbit.*

(2) **Expansion** embraces three subtypes: elaboration, extension and enhancement.

(a) Clauses of **elaboration** expand on the previous clause by refining in some way what has been said in it:

(i) **Restatement** in different words of the proposition in the first clause, as illustrated in *I shan't be going on Saturday; I've decided to give it a miss. Here I've decided to give it a miss* rephrases the meaning of the proposition in *I shan't be going on Saturday* from a different angle. This type of expansion represents the relationship 'X, i.e. Y' and may be introduced by expressions such as *or (rather), in other words, or that is to say.*

(ii) **Exemplification** of the proposition in the first clause or elaborative **clarification** of it with further detail. Thus in *She's an excellent scholar – she got 100 per cent in maths* the clause *she got 100 per cent in maths* provides a sample illustration of the meaning of *She's an excellent scholar* ('X, e.g. Y'). This type of expansion can be introduced by expressions such as *for example* or *for instance*. In *I like fish: I try to buy some once a week* the clause *I try to buy some once a week* develops with more detail the proposition in *I like fish* ('X, indeed / to be specific Y'). This type of expansion could be introduced by expressions such as *actually, indeed, in fact, as a matter of fact, or to be precise.*

(b) Clauses of **extension** expand on the previous clause in one of two ways. With many of them it is merely a matter of addition, but with others the extension involves some form of variation of the content expressed in the first clause:

(i) **Addition** involves the linkage of one clause to another. The relationship can be

positive (straightforward addition – 'X, + Y'), typically using the words *and, too, also, in addition, moreover*

e.g. *I dig the soil and she plants the seeds.*

negative ('not X, and not Y'), using *nor*

e.g. *Jill doesn't drink milk nor does she eat eggs.*

adversative (adding something at a tangent, 'X, but contrastively Y'), using *but, however, on the other hand, yet*

e.g. *Jill doesn't drink milk but she does eat eggs.*

(ii) **Variation**. Here the second proposition is presented as a replacement of the force of the first, or it takes away from it in some way, or it presents an alternative to it. The second clause may thus be

replacive ('X, instead Y'), using *instead, but*

e.g. *She didn't come by bus but instead took a taxi.*

detractive ('X, except Y'), using *except, only*

e.g. *He runs the department well, except he rarely holds meetings.*

alternative ('X, or Y'), using *or*, *alternatively*

e.g. *You can come this afternoon or you can wait until tomorrow.*

(c) Clauses of **enhancement** expand on previous clauses through a marked circumstantial link of time, place, manner, cause, comparison, condition, concession ('X, (and) in this context Y'), e.g. *He marched out to the crease and then calmly hit a six off the first ball.* Typical markers of such relationships are as follows:

of **time** – *meanwhile, during that time; before that, previously, until then, up to that time; afterwards, next, subsequently, then*

of **place** – *there*

of **manner** – *in this way, thus*

of **cause** – *as a result, because of that, consequently, for this reason, in view of this, on account of this, so, therefore*

of **comparison** – *likewise, similarly*

of **condition** – *in that case, in the circumstances; otherwise*

of **concession** – *all the same, but, despite this, even so, still, though, yet.*

(In fact, these paratactic clauses of enhancement could be seen as a subtype of extension in the context of a formally specified circumstantial link.)

Bound clause relationships

Halliday's account of conjunctive relationships between clauses of unequal status follows the same pattern of projection and expansion.

(1) **Projection** in bound clauses involves reported speech, e.g. *Jack asked whether Jane was feeling better; John replied that he would look into the matter*, and projected ideas, e.g. *Jill thought it would be easy; Jane wants John to go.*

(2) Bound clauses of **expansion** are again grouped into three subcategories: elaboration, extension and enhancement.

(a) Clauses of **elaboration** include, firstly, non-defining relative clauses, which provide an optional comment on the superordinate clause. These relate either to the whole of the foregoing clause or just to a nominal phrase, e.g. *I could eat a bar of chocolate every day, which would probably be unhealthy; Tonight's speaker, who comes from my home town, should be very interesting* ('X, Relative Pro-X incidentally Y'). (Note here that the *wh*- clause is indeed a bound clause; the 'Relative Pro-X' in the above denotes the *wh*- relative word. The formula could not read as 'X, and Relative Pro-X incidentally Y', thus one would not find a sentence **I could eat a bar of chocolate every day, and which would probably be unhealthy.*) Secondly, clauses of elaboration include participial non-finite clauses, in which the preceding superordinate clause sets out the ideational context for the bound clause elaboration, e.g. *Last night I stayed in, watching a film on television; This device controls the mixture strength, allowing you to concentrate on the pattern design* ('X, and in this context Y').

(b) Bound clauses of **extension** also cover addition and variation, but are expressed in a subordinate clause format.

(i) **Addition**, e.g.

Besides wasting a lot of time, we got soaking wet. ('X, and Y')

We walked the whole day in the cloud, without seeing a thing. ('X, and not Y')

I've been working all morning, while/whereas you've just been sitting with the newspaper. ('X, but contrastively Y')

(ii) Variation:

replacive ('not X, but Y' / 'Y instead of X'), e.g.

Instead of / rather than just sitting there, come and give me a hand.

subtractive ('X, except Y'), e.g.

Other than by squeezing the tube hard, you'll never get the paste out.

(c) The circumstantial relationship in clauses of **enhancement** is provided by traditional adverbial subordinate clauses ('X, in the circumstances/context of Y'), e.g.

When we arrived, the house was empty.

They had to manage without milk, because the local shop had closed.

Feeling very pleased with himself, he set off to the station.

To get down to the river, you turn right at the next crossroads.

Here the relationship is one in which the circumstantial content of the subordinate clause qualifies in some way that of the superordinate.

8.4 Integral and supplementary bound elements

With regard to bound clauses, I will not adopt here either the traditional systemic schema or Halliday's more recent classification. Instead, I propose to analyse types of bound clause in terms of whether, parallel to their nominal, adjectival or adverbial function, they fulfil an integral or supplementary role in the structure of the superordinate element, as outlined initially in Chapter 5, Clause class. **Integral** bound elements will include those which serve to complete the content meaning of the superordinate element and thus which operate within its basic structure. They embrace conditioning and reported bound clauses from the earlier systemic classification and hypotactic projection, enhancement and extension (variation) from the recent classification. **Supplementary** bound elements, on the other hand, contain information which is optional and extra to the basic structure of the superordinate element, even though they are analysed as belonging to it. They cover the traditionally labelled adding bound clauses as well as hypotactic elaboration and extension (addition and variation, replacive).

Compare

The man who invented television lived near here.

Celia announced that the cabbage had burnt.

If the hostel is full, we'll sleep in the open air.

with

Dr Parkin, who has been treasurer for ten years, has tendered his resignation.

The meeting finished early, which pleased everyone.

If I may be honest, John needs a new suit.

In the first three examples the subordinate clauses do form an integral part of their respective main clauses: *who invented television* is a relative clause defining which man; *that the cabbage had burnt* is the object specifying what Celia announced; and *if the hostel is full* indicates the circumstances under which we would sleep in the open air. By contrast, in the second three examples the subordinate clause provides a supplementary, optional comment in relation to the part or the whole of the main clause. Thus *who has been treasurer for ten years* does not define which Dr Parkin is being spoken of and is not an intrinsic part of the statement that Dr Parkin

has tendered his resignation. The comment *which pleased everyone* is not an integral component of the information that the meeting finished early. The introductory aside *If I may be honest* has no content role in the factual details regarding John's need for a new suit. As a test for supplementary clauses, it is normally possible, as mentioned earlier, to insert words such as *in fact, incidentally, by the way, or I might add*.

For purposes of analysis, integral elements will be regarded as the unmarked form and for the sake of simplicity no extra labelling will be added. Supplementary elements will, therefore, be interpreted as the marked form and as such, in principle, the functional element labelling will be accompanied by a plus sign, as shown below.

8.5 Functional analysis of sentence structure

free elements = α alpha

bound elements: β = beta; γ = gamma; δ = delta; ϵ = epsilon;

ζ = zeta; η = eta θ = theta.

supplementary element: +; integral element (blank).

α β
 #S#
 |||The man || who | invented | television || lived | near here.|||

α $\beta+$
 #S#
 |||Dr Parkin, || who | has been | treasurer | for ten years, || has tendered | his resignation.|||

α $\beta+$
 #S#
 |||The meeting | finished | early, || which | pleased | everyone.|||

α β
 #S#
 |||Celia | announced || that | the cabbage | had burnt.|||

β α
 #S#
 |||If | the hostel | is | full, || we | 'll sleep | in the open air.|||

$\beta+$ α
 #S#
 |||If | I | may be | honest, || John | needs | a new suit.|||

Clause structure

Most systemic descriptions of clause structure have traditionally made use of four primary elements: subject (S), predicator (P), complement (C) and adjunct (A), and one secondary element – the Z element. Since the development of the grammar embraced the multifunctional dimension, the primary elements – together with the element Finite (F) – have been associated with output from the semantic components. Thus, for example, the presence of the subject, the finite element and the predicator has been motivated by analysis of mood structure as the output from the interpersonal component. (Mood is concerned with the patterning of elements that is used, for example, to give or seek information or to direct a person's behaviour.) The focus in this book is, of course, on these elements as constituents of syntactic structure reflecting no one single semantic component but rather an overall functional perspective.

I outline below a basic account of elements of clause structure and then in the next chapter offer a revised format.

9.1 Subject

Participant in the process/entity

Within this array of clause elements, the subject is inherently associated with specification of an entity (or 'thing', as it is frequently referred to in systemic literature), whether abstract or concrete, animate or inanimate. Syntactically, it is typically associated with a nominal phrase or clause, e.g. *Her sudden departure surprised me; That she departed so suddenly surprises me.* Indeed, it may normally be replaced by a pronoun (*it, he, she, we, you, they*) and is susceptible to the interrogative words 'who?' or 'what?'. To the extent that the subject does most typically name a participant / participating entity or 'thing' involved in the process, as illustrated above, we would think of it as having by default a semantically nominal function, which in respect of the subject role we will call a **nominative** nominal meaning. (This label relates to the meaning role rather than to any implied morphological ending.)

Agreement with verb

A first feature of the subject is that, by comparison with the object, it is the element that controls the form of the verb, which is to say that it agrees in person and number (and in some foreign languages also gender) with the verb, e.g.

You make / he makes an excellent chocolate cake.

I am / you are / she is a good cook.

The cinema has been pulled down.

Generally in English the extent of the formal marking of the subject-verb agreement is limited. So, for example, in the present tense of most verbs only the third person singular shows a marked form. Compare, for example, *I/you/we/they come* and *he/she/it comes*. In the past tense of *come* all subject persons take the same form *came*.

Syntactically the subject may involve two or more coordinated nominal phrases, each in the singular. Where these are in an *and* relationship, the subject thereby becomes plural, requiring accordingly a plural form of the verb, e.g. *Jack and Jill are just good friends*. Where singular nominal phrases are coordinated in an *or* relationship, however, only one element is seen as interacting with the verb, which thus remains in the singular, e.g. *Either Jack or Jill comes every week*.

Where quantifiers and numerals relating to countable quantities of more than one act as the subject headword, then even though they themselves do not display a plural form – they are not morphologically plural – they still require a plural form of the verb, e.g.

A lot / Twenty-five were saved.

Also: *many, few, etc.*

Similarly, some collective nouns have plural semantic reference, even though they again are morphologically singular and can take plural agreement of the verb, e.g.

The people are getting restless.

The committee/council/government were divided.

(Often words like *committee, council* and *government* are used with a plural verb where reference is being made to the members as individuals – sometimes to indicate a division of views – but with a singular verb to denote the unity of the group, where they are acting as one or speaking with a single voice.)

Interrogating the subject

In view of its agreement with the verb, the subject therefore answers the question ‘Who/what does/did the verbing?’ or ‘Who or what is/was the complement?’ or, in respect of a passive sentence, ‘Who or what is/was verbed?’, e.g.

Who makes an excellent chocolate cake?

Who is a good cook?

What has been pulled down?

Interrogative tag

In relation to the subject it is possible at the end of the clause to add a question tag (also called a tag question) such as *isn't/wasn't/didn't/hasn't he/she/it?* (or their positive counterparts). This interrogative tag contains tense reference to the verbal phrase in the main body of the clause and pronoun reference to the subject nominal phrase. Speakers normally use the tag to seek confirmation of or to check on the factuality of their statement in the main clause, thus:

David will be coming, won't he?

This author writes with a very compelling style, doesn't she?

I am a good cook, aren't I?

You could give her £1, couldn't you?

You haven't lost it, have you?

What you said is nonsense, isn't it?

The polarity (positive or negative) of the verbal element in the tag is usually the reverse of that of the main verb, as shown above. But if the speaker is indicating surprise or scepticism then the

polarity of the tag is the same as that of the main verb, e.g. They've built a new waiting room, have they?; She's a good cook, is she?

Whilst, as illustrated above, the interrogative tag perhaps typically contains reference to the verb and the subject in the main clause, there are instances where it can relate to the verb and subject of a subordinate clause, e.g.

I believe that John is ill, isn't he?

I expect that the match will be postponed, won't it?

I don't think that Ruth should fail, should she?

Here the tag questions relate to elements within the subordinate clauses of projection. But, most importantly, it is these projection clauses which provide the information content and the focus of the message. The matrix clause (e.g. *I believe*) serves only to lead into the projection clause. This format occurs, however, only where the speaker is the subject of the main clause. As such it can be seen as a modal device in which the speaker presents his/her own assessment of the content of the following projection clause. Compare similar sentences in which such modal devices are expressed adverbially (and entirely within the main clause):

Seemingly John is ill, isn't he?

Probably the match will be postponed, won't it?

Surely Ruth shouldn't fail, should she?

The format therefore does not apply in sentences such as

** You believe that John is ill, isn't he?*

** They expect that the match will be postponed, won't it?*

** Graham doesn't think that Ruth should fail, should she?*

But it is generally also possible in projection sentences for the information focus to be placed on the subject of the matrix clause and his/her relationship to the verbal process. In this case the tag question is used as a self-examination of the subject's own belief, expectation, thought, etc. e.g.

I believe that John is ill, don't I?

You expect that the match will be postponed, don't you?

They don't think that Ruth should fail, do they?

Yes/no questions

In the formation of a (polar) question seeking a *yes/no* response, the subject is the element which switches position with the first verbal word (normally a finite auxiliary rather than a main verb). Compare:

David will be coming; Will David be coming?

She's a good cook; Is she a good cook?

They've built a new library; Have they built a new library?

The cinema could have been pulled down; Could the cinema have been pulled down?

Subject case

In languages which have a developed case system, e.g. German, Russian and Latin, the subject of a main clause is associated with the nominative case. English has a very limited case system, but within pronouns it is the words *I* rather than *me*, and *he/she/we/they* rather than *him/her/us/them* which are used as the subject. Thus, for example, in standard English one does not hear **Him is a good player*.

However, in sentences containing a mental process main verb (see under Predicator in Section 9.2) and a non-finite subordinate clause, the subject of that subordinate clause which is a personal pronoun is indeed written in the object/complement case rather than the subject case, e.g.

I want / expect / 'd like him to come.

We believe/consider/expect her to be the best candidate.

We see/visualize him doing a good job.

She likes/loves me combing her hair.

Some subordinate clauses containing the verb *to be* may also be expressed with no verb at all, e.g.

We consider her (to be) the best candidate.

She finds him (to be) very difficult.

Yet in none of these examples is the underlined element itself alone to be interpreted as an object of the main clause verb. Thus, for example, it is not part of the meaning of *I'd like him to come* that *I'd like him*. Equally, *We believe her to be the best candidate* does not include the meaning of *We believe her*. In fact many of these examples could be paraphrased using a finite subordinate clause in which the subject is now overtly in the subject case, e.g.

I expect that he will come.

We believe that she is the best candidate.

We visualize that he will do a good job.

Entity, feature, circumstance

Whilst, as described above, from the perspective of its meaning function the subject inherently names a participating entity/participant/thing (and is thus labelled **nominative**), it may also denote possession of the 'thing' ('whose?') – or other relationships of associative 'ownership' – rather than the thing itself. They are expressed by a genitive phrase or possessive pronoun, e.g.

Mine is fine but Jill's needs a new battery.

Bill's was the most surprising reaction.

John's was the best attempt.

The University of Strathclyde's is quite elaborate.

Even from these examples we can see that the concept of 'possession' is perhaps somewhat limited to account for the full scope of such phrases. In any case, I would see this as a determinative variant of a nominative nominal subject, the particular nature of which would be evident from subsequent analysis of its syntactic structure. Note incidentally that, with regard to agreement with the verb, possessive/genitive subjects are regarded as singular or plural

according to the singularity or plurality of their reference. Thus, the first example above could equally well occur with plural verbs:

Mine are fine but Jill's need a new battery.

Very occasionally, in meaning terms the subject may refer not to an entity but to a feature, characteristic, property or quality, an attribute, and thus be an **attributive subject**, e.g.

Very red would be too dazzling.

Fresh and clean is what we want.

In good condition would be more acceptable.

(Note, therefore, that the use of 'attributive' here expresses what might be thought of as a semantically adjectival subject, not the modifying role of an adjective within the structure of a nominal phrase.)

Much less rarely it may refer to a circumstance and thus be a **circumstantial subject**, e.g.

Tomorrow / now / in the evening would be best.

Under the table / behind the chair / just there is a good place.

By train / on foot would be quicker.

Syntactically, attributive and circumstantial subjects behave in the standard way: as elements of structure they control the form of the verb, they can be substituted by a pronoun, and they can take an interrogative tag of the type *isn't it / aren't they, wouldn't it / wouldn't they*.

9.2 Predicator and Finite

Types of process

The Predicator is associated with the verbal phrase and realizes the process, of which there are three main semantic types recognized in systemic literature: material (earlier called 'action' process), e.g. *wash, climb, cook, hit, paint, drive, ...*, mental, e.g. *please, like, hear, see, think, know, ...* or relational, e.g. *be, become, seem, appear, look (ill), sound (loud), ...*

material: *Jill has washed the clothes already.*
We shall be climbing Ben Nevis on Tuesday.

mental: *The decision pleased me.*
I liked the orchestral accompaniment.

relational: *Jean is a student now.*
This machine has become a boon.

This classification of process types is related to the inherent nature of the process. Halliday (1985a/1994a) describes material processes as processes of 'doing', in that they involve obligatorily an actor. Mental processes are processes of 'sensing', in that in place of an actor they involve a senser and a phenomenon in processes of perception (e.g. *see, hear*), affection (e.g. *like, fear*) and cognition (e.g. *think, know*). Relational processes are processes of 'being', of which there are two types – identification and attribution. In the light of the fact that verbs such as *listen, watch, say*, which used to be included as subclasses of mental process (see, for example, Halliday's 'Types of process' in Kress 1976), clearly involve 'doing' (and respond to the question 'What did you do?'), they would now be listed under 'behavioural' (probably *listen, watch*) and 'verbal' (*say*) processes, which, together with 'existential' processes, constitute new, subsidiary categories. Behavioural processes are described as having no clearly defined

characteristics of their own but are 'partly like the material and partly like the mental'. The behavior, like the senser, is typically a conscious being, 'but the Process is grammatically more like one of "doing"' (Halliday 1994a: 139), e.g. *breathe, dream, smile*. Verbal processes are processes of saying, e.g. *say, tell, ask, promise, praise, insult*, and existential processes 'represent that something exists or happens' (Halliday 1994a: 142), e.g. *There's a fly in my soup*. But, even with this wider range of process types, there are still problems with the classification as it currently stands. Firstly, within mental processes, many of the verbs of the 'please' type, such as *please, frighten, convince, impress* (Halliday 1994a: 117), can also involve 'doing':

Please, please me. Oh yeah ... (Beatles' song)

Are you trying to frighten me?

How can I convince you?

She absolutely must impress them.

In the above contexts these verbs pass the test 'What X did was ...' (because they involve an actor and a senser rather than a phenomenon plus the senser) which Halliday imposes for material processes but which mental processes are supposed to fail. Secondly, in spite of the contrast of 'sensing' as opposed to 'doing' between verb pairs such as *see* and *watch, hear* and *listen*, we would still wish to capture the factor common to all these processes, which is that they involve the mind.

Though such discussion has more obvious bearing on semantic transitivity relationships, the concerns expressed prompt the proposal, firstly, that the implied one-to-one association between material processes and action should be abandoned and, secondly, that the classification of process types should be seen in terms of two dimensions:

- (a) The first level should take account of the inherent process type, for which the three original groupings are available: material, mental and relational, together also with the verbal process as above. Material processes will be concerned with physical matters and physical behaviour, including *breathe, smile, cough* but not *dream*. Mental processes will be interpreted as embracing matters of the mind and mental behaviour, including *see, watch, like, please, dream*. Relational processes will mark relationships of identification, attribution and circumstance with the subject.
- (b) The second level handles the question of whether, in a given linguistic context, the process is one of action ('doing', i.e. 'What did X do?'), event ('happening' or 'becoming', assuming no-one did anything, i.e. 'What happened?'), or state ('being', i.e. 'What was the situation / state of affairs?'), with variations according to the tense of the verb.

(Straddling categories from both these dimensions, Palmer (1974: 70–7) notes that verbs of mental process, including verbs referring to sensations, and verbs denoting a state or condition are commonly not used in the progressive aspect. Thus, drawing from the examples above, one does not – in standard British English – encounter **I am liking the orchestral accompaniment* or **Jean is being a student now*. Leech (1971: 20–2) points to the same constraint, labelling the categories 'verbs of inert perception' ('where the perceiver is merely passively receptive') e.g. *feel, hear, see, smell*, 'verbs of inert cognition' e.g. *think, believe, know, understand*, and 'state verbs of having and being' e.g. *be, contain, have, own*. At the same time he does comment that verbs of inert perception can also be used to indicate 'active perception' and he compares, for example, *I can smell the perfume* with *I'm smelling the perfume*.)

In terms of these two dimensions the classification of process types can be illustrated as follows:

See/look here, you!

(mental; action)

I saw the accident.

(interpreted as *I witnessed the accident* or *The accident impinged itself onto my sight*)

(mental; event)

<i>Suddenly I saw the difficulty.</i>	(interpreted as <i>Suddenly I became aware of the difficulty</i>) (mental; event)
<i>I see/saw the difficulty.</i>	(interpreted as <i>I can / was able to see the difficulty</i>) (mental; state)
<i>Jill dried the coat.</i>	(material; action)
<i>The coat dried.</i>	(material; event)
<i>The coat is dry.</i>	(relational; state)
<i>?He ails seriously.</i>	(material; state)
<i>He is seriously ill.</i>	(relational; state)

Predicator and Finite element

During the last 25 years within the systemic literature a Finite element distinct from and along with the Predicator has been introduced as an element of clause structure. For example, in Halliday (1994a: 72–9) the Finite element is the operator verb which expresses the tense or modality of the verbal group, and the Predicator is realized by the remainder of the verbal group, e.g.

F P

Who | has killed | Cock Robin?

However, the Finite is conflated with the Predicator whenever the main verb is carrying the tense, e.g.

F/P

Who | killed | Cock Robin?

As the element carrying the tense, the Finite becomes the portion of the verbal group that is picked up in a tag question, e.g.

You did finish your essay, didn't you?
She has remembered the milk, hasn't she?

In introducing the Finite element alongside the Predicator, Halliday has thereby modified his framework to allow two elements of clause structure to be realized by constituents of the same verbal group.

Taking a slightly different approach, Fawcett (1974/1981: 31–5) observes that the Predicator is always and only filled by a verbal group, and from there he argues that the node recording that 'P' is filled by 'verbal group' is redundant. He points out that the main verb and one or more auxiliaries may be omitted, e.g. *might have been being discussed; might have been; might*. He also refers to the fact that the components of the verbal group, the auxiliary verbs, the main verb and the adverbial particle, may be interrupted from each other, e.g. *Have you finished* (in which *have* is fronted and interrupted from *finished* by the subject *you*); *It may often be quite properly omitted* (in which *may* and *be* are interrupted both from each other and from the main verb *omitted* by adverbial groups); *He's given it up* (in which the particle *up* is separated from the main verb *given* by *it*). Fawcett thus dispenses with the Predicator and the verbal group and treats the component elements of the verbal group all as separate and immediate elements of clause structure: Operator (equivalent to the Finite element), Auxiliary, Main Verb, Adverbial Particle and Infinitive Particle. (Nowadays Fawcett calls the 'adverbial particle' the 'Main Verb Extension'.) Fawcett's test for the Operator differs from Halliday's for the Finite element: he sees the Operator as the verbal element which is switched to the left of the subject when forming

a question seeking a *yes/no* reply, i.e. a polarity question. The Operator is thus mainly a polarity-seeking auxiliary, though it can also co-occur with *be* and *have* as main verbs.

(This separation by Halliday of Finite from the Predicator, in fact, mirrors the general approach to this area within transformational grammar, in which a node constituent known variously as Aux, Tense or Inflection is handled separately from the Verb Phrase itself. See, for example, Radford.¹)

Mood

Mood in the (main) clause reflects whether the clause contains a subject, and whether it contains a predicator and a finite element, and in what form, and it has an impact on the nature of the word order (or, more strictly, the patterning of the elements of clause structure). It can also involve the use in initial position of interrogative words such as *What, Who, Which, How, Why, When, Where*, or exclamatory words such as *How ___* or *What (a) ___*. Traditionally in systemic linguistics, four types of clause mood have been recognized: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory.

declarative (normally subject followed by verb):

The clock has stopped.

I have stopped the clock.

The clock has been stopped by the warden.

interrogative (finite auxiliary verb first – or in the case of *have* and *be* main verb first –, i.e. subject and finite auxiliary verb inverted):

Did you mend the clock?

Can you come this evening?

Have you any wool?

This type of interrogative is sometimes referred to as a 'yes/no' or **polar** interrogative because it seeks a reply in the form *yes* or *no*.

interrogative (interrogative / 'wh-' type word followed by inversion of subject and verb, unless the 'wh-' word is the subject):

When did you mend the clock?

How did you do it?

Who made this mess?

Based on the form of the initial word this type of interrogative is known as a **wh-** interrogative.

imperative (verb in imperative form, normally without a subject):

Come this evening!; Do come this evening!

Go away!; You go away!; Let's go away!

exclamatory (initial exclamatory words):

What a noise!

How well he runs!

However, the situation is more complex than may appear from the outline above. For example, *From out of the undergrowth leaped a huge cat* is still declarative even though the subject *a huge cat* and the main verb *leaped* have been inverted (but not the subject and a finite auxiliary verb). Note also that *You go away!* is still imperative, albeit a personalized imperative, in spite of the overt mention of the subject; the verb is not susceptible to possible tense variation and so could not appear, for example, as *You went away!* and retain its role as a command.

(Mood in the clause is thus very different from mood of the verb, which is discussed typically under the headings 'indicative', 'imperative' and 'subjunctive'.)

9.3 Complement

General nature and scope

There is considerable variety among accounts of the nature and scope of the complement. Introducing the element, Berry (1975: 64) presents it initially as the part of the sentence which answers 'Who or what?' after the verb. In this vein, too, it would be described as being associated typically with the nominal phrase (or clause). Indeed, Muir (1972: 54) writes that the complement is that nominal phrase which is not the subject of the clause. However, Berry's description above would seem to exclude the possibility of the nominal phrase *the food* in *The food I'll bring on Saturday* being classed as a complement and Muir's would exclude the adjectival phrase *ill* in *He is ill* (and within standard understanding of the complement in systemic grammar both of these illustrations would be included). Nevertheless, they do give an initial idea of the fact that accounting for the complement is not necessarily as straightforward as it may perhaps seem.

A more fruitful way of looking at the scope of the complement is to refer to the completive function which it fulfils after the verb. This involves looking at the much broader area, that of complementation of the verb in the wider sense, and allows us to draw the long-standing distinction in systemic grammar between the 'extensive complement' and the 'intensive complement'. It will also be seen that, with the division of verbal complementation in this way, systemic grammarians have typically dispensed with the differentiation found in traditional grammar between 'object' and 'complement' as separately named elements of clause structure.

Extensive complement

Extensive complements are so called because they relate to elements which in terms of their reference are (presented as being) discrete from and thus extensive to the subject, e.g.

Mary rang the doctor.

Mary needs a doctor.

Mary found what she was looking for.

In other words, they are essentially equivalent to the 'object' in traditional grammar. Whilst, in practice, extensive complements do normally follow the verb, that is not a stipulation. Thus the underlined elements in the following sentence are perfectly acceptable as complements: *The treasurer I know, but the vice-chairman I've never met*. At this stage, then, extensive complements may be characterized as typically those elements which are expressed by a nominal phrase or clause, which are extensive to the subject and which, in answering the question 'Who or what?', specify a participant in the process, but one other than the subject. Like the subject, therefore, they thus also fulfil a semantically nominal function. (Fawcett, however, prefers rather to say that complements specify inherent transitivity roles and, as a result, he would include the possibility of elements which are expressed not only by nominal phrases and clauses, but also by prepositional and adverbial phrases, e.g. *It was given by Ian to Ivy; He treats her properly* (Fawcett 1974-76/1981: 43). In doing so, he raises one or two very important points, to which we will return in the next chapter.)

Two types of extensive complement have been recognized. The first is the equivalent of the **direct object** in traditional grammar. It answers the question 'Who or what + did + the subject + verb?'.
 + verb?'

Mary knows the procedure.

(What does Mary know?)

Mary knows what she wants.

The second is the equivalent of the traditional **indirect object**. Although itself expressed by a nominal phrase, it answers the question ‘Who or what + did + the subject + verb + (the direct object +) preposition?’.

Graham gave Ruth the details.

(Who did Graham give the details to?)

We’ve bought Ruth a bicycle.

Most typically, then, the indirect object type of complement expresses the recipient and beneficiary roles. But also note that, traditionally in grammatical studies and by contrast with Fawcett’s presentation, the indirect object excluded prepositional phrases, such as in *Graham gave the details to Ruth* and *We’ve bought a bicycle for Ruth*. Using formal criteria, Halliday analyses prepositional phrases as adjuncts which express circumstances. (Yet although the point is not developed, he does accept that ‘under certain conditions a prepositional phrase may express a participant function’ (1985a: 143) and comments later ‘that the line between participants and circumstances is not a very clear one, and that the preposition does function like some highly generalized kind of process, by reference to which the nominal group that is attached to it establishes a participant status’ (1994a: 159), e.g. *The bridge was built by the army; I sent a letter to my love*. Recognition of this participant role function does not, though, prompt Halliday to alter his analysis of these prepositional phrases as adjuncts.) Broadly in line with Halliday’s model, Sinclair (1972: 13) – though he uses the term ‘object’ rather than ‘extensive complement’ – characterizes the boundaries of objects by saying that they can always be replaced by pronominal phrases, whereas ‘adjuncts’ (see Section 9.4 below) can always be adverbial or prepositional phrases. Thus, he is quite clear that *Ruth* alone in the examples above is an indirect object but *for Ruth* is an adjunct. (See, for example, Sinclair 1972: 257.) Along similar lines Halliday (1994a: 80) sees a complement as an element which has the potential of being subject but is not, whereas an adjunct does not have this potential. Thus the phrases *to Ruth* and *for Ruth* above cannot become subjects without loss of the prepositions. (I should mention that the analysis of this whole area will be substantially changed in the next chapter.)

Intensive complement

Intensive complements, on the other hand, relate to elements which refer back to and are thus co-referential with or intensive to an antecedent subject (or object), e.g.

Mary is a doctor.

Mary is very unwell.

The intensive complement in systemic grammar was, in earlier days, associated with just nominal and adjectival phrases.

By comparison with an extensive complement, an intensive complement is linked to the subject by a copular verb, and the process denoted by the verb is one of relation. If, as in *Mary is a doctor*, the complement relates directly to an entity / a ‘thing’, semantically it conveys a direct nominal meaning, which we will refer to as a **direct complement**. Complements of this type provide sensible responses to questions such as ‘Who/what/which is X?’, where X here represents the subject.

Jean is the secretary.

This is what I need.

Jean is a student.

Jean is a very bright student.

Direct complements express two types of meaning. The first subtype has an identifying relationship with the antecedent subject/object and may thus be characterized as an **identifying direct complement**. It responds to questions of the type 'What/who/which is the subject/object?' with a reply of the formula 'X is (the) Y' or even 'X = Y' and is expressed by a nominal phrase, which most frequently – though not necessarily – contains the definite article, or by a subordinate clause, e.g.

Wendy is the winner / the best candidate.

Tom is president.

Jane is my doctor.

This tape is what she needs.

The news is that she has passed.

They elected Tom president.

We consider Stephen the most suitable person.

We consider Stephen to be the most suitable person.

In each of these cases the complement identifies its preceding co-referential entity by specifying the role or status of that entity. Thus *the winner / the best candidate* identifies *Wendy*, *president* identifies *Tom*, *my doctor* identifies *Jane*, *what she needs* identifies *this tape*, etc. In instances where a copular verb is present, the complement is typically reversible with the co-referential element, e.g.

The winner / the best candidate is Wendy.

What she needs is this tape.

We consider the most suitable person to be Stephen.

(Note, however, that there are some circumstances in which reversibility is inhibited, for example, where a complement (or subject in a verbless subordinate clause) consists of a noun headword without marking of definiteness, e.g. *Tom is president* but not **President is Tom*; *We consider Stephen the most suitable person* but not **We consider the most suitable person Stephen*.)

The second subtype of direct complement merely assigns or ascribes a category or class membership to the preceding subject or object and is non-identifying. It may be regarded as an ascriptive, **non-identifying direct complement** and, when contrasted with identifying direct complements, can be left unmarked. These non-identifying complements typically respond to the question 'What is the subject/object?' – but not 'Who?' or 'Which?' – with a reply of the formula 'X is (an example of) Y'. The reply is expressed by an indefinite nominal phrase, typically (though again not necessarily) containing an indefinite article when in the singular, e.g.

Wendy is a student / a fair-haired student.

Mary and John are teachers / good teachers.

This is antique furniture.

Thus *Wendy* is regarded as belonging to / being a member of the category of *students / fair-haired students*, and *Mary and John* as being members of the category of *teachers / good teachers*.

Thus both identifying and non-identifying complements typically respond to the questions 'What is + subject?' above and most (those with the article *the*) identifying complements also respond to the question 'Which?' or 'Who?', e.g.

- 'What is Jean?' – *Jean is a secretary.*
 – *Jean is the secretary.*
 'Who/which is Jean?' – *Jean is the secretary.*

Visualize, for example, the context in which roles are being assigned for a play and someone asks 'What is John?'. The reply could be equally *John is a teacher* (meaning that, whether or not there are other teachers in the play, John has been assigned the role of a teacher) or *John is the teacher* (and there is only one).

As already stated, identifying direct complements fit the formula $X = Y$ and, if they have a definite article, are reversible with the subject. Thus

Jean is the secretary.
The secretary is Jean.

Non-identifying complements, however, are typically not reversible, thus

Jean is a secretary.
 **A secretary is Jean.*

Yet it is not always necessary that the article in the complement should be definite for the complement and subject to be reversible, e.g.

The tiger is a good example.
A good example is the tiger.
The worst result would be a draw.
A draw would be the worst result.

Where the intensive complement assigns a (temporary or permanent) descriptive feature, quality, characteristic or property – an attribute – to the subject or object, it fulfils a semantically adjectival function and may thus be labelled an **attributive complement**. Complements of this type respond to one or more questions of the type 'What is X like?', 'How is X?', 'What is the state/ condition of X?', e.g.

Jill is quite pretty | tall | healthy | very musical | open-minded.

There is thus a certain commonality between attributive complements and non-identifying direct complements.

Additional intensive complements

Writing in the context of relational processes rather than complements and contrasting them with intensive processes, Halliday (1994a: 119–38) adds the subtypes possessive and circumstantial.

Possessive complements are concerned with possessive/genitive relationships and they answer the question 'Whose/which is the subject?' with the formula 'X is Y's'. They are expressed by a genitive phrase or possessive pronoun, e.g.

That pen is Jim's/mine.
This van is the university's.
That writing is his.
The most surprising reaction was Bill's.
This journal is last month's.

They identify the possession or the associative 'ownership' (actor, patient, location) of the antecedent subject, with which they have co-reference. Halliday includes under 'possessive' a range of structural patterns wider than the one exemplified here. Indeed, as was mentioned when discussing the subject, the range of meanings expressed goes beyond the simple concept of possession. Nevertheless, we would see them as a determinative variant of a direct nominal complement rather than as a separate class of complement.

Circumstantial complements specify the circumstances of the subject. (We should here also draw attention to Young's intensive locative complement (Young 1980: 118), which – at least in part – mirrors Halliday's circumstantial complement.) It would respond to questions of the type 'How/why/when/where is the subject?'. We list below some of Halliday's illustrations of this type of intensive complement:

The queen was in the parlour.

The fair is on a Tuesday.

The best way is by train.

(Certain of Halliday's other circumstantial examples, such as *My story is about a poor shepherd boy* and *My love is like a red, red rose*, I will argue later should not in fact be handled as belonging to the circumstantial category at all.)

Before we leave the consideration of types of complement, it is perhaps important to note that in Halliday's schema, whilst prepositional phrases accompanying lexical predicators are apparently not eligible for analysis as extensive complements, there seems to be no problem in analysing them as intensive complements.

Complement to subject or object

Intensive complements mark some form of relationship with the antecedent subject or object that they refer back to. In instances where the complement relates back to the subject, the link is provided through a copular verb.

Bill is the president.

Tom is a director.

Mary is thoughtful.

Yet where it relates back to an object, there may be no verbal linking to mark the copular relationship, e.g.

They elected Tom president / a life member.

The next punch knocked Tom senseless.

Frequently, however, there is a parallel form in which the object and its intensive complement are linked by a verb, e.g.

They elected Tom to be president / a life member.

With regard to examples such as *I like my coffee black* and *I like my coffee to be black*, although *black* is clearly an attributive complement to *my coffee*, it is a moot point whether *my coffee* should be analysed as the object, directly, of *like*. Indeed, we will later argue that this is not the case, preferring instead to recognize the elements *my coffee* and *black* as constituting the object / extensive complement of *like* only together.

Reflexive complements

Before leaving discussion of the complement for the moment – and the whole domain will be reviewed shortly – I would draw attention to two examples containing reflexive pronouns:

Jill has washed herself already.

John is not himself today.

In the first sentence, *herself* is an extensive complement yet is also co-referential with the subject. However, it is not linked to the subject by a copular verb (e.g. *be*, *become*), and the process denoted by the verb is not a relational one but rather a material one of action. As a result, the pronoun *herself* does not serve to identify the nature of Jill or to specify a class of entity beings, etc. to which Jill might belong. It is thus not intensive to the subject but is presented instead as the extensive goal of the washing process, which in this instance happens to be co-referential with Jill and thus reflexive.

In the second sentence, the role of (*not*) *himself* is very different. Linked to the subject by a copular verb, it serves here not to identify who or what John is but to attribute a feature to him, in the same way that *unwell* or *out of sorts* might do. It is thus an intensive complement.

9.4 Adjunct

The adjunct is most frequently associated with adverbial and prepositional phrases, though occasionally it may be realized by a nominal phrase. Halliday (1994a: 80) states that, while extensive complements have the potential of being the subject but are not, adjuncts do not have this potential.

Ken is working peacefully in the study.

John got his results last week.

The adjunct has been labelled A.

Adjuncts realize a number of types of meaning function, all of which may be loosely described as adverbial. (See also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 475–653 for a discussion of adverbial functioning elements under the headings of adjunct, disjunct, conjunct and subjunct.) In the first place, **circumstantial adjuncts** express the ideational circumstances surrounding the process, specifying the manner, means, reason, time, place, duration or frequency. As such they are susceptible to questions beginning ‘How?’ (in what way, in what manner, by what means), ‘Why?’, ‘When?’, ‘Where?’, ‘For how long?’, ‘How often?’, ‘In what circumstances?’, ‘In spite of what circumstances?’. Circumstantial adjuncts thus contribute to the propositional content input of a clause.

time (location + source, duration, target)

We finished the jigsaw quite quickly | after dinner.

They left very early | yesterday morning.

They are coming tomorrow | this evening.

They've been away since Tuesday.

They're going away for three weeks.

They were away three weeks.

They'll be away until Tuesday.

frequency/quantity

They've been to Tiree every year.
They go there twice a year.
They've been there an awful lot / six times.

place (location + source, route, destination)

Ken is working in the study / behind the holly bush.
Here it is.
Jane is going from London / via Dover / to Paris.

reason/cause

The match was abandoned because of the rain.
Owing to the drought the swimming pool has been closed.
Keith gave up smoking on health grounds.
The children jumped for joy.

manner

That blackbird sings beautifully.
He welcomed the news with enormous pleasure.

means

We travelled by train / on the underground.
She reached the standard through hard work.

circumstance

With the disappearance of his team-mate, he had no real chance.

As is illustrated above, the classes of unit by which circumstantial adjunct elements are realized include not merely adverbial and prepositional phrases but selected nominal ones as well, e.g. *this evening, every year, last time*. They may also be realized by clauses (see Section 5.4, Adverbial clause).

<i>They left <u>before it got dark</u>.</i>	(time)
<i>The match was abandoned <u>because it was raining</u>.</i>	(reason)
<i><u>If you listen</u>, you can hear a blackbird singing.</i>	(condition)
<i><u>Even though it was raining</u>, we still kept warm.</i>	(concession)

Secondly, adjuncts can have one of several interpersonal functions and thus be labelled as **interpersonal adjuncts**. Under this heading they can

- (a) specify the speaker's own assessment of the probability of the central proposition,
- (b) express his/her personal attitude towards or comment on the proposition,
- (c) state the terms of reference in which he/she is speaking/ the speaker's referential stance, (Adjuncts under (a) and (b), together with those under (c) which do not relate to a subject field, are typically referred to in the literature as **comment** or **modal adjuncts**.)
- (d) focus on an aspect of the proposition by highlighting or emphasizing it or by playing it down,

- (e) check on the factuality of the content of the proposition or on the terms/style in which it is expressed.

They may, further, mediate between the speaker and addressee

- (a) by checking through consultation,
(b) by seeking to gain the addressee's attention,
(c) in the use of greetings and farewells to open and close discourse,
(d) through the use of politeness and courtesy formulae which also moderate the impact of the content.

probability:

Jill is probably/possibly home by now.

Perhaps/maybe he missed the train.

attitude/comment:

Fortunately/luckily the weather stayed fine.

John wisely/sensibly took a spare battery.

terms of reference:

Frankly/personally I don't believe you.

Access to the hills is, effectively/basically, allowed from anywhere.

Financially/politically/strategically it's been a good year.

In career terms / careerwise it was a sensible move.

focus:

We only/merely want to put the record straight.

I simply/just don't understand.

Bill is really/definitely very keen to go.

I completely/entirely reject the allegation.

factuality/content check:

He has, I think, tried very hard.

It will, I gather, be a wonderful opportunity.

She is, they say, a workaholic.

terminology/style check:

She is, so to speak, just a good friend.

It will be, as it were, the last opportunity.

consultative check:

I am, if you like, giving notice.

It is, if you follow, an amazing improvement.

She's going to Java, you know / you see.

Mind you, she does work quickly.

attention-getting:

Right then, are we all ready?

Well now, who can tell me ...?

greeting/farewell:

Hello. Good morning.

How do you do?

Cheerio. Goodbye.

politeness/courtesy:

Kindly leave your coats in the cloakroom.

Could you pass the milk, please.

I won't have a second piece, thanks.

You are cordially invited to the 25th anniversary dinner ...

For at least many of the above interpersonal examples the term 'disjunct' has also been used.

Thirdly, adjuncts can have a conjunctive function in which they fulfil a connective role, serving to link sentences and clauses by expressing a logical, cohesive relationship between them. **Conjunctive adjuncts** used to be known as 'sentence adverbs/adverbials', and more recently in addition to conjunctive adjunct the term 'conjunct' may be found, e.g.

He is nevertheless/however always punctual.

Moreover/furthermore/besides we can't afford it.

For example / for instance, you might want to go to York.

On the other hand / alternatively he could try the Foreign Office.

Consequently / as a result we lost our deposit.

We thus/therefore write to inform you ...

By the way / incidentally, have you brought the receipt?

Likewise/similarly you should tell them your change of address.

Firstly, it wants washing.

Coordinating conjunctions, e.g. *and*, *but*, *or*, express a particular type of conjunctive relationship. They provide, textually, the logical link between clauses of equal grammatical status and traditionally in systemic grammar have been termed **linking adjuncts** or **linkers**. A difference between coordinating conjunctions and conjuncts, however, is that whereas most conjuncts can have their position in the clause moved, the location of coordinating conjunctions is fixed. Compare, for example, the potential behaviour of the conjunct *moreover* with that of the coordinating conjunction *and*:

Moreover, he is a gentleman.

He is, moreover, a gentleman.

He is a gentleman, moreover.

(Below, commas have been inserted to assist comprehension)

Jack is clever, and he is a gentleman.

*Jack is clever, he is and a gentleman.

*Jack is clever, he is a gentleman and.

It may also be noted that single word conjuncts are realized by adverbs, whereas coordinating conjunctions constitute their own word class.

Subordinating conjunctions, which serve to bind together clauses of unequal grammatical status, have also been termed **binding adjuncts** or **binders**. For those subordinators which introduce nominal subordinate clauses the classification is straightforward. They do not have any content role and serve only to mark the status of the subordinate clause as reported statements or questions:

David said that the tomatoes were nearly ripe.

We wondered whether/if the tomatoes were ripe yet.

With respect to subordinators which introduce adverbial subordinate clauses, however, the situation is more complex. As mentioned in Chapter 3 on Word class, these mark also the circumstantial nature of the subordinate clause which they are introducing, as for example in

We'll set off after Ruth arrives home. (time)

They played the match where no-one could find them. (place)

The match was cancelled because it had snowed all morning. (reason)

Thus these sentences can be related to

We'll set off afterwards / after Ruth's arrival home.

They played the match there / at a secret location.

The match was cancelled because of the snow.

In view, however, of the varying element roles of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, I shall, in the next chapter under Adjunct adverbials (Section 10.4.2), propose alternatives to the terms 'linking' and 'binding adjunct'.

9.5 Z element

The final element of clause structure to be considered is what was traditionally known within systemic grammar as the **Z** element. This label was assigned to a semantically nominal element which is indeterminate as to subject or object status, a situation which was seen to arise in two contrasting sets of circumstances.

In the first place the Z element was applied in instances where the indeterminacy is due to the absence of a predicator within the structure, and thus where it is not possible to describe the phrase as being the subject or object of a particular predicate, e.g.

titles:

Aspects of the Theory of Syntax

Handel's Messiah

Three blind mice!

vocative expressions:

O false one, you have deceived me.

Peter, what are you doing with that chisel?

However, in neither instance here can the label Z be said to be transparent or informative. In the examples of titles, we simply have an element which names an entity but which has no relationship through a process to another element. In other words it is a neutral nominal

element. To mark this sense of neutrality in titles we therefore use the label **NOM**. Indeed, the only difference between **NOM** and a nominative-subject or direct complement is that the latter have a relationship to a verbal process, whereas the former is independent of any relationship.

In the case of the examples of vocative expressions, the element has the interpersonal function of getting the attention of the addressee rather than an ideational role. Fawcett labels instances of vocative expressions as **V**, but for clarity we propose the fuller label **VOC**.

Historically, systemic grammar also employed **Z** for the analysis of the medial nominal element in sentences such as *Jack wanted Fiona to come* or *Jack persuaded Fiona to come*. In these sentences, it was argued, *Fiona* is acting as object of the previous main finite verb and as subject of the following infinitive. Let it suffice for the moment to say that I do not consider this analysis to be particularly revealing and so do not accept it. Indeed, the area covered by this point will be discussed in Chapter 11 under Phase.

9.6 Functional analysis of clause structure

Below is a framework for labelling the elements of clause structure in the terms outlined so far and sample analyses in these terms. I should stress, however, that this domain of elements of clause structure will be reviewed and revised in the next chapter.

subject = S

nominative (incl. determinative): **S^{NOM}**
 attributive: **S^{ATT}**
 circumstantial: **S^{CIRC}**

predicator = P

finite element = F

complement = C

extensive complement: direct object – **C^{E:DIR}**
 indirect object – **C^{E:IND}**
 intensive complement: direct (including determinative) – **C^{I:DIR}**
 attributive – **C^{I:ATT}**
 circumstantial – **C^{I:CIRC}**

adjunct = A

circumstantial: **A^{CIRC}**
 conjunctive: **A^{CONJ}**
 interpersonal: **A^{PERS}**

independent nominal element = NOM

vocative element = VOC

S^{NOM} F/P C^{E:DIR} A^{CIRC} A^{CIRC}

||| *The baby | sucked | the sweet | noisily | in the pram.* |||

S^{NOM} F P C^{E:DIR} A^{CIRC}

||| *We | have bought | a bicycle | for Ruth.* |||

S^{NOM} F/P C^{E:IND} C^{E:DIR}

||| *We | bought | Ruth | a bicycle.* |||

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S^{NOM} F/P C^{E:DIR} A^{CIRC}

|||*Ian* | *received* | *a card* | *from Mary*.|||

S^{NOM} F/P C^{I:DIR}

|||*Tom* | *is* | *the president*.|||

S^{NOM} F/P C^{I:DIR}

|||*She* | *seems* | *a nice girl*.|||

S^{NOM} F/P C^{I:ATT}

|||*Tom* | *is* | *very fit*.|||

S^{NOM} F/P C^{I:CIRC}

|||*John* | *is* | *in the kitchen*.|||

NOM

|||*Three blind mice*.|||

Note

- 1 A. Radford (1997) *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elements of clause structure revised

10.1 Determining the elements of clause structure

A number of problems arise with the analysis of the complement as developed in the previous chapter. Attention was drawn, for example, to the fact that, although *Ruth* in *Graham gave Ruth the details* and *We've bought Ruth a bicycle* is generally acknowledged to be an (indirect object) extensive complement, there is a wide divergence in the treatment given to the prepositional phrases to *Ruth* and *for Ruth* in *Graham gave the details to Ruth* and *We've bought a bicycle for Ruth*.

As was mentioned, Fawcett (1974–76/1981) would include the prepositional phrases in these sentences as complements, since for him the domain of the complement embraces all inherent ideational roles irrespective of the structural form by which they are realized. Berry (1975: 64) has defined an extensive complement as that part of the sentence which answers the question 'who or what?' after the verb and an adjunct as answering other types of questions (such as 'how?', 'why?', 'when?', 'where?'). But in practice and without explaining how the analysis is arrived at, she then interprets nearly all prepositional phrases as adjuncts. Halliday (1985a/1994a), too, handles them as adjuncts. We mentioned earlier that he sees a complement as an element which has the potential of being subject but is not, whereas an adjunct does not have that potential. Thus the prepositional phrases in *That teapot was given to my aunt* and *My aunt was given that teapot by the duke* would be classed by Halliday as adjuncts, though he does comment that they can become subject if the preposition is dropped. Halliday does not, however, specifically contrast *The duke gave my aunt that teapot* and *The duke gave that teapot to my aunt*. He does, though, state that participant roles are typically realized by a nominal phrase and circumstance roles by an adverbial or prepositional phrase (1994a: 109) but 'that the line between participants and circumstances is not a very clear one' (1994a: 159). Indeed, as mentioned in the previous chapter, he has accepted that 'under certain conditions a prepositional phrase may express a participant function' (1985a: 143) as in *The bridge was built by the army, I sent a letter to my love* and *She baked a pie for the children*. Halliday thus does not present any direct link between ideational participant role and functional syntactic representation, yet in theory (but not in practice) Berry's tests for extensive complement and adjunct would seem to.

In place of extensive complement Young (1980) introduces the (potentially ambiguous) term 'object complement' to handle prepositional phrases which express participant roles and enumerates three types: direct, indirect and oblique object complements. (The ambiguity arises in that the same term is also used to refer to a complement intensive to an object, e.g. *Most people consider Picasso a genius* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 55).) Young uses the term 'oblique object complement' for the prepositional phrases, for example, in *They objected to the plan; I didn't believe in their pretensions; This land belongs to the crown; The programme consisted of three symphonies; He blamed the dispute on the management; They have asked the manager about the sales effort; I bought a ticket for him* (Young 1980: 124–5). His criterion for complements of any sort is that they are essential to the structure of a proposition whereas adjuncts are not and may be detached from it without detriment (Young 1980: 29). Clearly, this raises the question of the meaning of 'essentiality of structure' and how it should be determined. For example, the prepositional phrases *to the plan* and *for him* in two of the sentences above could surely be removed without leaving the remaining clauses malformed or structurally incomplete. Thus *They objected* and *I bought a ticket* make perfectly satisfactory sentences on their own.

Nevertheless, this general idea of essentiality as the distinguishing criterion between complements and adjuncts is one which is frequently referred to in the literature. For instance, Lyons¹ states that adjuncts are 'syntactically optional or peripheral expressions'; Huddleston (1984: 177) describes them as 'extra-nuclear elements' which 'are always omissible'. As a slight variation of this criterion Fawcett (1974–76/1981), as we mentioned earlier, sees the domain of the complement as embracing all inherent ideational roles (and this covers participants, attributes and circumstances), and thus the two prepositional phrases in *It was given by Ian to Ivy* are both complements. Although his criterion may seem similar to the general one of essentiality/omissibility, it leads to rather different interpretations. So for example in *I sent the report to John*, in accordance with the criterion of essentiality it would probably be argued that *to John* can be omitted, yet the verb *send* is inherently associated with a sender, a thing sent and a recipient. Equally, operating his inherent roles criterion, Fawcett analyses the adverb *passionately* in *They kissed passionately* as an adjunct but *properly* in *He treats her properly* as a complement (1974–76/1981: 43). One is, however, bound to ask whether *passionately* and *properly* in these sentences do not share a commonality of function in that they both specify the manner of the process and whether, therefore, this commonality should not be captured in the analysis.

Functional role

The proposal here is that the criteria for determining the functional elements of clause structure should be sought more strictly in terms of functional role, as referred to but only partially practised by Berry. By functional role is meant the common syntactic function which elements of clause structure share, reflecting the broad type of semantic role to which they inherently relate. This is irrespective of the form by which the elements of structure are actually realized (e.g. class of phrase) and irrespective of the meaning which they actually express (thus we have pointed out, for example, that the subject can semantically express a circumstance). Four such broad groupings of syntactic function are recognized: verbal, nominal, adjectival and adverbial. In these terms, ideational roles realizing clause structure elements can be grouped under these syntactic functions as follows:

- (a) process, which is represented syntactically as the verbal function
- (b) participant/entity/thing – the nominal function
- (c) feature, quality, characteristic/property – the adjectival function
- (d) circumstance – an adverbial function.

In addition, it will be appropriate in a number of instances to mark the semantic function which the element of structure realizes. Thus, in the unusual case of a subject expressing a circumstance, such as in *In the evening would be best*, we would say that the subject *in the evening*, like every subject, fulfils a syntactically nominal function, it represents a 'thing' slot in the syntactic structure, can be questioned by *what?* (as well, of course, as *when?*) and can be replaced by *it* or *that*, viz. *What would be best?*, *That would be best*. However, in expressing actually a circumstantial meaning (hence the *when?*), the subject denotes a semantically adverbial function. (The fact that the subject is realized by a prepositional phrase is not of significance at this stage.) This is, therefore, in marked contrast with the semantically nominal function more typically associated with a subject when it does actually denote a participant meaning, as in *That material would be best*.

The principle behind this was already evident in several of the accounts of elements of clause structure in the previous chapter. In seeking to establish a correlation between inherent semantic roles and functional elements of syntactic structure, we shall as an operational procedure increasingly want to make greater use of **question techniques**. These will be based around the concept already touched on, that elements fulfilling a participant nominal function relate to 'who?' or 'what?', those with an attributive adjectival function answer questions such as 'what like?' / 'how?' / '(in) what state?' in respect of an entity, and those with a circumstantial

adverbial function represent the ‘how?’, ‘why?’, ‘when?’, ‘where?’, etc. in respect of the verbal process.

I posit that these functional syntactic element types should be seen to operate irrespective of the formal class of phrase by which they may be realized. The same principle applies equally to the (primarily adverbial) roles of the interpersonal and textual components.

<u>ideational role</u> process participant/entity quality/feature circumstance	<u>syntactic function</u> verbal nominal adjectival adverbial
<u>interpersonal role</u> (vocative) <u>conjunctive role</u>	adverbial nominal adverbial

A review of the nature and scope of functional elements of clause structure now follows.

As a preliminary to the discussion I propose to relabel the constituent types of complement. In the last chapter in the discussion of complementation two basic types of complement were outlined: the extensive complement and the intensive complement. Extensive complements denoted elements which relate to entities whose reference is different from / extensive to the subject, and they were subdivided into direct object and indirect object subtypes. Intensive complements, on the other hand, were those which related to elements, representing entities, attributes or circumstances, which refer back to the subject or object and which are thus intensive to it. The intention here is to relabel the extensive complement as the **object** and to restrict the scope of the **complement** to that of intensive complements. In these terms an object is now an element discrete from the subject which, given a transformation of relationships with the predicator, has the potential to become subject, and a complement is then that element which is intensive to the subject or object and which may also be said to complete the process content meaning of the predication set in train / motivated by the (typically relational) predicator. For example, *is ill*, which consists of a copular verb predicator plus an intensive complement, can be contrasted with *ails*, which is a lexical predicator, albeit one which is not much used nowadays. Similarly, *is pleasing (to)* can be compared to *pleases*. With the use of ‘object’ and ‘complement’ in this way, we will be employing terms found in some prominent English reference grammars (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985; Downing and Locke 1992) as well, of course, as continuing the long-established practice of traditional grammar. It will also mean that each element can be analysed by a single, differentiated capital symbol, viz. O for object and C for complement.

10.2 Nominally functioning elements

The nominal functioning element is the one which presents the greatest complexity. Operating in relation to the verbal element it can function in three different roles – subject, (extensive) object and (intensive) complement, e.g. *They have elected Tom president.*

10.2.1 Subject

Nominative subject

As outlined previously, in syntactic terms the subject is that nominal functioning element which

controls the form of the verb, e.g. *I am a good cook* or *The cat sits on the mat*. It switches position with the first auxiliary, the finite element, to form a question, e.g. *Am I a good cook?*. Also the subject is the element in relation to which it is possible to pose a tag question, e.g. *I am a good cook, aren't I*. It typically answers the determining question 'Who or what did the verbing?'. Most frequently the subject denotes a participating entity / participant and is thus semantically a nominative subject. This type of subject, labelled S^{NOM}, may be seen as the default mode of subject.

Rather than specify an entity the subject may express possession or associative/attributed 'ownership' of an entity, e.g. *Mine is fine but Jill's needs a new battery*. This latter concept of associative or attributed 'ownership' may not really be a relationship of possession at all, e.g. *Bill's was the most awful fever* or *John's was the best attempt*. As noted previously, they are regarded as determinative variants of nominative subjects. These subjects are expressed by a possessive pronoun or genitive phrase and are also susceptible to the question 'Whose?'. Thus, in respect of *Jill's needs a new battery*, one can ask both 'What needs a new battery?' (which brings out the syntactic nominal function) and 'Whose needs a new battery?' (which focuses on the semantically possessive meaning).

Attributive subject

Although still functioning syntactically as a nominal element, the subject may be overlaid by semantically non-nominal roles. For example, in referring to a feature, quality, property or characteristic it is an **attributive subject**, labelled S^{ATT}, e.g. *Very bright would be unsuitable*; *In good condition would be more acceptable*. In respect of the sentence *In good condition would be more acceptable* one can ask both 'What would be more acceptable?' and 'What state would be more acceptable?' (which focuses on the semantically attributive meaning).

Circumstantial subject

Subjects which refer to a circumstance are **circumstantial subjects**, as in, for example, *Tomorrow / in the evening / by train would be best*, and are labelled S^{CIRC}. They are therefore also susceptible to questions of the type 'how/why/where/when?'. Thus in connection with *Tomorrow would be best*, as well as 'What would be best?' one can ask 'When would be best?' (which focuses on the semantically circumstantial meaning).

10.2.2 Object

The term 'object' has here, as we said above, replaced the extensive complement. However, its scope will be wider than that outlined earlier under extensive complement. Like the subject it represents an entity, but its reference is discrete from the subject and it does not, therefore, control the form of the verb but rather is itself dominated directly or obliquely by the verbal element. It will be susceptible to questions involving 'who or what' **with or without a preposition**. Typically, though not as a formal requirement, an object will have the potential of becoming subject, obviously in the process losing or least becoming separated from any preposition and often accompanied by a switch of the voice of the verb from active to passive (or vice versa). Thus in the sentence *John gave the map to Bill*, we determine that *the map* and *to Bill* are both objects as, by employing passivization and dropping the preposition, we can rephrase the sentence with either *the map* or *Bill* as subject, viz. *The map was given to Bill (by John)*, *Bill was given the map (by John)*. Essentiality to the structure, however, will not be an issue. Just two types of object will be recognized: the direct object and the oblique object. (The term 'oblique object' is also used by Brown and Miller (1980: 342) but in contrast with indirect objects.)

Direct object

Direct objects, which will be labelled O^{DIR} , occur as straight nominal phrases (or clauses) and will answer the question 'Who/what + did + the subject + verb?', e.g.

I gave Jill the book. (What did I give?)
We enjoyed the concert.
We enjoyed what we heard.

Oblique object

Oblique objects, which will be labelled O^{OBL} , can occur as either nominal or prepositional phrases and will respond to the question 'Who/what + did + the subject + verb + (direct object +) preposition?', e.g.

I gave Jill the book. (Who did I give the book to?)
I gave the book to Jill.
We bought Ruth a bicycle.
We bought a bicycle for Ruth.
Can I ask you a favour?
Can I ask a favour of you?
They objected to the plan.
Do you believe in ghosts?
He relies on her assistance.
She plays chess with Hamish.
The bridge was built by the army.
She benefited from the decision.

It should be stressed, however, that the presence of a given preposition following a given verb is not a guide to the function of the prepositional phrase. Thus, for example, in *She plays chess with great skill* the phrase *with great skill* does not answer the question 'Who/what does she play chess with?' but rather 'How does she play (chess)?' and will be a circumstantial adverbial element denoting the manner. (For further discussion on the contrast between object and adverbial/adjunct, see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 735 and the subsection on circumstantial adverbial versus object later in this chapter, in Section 10.4.1.) Equally in *She seems in good health*, the phrase *in good health* is serving as an attributive complement to *She*.

Indirect object

The concept of indirect object as a separate element of clause structure thus disappears. Whether an oblique object is realized by a nominal phrase, e.g. *I gave Jill the book*, or a prepositional phrase, e.g. *I gave the book to Jill*, is not handled as a matter involving a difference of functional elements of clause structure but one of formal exponence. They both respond to the same question and both have the potential to become subject (*to Jill* of course requires to lose the preposition). The formal differences between the two will be determinable later from the phrase structure and eventually the word class analysis. So as far as the structural composition of the clause is concerned, therefore, these two oblique objects are handled as formal variants of the same functional element. Instances where both nominal and prepositional phrase forms of oblique object can occur are thus interpreted as reflecting, not semantic contrasts between nominal and adverbial functioning elements but rather the possible

variations in the thematic structure of the clauses and the different ways in which nominal functioning elements can be structured.

10.2.3 Complement

Direct nominal complements denote some form of entity relationship with the antecedent subject or object that they refer back to. They thus have a direct nominal function and can occur in an identifying or non-identifying, ascriptive relationship with their antecedent, e.g.

Bill is the president. (cf. *The president is Bill.*)

Tom is a director. (cf. **A director is Tom.*)

They elected Tom president / a life member.

As previously described, both identifying and non-identifying direct complements typically respond to the question 'What?', and most identifying complements – those with the article *the* – also respond to the question 'Which?' or 'Who?', e.g.

'What is Jean?' – *Jean is a secretary.*

– *Jean is the secretary.*

'Who/which is Jean?' – *Jean is the secretary.*

Direct nominal complements are marked C^{DIR}. Identifying direct complements are further labelled with an equals sign, =. Contrasting with this, non-identifying/ascriptive direct complements can be handled without additional marking.

Co-reference of a complement to the subject, which could be regarded as the default relationship, can be marked with the superscript ^(S), thus C^(S). Co-reference to the object is marked with the superscript ^(O), thus C^(O). (Note that the distinction now drawn between object and complement permits marking of this co-reference very much more simply.)

Direct nominal complements which relate to possession of an entity have a determinative role and answer the question 'Whose/which is the subject?' with the formula 'X is Y's'. They are expressed by a genitive phrase or possessive pronoun, e.g.

That pen is Jim's/mine.

This van is the university's.

That writing is his.

The most surprising reaction was Bill's.

This journal is last month's.

They identify the possession or the associative/attributioned 'ownership' (actor, patient, location) of the antecedent subject, with which they have co-reference and are typically (though not always) reversible. As outlined, these possessive determinative meanings are seen merely as variants of direct nominal complements rather than as a separate class of complement.

A further group of semantically nominal complements have oblique co-reference to the antecedent nominal element and are expressed by a prepositional phrase. They thus respond to the question 'Who or what is the subject + preposition?' with the formula 'X is prepositional phrase', e.g.

This letter is to/for Mary.

This poem is by Burns.

This book is about a young bear.

The lecture tonight is on map reading.

Some grammarians would handle these types of structure as circumstantial adverbial complements. But we argue that whilst they are not susceptible to questions eliciting a circumstantial complement (see below), they do respond to the question formula above and thus have the function of an **oblique complement**. Oblique nominal elements can thus occur both with intensive, copular verbs as oblique complements and with extensive, lexical verbs as oblique objects.

10.3 Adjectivally functioning elements

As discrete elements of clause structure, elements with a semantically adjectival function characterize a quality, feature or state of a preceding nominal element (subject or object) with which they are co-referential, e.g. *The wall is pink*; *Ruth painted the wall pink*. (In traditional grammar in this role they have been described as predicative adjectives. Adjectives may, of course, also play a modifying role within a nominal phrase, e.g. *the red car*, but then they are not discrete elements of clause structure.) They are thus **attributive complements** and are subject to the question tests 'What is X like?', 'In what state/condition is X?', 'How is X?'. Though they are mostly expressed by (single or multiple word) adjectival phrases, they may also be realized by prepositional phrases. To mark their intensive complement function they are labelled C to which the attributive role label is added as a superscript, C^{ATT}.

Ruth is healthy / very well.

Ruth is in good health.

That brooch is quite valuable.

That brooch is of considerable value.

The ice-cream made her ill.

He pushed the door open.

(See also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 732–3.)

10.4 Adverbially functioning elements

10.4.1 Circumstantial adverbials

Circumstantial adverbial elements of clause structure have been regarded as relating to the verbal element (\pm object) or to the proposition as a whole, e.g. *John went to Paris*; *They played the match on Saturday*; *She supped her soup silently*. In addition, however, adverbial elements can, still through the verbal element, also specify the circumstances of the subject, e.g. *The match was on Saturday*; *John is in Paris*. Both sets of examples are, in principle, subject to the same tests: 'How?' (in what way, in what manner, by what means), 'Why?', 'When?', 'Where?', 'For how long?', 'How often?', 'In what circumstances?', 'In spite of what circumstances?'. The essential difference between the two sets is that the circumstantial elements in the first group relate to the predicator (in traditional grammar they were said to modify the verb). Thus *to Paris* tells us where John went, *on Saturday* is when they played the match, and *silently* is how she supped her soup. In the latter group of examples the circumstantial elements are related to and, indeed, are intensive to the subject: they tell us when the match (was) and where John (is), and are thus complements.

Circumstantial adverbial elements are seen as different from other types of adverbial element. Like predicators, subject, objects and other complements, their role is to make a contribution to the ideational content meaning of the clause, not to provide comment on the proposition or to create cohesive links. Where the circumstance operates as an intensive complement to an antecedent subject, the circumstantial marking is added as a superscript to the complement

label, thus C^{CIRC} , e.g. *The match was on Saturday; John is in Paris*. Where the circumstance relates to the predicator (\pm object) or to the proposition as a whole, e.g. *They played the match on Saturday; John went to Paris; She supped her soup silently*, it is labelled A^{CIRC} . However, this label is intended to be read as denoting a circumstantial element within the propositional content rather than an adjunct to it. Indeed, the concept of adjunct becomes then reserved for elements, such as comments and cohesive links, which either do not contribute to clause structure as elements of ideational meaning or which do not do so as part of the proposition in question.

Nuclear/peripheral?

This mode of analysis also avoids the debate as to whether any given circumstantial adverbial element is a nuclear or peripheral, an essential or omissible part of the clause structure. The approach here is rather to recognize the positive contribution of circumstantial adverbial elements to the overall message. Thus, for example, in Fawcett's contrasting pair of sentences *He treats her properly* and *They kissed passionately*, the elements *properly* and *passionately* can both be regarded as circumstantial adverbials. He had analysed *properly* as a complement and *passionately* as an adjunct on the basis that *he treats her* inherently requires the manner adverbial to complete the sense but that *they kissed* does not. The effect of that analysis had been to lose the commonality of adverbial function between them.

Complement, object and circumstantial adverbial

In the mode of analysis adopted here, there is a certain similarity (and a certain difference) in the approach to the treatment of nominal and circumstantial elements. In both instances, complements relate to elements which are intensive to the subject (and, in the case of nominal elements, also to the object). Then, objects are those nominal elements which, through a lexical predicator, are presented as being discrete from and extensive to the subject: they are objects of the lexical verb. Circumstantial adverbial elements which are not intensive to the subject but relate to a lexical predicator (\pm object) do not carry complement status: they mark the circumstances of the lexical verb, e.g.

Mary is a/the doctor.

(direct complement – ‘What/who (is) Mary?’)

Mary called the doctor a genius.

(direct complement – ‘What (is/was) the doctor?’)

Mary transformed the doctor into a genius.

(direct complement – ‘What (is/did become) the doctor?’)

response: ‘The doctor is (~~into~~) / became a genius.’)

Mary needs a/the doctor.

(direct object – ‘What/who does Mary need?’)

John is in Paris.

(circumstantial complement – ‘Where (is) John?’)

John went to Paris.

(circumstantial adverbial – ‘Where did John go?’)

The firm sent John to Paris.

(circumstantial adverbial – ‘Where did the firm send John?’)

The ball is under the chair.

(circumstantial complement – ‘Where (is) the ball?’)

She found the ball under the chair.

(circumstantial adverbial – ‘Where did she find the ball?’)

Prepositional phrase complement roles

The approach further allows us to point to the fact that sentences can contain prepositional phrases which, though similar in formal structure, fulfil a range of contrasting syntactic functions, as seen in the following examples:

John is in good health.

John is in Paris.

This letter is to Mary.

All three of these have a complement relationship with the subject through the relational verb. However, *in good health* specifies a feature of the subject (‘How is X?’ / ‘In what state is X?’) and is C^{ATT}, whereas *in Paris* marks the location of the subject (‘Where is X?’) and is C^{CIRC}, and *to Mary* is an oblique element answering ‘Who is X to?’ – C^{OBL}.

Circumstantial adverbial versus object

Having outlined direct objects, oblique objects and circumstantial adverbial elements, we would now point to a hierarchy operating between them. The hierarchy operates in such a way that, even if an element appears to respond to the test for a direct object (‘who/what?’), if it also properly responds to the test for an oblique object (‘who/what + preposition?’), it should be classed as an oblique object. Likewise, if an element appears to respond to the test for an oblique object, but it also properly responds to the test for an adverbial element (‘how/why/when/where, etc.’?), then it should be analysed as an adverbial.

- (i) ‘who/what + SUBJ + PRED(+ particle)’ – direct object
(particle used in test with phrasal verbs)
i.e. ‘WH-^{NOMINAL}’ question.
- (ii) ‘who/what + SUBJ + PRED(+ OBJ) + prep’ – oblique object
(preposition may or may not be present in clause structure)
i.e. ‘WH-^{NOMINAL} + prep’ question.
- (iii) ‘where/when/how/why ...’ – circumstantial adverbial
i.e. ‘WH-^{ADVERBIAL}’ question.

The element under consideration is thus tested as far down the hierarchy as it will respond and is classified according to the lowest test that it satisfies. For example, in *The firm supplied John the paper*, the noun *John* would appear to answer the direct object question ‘Who did the firm supply?’. However, the question ‘Who did the firm supply the paper to?’ can also properly be asked and consequently *John* is analysed as an oblique object. Similarly, in *We put the knives in the drawer* the phrase *in the drawer* might seem to answer the oblique object-oriented question ‘What did you put the knives in?’. Again, however, it also properly answers the circumstantial orientated ‘Where did you put the knives?’ and is analysed accordingly. See also *We came by taxi*, where the question ‘What did you come by?’ is overridden by ‘How (by what means) did you come?’. Another example in which the operation of this hierarchy is usefully demonstrated may be taken from an illustration by Halliday to show how the nominal completive element of a prepositional phrase may be separated from the preposition and become subject, leaving the preposition isolated. Compare

You shouldn't walk on this floor for a few days.

This floor shouldn't be walked on for a few days.

The fact that with a change of verbal voice the nominal phrase *this floor*, which is related to the prepositional phrase *on this floor* from the first sentence, can become the subject of the second example is not a sufficient criterion for *on this floor* to be analysed as an oblique object. In terms of the question tests the adverbially orientated 'Where shouldn't we walk?' supersedes the object orientated 'What shouldn't we walk on?'. This pair of examples is thus in sharp contrast with

She gave the instructions to John.

John was given the instructions.

Here *to John* meets both the formal and question criteria for an oblique object and in the related clause with *John* as subject the preposition has in fact disappeared.

There is also a distinction to be drawn between the example containing *walk on this floor* and the following:

The headmaster has spoken to John.

John has been spoken to.

Although, like *shouldn't be walked on*, in the string *has spoken to* the preposition has been incorporated within the verbal phrase, the prepositional phrase *to John* in the first sentence here does meet the normal requirements for an oblique object and would fail the circumstantial adverbial question test.

10.4.2 Adjunct adverbials

Most of the other types of adverbials are non-ideational. As such they are always non-nuclear elements of structure; they necessarily represent some form of optional, interpolated element. They can, therefore, readily be referred to as adjuncts:

(a) **interpersonal adjuncts** – A^{PERS}

(b) **conjunctive adjuncts** – A^{CONJ}.

Under the heading 'conjunctive adjuncts' will be included:

- (i) conjuncts, e.g. *We therefore require a fresh supply.*
- (ii) coordinating conjunctions / linkers, e.g. *and, but, or.*
- (iii) subordinating conjunctions / binders which introduce nominal subordinate clauses and whose only function is the binding one, e.g. *that, whether.*

To mark the linking and binding elements mentioned under (b)(ii) and (b)(iii), sometimes separate labels or at least adjunct superscripts have been employed. In the framework developed here, however, additional labels are unnecessary, as the difference between the various types of conjunctive adjunct will be identifiable from their word class: conjuncts are realized by adverbs, linkers by coordinating conjunctions, and binders by subordinating conjunctions as illustrated below.

A^{CONJ}

adv

We | therefore | require | a fresh supply.

A^{CONJ}
 conj
She's going || but | I'm staying.

A^{CONJ}
 sub
John | said || that | he | was | ill.

Note, however, that subordinating conjunctions which introduce adverbial subordinate clauses will be handled differently, as circumstantial adverbial elements. This is because they do not serve just to introduce the clause but they also mark its particular circumstantial role.

A^{CIRC}
 sub
We | went | for a curry || after | the meeting | had finished.

A^{CIRC}
 sub
The meeting | was postponed || because | ten members | were | away.

Indeed, the circumstantial role of the subordinate clause can often be replaced by a prepositional phrase or an adverb marking the same circumstantial relationship, e.g.

A^{CIRC}
 prep
We | went | for a curry | after the meeting.

A^{CIRC}
 adv
We | went | for a curry | afterwards/after.

Adjunctive proposition

There is a further type of element which needs to be considered under the heading of adjunct, that of the secondary proposition which is realized by a supplementary clause (Halliday's former 'adding' clause.) These appear as sentential relative clauses, such as *The meeting finished early, which was very pleasing; We've already packed, which will reduce the last-minute panic.* Unlike circumstantial adverbial clauses, the role of these sentential relative clauses lies outside the primary domain of the superordinate proposition, merely providing a supplement to it. They rather express a subsequent comment or event, but in either case it is expressed in the form of an **adjunctive proposition**. The grammatical relationship with the preceding superordinate clause is provided by the use of a relative *wh-* word, which has the whole of that preceding clause as its antecedent. Indeed, they are closely associated with clauses which express identical content meaning but which are syntactically paratactic and hence not conjoined in a bound, relative relationship, cf.

The meeting finished early. This was very pleasing.
We've already packed. This will reduce the last-minute panic.

Where they offer a personal comment, they are **interpersonal** and will be labelled A^{PERS} in the

ordinary way. This means that they are grouped alongside other, non-relative supplementary clauses which offer a personal comment or which provide a lead into the main clause, such as

What is more surprising, he didn't even apologize.

As you probably know, we were away last week.

If I may be so bold, this coffee is just a bit too strong.

If you want my opinion, she should be given more encouragement.

While we're on the subject, why didn't you let me know?

Since/if you're so clever, what's wrong with this example?

Where sentential relative clauses provide a secondary idea, we can think of them as **ideational** adjunctive propositions. They will be labelled A + . Other examples would include:

At the meeting the treasurer was censured for financial mismanagement, whereupon he offered his resignation.

Angus was made redundant in October, following which he has had to sell his car.

Mary was mugged in May, from which experience she is only now recovering.

10.5 Predicator

As outlined in the previous chapter, it has become general practice in systemic descriptions to recognize the Finite (the operator verb which expresses the tense or modality of the verbal group) as an element of clause structure distinct from the Predicator (the remainder of the verbal group). See, for example, Halliday (1994a: 72–9), e.g.

F P

Who | has killed | Cock Robin?

However, the Finite is conflated with the Predicator whenever the main verb is carrying the tense, e.g.

F/P

Who | killed | Cock Robin?

Halliday's framework thereby permits more than one element of clause structure to be realized by elements of the same verbal group.

Slightly differently, Fawcett (1974–76/1981) dispenses with the Predicator and the verbal group and treats the various component elements of the verbal group all as separate elements of clause structure: Operator (equivalent to the Finite element), Auxiliary, Main Verb, Adverbial Particle (nowadays known as the 'Main Verb Extension') and Infinitive Particle.

Such contrasting approaches to the handling of verbal elements prompt us to enquire what criteria should determine clause versus group constituency, and what relationship should exist between elements of clause and group structure.

As we shall see in Chapter 11 (Phrase structure), a phrase/group is a grouping of words which focus around a headword. In a verbal phrase the headword is the main verb, the operator and other auxiliary verbs serve to modify the main verb for tense, modality, aspect and voice, and the particle's role is to enhance the lexical meaning of the main verb. The category of structure interacting with the scale of rank identifies elements of the clause as those word groups playing an immediate role within its structure. Indeed, contrary to Halliday's division of the verbal group into two to allow for the clause elements Finite and Predicator, the original syntactic framework in systemic grammar laid out by Halliday makes no provision for two or more clause elements to be realized by different constituents of the same group. Nor does it provide

for a component element of group structure to be upgraded to serve as an element of clause structure. In his seminal foundation article 'Categories of the theory of grammar', Halliday (1961: 251, 257) writes:

- (a) 'the theory . . . does not allow for upward rank shift',
- (b) 'only whole units can enter into higher units',
- (c) 'a unit can . . . not, in any case, [include] a part of a unit',
- (d) 'the relation of "class" to "structure" is such that a class of a given unit stands in [a] one/one relation to an element of structure of the unit next above: thus, the exponent of the *element* P in the structure of the unit "clause" is the *class* "verbal" of the unit "group"'.

I thus interpret the grammar's backbone framework as advocating the retention of the one-to-one relationship between the verbal group and the Predicator. Consideration of a finite element I thus leave until the analysis of phrase structure in the next chapter. (During discussion at the 25th International Systemic Functional Congress 1998, though he did not elaborate on the reasons why nor offer his alternative, Michael Halliday himself conceded that he was not entirely happy with the inclusion of Finite as an element of clause structure.)

10.6 Functional analysis of clause structure revised

In respect of non-independent elements, the earlier chart mapping semantic role and syntactic function can now be expanded as follows:

ideational roles process participant quality circumstance proposition	syntactic function verbal nominal adjectival adverbial adverbial	structural element predicator subject object complement complement adverbial element complement adjunct
interpersonal roles conjunctive roles	adverbial nominal adverbial	adjunct vocative adjunct

The schema for labelling all elements of clause structure is now summarized below, followed by some examples of the analysis in action.

- S = subject: nominative – S^{NOM}
 attributive – S^{ATT}
 circumstantial – S^{CIRC}
- P = predicator
- O = object: direct – O^{DIR}
 oblique – O^{OBL}

C = complement: direct – C^{DIR} (identifying – C^{DIR})
 oblique – C^{OBL}
 attributive – C^{ATT}
 circumstantial – C^{CIRC}

 complement to object – C^(O)

 complement to subject – C^(S)

A^{CIRC} = circumstantial adverbial element

NOM = independent nominal element

VOC = vocative element

ideational adjunct – A +

interpersonal adjunct – A^{PERS}

conjunctive adjunct – A^{CONJ}

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} A^{CIRC} A^{CIRC}

||| *The baby* | *sucked* | *the sweet* | *noisily* | *in the pram.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} O^{OBL}

||| *We* | *bought* | *a bicycle* | *for Ruth.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{OBL} O^{DIR}

||| *We* | *bought* | *Ruth* | *a bicycle.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} O^{OBL}

||| *Ian* | *received* | *a card* | *from Mary.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{OBL}

||| *They* | *objected* | *to the plan.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} O^{OBL}

||| *I* | *played* | *chess* | *with Hamish.* |||

S^{NOM} P O^{OBL}

||| *He* | *was astonished* | *by the result.* |||

S^{NOM} P = C^{DIR(S)}

||| *Tom* | *is* | *the president.* |||

S^{NOM} P C^{DIR(S)}

||| *Ruth* | *seems* | *a nice girl.* |||

S^{NOM} P C^{OBL(S)}

||| *The lecture* | *is* | *about memory techniques.* |||

S^{NOM} P C^{ATT(S)}

||| *Jean* | *is* | *in a good mood.* |||

S^{NOM} P C^{ATT(S)}

||| *Tom* | *is* | *very fit.* |||

S^{NOM} P C^{CIRC(S)}

|||John | is | in the kitchen.|||

NOM

|||Three blind mice.|||

Note

1 J. Lyons (1977) *Semantics*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 435.

Phrase structure

As outlined in Part II, Class, nowadays the following classes of phrasal unit are typically recognized in systemic syntax: nominal phrase, adjectival phrase, verbal phrase, adverbial phrase and prepositional phrase. (With the exception of the prepositional phrase, I have also mentioned that the more frequently found term is 'group'.) To these I have added the genitive phrase and the subordinator phrase.

With respect to classification of the central element of a phrase, there are in the literature on systemic grammar several approaches. In a nominal phrase it has traditionally been known as a 'head' element or headword. In an adverbial and adjectival phrase, as well as headword, it has also been called the 'apex' (see, for example, Muir 1972: 49 and Fawcett 1974–76/1981: 12). In the prepositional phrase the central element has also been marked as a 'prepend' (Muir and Fawcett) or just as a 'preposition' (Berry 1975: 66). For the verbal phrase we note that Berry also has preferred the term 'verb' to headword. But with a view to establishing a consistency of terminology across all types of phrase, we shall seek commonality in the use of the term **head element** or **headword**, and to illustrate its nature we will, for the time being at least, employ the label **h**, as shown in the following examples containing single word phrases:

h h h h
She | *supped* | *soup* | *silently*.

h h h
Jack | *was* | *outstanding*.

The class of word by which the headword element is realized will in fact be incorporated into the analysis at a later stage. Typically, however, the class of phrase is reflected in the formal class of word occupying the headword position. Thus, for example, the verbal phrase will have a verbal word, i.e. a verb, as its headword.

11.1 Nominal phrase

Nominal phrase structure is accounted for in terms of the basic elements **determiner (d)**, **modifier (m)**, **nominal head element / headword (h)** and **qualifier (q)**, e.g.

d m m h q
the new electricity showrooms across the road

The headword itself is expressed by a nominal word, that is to say a noun or pronoun, e.g.

John really is silly.

The equipment has arrived.

He/Somebody's here.

These/Mine are still hot.

Very few | Only five have been selected.

11.1.1 Determiner

The determiner is that element of the phrase which specifies the subset of the headword being referred to. Selection is generally interpreted as being based on criteria of deixis and quantification/numeration.

Deixis spans definiteness and indefiniteness (typically associated with articles *a* and *the* but by no means limited to them) together with identification and possession. Thus, for example, definiteness is built into the meaning of the demonstratives *this* and *that* or the possessives, e.g. *my*, *your*, as also it is into the exclamative use of the *wh-* and *typic* pronouns *what* and *such* in *What/Such a sight!*. Deictic determiners can frequently be elicited by the questions 'Which X?', 'Whose X?'

Quantification includes exact and inexact numeratives, in other words numerals and quantifiers (including fractions and multipliers), which can typically be elicited with the questions 'How much / many X?'

Determiners thus typically embrace

- (a) **articles**, i.e. *a*, *the*: *The car is ready.*
 - (b) **pronouns** – various subclasses:
 - (i) **demonstratives**, e.g. *this*, *that*:
These carvings are amazing.
 - (ii) **possessives**, e.g. *my*, *his*, *her*, *your*:
My biro is missing.
 - (iii) **relatives** – *whose*, *which*:
The man whose leg is in plaster is a dentist;
I shall be off at 6 a.m., by which time the sun will be up.
 - (iv) **interrogatives** – *which*, *what*, *whose*:
Which dress will you wear?
What time is the ceilidh?
 - (v) **typics**:
I can't understand such stupidity.
 - (vi) **exclamatives**:
What nonsense!
What a nuisance!
 - (vii) **quantifiers**, e.g. *all*, *both*, *many*, *some*, *few*, *several*, *no*, *each*, *every*, *any*, *much*, *either*, *neither*:
All contributions will be gratefully received.
Some participants have already paid.
Every competitor finished in under four minutes.
 - (viii) **numerals**, e.g. *two*, *fourteen*:
Two houses have been sold already this week.
- (In the related sentences *All of the contributions will be gratefully received*, *Some of the participants have already paid* and *Two of the houses have been sold this week*, however, the words *all*, *some* and *two* will be handled not as determiners but as phrasal headword elements.)
- (c) **genitive phrases**, e.g. *David's*, *my sister's*, *the new university's*:
My sister's house is very tidy.
 - (d) **adjectives**. Some grammarians have also included a restricted set of adjectives which, like pronominal and genitive phrase determiners, perform a selective function rather than the 'normal' qualitative/feature characterization role, e.g.
 - particularization: *certain*, *previous*, *former*, *latter*, *other*.
 - quantification: *complete*, *whole*, *entire*, *total*, *only*, *sole*.

Thus one can see that the nature of these adjectives is rather to identify or quantify a subset of

the headword entity. As such they are subject to the determiner questions 'Which X?', 'How much/many X?'. However, this subgroup of determiners is not universally recognized by grammarians nor is its precise scope universally agreed. So, for example, in keeping with this rather indeterminate state of affairs, some grammarians would, in addition to the examples above, include under this adjectival heading further subgroupings determined by a particular feature, such as

similarity: *same, identical, different*;
 usuality: *normal, usual, customary*;
 fame/familiarity: *famous, well-known, familiar, notorious*;
 superlative adjectives, e.g. *biggest*.

A number of these types of determiner, e.g. articles, demonstratives, possessives, genitive phrases, certain quantifiers, have been regarded by some (e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985)) as 'central determiners' on the basis that only one of them can occur in any one phrase. (As determiners, the words *some, no, each, every, any, much, either, neither* occur only in central position.) Thus, for example, one cannot say **The this your my brother's neither car is ready*. (When two do occur in juxtaposition, e.g. *This, my sister's car, is ready*, the determiners *this* and *my sister's* are in apposition, not in a dependency sequence.)

In addition, some quantifiers (e.g. *all, both*) together with fractions and multipliers (e.g. *half, one quarter | a quarter; double, twice, four times*) and the typic/exclamatory words *such* and *what* can occur before the central determiners and, as such, have been labelled 'predeterminers' (see, for example, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 257–61).

all the houses; both the boys;
half the book; a quarter the distance;
twice the bother; four times the effort;
what a sight!; such a mess!

Equally, some quantifiers (*many, few*) together with both cardinal and now ordinal numerals (e.g. *two; second*) can occur after the central determiner and have thus been called 'postdeterminers' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 261–4). (The concept of ordinal – and Halliday (1985a: 163) uses the term 'ordinative' – in this context is broadened to take into account not just ordinal numerals but also inexact expressions such as *next* and *last*, whose role is still to mark a position in a given sequence.)

the many problems; a few people;
the five cairns; the two models;
the fifth cairn; the second model;
the next cairn; the final model.

(As above, however, in sentences such as *A few were disappointed* or *The fifth was on a Monday* the quantifier and the numeral are handled as the headword of the nominal phrase, not as a postdeterminer.)

However, the terms 'predeterminer' and 'postdeterminer' would seem helpful only if there is an actual central determiner present which they precede or follow. For example the quantifier *all* may well perhaps be analysed as a predeterminer in *all the attempts*, but in a phrase where it is the only determiner present, as in *all attempts*, that analysis would seem inappropriate. Similarly, the numeral *five* could be seen as a postdeterminer in the phrase *the five attempts* but this analysis would again seem not to apply in *five attempts*.

Though it is not the mode of analysis which will be adopted here, a way forward, therefore, might be to analyse single element determiners as 'd', however they are realized, and to use the

labels predeterminer ('pre-d') and postdeterminer ('post-d') as appropriate when there is more than one determiner, as illustrated below.

d h d h
all attempts; five attempts

pre-d d h pre-d d h
all five attempts; the five attempts

pre-d d post-d h
all the five attempts

Fawcett's analysis (1974-76/1981: 18) is also developed in terms of the criterion that the role of a determiner is to answer the questions 'How much/many?', 'Which?', 'Whose?'; but then, instead of the terms predeterminer and postdeterminer, he itemizes various subclasses of determiner, which he labels with superscripts and sets out in linear sequence (Fawcett 1980: 204), e.g.

d^q v d^s v d^d h
a small number of the most precious of this nation's taxis
 (d^q = quantifying determiner; d^s = superlative determiner; d^d = deictic determiner; v = selector)

It will be noted that Fawcett's analysis takes *taxis* rather than (*a small*) *number* as the head element of the phrase. In choosing this strict linear mode of analysis, his tenet is that the essential concept in understanding the relationships between the various determiners is that of selection. The prepositional selector *of*, he explains, makes the semantic relationship of selection explicit, and *a small number, the most precious and this nation's* are thus treated by him as selectional criteria determining the head element *taxis*. In this book I too look for an approach which reflects meaning structure, but seek an analysis which focuses primarily on the syntactic constituency.

Before taking up this point further, I shall consider the issue posed by complex determiners such as *a lot of, the rest of, a number of*, as compared with a simple quantifier such as *many*:

A lot of the runners were affected.
A lot of runners were affected.
Many of the runners were affected.
 **Many of runners were affected.*
 **Many the runners were affected.*
Many runners were affected.
A lot were affected.
Many were affected.

A lot of the trouble was caused by lack of information.
Much of the trouble was caused by lack of information.
A lot was caused by lack of information.

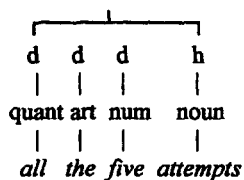
Huddleston (1984: 237-8) discusses the pros and cons of two different approaches to analysis of such structures. In the first and preferred analysis (converted into our terms) he would handle *a* as the determiner, *lot* as the headword and then *of the runners* as a prepositional phrase qualifier.

d h q
a lot of the runners

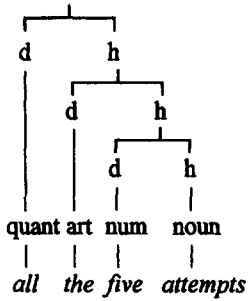
Lot here does indeed fulfil two criteria for being recognized as a noun: an adjective can be inserted between the article and the headword, e.g. *a great lot*, and *a lot* can be put into the plural – *lots*.

In the second analysis he raises the possibility of handling *a lot of* as a complex determiner but then rejects this in view of the fact that the word *runners* following *of* can have its own determiner, e.g. *a lot of the/these/our runners*. Bearing in mind that the elements determiner and predeterminer outlined above are functional elements of structure and not formal classes, one way round this might seem to be to consider treating *a lot of* either as a complex, three-word determiner in a context such as *a lot of runners*, or as a complex predeterminer in a context such as *a lot of the/these/our runners*. However, we note that it is possible to say *many of the runners* and *many runners* but not **many of runners* or **many the runners*; also one can say *A lot were affected* and *Many were affected*. From this we conclude that *a lot of* is equivalent to *many of* rather than just to *many*, and that just the two words *a lot* equate to *many*. Thus, to treat *a lot of* as a complex determiner (or predeterminer, according to context) would not be treating like with like. Furthermore, as with Fawcett's use of the term 'selector', it would involve making a special case for analysing the preposition *of* in such a way that the following element, e.g. *the runners*, was not structurally dependent on it. Such an analysis would then contrast syntactically with that of, for example, *the task of the runners* / *the fitness of the runners* / *the position of the runners* in which *task/fitness/position* would be seen as the headword (cf. *the runners' task*, etc.). Our analysis, however, would wish to record in principle similarities of syntactic structure, firstly, between *A lot of the runners were affected* and *A lot were affected* (the difference between them being merely that the subject phrase *a lot* in the second sentence has no qualifier), and, secondly, between *A lot of the runners* and *The task of the runners* (the difference between them being that in the first the headword is a quantifier *lot* and in the second the headword is a common noun *task*).

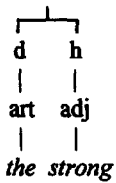
I return now to the analysis of *all the five attempts*. In an example like this there is a cluster of determiners *all the five* which, without employing the terms predeterminer and postdeterminer, could be analysed in a simple linear format, thus:



Alternatively, in accordance with the concepts behind the terms predeterminer and postdeterminer, it can be argued that across the three determiners a tiered, logical dependency relationship can be identified such that each determiner sequentially determines the remainder of the nominal phrase. Thus, one can ask 'All what?' (= *the five attempts*), 'The what?' (= *five attempts*), 'Five what?' (= *attempts*), or indeed 'How many (of) the five attempts?', 'Which five attempts?', and 'How many attempts?'. To capture this graduated relationship, on any one line of analysis only one determiner might be analysed with a head element. If, therefore, a nominal phrase contains more than one determiner, that is to say a determiner cluster, then the first could be analysed as the top node determiner with a head element, the head element being then expanded into a second determiner plus headword and so on.



Before outlining the modifier and qualifier, it is useful to illustrate the analysis of phrases such as *the poor*, *the rich*, *the young*, *the old*, etc., which although they have an adjective as the headword are normally regarded as realizing a syntactically nominal function – they relate to a participant – and are normally analysed within a nominal phrase. In a sentence such as *The strong will always succeed* or *We must not forget the infirm*, the nominal function of the phrase in question would be analysed as subject or object as appropriate. This is followed by analysis of the phrase structure (here d + h) and finally the word class (art + adj.).



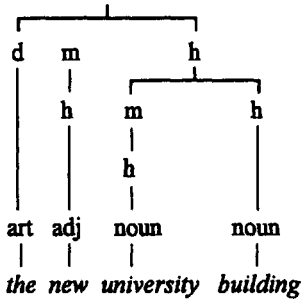
11.1.2 Modifier

The element occurring between the determiner and the headword element is the modifier and its function is determined by this position. Modifiers include primarily adjectives, participles and nouns:

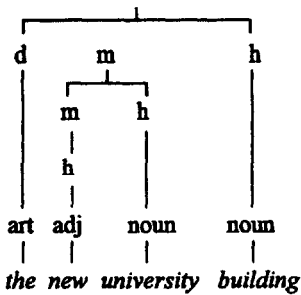
- (a) adjectives (**adj**), e.g. *that enormous, old, red bucket*
- (b) participles, present and past (**verb**), e.g. *a drowning man, baked potatoes*
 (Here *drowning* and *baked* are functioning adjectivally as modifiers but are themselves verbs rather than adjectives. They cannot themselves be modified by degree adverbs, e.g. *very*, yet they can be modified by manner adverbs, e.g. *a gradually drowning man, well baked potatoes*.)

Of course, just because a headword has two or more modifiers does not mean that these modifiers are in a modifying relationship to each other, as we saw earlier with the example *that enormous old red bucket*.

In a nominal phrase such as *the new university building* or *the Scottish Gas Board* we have potentially ambiguous structures. To take the first of these, we could be talking, on the one hand, about a new building at the university and, on the other, about a building at the new university. In the first instance *new* will modify *university building* and within that *university* will modify *building*.

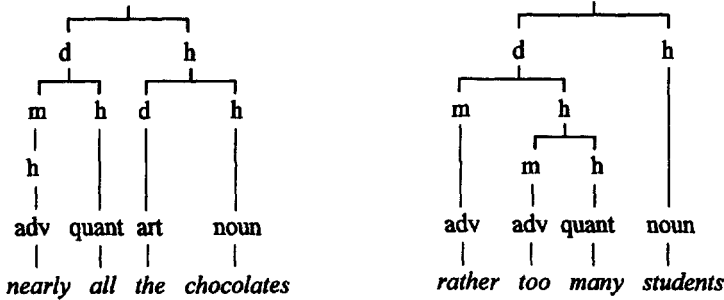


In the second example *new university* will modify *building* and within that *new* will modify *university*.

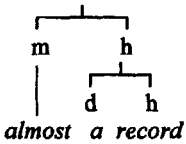


In respect of the second example, *the Scottish Gas Board*, similar analyses apply according to whether we are talking about the Gas Board as it relates to Scotland or about the Board pertaining to the firm Scottish Gas.

Having outlined the nature of the modifier, I would at this point return to a further, brief consideration of the determiner. As Radford¹ points out, determiners also permit 'phrasal' expansion by modification, e.g. *nearly all the chocolates*, *rather too many students*. But these expansions are not phrases as such on a par with nominal phrases, etc. Nevertheless, in such instances the determiner element does have a substructure, for analysis of which I will use the terms 'modifier' and 'head element'.



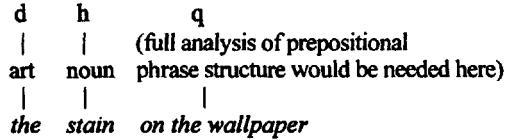
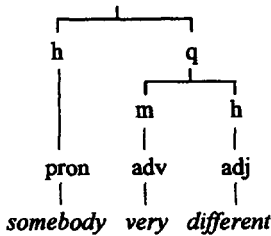
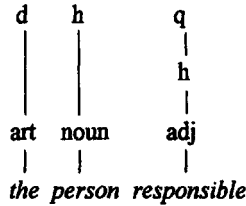
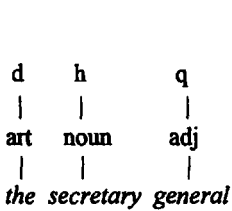
There is thus a slight difference between the role of the modifier adverb to the determiner here and that of the adverb modifying the whole of a nominal phrase, e.g. *almost a record*, *quite a novelty*, *rather a pity*:



11.1.3 Qualifier

Qualifiers are those elements which are placed after the headword and are, therefore, also determined by position. In certain, fairly limited circumstances in English this position and role may be filled by an adjective, e.g. *the secretary general*, *the princess royal*, *the president elect*, *the person responsible*, *something tasty*, *nothing new*, *the fastest time possible*. (In expressions like *something tasty*, *nothing new* and *the person responsible*, the adjective can be seen as a single word adjectival phrase which is further expandable, viz. *something quite tasty*, *nothing very new*,

the person directly responsible. A number of expressions which include adjectival qualifiers, though, are in practice fixed and non-expandable, e.g. *the secretary general*, *the princess royal*, *the president elect*. In some phrases, such as *the fastest time possible*, the qualifier *possible* is actually qualifying the modifier *fastest* rather than the headword noun.) There is also the possibility of a qualifier being filled by an adverb, e.g. *the journey there/here*, *the way in/out*, *the time before(hand)/after(wards)*, *the climb up/down*. However, the qualifier is more commonly expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g. *the Hound of the Baskervilles*, *the stain on the wallpaper*, *the man with the yellow socks*, or by a relative subordinate clause, e.g. *the car that I drove yesterday*, *the map which Pat lost*, *the boy who delivers the papers*. (Some types of relative clause can of course occur without the relative pronoun, e.g. *the car I drove yesterday*, *the map Pat lost*.) The analysis of qualifiers expressed by these larger units is described later. The systemic term 'qualifier' is thus equivalent to the term 'post-headword modifier', or **postmodifier** for short, as found in other grammars.



d	h	q
art	noun	(full analysis of bound clause would be needed here)
<i>the boy who delivers the papers</i>		

In the same way that modifiers can be expanded to build up left-branching complexity of structure, so also qualifiers, which in respect of the nominal phrase in English are most readily associated with prepositional phrases, can build up 'right-branching complexity'. Thus, for example, in the nominal phrase *the nest in the corner of the shed* the sequence *in the corner of the shed* directly qualifies *nest*, but within that sequence the prepositional phrase *of the shed* qualifies *corner*. The phrase *of the shed* thus qualifies *nest* only indirectly.

Analysis of a complex phrase such as *the nest in the corner of the shed*, however, must wait until prepositional phrases have been analysed.

11.2 Adjectival phrase

Adjectival phrases typically have an adjectival headword and are analysable in terms of the basic elements modifier (m), headword element (h) and qualifier (q).

	m	h	q
<i>The players</i>		<i>are</i>	<i>very fit indeed.</i>

	m	h
<i>The lounge</i>		<i>is already quite warm.</i>

	h	q
<i>The mower</i>		<i>is surely sharp enough.</i>

	h	q
<i>This knife</i>		<i>is sharper than that one.</i>

	m	h	q
<i>This problem</i>		<i>is more difficult than I imagined.</i>	

From these examples we see that adjectival phrase modifiers are typically adverbs but we note that the modifier *more* in *more difficult* can be expanded into *quite considerably*/ *very much*/ *rather more difficult*, in which case – as with nominal phrase modifiers – the phrasal substructure would be formally marked.

Adjectival qualifiers are typically realized by adverbs (*enough, indeed*), prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses. A point worth drawing attention to (see also Halliday 1994a: 210–11) is that in the last example, *This problem is more difficult than I imagined*, the subordinate clause qualifier *than I imagined* is technically dependent not on the head element *difficult* but on the modifier *more*, which marks the comparative form and thus initiates the comparison. The same

relationship would apply too if the qualifier was expressed by a prepositional phrase, as in *This problem is more difficult than the last one*. In the previous example, *This knife is sharper than that one*, however, the matter does not arise in the same way, as the comparative element *-er* is built into the headword *sharper*.

In the earlier stages of systemic grammar the adjectival phrase was regarded as a subtype of nominal phrase. Following Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 14–15), however, it is generally treated as a distinct class of phrase, though it is of note that Halliday (1994a) still does not discuss the adjectival phrase (group) at all. The importance of distinguishing a discrete adjectival phrase can be shown by reference to the analysis of the following pair of sentences:

m h

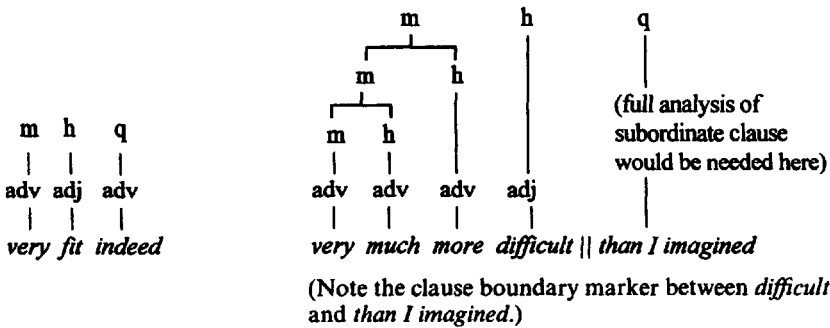
All the players | are | very fit.

m h

All the players | are | fit men.

I have argued that phrases are classified on formal criteria according to the class of word which functions as the headword. If, therefore, the two phrases realizing complements *very fit* and *fit men* were not handled as separate adjectival and nominal phrases but rather as variant types of nominal phrase, then the words *fit* in the first sentence and *men* in the second would both need to be described as nominal headwords.

Combined with the labelling of word class, a sample analysis of the elements of adjectival phrase structure appears as follows:



11.3 Adverbial phrase

The adverbial phrase has an adverbial headword and is similarly analysable in terms of modifier (m), headword element (h) and qualifier (q). (The terms ‘temperer’, ‘apex’ and

'limiter/finisher' are also to be found in the literature for handling both adjectival and adverbial phrases.)

m h

This plant | has grown | very suddenly.

m h

The new member | plays | quite well.

h q

The brakes | don't work | quickly enough.

h q

This knife | cuts | better than that one.

m h q

This knife | cuts | more sharply than that one.

m h q

This knife | cuts | more sharply || than we expected.

m h q

This engine | runs | as quietly || as you could wish.

Modifiers in adverbial phrases are also typically expressed by adverbs (or, as becomes more apparent in *so much more sharply*, adverbial phrases) and qualifiers by adverbs, prepositional phrases or subordinate clauses. Again, therefore, modifiers and qualifiers are generally analysed as being realized by phrasal units rather than just a word rank unit. Also the point, mentioned above in Section 11.2, Adjectival phrase, that the subordinate comparative clause qualifiers *than we expected* and *as you could wish* are, strictly speaking, dependent not on the phrasal headword but on the comparative element – the modifiers *more* and *as* – is equally applicable within the adverbial phrase.

Fawcett draws attention to the commonality of structure between adjectival and adverbial phrases. Although each has its own distinctive function, both phrases are analysable in terms of modifier, headword and qualifier. (Fawcett employs different terms.)

adjectival phrase:

m h q

His action | was | very quick indeed.

adverbial phrase:

m h q

He | acted | very quickly indeed.

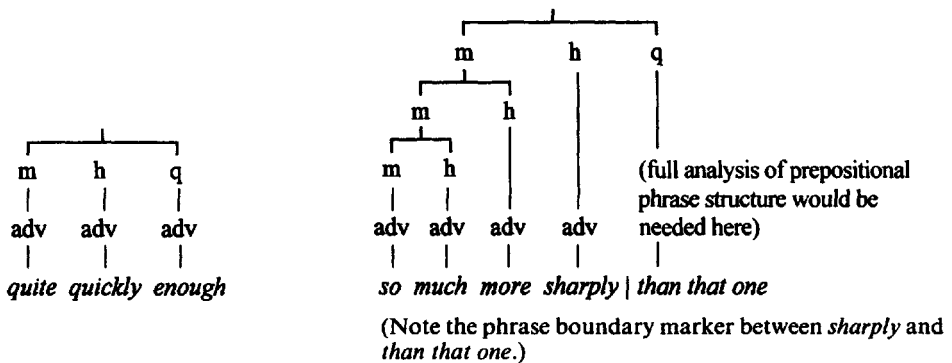
At an early stage, Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 11; 1980: 92) in fact goes further, combining the two separate classes of phrase into a new, single 'quantity-quality' group. (Latterly, though, Fawcett (e.g. 1997) talks of quantity and quality groups as separate classes of unit.) Writing in a transformational rather than a systemic context, Radford² takes up essentially the same point. He argues that adjectives and adverbs permit the same range of modifiers, e.g. *very*, *rather*, *quite*, and that they occur in complementary distribution; he, in fact, suggests a new word class 'adjective'. However, we do not here propose to work with a new class of phrase or word

because, although adjectives and adverbs do occur in systematic complementary distribution, the structural contexts in which they do so and the structural relationships which they enter into are very different. Let us take a pair of Radford's examples:

His speech is quite slow.
He talks quite slowly.

Here we see that the adjective *slow* occurs after the copular, relational verb *is* and that it is the headword of an adjectival element which specifies an attribute relating back to the subject *his speech*. The adverb *slowly*, on the other hand, occurs after the lexical, verbal process verb *talks* and is the headword of an adverbial element which specifies a circumstance relating back to the predicator. Equally, as adjectives and adverbs frequently (but, of course, not always) differ in form, e.g. *quick* versus *quickly*, *frequent* versus *frequently*, the creation of a new, single word class would not simplify understanding of the grammar in the public domain. My argument, then, is that the similarity of functional structure should be recognized – and this has been done in assigning the same three basic elements: modifier, headword and qualifier – but that the difference of formal class should be retained.

A sample analysis of the elements of structure of the adverbial phrase together with their word class exponents is as follows:



11.4 Prepositional phrase

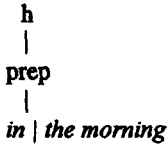
To describe the composition of the prepositional phrase the basic terms 'prepositional headword / head element' (h) and 'completive'/'complement' (c) are used.

$$\text{h} \quad \text{c}$$
Susan | is sitting | in | the lounge.

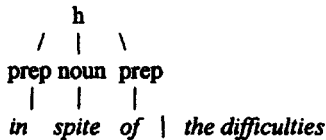
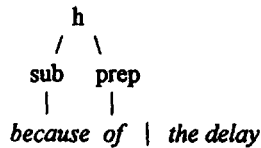
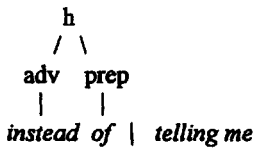
(The phrase boundary marker | is inserted before the completive *the lounge* as that element is expressed by a nominal phrase.)

Though not unique in this respect, prepositional phrases have the property of requiring a completive element, and it is for this reason that Halliday has also recognized the prepositional phrase as not merely just a 'group'.

The prepositional head element is most frequently associated with a single word, e.g. *of, to, for, by, with, from, in, on, at, etc.*, and in such cases the analysis of the headword and its word class is straightforward, as follows:

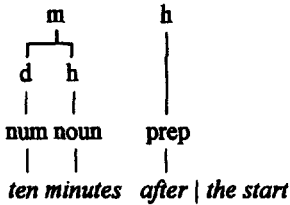
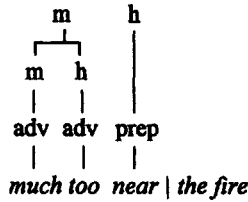
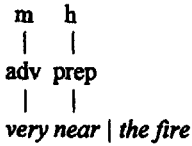


But as was mentioned under class, the head element may consist not just of a single headword but rather of a word complex, e.g. *instead of, apart from, together with, because of, in addition to, in spite of*. In such instances, in order to reflect this further detail, it would be possible to give an analysis of the word class composition, e.g.



For normal purposes, however, it might be considered preferable to handle the preposition simply as a word class with complex constituency but without further analysis.

Sometimes the prepositional head element is preceded by a modifying element limiting/tempering or intensifying the force of the preposition, e.g. *very near the fire, almost at the window, just over the hedge; quite beyond my comprehension; ten minutes after the start*. This function will be labelled 'modifier' (m), though as with adjectival and adverbial phrases the label 'temperer' is also to be found in the literature. Again, as with adjectival and adverbial phrases, the modifier is not confined to a single word but can often be expanded, e.g. *much too near the fire*, in which case its internal structure will be further analysed.



Completive elements may be realized by units of phrase or clause rank, e.g.

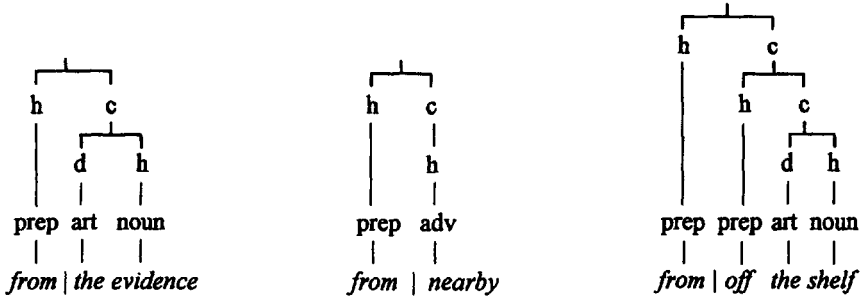
- phrase:** *from my understanding; after the forecast;*
clause: *from what I heard; after hearing the forecast.*

The most common class of phrase to occupy the completive slot is the nominal, but adverbial, adjectival and even further prepositional phrases are to be found.

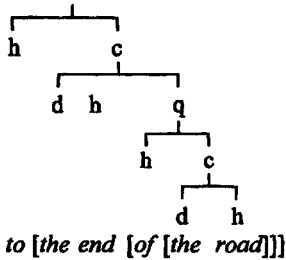
- nominal:** *from choice; to the next secretary general;*
 after the meeting; at the start of the journey;
 in the morning; with a stick;
adverbial: *from nearby; since then; by now;*
 until very recently; after tomorrow;
adjectival: *for sure; from bad to worse; in brief;*
prepositional: *from off the shelf; to near the table.*

Thus, whether the completive phrase consists of one or several words, it is handled as always having a substructure.

The following are examples of the full analysis of prepositional phrases with their complete elements.

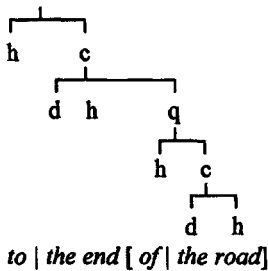


Berry (1975: 112) regards a complete element which consists of more than one word as being rankshifted, in other words realized by a unit of a rank higher than word (see Section 14.1, Recursion). Her analysis of constituent structure then involves the marking of each rankshifted element, as can be seen from her example *to the end of the road*. (Berry actually uses 'm' for modifier, rather than 'd' for determiner.)

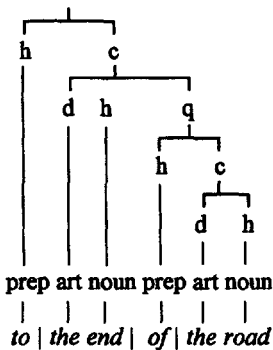


Sinclair (1972: 148), on the other hand, views the basic prepositional phrase as a phrase with a compound structure, in which neither of the constituent phrase elements is interpreted as

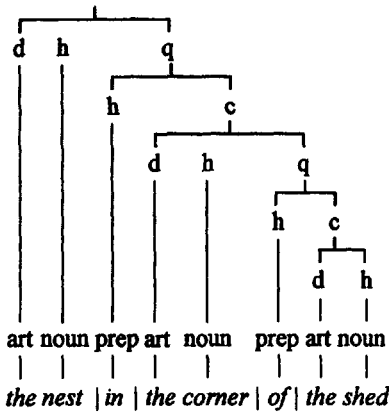
being rankshifted and in which, therefore, the realization of the completive element by a phrase unit is regarded as normal. (Phrases which act as qualifiers within the completive element continue to be handled as rankshifted.) A comparative analysis based on this approach is shown below.



The Sinclair-oriented approach thus significantly reduces the degree of complexity of line-marking which has to be recorded in the analysis. In this respect, the approach here favours the broad position taken by Sinclair. But I, in fact, take his stance further and, whilst continuing to mark phrase and clause boundaries, avoid the complexity of rankshift line-marking entirely. (Initial and terminal boundaries have likewise been omitted in this illustration.)



We are now in a position to analyse the example raised in Section 2.1, *the nest | in | the corner | of | the shed*, in which prepositional phrases are embedded within one another as qualifiers.



11.5 Genitive phrase

In Chapter 4, on Phrase class, I cited the explanation by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 328) that the genitive ending is not a case inflection of the noun but rather a 'postposed enclitic' in that 'its function is parallel to that of a preposition, except that it is placed after the noun phrase'. Huddleston (1984: 46-7; 1988a: 34-5) makes essentially the same point and contrasts *the daughter of the King of Spain*, in which *of the King of Spain* is a prepositional phrase, with *the King of Spain's daughter*, where *the King of Spain's* is a genitive phrase. (He actually uses the term 'possessive phrase'.) He considers that 'examples like these argue very strongly for treating 's as a grammatical word on its own' and concludes that, parallel to the structure of a prepositional phrase, within the genitive phrase the clitic 's is the head and the NP *the King of Spain* is the complement. In these terms, then, the principal syntactic difference between the normal prepositional phrase and the genitive phrase is the sequence of the head element (h) and the completive element (c). In the genitive phrase the clitic head element follows rather than precedes the completive element and, of course, has to be attached to it.

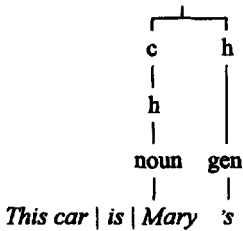
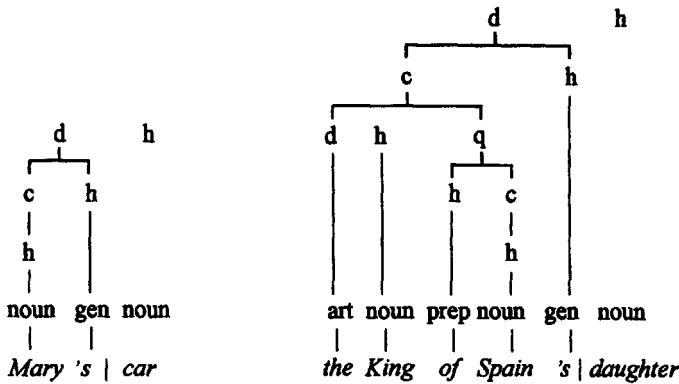
c h c h
Mary 's | car; The children 's | department

c h
the King of Spain 's | daughter

c h
This car | is | Mary 's.

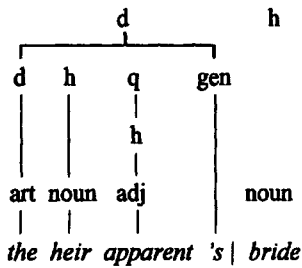
(Note that, in view of the fact that the genitive phrase is a phrase, when functioning as a determiner in a nominal phrase, such as *Mary's car*, *the children's department* or *the King of Spain's daughter*, it should, strictly, be separated by a phrase boundary marker from the headword of the nominal phrase.)

The complete element is realized by a nominal phrase, the substructure of which should also be analysed. Then the complete analysis will also include a specification of the word class as follows:



(Alongside the arguments and mode of analysis above, I should also point out an alternative approach to the analysis of genitive phrases as outlined in Leech *et al.* (1982: 65): 'GPs are just like NPs except that they end with the particle 's (' (i.e. GP = NP's)'. The analysis of the

example *the heir apparent's bride* (Leech *et al.* 1982: 57), adapted into our labelling scheme, would thus appear as follows:



Given, however, that the noun *heir* is marked as the headword of the genitive phrase, then in terms of the criteria originally laid out for class of phrase, it would seem that Leech *et al.*'s analysis should perhaps more properly be carried out as a variant type of nominal phrase rather than under a separate phrase class. See, for example, Thompson's reference (1996: 181) to a genitive nominal group, though he offers no examples of an actual analysis.)

11.6 Verbal phrase

The verbal phrase may be described in terms of the basic elements 'auxiliary' (x), 'verbal headword' (h), particle (p) and infinitive particle (inf). (Within the functional analysis 'auxiliary' is thus now an element of structure which is realized by a word unit of the class 'verb'. In keeping with the slimline labelling of phrase elements, therefore, 'x' can be used in place of 'aux', after Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 33). Fawcett nowadays, however, treats all the above verbal elements as elements of clause rather than phrase structure: see, for example, Fawcett 1997: 132–3.)

	x	h	p	
	┌───────────┴───────────┐			
	The union	has broken off	negotiations.	

	x	x	x	h	
	┌───────────┴───────────┐				
	The pressure	may have been mounting	all night.		

inf	h		x	h	
	┌───────────┴───────────┐				
	To stay	in bed	would do	you	more good.

Certain verbs 'to be', 'to do' and 'to have' can operate either as auxiliary verbs or as main verbs.

	h		x	h	
	┌───────────┴───────────┐				
	John	is	in bed;	John	is going
					to bed.

h x h
Nan | did | a jig; Nan | did dance | a jig.

h x h
Tom | has | a computer; Tom | has bought | a computer.

This also explains why the term verbal headword or main verb is used in preference to 'lexical element' (cf. Muir 1972: 41). Although the verbs *to be*, *to do* and *to have* can occur as the headword element, the first two at least are generally regarded as grammatical rather than lexical verbs.

Finite/operator

To mark the first mentioned auxiliary, Quirk *et al.* (1972: 65) use the term 'operator'. This initial element is the only part of the auxiliary which is involved in inversion and which is finite, e.g.

He has been beaten.
You are being conned.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 32–4; 1997) in fact goes further, treating the operator (O) as the verbal element (in clause rather than phrase structure) which mainly co-occurs with the first mentioned auxiliary (X). The operator is determined as the element which is switched to the left of the subject when forming a polarity (yes/no) question. For Fawcett, then, it can also co-occur with *be* and *have* as main verbs (M), if they have no auxiliary, but it does not combine with other main verbs:

O/X M
John | has gone | to bed.

O/M
John | is | in bed.

but

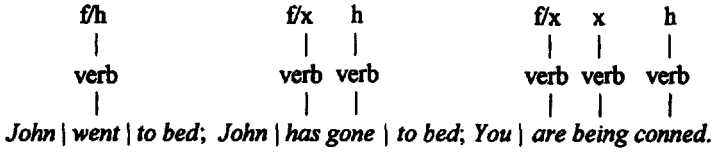
M
John | went | to bed.

Halliday (1985a/1994a) rather mixes the two approaches in applying the term 'finite' (again as an element of clause structure) either as the label for the first mentioned finite auxiliary or, if there is no auxiliary, as an accompaniment to and conflated with the main Predicator.

In this book I adopt none of the above in their entirety. I opt for the term *finite element* (f) in preference to 'operator' as being more transparent, in that its function will be to mark that element in the verbal phrase which carries the tense. In other words, where it occurs, it will be conflated with the leftmost verb word, either the first mentioned auxiliary or, if there are no auxiliary verbs, the main verb. But the finite element will be handled as co-occurring with elements, not of clause but of phrase structure.

f/h f/x h f/x x h
John | went | to bed; John | has gone | to bed; You | are being conned.

If we now add the word class marking, the full analysis of these verbal phrases is as follows:



(In a still more detailed analysis non-finite verbs could, of course, be subclassified as infinitives or participles, but that is not pursued here.)

Particle

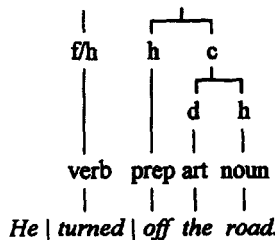
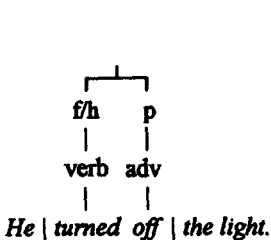
The term 'particle' is used in preference to 'extension of verb' (Berry 1975: 70), ('main verb completing complement' /) 'main verb extension' (Fawcett forthcoming), or 'qualifier' (Scott *et al.* 1968: 154), as none of these indicate any sense of similarity between a verbal particle and a preposition. The distinction between so-called phrasal verbs and verbs taking prepositional phrases is an important one but can perhaps be characterized by the difference between figurative and literal adverbial usage. Within a phrasal verb the particle takes on a figurative force in combination with the main verb. In a prepositional phrase the preposition exercises its literal adverbial meaning as the focal centre of that phrase. Compare

- (i) *He turned off the light.*
He looked up the word.

with

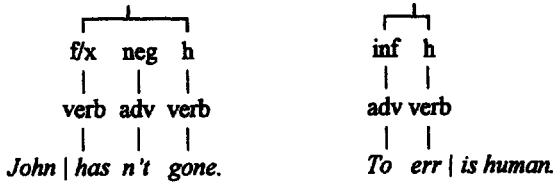
- (ii) *He turned off the road.*
He looked up the chimney.

The first pair of examples contains phrasal verbs, in which the words *off* and *up* are particles. In the second pair these words are prepositions. (Tests to distinguish between verbal particles and prepositions were set out in Section 3.2, in the chapter on Word class.) Sample analyses are given below.



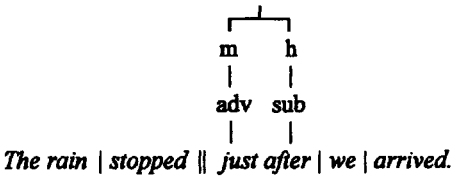
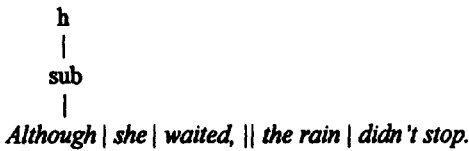
Infinitive and negative

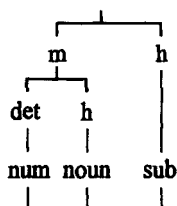
Two further elements which can occur in the verbal phrase need to be mentioned: the **infinitive (inf)**, e.g. *I want to go*, and the **negative (neg)**, *not/n't*. (A negative element may, of course, also be found in other types of phrase.) In the outline of formal units these labels were first introduced as a subclass of adverbial words. Similarly to the transposed treatment of the auxiliary element, however, within functional syntax the 'infinitive' and 'negative' are now handled as functional elements, which are realized formally by adverbs.



11.7 Subordinator phrase

Although subordinating conjunctions typically consist of a single headword, those in particular which introduce adverbial clauses, e.g. *although, if, when, after, before, since, because*, can also be preceded by a modifier in the form of a limiting adverb or nominal phrase, etc.:





The rain | stopped || ten minutes after | we | arrived.

11.8 Functional analysis of phrase structure

The elements of structure outlined above may be summarized as follows:

nominal phrase:	d – determiner;	m – (pre-head) modifier;
	h – headword;	q – (post-head) qualifier
adjectival phrase / adverbial phrase:	m; h; q	
prepositional phrase:	m; h; c – completive/complement	
genitive phrase:	c; h	
verbal phrase:	x – auxiliary; h; p – particle;	
	inf – infinitive; neg – negative;	
	f – finite element (conflated with ‘x’ or ‘h’)	
subordinator phrase:	m; h	

Notes

- 1 A. Radford (1988) *Transformational Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 264.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–41.

Word structure

The formation and structure of words together with the various morphological processes involved is clearly a major topic in itself and not one with which this book is primarily concerned. Nevertheless, word structure is included briefly in order to complete the general picture.

12.1 Morpheme, morph and allomorph

The basic unit of grammatical meaning is the **morpheme**. It is this element, therefore, that is involved in the study of word composition/structure. (A morpheme is not, however, to be confused with a syllable, which is a unit of sound structure.) Words are composed of one or more morphemes, e.g.

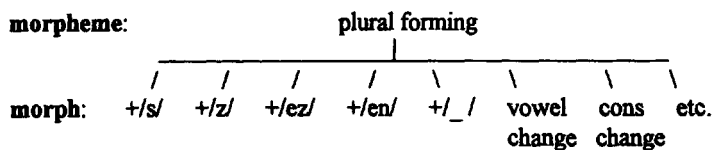
prize; *be*; *pepper*; *balalaika* – 1 morpheme
train|*s*; *teach*|*er*; *manag*|*ing* – 2 morphemes
de|*nation*|*al*|*iz*|*ation* – 5 morphemes

The morpheme is, as mentioned above, a unit of grammatical meaning. The unit of grammatical form which realizes a morpheme is called a **morph**. Generally speaking the difference between the unit of meaning and the unit of form is theoretical and academic, as in most cases a morpheme is realized by only one morph. Thus, for example, the morpheme meaning *table* is represented by just one morphological form, the morph *table*, and the morpheme meaning *difficult* is realized by only the morph *difficult*. But in some instances the distinction between morpheme and morph is demonstrably real, that is to say where a single morpheme has several possible morph realisations, depending on the word context. For example, the morpheme meaning 'negative forming' is evidenced in adjectives by the morphs *un* as in *unclear*, *in* – *inadequate*, *im* – *immoral*, *il* – *illegal*, *ig* – *ignoble*, *ir* – *irregular*, *non* – *non-existent*, *dis* – *dishonest*, and the relationship between morpheme and morph can be shown as follows:

morpheme:	negative forming	
	—	
morph:	/	\
	un-	in-
	im-	il-
	ig-	ir-
	non-	dis-

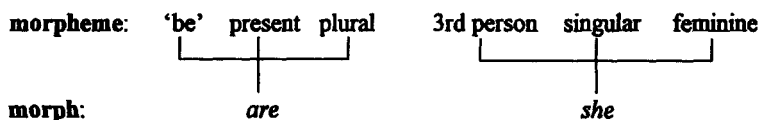
Similarly, the morpheme meaning 'plural forming' is realized in a host of different ways, e.g. add /s/ sound (*cat* – *cats*), add /z/ sound (*dog* – *dogs*), add /ɪz/ sound (*dish* – *dishes*), add /(r)en/ (*child* – *children*, *ox* – *oxen*), zero addition (*sheep* – *sheep*, *deer* – *deer*), vowel sound change (*man* – *men*, *foot* – *feet*, *mouse* – *mice*), consonant sound change + add /z/ or /ɪz/ sound (*knife* – *knives*, *house* – *houses*). There are also several ways of forming plurals with words of foreign

origin: ex Greek words (*criterion – criteria, thesis – theses*), ex Latin words (*formula – formulae, cactus – cacti, addendum – addenda*), ex Hebrew words found in a religious context (*cherub – cherubim, seraph – seraphim*), etc.



In cases such as the examples of ‘negative forming’ and ‘plural forming’ above, the variant possible morphs of the one morpheme are known as **allomorphs** of that morpheme.

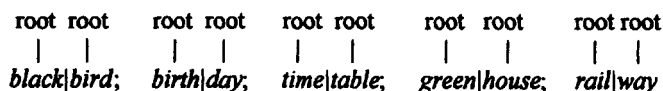
Almost the reverse of this morpheme-allomorph relationship, in which a morpheme has more than one possible morph realization, is the situation where a given morpheme is not realized as a separate morph at all, but rather where the morph form which appears represents a cumulation or fusion of several morpheme meanings. For example, the word *are* is the verb *be* in the present tense, plural form; the word *she* is the personal pronoun in the third person, singular, feminine form.



12.2 Word structure

Root and affix

In terms of their structure words consist, as already mentioned, of one or more morphemes. Where the word consists of just one morpheme, that morpheme is known as a **root** or **base** morpheme, e.g. *prize, but, relevant, teach*. Words with more than one morpheme are formed by the **addition** to the basic root morpheme of either further root morphemes or **affix** morphemes (add-on elements which are bound to roots), or by a combination of both these processes, as illustrated below.



aff root aff root aff root aff root aff root
 | | | | | | | | | |
ir|relevant; *pre|date;* *un|clear;* *re|live;* *ad|here*

root aff root aff root aff root aff aff aff
 | | | | | | | | | |
train|s; *teach|er;* *happi|ly;* *nation|al|iz|ation*

root root aff root root aff root root aff
 | | | | | | | | |
black|bird|s; *red|head|ed;* *road|hold|ing*

As can be seen, it is the root which, as well as giving a basic meaning, supplies the initial identity of the grammatical class of the word, e.g. noun, verb, etc. Thus, for example, *relevant* in *irrelevant* is an adjective and the whole word then belongs to that class, (*to*) *date* in *predate* is a verb and so therefore is the full word. Where the word is a compound or two roots, it is the righthand one which determines the final class of the word. Hence *blackbird* is a noun, as is *bird*.

Where the affix is inserted before the root, as with *ir* in *irrelevant* and *re* in *renationalization*, it is known more specifically as a **prefix**. Prefixes typically serve not to change the word class but to modify the meaning of the root in some way. So *ir* in *irrelevant* and *un* in *unclear* carry the meaning 'negative forming', *pre* in *predate* means 'before / in advance of', *re* in *relive* means 'again', *ad* in *adhere* means 'to'. The word *irrelevant* can thus be analysed as consisting of a negative forming prefix and an adjective root.

Where the affix comes after the root, it is called a **suffix**. Suffixes may change the grammatical class identity of the word. Thus whilst *teach* is a verb, *-er* is a noun forming suffix, converting *teach* into a noun. *Happy* is an adjective, but *-ly* makes *happy* into an adverb. The final grammatical class of a word, then, depends on the rightmost suffix of this type. Thus in *nationalization* the root *nation* is a noun, *-al* makes it into an adjective, *-iz* is a verb forming affix, and *-ation* converts the overall word (back) into a noun. Suffixes can alternatively modify the grammatical characteristics of the word. Thus *trains* comprises a noun root *train* plus a plural forming suffix *-s*. *Walked* consists of the verb root *walk* plus the past tense forming suffix *-ed*.

Some languages are able to insert the affix into the middle of the word, in which case it is known as an **infix**. For example, in Tagalog – a language of the Philippines – the infix morpheme *in* is inserted into *sulat* (a writing) to form *s(in)ulat* (that which was written), or *um* to form *s(um)ulat* (one who wrote). Other examples are

Turkish: *aldi* (he/she bought) – *al(ma)di* (he/she did not buy)

Cambodian: *dek* (to sleep) – *d(omn)ek* (sleep).

It can also be found in English in transient, ad hoc creations of personal emotional expression in which an expletive element is inserted inside a word (the object of exasperation, frustration, disgust, ...) of at least two, though frequently more, syllables, e.g. *uni-blooming-versity*, *down-flipping-sizing*.

Finally, there is the occurrence when a morpheme is realized as a split affix element which wraps around the root. In German, for example, the verbal past participle forming morpheme is typically expressed by the insertion of *ge-* in front of the verb root and of the ending *-t* or *-en*

after the verb root. The morph affix is thus a discontinuous *ge--t* or *ge--en* enveloping the root, e.g.

root	aff-(root)-aff	
<i>spiel</i> (play)	<i>ge(spiel)t</i>	((have) played)
<i>back</i> (bake)	<i>ge(back)en</i>	((have) baked).

In this instance the affix takes the form of a **circumfix**.

Free and bound

In terms of their grammatical dependence, morphs are classed as **free** or **bound**. By definition, affixes cannot stand on their own and are bound, e.g. *pre-*, *un-*, *re-*, *dis-*; *-s*, *-ed*, *-er*, *-ment*, *-ing*, *-al*. Most roots can act as simple words and are free, e.g. *day*, *car*; *go*, *act*; *glad*, *blue*, etc., but some are bound in that they require to be attached to another element, e.g. *-hale* (breathe) as in *inhale*, *exhale*; *-here* (stick) as in *adhere*, *cohere*; *-tain* (hold) as in *contain*, *retain*, *pertain*; *-ceive* (take) as in *perceive*, *receive*, *conceive*, *deceive*; *-vert* (turn) as in *revert*, *convert*, *pervert*, *invert*, *advert*, *avert*. Though the question of how to determine bound roots may raise concerns in the reader's mind, a useful principle is to work in terms of evidence of contrasts that can be adduced from the contemporary language. That is to say, for example, that the form being proposed as a bound root, e.g. *-here*, *-vert*, should in the modern language be shown not only to exist in more than one word but to convey the same underlying meaning in all the words being cited. Similarly, affix elements in a word, e.g. *in-*, *ex-*, *ad-*, *con-*, irrespective of whether they are linked to free or bound roots, should also be able to be found in different words and still carrying the same meaning force. Thus, for example, *in-* means essentially the same ('in', 'into') as a prefix in *inhale*, *invert*, *institute*, *inflate*, etc., but it carries a different meaning ('not') in *insecure*, *infertile*, *inappropriate*, etc. From this we can see that the *in-* in, say, *inhale* is a different prefix from the *in-* in, say, *insecure*.

When considering whether a morph unit (or a cluster of bound morph units) is free or not, it is not necessary that the spelling should be identical to the form that it does take when the word is on its own. Thus, for example, whilst there is probably little difficulty in accepting that the root *manage* in the word *management* and the root *play* in *playing* are free, people might have some hesitation with the stem *believ* in the word *believing*, *creat* in *creation* or *applic* in *application*. Yet, spelling variation within a given word context is perfectly normal, so it would be explained that *believ* is merely the spelling variant of *believe* in the context of the word *believing*, *creat* the variant of *create* in the context of *creation*, and *applic* the variant of *apply* in the context of *application*.

Simple word structure analysis

On the basis of the information presented above, we can now undertake a simple analysis of word structure:

bound	free	bound
meaning forming	verb	noun forming
affix	root	affix
<i>pre</i>	<i>arrange</i>	<i>ment</i>
free	free	bound
noun	noun	plural forming
root	root	affix
<i>birth</i> <i>day</i>		<i>s</i>

bound	bound	bound
meaning forming	verb	adj. forming
affix	root	affix
<i>co</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>ent</i>

On the contemporary language principle, the word *holiday* would be analysed as comprising the free noun root *day* together with a bound meaning forming affix *holi*. The fact that it was originally a compound of two roots meaning a 'holy day' is now lost in modern usage.

Structural word types

With regard to their structure in terms of free and bound morphs, words are typically classed as **simple**, **compound**, **complex**, and **compound-complex**. Simple words consist of a single free morph, e.g. *me*, *salt*, *diary*, *mouse*, *piano*. Compound words consist of two or more free morphs, e.g. *bookcase*, *pushchair*, *daylight*, *birthday*, *whiteboard*. Complex words contain at least one bound morph, e.g. *play|er*, *bak|ing*, *un|wise*, *pre|judge*, *peach|es*, *ad|here*. (Perhaps the longest complex word creation in English is *anti|dis|establish|ment|ari|an|ism*, though this is not normally recognized in dictionaries!) Finally, compound-complex words have at least two free morphs and at least one bound morph, e.g. *birth|day|s*, *time|table|d*, *book|keep|ing*, *frost|bitt|en*, *long|-tail|ed*. German goes in for compound-complex words very much more than English does: when two free morphs in German are compounded, a small bound morph is frequently inserted between the compound elements, e.g. *Klassenzimmer* ('classroom') = *Klasse* + *n* + *Zimmer*; *Geburtstag* ('birthday') = *Geburt* + *s* + *Tag*. The longest known compound-complex word in German (though unconfirmed by contemporary native speakers), cited in the 1950s by a specialist on the Bismarck era, is from the 1870s:

Gesundheit|wieder|herstellungsmittel|zusammen|mischung|verhältnis|kundige

meaning 'chemist' or 'apothecary' (literally 'health again producing means together mixing proportion specialist'). (The morph boundaries have been simplified to allow the reader with a knowledge of German to assemble the meaning more easily.) It is better known nowadays as *Apotheke*. The following contemporary German words are, however, attested:

Donau|dampf|schiff|fahrts|gesellschafts|kapitäns|mütze
(*'Danube steam ship travel company captain's hat'*)

Eis|schnell|lauf|welt|meisterschafts|austragungs|ort
(*'Ice fast run (i.e. sprint) world championship holding place (i.e. venue)'*).

Functional syntactic analysis

The framework which has been built up for functional syntactic analysis is now illustrated in application to a range of examples below. The description will mark off sentence units, then analyse elements of sentence structure, clause structure and phrase structure, and finally specify the class of word.

Line marking

|| = sentence boundary.

|| = clause boundary which is not also a sentence boundary.

| = phrase boundary which is not also a clause boundary.

Labelling

Sentence unit #S#

Sentence structure α = alpha clause; β = beta clause;

γ = gamma clause; δ = delta clause; ϵ = epsilon clause;

ζ = zeta clause; η = eta clause; θ = theta clause.

Clause structure

S = subject: nominative – S^{NOM} (includes determinative)
 attributive – S^{ATT}
 circumstantial – S^{CIRC}

P = predicator

O = object: direct – O^{DIR}, oblique – O^{OBL}

C = complement: direct – C^{DIR} (identifying – C^{DIR})
 oblique – C^{OBL}
 attributive – C^{ATT}
 circumstantial – C^{CIRC}

 complement to object – C^(O)

 complement to subject – C^(S)

A^{CIRC} = circumstantial adverbial element

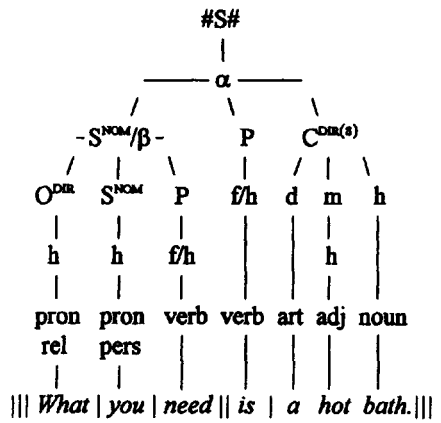
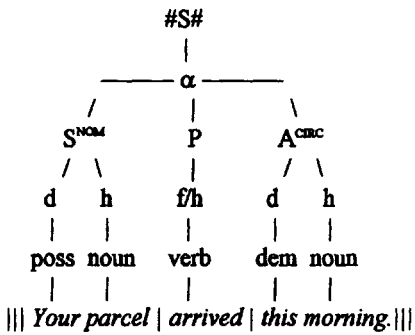
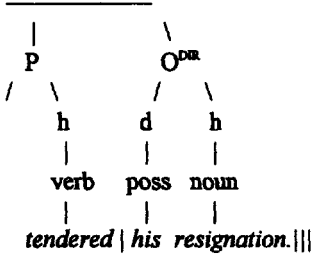
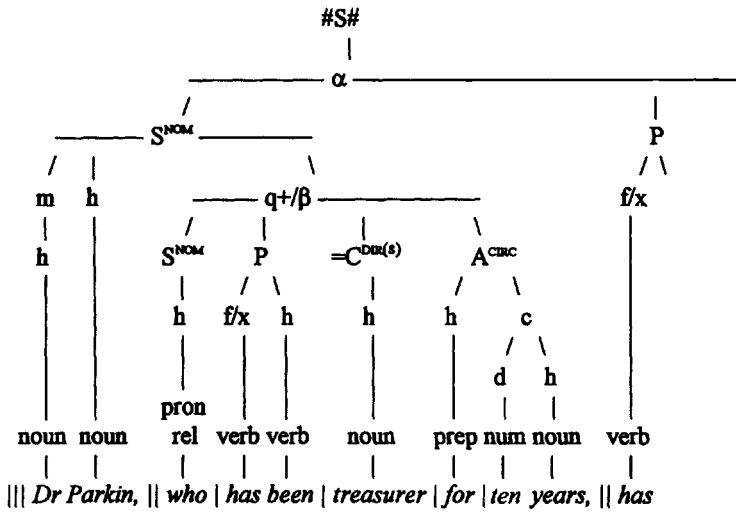
NOM = independent nominal element

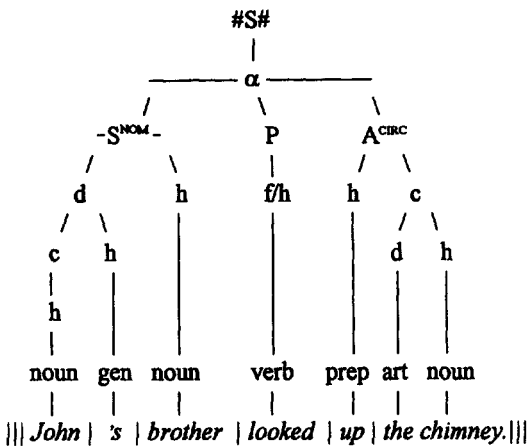
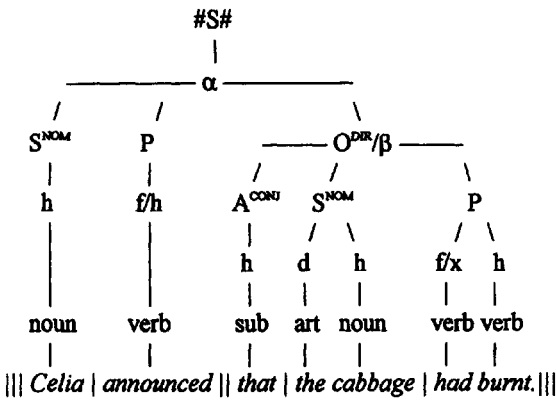
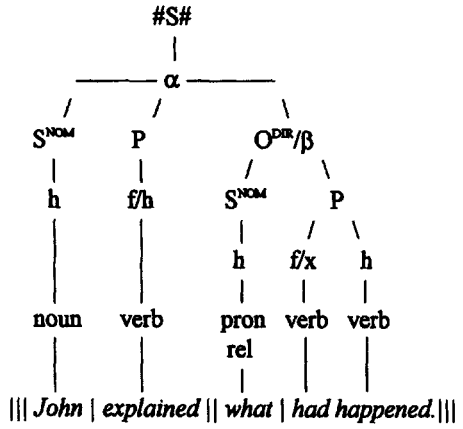
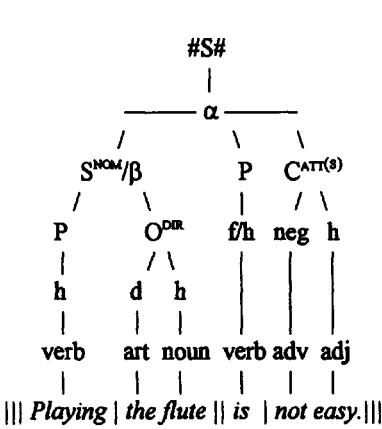
VOC = vocative element

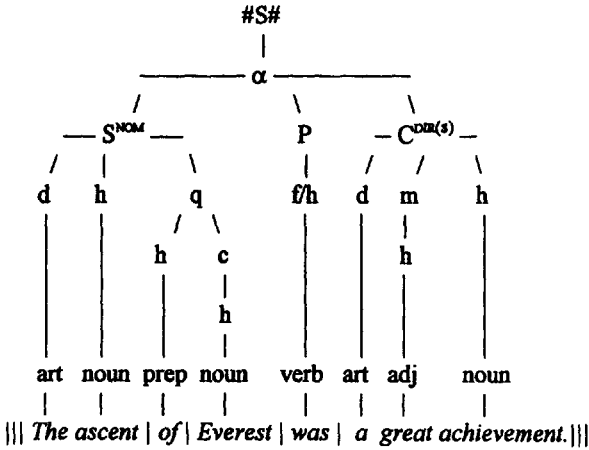
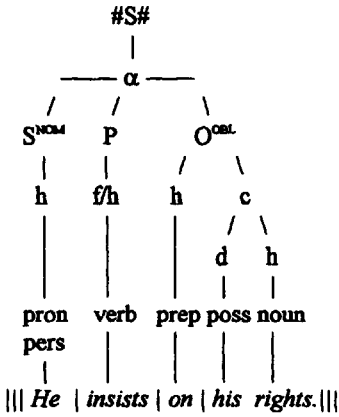
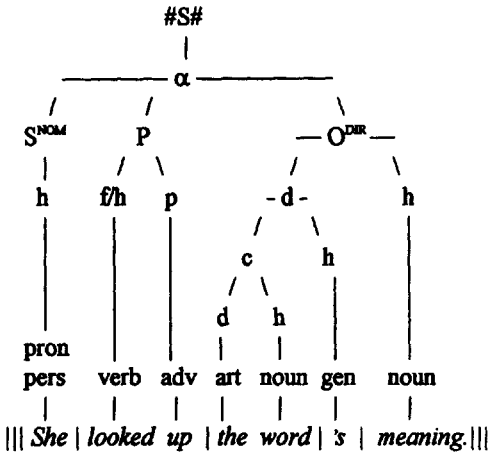
ideational adjunct = A +

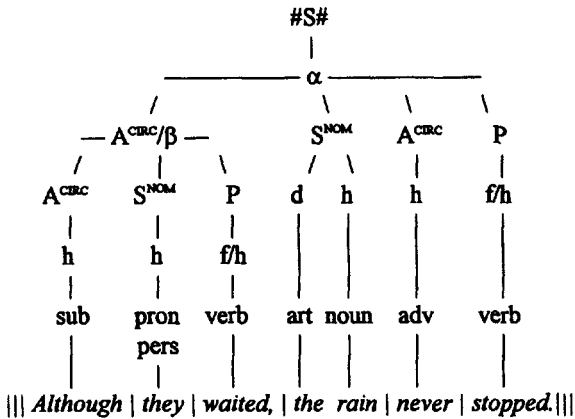
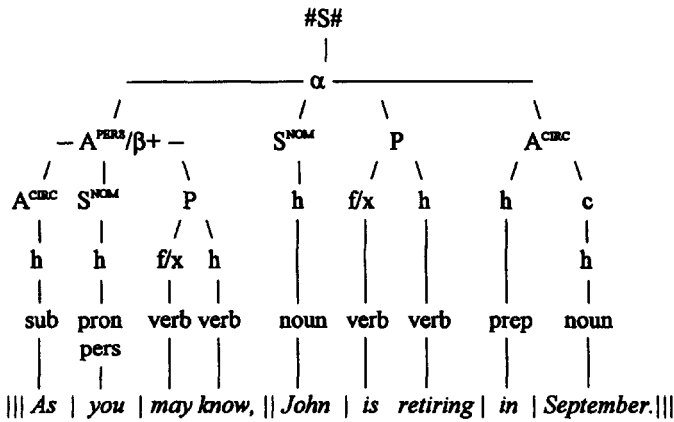
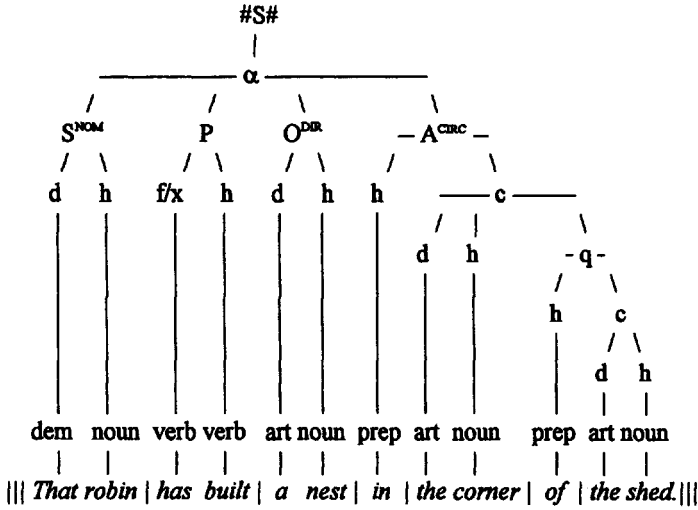
interpersonal adjunct = A^{PERS}

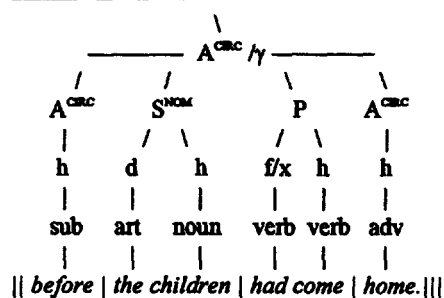
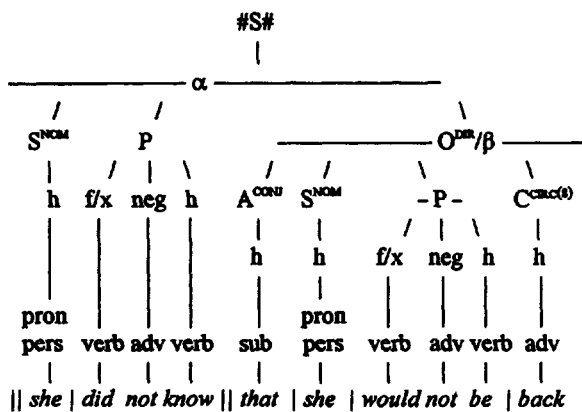
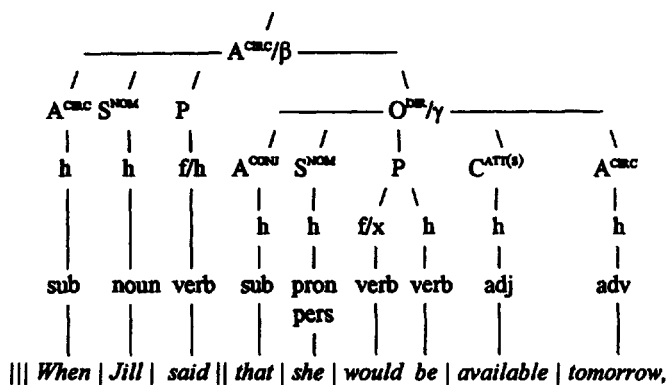
conjunctive adjunct = A^{CONJ}











Part IV

Complexity and complementation

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Complexity (1)

14.1 Recursion

14.1.1 Linear and embedded recursion: the traditional analysis

Recursion is the name given to structural relationships in which an element is repeated to form a progression. In systemic analysis, structures involving recursion have traditionally been classified into two main types: linear and embedded.

Linear recursion

Linear recursion involves units belonging to the same rank which are adjoined in a relationship of equal or subordinate status.

Jack fell down || and broke his crown || and Jill came tumbling after.
Ring me || if you get home || before Jill arrives.

In the first example the clauses are all alpha elements and thus of equal status. In the second, they function in order as alpha, beta and gamma elements.

Within linear recursion two subtypes are recognized: paratactic and hypotactic. **Paratactic linear recursion** (parataxis) involves elements of equal grammatical status, for example all alpha elements, whose successivity or sequential relationship constitutes the progression, which in some instances may reflect a contextual precedence of the elements. Compound sentences illustrate a common type of paratactic linear recursion.

α α α α

John jumped out, || quickly dressed, || ate his breakfast || and rushed off.

α α α

Jack fell down || and broke his crown || and Jill came tumbling after.

Here each of the components is an alpha element, so in syntactic terms none is subordinate to another. But, as first mentioned during the discussion of main clauses in Chapter 5 under Clause class, the sequential relationship between the clauses is crucial as it marks a **contextual ordering**. Thus, for example, John's rushing off to work follows his eating, which follows his dressing, which follows his jumping out of bed; indeed, to reverse the order of these clauses would be counter to reality and thus nonsense. To record the sequential relationship Arabic numerals can be added after the α symbol.

α1 α2 α3 α4

John jumped out, || quickly dressed, || ate his breakfast || and rushed off.

α_{11} α_{12} α_2

Jack fell down || and broke his crown || and Jill came tumbling after.

In the first example a straight sequence is marked through the four alpha clauses, whereas in the second the first two alpha clauses are shown as being in a closer relationship with each other than with the third (see also Halliday 1968: 195–9).

It is often the case, however, that the sequential grammatical relationship between alpha clauses does not reflect an ordered successivity but merely a random **listing** function.

clause:

α_1 α_2 α_3

John enjoys athletics, || collects stamps || and sings in the choral society.

phrase:

α_1 α_2 α_3 α_4

We | saw | a lion, | a tiger, | a giraffe | and a hippo.

Further instances of paratactic linear recursion are to be found in relationships of apposition, which embraces equivalence, attribution and inclusivity.

equivalence:

α α

Bill Hovis, | the baker, | is the winner.

α α

My daily paper, | the Northern Mail, | has stopped production.

α α

John's proposal, || for everyone to go by train, || is the best solution.

attribution:

α α

Dr Bishop, | a good administrator, | will chair the meeting.

inclusivity:

α α

Many of the players, | for example Jack and Dave, | just won't be there.

(The treatment of apposition will be discussed more fully in Section 15.1.)

By contrast with the types of paratactic linear recursion above, **hypotactic linear recursion** involves the repetition of an element of which the exponents stand in a subordinate relationship to each other and thus form a progression of grammatical dependence or presupposition of occurrence.

Playing the flute is not easy.

The end of the fence is broken.

Here *Playing the flute* is a clause acting as the subject of *is (not easy)*, and *of the fence* is a phrase serving as a qualifier to *end*.

In systemic syntax, embedded recursion is traditionally known as **rankshift** and is seen to occur where a recursive structure cuts across the scale of rank. Instead of operating in the structure of a unit of the rank next above, as is normally the case, the rankshifted unit enters into the structure of a unit of its own rank or even of a unit of the rank below. A unit may thus be involved in single or double rankshifting. Instances of single rankshift would be exemplified by situations where a clause acts as a subject, object or complement in clause structure, or where a unit of phrase rank functions as a qualifier in phrase structure, e.g.

What we want is a word processor.

To go to London tomorrow would be silly.

Playing the organ is not easy.

Jane buys what she likes.

This is what you need.

The man over the road has a computer.

We shall consider any objections to the proposal.

The principal type of double rankshift is to be found with restrictive relative clauses, where the subordinate clause operates as a qualifier in phrase structure, e.g.

That's the girl who beat Mary.

The guarantee that you were given is worthless.

The model which I would recommend is out of stock.

The notation used to analyse a rankshifted element depends on the rank of the unit involved. Clauses which are rankshifted are marked by adding, to the top and bottom of each pair of double clause division lines, a small horizontal line which points inwards to enclose the rankshifted clause. The rankshifted clause is thus surrounded by double square brackets. In the case of a rankshifted phrase unit, the small horizontal lines are added to each of the single phrase division lines, i.e. single square brackets. The internal structure of each rankshifted element is then analysed in the normal way, as partially shown below. (For simplicity here, the superscripts attached to subject, object and complement are omitted.)

	S		P	C
P		O		
h	d	h		

||[[*Playing | the organ*]]| *is | not easy*.|||

S	P		O	
		O	S	P
		h	h	f/h

||Jane | buys ||[[*what | she | likes*]].|||

S	P		C
		O	S
		h	h

||This | is ||[[*what | you | need*]].|||

S P O

d h q

 h c

 d h

|||The man [over the road] has | a computer.|||

S P O

 d h q

 h c

 d h

|||We | shall discuss | any objections [to the proposal].|||

S P C

 d h q

 S P O

 h f/h h

|||That | 's | the girl [[who | beat | Mary]].|||

 S P C

d h q

 O S P

 h h f/x h

|||The guarantee [[that | you | were given]] is | worthless.|||

14.1.2 Bound and rankshifted clauses reviewed

As described in the previous section, systemic syntax has distinguished bound clauses from rankshifted clauses on the grounds that, whereas bound clauses contribute to the structure of a sentence or clause complex, rankshifted clauses function as an element of structure of the clause or of the phrase. As I outlined under Sentence structure in Chapter 8, three types of bound clause were traditionally enumerated in systemic grammar: conditioning (or contingent), adding (or adding) and reported.

conditioning:

The guests left after the meeting had ended.
If you arrive before 7 p.m., we can go to the theatre.

adding:

Frank, who is a patient man, got very cross.
As you probably know, we lost on Saturday.

reported:

Jill said that the parcel had arrived.
I wonder if that is the best tactic.

Halliday's later (1985a/1994a) framework of projection and expansion (incorporating elaboration, extension and enhancement) relations builds on but goes further than the position

above. The new framework extends, of course, to free as well as bound clauses, but it is only in respect of hypotactic relationships that we remind ourselves here.

Projection covers the reporting of speech, 'projected wording or verbal locution' and the reporting of thought, 'projected meaning or mental idea'.

locution:

John said he was running away.

Fred asked if she was sure.

idea:

John thought he would run away.

Dr Singleman believed his patient would recover.

Elaboration includes non-defining/non-restrictive relative clauses whose domain may be a preceding nominal phrase or the whole or part of the preceding clause, which add 'a further characterization of something that is taken to be already fully specific' and which Halliday illustrates as follows:

She was hard at work on the white kitten, which was lying quite still.

John ran away, which surprised everyone.

The first few days are a time for adjustment, when the kitten needs all the love and attention you can give it.

Clauses of extension are presented as adding something new to a clause through an addition, a replacement or an alternative, e.g.

John ran away, whereas Fred stayed behind.

While his disappearance was proof that he hadn't wanted her, the five hundred pounds he had spent on the ring was indication that he had wanted something else.

He kept pretty well, except that he had a habit of now and then falling off sideways.

Enhancement is said to enhance the meaning of another clause by qualifying it in various possible ways. This type is likened to adverbial clauses expressing time, place, manner, cause, condition and concession.

John ran away, because he was scared.

Whenever the horse stopped, he fell off in front.

I carry it upside down, in case the rain gets in.

Across the earlier and later bound clause frameworks, correspondences can thus be observed between reported and projection clauses, between conditioning and enhancement clauses and between adding and elaboration together with extension clauses.

A revised analysis

Contrasting the relative qualifier examples *my friend, who's a doctor* and *my friend who's a doctor*, Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 50, 60) argues that such bound and rankshifted clauses should be handled as representing the same form of recursion, though they are intonationally different, and he proposes that syntactically they both be treated as instances of embedding. Continuing the principle (but reversing the conclusion) behind this line of thinking, I propose to abandon the traditional systemic practice of contrasting bound and rankshifted clauses, together with

rankshift markings. (Visually this will also considerably simplify the analysis.) All subordinate clauses will instead be handled as bound, using the labels 'beta', 'gamma', etc. as appropriate. Prior to marking the depth of the bound clause, however, I shall insert the role they fulfil within/ in relation to the superordinate clause. With regard to that functional role, bound conditioning clauses / clauses of enhancement will here be analysed as circumstantial adverbials. Reported / (extensive) projection clauses will be handled as objects. Finally, adding clauses / clauses of elaboration which relate back to a nominal phrase headword will be marked as qualifiers, and those which relate back to the superordinate proposition, together with clauses of extension, will be treated as adjuncts.

In support of this revision, I would offer a number of pieces of evidence. Firstly, conditioning clauses in many instances do have parallels in adverbial expressions realized by a phrase consisting of a single word or a word complex. Compare:

The guests left after the meeting had ended.

The guests left after the meeting.

The guests left afterwards.

Here the word sequences following the predicator *left* may have a slightly different content meaning, but they all serve to specify time elements which place a contingency upon the predicator of the main clause. Although traditionally in systemic syntax the prepositional phrase *after the meeting* and the adverb *afterwards* are analysed as circumstantial adverbial elements within the alpha clause, *after the meeting had ended* was handled as a beta clause outside the alpha element. Yet in terms of their contribution to the content structure of the sentence, the essential circumstantial function of the three types of unit is surely the same: they all answer the question 'When did the guests leave?'. Compare also:

(a) *The match was cancelled because it was raining.*

The match was cancelled because of the rain.

('Why?')

(b) *Unless the special equipment is available, we can't do the experiment.*

Without the special equipment we can't do the experiment.

('In what circumstances?')

(c) *Even though their captain was ill, the team still won.*

Despite their captain's illness the team still won.

('In spite of what circumstances?')

Secondly, reported clauses were typically handled as units which were bound to but discrete from superordinate reporting clauses, e.g.

α

β

John said || that the parcel had arrived.

Yet in the sentences *John said the password* and *John said whatever he wished*, the phrase *the password* and the clause *whatever he wished* were treated as objects within their respective alpha clauses. *Whatever he wished* was handled as a rankshifted unit, whereas *that the parcel had arrived* was not. However, the alpha clause subject and predicator elements in all three sentences are the same, and the post-verbal sequences can all be said to answer the question 'What did John say?'. Hence I argue that within the syntactic structure each should be regarded as fulfilling an object function, irrespective of whether it is realized by a word, phrase, reported or non-reported clause.

Thirdly, adding clauses provide supplementary information in the form of a secondary unit. Like Fawcett, I analyse the first type of adding clause, the non-restrictive relative

clause, as in for example *Frank, who is a very patient man, could restrain himself no longer*, as a qualifier within the nominal phrase. The second type of adding clause, the sentential relative, which relates to the whole proposition (or at least more than the nominal phrase) in the superordinate clause, is of a different order. They were first introduced in this book under the heading of adverbial clauses, where it was mentioned that they can add a comment to the superordinate clause, e.g. *The meeting finished early, which was quite surprising* – compare *Surprisingly, the meeting finished early*. Alternatively they can add a supplementary proposition to it, e.g. *The meeting finished early, which allowed me to go to the library*. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Fawcett believes that such clauses should be handled as coordinate with the one to which they refer. Illustrating his point with the example *We'll see you soon, which will be very nice*, he likens the clause *which will be very nice* to the alternative wording *and that will be nice*. However, in spite of a similarity of meaning relationship with coordinate constructions, the word *which* introducing the subordinate clause is a relative word and thus, within syntactic structure, including functional syntactic structure, the clause remains subordinate. Added to this, as we have already mentioned, it is only possible to coordinate the two clauses *We'll see you soon* and *which will be very nice* in the above sentence with the conjunction *and*, provided the relative pronoun *which* is also changed. Thus, one cannot say **We'll see you soon + and + which will be very nice*. We therefore conclude that these *which* sentential relative clauses are not coordinated with the preceding superordinate clause but are adjunctive to it.

Having determined what element in respect of the superordinate clause structure a subordinate clause realizes, we then consider whether the clause fulfils a **supplementary** or **integral** function. By supplementary is meant that the bound clause in question does not form an integral constituent part of the content of the superordinate clause, but rather contains information which is additional and optional to it. In terms of the presentation so far, then, supplementary clauses function as:

- (a) **non-restrictive relative** expressing supplementary information qualifying a preceding nominal phrase:

The manager, who has been with the firm forty years, retires tomorrow.

- (b) **adjunctive element** (sentential relative) expressing a personal comment on the previous clause:

The meeting finished early, which was quite surprising.

This type of supplementary adverbial element would include what Quirk *et al.* (1985: 612–31) describe as disjuncts, both content disjuncts, as above, expressing the speaker's comment on what he is saying, and style disjuncts, which state the terms of reference from which the speaker is commenting, as for example in *If I may be honest for a moment, you need a new suit*.

- (c) **adjunctive element** (sentential relative) expressing subsequent information to the previous clause:

The meeting finished early, which allowed me to go to the library.

Integral clauses will include all types of subordinate clause which serve to complete the content of the superordinate clause and thus form a constituent part of it. They include restrictive relatives, conditioning/contingent adverbial clauses, and nominal clauses functioning as subject, object or complement.

restrictive relative clauses

The man who won the marathon trains every night of the week.

That's the best news that I've had all day.

The tapes which we ordered last week arrived today.

conditioning/contingent adverbial clauses

You'll never succeed if you don't try.

Whenever John called, she was always out.

Although they waited, the rain never stopped.

Having written the letter, I made a cup of coffee.

subject, object or complement nominal clauses

What I enjoyed was the final chorus.

That child only does what it wants.

John said that he had found the key.

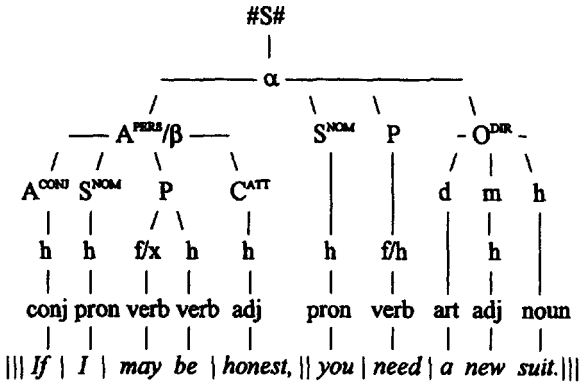
This is what you need.

Analysis of supplementary and integral elements

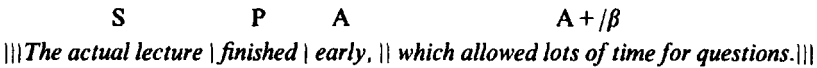
Supplementary elements will be interpreted as the marked form and as such will be followed with a plus sign, e.g. $q+$ denotes a supplementary qualifier. Integral elements, on the other hand, are regarded as the unmarked form and involve no extra labelling. Note that it is the functional element of structure which the clause realizes that is being marked as supplementary, not the bound clause itself. (This perhaps represents a change from the impression given in the presentation under Sentence structure in Chapter 8.) However, as interpersonal (including personal) adjuncts are automatically supplementary, they will not carry the plus sign. In practice, therefore, the only elements so far which will be marked for additional information will be – (a) supplementary qualifiers – $q+$ and (b) sentential relative clauses expressing an adjunctive proposition sequel – $A+$.

All subordinate clauses are marked alongside the element of superordinate clause structure with which they are conflated. This applies, indeed, to both supplementary and integral clauses. The appropriate element of clause structure is entered first: S (subject), O (object), C (complement), A (adverbial/adjunct), and in the case of phrase structure the element q (qualifier). This is then followed by the bound clause labelling. Between the two and representing the concept that it is 'realized by being conflated with' is the symbol $/$. Thus, for example a subject realized by a beta bound clause will appear as ' S/β '. With regard to analysis at the level of the actual text any former rankshift bracket markings disappear, as was said, and the clause boundaries are separated by two vertical lines in the standard way. (Only the first example here is analysed at all ranks.)

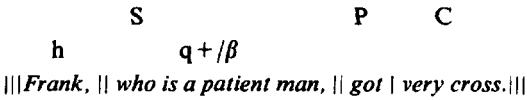
interpersonal adjunct:



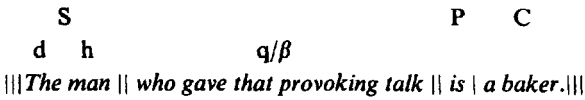
ideational adjunct:



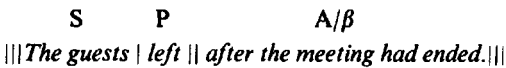
non-restrictive relative qualifier:



restrictive relative qualifier:



circumstantial adverbial:



structure of the main clause. As such, it does not divide any other element of that clause: the preceding element *me* is a direct object and *in the library* is a circumstantial adverbial element, and both elements are self-contained. The need to mark discontinuity thus becomes restricted solely to instances where the interruption occurs **within** an element of clause structure, as seen by comparing the two following examples.

S P A^{PERS}/β
 |||The parcel | has({as I said})arrived. |||

S A^{PERS}/β P
 |||The parcel, || as I said, || has arrived. |||

In the first sentence the structure of the verbal element *has arrived* is interrupted by the bound adverbial clause. In the second, on the other hand, the bound adverbial clause is interposed between the subject and verbal elements but does not interrupt the internal structure of either, with the result that discontinuity marking is unnecessary.

14.3 Phase

A particular feature of traditional approaches to systemic syntax was the treatment of complex verbal sequences involving two or more lexical elements as in, for example, *He began to learn Chinese* or *He wanted to go home*. The usual analysis of *began to learn* and *wanted to go* was to say that in each case the main verb and the infinitive constitute two verbal phrases realizing two predicators and that these two predicators coexist in a relationship of 'phase' within the framework of a single clause. Examples of phase were then marked by linking the two predicators with a broken or dotted line (normally in an arc shape):

S P P O
 He | began to learn | Chinese.

S P P A
 He | wanted to go | home.

In the following further examples it will be seen that an adjectival or nominal element may often be placed between the two verbal elements. Where this medial element is a nominal, it was historically in systemic grammar analysed as a Z element on the grounds that the element was indeterminate as to subject or object status. This, it was argued, was because the nominal phrase fulfilled the functions of object and subject simultaneously: it was object to the preceding finite verb and subject of the following infinitive or participle.

S P C P
 He | is | happy | to stay.

S P C P O
 He | seemed | eager | to read | the book.

S P P O
 She | hated | reproaching | him.

S P Z P O
 She | hated | you | reproaching | him.

S P Z P O

Jack | wanted | Jill | to learn | Chinese.

S P Z P O

Jack | persuaded | Jill | to learn | Chinese.

S P Z P O

Jack | helped | Jill | learn | Chinese.

S P Z P Z P Z P

She | told | John | to ask | Sue | to invite | Frank | to come.

Evidence cited for the treatment of such verbal relationships in this manner included the point that phase is realized by linear sequence such that the non-finite verbal element cannot precede the finite verbal element. There is also the fact that phased elements with no intervening medial element normally occur phonologically within a single tone group. Contrasting with phased structures, bound circumstantial adverbial clauses (formerly conditioning) with a non-finite verbal element can either precede or follow the superordinate clause, e.g.

Having worked at full stretch all day, John arrived home exhausted.
John arrived home exhausted, having worked at full stretch all day.

The bound clauses also have their own tone group.

But in spite of these arguments, the treatment of such structures in terms of phase glosses over their structural complexity. In the first place the claim that the Z element acts as object and subject respectively to the preceding and following verbal elements does not apply in the case of many such medial nominal elements. In several instances, for example *Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese* and *She hated you reproaching him* above, the medial nominal elements *Jill* and *you* are not by themselves objects of the main, finite verbs *wanted* and *hated*. Thus, the meaning of *Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese* does not include *Jack wanted Jill*, nor does *She hated you reproaching him* imply that *She hated you*. (This is further tested by the fact that the sentence cannot be passivized with *Jill* and *you* as subjects: **Jill was wanted by Jack to learn Chinese* and **You were hated by her reproaching him* are not grammatical.) *Jill* and *you* are, though, the subjects of the following non-finite verb constructions, and as constituents of those non-finite constructions they do form part of complex objects of the matrix clause finite verbs. Hence, if one poses the question 'What did Jack want?', the reply is not *Jill* alone but rather that *Jill should learn Chinese – Jill to learn Chinese*. Similarly, in the second sentence, *She hated you reproaching him*, it is *you reproaching him* that she hated.

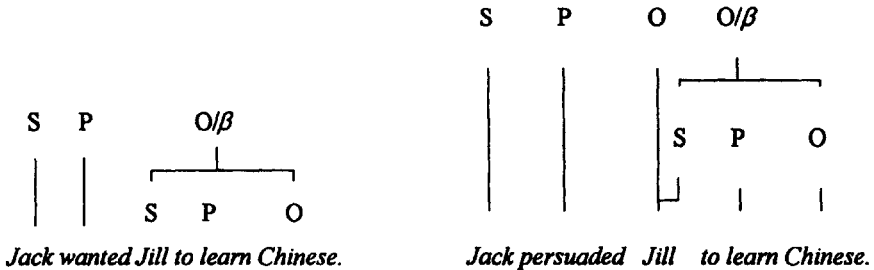
In sentences such as *Jack persuaded Jill to learn Chinese* or *Jack helped Jill learn Chinese*, on the other hand, the medial nominal elements do involve a fusion of functions. Taking the first of these, we can successfully ask several questions to identify different syntactic functions:

firstly, 'Who did Jack persuade?' and get the answer *Jill*,
 secondly, 'What did Jack persuade Jill to do?' and get the reply *to learn Chinese*,
 and, thirdly, 'Who learned Chinese?' and again get the reply *Jill*.

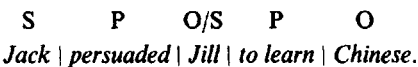
Jill is thus both the object of *persuade* and the subject of *to learn Chinese*: *Jill* was persuaded and she undertook the learning. We also identify *to learn Chinese* as a second object. Thus the roles

fulfilled by *Jill* with respect to *persuaded* in the two sentences *Jack persuaded Jill* and *Jack persuaded Jill to learn Chinese* are the same. In each case *Jill* is the entity who was persuaded. Indeed, in confirmation of the object status of *Jill to persuaded*, the sentence can be passivized with *Jill* as the subject, thus: *Jill was persuaded by Jack to learn Chinese*. Likewise, in the other example *Jack helped Jill learn Chinese*, *Jill* was helped and she did the learning.

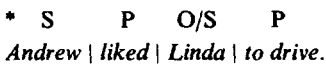
It is this difference of grammatical relationship between the medial nominal and the preceding main verb in *Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese* and *Jack persuaded Jill to learn Chinese* which shows how the former use of Z for all types of phase merely concealed an important underlying structural distinction. The contrast between these two sentences is well illustrated by the following diagrams.



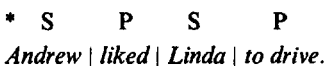
An alternative way of analysing this medial nominal element was the method adopted by Young (1980: 138–9), in which he marked discretely the object and subject functions which may be fused, thus:



Representing the analysis in this way does highlight the situation where the medial nominal in fact involves a fusion of functions. But the approach runs into difficulties when applied to sentences containing main verbs of the type *want*, *expect*, *like*, etc., where the medial nominal is not by itself an object of the main verb. Thus, as we argued above, it would be incorrect to analyse *Andrew liked Linda to drive* as



and certainly not as



Whilst the first attempt incorrectly tries to show *Linda* to be an object of *liked* in its own right, the second would indicate no relationship between *Linda to drive* and *liked*, and it would also seem to place *Linda* on a par with the matrix clause subject *Andrew*.

A second general criticism of the treatment in terms of phase is that linking the verbal elements concerned masks the syntactic relationship which exists between them. In the sentences *Jack persuaded Jill to learn Chinese* and *Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese* both instances of the non-finite verb *to learn* occur in a layered or depth relationship to the matrix clause verbs *persuaded* and *wanted*. In that respect, therefore, *persuaded* and *wanted* share common ground, and analysis of the infinitive *to learn* in each case needs to reflect its subordinate relationship to the relevant main verb. Furthermore, the analysis of sentences with phased verbal elements ought to be consistent with that of sentences which have the same main verb but which do not contain a secondary, non-finite verb. Compare:

Jack wanted a new car.

Jack wanted Jill.

Jack wanted to learn Chinese.

Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese.

The structure of *Jack wanted a new car* and *Jack wanted Jill* is in each case straightforwardly S+P+O, with *a new car* and *Jill* being the object entities wanted. To achieve the desired consistency with the description of *Jack wanted to learn Chinese* and *Jack wanted Jill to learn Chinese* requires that the infinitive expressions *to learn Chinese* and *Jill to learn Chinese* be analysed as objects also. It is therefore proposed that these expressions, which Quirk *et al.* (1972: 739) describe as 'to-infinitive nominal clauses', be analysed as integral bound clauses functioning as objects. In this way the basic structure of all four examples above with the main verb *wanted* will be analysed as S+P+O.

S P O/β
 P O

Jack | wanted || to learn | Chinese.

S P O/β
 S P O

Jack | wanted || Jill | to learn | Chinese.

Thus *Jill* is marked as the subject of the bound clause *Jill to learn Chinese*, but no direct relationship is recorded between *Jill* and the alpha clause predicator *wanted*. It is, of course, to be appreciated that in *Jack wanted to learn Chinese* the subject of *wanted* (*Jack*) is also the understood subject of the string *to learn Chinese*. It is possible to record this by a minor addition to the analysis in which the understood subject function is marked in brackets on a level with the overt predicator and object elements in the structure of that clause, thus:

S P O/β
(S) P O

Jack | wanted || to learn | Chinese.

Other similar sentence pairs, which will be analysed in the same way, can be formed with verbs such as *like*, *prefer*, *hate*, *mean*, *wish*, *expect*, *intend*, etc., e.g.

Andrew liked to drive; Andrew liked Linda to drive.

I prefer to go; I prefer her to go.

Bill expected to win; Bill expected Susan to win.

I intend to try; I intend you to try.

There is also a wider range of verbs which can occur with a following infinitive but without the medial nominal: *attempt*, *decide*, *decline*, *demand*, *deserve*, *forget*, *hope*, *learn*, *manage*, *pretend*, *remember*, *threaten*, etc., e.g.

*We attempted to stop; *We attempted you to stop.*

*The team hopes to enter; *The team hopes you to enter.*

Sometimes the second, non-finite verb in the sequence is participial or lacks the *to*-infinitive particle. This in no way affects the general principle behind the approach; it is merely a matter of the detail which would be recorded in the substructure of the non-finite verbal phrase. Compare:

S P O/β
 S P O
 inf h

I | wanted || Jill | to learn | Chinese.

S P O/β
 S P O
 h

I | hated || you | reproaching | her.

S P O/β
 S P O
 h p

Mike | heard || Jean | switch on | the radio.

In extending this revised analysis to handle sentences containing verbs such as *persuade*, *help*, *force*, *make*, *tell*, *let*, *advise*, *order*, *permit*, *compel*, *ask*, *encourage*, etc., we both avoid the superficiality of the earlier analysis involving fused Z elements and resolve the problem in Young's analysis posed by the lack of a layered recording of the depth relationships. In sentences such as *John persuaded Tony to come* and *Mike helped Jean to clean the house*, *Tony* and *Jean* are indeed both overt objects of the foregoing finite verbs and covert subjects of the following infinitives, and the reduced strings *John persuaded Tony* and *Mike helped Jean* do represent integral elements of the fuller sentences. (As indicated earlier, we can ask the questions 'Who did John persuade?' (*Tony*), 'What did John persuade Tony to do?' (*to come*), and also 'Who came?' (*Tony*.) This detail can now be recorded together with the fact that there is also a *to*-infinitive nominal clause acting as a second object of the main verb.

S P O O/β
 (S) P

John | persuaded | Tony || to come.

S P O O/β
 (S) P O

Mike | helped | Jean || to clean | the house.

S P O O/β
 (S) P O O/γ
 (S) P O O/δ
 (S) P

I | told | John || to ask | Mary || to invite | Bill || to lead.

Sometimes also with this pattern, the second, non-finite verb is without the infinitive particle, but again this has no effect on the analysis of the clause structure.

S P O O/β
 (S) P O

Mike | helped | Jean || clean | the house.

If, however, the non-finite verb in this pattern is participial, then the structural relationships change. Firstly, in examples such as *I found/caught/left him smoking a cigar*, through the question 'Who did you find/catch/leave?' one can establish *him* as an object in the main clause.

However, questions of the type *‘What did you find him to do?’ or *‘What was it that you found him to do?’ are not now appropriate, so (*him*) *smoking a cigar* is not a reduced object clause. On the other hand, one can ask ‘What did you find him doing?’, ‘What was he doing when you found him?’ or ‘In what circumstances did you find him?’ and thus conclude that in the structure of the main clause *smoking a cigar* acts as a circumstantial adverbial element, which again is realized by a non-finite clause. In relation to that clause one can further ask ‘Who was smoking?’ and again get the response *him*, so *him* represents the covert subject of the present participial verb *smoking*, thus:

S	P	O	A^{CIRC}/β
		(S)	P O

I | found | him || smoking | a cigar.

(In *I found him dying* the question accompanying ‘In what circumstances did you find him?’ would be ‘What was happening to him when you found him?’, but the resulting syntactic analysis stays the same.)

Secondly, in an example with a past participle such as *I found him trapped under a tree*, the questions ‘In what circumstances did you find him?’, ‘What did you find him doing?’ or ‘What was he doing / what was happening to him when you found him?’ are no longer relevant: he wasn’t doing anything. A more pertinent question, however, would be ‘In what state/condition did you find him?’ / ‘In what state/condition was he when you found him?’, which prompts the analysis that *trapped under a tree* is an attributive complement to the object. Again, in the non-finite clause *him* represents the covert subject of the past participle *trapped*, thus:

S	P	O	$C^{ATT(O)}/\beta$
		(S)	P A^{CIRC}

I | found | him || trapped | under a tree.

Complexity (2)

15.1 Apposition

Apposition is said to occur where two or more grammatically parallel and normally contiguous entities have identity of reference, e.g.

Bill, the baker, gave a most interesting talk.

Dr Barker, a local historian, will be the speaker.

In these sentences, each involving two nominal phrases in apposition, the relationship between the appositive elements is, in the first case, one of equivalence of identity, and in the second, one of class attribution.

As Quirk *et al.* (1972: 623) point out, apposition may be non-restrictive or restrictive, as illustrated below:

Mr Campbell, the lawyer, was here last night.

Mr Campbell the lawyer was here last night.

In the first sentence the reference to the fact that Mr Campbell is a lawyer is added as an optional extra piece of information; in the second it is included to define which Mr Campbell is being spoken of.

Although the examples above involve just units of phrase rank it can in principle occur equally with units of clause rank, e.g.

What you concluded, that John has retired, is correct.

More commonly, however, a nominal phrase will be found in combination with a clause, e.g.

Your conclusion, that John will retire, is probably right.

The fact that nobody abstained is very significant.

Although the area is discussed in some detail outside the systemic literature, for example, in Quirk *et al.* (1972; 1985), it is generally given lesser treatment in writings on systemic grammar itself. Berry (1975: 99) handles instances of equative apposition as alpha subconstituents of the same element of structure, viz.

S	P	C
α'	α'	

That man, | Owen Evans, | is | a footballer.

Here the strokes, 'primes', which accompany the alpha symbols mark the appositional nature of the structure of the subject. In this way Berry uses the primes to differentiate the appositional structure from an ordinary coordinate structure within an element, as illustrated below.

Halliday sees as being related to a non-defining relative and which accordingly he interprets as meaning *his latest book – which is The Jaws of Life* (1994a: 275).

In embedded projection the function of the restrictive element is to define the locution or idea, as in, for example,

the belief that other holders of sterling were about to sell;
the question how long the contract could survive;
the government's intent to protect real wages.

In this respect, Halliday comments, the restrictive element operates in exactly the same way that a restrictive relative clause defines a noun and is handled as a qualifier (1994a: 275).

Drawing a broad distinction between complements and qualifiers (post-head modifiers), Huddleston (1984: 262) comments that 'From a semantic point of view, complements generally correspond to arguments of a semantic predicate expressed in the noun head, while modifiers generally give properties of what is denoted by the head'.

Analysis of non-restrictive apposition

In the examples *Bill, the baker, gave a most provoking talk* and *Dr Barker, a local historian, will be the speaker* the nominal phrases between the commas are illustrations of non-restrictive apposition. The first example specifies the identity of *Bill as the baker*. It fits the formula 'X is (the) Y' and, syntactically, Y – *the baker* would be interchangeable with X – *Bill*. But in terms of the presentation of the message structure here the role of *the baker* is rather that of providing additional information to the primary subject element *Bill*. The second example assigns the subject *Dr Barker* to membership of the class 'local historians' in terms of the formula 'X is a Y', and again as optional extra information. Were these appositional elements to appear in sentences in which they were linked to the subject by the verbal element 'to be', they would be classed as identifying or non-identifying direct complements to the subject, thus: *Bill is the baker; Dr Barker is a local historian*. In principle, that same semantic argument role relationship is retained also between the elements in apposition, though there are two differences of detail: the relationship occurs within the framework of the subject and the presence of the appositive elements is optional. By contrast with Fawcett's approach (and that of Downing and Locke (1992: 462–4)), therefore, I shall argue instead that they are to be handled, not as qualifiers, but as complement elements to the subject head element, providing supplementary information which can be of an identifying or non-identifying nature.

It is therefore proposed to handle analysis of non-restrictive apposition in three stages. Firstly, because the elements in apposition provide complementary information to the head element of the subject they will be labelled as complement elements within the subject, c. Secondly, in view of the fact that, like non-restrictive relative clauses, the information which they provide to the head element is supplementary, the previously established supplementary symbol '+' will be attached to the 'c', thus: c+. Thirdly, their role as identifying or non-identifying elements will be recorded by pre-marking identifying complements with '=', thus: =c, and by handling non-identifying complements as the unmarked forms.

S	P	O
h	=c+	
<i>Bill, the baker, gave a most provoking talk.</i>		

S	P	C
h	=c+	
<i>That man, Owen Evans, is a footballer.</i>		

S P O
 h c
 h c+

I | am thinking | of | Angus Smith. | a former student.

(Here *a former student* is in apposition to *Angus Smith*.)

Analysis of restrictive apposition

Restrictive apposition, on the other hand, requires by definition that the appositive element be present in order to complete the meaning within the context, e.g.

Bill the baker gave a most interesting talk.

The fact that nobody abstained is very significant.

The need to see the machine is paramount.

They form an integral part of the nominal phrase, answering the questions 'Which X?' and then 'Who/what is X?'. In this way the appositive phrase *the baker* and the clauses *that nobody abstained* and *to see the machine* may seem to resemble the role of restrictive relatives. But whereas restrictive relatives merely specify which particular head element is being referred to, restrictive appositives also identify the nature/content of the head element. To mark this difference, the appositive element is labelled as an identifier complement to the nominal headword, =c. It typically fits the formula 'X is / is identified as Y', e.g.

What is Bill? Bill is the baker.

What is the fact? The fact is that nobody abstained.

What is the need? The need is to see the machine.

In instances such as *The task of compiling an inventory is a big one*, the presence of the preposition *of* means that application of the formula above requires a slight modification. The word 'is' would in such cases perhaps be better read as 'involves' / 'concerns' / 'has to do with' and the formulaic pattern reads more easily as 'X is that of Y' or 'X is identified as that of ___', e.g.

The task of compiling an inventory is a big one.

(The task involves compiling an inventory.)

What is the task? The task is (that of) compiling an inventory.

The subject of issuing free passes has been dropped.

(The subject concerns issuing free passes.)

What is the subject? The subject is (that of) issuing free passes.

With restrictive appositives the identifying element may therefore not be of a form which could be substituted for the initial headword element. (This is a reason why '=h' would not be suitable as a basic format for recording appositive relationships.) As integral elements of structure, restrictive appositives do not express supplementary information and thus the '=c' marking lacks the additional plus symbol.

S P O
 h =c

Bill | the baker | gave | a most interesting talk.

(apposition) identifying complement, integral:

S P O

h = c

||| *Bill* | *the baker* | *gave* | *a most interesting talk.* |||

S P C

h = c/β

||| *The fact* || *that nobody abstained* || *is* | *very significant.* |||

S P C

h = c/β

||| *Your plan* || *to write a book* || *is* | *quite exciting.* |||

S P

h = c/β

The subject || *of issuing free passes* || *has been dropped.*

15.2 Thematic focusing

Several types of structure serve to give a particular thematic focus to an element in the sentence and thus to act as presentational devices. In the first two types to be considered, the main clause begins with the subject headword *it*, which has grammatical but not lexical value.

It's very significant that nobody abstained.

It's a good thing that we were there.

It's the musical harmony that appeals to me.

It's the tenors who are the best sight-readers.

However, of these examples the first two and the last two, although superficially similar, in fact represent quite distinct structures.

15.2.1 Extrapositional construction

In the first sentence above, *It's very significant that nobody abstained*, the subordinate clause *that nobody abstained* has a restrictive appositional relationship to the grammatical subject *it* of the main clause, in that it identifies the scope of its content as a postponed projection. Thus *that nobody abstained* answers the question 'Who/what is very significant?' or 'Who/what is it that is very significant?'. But a question such as 'Who/what is it that nobody abstained?' would not make sense. Indeed, the *that* clause can be removed without loss of grammaticality. Its role is to act as a postposed, identifying complement constituent to the subject (and within it) rather than to operate as a discrete element of clause structure. A further point to be noted is that the word *that* in the clause *that nobody abstained* is a subordinating conjunction, not a relative pronoun. In view of the fact, therefore, that the subordinate clause is a restrictive appositive, defining the subject headword (compare *That nobody abstained is very significant*), it is marked as an identifying complement which plays an integral role to the subject headword = c/β. Some extrapositional complement identifiers, as in the first two examples (*It's very significant that nobody abstained* and *It's a good thing that we were there*), can also substitute syntactically for the subject headword. In other instances, such as *It turned out that he was born in Glasgow*, this is not possible. It is also noted, of course, that the verbal element and the complement of the main clause interrupt the subject headword *it* and its extrapositional complement.

S P C
 h = c/β
It (is | very significant) || that | nobody | abstained.

S P A C
 h = c/β
It (was | always | possible) || that their loyalties would conflict.

S P
 h = c/β
It (turned out) || that he was born in Glasgow.

In summary, then, extrapositional structures involve a main clause in which the subject headword *it* is later identified by the nominal subordinate clause. The complement within the main clause – where one exists – typically functions as an evaluative attribute.

15.2.2 Predicated theme / cleft construction

The examples *It's the musical harmony that appeals to me* (with the interpretation that the sentence explains what it is that appeals to me rather than which musical harmony it is) and *It's the tenors who are the best sight-readers* illustrate a type which is handled under the heading of predicated theme (see e.g. Halliday 1994a: 58–61) or which is elsewhere in linguistics literature termed a cleft construction. Instead of just saying *The musical harmony appeals to me*, the predicated theme structure in *It's the musical harmony that appeals to me* allows an element from the basic propositional content, in this case *the musical harmony*, to be highlighted through its role as an identifying complement within the *it* clause. The postponed clause *that appeals to me* is not in apposition to anything but has rather a relative qualifying function, specifying what sort of *it* is being referred to. (The word *it* here can itself be seen as being semantically empty.) Thus in answer to the question 'What appeals to you?' or 'What is it that appeals to you?', the postponed relative clause *that appeals to me* does not identify the content of *it* but rather specifies which *it* is being spoken of in terms of a characteristic property. (Unlike extrapositional structures, therefore, in a cleft construction the postponed relative clause could not be substituted in place of *it* at the beginning of the main clause.) The reply could perhaps take the form of *The musical harmony is the thing that appeals to me*, *The musical harmony is that which appeals to me* or *The musical harmony is what appeals to me*, in which the function of *the thing that appeals to me*, *that which appeals to me* or *what appeals to me* is very similar to the discontinuous construction under consideration here, *It ... that appeals to me*. These help to highlight the qualifier function of the subordinate clause *that appeals to me* to the headword *it*. By comparison again with identifying extrapositional clauses, it should also be noted that the word *that* in the cleft constructions is not a conjunction but a relative pronoun, introducing a relative clause, and could indeed be replaced by the relative word *which*, fulfilling the same function. (The sentence *It's the tenors who are the best sight-readers* has, in principle, the same structure and, of course, already contains a *wh*-relative pronoun.) In analysis, the bound clause with this postponed relative function will be marked as a straight qualifier *q/β* to the headword *it* of the discontinuous subject in the main clause. Some examples of this construction are analysed below.

S P = C
 h q/β
It ('s | the musical harmony) || that | appeals | to me.

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S P = C

h q/β

It (<'s | the waiting> || *which* | *I* | *hate*).

S P = C

h q/β

It (<was | *Mary*> || *who* | *ate* | *all the cake*).

In summary, then, the identity of the subject headword of the main clause in predicated theme / cleft sentences is provided by the postponed qualifier later in the clause. The subordinate clause fulfilling the qualifier role provides a determining feature of the headword *it*.

15.2.3 Pseudo-cleft construction

Related in different ways to these two types of construction above is one illustrated by the sentence *What appeals to me is the musical harmony*. This mode of thematic structure does not involve extraposition and is called a pseudo-cleft construction. As illustrated above the subordinate clause allows attention to be focused on elements which in the basic proposition do not denote new information and thus would not be highlighted. It is introduced by a fused/free wh- relative word which projects forward (or backward, depending on whether the wh- clause precedes or follows the matrix clause) to the element being identified in the main clause but is syntactically an entirely separate element from it. The two elements share a subject-complement relationship. Other examples are:

What you need is a new computer.

A new computer is *what you need*.

Where they'll be staying is in one of the new flats.

Why she succeeded was because of her attention to detail.

S/β P C

S P O

What | *appeals* | *to me* || *is* | *the musical harmony*.

S/β P C

A S P

Where | *they* | *'ll be staying* || *is* | *in one of the new flats*.

15.2.4 Existential 'there' construction

A fourth type of thematic highlighting can be achieved by the use of the existential 'there' construction. In addition to the locative use of the word *there* meaning 'in/to that place', as in *We liked staying there* or *When she got there, the cupboard was bare*, it is also to be found immediately prior to the verb in the clause and frequently, therefore, in initial position:

Waiter, there's a fly in my soup.

There is only one thing to be done.

There are just three points I'd like to make.

Suddenly there was an enormous explosion.

There were icicles on the window this morning.

There will/could be a great outcry over this.

There still remain several problems to be discussed.

There came down a spider ...

There developed a good working relationship between us.

There has developed a pleasant atmosphere here.

There were books lying all over the floor.

There will now follow a short interval.

There seems to be some mistake.

There appear to be some pieces missing.

Although the word *there* means 'exists' in only some cases, this type of construction is labelled 'existential'. It is used for presentational purposes to draw attention to the existence of the element following the verb. The actual word *there* may be seen as a pronoun functioning as a dummy subject headword, which is followed by the verb and then the delayed identification of the meaning content of that headword by a further nominal phrase. Certainly, the tag question which can be added needs to include the word *there* together with the tensed part of the verbal element: *be, do, have, or a modal, e.g.*

There is just one problem, isn't there?

There were books all over the floor, weren't there?

There were books lying all over the floor, weren't there?

There remain several problems, don't there?

There developed a good working relationship, didn't there?

There has developed a pleasant atmosphere, hasn't there?

There will be a great outcry over this, won't there?

There could be a great outcry over this, couldn't there?

The tensed part of the verb is thus singular or plural depending on the plurality of the postponed nominal phrase.

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1403) regard the word *there* as the 'grammatical' subject and the delayed content expression as the 'notional' subject; '*there* can be regarded as a "dummy element", which, placed before the subject and verb, provides the necessary condition for inversion to take place' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1408). They analyse the sentence *There sprang up a wild gale that night* as follows (using our notation):

there P S A
There | sprang up | a wild gale | that night.

Scott *et al.* (1968: 187) state that the original subject is displaced from its normal position which is then filled by the word *there*. They therefore treat *there* clauses as what they call 'apposed subject clauses' and analyse them in the same manner as their previous examples of apposition, thus:

S P =S C
There | is | something | wrong.

The outlines in Quirk *et al.* and in Scott *et al.* describe the relationships well enough but neither of their actual analyses accounts satisfactorily for the fact that the word *there*, rather than the 'notional' or apposed subject, is handled as the subject headword with respect to formation of the tag question.

Many existential *there* clauses contrast with non-existential forms; compare

There still remain several problems to be discussed.

Several problems still remain to be discussed.

There has developed a pleasant atmosphere here.

A pleasant atmosphere has developed here.

There were books lying all over the floor.

Books were lying all over the floor.

There were icicles on the window this morning.

?Icicles were on the window this morning.

But this ability to pair with acceptable sentences which are thematically unmarked does not exist in all instances, and the lack of it highlights the value of the *there* construction as a presentational device.

Suddenly there was an enormous explosion.

**Suddenly an enormous explosion was.*

There will be a great outcry over this.

**A great outcry will be over this.*

There seems to be some mistake.

**Some mistake seems to be.*

Another way of handling the structure would be to analyse *there* as the subject and the element following the verb as a complement. The *Collins English Dictionary*¹ outlines just that when it states that the word *there* is 'used as the grammatical subject with some verbs, especially "be", when the true subject is an indefinite or mass noun phrase following the verb as complement', as in *There is a girl in that office*. A fact which Huddleston points out (1988a: 183) would appear to support this view: he notes that if the nominal phrase following the verb is a case-variable personal pronoun, it will normally be accusative, e.g. *There was only me*. (Again, this point is not really accounted for in the analyses by Quirk *et al.* and Scott *et al.* discussed above.) The subject-complement analysis might therefore seem attractive with respect to the verb 'to be', but an approach needs to be found which can also be used with non-existential verbs. Compare, for example, the similarity of the following:

There are several problems.

There remain several problems.

One could argue that the word *there* is inherently singular or plural and that its actual number is triggered by the complement. But that would suggest that the complement of a clause, rather than the subject, can determine the plurality of a verb. Furthermore, such an analysis would involve associating intransitive verbs, such as *remain*, *develop* and *lie* in the examples above, with two nominal elements in clause structure.

In order to handle the points about question tag formation and verb agreement I would argue that both the word *there* and the post-verbal nominal element need to be handled within the domain of the subject. I would not handle the two elements as separate, equal subjects, because the word *there* cannot appear as a subject on its own: it requires the post-verbal nominal element to identify its nature and thereby complete the existential sense. In view of the fact that the post-verbal nominal element can be in the accusative, viz. *me*, *him*, *her*, *us*, *them*, and that it is the word *there* which enters into tag formation, I propose that the word *there* be marked as the headword (pronoun) of the construction. The obligatory post-verbal element identifying the nature of the headword is then marked as a complement to the headword but still within the subject and fulfilling an identifier function, in spite of the fact that it often involves an indefinite nominal construction. The subject headword *there* can be seen as 'number

transparent', to use Huddleston's expression – that is to say it is inherently either singular or plural. It thus takes on plurality as determined by the morphological number of the identifying complement. Such an analysis keeps *there* firmly as the subject headword, avoids the concept of dual subjects and obviates the need to have the plurality of the subject and predicator dependent on a different element of clause structure.

A S P
 h = c

Suddenly | there (was) an enormous/ the most enormous explosion.

S P C A
h = c

There (were) icicles | on the window | this morning.

S A P
h = c

There (still | remain) several problems.

S A P
h = c

There (now | follows) the interval.

In summary of this section on thematic focusing, contrast the analysis of extrapositional, cleft, pseudo-cleft and existential constructions:

(extraposition) identifying complement, integral:

S P C
h = c/β
|||It ('s | a good thing) || that we were there. |||

(predicated theme / cleft) qualifier, integral:

S P = C
h q/β
|||It ('s | the tenors) || who | are | the best sight-readers. |||

(pseudo-cleft) integral clause:

S/β P = C
S P O
What | appeals | to me || is | the musical harmony.

(existential 'there') identifying complement, integral:

S P C A
h = c
There (were) icicles | on the window | this morning.

He might also have added the fact that the prepositional phrase can be fronted to form a question:

On whom can you depend for sound advice?

In the passive form, though, the 'stranded' preposition cannot be separated from the verb in this way; one cannot insert an adverb between them:

**Jim can be depended entirely on for sound advice.*

**The problem was gone thoroughly into.*

**This matter must be dealt immediately with.*

**He was shouted constantly at.*

However, it is acceptable to put the adverb after the preposition:

Jim can be depended on entirely for sound advice.

The problem was gone into thoroughly.

The matter must be dealt with immediately.

He was shouted at constantly.

Yet the prepositional phrase cannot be fronted as a whole in passive relative clauses:

**Jim is someone on whom can be depended for sound advice.*

**The problem is something into which has been gone.*

**The matter is something with which must be dealt immediately.*

**He is someone at whom was shouted constantly.*

But these relative clauses are acceptable, indeed normal, if the preposition is attached to the verb and the relative pronoun made the subject of the bound clause:

Jim is someone who can be depended on for sound advice.

The problem is something which has been gone into.

The matter is something which must be dealt with immediately.

He is someone who was shouted at constantly.

Finally, it is noted that the prepositional phrase in passive clauses cannot be fronted as a whole into subject position to form a question:

**On whom can be depended for sound advice?*

**Into what has been gone?*

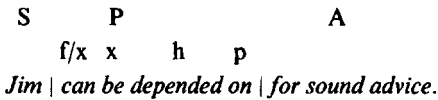
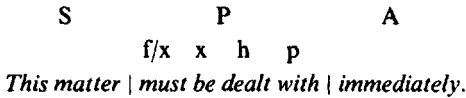
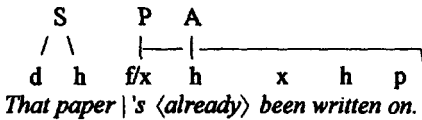
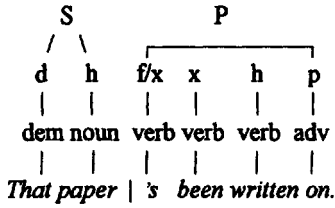
But if the preposition is attached to the verb and its completive element made subject, then all is well.

Who can be depended on for sound advice?

What has been gone into?

Radford concludes⁴ that for the passive forms a reanalysis has taken place in which the preposition has been incorporated with the verb to form a 'complex' verb. In our terms, then, the actual predicators in the above passive examples are to be interpreted as *'s been written on, were lived in, must be dealt with, was shouted at, and can be depended on*. In supporting the reanalysis thesis I would propose that the preposition be deemed to be absorbed into the

predicator to form a phrasal verb, in which the former preposition has assumed the role of adverbial particle attached to the main verb.



Notes

- 1 *Collins English Dictionary*, 4th edn (1998), Glasgow: Harper Collins, p. 1588.
- 2 A. Radford (1988) *Transformational Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 427.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 427–8.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 429.

More on complementation

16.1 Verbal phrase complementation

In considering now some further complexities of structure associated with complementation of the predicator, I shall turn again to the two types of verbs exemplified by *persuade* and *expect* (referred to in the discussion on Phase in Section 14.3), with a view to highlighting the way in which co-occurring participants need to be analysed when the predicator is in the passive.

- (1) *I persuaded the doctor to examine John.*
- (2) *I persuaded John to be examined by the doctor.*
- (3) *The doctor was persuaded to examine John.*
- (4) *John was persuaded to be examined by the doctor.*

In the first sentence the meaning is interpreted as being that the speaker persuaded someone – *the doctor* ('Who did you persuade?'), and that he persuaded the doctor to do something – *to examine John* ('What did you persuade the doctor to do?'). The meaning of the string *I persuaded the doctor* is thus a component element of the fuller sentence, so *the doctor* is an object in the main clause in its own right as well as being the understood subject of the separate embedded clause object (*the doctor*) *to examine John*. The same is also true of *John* in the second sentence. In examples (3) and (4) the reduced clauses *the doctor was persuaded* and *John was persuaded* can similarly stand on their own, retaining the same meaning as they have in the larger sentences, and the subject of the main clause is the underlying subject of the embedded clause which forms the object of *persuade*. Note that the phrase *the doctor* in sentences (1) and (3) has become an oblique object *by the doctor* in sentences (2) and (4).

S	P	O	O/β	
		(S)	P	O

- (1) *I | persuaded | the doctor || to examine | John.*

S	P	O	O/β	
		(S)	P	O

- (2) *I | persuaded | John || to be examined | by the doctor.*

S	P	O/β	
(S)		P	O

- (3) *The doctor | was persuaded || to examine | John.*

S	P	O/β	
(S)		P	O

- (4) *John | was persuaded || to be examined | by the doctor.*

- (5) *I expected the doctor to examine John.*
- (6) *I expected John to be examined by the doctor.*

The analysis of sentences containing *expect* will prove increasingly to be less simple. However, examples (5) and (6) are clear and straightforward: the question can be asked 'What did you expect?' and the reply given that 'I expected something', which was that John would undergo a doctor's examination. The direct object function is thus expressed by an embedded clause, whose internal structure takes account of the different element participant relationships determined through the active or passive predicators. By contrast, however, with the sentences containing *persuade*, it is not the case in sentences (5) and (6) that their meanings include the meanings of the reduced strings *I expected the doctor* or *I expected John*. The question 'Who did you expect?' can be applied in neither instance.

S P O/β
 S P O

(5) *I | expected || the doctor | to examine | John.*

S P O/β
 S P O

(6) *I | expected || John | to be examined | by the doctor.*

(7) *The doctor was expected to examine John.*

(8) *The doctor was expected by everyone to examine John.*

(9) *John was expected to be examined by the doctor.*

(10) *John was expected by everyone to be examined by the doctor.*

The structure of sentences (7) to (10) is more complex. It is, for example, not part of the meaning of sentences (7) and (8) that the doctor was expected. No-one was expecting the doctor. The relevant question is rather 'What was expected?' and receives here the reply that the doctor would examine John, viz. *the doctor ... to examine John*. Even so, *the doctor* is still the surface structure subject of *was expected*. This can be tested, firstly, by pluralizing the subject phrase to become *the doctors*, the result of which is that the predicator *was expected* also has to be put into the plural *were expected* and, secondly, by the fact that it is *the doctor* which is involved in any tag question formation, viz. *wasn't he?*. Nevertheless, the relationship between the main clause subject and the predicator might be described as indirect or 'remote' rather than as direct or immediate. (In transformational grammar the surface structure subject *the doctor* is, by reference to and comparison with a sentence such as (5), said to have been 'raised'.) In order to record this remote relationship with the predicator *was expected* we will mark the subject with a circumflex accent, thus S^{\wedge} . However, as we have indicated, *the doctor* is also the immediate subject of *the doctor ... to examine John*. We therefore see two strands of structure operating here, with *the doctor* operating both as the remote subject of *was expected* and as the gateway entry point to the embedded clause *the doctor ... to examine John*, hence the dual marking $S^{\wedge}:\beta$. This embedded clause is interrupted by the predicator *was expected* of the superordinate clause – hence the clause interruption markings – and, in sentence (8), also by the oblique object *by everyone* from the superordinate clause. The treatment of these sentences with the passive *was expected* thus bears a strong resemblance to that of a sentence containing *is certain* in a remote relationship with the subject, e.g. *John is certain to come* (see Section 16.3, Adjectival phrase complementation). Analysis of sentences (9) and (10) follows an essentially similar pattern. Both operate against a background that the meaning of *John was expected* is not part of the meaning of the larger sentences.

$S^{\wedge}:\beta$ P
 S P O

(7) *The doctor <<was expected>> to examine | John.*

S[^]:β P
 S P C

(15) *Bill* (<<was considered>>) *to be* | *a friend*.

On a par with sentence (11), we would handle sentences such as *I like my coffee hot* and *We want the house white* as basically S+P+O structures in which the object is realized by a reduced embedded clause. Here what is being said is not that *I like my coffee* or *We want the house* but rather that *I like X* / *We want X*, where X is 'that the coffee be hot' or 'that the house be white'. The internal structure of the embedded clause could thus also include a non-finite predicator.

S P O/β
 S C

(16) *I* | *like* || *my coffee* | *hot*.

S P O/β
 S P C

(17) *I* | *like* || *my coffee* | *to be* | *hot*.

For the analysis of sentences containing verbs such as *seem*, *appear*, *look*, *feel*, *sound* in constructions of the type

(18) *He appears fit enough*

the same approach will be pursued as that adopted for sentences (7) to (10), (12) and (15) which contain the passive verbal phrases *was expected* and *is/was considered*. Here, citing the parallel construction *It appears that he is fit enough*, I would argue again that there are two strands of structure operating. On the one hand, although the construction **That he is fit enough appears* is not possible, in sentence (18) what appears (to be the case) is that *he ... fit enough*. In other words, he is fit enough apparently / by appearance. On the other hand *he* is the raised surface structure subject of *appears*, having only a remote relationship with the predicator of the matrix clause. That is to say, he does not actually appear. Therefore, in place of the standard systemic analysis under (18a) below, in which all elements of clause structure are analysed as elements of the main clause, thus:

S P C

(18a) *He* | *appears* | *fit enough*.

a more sophisticated form of analysis to reflect the underlying constituent structure more accurately would mark that *he* is both the raised surface structure subject of *appears* and the entry point to the embedded proposition *he ... fit enough*, thus:

S[^]:β P
 S C

(18b) *He* (<<*appears*>>) *fit enough*.

In further support of this analysis is the fact that the embedded clause can be expanded to include an infinitive verbal phrase. Also, within the main clause, the participant who perceives the situation can be specified as an oblique object.

S[^]:β P O
 S P C

(19) *He* (<<*appears* | *to me*>>) *to be* | *fit enough*.

For the verbs *look, feel, sound*, the actual form of the construction cited above in parallel with *He appears fit enough*, viz. *It appears that he is fit enough*, would need to be modified slightly. See, for example:

He looks fit enough. *It looks as if he is fit enough.*
My arm feels (to be) broken. *It feels as if my arm is broken.*
She sounds a good choice. *It sounds as if she is a good choice.*

But in analysis the same principles apply.

S[^]:β P
 S C

(20) *She* <<*sounds*>> *a good choice.*

(Compare the analysis of *It sounds as if she is a good choice*:

S P C/β
 A S P C

It | *sounds* || *as if* | *she* | *is* | *a good choice.*

Note that the clause *as if she is a good choice* is handled here not as a circumstantial adverbial element but as an attributive complement to *It*, by analogy with *It sounds rather odd*. It answers the question ‘What does it sound like?’ or, in this instance, ‘How does it sound?, where *What . . . like?* and *How?* are enquiring after an attribute of *it* rather than a circumstance, e.g. manner, of the process *sound*. Thus, one does not hear **It sounds rather oddly*. Contrast, therefore, the treatment in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1074, 1110) of this type of *as if* clause as an obligatory predication adjunct providing complementation to the verb.)

Contrasting with *We consider Bill a friend* are sentences such as

(21) *They elected John chairman*

and

(22) *John was elected chairman.*

(See also verbs such as *appoint, call, name*.) Here *They elected John* and *John was elected* are constituent elements of the fuller statements, as it is possible to ask ‘Who did they elect?’ and ‘Who was elected?’. *John* is thus a direct object in the active clause and, of course, subject in the passive one. To determine the status of *chairman* we can ask the question ‘What did they elect John as?’ or indeed ‘What was John?’. This elicits an identifying, intensive relationship between the two elements, which in the active sentence means that *chairman* is complement to *John* as object and in the passive sentence that it is complement to *John* as subject, thus:

S P O = C^(O)

(21a) *They* | *elected* | *John* | *chairman.*

S P = C

(22a) *John* | *was elected* | *chairman.*

As variations of sentence (21) I would cite *They elected John as chairman*, in which the complement is expressed by the prepositional phrase *as chairman*, or (23) *They elected John to be chairman*, in which the presence of the predicator introduces a complexity. In order to capture the intensive relationship between *John* and *chairman* now, the string *to be chairman* needs to be analysed initially as a main clause complement which is realized by a reduced

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embedded clause in which *John* is the understood subject (S), *to be* is the predicator, and *chairman* is the complement to the subject *John*, as shown below.

S	P	O	C/β
		(S)	P = C

(23) *They | elected | John || to be | chairman.*

Similar variants of sentence (22) can also be cited, viz. *John was elected as chairman* and (24) *John was elected to be chairman.*

S	P	C/β
(S)		P = C

(24) *John | was elected || to be | chairman.*

On the basis of this wider picture, one might feel that to maintain a commonality of treatment it would be appropriate to return to sentences (21) *They elected John chairman* and (22) *John was elected chairman* and to analyse them as also having a second, embedded layer of structure. In such an analysis, the main clause complement would similarly be marked as being realized by a reduced embedded clause in which *John* is the understood subject but in which the identifying complement, *chairman*, is the only actual element.

S	P	O	C/β
		(S)	= C

(21b) *They | elected | John || chairman.*

S	P	C/β
(S)		= C

(22b) *John | was elected || chairman.*

However, although this form of analysis does indeed maintain a compatibility of approach with examples (23) and (24) which contain fuller embedded clauses, it might properly be considered unnecessarily cumbersome and thus inappropriate for these examples (21) and (22).

Into a similar category to *They elected John (as) chairman* I would put such sentences as

The teacher described him as hopeless.

He was described as hopeless.

We painted the house white.

The house was painted white.

Here the reduced structures *The teacher described him* and *We painted the house*, etc. can be determined, through the questions 'Who did the teacher describe?' and 'What did we paint?', as forming a constituent part of the meanings of the larger sentences.

Finally in this section I turn to some types of sentence using the verb *make* with ascriptive nominal complementation.

S	P	C ^(S)
---	---	------------------

(25) *She | made | a good doctor.*

This is a straightforward example of an intensive relationship between the subject and the ascriptive nominal element through the copula verb. It may be paraphrased *She was/became a good doctor.*

With

(26) *She made him a good businessman*

two analyses are possible. The first states that with her help he became a good businessman or, better, that she caused him to be(come) a good businessman. In other words, she did not make *him*, but what she did make was *him a good businessman*. Here, then, *him a good businessman* is the object of *made*, and within the embedded clause *him* is the subject and *a good businessman* is a complement to that subject.

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{O}^{\text{DIR}}/\beta & \\ & & \text{S} & \text{C}^{(\text{S})} \end{array}$$

(26a) *She | made || him | a good businessman.*

The sentence could equally read

(27) *She made him into a good businessman.*

However, in relation to this form, other parallel strings such as *She transformed him into a good businessman* could be cited. Within this paraphrase it is part of the meaning that *she transformed him*, in which *him* is the object of *transformed* and *into a good businessman* is the complement to that object. By analogy, therefore, it might be argued that, with regard to him becoming a good businessman, she *did* make/create him. In these terms the analysis of either sentence (26) or (27) would thus be analysed simply as

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{O}^{\text{DIR}} & \text{C}^{(\text{O})} \end{array}$$

(26b) *She | made | him | a good businessman.*

With (28) *She made him a good wife* the meaning is that she was a good wife for/to him and the sentence could be paraphrased as this. The question ‘Who was she a good wife for/to?’ determines *him* as a beneficiary, oblique object (traditionally an indirect object). The string *a good wife* answers the question ‘What was she for him?’. This points to the fact that *a good wife* is, therefore, a complement not to the object but to the subject.

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{O}^{\text{OBL}} & \text{C}^{(\text{S})} \end{array}$$

(28) *She | made | him | a good wife.*

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{O}^{\text{DIR}} & \text{O}^{\text{OBL}} \end{array}$$

(29) *She | made | a good businessman | out of him.*

Sentence (29) does involve her creating a businessman, using him as source material. The question ‘What did she make?’ elicits *a good businessman* as the direct object, and the further question ‘Who did she make a good businessman out of?’ determines the phrase *out of him* as the oblique object source. In meaning terms the string *a good businessman out of him* would seem to represent the converse of *him into a good businessman* (27), which as we commented is the essential meaning of *him a good businessman* in (26).

16.2 Nominal phrase qualifiers and complements

We have already seen how post-head dependent elements in nominal phrase structure realized by embedded clauses can have a role as qualifiers or as complements. In this section we look more closely at nominal phrase qualifiers and complements realized, firstly, by **prepositional phrases** and, secondly, by a range of non-finite **embedded clauses**.

Prepositional phrases

At this stage we propose the following guidelines for post-head prepositional elements in NPs:

- (a) A qualifier answers the question ‘Which X?’ or ‘How much / many (of) Y?’, where X is the headword and Y is the prepositional compleitive. If in the first instance it answers ‘Which X?’, then secondarily it will answer questions such as ‘What is X like?’, e.g. *the girl with long hair*, ‘What is the determining feature of X?’, e.g. *the man with the yellow socks*, ‘Whose X?’, e.g. *the Hound of the Baskervilles*, or ‘In what circumstances (e.g. where, when, why) is X?’, e.g. *the hole in the roof*.
- (b) A complement may in the first instance also answer the question ‘Which X?’. Secondarily, however, it will answer the question ‘What X?’ or ‘What is the X?’, e.g. *the city of London*.

Attributive

Prepositional qualifiers with an attributive function provide a descriptor to the headword and will give sensible answers to the question ‘Which X?’ meaning ‘What sort of X (is it)?’ or ‘What is X like?’, where X refers to the particular headword. Some examples are

the man with a limp
the girl with long hair
a man of great courage
a student of real promise
a decision of no importance
the house like a box
a grip like a clam

In some instances the prepositional phrase qualifier may be paralleled by a structure consisting of a copula verb + adjectival element, such as *the man is very courageous*, *the student is really promising*, *the decision is not important*. In the last two examples listed this is only possible with the help of ‘-like’ to form the adjective, e.g. *the house is box-like*, *the grip is clam-like*. In other instances the preposition may carry the meaning of ‘has’ in the sense of possessing a physical characteristic/property or abstract quality. Thus one can say here that *the man has a limp*, *the girl has long hair*, *the decision has no importance*. But the possession of a physical entity such as *the man with the red car* would be excluded from this grouping. Such a qualifier, though answering the question ‘What does the man have?’, does so not from the meaning ‘What sort of man is he?’ but rather in terms of ‘What does the man possess/own?’. Similarly, we would contrast between Quirk *et al.*’s two examples (1985: 1275):

The woman with the child is Joan.
The woman with child is Joan.

Here the first prepositional phrase *with the child* answers the question ‘Who was the woman with?’, thus indicating a different type of function. Only the second, *with child*, answers the attributive question ‘What is the woman like?’ / ‘In what state/condition was she?’. In this latter sentence, the phrase *the woman with child* can also be related to the semantically paraphrased structure *The pregnant woman*. Indeed many attributive prepositional qualifiers can be related to similarly paraphrased structures in which they appear as adjectival or participial premodifiers, thus:

the man with a limp – the limping man
the girl with long hair – the long-haired girl

a man of great courage – a very courageous man
a student of real promise – a really promising student
a decision of no importance – an unimportant decision

The prepositional *with* phrases denoting material possession or accompaniment are on this criterion also ruled out of being analysed as attributives:

*the man with the red car – *the red-carred man*
*the woman with the child – *the childed woman*

A syntactic feature which applies to all types of prepositional phrase qualifiers of possession, both possession of a characteristic property and of a material entity, is that, with the addition of a genitive 's to the nominal headword and the omission of the preposition and the article from the prepositional phrase qualifier, one can form determinative structures of the pattern 'The X's Y', e.g. *the man's limp, the girl's long hair, the man's great courage, the student's real promise*.

Possessive

As mentioned above, prepositional phrases containing *with* may mark possession/ownership of an entity, in which the head of the NP is the possessor (X) and the thing possessed is expressed by the prepositional phrase complement. In addition to specifying 'Which X?', it also answers the question 'What/who is it that the X has?', e.g. *the man with the red car*. Such phrases are thus seen as a possessive form of qualifier with an 'objective' relationship. With these structures also it is typically possible to form the determinative question 'Whose Y?', where Y is the complement element in the prepositional phrase, e.g. *the man's red car*.

Under the heading of possession/ownership I would also include prepositional phrases which answer the question 'Which X?' in the sense of 'Whose X (is it)?'. As such, they represent an almost obverse relationship to the 'objective' possessive type above. The head of the NP (X) is the entity possessed and the complement element in the prepositional phrase – the possessor. Examples are

the Hound of the Baskervilles
the funnel of the ship
the Tower of London

With these it is possible to transform the prepositional phrase into a genitive phrase determiner, e.g. *the Baskervilles' Hound, the ship's funnel, London's Tower*. By contrast with the possessive qualifiers above, though, one cannot normally form pre-head determinative structures with the reverse patterning, e.g. **the Hound's Baskervilles, *the funnel's ship*, etc. The whole structure can be paraphrased by either (a) replacing the preposition with the verb *be* and the complement with a genitive phrase, e.g. *the Hound is the Baskervilles', the funnel is the ship's, the Tower is London's*, or (b) replacing the preposition with the words *belongs to*, thus: *the Hound belongs to the Baskervilles, the funnel belongs to the ship, the Tower belongs to London*. We would thus regard these prepositional phrases with *of* as having a 'subjective' possessive orientation.

Circumstantial

In the post-head circumstantial structures the qualifier specifies the circumstances/context of the headword. Examples are

the festival in June
the hole in the roof

the night before the exam
the tree behind the hedge
her cry of pain
his shout for joy
the problem with my set
the difficulty in this approach

Although, in addition to the question 'Which X?', they may sometimes seem also to provide sensible answers to the questions relating to extensive nominal elements (see below), only circumstantial qualifiers will give a reply to the adverbially oriented questions 'When / where / why / in what way / in what manner / by what means / in what circumstances was the X?', where X is still the headword, e.g. 'When was the festival?'; 'Where was the hole?'; 'What was the reason for her cry?'. Circumstantial qualifiers thus specify aspects such as the time of, location of, source of, cause of, purpose of, reason for, result of, manner of or other circumstances of the headword.

The reply to such questions is typically in the form 'X was "prepositional phrase"', e.g. *the festival was in June, the tree was behind the hedge, the hole was in the roof*. Again more distinctively, with most an expanded question of the form 'When / where / ... is it that the X was?' can be asked, typically with the reply fitting the pattern 'When / where / ... the X was was "prepositional phrase"', e.g. *When the festival was was in June, Where the hole was was in the roof, Where the difficulty was was in this approach*. We note here that in the reply it is more standard to keep the prepositional phrase together as an uninterrupted unit. Thus by contrast with extensive nominal elements it would be at best unusual or even ungrammatical to reply in a form such as 'When the festival was in was June' or 'Where the hole was in was the roof'. Also with adverbial qualifiers one can frequently create sentences of the type 'The time of / location of / cause of / reason for / context of X was "prepositional completeive"' or 'X is associated with / has to do with "prepositional completeive"', e.g.

The reason for his shout was joy
The cause of her cry was pain
The location of the problem is my set
The problem is associated with my set
The difficulty is associated with this approach
The difficulty has to do with this approach

Selectional

With selectional or partitive expressions the nominal headword is a quantifier, and the prepositional qualifier has the function of specifying the entity selected for quantification. *Of* is the preposition introducing this type of qualifier. Examples are

all of my salary
many of the visitors
half of the class
each of the players
one of his sheep
a thousand of these pens
a ton of coal
a pint of milk
a fleet of ships
a flock of sheep

In these structures the nominal headword provides a sensible answer to the question ‘What quantity / what measure / how much / how many of Y?’ where Y is the prepositional compleitive in the qualifier. Alternatively the question ‘What is it that X is a quantity/measure of?’ can be put, where X is itself the nominal headword. As we mentioned earlier, Fawcett (1980: 204) would regard all the quantifiers in these examples as determiners to the headwords, which for him are those constituents that we are referring to as the Y element in the selectional prepositional phrase.

Identifying

Post-head elements with an identifying function specify the nature or name of the headword and thus have an intensive relationship to that headword. They provide answers to the question ‘Which X?’ in the sense of ‘What X?’ / ‘What is the X?’ or ‘What is the identity/name of X?’, where X represents the headword. In the last chapter we met some identifying elements which could substitute syntactically for the head element, e.g. *the fact that nobody abstained; my sister Rita*. Identifying elements which are realized by prepositional phrases are, owing to their structural composition, necessarily unable to substitute for the head element whilst they retain the preposition:

the city of London
the University of Strathclyde
the matter of secret ballots

(Huddleston (1984: 270) refers to the term ‘appositive genitive’ in connection with such of prepositional phrases.)

the president as the final arbiter

The prepositional phrase identifiers, like the clausal identifiers above, are regarded not as qualifiers but as complements within the nominal phrase.

With non-prepositional identifiers it was possible to spell out the relationship as ‘X is Y’ or perhaps ‘The identity/name/nature of X is Y’, e.g.: *The fact is that nobody abstained, My sister is Rita*. With prepositional identifiers, however, this expansion is possible only once the preposition is dropped, thus:

The president is (as) the final arbiter.
The identity of the city is (of) London.
The name of the University is (of) Strathclyde.
The nature of the matter is (of) secret ballots.

Extensive

Extensive qualifiers serve to introduce a participant role in an oblique nominal relationship to the headword. Beyond the possible question ‘Which X?’, they are typically susceptible to the questions ‘Who/what was the X “preposition”?’ / ‘Who/what is it that the X was “preposition”?’ (but not to one of the type ‘WH^{CIRC} was the X?’), where ‘X’ represents the nominal headword. Such post-head dependent elements may represent the goal / subject matter / patient / recipient / beneficiary / co-participant of the headword and thus in their meaning be broadly object-oriented/ ‘objective’ in one way or another, e.g.

the ascent of Everest
her dislike of pretence

his criticism of the book
the sinking of the trawler
the shooting of the hunters (as victims)
supporters of the team
the donation to the blind
your reliance on others' help
her belief in justice
the argument over pay
his fight with Bill

Alternatively, but still based on the same criterion, an extensive qualifier may represent the agent/participant source of the headword. See also Huddleston's reference (1984: 270) to the term 'subjective' in traditional grammar to denote one of the meanings of *of* phrases:

the strike by the miners
the arrival of the president
the shooting of the hunters (as agents)

Many of these phrases with oblique nominal qualifiers can be related to predicator-object or subject-predicator structures at clause rank, e.g. *They ascended Everest*; *She dislikes pretence*; *They shot the hunters*; *You rely on others' help*; *She believes in justice*; *They argued over pay*; *He fought with Bill*; *The miners struck*; *The president arrived*. In some instances the qualifier can be transformed into a pre-head determinative structure, e.g. *the trawler's sinking*; *the hunters' shooting*; *the president's arrival*; *the miners' strike*. With others the complete element in the prepositional phrase can become a pre-head nominal phrase modifier, e.g. *the Everest ascent*, *the pay argument*.

In the wider linguistic literature, some of these extensive qualifiers would be recognized as instances of another type of complement to the noun headword. In that role they would be contrasted with (post)modifiers. In drawing just such a distinction between nominal phrase complements and modifiers, Huddleston (1988a: 94) comments that 'the preposition in a complement is selected by the noun head, whereas in a modifier it is potentially semantically contrastive' and may thus be able to be replaced by a different preposition. He compares *her reliance on the premier* (complement) with *the book on the table* (modifier). He further mentions (1984: 264) that complements precede modifiers, contrasting *a king of England of considerable intelligence* with the unacceptable **a king of considerable intelligence of England*. Thirdly, he states (1988a: 93-4) that 'the distinguishing criterion is thus that complements depend for their occurrence on the presence of a noun head of the appropriate class'. However, he concedes that 'it would be idle to suggest that such criteria can yield a sharp distinction between complements and modifiers: there is bound to remain a considerable area of indeterminacy' (1984: 264).

One approach to the determination of extensive noun complements is the use of the *one* pro forma test. In accordance with this, Baker,¹ for example, explains that the headword noun and its complement together form a 'minimal common-noun phrase', which may be substituted by the pronoun *one* if handled as a whole but not if the complement element is repeated. Thus *The student of physics with long hair is more intelligent than the one* (i.e. the student of physics) with *short hair* is fine, but **The student of physics is taller than the one of chemistry* is not.

Huddleston's approach allows for a rather broader interpretation. Thus, although he sees the number of complements in any one NP as being strictly limited, he describes the phrase *his criticism of the book for its repetitiousness* as having two complements and *his purchase of the land from the government for \$10,000* as having three (Huddleston 1984: 261). Some of his noun complements, though, would fail the *one* substitution test. This test would, in fact, seem designed to capture only a single, 'objective' participant. In that respect, therefore, it differs from the complementation of a predicator, which can of course extend over more than one object.

Inherently, if I were to adopt the analysis of such prepositional phrases as complements, I would favour an approach which, like Huddleston's, allowed for more than one extensive participant. However, in the absence of working criteria which can produce consistently an output that is objectively meaningful as well as distinctive, such elements will continue to be handled as qualifiers to the noun headword. In support of this stance I would mention that the concept of noun complements in an extensive relationship is by no means universally accepted. Greenbaum (1996), for example, recognizes complements within NPs but also restricts their scope to intensive relationships. (In systemic publications the term 'nominal phrase complement' / 'noun complement' does not yet feature widely at all.)

Embedded clauses

Relative

Reduced relative clause qualifiers have a determinative role and answer the question 'Which X?'. They fit the formulae 'The X (who/which/that/when/where/why) (one/you/he/she, etc.) should ___'.

the person to follow

('The person (who) you should follow.')

the box to take

('The box (which/that) you should take.')

the box to be taken

('The box which/that should be taken.')

the man to speak to

('The man (who) you should speak to.')

the place to be

('The place (where) you should be.')

the time to leave

('The time (when) you should leave.')

the way to come

('The way you should come.')

the box for you to take

the man for him to speak to

the place for us to be

the time for everyone to leave

the way for them to come.

Circumstantial

Circumstantial adverbial clause qualifiers are determined by questions of the type 'How (in what way) / why / when / where, etc. is X?', 'What is X associated with?' or 'What does X have to do with?' (where X is the headword). At the same time they do not meet the requirement which applies to identifying complements ('X is Y' or 'X is identified as belonging to Y'). Thus, for example, with the phrase *the purpose of getting traveller's cheques* one can pose the question 'What is the purpose associated with?' and get the response 'Getting traveller's cheques.'. However, in respect of this phrase one cannot say 'The purpose is getting traveller's cheques' or 'The purpose is identified as being that of getting traveller's cheques'. Likewise I would argue that *the purpose of getting traveller's cheques* is not the same as *the purpose is to get traveller's cheques* and that it is only in respect of the latter that the identifying formulae would apply.

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Further examples of circumstantial adverbial qualifiers include

the reason for flying
the difficulty in finding accommodation
the benefit of buying in bulk
the problem with having new boots
death by drowning
the danger of falling
the chances of meeting him.

Identifying

Identifying clause complements, as mentioned in a previous chapter, also occur with non-finite embedded clauses. They respond typically to the question 'What is the X?', which in the case of infinitive clause complements is on the basis of 'X is Y' or 'X is identified as being Y', e.g.

his decision to resign
(*'His decision is to resign.'*)
your plan to write a book
their intention to strike
the need to see the machine
the need for us to see the machine
(*'The need is for us to see the machine.'*)
his willingness to help
(*'His willingness is identified as being to help.'*)
his ability to write
her will to win.

Some containing a participial clause require a response along the lines of 'X is that of Y' or 'X is identified as being that of Y.' Examples include

the question of issuing free passes
(*'The question is that of issuing free passes.'*)
(*'The question is identified as being that of issuing new passes.'*)
the goal of securing an improved offer
his hope of winning his heat.

16.3 Adjectival phrase complementation

Complementation by prepositional phrase

Huddleston (1984: 305–11) also distinguishes between post-head dependent modifiers and complements in his discussion of adjectival phrases, e.g.

modifier: *He was young to be a minister.*
It was more useful than I had expected.
Ed was too sleepy to concentrate.

complement: *He was anxious to be a minister.*
Ed is fond of Kim.
Ed was angry that he had gone.

(See also, for example, *keen; glad; sorry; similar.*)

He makes the general remark that there is a parallel between the adjectival head and complement relationship above and that between the predicator and its complements in clause structure (Huddleston 1984: 260). An adjectival complement, though, is expressed not by a nominal phrase but rather by a prepositional phrase or finite/non-finite subordinate clause. Where an adjectival complement is to be found, the adjective thus expresses not the normal one-place but a two-place semantic predicate. There is even the possibility of a three-place semantic predicate, e.g. *responsible*, as in *You will be responsible to me for the safety of this equipment.* Complements and modifiers may, he comments, combine in that order, e.g. *He was too anxious to win to appreciate such niceties* (Huddleston 1984: 310).

Though writing from within the transformational tradition, Radford² with reference to the example *John is fond of Mary in some ways* differentiates between complements and adjuncts within the adjectival phrase. He says that complements, e.g. *of Mary*, have the typical property of being obligatory or 'more inseparable' (but note Huddleston's example *critical of Max* (1984: 307) and Radford's own *so cross with her about the key*³ where the complements could be omitted). The adjunct phrase *in some ways*, on the other hand, has the property of being optional. Further, the NP within a complement prepositional phrase can be more freely preposed than an NP within an adjunct prepositional phrase. Thus, in relation to *a student of physics*, where (as mentioned earlier) Radford analyses *of physics* as a complement of the noun, one can ask *What branch of physics are you a student of?* but in relation to *a student with long hair*, in which he handles *with long hair* as an adjunct prepositional phrase, one cannot ask **What kind of hair are you a student with?*⁴ Thus, after Radford, we could ask 'Who is John fond of (in some ways)?' but not **What ways is John fond of Mary in?* Radford concludes, in transformational terms, that complements of adjectives are sisters of A (A is his notation for the adjectival head element) and daughters of A-bar (the phrase node marker), whereas adjectival postmodifier adjuncts are both sisters and daughters of A-bar. From this I interpret adjectival complements as having the same relationship to an adjectival head element as objects to a lexical verb head element.

Citing examples such as *awful at tennis, better at eating buns, easy to please* Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 14–15) uses the term 'scope', which he also applies within the adverbial group, in contrast with 'limiter' (later 'finisher'), which is used for qualifiers such as *indeed* (or comparative clauses and phrases beginning *than ...*). Scope is characterized as defining 'the scope of the relatively general meaning expressed in the apex' (his adjectival headword label) and is typically filled by embedded clauses and prepositional phrases; there are, unfortunately, no specific tests given. Contrasting with scope, however, is the concept of predicate complement as expressed by predicative adjectives such as *eager, willing, afraid, keen*. Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 50–1) comments that they function 'in the clause in a way that is in many ways like a main verb' and that although 'in their internal structure they are like the more typical groups that fill Complements' 'they determine the rest of the clause in the same sort of way that a predicator does'. He compares *Ike wanted to go with Ike was eager to go*. He then offers an analysis in which the elements following these predicate complements, as in *eager to please, keen on tennis*, are labelled not as scope but as full elements (complements) of clause structure. (Since then, however, Fawcett has preferred the term 'scope' within group structure.)

I would thus see a case for the recognition in the analysis of an element quite distinct from the limiter qualifier within the adjectival phrase itself, to record the nature of the complementation elements (underlined) following the adjectival headword in examples such as those below:

He was glad/pleased/sorry about her reaction.
She was good/bad at mathematics.
This is different from the last series.

She is interested/outstanding in languages.
Jack was very aware/fond/conscious/proud of Jill.
Jim is keen/dependent/reliant on trains.
He is insistent on his rights.
He is subject/indifferent to criticism.
She was cross/annoyed/delighted/pleased with her performance.

(See also Quirk *et al.* 1972: 821–3; 1985: 1221–2.)

In terms of the complementation role many of these sentences do indeed have parallels with sentences containing lexical predicators. Compare:

She is good at maths; She excels at maths.
This is different from the last series; This differs from the last series.
Jack was fond of Jill; Jack liked Jill.
She is dependent on trains; She depends on trains.
He is insistent on his rights; He insists on his rights.
We were glad about his success; We rejoiced at his success.
They were sorry at the news; They grieved at the news.

The essential difference between each pair is that the first involves complementation of an adjective (which is itself a complement) supported by a copular verb predicator, and the second involves complementation of a lexical verb predicator.

In addition to the preposing test which Radford applies to the nominal phrase within an adjectival complement, in certain (though not all) examples the prepositional phrase as a whole can be placed in clause initial position, e.g.

At mathematics she was good (but less so at physics).
Of Jill Jack was very fond (but he didn't particularly like Mary).
On his rights he was insistent (but he took no notice of his obligations).
To criticism he is indifferent (but he appreciates praise).
With her performance she was delighted (but with the audience's reaction she was disappointed).

In altering the syntactic structure of the clause in this way, one is of course altering the thematic orientation. Another way in which the complement to the adjective can be separated from the adjectival head element is by insertion of a particularizing adjunct, such as *especially*, *particularly*, *in particular*, e.g. *She is good particularly at mathematics*. Whilst the insertion of such an element might be seen as altering the relationship between the adjective and its complement, nevertheless, the very ability to separate the adjective from its complement like this adds further weight to the idea that, within the inherently flat format of systemic functional syntax, the complementation does not need to be analysed as an element within the structure of the adjectival phrase but can rather be represented as an element of clause structure marking the nature of the complementation of that adjectival phrase.

In relation to specifying the role of the prepositional phrase, I would also note that the prepositional phrase is not susceptible to the circumstantial adverbial questions 'how/why/when/where?', etc. So, for example, 'Why was she good?' is not a relevant question in respect of *She was good at mathematics*, and even the question 'Why was he glad?' would relate to an original sentence of the form *He was glad because she reacted so well* rather than to the one here *He was glad about her reaction*. But we can apply a test to determine that this is a nominal, object relationship 'Who/what + was + subject + adjective + preposition?' (and 'What is it that subject is "adjective" + "preposition"'), as for example with:

What was he glad/pleased/sorry about?

(What is it that he was glad about?)

What was she good/bad at?

What is this different from?

What is she interested in?

Who was Jack very aware/fond/conscious/proud of?

In several instances too we can transform the prepositional completive element into the subject, albeit of a sentence with a lexical predicator:

We were glad about his success → His success gladdened us.

She is interested in languages → Languages interest her.

She was annoyed/delighted/pleased with her performance → Her performance annoyed/delighted/pleased her.

I therefore propose that the prepositional phrase be handled as an oblique element which is extensive to the subject of the clause and which consequently has an oblique object function within clause structure. In such circumstances it is, of course, not an object of the preceding verbal element but rather, as was said, to the intensive adjectival element in combination with the verbal element. The analysis of such sentences thus bears a very definite similarity to sentences containing a lexical predicator. Compare:

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
She | is | good | at maths.

S P O^{OBL}
She | excels | at maths.

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
She | is | dependent | on trains.

S P O^{OBL}
She | depends | on trains.

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
He | is | insistent | on his rights.

S P O^{OBL}
He | insists | on his rights.

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
She | was | aware | of his difficulties.

S P O^{OBL}
She | knew | of his difficulties.

The same analysis would be applied equally to the following, even though they have no lexical counterparts:

Jack | grew | fond | of Jill.

He | was | shocked | about her reaction.

She | was | annoyed | at his behaviour.

She | is | interested | in languages.

He | is | subject | to criticism.

This plan | is | not compatible | with our principles.

In the analysis of the oblique object to the complement, the prepositional headword may be followed by a completive element in the form of a nominal phrase or a clause; the same questions apply to both and the formal difference between them is handled further down the analysis.

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}

She | is | engrossed | in the song.

She | is | engrossed | in singing.

She | is | engrossed | in what to sing.

(‘What is she engrossed in?’)

S P C^{ATT} O^{OBL}

I | was | delighted | with the outcome.

I | was | delighted | with what they decided.

(‘What was I delighted with?’)

Complementation by finite clause

This form of analysis may be extended to sentences in which the object complementation to the adjective is itself provided by a subordinate clause, thus:

S P C^{ATT} O/β

I | am | sure || that he is here now.

(‘What is it that you are sure of?’, not ‘Why are you sure?’)

S P C^{ATT} O/β

He | is | insistent || that Johnny be fetched.

(‘What is he insistent on?’)

S P C^{ATT} O/β

I | am | aware || that you haven’t quite finished.

(‘What are you aware of?’)

In these instances I have applied the nominally orientated ‘what?’ type questions and would argue that adverbially orientated questions of the type ‘Why are you sure/insistent/aware?’ are inappropriate. (On the other hand, adverbially orientated questions would be relevant to somewhat different sentences such as *I am sure because I can feel it in my bones*, *He is insistent because Johnny is already late*, *I am aware because I have been observing your progress*.) In other words, we see the subordinate clauses in the analysed examples above as representing the object domain of the certainty, insistence and awareness rather than the reason for it.

Other apparently similar examples of this type of structure are rather more complex, e.g.

I | am | sorry || that he couldn’t come.

I | am | surprised || that you didn’t notice.

I | am | worried || that it will be too late.

One is perhaps tempted here to think that the appropriate question to ask is ‘Why are you sorry/surprised/worried?’, thereby eliciting circumstantial adverbial elements of reason for the *that* clauses. But to ask this would be to seek a reason for your being sorry, etc. and the type of reply that it would elicit would be of the form *I am sorry because he couldn’t come*, *I am surprised because you didn’t notice*, and *I am worried because it will be too late*, which would represent a different subordinate clause orientation. Against this – and as with the examples containing *with*, *insistent*, *aware* above – one can satisfactorily ask the object-oriented questions ‘What are you sorry/surprised/worried about?’ and receive a reply either in terms of the target subordinate clauses as they stand or, without change of meaning, in an expanded form along the lines *I am ADJ about/ at the fact that ...* or indeed in the pseudo-cleft format.

What I am sorry about is that he couldn't come.
What I am surprised about is that you didn't notice.
What I am worried about is that it will be too late.

In relation to the original *that* sentences containing *sorry*, *surprised*, *worried*, it is also possible to form causative extrapositional structures, for example:

It makes me sorry that he couldn't come.
It makes me surprised that you didn't notice.
It makes me worried that it will be too late.

In other words, the subordinate clauses in the original *that* sentences represent not the reason for the sorrow, surprise or worry but rather the cause and scope of it, expressed as a participant and not a circumstantial element.

S P C^{ATT} O/β
I | am | sorry || that he couldn't come.

S P C^{ATT} O/β
I | am | surprised || that you didn't notice.

S P C^{ATT} O/β
I | am | worried || that it will be too late.

Note, however, that the same interplay between extrapositional structures is not possible with the earlier group of sentences containing *sure*, *insistent* and *aware*. Although causative structures of a syntactically similar appearance can be generated, there is no longer an extrapositional relationship between *It* and the *that* clause:

I am sure that he is here now.
 vs
It makes me sure that he is here now.
He is insistent that Johnny be fetched.
 vs
It makes him insistent that Johnny be fetched.
I am aware that you haven't quite finished.
 vs
It makes me aware that you haven't quite finished.

Thus the *that* clauses denote two rather different functions: on the one hand, with *sure*, etc. they mark solely the scope of the process but, on the other, with *sorry*, etc. they indicate also the cause of it. Yet, as the analysis shows, I do not see this as being reflected in the syntactic structure of the basic sentences.

In this context it is interesting that a sequence of sentences can be cited, as follows, including some which, although unacceptable in English, do conform to the grammar of other languages. The first group of examples involves complementation expressed by a phrase; the second group involves complementation by a clause. Compare:

His success pleased us.
 **We pleased at his success.* (but *We rejoiced at his success.*)
We were pleased at his success.

That he succeeded pleased us.

**We pleased that he succeeded.* (but *We rejoiced that he succeeded.*)

We were pleased that he succeeded.

As the two sentences containing the verb *rejoiced* demonstrate, those sentences with *please* which have been asterisked point merely to a lexical gap rather than to inherent ungrammaticality.

Complementation by non-finite clause

The situation with regard to infinitive complementation of an adjectival complement is rather more involved. Embedding is involved in one form or another, and the relationship of the embedded element to the elements in the main clause varies. In some instances, the complementation provided by a *to*-infinitive clause is the object of the complement, marking its scope. In others, it denotes the purpose of or reason for it, the 'how' or 'why', and in these cases the clause is analysed as fulfilling a circumstantial adverbial role. To assist in the determination of these object and circumstantial adverbial roles I propose some further tests:

object complementation

'What was Subject X + Adjective + to do?'

circumstantial adverbial complementation

'What was Subject X + Adjective + doing? / for doing? / in doing?'; and

'What made X + Adjective + was + circumstantial complement.'

Several of the following examples to which the framework is applied are again sentences used by Quirk *et al.* (1972: 826). The first example is one commonly cited in expositions of transformational grammar.

(1)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	O/ β
(S)			P

He | is | eager || to please.

This sentence can be shortened to *He was eager*, which retains the same meaning as in the full sentence *He was eager to please*. *To please* therefore does not have to accompany *eager*. Although one cannot ask the adverbial question *'What is he eager doing?', the object-oriented 'What is he eager to do?' does apply. In view of the fact that the object *to please* is realized by a bound (albeit infinitival) clause, the element is marked O/ β . (Indeed, the parallel sentence *He wants to please* can also be cited. This has the structure S+P+O and the lexical predicator *wants* spans the same content meaning as that covered by the copular predicator and complement *is eager*.) We further establish that the subject of the main clause *he* is also the entity doing the pleasing. The same structural patterning applies with adjectives such as *anxious*, *hesitant*, *inclined*, *keen*, *reluctant*.

(2)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/ β
(S)			P

He | was | slow || to react.

In this example we also establish that *he was slow* stands as an independent element within the framework of the total sentence without change of meaning. Concerning the functional nature of *to react*, I would argue that although the question 'What was he slow to do?' is perfectly acceptable, this is superseded by the fact that the adverbially oriented questions 'How / in what way was he slow?' and 'What was he slow (in/at) doing?' are possible. We further determine that it is not only *he* who was slow but also *he* who did the reacting. (As Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1227) point out, there is the paraphrase form *He was slow in reacting*. They also draw attention (1972: 828) to the related string *He reacted slowly*.) Consequently, the sequence *to react* is analysed initially as an adverbial element. The adjectives *quick* and *prompt* operate in a similar way.

(3) A sentence such as *He was furious to hear about it*, like the earlier finite examples with *sorry*, *surprised*, *worried*, is a more complex and borderline sentence and I offer two analyses. Again, *he was furious* can stand on its own. On the one hand, one can sensibly ask the question 'In what circumstances / why / when was he furious?' in order to try to establish *to hear about it* as the circumstantial reason for his fury. In respect of this interpretation, the sentence can be paraphrased *He was furious when he heard about it* and it can be analysed as follows:

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(S)		P	O

He | was | furious || to hear | about it.

On the other hand, one can perhaps interpret the complement clause rather as the causal object of his fury, answering the question 'What was he furious at/about?'. In the context of this interpretation, the sentence can be paraphrased as *He was furious at the fact that he heard about it / at hearing about it* and it can be analysed as:

S	P	C ^{ATT}	O/β
(S)		P	O

He | was | furious || to hear | about it.

In support of this reading is the fact that the original sentence is related to the pseudo-cleft and extrapositional sentences *What made him furious was to hear about it* and *It made him furious to hear about it*. This pattern also applies to adjectives such as *annoyed*, *concerned*, *delighted*, *glad*, *happy*.

(4)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(S)		P	

He | is | splendid || to wait.

Here the argumentation for the analysis seems more straightforward. The *to*-infinitive is a circumstantial adverbial element rather than an object one because it can only explain the reason why he is splendid, i.e. 'He is splendid because he waited / for waiting'. This pattern will similarly be found with adjectives such as *clever*, *marvellous*, *wonderful*, *stupid*, *foolish*.

(5) In a sentence like *He is certain to please* there is a lack of direct relationship between *he* and *is certain*. One cannot, in respect of the structure of this sentence, pose the question 'Who is certain?' to elicit the reply *he*. Indeed, it is not *he* who is certain but rather the speaker who deems the matter so. In response to the question 'What is certain?', however, we get the reply *he ... to please*, which is an embedded clause. What is certain is thus that he will please and, connected with this meaning, there is, of course, the related paraphrase *That he will please is certain* and its associated extrapositional form *It is certain that he will please*. However, in addition to being the subject of *to please* in the embedded clause *he* is also the surface structure

subject of the main clause verb *is*. This can be tested out by pluralizing the subject to *they*, thus prompting a plural form of the verb, and by the fact that it is the word *he* which is involved in the formation of any tag question, viz. *He is certain to please, isn't he?* By comparison with the paraphrase *That he will please is certain* we can say, using the terminology from transformational grammar, that *he* is raised to act also as the surface structure subject of *is certain*, with which it has only a remote relationship. There are thus two layers of structure in operation, in which the word *he* is the gateway point to the embedded clause. Of note also is that none of the variants above specify within the structure who it is who is certain. The 'percipient' is only made evident in the related personal construction *I am certain that he will please*. To mark the raised, remote relationship of *he* to *is certain* the subject of the matrix clause will again be accompanied by a superscript circumflex S^\wedge . In view of the fact that this element is also the entry point to the embedded clause *he ... to please* the bound element $:\beta$ is added alongside the subject, thus $S^\wedge:\beta$. Within that embedded clause, as indicated above, *he* is the subject of the verbal element *to please*. The matrix clause predicator and adjectival complement are then seen as interrupting the embedded clause.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} S^\wedge:\beta & P & C^{ATT} \\ S & & P \\ He \langle\langle is \mid certain \rangle\rangle & & to \textit{please}. \end{array}$$

Even though the same type of structure containing the word *sure* does not permit associated finite and extrapositional paraphrase forms, it does allow the personalized construction *I am sure that he will please*. Equally, a similar structure with the word *likely* allows the formation of the extrapositional construction *It is likely that he will please* but not the personalized variant. I would thus handle *He is sure to please* and *He is likely to please* in the same way as above.

(6) The sentence *He is easy to please*, along with and set against *He is eager to please*, is one of the classic examples in linguistic discussion. We would argue here that *to please* is not a discrete element of structure in the main clause. It is not possible to remove the infinitive from the sentence to let *He is easy* stand on its own. Nor can one ask *'What is he easy to do?' or *'How/why is he easy?' as a means of trying to determine a function for *to please* within the matrix clause. The reason for this, of course, is that what is easy is not him but to please him – and this is the crux of the difference between the two contrasting classic examples above. The question that can therefore be put is 'What is easy?'. In answer to this, what is easy has to be identified not as the subject *he* but as *he ... to please*, which is an embedded clause.

Reflecting the structure in a less complex form are the often quoted related structures *To please him is easy* and *It is easy to please him*. Fawcett (1974–76/1981: 46) points out that perhaps the parallel between *He is easy to please* and *To please him is easy* or *It is easy to please him* is not as close as typically supposed, even though the same concepts are involved. He then analyses the whole of *easy to please* as a complement. However, developing the approach seen in the treatment of *is certain* above, I would propose to analyse *he* as the surface structure subject of *is easy*, which has been raised to this position and has purely a remote relationship with *is easy* and which is thus marked S^\wedge . As the entry point to the embedded clause *he ... to please* it is also labelled $:\beta$. Within the non-finite embedded clause *he* is the direct object and *to please* is the predicator. Note that, by comparison with the clause containing *certain*, with *easy* the paraphrases do not permit a finite embedded clause, e.g. **That he will please is easy* nor a personalized construction of the type **I am easy to please him*. Other adjectives fitting this pattern include *difficult*, *hard*, *impossible*, *simple*.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} S^\wedge:\beta & P & C^{ATT} \\ O & & P \\ |||He \langle\langle is \mid easy \rangle\rangle & & to \textit{please}.||| \end{array}$$

(7)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(O)			P

The air | is | frosty || to breathe.

Although this sentence is apparently similar to the one above containing *easy*, in this instance as Quirk *et al.* (1972: 827) point out, there is no analogous sentence **It is frosty to breathe the air*. *The air is frosty* can stand on its own within the context of the larger sentence without loss of meaning. Furthermore, one can insert the adverb ‘particularly’ before *to breathe*, thus *The air is frosty particularly to breathe*. One can also ask a question of the adverbial type ‘For what purpose / In what way is the air frosty?’ or ‘What is the air frosty for doing?’, with the answers *It is for (the purpose of) breathing | in respect of breathing (it) that the air is frosty*. The verbal infinitive *to breathe* is therefore interpreted as having a circumstantial role and analysed as an adverbial element, which is realized by an embedded infinitive clause with the subject of the matrix clause *the air* acting as its understood object.

(8)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(O)			P

The food | is | ready || to eat.

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(O)			P

The chicken | is | ready || to eat. (chicken cooked)

See also

The chicken|is|ready||for eating.

S	P	C ^{ATT}	A/β
(S)			P

The chicken | is | ready || to be eaten.

Here too *The food is ready* and *The chicken is ready* can stand on their own in every case and still within the meaning of the fuller sentence. The non-finite elements *to eat | for eating | to be eaten* cannot satisfactorily be targeted with the object-oriented question ‘What is the chicken ready to do?’. On the other hand, one can ask ‘For what purpose / in what respect is the chicken ready?’ and receive the reply *To eat | to be eaten | for eating | for being eaten*. We thus conclude that the non-finite elements here have a circumstantial adverbial function. The first three sentences have a similar structure in that *the food* and *the chicken* act also as the understood objects of the embedded verbal element; but in the fourth sentence *the chicken* is secondarily the understood subject because *to be eaten* is a passive verb.

(9)

S	P	C ^{ATT}	O/β
(S)			P

The chicken | is | ready || to eat. (chicken alive)

In this sentence, it is not just that the chicken is ready but that it is waiting for a meal and is the participant that will do the eating. Thus the object-oriented question ‘What is the chicken ready to do?’ is the one which can be sensibly asked. (I would argue that the adverbially oriented questions ‘For what purpose is the chicken ready?’ or even ‘What is the chicken ready for

doing?' are not viable. Even the partially relevant question 'What is the chicken ready for?' produces the reply 'for its dinner' but not 'for eating'.) I thus conclude that *to eat* is an object of the complement *ready* and has as its understood subject *he*.

Notes

- 1 C.L. Baker (1995) *English Syntax*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 63.
- 2 A. Radford (1988) *Transformational Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 242–5.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 190–1.

Revised functional syntactic analysis

In Chapter 13 I gave an analysis of the functional syntactic structure of various sentences in the terms outlined to that point. Since then several important aspects of structural complexity have been considered and these will be illustrated in the analysis here. Before this, however, I would like to make a number of proposals for streamlining the presentation and hence improving the efficiency of the analysis overall.

17.1 Clause structure elements – default modes unmarked

In terms of clause structure, I argue that a nominative subject can be seen as the default mode of subject. It may thus be regarded as the unmarked mode and the nominative superscript marking consequently omitted. This leaves attributive and circumstantial subjects as the marked modes.

Likewise, in respect of the complement element, a direct complement can be regarded as the default type of complement and therefore the unmarked mode, with the superscript similarly omitted. This, again, leaves oblique, attributive and circumstantial complements as the marked modes. Further in relation to the complement, I suggest that complements to the subject can be interpreted as the default mode, allowing us to dispense with the bracketed superscript for this and thus leaving only a complement to the object as the marked mode.

Finally, I propose that the direct object be handled as the default and hence unmarked mode of object, this time leaving just the oblique object as the marked mode.

17.2 Clause structure elements – Predicator and Verbal element

As described in Section 16.3 (Adjectival phrase complementation), objects and circumstantial adverbials following adjectival complements are seen as fulfilling their role not just in relation to the adjectival element alone but to the adjectival element in combination with the copular verbal element. In this respect it may be recalled that, in traditional grammar, adjectives in this role were called predicative adjectives. I have also noted that many of the meanings expressed by these combined adjectival and copular verbal elements have corresponding constructions expressed by a lexical verbal element alone. Compare:

She is good at maths; She excels at maths.

This is different from the last series; This differs from the last series.

Jack was fond of Jill; Jack liked Jill.

She is dependent on trains; She depends on trains.

He is insistent on his rights; He insists on his rights.

We were glad about his success; We rejoiced at his success.

They were sorry at the news; They grieved at the news.

The relationship between the function, on the one hand, of the lexical verbal element and, on the other, of the copular verbal element in conjunction with the complement is brought together in linguistic studies under the concept of the semantic 'predicate'. In response to this, a

distinction could be made in the syntactic analysis between lexical and copular verbal elements. Under the proposal here, then, the term 'predicator' will be restricted to those verbal elements which are realized by lexical verbs, thus:

S P O^{OBL}
She | excels | at maths.

Predicates realized by a copular verbal element in conjunction with a complement might then be marked as V + C, as illustrated below.

S V C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
She | is | good | at maths.

S V C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
She | became | dependent | on trains.

S V C^{ATT} O^{OBL}
Jack | grew | fond | of Jill.

S V C^{ATT}
She | fell | ill.

A difference can thus be seen immediately between adjectival complements which occur with copular verbal elements as part of the semantic predicate above and those occurring with intransitive lexical verbs and which thus lie outside the predicate, such as in the sentences *The fire burned low*, *the door slammed shut*, *I plead guilty*, *She stood firm against all opposition*:

S P C^{ATT}
The fire | burned | low.

S P C^{ATT}
The door | slammed | shut.

In this 'flat' analysis, semantic predicates which in verbless subordinate clauses are expressed alone by a predicative adjective as complement present no problem and continue to be analysed as containing that element only, as illustrated in *I like my coffee black* and *All that cream has made her ill*.

S P O/B
 S C^{ATT}
I | like || my coffee | black.

S P O/B
 S C^{ATT}
All that cream | has made || her | ill.

With sentences containing transitive lexical verbs, for example, *John painted the door red* or *Mary slammed the door shut*, in which it can properly be said that *the door* is the direct object of the verbs *paint* and *slam* ('What did John paint?', 'What did Mary slam?'), the adjectival complements, *red* and *shut*, are related not, as in the default, to the subject but to the object *door*, thus:

S P O C^{ATT(O)}
John | painted | the door | red.

S P O C^{ATT(O)}
Mary | slammed | the door | shut.

However, such an intensive relationship between subject (or object) and predicative element is not limited to adjectival elements but also extends to nominal elements and adverbial elements – in other words any intensive complement.

S V C
John | is | a doctor.

S V =C
John | is | the doctor.

S V C^{CIRC}
Rita | is | here.

S V C^{CIRC}
They | 're | in the garden.

To show the effect of both sets of changes outlined above on the analysis of clause structure elements, we can look again at a selection of the sentences previously analysed at the end of Chapter 10. In order to highlight the impact of the changes, I will confine the analysis to elements of clause structure.

Previous analysis

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} A^{CIRC} A^{CIRC}
 |||*The baby | sucked | the sweet | noisily | in the pram.*|||

S^{NOM} P O^{DIR} O^{OBL}
 |||*We | bought | a bicycle | for Ruth.*|||

S^{NOM} P O^{OBL} O^{DIR}
 |||*We | bought | Ruth | a bicycle.*|||

S^{NOM} P =C^{DIR(S)}
 |||*Tom | is | the president.*|||

S^{NOM} P C^{DIR(S)}
 |||*Ruth | seems | a nice girl.*|||

Proposed analysis

S P O A^{CIRC} A^{CIRC}
 |||*The baby | sucked | the sweet | noisily | in the pram.*|||

S P O O^{OBL}
 |||*We | bought | a bicycle | for Ruth.*|||

S P O^{OBL} O
 |||We | bought | Ruth | a bicycle.|||

S V =C
 |||Tom | is | the president.|||

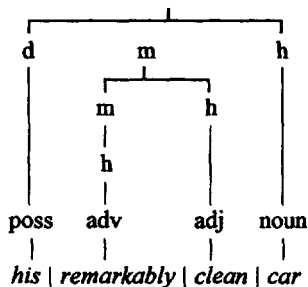
S V C
 |||Ruth | seems | a nice girl.|||

17.3 Phrase structure – substructure analysis

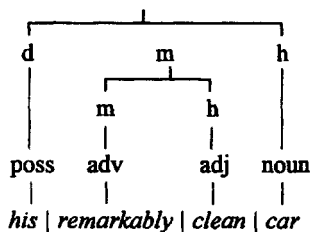
Within phrase structure, I would propose to analyse only the substructure of modifiers, qualifiers and completives which **do** consist of more than one word and which thus **are** actually expanded.

Consequently the leftmost element of a given modifier would not have a substructure analysed, even if that leftmost element was the only element of the modifier and potentially expandable. Thus while the analysis of *his quite remarkably clean car* would not be affected because *quite* cannot be expanded further, the analysis of *his remarkably clean car* would not record *remarkably* as the headword of an adverbial phrase but rather just as a modifier which is an adverb, thus:

Previous analysis



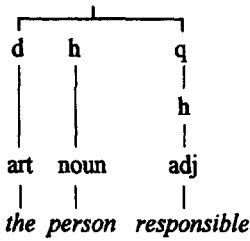
Amended analysis



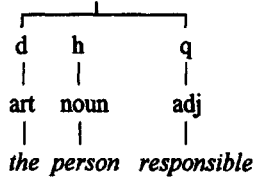
The analysis of *his remarkably clean car* thus becomes the same as *his very clean car*, where *very* was not expandable.

With respect to qualifiers the change can be illustrated as follows:

Previous analysis



Amended analysis



Analysis of *the person responsible* thus becomes the same as *the secretary general*, where the adjective *general* here was not expandable.

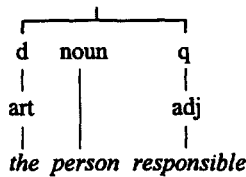
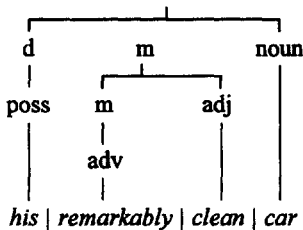
An advantage of this simplification of the analysis of substructure is that it avoids the possible difficulties (and agonies for the analyst?) of being able to decide whether a given element is expandable.

17.4 Phrase structure – headword analysis

As yet a further change, given that the class of phrase unit is determined by the class of its headword, it is now proposed that the symbol 'h' for headword element in phrase structure should too, for normal purposes, be omitted and the actual word class of the headword entered direct. Again though, this would not apply in instances where the head element of a phrase had itself to be subanalysed.

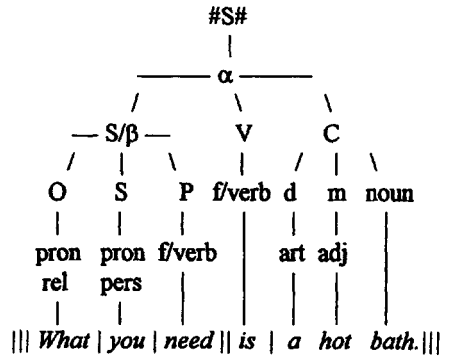
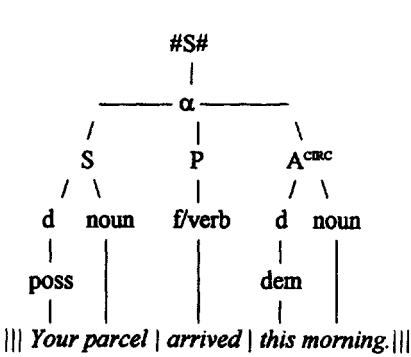
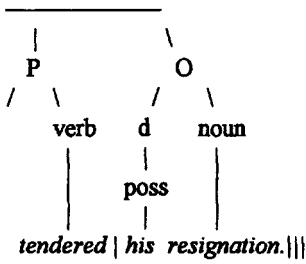
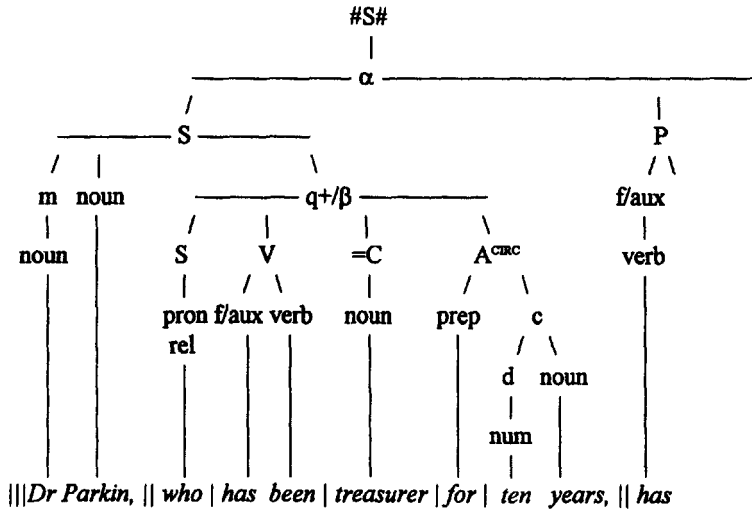
The combined affect of these changes is now shown in relation to the two phrases analysed above.

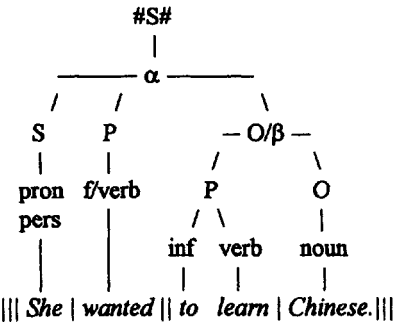
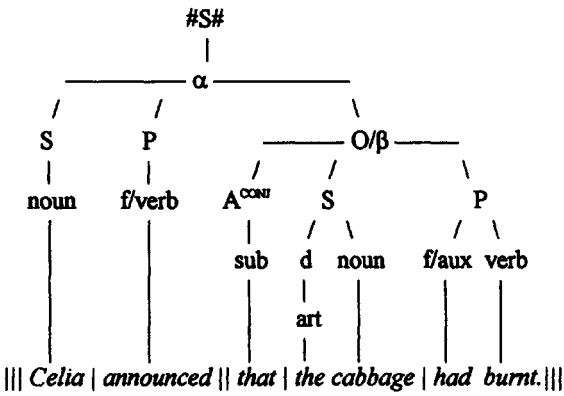
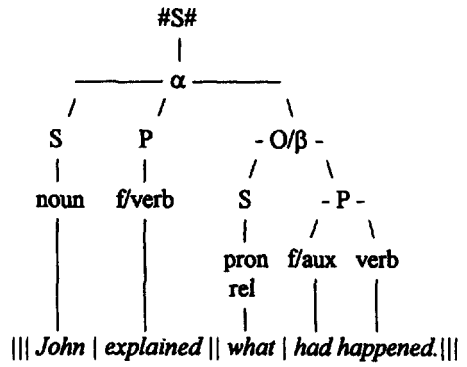
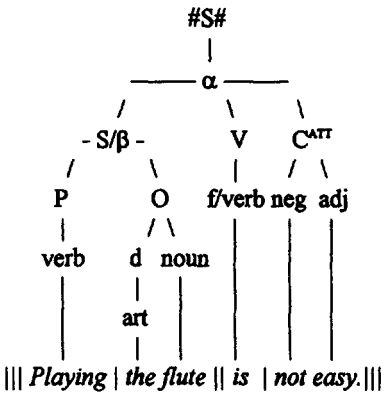
Proposed analysis

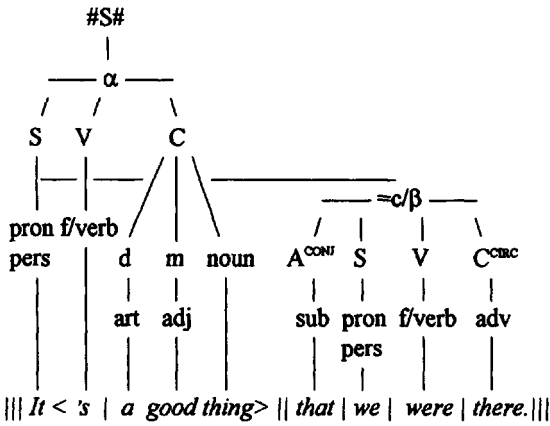


17.5 Phrase structure – phrasal elements

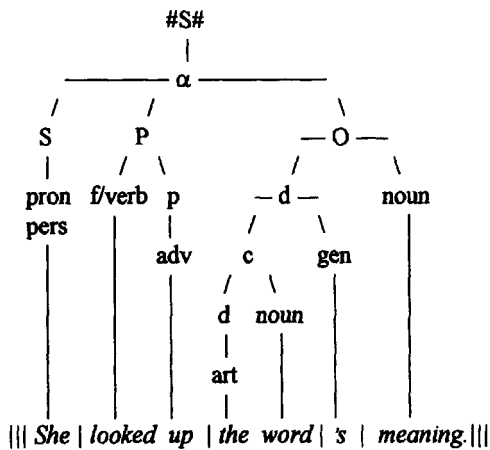
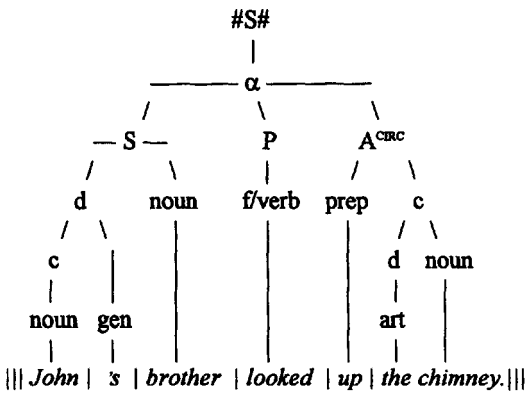
Finally, as with respect to certain elements of phrase structure there is a direct, one-to-one correspondence between functional element and formal word class, I propose to enter only the phrasal element. Within the verbal phrase this applies to the auxiliary, which is always a verb, and to the infinitive element, which is an adverb. (It is not applied to the phrasal verb particle because in certain circumstances that particle may be modified, e.g. *He turned the water right*

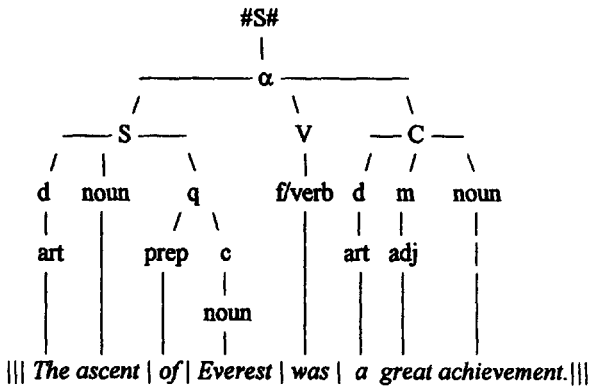
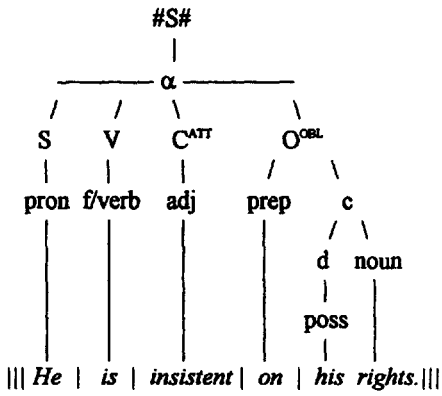
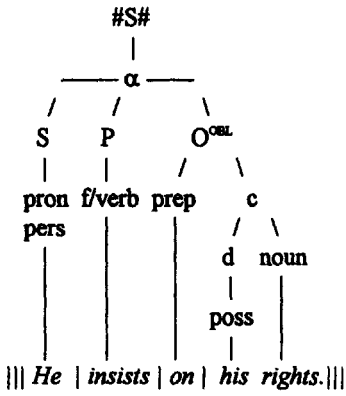


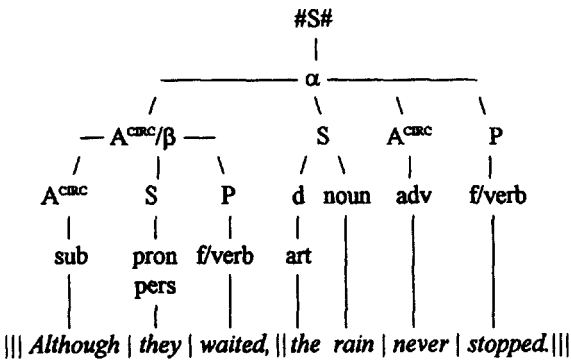
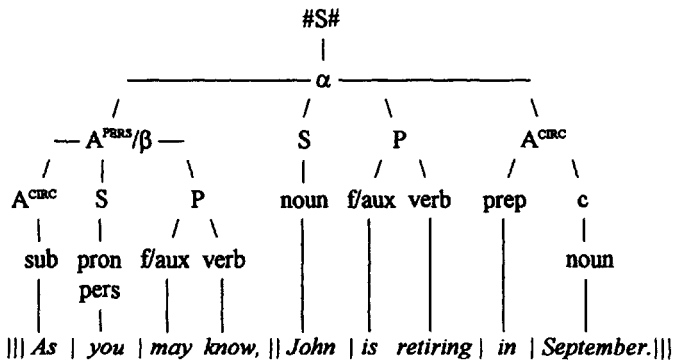
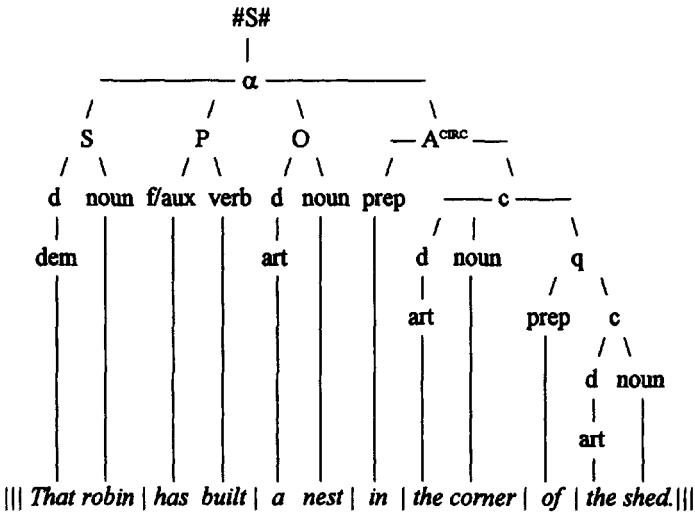


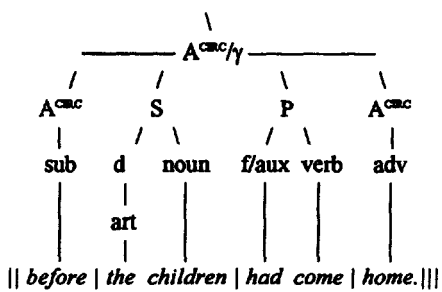
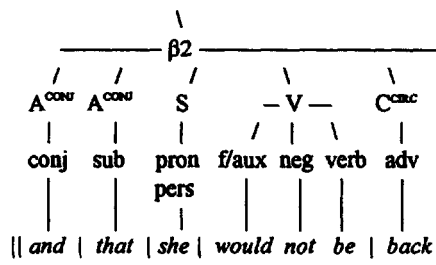
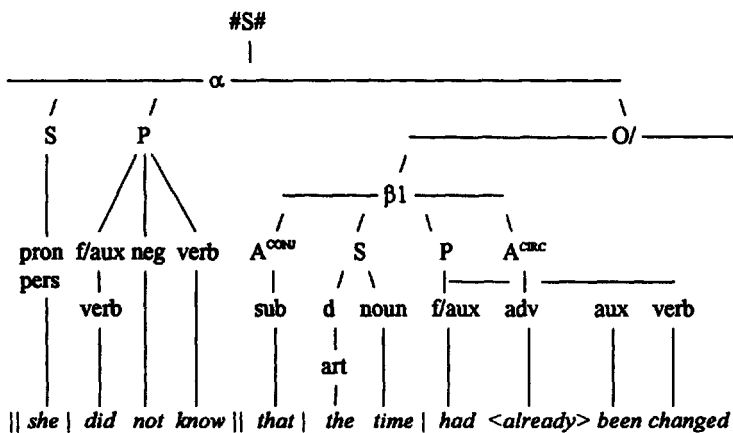
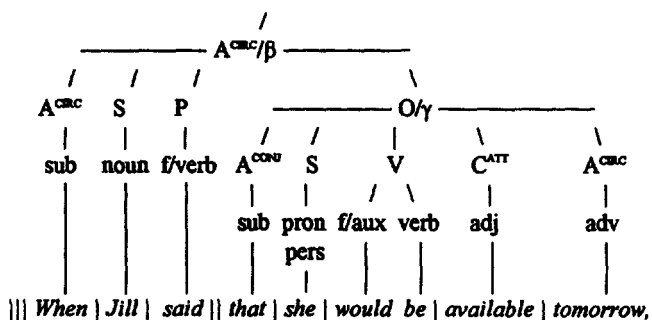


(In this sentence the extrapositional subordinate clause *that we were there* expands on and is in identifying apposition to the subject headword of the main clause *it*.)









17.6 Postscript

The analytical framework illustrated in this chapter represents in many ways a departure from that originally outlined in Halliday's (1961) article 'Categories of the theory of grammar'. This does not stem just from the proposals for streamlining the analysis but is the cumulative result of the numerous changes which have been introduced throughout the exposition and which, I believe, significantly enhance the range of structural insights captured. Indeed, I see the book as amply demonstrating the considerable scope for developing an increasingly meaningful functional syntactic analysis from the standpoint of systemic linguistics and in such a way as to mirror the contemporary, semantic orientation of the wider theory.

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The bibliography includes

- (i) general works on systemic syntax and functional grammar together with descriptive grammars based significantly on or contributing to systemic principles; and
- (ii) specific studies in systemic syntax and functional grammar together with references to situational context, semantic functions and the grammar's origins.

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