Intonational Systems and Register: A Multidimensional Exploration

Bradley Alexander Smith,

Bachelor of Arts (Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics,

Macquarie University,

Sydney

June 2008

ABSTRACT

While it has been a commonplace to descry the lack of attention to intonational phenomena in the wider field of linguistics, the last century, and the last few decades of that century, have seen a substantial increase in the level of attention given to the study of intonation and other prosodic phenomena, particularly by those working in the phonetics and phonology areas. One of the challenges arising out of this work has been to incorporate the findings of their researches into general linguistic description, and into the broad range of applied tasks taken on by linguistic science.

In the present work I offer a response to this challenge via an exploration of intonational systems as they are used in particular types of texts, or registers of language use. The primary linguistic resource for this exploration is the multidimensional framework of systemic functional linguistic ('SFL') theory. I show the way in which intonational, together with other grammatical systems, realise, negotiate, challenge and change register settings – the habitualised meanings with which speakers negotiate particular situational contexts.

The present work is thus an exploration of intonational systems of grammar, of register language, and also of a particular approach: the deployment of multiple dimensional perspectives to make 'statements of meaning' appropriate to different corpora each with their specific charateristics, and the synthesis of the findings from these multiple views into a coherent, holistic account. The findings demonstrate the utility of such an explorative multidimensional approach, uncovering a rich variety of

views upon the semiotic power of intonational systems; and also make clear that not only is the inclusion of intonational systems in wider linguistic applied description feasible, but in many cases (registers) necessary if the critical aspects of the use of language in those registers is to be adequately described.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis is an original work and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other university or institution. All sources of reference have been clearly acknowledged. Data from the Macquarie-UTS corpus, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Lateline television programme, and from the 'Systemic Safety in Surgery' project, jointly conducted by Macquarie University, Sydney University and Nepean Hospital, including some attached sound file excerpts from all of these data sources (CD-Rom), have been used with permission.

Bradley Smith

15th June 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to Christian Matthiessen, who has offered invaluable counsel and direction during the research, with an unfailingly fine sense of judgement and humour; to Alison Moore, for her patience and conscientious help, intelligent insights, and for sharing her high academic standards; and to Bill Greaves, for imparting relevant essentials of the SFL theory and description, for the wonderful opportunities to travel with and to him, in India and Canada, and for letting me drive the Massey-Ferguson.

I owe a debt of gratitude for the kindness and perserverant encouragement of Paul Cheung, a true ambassador for the highest ideals of academic endeavour. Warm thanks are also due to David Butt and Rhondda Fahey, who have taught, inspired and encouraged me over so many years: I consider it a privilege to have been taught by both. There are many other colleagues at the Centre for Language in Social Life and general Linguistics Department at Macquarie University, and elsewhere, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude: in particular, Robert Mannell and Felicity Cox, for giving me the opportunity to teach phonetics and phonology – 'to teach is to learn twice'!; Ernest, Jor, Maria HC, Ayako, Joanne, Yu-Chi, Abhishek, Mohamed Ali, John K., Yasmin, Greg and the MUPRA crowd, and Annabelle for her encouragement and unwavering confidence; Chris Cleirigh, for his insights, Luciani, Maria and many others in the systemic functional community; my NCELTR colleagues, Nanette, Frances, Jo and Audrey; and of course to Lalana, Chris, Sam, Robyn, Lorraine and all the wonderful postgraduate support staff who so often provided a 'bridge over

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter One: Introduction

(Matthiessen 1993a: 282) From whichever angle we look at the phenomenon of register-language, it is clear that a comprehensive account involves all the basic dimensions of language in context – the dimensions that construe this semiotic space

1.1 Intonational Systems and Register: Aims of the Present Work

Consider the following text, an orthographic transcription, with punctuation removed, of an excerpt from a conversation between two sisters[1]:

Speaker One: hows your new oven

Speaker Two: its fine its fine

Speaker One: not youre not in love with it

There is something unusual about this text. The first speaker asks a question of speaker two about her new oven to which the second speaker appears to respond with a positive appraisal. Yet, the first speaker responds to this answer with a (seemingly ungrammatical) comment suggesting that speaker two's answer was not in fact positive, but construed a negative or perhaps qualified affirmation of the oven's value: there was clearly something in speaker two's reply not represented in the

---

[1] This text, part of the data for this work (the 'ovens' text), is taken from the Macquarie-UTS corpus (cf Section 1.3.3 below; and Chapter 5). In the data for the present work it is identified as Appendix 1: A1.2.2; Appendix 2: A2.3.2: IUs 35-38.

transcribed text above that speaker one has picked up on. It could have been a look, or gesture, or something in the 'tone of voice': we don't know from the orthographic representation available to us[2].

In fact, whatever else was occurring during this exchange, each of the two clauses in the reply of the second speaker was accompanied by a falling-rising movement in the pitch of her voice. It is this, if nothing else, that the first speaker has taken to signal that 'all is not well' with her sister's otherwise positive assessment of her new kitchen white-good. The tone of voice belies the words[3]: it is clear that there is more to the exchange of meaning here than what is represented on the printed page. One may also infer that the first word of speaker one's second turn was in fact a 'false start', her intended utterance restarted in the second word: one can guess this from our understanding of both 'grammatically correct' speech, and of the norms of everyday talk with which we are familiar.

Although a substantial proportion of daily language use in contemporary literate societies is through the written channel, when we read language purporting to represent the 'spoken word' we are not getting the full picture: we miss much of what

---

[2] and if punctuation was available, it is not clear how one might have used the conventional punctuation resources of the written English language to represent the expression of uncertainty in the transcript, whatever its form of its expression.

[3] Although the repetition may also be suggestive of a 'double meaning', it is unlikely that this alone would have resulted in speaker two's reply – such a reply would in that case still seem incongruous, after a repeated affirmation with falling tones.

is going on, semiotically speaking (Abercrombie 1965; Halliday 1985a)[4]. For further exemplification of this claim, it may also be noted that in speaker one's question, the major pitch movement, or contour[5], falls not where we would (without any other linguistic information than is here given) expect, on the final lexical item 'oven,' but on the premodifier 'your': there has been previous talk of other ovens; the speaker now wishes to turn the talk to this specific ('your') oven. One would not be able to infer this without the prior text.

This last aspect of spoken language – the incidence of pitch contours - may be further exemplified with another text, this time from a televised interview[6]. This is the opening question from the interview. The reader is now invited to make an attempt at speaking this text, in particular paying attention to the instances where the

---

[4] Cf Abercrombie (1965: 36):

> The letters in which language is normally written do not represent more than a part of spoken language…writing is a medium for language in its own right, and though it is, in the last analysis, constructed on the basis of spoken language, the aim of writing is not, usually, to represent actual spoken utterances which have occurred.

Cf also Halliday (1985a: 39):

> Writing evolves in response to needs that arise as a result of cultural changes. The particular circumstance that led to the development of writing was the complex of events whereby certain human groups changed over from a mobile way of life to permanent settlement: from a predominantly hunting and gathering economy to a predominantly agricultural one…

[5] For a discussion of the interpretation of pitch movement as a signifier cf Chapter 2, in particular Section 2.2.1.1.

[6] This text, also from the data for the present work (cf Section 1.3.3 below; and Chapter 6), is part of a corpus of current affairs interviews taken from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) Lateline programme (Appendix 1: A1.3.1; Appendix 2: A2.4.1: IUs 7-13; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_transcription conventions_phonological rank scale).

reader considers there to be a pitch contour - a distinct rising or falling movement, or a combination of the two – occurring: that is, where the speech stream is 'chunked' up by the speaker:

> "This latest revelation that in fact as far back as November of last year DIMIA[7] started to think that in fact your sister was Australian how has this gone down with your family"

In this case one can make interpretations based on the language available from the written text, and upon one's knowledge of the use of everyday language. For example, one might assume that the circumstantial information 'as far back as November of last year' should be spoken as a separate 'chunk'; as, clearly, should be the final question itself – from 'how…family': in the familiar everyday language we speak and hear, this would be the most common way of chunking this utterance. However, one cannot be sure: one can only make guesses, based upon one's own experience of spoken language; but no more.

In fact, this utterance was spoken with seven pitch contours, that is, in seven chunks. One might, knowing this, be more confident about where at least some of these pitch contours fell. But it is likely that the reader would not, without more than ordinary consideration, speak this text with a pitch contour falling on the item DIMIA; or infer that 'started', and both 'November' and 'year' also, were spoken with pitch contour movements co-occurring. In such cases, more than just the prior text or familiarity with spoken English is needed: one would need to have access to

---

[7] An acronym, standing for 'Department of Immigration Australia'.

the speaker's purposes in making those choices. Such 'detective' work is not commonly accorded written text in everyday (non-professional) reading[8].

This question, of how to interpret a written transcript into speech, is one of significant societal and cultural import. There are a range of text types within English language speech communities wherein the interpretation of pitch movement can be crucial in the translation of written text into speech, in terms of the meaning of those texts (cf. Davies 1986, 1994). Legal discourse, including written transcripts of police interviews, witness statements; plays, film and television scripts, and other literary discourse purporting to render speech in the written mode; political discourse, including famous and other socially valued speeches, parliamentary debates, and other discourse by public figures; written advertising; medical and other professional discourses: these and many other types of language use, when written down – that is, transcribed into the conventional orthographic script - to be later read as speech, lose much of their original meaning during the process of interpretation[9], punctuation notwithstanding (Halliday 1985: 32-37), sometimes it must be assumed to serious effect.

The preceding discussion is a way of illustrating the aims and value of the present work, and motivates the approach it employs. The research upon which this

---

[8] It has been pointed out to me that, of course, there are certain reading activities that do require such close scrutiny, for example, in translation, or in any other professional study of language such as literary or linguistic research; but the point is that these are not 'everyday' activities.

[9] cf Halliday (1985a: 32): "…the omission of prosodic features from written language is, in some respects and under certain circumstances, a genuine deficiency."

thesis reports has as one of its wider aims to provide resources for the interpretation of written texts into speech. In a more direct sense, the purpose of the present work is to explore the use of pitch movement in terms of variation in its use within different types of text, and the relationship of this variation to the contexts of speaking. There are thus two main aspects to the investigation.

Firstly, I examine the contribution which pitch contours in particular, and pitch movements in general make to the realisation of meaning in texts: that is, the present work is an examination of the set of phenomena known collectively and widely as 'intonation'[10] (Jones 1909; Palmer 1922; Armstrong and Ward 1926/1931;

---

[10] As Hirst and Di Christo (1998: 3) point out: "The term intonation has often been used interchangeably in the literature with that of prosody" (for examples of the use of the term 'prosody' cf. Firth 1957; Crystal 1969; Cutler and Ladd 1983; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Bruce and Horne 2000). Another similarly employed term is 'suprasegmental' (eg. Lehiste 1970; Ladd 1996: 6). These terms do not always refer to the same phenomena. 'Prosody' and 'suprasegmental' are often used as overarching terms (what Hirst and Di Christo (1998) call the "broad sense" of the term 'intonation') for all non-segmental (articulatory) aspects of the speech signal, with 'intonation' used more specifically, often to refer exclusively to the use of pitch movement (Crystal 1969: 195): "On the one hand, scholars have been anxious to restrict the formal definition of intonation to pitch movement alone…but when the question of intonational meanings is raised, then criteria other than pitch are readily referred to as being part of the basis of a semantic effect". For Crystal (1969: 6) intonation "is viewed as the product of a conflation of different systems of prosodic systems of pitch contrasts", a view that suggests he sees intonation as a separate level of abstraction – i.e. phonological systems – from the variety of 'prosodic' – i.e. phonetic - systems (such as tone, pitch and loudness) through which intonation is produced (cf also the discussion in Johns-Lewis 1986b); but Hirst and Di Christo use the term 'prosody' (1998: 7) "to cover both the abstract cognitive systems and the physical parameters onto which these systems are mapped", reserving 'intonation' for the description of one "non-lexical system" and to refer to

Pike 1945; Bolinger 1951; Jassem 1952; Kingdon 1958; Schubiger 1958; O'Connor and Arnold 1961; Halliday 1967a; Lieberman 1967; Crystal 1969; Brazil 1975; Pierrehumbert 1980; Cruttenden 1986; t'Hart, Collier and Cohen 1990; Tench 1990; Ladd 1996; Hirst and Di Christo 1998; Gussenhoven 2004); but specifically in terms of its potential to make meaning as a part of the grammar of English (Sweet 1875-76[11], cf also 1877; Halliday 1963a/2005, 1963b/2005, 1967a; El-Menoufy 1969; Halliday and Greaves 2008). The description of 'intonational' systems – the collective term for the systems of grammar realised through the phonological systems called collectively 'intonation' (Halliday 1963a/2005: 239)[12] - which forms the basis for this investigation is that developed by Michael Halliday in the early 1960s, as part of the description deriving from the general linguistic theory known as 'scale and category grammar' (Halliday 1961), which came later to be known as 'systemic functional linguistics' (hereafter "SFL") (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

Secondly, I investigate intonational systems with respect to their use within particular types of text: I start from the assumptions that language use tends to fall

---

"specifically phonetic characteristics of utterances" by which the abstract and acoustic prosodic parameters may be related. But note that the term 'prosody' is also used in a wider and more abstract sense to refer to a property of one particular aspect of language, operative at all levels of description (cf Halliday 1979; Matthiessen 1988; Martin 2004).

[11] (Sweet 1875-76: quoted in Firth 1968: 36) "an essential part of English grammar is intonation".

[12] Following Halliday, I make a clear distinction between the two terms throughout the thesis: 'intonation' systems are those located in the linguistic description as a part of the phonology of language; 'intonational' systems are those forming part of the grammatical description of English (cf Section 1.2.1 below and Chapter 2 for a discussion).

into predictable patterns (Firth 1957)[13], and that these patterned choices can be related to the contexts of their use (Malinowski 1923; Firth 1957; Halliday 1978). This is to answer the question, 'upon what basis does a reader translate a written into a spoken text?': one solution I explore in the present work is that such a basis may be formed via an understanding of a text as a member of a functional text-type, a 'register', wherein certain patterns of language choice can be expected to occur[14] within particular types of context (Reid 1956; Halliday et al 1964; Gregory 1967; Gregory and Carroll 1978; Ellis and Ure 1969; Hasan 1973; Martin 1984; Halliday 1974/2007; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Ghadessy 1988, 1993).

'Register', as with all linguistic terminology and conceptualisation, represents no more or less than a way of looking at language[15]: in the linguistic theory employed here, register enables one to interpret language selections and patterns of selection made in a text in terms of the constraints these selections and patterns of selection represent on the total system potential of language; and interprets that constraint also in terms of the context operating for that text. That is, speakers tend to make language choices not from the total system potential, but from a restricted potential

---

[13] Firth (1957: 28): "Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think…and every social person is a bundle of roles or *personae*; so that situational and linguistic categories would not be unmanageable".

[14] (Halliday 1974/2007: 115): "We always listen and read with expectations, and the notion of register is really a theory about those expectations, providing a way of making them explicit".

[15] Cf Firth (1957: 121): "…in linguistics language is turned back on itself"; cf also Firth (1957) and Matthiessen (1993a) quotations at the head of Chapter 3.

appropriate to a particular context. The limited system potential for any particular language system is called a register 'setting'.

In this thesis I explore the use of intonational systems of English grammar as they are used for the realisation, negotiation and changing of register settings. By studying the way in which particular options in intonational systems are used within particular types of text and contexts, and the way in which selections in intonational systems pattern and vary in these texts, I aim to build up register profiles of their usage. Knowledge of register profiles of intonational systems thus may serve as a resource for, amongst other things, the interpretation of particular written texts into the spoken mode: although this process of 'translation' from written to spoken mode does not form a part of the actual research upon which I report here[16], this consideration – of the means with which to facilitate this translation process - forms a useful way to introduce and conceptualise the issues with which the present thesis engages.

SFL is particularly well-suited to the task of investigating the complexities of register language in terms of the use of intonational systems. Following on from and developing upon Firth's 'polysystemic' (Firth 1957) view of language, from the early formulation of scale and category grammar through the history of the development of SFL, the various aspects of the theory have been integrated, as they have emerged, into a holistic model, as the underlying dimensions by which such a synthesis may be

---

[16] Martin Davies has made the interpretation of intonation in the written mode a point of enquiry throughout his career: cf for example Davies (1986, 1994). Cf also Chafe (2006).

achieved have been identified (Halliday 1958, 1961, 2003; Martin 1992; Butt 2001[17];
Matthiessen 1993a, 2007a[18]).

The integration of the description of intonation systems within the wider
framework of linguistic description has been a contentious issue within the field of
linguistic science; hence, although there has been a substantial increase during the
twentieth century in the study of intonation phenomena, the incorporation of the
findings of such researches into general linguistic description, and their use in applied
linguistics in general and register studies in particular, has been comparatively
sparse[19].   In the next section (Section 1.2) I will introduce some of the issues

---

[17] cf Butt (2001: 1818):

> Over his extended debate with all areas of linguistics, Halliday has taken up the major
> questions of the subject and sought integrating proposals, a unifying theory which equips
> both linguistics and language consumers for resolving the problems that they experience
> at their different levels of specialisation.

[18] Cf quotation at the head of Section 1.3.1 below.

[19] what Thompson (1995: 235-36), referring specifically to the field of English language teaching, calls
the "benign neglect approach", deriving from the perceived complexities of the intonation system.
Some notable exceptions drawing upon the SFL description of intonation – where authors have
included intonation phenomena as an integral part of a more general linguistic task where intonation
was not itself the focus or research aim - have been Halliday (eg. 1967c, 1975, 1977; Halliday and
Hasan 1976), van Leeuwen (1982, 1985, 1992), Rose (1988), Ovadia and Fine (1995), Teich et al
(1997), Bowcher (2004), Matthiessen et al (2005). Cf Section 1.3.2 below for a discussion of register
studies addressing intonation use. Examples of work outside of the SFL tradition to apply intonation
descriptions to more general linguistic tasks include Brown and Yule (1983), O'Halpin (2001), Selting
and Couper-Kuhlen (2001), Simon-Vanderbergen (1997); and in the pedagogic field, works in the
Birmingham School tradition in particular (eg. Brazil, Coulthard and Johns 1980; Coulthard and
Montgomery 1981) have accorded intonation an equal part to play in their descriptive tasks.

associated with the study of both intonation and functional text-type phenomena which form the background to the present work; and then in Section 1.3 I will outline the SFL multidimensional[20] approach employed by the present work, which makes feasible and indeed in some types of text imperative the incorporation of intonational systems into the exploration of register language.

1.2 Background: Intonation; Functional Text-type

1.2.1   Intonation

There is no doubt that the study of intonation phenomena has been a significant part of the development of the science of linguistics in the last century or so. The work accounted for in Crystal's (1969) comprehensive review of the study of intonation for the English language is itself considerable: as he shows, stretching back at least as far as the sixteenth century, scholars have continued to give attention to the phenomena of 'the melody of speaking'[21] in the English language.

Early scholars, relying upon their own listening capabilities and understanding of their own language, made important observations about the form and function of the melodic and other non-segmental aspects of language. Even as early as the pre-twentieth century works discussed by Crystal, two aspects of intonation that would remain relevant to modern work in the field are evident: the discussion of phonic

---

[20] Note: these are not dimensions in the sense in which the term is used in Biber's (eg. Conrad and Biber 2001) work: cf discussion in Section 1.2.2 and Chapter 3.

[21] Title of Walker's (1787/1970) book.

phenomena (in particular pitch) in terms of a phonological (i.e. based on meaning distinction) description, which is contextualised in relation to other aspects of language and its use to make meaning[22]; and a focus on the details of the phonetic description.

Both concerns can be interpreted within the context of the purpose of these works. Firstly, there is a strong pedagogic, prescriptive orientation evident throughout the development of descriptions of intonation from earliest till modern times[23]. Crystal (Crystal 1969: 32-34) reviews the work of the American 'elocutionists' for example, who, like Schubiger several decades later, were

---

[22] Cf for example, Danielsson's (1963) discussion of Hart's (1551) *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of Our English Tongue*, an early acknowledgement of the deficiencies of the written English language for recording speech. According to Danielsson (1963: 47-48), Hart's discussion of intonation ('Tunes'), and phonetic notation of 'sentence stress' are the earliest for the English language: "Hart thus describes the use of Tune I in questions beginning with an interrogative word, in commands…and in exclamations" (although Crystal points out that (1969: 21) "there is hardly any mention of other intonation patterns"). This phonological concept of the 'tune', in its systemic sense (as a set of options in choice of contour), prevailed through to the twentieth century, and can be found in most works in the British tradition adopting a meaning-based phonological description, although often under the name 'tone'. For examples of other early scholars to link intonation patterns with grammatical/semantic phenomena, such as Butler (1633) and Walker (1787/1970), cf Crystal (1969: 20-22) for a review; cf also Sweet (1877: 93-96); Armstrong and Ward (1926).

[23] For example, cf Crystal's (1969: 22) comment: "Walker's work was done within a markedly pedagogic orientation: he was anxious to give guidance to those who wanted to speak and read well" (cf full title of Walker's (1787/1970) work: *The Melody of Speaking Delineated; or, Elocution Taught Like Music; By Visible Signs, Adapted to the Tones, Inflections, and Variations of Voice in Reading and Speaking; with Directions for Modulation, and Expressing the Passions*).

concerned with providing descriptive resources for those (Schubiger 1958: Forward) "students of English desirous of acquiring a correct intonation"[24]. The pedagogic purpose often aligns with a semantic-based approach to the description of intonation; but of course also draws upon phonological and phonetic descriptions in the attempt to provide models of 'correct' or 'desirable' pronunciation or use of intonation[25].

However, one can find, from the earliest works onwards, another less directly pragmatic interest in intonation study. Walker's interest in providing resources for transcribing speech, for instance, are also addressed to (Walker 1787/1970: ii) "those few who philosophise on language", as well as to his pupils. Butler's treatise on *The English Grammar* (Crystal 1969), with its focus on phonetic patterns and phonological description, was motivated by observations by one Lord Monboddo, who had claimed that English had accents but no pitch movement[26]. Sweet's main orientation is towards (Sweet 1877: v) "phonetics as the indispensable foundation of all study of language"[27], although this is for (1877) pedagogic purposes also; while for Schubiger, the pedagogic function of her work is complemented by a second aim in

---

[24] But, in Schubiger's case, for a different audience: with the advent of the increase in international travel/immigration, those learning English as a second language, post-World War II, a (still contemporary) concern.

[25] Other authors in the twentieth century operating with a stated pedagogic aim include Armstrong and Ward (1926/1931), Kingdon (1958), Halliday (1970a), Brazil, Coulthard and Johns (1980). The specific pedagogic purpose of teaching reading skills (i.e. interpreting the written into the spoken mode) has its echo, in more recent times, in the work of Martin Davies (cf for example 1989, 1984).

[26] Cf Lord Monboddo's comment, quoted in Crystal (1969: 23), that "there is no change of tone [in syllabic accents: BAS]…the music of our language…is nothing better than the music of a drum".

[27] although the description (Sweet 1877: xi) "is intended mainly to serve practical purposes".

Schubiger's words (1958: Forward), "to give a comprehensive survey of the role played by intonation in living English speech". Most authors recognise the wider theoretical aim as at least a secondary aim for their work; and with the increasingly powerful resources for the study of intonation available during the twentieth century, and the increasing interest in the study of spoken language, the study of pitch and other phenomena, and in itself and as a resource for the study of the use of these phenomena, became more of an end in itself.

The early studies of intonation were clearly constrained by the nature of the data: unlike the study of writing, the study of speech could not be facilitated by repeated analysis of the same text[28]. Yet it is remarkable how much of even the very early descriptions such as Walker's and Butler's remains relevant today, such as the division into/identification of 'tunes' and their correlations with grammatical/semantic language choices. Nevertheless, it wasn't until the availability of increasingly powerful speech recording technology that scholars from the early part of the twentieth century onwards (eg. Jones 1909) were able to begin to make detailed

---

[28] Cf Crystal's comments and quotation of Steele (1969: 25):

> The main inadequacy with Steele's approach…was procedural, namely, that it is impossible to achieve any accurate and verifiable description of sounds…when they occur in actual speech: 'What ear can be so quick, nice, and discerning, as to keep pace with, discriminate, and ascertain the rapid and evanescent musical slides of the human voice…so as to enable the person to mark the limits of each syllable, with regard to gravity and acuteness, and to express them on paper?' The answer, of course, was provided by the invention of the phonograph and tape recorder, which allowed repeated hearings and multiple checking.

empirical studies of the minutiae of pitch and other speech phenomena[29], in themselves, and as a bearers of meaning, as a serious object of investigation in their own right and not as an adjunct to a more general discussion of pronunciation or an addendum to general language description[30].

There were also important influences working within the broader linguistics discipline during (particularly the first half of) the twentieth century which had profound effects on the course of the development of intonation research. During the twentieth century linguistic science itself was emerging as a distinct scientific discipline[31], with the appropriate domain and methods for the nascent science being mapped out and delimited[32]: particularly with the posthumous publication in 1916 of a

---

[29] Jones' use of the nascent recording technology makes for an interesting comparison with my own use of the contemporary version, 'Praat' (cf Section 1.3.2.1 below) (1909: v): "If while a Gramophone, Phonograph, or other similar instrument, is in operation, the needle is lifted from the revolving record, the ear will retain the impression of the sound heard at the instant when the needle is lifted". This is the identical technique I have used with the more sophisticated computational software.

[30] cf the later instrumental tradition discussed in Chapter 2: eg. Fry 1958; Lieberman 1967; Lehiste 1970; t'Hart et al 1990; Ladd 1996; Gussenhoven 2004.

[31] Cf Robins (1964/1980): "The term *science* [italics in original]… indicates the attitude taken by the linguist today towards his subject, and in this perhaps it marks a definite characteristic of twentieth-century linguistics". Cf also Malinowski (1923/1927: 297): "All Art…which lives by knowledge and not by inspiration, must finally resolve itself into scientific study, and there is no doubt that from all points of approach we are driven towards a scientific theory of language."

[32] Halliday (1992/2003):

> Those who study language have often been concerned with the status of linguistics as a science. They have wanted to ensure that their work was objective and scientifically valid. The natural way to achieve this aim has been to use other, earlier developed

series of lectures between the years of 1906 and 1911 by Ferdinand Saussure (1916/1974)[33], and another widely influential work, Bloomfield's (1933) *Language*[34]. As part of this delimitation, there were two areas of language phenomena relegated to outsider status: by Saussure, that of actual language use ('parole') – including the physical manifestation of language in speech[35] - as distinguished from the language

---

      sciences as a model: theoretical physics, evolutionary biology, chemistry – some discipline that is currently valued as a leader in the field of intellectual activity.

Butt (2001: 1806): "American linguistics has constructed itself according to differing pictures of what can, and what cannot, count as scientific".

[33] as taken from the lecture notes of certain of his students.

[34] Cf Sampson (1980: 62): "What was new in Bloomfield was a philosophically sophisticated emphasis on the status of linguistics as a science".

[35] This, as part of a discussion (Saussure 1916/1974: 7-9) of "the integral and concrete object of linguistics" that commences with a series of observations on various, related aspects of the "linguistic phenomenon", including: the actual physical signal and its "acoustic impressions"; the relation between these and thought, forming a "complex physiological-pyschological unit"; its "individual and social side"; the distinction between the "system and its history" (synchronic and diachronic perspectives). Saussure concludes that (1916/1974: 9):

> From whatever direction we approach the question, nowhere do we find the integral object of linguistics…if we study speech from several viewpoints simultaneously, the object of linguistics appears to us as a confused mass of heterogeneous and unrelated things…As I see it, there is only one solution…*from the very outset we must put both feet on the ground of language and use language as the norm of all other manifestations of speech* [italics in original]…But what is language…It is not to be confused with human speech…Taken as a whole, speech is many-sided and heterogeneous…we cannot discover its unity. Language, on the contrary, is a self-contained whole".

Although identifying the manifold crucial aspects of language, Saussure's (reported) approach was to use these various aspects as a way in to defining the proper domain of linguistic science, rather than as legitimate avenues of investigation into language in all its aspects. One can see in Saussure's comments the seeds of later similarly delimitative approaches to the study of intonation, in particular

system ('langue') which underlies it; and by Bloomfield, that of meaning in language, part of the materialistic approach to the science of language[36].

Saussure's exclusive focus on langue, which has had such an influence on linguistics in general, has undoubtedly had an influence on the study of intonation phenomena[37]. For much of the twentieth century the linguistic status of intonation phenomena has been a controversial issue, intonation seen as occupying an indeterminate zone either outside of or (Bolinger 1964/1972) 'around the edge of language'[38], or in some respects linguistic, in others something akin to gesture. Its

---

the distinction between phonetics and phonology, and these and grammar and semantics, as well as of course the general avoidance of intonation phenomena in linguistic (and particularly grammatical) descriptions.

[36] Bloomfield (1933: 38):

> …it may be stated as a principle that in all sciences like linguistics, which observe some specific type of human activity, the worker must proceed exactly as if he held the materialistic view. This practical effectiveness is one of the strongest considerations in favour of scientific materialism.

Bloomfield's (1933: 3) "stripping off the preconceptions which are forced on us by our popular-scholastic doctrine" in favour of his own materialist approach is reminiscent of the evolution of intonation study from pedagogic to phonetic/instrumental studies. Cf also Bloomfield (1926; 1930).

[37] Cf Reid (1956: 29):

> In the scientific (or pseudo-scientific) study of language it [the concept of 'a language': BAS] reaches its apotheosis in the Saussurean *langue* [italics in original], which is still the acknowledged or unacknowledged basis of a great deal of contemporary linguistic work. The concept has no doubt certain apparent advantages: it professes to justify the treatment of linguistics…as an autonomous discipline…It has also, however, the serious practical defect of not being definable. A 'language', in either the Saussurean or the ordinary sense, is not a datum; it cannot be objectively observed".

[38] Bolinger (1964/1972: 20):

study as a part of general linguistic description has tended to be marginalised, either treated as an addendum to general linguistic description and application, or kept apart from the study of language, in particular of grammar, as the special domain of phonetic and phonological science[39].

Meanwhile, Bloomfield's rejection of the appropriateness or feasibility of studying meaning has resulted in an approach to linguistic science constrained to a study of form and formal relations, with meaning either excluded altogether or relegated to the status of an optional second and secondary step. This approach can be seen reflected in, for example, Schubiger's bold declaration (1965/1972: 175) that the "investigation of English intonation has reached a point where its form has been explored almost to perfection", but that "the various attempts to assess its function have resulted in a mosaic of partly concordant, partly divergent opinions", an observation which would not be out of place in the writings of Bloomfield[40].

…intonation is not as 'central' to communication as some of the other traits of language. If it were, we could not understand someone who speaks in a monotone; and, in so far as our comprehension of written language is due to its being a faithful reproduction of speech, we could not read.

The first text excerpt quoted at the beginning of this chapter, however, calls into issue this claim of Bolinger's: without intonation, its meaning is neither comprehensible nor a faithful rendering of the original speech.

[39] Cf Wennerstrom (2001: 73): "Questions about intonation are often discussed in isolation rather than integrated with other topics under investigation in the field".

[40] The implication of Schubiger's claim being that it is thought possible and appropriate to study form without function first.

Thus one finds a major distinction in the approach to the study of intonation, already to some extent evident in earlier work, confirmed as the science of language has developed in the twentieth century and as linguists and other students of speech have acquired greater technological resources for its investigation[41]: that of 'top-down'[42] meaning-based, and of 'bottom-up' phonetics-based descriptions[43]. The approaches employing laboratory, instrumental and experimental techniques, for example (cf footnote 30 above; also, Docherty and Ladd 1992; Bruce and Horne 2000), with their methodological foundation in and often exclusive preoccupation with the analysis of the sound stream, may be at least partly be attributed to the Saussurean division into langue and parole[44], as well as the Bloomfieldian emphasis

---

[41] Cf also the discussion in Section 1.3.1.2 below of Halliday's principle of 'trinocular vision': viewing language phenomena from 'above' – eg. phonology from a semantic and grammatical perspective – 'below' – phonology from a phonetics perspective – or 'around' – phonology as systemic.

[42] Descriptions of meaning and function being generally construed in linguistic science, metaphorically, as 'higher', in terms of level of abstraction, than those of the phonetic and phonological phenomena of speech (cf discussion in Section 1.3.1.2).

[43] Cf Kohler (2006: 123):

> Theoretical and methodological paradigms in speech research determine the design of data collection, their analysis and their interpretation. The scientific approaches to spoken language have been shaped by the dominating influence of the dichotomy of *phonology*, dealing with discrete mental objects, and *phonetics* [italics in original], dealing with infinitely fine gradation of physical manifestation. They have been associated with the humanities and the sciences, respectively, since the first half of the twentieth century. It is still widespread among linguists to look at phonology as a level of purely symbolic representation without reference to the physics of speech, and on the other hand, for engineers to apply speech signal processing techniques to human speech without reference to its linguistics and communicative functions.

[44] particularly in terms of the exclusivity of focus on the physical aspects of the sound stream (parole), and resultant neglect of their semiotic function (langue); which distinction however also aligns, in Saussure's work, with the exclusive focus on the theorised (langue) as opposed to that which is

on scientific rigour, as conceptualised by him with respect to the more traditional physical sciences, as much as to the availability of increasingly powerful tools for analysing the speech signal.

Matthiessen and Halliday (eg. Matthiessen 1995a: 21; Halliday 1996; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: Chapter 13; Matthiessen 2004a; 2007b) have traced the development of linguistics according to a consideration of the nature of the (1995a: 20) "phenomena realms that exist 'outside' language", locating (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 507) "language as a semiotic system…within the context of the history of ideas". These realms form an (Matthiessen 2004a: 1) "ordered typology of systems" in the phenomenal world, with a division into four 'phenomenal realms' or systems: the first order systems are physical systems; second order systems are biological; third order systems are social; and fourth order systems are semiotic. Each realm has its own type of complexity, and each successive order involves an increase in complexity, while being (Matthiessen 2007b: 37) "based on the principle that systems of a higher order are also systems of a lower order", the former having evolved, cosmogenetically, out of the latter[45]. Matthiessen writes (2004a: 4)

observed (parole) (cf footnote 35). In SFL terms, the former is a stratal, the latter an instantial restriction (cf Section 1.3.1 below).

[45] Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 508):

> Physical systems are just physical systems. Biological systems, however, are not just biological systems; they are at once both biological and physical. Social systems are all three: social, biological and physical…*in this particular respect* [italics in original]; and this means that it is increasingly difficult to recognize the essential nature of the phenomena concerned…the relationship between that which can be observed, and the system-and-process lying behind what is observed, is significantly harder…because the phenomena involved are simultaneously of all three kinds.

"'Cracking the code' of a particular order of system meant something different for each scientific area"[46]: measurement for physical systems, for example.

It is within the context of these considerations also that one can critique the 'bottom-up' approach to intonation, with its common associative appeal to experimental laboratory methods[47]. Following Matthiessen's and Halliday's approach, although the experimental laboratory approach may be appropriate for certain analytical tasks with respect to the study of intonation – in particular, the analysis of the physical sound signal itself: fundamental frequency and other such phenomena[48] - it may not be the most effective for the study of the semiotic use of

---

[46] Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 508): "[E]ach new step required a shift in perspective".

[47] as distinguished from the so-called 'impressionistic' studies by those working from a meaning-based approach: cf Crystal's (1969: 2-3) reference to "[m]isleading, impressionistic statements" and "unscientific impressionism" deriving from "the demands of English-language teaching in the early decades of this century"; and Ladd's (1996: 13) comment: "Because of the general lack of agreement and the notable absence of instrumental evidence for impressionistic descriptions, adherents of the instrumental approach have often felt that their work is somehow more rigorous and more scientific…". The common characterisation of the semantic- and grammatically-based descriptions as 'impressionistic' perhaps derives more from the methodological orientation to semantic rather than physical phenomena than the actual qualities of the works themselves, and may be related to the influence of the dominant linguistic ideology derived from the ideas of Bloomfield in particular discussed above.

[48] Matthiessen (2004a: 5): "[I]t is through phonetics that the semiotic patterns of phonology are manifested in the material (biological and physical) realm. Consequently, this is the level of linguistic organization that is most open to the methods and insights from material sciences, and also to experimental methods". Matthiessen (2004a) shows how the development of linguistic science in the twentieth century may be traced according to a move from the consideration of the material (phonetics:

physical intonation phenomena. In the latter realm, where one needs to account for language in use (Matthiessen 2004a: 4), "the experimental method has to be replaced by observation under natural conditions - as happened when Bronislaw Malinowski developed modern field work within anthropology in the early 20th century"[49].

Concurrent with the influential trends in linguistic theory mentioned above, other perspectives, other intellectual traditions within other academic contexts (sometimes not linguistic), were developing during the twentieth century[50]: in particular, the descriptive approach developed by the anthropologist Boas[51] (1911,

---

cf the study of diachronic sound alternations from the eighteenth to early twentieth century) to the semiotic, moving up through the levels of phonology, grammar, semantics and context (cf Section 1.3.1.2 below).

[49] Cf Malinowski (1922: 17-19):

> In certain results of scientific work…we are given an excellent skeleton, so to speak, of the tribal constitution, but it lacks blood…It must be supplemented by the observation of the manner in which a given custom is carried out…In other words, there is a series of phenomena of great importance which cannot possibly be recorded by questioning or computing documents, but have to be observed in their full actuality…All these facts can and ought to be scientifically formulated and recorded, but it is necessary that this be done, not by a superficial registration of details, as is usually done by untrained observers, but with an effort at penetrating the mental attitude expressed in them.

It is interesting to compare these latter comments on the 'penetration of mental attitudes', by a sometime student of mathematics and the physical sciences, with those of the linguist Bloomfield, who claimed that such a search was unscientific, because not materialistic!

[50] including other perspectives on the nature of linguistics as a science: cf for example Whorf's (1940/1956) 'Science and linguistics' and Sapir's 'The status of linguistics as a science' (1929/1963).

[51] Cf Emeneau (1943: 122): "When one begins to examine the contribution of the late Franz Boas to science in the linguistic sphere, the striking fact that leaps to the attention at once is that he is the *guru*

1940), and the linguists Sapir (1921, 1963) and Whorf (cf 1956), in their descriptions of non-Indo-European languages[52], in particular the languages of the first peoples of North America; and the context-based, functionalist approach developed by Malinowski (1923)[53]. The inclusion, by the descriptivist and functionalist traditions, of the study of naturally-occurring actual speech, and of meaning, into the study of language was clearly an alternative one to the strictures for linguistic science imposed by Saussure and Bloomfield, and resulted in different 'registers' (cf Section 1.2.2 below) of linguistic description[54]. As in language in general, so in language about language (Firth 1957), or 'metalanguage': the different contexts of linguistic theorising and description have resulted in theories and descriptions of language, and intonation as a part of that, substantially different from one another (Halliday 1964/1968).

Malinowski's contextual-functional approach, based on observation of language-in-use (cf Butt and Wegener 2007 for a discussion), was a major influence on British linguistics, through its influence on the first Chair of Linguistics in Great Britain, J. R. Firth. Firth, building upon the ideas of these and other scholars inside and outside of the linguistics discipline, Sweet and Malinowski in particular, as well

[italics in original], the ancestor in learning, of all those in this country who work in descriptive linguistics".

[52] The so-called 'descriptivists' (cf Sampson 1980).

[53] As Halliday points out (1978: 109), the concept that "the situation is the environment in which the text comes to life" "goes back at least to Wegener (1885)".

[54] Cf Matthiessen (1993a: 221): "[S]ince the metalanguage we use as linguists is itself a semiotic system, it too has registers". For an extended discussion, and application of this principle to computational linguistics cf Teich (1999).

as Hjelmslev (1953), developed a polysystemic multi-levelled theory of language which, from his early writings (Firth 1957), included a different, prosodic approach to the study of phonology from that of the prevailing 'bottom-up' analytical (segmental) traditions[55]. For Firth, synthesis was the complement to analysis and an essential aim of linguistic study: all linguistics being concerned, ultimately, with the (Firth 1968: 50) "theory and practice of linguistic statements of meaning at all levels of structural analysis"[56].

Firth's ideas and approach were a major influence, in turn, upon one of his students, Michael Halliday, who, following Firth's prosodic, polysystemic and meaning-based approach to linguistics in general and phonology in particular[57], incorporated a description of intonation into his general description of English phonology, as the exponent of certain grammatical categories (Halliday 1963a and

---

[55] As Halliday puts it (2000: 104), "it is taken as the norm that systems of phonological features may be associated with stretches of any extent. Some features, such as tone, are inherently likely to have extended domains…"

[56] Firth's influence on British linguistics is detectable, for example, in the following claim by Crystal (1969: 282): "Statements of the meaning of the prosodic contrasts described must indeed be the dominant aim of the linguist". However, Crystal's 'bottom-up' approach – this comment, for example, comes at the beginning of Chapter 7, after extensive discussion of exclusively phonetic phenomena – makes the study of meaning a subsequent and separate step, implying that the study and theory of each level of analysis can be kept separate (cf Chapter 2: footnote 31).

[57] Halliday (2000: 101-04) also cites his early training with Professor Wang Li in the early Chinese tradition of phonology and phonetics as a major influence, showing how "in a number of respects…it anticipates Firth's prosodic theory". Cf Tench (1992), Halliday (2000) for discussions of the development of systemic phonology.

b/2005; 1967a, 1970a; Halliday and Greaves 2008). Rather than compartmentalising the description of language phenomena – for example, by studying the sound signal separately, independently of its use to make meaning – Halliday made all aspects and levels of the description explicitly and systematically interrelated: phonetics, phonology, grammar, semantics and context. This approach has proved attractive to scholars who for various reasons have wished to make explicit about the relations between systemic choices at these different levels of description; however, on the whole Halliday's description of the intonation of English has remained under-utilised in wider linguistic applications within and outside of the SFL tradition[58].

Few if any others have gone so far as to include intonational phenomena as a fully-fledged part of the grammar of English: Bolinger's's view, for example (1958: 37), that the "encounters between intonation and grammar are casual, not causal"[59] is to some extent representative of most approaches to intonation, particularly in the implication that the conception of 'grammar' is a pre-existing phenomenon, with which intonation phenomena must be correlated rather than incorporated. As Halliday's description of intonation must be seen in the context its location within and as an integral part of his general linguistic and in particular grammatical description, it must be understood within the context of a discussion of that general framework and the principles which underlie it.

---

[58] However, cf for example: van Leeuwen 1982, 1992; Teich et al 1997; Teich et al 2000; Rose 2001; Bowcher 2004; Matthiessen et al 2005. Halliday's concept of the Given-New distinction in particular has been widely employed (cf Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1.2, footnote 81).

[59] Bolinger (1958: 37): "…intonation is not grammatical".

In the present work I adopt Halliday's description of the 'intonation in the grammar of English'[60] as being the one best suited to my present aim to investigate intonational systems as resources for the creation of particular types of text. In Section 1.3 below I present the framework of the general linguistic theory within which the description of intonation can be contextualised. In Chapter 2 I will present a detailed discussion of the reasons for adopting this intonation description in particular, presenting Halliday's SFL description within the context of a more detailed discussion of some of the major works and concerns in the wider field of intonation study, as well as suggesting how certain aspects of other approaches and descriptions may complement the current SFL description.

I will argue and demonstrate that the strengths and limitations of the various perspectives on intonation phenomena derive from their various theoretical orientations and descriptive purposes (Halliday 1964/1968); and that the chief advantage of the SFL theory to the present work is the multidimensional, comprehensive and holistic nature of its framework. That is, it is the SFL model which best offers the opportunity to systematically relate the different levels of description – phonetics, phonology, grammar, semantics and context – and thus to make a (cf quotation at the head of this chapter) 'comprehensive account' of register language which 'involves all the basic dimensions of language in context' – that is, including intonational systems – thus solving some of the 'problems of synthesis' identified by Sweet and Firth[61], as observed by Matthiessen (1993a: 223):

---

[60] Title of Halliday and Greaves (2008).

[61] (Firth 1957: 121): "Sweet himself bequeathed to the phoneticians coming after him the problems of synthesis which still continue to vex us".

The thesis is that language is monosystemic – this was certainly the position Firth reacted against and, as de Beaugrande points out, its seems to be the default in mainstream work…The antithesis is Firthian polysystemicness…The synthesis is register theory in systemic linguistics.

1.2.2 Functional Text-Type

In Section 1.1 I introduced the present work as having two major aspects, the study of intonational systems and register language, and in the previous section introduced the former aspect in terms of the general field of intonation study. In the present section I introduce the latter aspect via a discussion of the general field of functional text-type study. The idea of texts being classified into types according to form and/or function is ancient and pervasive[62] in human culture, and across a wide range of academic disciplines[63] – for example, in literary studies (Freeman 1970; Colie 1973; Fowler 1982; Farrell 2003; Carahar 2006), the study of music (Moore 2001), folklore (Harris 1995), linguistics (cf below), and film, television and other visual arts (cf for example Neale 1980; Stilwell 2000; van Leeuwen 2005; Dowd, Stevenson and Strong 2006) – discussed mostly under the term 'genre', meaning 'kind or 'genus' (Harris 1995: 509), or 'style'[64]. Several aspects of genre theory seem to have persisted, such as: a text's creation as member of a type, and the resultant principle of constraint in form and meaning; formal type as related to function; and the (in/)determinacy of classification into and mixing of genres in texts.

---

[62] Carahar (2006:29): "Genre theory possesses one the oldest pedigrees in the history of Western, Eurocentric literary and cultural criticism".

[63] Colie (1973: 4): "[T]here are always kinds, forms, schemata, in all the arts".

[64] Cf for example Moore (2001) for a discussion.

Classical literary genre theorists classified poetry into generic forms according to metrical form (Farrell 2003). There was a link made between form and function[65]; but they thought of genre as not so much as a choice as a more or less involuntary expression of a poet's character (Farrell 2003: 384). There appears to have been (Farrell 2003: 386) "no interest at all in generic indeterminacy…still less did they regard genre itself as a slippery or even problematic concept"; rather, genre was " an immanent and unambiguous characteristic of all poems, not putty in the hands of an inventive poet".

The urge to 'fixedly' categorise was present also in the Renaissance (Colie 1973: 8-9), but "it was not entirely obvious in the Renaissance what the genres of literature surely were, nor yet how to identify them". The idea of indeterminacy of categorisation has become increasingly important in genre theorising in modern times[66]. Far from being a mechanical process of classification, for most genre theorists the assignment of texts to one generic category or another (by authors/artists, readers, or critical theorists), the means by which this is done, is itself a crucial point of discussion and theorising (cf Harris 1995; Dowd 2006): that is, the issue of the criteria according to which one describes a text as being a member of a particular text-type.

---

[65] Farrell (2003: 384): "[I]n general, ancient critics regarded particular meters as appropriate to the ethos of this of that genre"

[66] This issue is taken up by most contemporary authors discussing genre (cf for example Fowler 1982) (and, for that matter, register). Fowler also cautions against confusing (Fowler 1982: 25) "genres with their critical formulations", arguing that "generic operations are partly unconscious" (for a reader).

In modern linguistics the concept of functional text-type has been an integral part of linguistic tasks[67]. Indeed, the concept is so all-pervasive that it often forms the basis of theoretical discussions without explicit acknowledgement as such. Malinowski's descriptions of the language of the Trobriand Islanders, for example, was mediated by the idea of language type: one can see this in his original (1923/1927) exemplification of his idea of context of situation, which is done via the examination of the language accompanying the hunting expeditions of the Islanders, which is compared with the language of the campfire narrative, phatic communication[68], religious rituals etc.

Firth made the idea of functional text-type not only an explicit issue in linguistics, but recommended it as the centre-piece of his approach to linguistic theory and analysis (Firth 1968: 87):

> Linguistics is at its best when it concentrates on what I call restricted languages. A restricted language serves a circumscribed field of experience or action and can be said to have its own grammar and dictionary

Firth's theory of restricted languages was applied by Mitchell in his (1957/1975) 'Buying and selling in Cyrenaica' which, following on from Malinowski and Firth's ideas on text-context relations (i.e. functional text-type), took a particular

---

[67] Cf Ellis and Ure's (1969: 251) "prehistory" of work in the area of text-types prior to Reid's (1958) publication.

[68] Malinowski (1923/1927: 313): "The case of language used in free, aimless, social intercourse".

situational setting and discussed the language of that setting in terms of the situational influences.

Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) also developed two key ideas of Firth – of a restricted language (i.e. type); and (deriving from Malinowski) the language-context relation – and, borrowing the term from Reid (1956) [69], developed their model of 'register' language[70]. They identify register initially according to the distinction between dialectic variation (type with respect to the language user) and register variation (type with respect to the language function); but then elaborate the concept with respect to a description of the situational context in terms of three parameters (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964: 90): field (activities contextualising language use); tenor (social relations contextualising language use); and mode (the role of language itself contextualising language use).

Over the decades Halliday et al's original formulation of register has been applied, problematised, refined and extended, most notably by Gregory (Spencer and Gregory 1964/1970; Gregory 1967; Gregory and Carroll 1978), Ellis and Ure (Ellis 1966; Ure 1971, 1982; Ellis and Ure 1969; Ure and Ellis 1977), Hasan (1973, 1995, 1999), Martin (1984, 1985a, 1992; Eggins and Martin 1997), Benson and Greaves

---

[69] Reid (1956: 32):

> For the linguistic behaviour of a given individual is by no means uniform; placed in what appear to be linguistically identical situations, he will on different occasions speak (or write) differently according to what may be roughly described as different social situations: he will use a number of distinct 'registers'.

[70] Halliday et al (1964) being (Halliday 1978: 110) "interpreted within Hill's (1958) institutional linguistic framework".

(1984), Lemke (1985) and Matthiessen (1993a, 2007b), as well as of course Halliday himself (1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985). Collections such as Ghadessy (1988, 1993), Christie and Martin (1997), Gibbons et al (2004) and Bateman (2006), as well as in fact much of the corpus of work within SFL and related theoretical traditions attest to the centrality of the concept of functional type to linguistic theorising and application: for example also, in the study of service encounters (Hasan 1985/1989; Ventola 1987, 2005); the language of science (cf Halliday 2004; Halliday and Martin 1993; Martin and Veel 1998); the language of history (Martin and Wodak 2003); pedagogic discourse (Christie 1984, 2002); radio discourse (van Leeuwen 1982, 1985, 1992; Bowcher 2003, 2004); and casual conversation (Ventola 1979; Plum 1988/1998; Eggins 1990; Slade 1996; Eggins and Slade 1997)[71]. The application of this model and its variations has been demonstrated to be a rich resource for accounting for the way the creators of texts instantiate particular meaning patterns, as evidenced in the patterns of lexicogrammatical selections, and for relating these to contextual function/social purpose.

Scholars outside of the SFL tradition to have discussed functional variation of language types in the last century include Kenyon (1948), Joos (1961), Martinet (1960/1969), Hymes (1968, 1974/1989), Longacre (1974), Swales (1990) and Bhatia (2004)[72]. In fact the analysis of texts as members of a specific functional text-type is at the heart of the development of much of the functional and contextual theory which has developed in the last few decades of the twentieth century: for example, the 'Birmingham School' theory of discourse (Sinclair et al 1972; Sinclair and Coulthard

---

[71] Cf Matthiessen (1993a: 274) and (2005: 57) for more extensive lists.

[72] Cf Atkinson and Biber (1994) for an extensive review of literature in this field.

1975; Brazil, Coulthard, and Johns 1980) was initially developed almost exclusively with respect to a single functional variety, that of classroom (pedagogic) discourse[73]. It is a commonplace in and outside linguistic science to talk of the 'language of business', 'the language of law' or 'the language of music', all text-types determined on the basis of function: indeed, the classification of texts into 'genres' is of course a commonplace in the general culture.

One scholar to have made the study of register his forte is Biber (1988, 1995, 2007). Working predominantly from within an approach 'from below'[74], in terms of features whose analysis can be automated, he developed a sophisticated methodology for the analysis of register variation which has been used, by himself and colleagues (eg. Biber and Finegan 1994a; Conrad and Biber 2001), for a variety of statistically-based cross-registerial and cross-linguistic comparative tasks (Biber 1995: 18):

> Computer-based text corpora, computational tools to identify linguistic features in texts, and multivariate statistical techniques to analyze the co-occurence relations among linguistic features, thereby identifying the underlying *dimensions* [italics in original] of variation.

This approach can be contrasted with the approach of Matthiessen who has, building upon the work of Ure and Halliday, over many years worked within a

---

[73] Cf Coulthard (1977: 99): "Sinclair et al see their ultimate goal as a descriptive system which will cope with all forms of discourse, but argue that there are advantages in beginning with a formal situation like the classroom…".

[74] but cf Biber et al (2007), a recent publication in which the authors bring together detailed discourse analysis of instance of text with corpus-based methods, and where both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches are explored.

multidimensional approach to the study of register, producing smaller-scale but functionally-enriched quantitative work, operating with more delicately characterized registers and carrying out extensive manual analysis of higher-ranking systems (eg. Matthiessen 2002a; Matthiessen et al 2005; Matthiessen 2006; 2007b). For Matthiessen (1993a) the study of register can be contextualised within the dimensional orientations of one's work, enabling multiple perspectives; and identifies a key complementarity: the study of those lower-level features which can more readily computed across large corpora is complemented by the smaller-scale study of higher-level systems.

But while scholars such as Biber, Hasan, Martin and Matthiessen continue to make the study of functional text-type – whether as 'genre' or 'register' - a point of focus within and outside of the SFL community, this area of linguistics has continued to be beset by issues relating to conceptualisation, terminology and methodology. There are parallels with the development of intonation descriptions: these continuing issues have often brought a sense of frustration to scholars grappling with the theory of register language and its application[75]; while these difficulties and the sheer

---

[75] cf for example Biber and Finegan (1994b: 4): "In addition to the term register, the terms *genre, text type*, and *style* have been used to refer to language varieties associated with situational uses"; Biber (1995: 8): "Readers should be aware…that there is no general consensus within sociolinguistics concerning the use of *register* and related terms such as *genre* and *style*". Thus, for Biber (1995) register refers to situational, text-type to linguistic phenomena; whereas for Halliday this terminological distinction is utilised to describe opposing perspectives on the intermediate region along the cline of instantiation (cf Section 1.3.1.3 below). Cf for discussions also Lee (2001): "I will now walk into a well-known quagmire and try to distinguish between the terms *genre*, *register*, and *style* [italics in original]"; the Moessner's (2001) article, "Genre, text-type, style, register: A terminological

complexity of the task have constrained those working in this field to make methodological sacrifices in order to bring some order to the complexity.

The conceptual frustrations centre around three main concepts that underlie most if not all discussions of functional text-types. Firstly, there is the concept of patterning: that language selections pattern. Secondly, this gives rise to the search for causes of this patterning: in SFL and elsewhere, language patterns are related to (contextual) functions of those patterns. Thirdly, the issue then arises of whether one therefore classifies texts as members of functional types according to the language patterning itself, or to the situational/contextual factors motivating the patterns.

In terms of methodological issues, for those relating text to context, for example, the corpus is often small and the focus a detailed one involving discourse analysis of one text-type; while for those investigating cross-registerial comparison, statistical analysis of language patterning is often the primary focus, with the text-context relation and detailed discourse analysis is usually a secondary or absent consideration. These different approaches are, that is, motivated by the different purposes of the descriptions.

Again, as with my comments on the present approach to intonation, and as Matthiessen (1993a) has shown, the SFL concept of register in particular, and the general, multidimensional framework which underlies it, enables both the many

---

maze?"; as well as of course the discussions over decades by Halliday, Hasan, Martin, Matthiessen, Biber, Leckie-Terry (1995), Trosborg (1997) and others attempting to define and redefine the terms and the conceptual framework: cf Chapter 3.

aspects of the phenomenon of functional text-type and the various approaches to their study to be calibrated and given value in terms of their dimensional orientation[76], and harmonised within the holistic SFL framework. In the next section I introduce the dimensions of SFL theory, from the perspectives of which the work in subsequent chapters proceeds. In Chapter 3 I discuss the issues in the study of functional text-types identified above in more detail.

1.3 Multidimensional Exploration: Framework; Approach; Resources and Scope for and Outline of the Present Work

In this section I introduce the basic principles underpinning the SFL model of language and the approach for the present work, which is enabled, guided by and managed according to these principles. It is necessary to provide an outline of the framework here in Chapter 1, as much of the following thesis is founded upon an understanding of these principles and their manifestation in the systemic functional model of language[77]. I will also briefly discuss the data and software resources for the present research.

---

[76] In Butt's terms "semiotic address" (eg. Butt and O'Toole 2003: 10).

[77] Nevertheless, the following discussion is of course no more than a summation; for an extended account of the SFL framework cf Halliday and Matthiessen (2004); Matthiessen (2007a and b), Halliday and Greaves (2008). The following discussion is based upon the account given in these works.

1.3.1   *The Cartographic Principle: Dimensions of SFL Theory and their Synthesis*

(Matthiessen 2007a: 1): The scope of the systemic functional model of the architecture of language was comprehensive from the start. The total system of language in context has always been in focus, and SFL has been developed by moving from a comprehensive overview map of language in context towards more detailed maps of regions identifiable on the overview map. This move has involved not only filling in details, as in the ongoing description of the lexicogrammar of a given language … but it has also involved adding new semiotic dimensions to give a more multifaceted view of language in context, bringing out complementarities that were earlier hidden from view or appeared to be competing alternatives.

The model of SFL theory is often presented via the metaphor of cartographic organization (eg. Matthiessen 1995b)[78]: language and context systems and structures and the dimensions by which they are interrelated are represented as constituting a map of the total meaning potential. The dimensions relate the different systems of and perspectives upon language: in Matthiessen's (2007b: 35) construal, they "represent different kinds of order in language – different forms of linguistic organization; and they are domains of different relationships". Through such representations and relations these dimensions facilitate both a global view of language functioning to make meaning in the contexts of social action, and local views of the multitudinous means by which this unified act is accomplished; thereby

---

[78] An early use of this metaphor is in Matthiessen (1988b); cf also Martin 1992; Halliday 2003; Butt and O'Toole 2003; Matthiessen 2007a.

offering a means of integrating the global and the local into a coherent framework for linguistic research and description[79].

The dimensions of SFL thus are theoretical resources that enable the student of language to follow and extend Firth's imperative that (1968: 19): "The linguist must be clearly aware of the levels at which he is making his abstractions and statements…". Such programmatic statements and suggestions by Firth on how to approach a new science of language and meaning laid the foundation for a self-reflective, self-conscious linguistic science[80], one in which the very foundations of one's approach must be made explicit[81]. Such an approach lays bare the 'viewer's perspective', so that one's findings, the ends, are to be always calibrated against the means by which one conducted one's research.

As Matthiessen points out (2007a: cf quotation at the head of this section) this multidimensional and synthetic, holistic aspect was of course present from the early formulation in Halliday's (1961) 'Categories of a theory of grammar'[82]; but the explicit model showing the means by which the different aspects or views of language could be integrated reached maturity over decades, with input from many scholars and

---

[79] cf Matthiessen and Nesbitt (1996) on the relations of theory and description.

[80] Palmer (1968: 1): "His greatest achievement was perhaps simply that of making people think again and refuse merely to accept traditional approaches to language…"

[81] (Firth 1957: 139): "Any new attempt at synthesis in linguistics must consider the origins of our theories and terminology".

[82] (Halliday 1961: 243): "The relevant theory consists of a scheme of interrelated categories which are set up to account for the data, and a set of scales of abstraction which relate the categories to the data and to each other".

sources, as the valeur of each perspective was determined with respect to the other theoretical views[83]. Many of the important principles of design were derived from Firth; but with input from the ideas of other scholars such as Hjelmslev (1961), Lamb (1966), Mathesius and other Prague School linguists (eg. Mathesius 1975), Bernstein (1971, 1973) and others, Halliday operationalised Firth's philosophy into a model capable of both representing the integrative principles explicitly and thereby providing a pragmatic resource for a variety of linguistic applications (Halliday 2005).

The SFL theory answers two important questions about language: how is language used (its systemic organisation); and why (its functional nature); and offers the principle by which both are integrated, that of choice. Language is represented as a set of systemic resources: speakers make choices from systems of language options according to their functional needs. These two core principles, system and function, underpin the brief account of the SFL multidimensional framework outlined below. First I will present these dimensions in tabular form, with the significance of each to the description of intonational systems and register language indicated[84]; followed by the discussion:

---

[83] (Matthiessen 2007a: 2): "…the increase has been cumulative, as when topography is added to a contour map."

[84] Thanks are due to Matthiessen (pers. comm.) for the idea for and help with this table.

dimension	values	relevance to description of intonational and registerial phenomena in present work
metafunction	experiential	(textual statuses assigned to particular experiential elements)
	logical	STATUS systems (tone sequences)
	interpersonal	KEY systems (tone choices)
	textual	INFORMATION systems (tonality, tonicity, rhythm and salience)
stratification	context	putative realisation of tenor and mode choices[85]
	semantics	natural relation to relevant grammatical systems
	lexicogrammar	intonational systems
	phonology	intonation systems
	phonetics	manifestation of intonation systems (pitch and temporal excursion)
instantiation		registerial variation in intonation
	system	against which instances are calibrated as members of register patterning
	subsystem / instance type	focus of thesis: built up from instances with respect to system
	instance	beginning with view of instances
axis	system	intonational phenomena as systemic options – principle of valeur in both description and its application to text analysis

---

[85] Cf discussion in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.2), particularly on the 'metafunctional hookup' theory.

	structure	intonation contours (rather than as sequences of pitch events); Onset-Rhyme structure; Given-New
rank	tone group	TONALITY, TONICITY, TONE
	foot	RHYTHM, SALIENCE
	syllable	Onset-Rhyme structure
	Onset-Rhyme; Phoneme	accurate analysis of rhythm; articulatory phonology
delicacy	most-least delicate systems	variable delicacy in description of intonation, primary to higher delicacy systems; determination of "emic" degree of delicacy by reference to intonational systems/semantics

Table 1: Dimensions with notes on significance in interpretation of intonation

1.3.1.1 Metafunction

The central concept of metafunction (Halliday 1967b, 1967c, 1968, 1970b) ultimately derives from that of function: that language (Halliday 1973a: 23) "is as it is because of what it has to do". Firth, building upon Malinowski's idea of functional language, developed an approach to the study of contextual meaning[86] which formed a basis for

---

[86] Firth's (1957: 29-30) discussion mixes what in SFL would be considered contextual categories and register types:

> For the adequate description and classification of contexts of situation we need to widen our linguistic outlook. Certain elementary categories are obvious, such as speaking, hearing, writing, reading; familiar, colloquial, and more formal speech; the languages of the Schools, the Law, the church, and all the specialized forms of speech.

Halliday et al's (1964) register theory, but had little to say on how to relate these categories to the linguistic system which realised them. It was Halliday, working on the analysis of different systems of the clause and their clusterings, and drawing also upon work in the Prague School tradition, who developed the crucial insight that the functions of language had actually served to shape the way in which language had evolved, its organisation, such that each clause has multiple functions. Significantly for the present work and approach taken, it was also within the context of a discussion of registerial issues that the concept was formulated (Halliday 1973: 23):

> So even if we start from a consideration of how language varies – how we make different selections in meaning, and therefore in grammar and vocabulary, according to the context of use – we are led into the more fundamental question of the relation between the functions of language and the nature of the linguistic system… Is the social functioning of language reflected in linguistic structure – that is, in the internal organization of language as a system? It is not unreasonable to expect that it will be. It was said to be, in fact, by Malinowski…

The impetus towards developing a theory of metafunction was assisted throughout, from Malinowski (1923/1927: 318-321) to Halliday (1970b, 1975), by a consideration of the development of language in an infant[87]. Halliday studied the way an infant, Nigel, gradually expanded his set of meaning-making resources as they were deployed for an increasing range of social communicative functions. These functions, Halliday showed, however elaborated they and their expression became,

---

  Then one might add such types of situation as those in which there is an 'individual' or 'monologue' use of language…'phatic communion'…of planning and regulation…

[87] (Halliday 1970b: 323): "The example from language acquisition provides a useful point of entry to a consideration of the functions of language".

could be grouped under a small number of headings which formed the basis for the ontogenetic expansion of the child's semantic functional repertoire: which Halliday lists as the instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, imaginative, and informative functions (Halliday 1975/2003)[88]. These 'protolinguistic' (pre-adult lexicogrammar) functions may be further considered under two major headings: the pragmatic (language to act), and mathetic (language to reflect) functions.

These evolved, in the adult language, into the metafunctions - first called 'macro-functions' (Halliday 1972/1973: 96-100) - which Halliday had identified in terms of systemic clusterings or degrees of association within the clause: the experiential and logical (together called the 'ideational'), interpersonal, and one other function not present in infant language, the textual metafunction. These three main metafunctions are summarised (in the same order as above) below (Halliday and Greaves 2008: 17):

> Language "means" in three different ways simultaneously. In the first place, it enables us to make sense of our experience. It does this by transforming experience into meaning — creating categories, and relations between categories, with which we can understand what goes on around us and inside us…language construes human experience. In the second place, it enables us to act on other people. It does this by setting up systems of interaction and control, whereby speakers put their assertions and their desires across, and of appraisal, whereby they pass judgment and evaluate. We shall refer to this way of meaning as "enacting": thus, language enacts human relationships. In the third place, as the way of managing this complexity, it enables us to construct text, a flow of discourse that "hangs together" and provides

---

[88] For further analysis, cf also Halliday (1992a).

the authenticating context for the first two. We shall refer to this way of meaning as "engendering": thus, language engenders human discourse.

The theory of metafunction and the model of the three metafunctions and their relations (in particular, the nature of the textual metafunction as second-order semiotic: cf for example Matthiessen 1992) is of crucial significance both to the description of intonational systems, and to the analysis of texts as registers[89], as I will demonstrate in Chapters 2 and 3. Intonational systems realise textual, interpersonal and ideational (logical) meanings.

1.3.1.2 Stratification

The stratification dimension theorises language in terms of different layers, or levels, in the description, related by 'realisation' (Halliday 1966)[90]. The idea of different levels of analysis may be found in the work of Hjelmslev (1961) and of course Firth (1957); but Halliday cites Lamb's Stratificational Grammar as the direct terminological progenitor (Halliday 2005: xxvii-xxviii). In SFL the theory of stratification is generally taken to include at least context, semantics[91],

---

[89] although of course the theory of metafunction wasn't around when Halliday's description of intonation and theory of register was first developed, these principles of organization were implicit in the early work: cf for example, the distinction in the description of intonation between the textual and interpersonal uses of intonation phonology.

[90] called "exponence" in Halliday (1961: 248, 270-72; cf also Halliday 1992a for comments on Firth's use of 'exponence'), the term 'realisation' was taken from Lamb (Matthiessen 2007a: 4).

[91] in Halliday's earlier work conflated with what later came to be called 'context': cf Halliday et al 1964.

lexicogrammar, phonology/graphology/other systems of expression, and phonetics/graphetics/descriptions of other expressive resources, with many scholars adding one or two more of the levels of genre and ideology to the context level (i.e. stratifying context) (cf Martin 1992).

The levels are ordered in the model hierarchically, in terms of degree of abstraction Halliday 1961; Matthiessen 2007a: 2): hence the metaphor of 'trinocular vision' as a methodology for analysis of a phenomenon based on horizontal spatial location: 'above', 'below' and 'around' (Halliday 1978). Each level, or stratum, is constituted by a different set of organisational systems which interact around with each other at the same stratum, function to realise those systems at the level above, and are realised in those at the level below; thus any phenomenon can be viewed from these multiple perspectives.

But it is not that a system option at each stratum is preselected, to be simply packaged into the appropriate system selections from the stratum below: in realising a particular choice from a higher stratum, language users also construe/enact/engender[92] that choice. So, for example, the lexicogrammatical choice of declarative mood (cf Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) realises a semantic statement; but in another sense it also enacts that semantic choice through lexicogrammatical resources: the MOOD choice is a resource for enacting the giving of information. Because the strata have

---

[92] There are different terms used for each metafunction, in terms of the active complement to the realisational perspective on the interstratal relation: 'construe' for the ideational; 'enact' for the interpersonal; and 'engender' for the textual metafunctions (cf Halliday and Greaves 2008: 17). I also use the term 'facilitate' or 'enable' in some cases for the textual metafunction.

distinct systemic options, there is also the possibility for variation in the realisation/enactment such that a statement may be realised by a polar interrogative MOOD (with a falling tone: cf Chapter 2), construing a more delicate semantic (and contextual) distinction: as in the utterance 'isn't it grand' (for either heightened positive appraisal value or sarcasm, depending on the context of the utterance). The stratal relationship is thus central to the concept of choice, and also of metaphor: the meaning is a product of the selections at the two strata (cf for example Halliday 2004).

Intonational phenomena are located at the lexicogrammatical stratum, realised through intonation systems at the phonological stratum, with their realisation (in sound) described at the phonetic stratum. The stratification dimension enables the linguist to relate the different levels of description, and so affords a powerful descriptive tool for scholars of intonation seeking to grapple with the 'problems of synthesis' to be found from the earliest works (for example, between descriptions of phonetic patterns and the use of systemic 'tunes' for different semiotic purposes); as well as offering the means for making sense of the somewhat bewildering array of seemingly conflicting accounts of these phenomena. Stratification also has played a central role in register description, particularly when the focus is on individual instances of text, in terms of text-context relations, and the realisation of (and evidence of) settings in register semantics in lexicogrammar. Figure 1 below, taken from Matthiessen (pers. comm.), also locates the stratification dimension, including intonation phenomena, in terms of the ordered typology of phenomenal realms discussed above in Section 1.2.1:
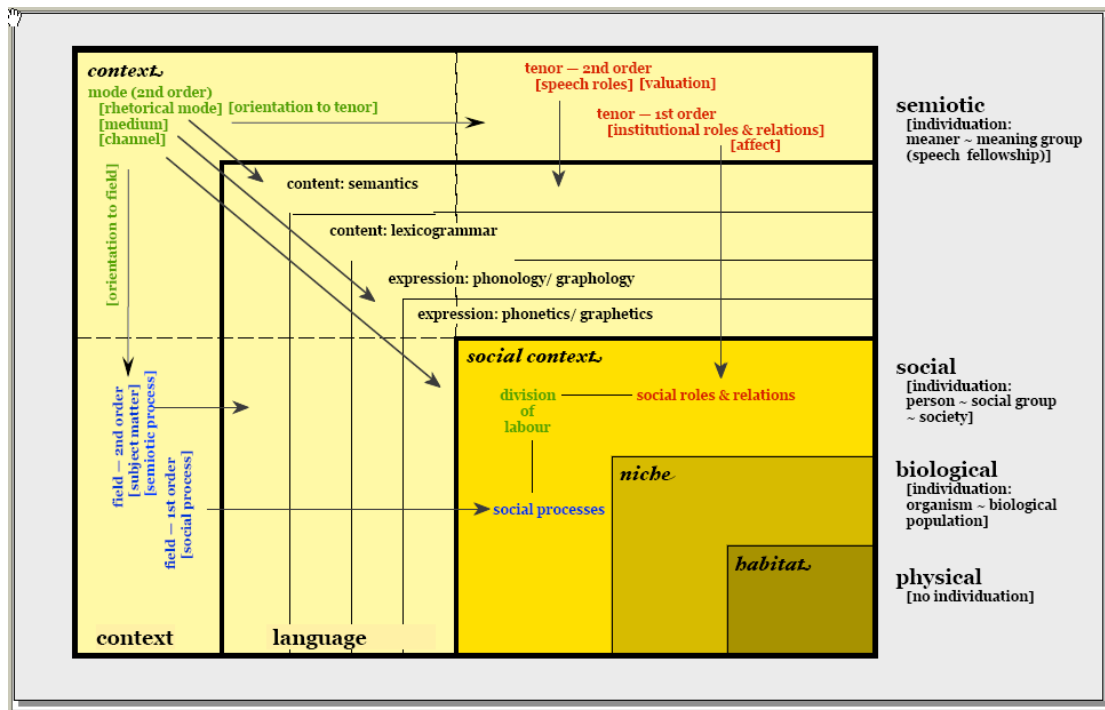
Figure 1: Stratification and the Phenomenal Realms (Matthiessen: pers. comm.)

1.3.1.3   Instantiation

Instantiation is the relation of the potential of language to its actual use in text: SFL thus studies both the system, i.e., all the possibilities that are available in language, and the choices from within those systems within an actual text instance; as well the intermediate region, the sub-potential operative within a particular context, which concerns us with the concepts of text-type/register. These concepts – of system and instance – were of course, like so much of SFL theory, around long before Halliday deployed them in the construction of his theory of language[93]: they were, for example, implied in Saussure's division into langue and parole[94].   The key innovations of Halliday's approach was firstly to conceptualise system and instance as belonging to

---

[93] Cf also McIntosh (1961: 112-13): "The two terms I propose are "potential" and "actual"…Using those I propose, I am in a position to speak of *potential linguistic meaning* and *actual linguistic meaning*".

the same phenomenal realm (unlike *langue* and *parole*), which then made it possible for him to interpret them as the outer poles of a continuum – the cline of instantiation - rather than as dualities (1961: 248-249, 1992/2005)[95]. As with the other dimensions, much of the work in linguistics over the last century can be appreciated and related from within the perspective of instantiation (eg. the division between langue and parole, and in Chomsky's work, competence and performance: cf Matthiessen 1993a: 283: fn 2).

The different 'points' 'along' the cline represent perspectives on language and its use. A text-type or register is the outcome of a particular view along the cline of instantiation: from the perspective of the instance, as selections speakers make from the overall system potential repeat and pattern within identifiably similar contexts, a picture emerges of a functional text-type; seen from the perspective of the total system potential, this text-type represents a sub-potential, a constraint on the total potential. With the concept of the cline of instantiation, researchers can 'locate' their work in terms of a focus on the instance, total potential (systemic description) or somewhere in between (patterns and subpotential). In the present work, the cline of instantiation forms a crucial resource for the exploration – including analytical shifts in instantial perspective – of the use of intonational systems as resources for the realisation of registers of language.

---

[94] as was the stratification dimension: cf footnote 35 above.

[95] Thanks are to Matthiessen (pers. comm.) for these insights into the two key innovations of Halliday in this dimension.

1.3.1.4 Rank

The concept of rank dates back to Halliday's pioneering (1961: 248, 269-270) 'Categories of the theory of grammar', and has been a crucial part of SFL and other linguistic traditions since[96]. Rank is concerned with the relationships of composition between elements of language, and is based on the concept of the 'unit' of grammar (eg. the clause, or information unit): such that a particular unit consists of (at least one) member of the unit at the rank below it (eg. a clause is composed of one or more groups/phrases, which are composed of one or more words). The theory of rank enables one to account for the phenomenon of rankshift, whereby a unit functions at a lower rank than it normally (congruently) would (eg. a clause as part of a nominal group: eg. 'I was about to buy' in 'The car I was about to buy blew up').

Halliday (1967a) and Halliday and Greaves (2008) describe a rank scale for the intonation system of English, but do not consider a rank scale relevant to the description of intonational systems at the lexicogrammatical stratum[97]. However, in the present work I have found it necessary to propose the inclusion of a two-rank

---

[96] Cf for example Sinclair et al's groundbreaking model for discourse analysis, which drew heavily upon Halliday's rank concept for its formulation (Coulthard 1977: 99-100): "To describe the interactions inside a classroom Sinclair et al devised a rank scale model based on the principles outlined for grammatical models by Halliday (1961)".

[97] Cf for example Matthiessen (1995b: 603): "…the information unit…has only one rank, the information unit…"; also Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 88).

organization at this stratum, based on the addition of a unit, the 'information group'[98] (cf Chapter 2). In the present work I also show how the principle of rankshift works in the textual and interpersonal intonational systems.

1.3.1.5   Axis

The axis dimension relates Firth's system and structure axes, in SFL termed the paradigmatic and syntagmatic perspectives on language[99], via realization (Matthiessen 2007a: 3). It was that paradigmatic perspective that enabled Halliday to integrate intonation into the overall account, not only in the phonology, but also in the lexicogrammar (intonational systems): the systems identified (as realising distinctions in meaning) are the same regardless of whether their terms are realized intonationally, segmentally or sequentially (cf. Matthiessen, 2004b) - that is, in Halliday's account it is possible to describe the potential of intonation in spite of problems inherent in representing 'prosodies' (cf. Matthiessen 1988)[100]. The concept of system is also essential for the process of intonation analysis at the phonetic and phonological stratum (for disambiguating system selections in the analysis of the sound stream). Although the paradigmatic perspective has been privileged in SFL work[101], the

---

[98] following Brazil (1975), and his concept of Prominence, by which he assigns semantic (and thus in the SFL theory, grammatical) value to the phonological assignment of stress/accent; cf also van Leeuwen (eg. 1992).

[99] In the early scale-and-category grammar, called 'chain' and 'choice' (Matthiessen 2007a: 3).

[100] Thanks are again due to Matthiessen (pers. comm.) for these observations on the value of the paradigmatic perspective on intonation.

[101] Initially, deriving from Firth, the two axes were given equal priority.

syntagmatic aspect has been particularly important in discussions of textual intonational systems[102].

1.3.1.6 Delicacy

The concept of delicacy (Halliday 1961: 248, 272-73) bears a direct relation to the paradigmatic perspective discussed under the 'axis' heading above: the range of systemic options available are arranged in relation to each other such that sets of options are arrayed together at the same level of delicacy, and individual options from within each system then may lead (as an 'entry condition') to another set of options at a 'greater' level of delicacy. That is, each level of delicacy in terms of the set of system options represents a (potential) series of 'entry conditions' to further systems which thus depend on the selection of the option at the lesser level of delicacy for their system potential to be activated.

The delicacy dimension allows one to manage one's researches and descriptions, such that one can choose to study systems at greater or lesser levels of delicacy, depending upon one's research needs. For example, in the present work, KEY systems realised through tone choices (cf Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.2) are, following Halliday, taken to be more delicate options in MOOD systems of the clause grammar, some of which themselves form entry conditions to systems of more delicate options; and the level of delicacy in the phonological description is determined by that of the grammatical stratum – those intonational choices making distinctions in meaning in the language (cf Halliday 1963a/2005, 1967a).

---

[102] in terms of the 'Given-New' structure, which has dominated discussions of the system of INFORMATION FOCUS: cf discussion in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1.1.2.

1.3.2   Approach: Multidimensional Explorations of and with the SFL Map

(Firth 1957: 192): [T]he suggested procedure for dealing with meaning is its dispersion into modes, rather like the dispersion of light of mixed wave-lengths into a spectrum.

(Palmer 1968: 5) Above all, he [Firth: BAS] rejected the current view that the linguist must start at the 'bottom' and work up…The simile that Firth liked to use in his later years was of the lift that moved freely from one level to another, without giving priority to one and without proceeding in any one direction.

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 19-20): A characteristic of the approach we are adopting here, that of systemic theory, is that it is *comprehensive*: it is concerned with language in its entirety, so that whatever is said about one aspect is understood always with reference to the total picture…[and] also *contributes* [italics in original] to the total picture.

As mentioned in previous sections studies of both intonational and registerial phenomena have been both enabled and constrained by what in SFL are considered dimensional perspectives. For example, as discussed in Section 1.2.1, in intonation study the approach to analysis has often tended to be one grounded in the stratification dimension: either from below or from above. Thus, in one type of approach the focus has tended to be on the patterns of expression, developing substantial descriptions of phonetic phenomena and their phonological patterning, but often leaving questions of grammar, semantics and context, methodologically, as optional subsequent and secondary steps (cf for example Crystal 1969 quotation in Chapter 2, footnote 31); and the instrumental, experimental and autosegmental-metrical traditions (cf Ladd

1996 and Jun 2005 for overviews). This can be contrasted with the approach from 'above' of the theoretical tradition within which Brazil, for example (Brazil 1975, 1981), and Halliday have worked, where the focus is on discourse semantics and grammar (respectively)[103].

Register study has often had either a stratal focus or been aligned according to the cline of instantiation: either a statistical, 'corpus linguistics' view of patterns in isolated formal variables (eg. Biber 1988), with only a limited or methodologically secondary focus on the functional value of these descriptions; or 'close-up' views of selected instances (eg. Halliday 1972/1973, 1985b), often with a stratal perspective dominating, but with limited data analysed[104].

Register studies treating of intonation phenomena have been from a predominantly instantial (statistically-based) perspective (eg. Crystal and Davy 1969; Johns-Lewis 1986a; Tench 1990; Carmichael 2005), although in SFL in particular, as well as in other traditions, the statistical view is often complemented by a strong stratal component supported by analysis of selected instances (cf El-Menoufy 1969 – casual conversation; Brazil, Coulthard and Johns 1981; Thompson 1995 – pedagogic

---

[103] but, cf Brazil et al (1980: 42-44) and Halliday and Greaves (2008) for more elaborated phonetic descriptions; and work in the SFL tradition such as for example Teich et al (1997) and Teich et al (2000) developing intonation descriptions for speech synthesis tasks. The point is the priorities and direction of approach in terms of the development of the description (in other words, the theoretical orientation) differs between those who follow a more 'top-down', and those who follow a more 'bottom-up' approach.

[104] and in fact unanalysable, the detailed 'view from the instance' being labour-, time- and space-intensive (cf footnote 106 below).

discourse; van Leeuwen 1982, 1985, 1992 – radio discourse; Martinec 1995 – news reading, casual conversations; Ovadia and Fine 1995 – pathological discourse; Teich et al 1997 – restricted registers, such as railway information, in person-to-machine dialogues; Bowcher 2004 – sports commentary; Nihilani and Lin 1998 – news broadcasts; Matthiessen et al 2005 – telephone sales; Halliday and Greaves 2008 – a variety of registers). Again, the dimensional perspective tends to be dictated by whether the task is an intra- or inter-registerial comparative one: the former having a more stratal, the latter a more instantial (statistical) approach.

One may find other orientations aligning with register and genre description: such as the metafunctional focus on the textual metafunction in Bowcher's (2004) work, or on the interpersonal in Teich et al (1997) and Eggins and Slade (1997); or the location at the phonological stratum of Tench's (1988; 1990: 476-514) investigation of the 'stylistic potential of intonation'; Hasan's (eg. 1984/1996, 1985/1989) and Ventola's (1987) axial focus on structure, and those and Martin's (eg. 1992) (primary) stratal orientation towards the semantic stratum. Each dimensional perspective serves a purpose for the linguistic consumer (Halliday 1964/1968).

In the present work, the multidimensional SFL framework enables multiple and detailed analytical perspectives upon the data while maintaining coherence to the overall aims - via (to use Butt's term: cf footnote 76 above) their 'semiotic addresses' on the 'map' of the dimensional framework - and comprehensiveness. The dimensions of the theory of SFL outlined above serve as organising principles in three ways: in contextualising the present work in terms of previous work in the fields; in

terms of the conduct of the investigation itself – the analyses; and the report upon that investigation presented here – the organisation of this thesis.

Another major advantage of the multidimensional framework adopted here is that it enables the explorative approach taken. The purpose of the present work is to explore two domains of SFL which, separately, and certainly together, have been under-explored: intonational systems, and register. This neglect motivates the present work; the explorative approach enabled by the multidimensional framework ensures that I am free to explore significant aspects of the phenomena as they emerge, while at the same time the exploration is guided and its findings contextualised (made relevant) at all times within the perspective of this overarching, explorative aim.

1.3.3   Resources - Praat; Data and Scope; Outline of the Present Work

1.3.3.1   Resources for Investigation and Representation of Sound: Praat

In the research investigation reported on in the present work I made extensive use of a speech analysis software called 'Praat', freely available on the internet (Boersma and Weenink 1992). Praat enables for the study of spoken text what has been freely available for the study of written text for millennia: the repeated and close-detailed analysis of the same text[105].

---

[105] The nature and no doubt primary purpose of writing being to record for later reference (cf Halliday 1985a for a discussion).

Although I have used Praat primarily as an analytical tool, it is also a useful tool for illustrative purposes. Therefore, the (hard-copy) book form in which this thesis is presented is supplemented with a CD-Rom, containing an additional appendix (Appendix 3), with: a set of Praat sound and text-grid files; and detailed (but hopefully simple-to-follow!) instructions, in Powerpoint format, on how to access and explore these. The thesis includes references at particular points where relevant throughout – although most in Chapter 2 - to this appendix and its Praat sound and text files, for the reader to consult – and become a listener (and watcher)! Praat text-grid and sound files may be accessed whereever Appendix 3 is referenced: for example, I include here the short text which introduced the present chapter (Appendix 3: Chapter 1: how's your new oven).

Although the accessing of these multimodal resources are considered non-essential to the understanding of the thesis text (appropriate to current thesis conventions), it is considered appropriate and increasingly the custom in intonation research to provide such (sound file) resources (cf for example Cruttenden 1986/1997; Jun 2005; Halliday and Greaves 2008), as many of the analytical decisions may be checked by the reader/listener by reference to these files, and often difficult aspects made simple through the direct reference to illustrative examples of spoken text (cf - for example the discussion of Ladd's rise-fall-rise intonation in Chapter 2, Sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.1). Without access to the primary data of research in the written mode, the analysis and discussion of intonation phenomena has always had this aspect as a significant handicap.

1.3.3.2   Data and Scope

The data for the present work was drawn from three sources. The data for Chapter 4 come from a corpus collected as part of an Australian Research Council funded project called the 'Systemic Safety in Surgery' project, jointly conducted by Macquarie University, Sydney University and Nepean Hospital (Cartmill et al 2007), consisting of an excerpt from discourse accompanying a surgical operation. The data for Chapters 5 and 7 come from the Macquarie-UTS corpus, being developed by Christian Matthiessen and colleagues at Macquarie University and the University of Technology, both in Sydney. Chapter 5 includes two excerpts from casual conversations, the first between friends, the second between family members. Chapter 7 has three complete telephonic sales texts facilitating the ordering of fast food. The data for Chapter 6 come from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation ("ABC") current affairs television programme 'Lateline' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2005a and b), and consist of excerpts from two interviews.

A major consideration in selecting the data was accessibility: as the analysis would extend across several sets of texts, and involve many hours of phonological analysis before the actual grammatical analyses could begin, it was considered essential that the time spent searching for and gaining access to data was minimalised. Most of the data was already in the public domain (although permission was sought and obtained from two of the principal researchers on the surgery project; as well as the ABC Lateline producers).

In terms of scope, it need not be argued here that which is so widely known: the time-consuming difficulties of the phonological analysis of spoken text[106]. It was partly in respect of this difficulty, and also because of the multidimensional explorative approach and aim, that I decided upon the approach adopted here of beginning at the instance end of the cline of instantiation and moving in only a limited way and over a limited corpus towards a view of text-type/register language (cf Chapter 4). However there is a compensatory factor in this approach: the more detailed and multifacted the analysis, the more selections one can account for in the discussion of language – that is, one instance of language use (for example, a clause or information unit) in fact represents many instances of system selections at different strata, ranks, delicacy and in different metafunctions.

My general approach, as I make clear in this thesis, is based upon the idea that register is not only analysable in terms of statistical profiling. Of course the criticism that a larger corpus would provide greater quality along one dimension and with one

---

[106] Cf Crystal (1969: 23) on his own and another's (Pittenger 1963: 142, referenced in Crystal 1969: 13) experiences in this regard:

> Transcribing the speech accurately to account for all the linguistic constrasts was a task which took well over a year – and this excludes the checking of the transcription by two other linguists. According to Pittenger…it took Hockett 25-30 hours to do the first five minutes of psychiatric interviews for *The first five minutes* [italics in original] – very rapid going. Clearly, the justifiable demands for a larger corpus can only be answered by pointing to the practical difficulties involved.

Cf also Warren's (2004: 120) comment that "It is well-known that it is both difficult and time-consuming to prosodically transcribe naturally-occurring data".

orientation along that dimension of the semiotic 'map' – that of instantiation, moving towards system subpotential – is unquestionable; my point throughout is that one need not limit oneself to one such 'semiotic address' only. Certainly in the fields of register and intonational systems, the required explorative aim demands a flexible approach, and the data and scope reflects this.

Although substantial excerpts from the corpus are included in the body of the thesis (and as Praat files throughout the following chapters), the full intonation transcription and intonational analysis is provided in Appendices 1 and 2. In Appendix 1 I present the texts transcribed for intonation with speaker turns, overlaps and interruptions included: in this view, the reader can access the texts as unfolding co-constructed dialogues. In Appendix 2 I present the transcribed texts with the Themes identified, and the analysis of textual and interpersonal intonational systems presented. These analyses are designed as a resource not just for the present work but for scholars to access for future research into the use of intonational systems within different registers, and as such include lexicogrammatical detail not taken up in the present discussion.

1.3.3.3   Outline of Thesis

In the present chapter I have introduced the present work in terms of its aims, the background to these aims, the theoretical framework and approach, and data and scope. I have spent a substantial proportion of this introductory chapter outlining the multidimensional framework of the SFL model of language, firstly, because it forms the theoretical and methodological foundation for the research upon which the present work is based, and within the context of which much of the succeeding discussions upon that research will be contextualised.

Secondly, this outline also forms a way into the more detailed discussions of both intonational and register theory and description in Chapters 2 and 3 that contextualise the present work. A third reason for their foregrounding in this chapter is that, as I mentioned earlier, they form the basis for the approach taken in the present work. In Chapter 4 I present and illustrate the approach taken in the present research via an investigation of a text: the multiparty discourse accompanying a surgical operation mentioned above. As discussed above, the move will be from a detailed consideration of the instance towards more statistically-based views of the data which are, however, firmly grounded in the earlier 'view from the instance' and its findings and emergent patterns. I will preface the analysis and its discussion with a brief discussion of relevant aspects of the situational environment in which the interactants are located, incorporating brief references to relevant work.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 I follow the general organisational framework presented in Chapter 4, with one addition: firstly, a brief review of work relevant to the data is made separately. This is then followed by the discussion of the situational aspects; then analytical and discursive views from the instance are made; which in turn motivate moves towards statistical perspectives on the data. In each of the chapters somewhat different analytical perspectives along the cline of instantiation are adopted – that is, views of different systems - this being for two reasons: firstly, the view from the instance in each case reveals different patterns of significance for each text, and it is these – the significant emergent patterns – that are taken up in and motivate the move towards statistical views; secondly, this also allows for an exploration of a variety of intonational functions and registerial phenomena, as well as views of these, to be explored.

The aim in Chapters 4 to 7 is to build up register descriptions via the exploration of functional variation within and between texts ostensibly belonging to the same 'register'. In Chapter 8 I adopt statistical comparative perspectives on the corpora of the preceding four chapters, and thus is specifically addressed to the exploration of register variation between the corpora of the four earlier analytical chapters. This part of the thesis is not intended to represent a culmination of or be a summary of the previous chapters; rather, it represents another perspective on the data, this time (relatively) further along the cline of instantiation. The discussions for each analytical view will however make reference to the findings from the earlier chapters.

The aim throughout the thesis is to explore the use of intonational systems in the meaning-making process within particular texts; and to explore significant patterns of instantiation in intonational systems within and between the texts, thus providing resources for register description in spoken language: what it means to be classed as a member of a 'register'; how register settings are instantiated, negotiated, challenged and changed; and the role intonation plays in those processes. In Chapter 9 I conclude with a short discussion of the key points emerging from the present work, the significance of its findings, its limitations, directions for future research, and some reflections on the study of intonational systems as resources for the instantiation of register language.

Chapter Two: Intonational Systems: Multidimensional Perspectives

(Halliday and Greaves 2008: 19) When we talk about the sound system of English, the significance of any category we refer to (whether a prosodic category, such as pitch movement, or an articulatory one, such as the shape and position of the tongue) will be its semogenic value — its function in the total meaning potential of the English language. This is a phonological consideration. With this distinction in mind we can specify the goals of the present work…We shall try to show how intonation contributes to the making of meaning in English, and how this topic may be investigated using modern computer-based techniques of analysis and representation. These techniques provide a much richer and more elaborate treasury of information than was available a generation or even a decade ago. They do not replace the human investigator; they do make the human investigator's work more complex — but also more thorough and more revealing.

2.1 The Present Chapter

In the present chapter I outline relevant aspects of the description of intonation and intonational systems utilised in the present work, first contextualising these within a discussion of key issues in their study. In the previous chapter I introduced the aims, background to and general theoretical framework of and basis for the approach taken in the present work. I justified the inclusion of this discussion of the dimensional framework of SFL theory in Chapter 1 on the basis that the subsequent discussions in later chapters, including the present one, depend upon an understanding of SFL multidimensional theory: that is, not only the present research but its contextualisation

within the history of research in the relevant areas will be undertaken from this multidimensional perspective. As was suggested in Chapter 1, intonation has been seen as a difficult area of study, particularly in applied linguistics. Brazil et al (1980: xiii-xiv) write that the "impression created in many teachers and learners is that intonation can combine with the speaker's choice of vocabulary and grammatical patterning to create effects of unlimited and unlearnable complexity". The multidimensional framework set out in Chapter 1 is a powerful resource for negotiating a way through this (Brazil et al 1980: xiv) "ocean of near-chaos".

The SFL framework is also seen as a way of solving one of the more intractable problems of intonation study, that of relating the different aspects of the description to each other and to the general description of the English language. As suggested in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1), many scholars have, in terms of their approach to description and analytical methodology, consistently operated from within one dimensional perspective, and one orientation within that perspective: a laboratory phoneticist or phonologist will tend to interpret the phenomena of pitch movement and other aspects of the sound signal differently to a discourse analyst or grammarian[1]. The following discussion in Section 2.2 elaborates upon this issue, by

[1] These different approaches to the study of intonation phenomena not only also makes it more tempting to be critical of works in other traditions but lowers one's capacity for doing so with the required dimensional knowledge: cf Brown, Currie and Kenworthy's (1980: 41) criticism of Halliday's placing of tone boundaries, which shows a lack of understanding of basic stratal theory, in particular the different levels of abstraction of the lexicogrammatical and phonological levels and the resultant 'mismatches' between their boundaries (cf. the discussion in Section 2.3.3 below). This is just one illustration of the (unseen) perils for those who wander into another author's theory and description with 'guns loaded'; and particularly of doing so without an accurate theoretical 'map'.

examining in detail one such dimensional perspective on intonation phenomena, that of the stratal orientation.

This then serves as context for the presentation of the SFL description, which is organised in the first instance according to the stratification dimension, but incorporating other dimensions - metafunction, rank, axis and delicacy – as organisational subheadings. Space forbids no more than a brief outline of all the relevant aspects of the SFL description of intonation and intonational systems: for a comprehensive description with extensive illustration the reader may consult Halliday (1967a, 1970a) and Halliday and Greaves (2008)[2]. Likewise, only relatively brief accounts of other descriptions of English intonation and the place of the SFL description within the wider field is possible in the present work: for discussions of these aspects cf Halliday and Greaves (2008) and Greaves (2007).

2.2 The Study of Intonation: Stratal Perspectives

(Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964: 9-11): The term 'linguistic sciences' covers two closely related but distinct subjects: linguistics and phonetics. They are closely related because they look at the same material, language, with the same aim, that of finding out how it works. They are distinct because they look at different aspects of language and need different methods to describe these aspects…As far as those working in the linguistics sciences are concerned, they tend to be specialists either in linguistics or in phonetics.

---

[2] The appendices of both Halliday 1970a and Halliday and Greaves (2008) contain extensive illustrative analyses of texts.

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1) I briefly reviewed the history of intonation research and description in terms of some of the key contextual influences and motivations and their resultant effects on the development of the field. I claimed that certain issues emerge from such a review: in particular the influence of the (for example pedagogic) purposes of different descriptions; and, relatedly, the distinction between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches (cf discussion of 'trinocular vision' in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.2). In this section I continue those discussions in more detail.

2.2.1 The View from 'Below'

As suggested in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1), the stratally 'bottom-up' approach underlies most if not all works employing instrumental and experimental laboratory phonology techniques for the study of 'suprasegmental' phenomena (eg. Fry 1958; Lehiste 1970; Pierrehumbert 1980; Cutler and Ladd 1983; t'Hart, Collier and Cohen 1990; Ladd 1996, Jun 2005), including the dominant autosegmental-metrical tradition of intonation description[3]. The value of this approach is certainly justified with

---

[3] I do not mean to suggest that higher-strata concerns haven't been present in work within this tradition: as Ladd points out (1996: 12) "much of the work" in the "'instrumental' or 'phonetic' tradition…focussed on discovering the acoustic cues to several specific intonational phenomena" such as "syntactic/pragmatic notions like 'finality', 'continuation', and 'interrogation'…" (cf for example, Terken and Hirschberg 1994 and Baumann and Grice 2006 for discussions of the semantics of the Given-New distinction; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990; Hirschberg 2000). The point I make is that this type of investigation tends to be focussed at and proceed from the perspective of the phonetic, rather than the higher strata; and, more importantly for the present discussion, the theoretical basis of approach in this tradition privileges the phonetic description: the theoretical perspectives on the higher-strata phenomena (the 'syntactic/pragmatic notions') or phenomena are rarely problematised themselves (again, cf the Schubiger quote from Chapter One, Section 1.2.1, which assumes the

respect to certain purposes: the ToBI[4] phonological transcription system, for example – based on the autosegmental-metrical theory[5] – has had as one of its primary purposes to provide a (Beckman et al 2005: 12) "set of consensus tags for intonation and prosody" analogous to those developed for the Penn Treebank project, which would serve as an international standard and theoretical lingua franca for "the Natural Language Processing community"[6]; but it was also (Beckman et al 2005: 13) "intended for a use by an even larger community of end users" including the description of (Jun 2005: 1) "multiple languages in the same theoretical framework"[7], and so was based upon the principle (Beckman et al 2005: 13) "that conventions should be easy enough to teach that their use is not restricted to a few experts".

---

prevailing 'form before function' modus operandi). These are, however, only tendencies: that is, as Matthiessen points out (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1, footnote 54), these are registers of metalanguage.

[4] "ToBI" is an acronym standing for 'Tones and Break Indices' (cf Jun 2005).

[5] cf Goldsmith (1989). For a concise summary of the principles of the A-M approach cf Ladd (1992); for a more detailed discussion cf Ladd (1996). For examples of work in this tradition cf Jun (2005).

[6] Cf quotation from Teich et al (2000) in footnote 38 on the functions of the ToBI system.

[7] Cf also Hirst and Di Christo's "INTSINT" (eg. 1998) – 'INternational Transcription System for INTonation' - which is however distinguished as a phonetic rather than phonological transcription system (Hirst and Di Christo 1998: 14):

> [T]he authors of ToBI have pointed out…that they do not believe it can be used directly for describing other languages or dialects, since, like a broad phonemic transcription, it presupposes that the inventory of tonal patterns of the language is already established. By contrast, INTSINT can be considered the equivalent of a narrow phonetic transcription and can consequently be used for gathering data on languages which have not already been described.

However, here as elsewhere, one must also be careful in interpreting the use of terms, in this case 'phonetics' and 'phonology': cf Hirst and Di Christo's (1998: 6-7) division of these into the 'physical' and 'cognitive' (perceptive) levels, which is distinct from Halliday's use of these terms.

One might have expected that with the advent of increasingly powerful (recording and computational) technologies available during the twentieth century for analysing the sound signal that the precise nature of the phonetic and phonological description would have been made easier, via the simple process of observation. Yet although these analytical resources have certainly enabled a more detailed and accurate view of the material aspects of intonation phenomena[8], even at this (phonetic) level of description there is not, to this day, full agreement about the description of the physical phenomena that realise phonological systems of intonation, nor of the phonological categories the phonic phenomena realise[9].

For example, pitch movement[10] is of course implicated in most intonation descriptions[11]; but there has been a longstanding debate about whether to interpret and

---

[8] Cf discussion which introduces Halliday and Greaves (2008) on the nature of sound and its various descriptive interpretations for different purposes.

[9] cf discussion in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1) on the phenomenal realms and their study. Intonation is of course a semiotic subsystem; but being a semiotic subsystem, it is also manifested socially, biologically and physically. In relation to 'pitch', one of the issues is the phonetic interface to the material manifestation: not only in terms of the physical manifestations (acoustic: frequency in sound waves); but also the biological manifestations (both auditory-perceptual, including the perception of pitch, and articulatory, including vocal cord vibration). Thanks are due to Matthiessen (pers. comm.) for these observations.

[10] It should be noted that 'pitch' is itself an abstraction, the auditory interpretation of fundamental frequency or, as Gussenhoven (2004: 1) puts it, "the auditory sensation of tonal height", and as such is, as Ladd (1996: 252) puts it, "an anomalous feature". Other acoustic phenomena, such as temporal duration, loudness, intensity and temporal isochrony have been implicated in the phonetic description of intonation and prosody (for a discussion cf Lieberman 1967; Crystal 1969; Lehiste 1970). It should be noted in this regard that even something as seemingly 'concrete' and unambiguous as a vowel or

represent pitch change as a sequence of independent but related pitch events (segmental perspective)[12] or pitch contours (prosodic perspective)[13]. The actual phonetic description is inextricably intertwined with the issue of its theoretical (abstract) interpretation as the expression of (meaning-making, i.e. phonological) systems.

For example, Ladd (1996: 44) illustrates his argument for the (segmentally-based) linear approach to intonation phenomena employed in the autosegmental model by comparing two language exchanges which in the contour approach would be analysed as having the same, in the autosegmental approach, different phonological descriptions. Each exchange has the same question: "I hear Sue's taking

---

consonant in segmental phonetic description represents in fact an interpretive, perceptual abstraction out of the coincidence of several physical phenomena, seen from an articulatory phonetic perspective: such as that of the coarticulation of tongue and lips to form the sound represented as [w]. What we interpret as /w/ - a systemic choice - is in fact the result of the interpretation of a confluence of physical events and their acoustic and perceptual result.

[11] Hirst and Di Christo (1998: 4): "One the physical level, intonation is used to refer to variations of one or more acoustic parameters. Of these, fundamental frequency (F_0) [italics in original] is universally acknowledged to be the primary parameter".

[12] Pitch movement as a sequence of (Ladd 1996: 43) "discrete intonational events" - pitch accents - rather than as a unitary contour phenomenon. According to Crystal (1969: 45) "Bloomfield (1933) was the first to apply the prior determined techniques of segmental phonemic analysis to intonation, notating distinctive segments only".

[13] (cf Bolinger 1951; Ladd 1996: 60). (Bolinger 1972: 14):

> There is wide agreement among linguists on the units of sound that make distinctions in word meanings. There is no such agreement on the units of intonation…Some have argued that an intonation contour consists of a succession of levels, others that it is a succession of changes in direction…

a course to be a driving instructor". The two exchanges have different replies: the first is a single word and syllable "Sue"; the second three words and several words, "A driving instructor" (cf Appendix 3, Chapter 2_Ladd_example), as illustrated in the Praat picture in Figure 2 below[14]:
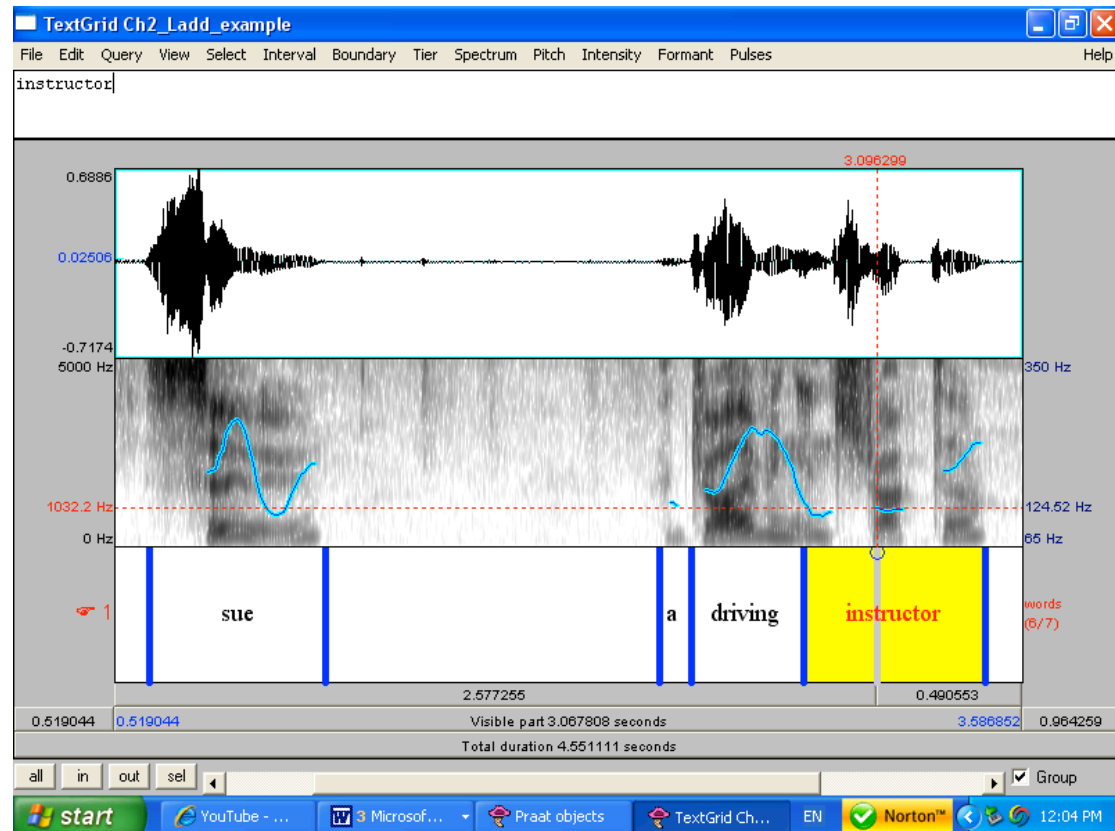
Figure 2: Ladd's (1996: 44) rise-fall-rise examples

According to Ladd, from the perspective of autosegmental-metrical theory (Ladd 1996: 44) [italics throughout in original]:

> We are not dealing with a global rise-fall-rise *shape* that applies holistically to an entire utterance…The rise-fall-rise shape that spanned the entire one-syllable utterance in *Sue!?* is not simply stretched out over the six-syllable utterance here. Instead, the contour is seen to consist of a sequence of at least two discrete events, an accentual feature consisting of a rise through a prominent syllable (here *driv-*) followed by a fall, and an edge tone

---

[14] Note: the blue line represents (not always accurately) an approximation of the fundamental frequency (F_0). The intersection of the dotted red lines indicates the F_0 for that point.

68

consisting of a rise during the last few tenths of a second of the utterance. The low level stretch on the syllables *-ing instruct-* is simply a transition between these two events…A description in these terms gives us a simple but accurate way of describing how the tune in question is applied to texts with varying numbers of syllables and different stress patterns.

Ladd goes on to write (1996: 44-45):

By breaking down the contour into component parts in this way, we do not, of course, preclude the possibility of larger units…In the example just given, we have not questioned the existence of a 'rise-fall-rise' nuclear tone in English, but have simply been more explicit about its internal structure. The rise-fall-rise unit can be seen as a composite or superordinate unit…

Ladd's interpretation is thus located within a particular theoretical tradition with its own purposes and perspectives, and isn't meant to be an invalidation of the 'contour' perspective. In Ladd's view, the term 'phonology' is to be interpreted in terms of the phonetic description, as an abstraction from patterned and significant physical events. As I will show below (Section 2.2.2), phonology may also be interpreted in terms of a prosodic and meaning-based theory of language phenomena, which thus enables the reinterpretation of the sound signal. In Ladd's example, although in the second utterance it is clear that there are, in acoustic (phonetic) terms, two 'discrete events'[15] – in pitch: a rise-fall, and another rise - these phonetic 'facts' are not themselves necessarily the only determining factor for the phonological description: meaning can also play a role in the phonological interpretation.

---

[15] just as there are two distinct articulatory events in the phonetic realisation of the phoneme /w/: the raising of the velum and rounding of the lips.

The point is that the bottom-up approach is adapted for particular purposes - the concentration on and standardised modelling of the phonetic stratum and its patterning has particularly been a valuable resource for speech synthesis tasks (cf footnote 38 below), and language typology studies (Jun 2005) - and within a particular perspective adds to the understanding of the nature of intonation. However, once it has been recognised in terms of its dimensional orientation – i.e. in terms of the stratification dimension – this approach may also be appreciated in terms of its potential contribution to other models of language. For example, the two 'discrete events' in the instances discussed above, both as accents and as pitch movements, can be seen as agnate to other similar events (for example, other accents; a simple falling tone; or a rising tone), and thus a meaning-based interpretation is given new material with which to work[16]. The present work draws partly upon this tradition and its description of pitch accents for the proposal of an addition to the description of intonational systems to account for the functional (textual) significance of the instantiation of accents in speech (cf Section 2.3.3.1.1.3 below).

The instrumental and experimental laboratory traditions have added much in the way of knowledge about the characteristics of the physical sound signal and their perception (cf for example Fry 1958; Lieberman 1967; Lehiste 1970), and the concrete aspects of the sound signal remain an attractive field of study for those in

---

[16] Halliday (eg. 1967a), for example, interprets the meaning of the complex pitch contours – the falling-rising and rising-falling contours – in terms of a combination of their component falling and rising parts.

linguistics who value the rigorousness of instrumental and experimental science[17]. The extensive work from within the segmental tradition (including Pike's pioneering 1945 work) on the (semantic) analysis of pitch accents has contributed much to our understanding of intonation phenomena as well as particular perspectives on their functions (cf for example Cutler and Ladd 1983; Johns-Lewis 1986c; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990; Terken and Hirschberg 1994; Kohler 2006; Baumann and Grice 2006).

Crystal (1969: 97-125; 177 for a summary) and others looking from the perspective of the description of acoustic and articulatory phonetics - as, much earlier, did Steele, Sweet and Jones - were able to identify phenomena which lay outside of most 'top-down' meaning- or grammar-based descriptions: such as the various aspects of voice quality[18], syllable length and pausing, loudness, tension, tempo and variations in pitch not included in the usual (semantically-based) pitch contour approach. Many of these phenomena have since been incorporated into accounts of the meaning potential of language: van Leeuwen, for example, has shown in his *Speech, Music, Sound* (1999) how these and other aural parameters may be employed by humans semiotically, developing descriptions of the meaning potential of distinctions such as tense/lax, rough/smooth, soft/loud, high/low, vibrato/plain and other phenomena such as breathiness and nasality.

---

[17] Indeed in the former case for these scholars there is to a large extent little other option, instrumental techniques having access only to the analysis of the physical sound signal.

[18] 'timbre', for Sweet (1877: 97): cf Crystal (1969: 121-23) for a discussion.

In fact the variety of theoretical interpretations of pitch and other such phenomena derives as much from the continued renewal of attention to the sound stream and its significant aspects as from the application of new and different theoretical frameworks to the familiar phenomena of intonation. Scholars such as Brazil, and Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (Selting 1988; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 1993, 2001; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001) and the schools of linguistics with which they are associated, working with a strong orientation to the sound signal and its study, have incorporated and reinterpreted aspects of intonation and other prosodic phenomena into descriptions capable of being applied to text analysis of discursive interactions.

For example, in Brazil's case (1975), onset[19] pitch height was interpreted as the realisation of his system of 'key'[20]; while van Leeuwen (1982, 1984, 1985, 1992) and Martinec (1995, 2000), and Couper-Kuhlen and colleagues also (Couper-Kuhlen 1993; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996), have focussed on rhythm and pitch accents in naturally-occurring spoken language as a way in to a discussion of the phonological resources of speech within a wider semiotic perspective. Van Leeuwen derived insights into particular types of social context through a consideration of the use of these phonological resources. Martinec has built upon van Leeuwen's separation of tone group and rhythmic and pitch accent phenomena to develop an account of the

---

[19] Note: for Brazil 'onset' refers to the first prominent syllable (Ictus: cf Section 2.3.2 below) in a tonic segment, not (as in Halliday and Greaves 2008 and many other phonological descriptions) the first articulation of a syllable: i.e. it is a statement at the rank not of syllable, but of tone group.

[20] Again, a distinct use of the term from that of Halliday – 'KEY' - for whom this is a system realised through the phonological system of TONE (cf Section 2.3.3.2 below).

way in which segmentation of the speech stream into isochronic units is utilised to make textual meaning at all levels of text.

Couper-Kuhlen and associates identify rhythm as the prosodic realisation of interactional integration or non-integration in dialogic turn-taking, and thereby are able, like van Leeuwen and Martinec, to extend the description of the significance of these phonological resources to include social context phenomena. For these scholars a strong and recurrent orientation to the phonetic and phonological strata, together with a context- or discourse-based perspective, has enabled the reinterpretation of old and identification of new meaning-bearing phenomena at the lower strata. As the following remarks by van Leeuwen (1996: 192-93), relating the use of sound in different cultures and its theoretical interpretation, suggest, the bottom-up approach is a source of renewal for both language and linguistics:

> One thing is clear. The movement is 'from the bottom up'. There has to be a 'medium' before there can be a 'mode'[21]. And if semiotic articulation and interpretation are not to stagnate in eternal repetition, they have to be able, from time to time, to go back to the source, to reconnect with the meaning potentials that are opened up by our physical experience of materiality and our social experience of the 'otherness' of other times and cultures.

2.2.2   The View from 'Above'

For many of those with pedagogic aims, equipping learners of the English language meant providing them with semantic and grammatical, as well as phonological and phonetic knowledge; and so these scholars tended towards a top-down, rather than bottom-up, and holistic, rather than analytical approach: the aims of these intonation

---

[21] For van Leeuwen "medium" means 'non-systemic', 'concrete', "mode" means 'systemic', 'abstract'.

descriptions were to enable the use of intonation by learners of English, with pronunciation as an aspect of that. It is to such scholars – those working from the discourse-semantic and grammatical perspectives: the view from 'above' – that we owe most in terms of our understanding of the role intonation phenomena play in language as a whole.

O'Connor and Arnold, for example, whose (O'Connor and Arnold 1961: vii) "practical text-book" "is intended first and foremost for the foreign learner of English"[22], approach intonation from the perspective of (O'Connor and Arnold 1961: 1) "three major premises": that intonation is significant, making distinctions in meaning (a phonological statement) independent of the words; that intonation is systematic – there are a "limited number of pitch patterns in any one language"; and that intonation is characteristic for each language – perhaps the most important insight, that intonation is arbitrary, conventional, having to be learnt for each language (an insight derived from the pedagogic implications of moving from one language into another).

---

[22] And note, as per the point about the purposes of descriptions motivating their nature, that as a result (O'Connor and Arnold 1961: vii) "we have limited our discussion of intonation theory to an indispensible minimum, so as to be able to include the maximum amount of drill material". This can be compared to works such as those of Ladd (1996), the entirety of which are in effect discussions of intonation theory and description.

For O'Connor and Arnold intonation is therefore seen in terms of "sense groups" - a telling use of term[23]. They distinguish six tunes, based on both the falling-rising distinction (with combinations thereof) and pitch excursion (height of the fall/rise). There is, as with most works in this approach, a reasonably detailed discussion of the "anatomy of English intonation" and then of "intonation and meaning" (these are two chapter titles), based from the semantic perspective on the use of the tunes with statements, questions, commands and the like. The rest of the book (more than two thirds) is taken up with drills for the student, following the same pattern of organisation[24].

Halliday's description itself is driven by a top-down approach, hence his oft-quoted remarks below - although the bottom-up approach is also evident in the first of these (Halliday 1963a/2005: 238-39):

> In phonology we make a separate abstraction from phonic substance, and represent this in statements which show how the given language organizes its phonic resources in such a way as to carry (or "expound") its grammatical and lexical patterns…Whenever we describe a language we are concerned with meaning, and all contrast in meaning can be stated either in

---

[23] although the weakness of the semantic approach in terms of phonetic description can be seen in their cursory description of the realisation of sense groups (O'Connor and Arnold 1961: 5): "They are usually separated from each other by pauses". Scholars such as Crystal (1969: 204-07) have shown tone-group division to be more than a simple matter of pausing, involving in particular a 'step-up' in pitch to the first accented syllable of the new tone group. Van Leeuwen (1992) discusses his analogous concept of JUNCTURE in terms of several parameters, the most important being disturbance in the rhythmic isochronic patterning of accented syllables.

[24] This approach and organisation is characteristic of many works in the pedagogic field (eg. Schubiger 1958; Halliday 1970a).

grammar or in lexis. If we regard intonation as meaningful…then we should seek to state the place which such choices occupy relative to the total set of formal patterns in the language…The decision whether a given system that happens to be expounded by intonation is to figure in the grammar or not is a grammatical, not a phonological, decision[25].

Halliday's debt to his pedagogic antecedents is obvious in his meaning-based approach[26], although more theoretically-oriented and phonetics-based works are also important influences[27]. But it was particularly Firth's meaning-based approach to linguistic theory in general that formed a major impetus for Halliday's description of intonation, particularly in its prosodic and (poly)systemic aspects. Most importantly, Halliday's description of intonation is located within a general linguistic framework, with the same principles of organisation operating in the description of the general theory (the dimensions discussed in Chapter 1) applying to the description of intonation. I will present Halliday's description in detail in the next section, as it forms the basis for the present work.

For Brazil (1975, 1978), like Halliday, the aim was also partly pedagogic (cf Brazil, Coulthard and Johns 1980), being informed by and located within a general theory of discourse adapted for the study of the spoken discourse of classroom interactions (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Coulthard 1977). In fact both Brazil's

---

[25] Considering the autosegmental-metrical approach discussed above in Section 2.2.1, Halliday might have added "not a phonetic decision" to this sentence.

[26] and also in the bibliographies for his early works, for example, in Halliday (1967a): Palmer (1922), Armstrong and Ward (1926/1931), Schubiger (1958), O'Connor and Arnold (1961).

work, and the general linguistic theory within which it was located acknowledge a debt to Halliday's approach to language description[28], in particular key principles such as rank and delicacy, as well as to Firth (cf Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) in his levels and meaning-based approach and various others interested in language as discourse interaction. A major contribution of Brazil and his colleagues was to show the way in which intonation is used in discourse and his intonation description can be used as a resource for general discourse analysis tasks[29].

As with my comments about those employing the bottom-up approach (cf footnote 3 above), many of those working from a top-down approach also include detailed phonetic description, employing what Firth called the process of 'shunting' whereby no particular stratal perspective is privileged, but is subordinate to the overall perspective afforded by multiple and complementary views of the 'data'[30]. However, the point here as in Section 2.2.1 is that the basic theoretical underpinnings of the approach of the scholars discussed in this section is that based upon semantic and grammatical perspectives: as the Halliday quote above suggests, the phonological

---

[27] Cf again the bibliography for Halliday (1967a): eg. Jones (1956), Jassem (1952), Crystal and Quirk (1964).

[28] Brazil's (1975) bibliography is remarkably similar to Halliday's (1970a) work.

[29] The body of work applying Brazil's framework is testament to this quality of his work: cf Hewings (1990), Coulthard (1992).

[30] Data which itself changes depending on the observer's perspective: whether, for example, one is looking from the perspective of turn-taking strategies (discourse semantics) or the analysis of fundamental frequency (instrumental phonetics).

systems are determined ultimately by considerations of meaning[31]; although phonetic considerations are equally important in the description[32].

Humans are semiotically-driven beings: we make meaning (to communicate contextual purpose) out of anything available. From this perspective, all aspects of physical phenomena associated with communication become potential material for semiosis, a principle that mediates between the material and the semiotic realms. What is remarkable in the development of understandings of intonation is the way in which different theoretical perspectives operating within the context of diverse linguistic purposes have added such a rich variety of views of the same phenomena, and the way also in which different phenomena have been revealed and known phenomena reinterpreted by each new approach.

In the next section I will outline the SFL description of intonation and intonational systems. I will argue for this description as answering my own particular research needs; but acknowledge here that this isn't to be taken to imply that the SFL

---

[31] Compare this with, for example, Crystal's approach, which can hardly be said to be meaning-based (Crystal 1969: 18):

> All that emphasising a formal, as opposed to a 'semantic' or 'notional' approach to description implies is that, procedurally, considerations of meaning…do not enter in until a stable basis of formerly defined features has been determined. Then a more satisfactory classification of meanings can be carried out. Moreover, considerations of meaning enter in as criteria for discriminating between various kinds of formal contrast, as a method of indicating where linguistic significance may be said to lie.

One wonders then upon what basis these 'formally defined features' are identified in the first instance as (potentially?) significant to the subsequent semantic description.

[32] Cf for example the detailed phonetic descriptions in Halliday 1970a.

approach is 'superior' or the final word even for the present or any other research. What the SFL theory does do that is perhaps uniquely valuable to the above discussion and the present work is that, via the dimensions which underlie the global organisation of its model, it enables the integration of what Schubiger (1958: 175) referred to as a "mosaic of partly concordant, partly divergent opinions" on the functions of intonation into a coherent description which is thus both enriched by them, and adds value to them by this recontextualisation: that is, it is a resource for studying both intonation phenomena, and the various descriptive accounts of its nature, as the stratal perspective above shows.

2.3 Intonational Systems: The Multidimensional SFL Description

2.3.1 Introduction

In the previous section I outlined some of the issues in the recent history of intonation study from within the perspective of the dimension of stratification, arguing that it is from this view that much of significance in the development of the field may be perceived and understood - at least, it was one principled way into the discussion of the development of intonation theory. In this section I will detail the SFL theoretical description of intonation and intonational systems, which forms the main resource for the analyses and discussion of these phenomena in the present work.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.1), when Halliday first formulated his general theory of linguistics (1961) and the description of intonation which formed a part of it (1963a and b/2005) several of what were later to become the dimensions of SFL theory – including the terms 'system' and 'function' – were present or at least

implicated, although not all were identified explicitly as the organising principles of the multidimensional SFL model they later came to be. The concept of function, for example, and the stratal dimension which models it, is crucial to the understanding of Halliday's description of intonation.

Firstly, the concept of function implies different levels of description: that is, phonetics, phonology, grammar and semantics are seen to be in functional relationships. This means that in working on a phonetic description (or in fact in studying sound) one is also thinking in terms of the other levels: how to describe a particular sound phenomenon in terms of its organisation into phonological systems to realise grammatical categories which themselves realise semantics. On the one hand one distinguishes in the theory between the description of sound, of the phonological organisation of sound, and of its functions (in making meaning); on the other hand these separate levels of description are indissolubly interrelated through realisation: each utterance is a unified act involving systemic resources described at all these strata at once. The stratal dimension is what allowed Halliday to clearly distinguish, in a model that has changed remarkably little since its early formulations[33], between

---

[33] But cf Thompson et al (2001: 136-137), where Halliday identifies one important shift. For some, the unchanging nature of Halliday's description may be cause for criticism; however, such criticism would miss the point, that the original formulation was based upon fundamental principles of theoretical design. The principles haven't changed – although their formulation has become more explicit and elaborate (cf Matthiessen quote at the head of Section 1.3.1, Chapter 1) – hence the description in turn hasn't changed. But this is not to imply that there is no more work to be done, as scholars such as van Leeuwen have shown, the investigation of the 'semiotics of sound' is in a sense only just beginning.

the different aspects and uses of the phonological description (Halliday 1963a/2005: 238-239):

> The view that phonological statements represent an abstraction from phonic data that is independent of the abstraction made at the formal levels, and that this status enables the linguist to describe more powerfully the exponents of the formal items and categories, does not mean that the phonology cannot be "polysystemic" in the sense that different phonological systems can be recognized to account for different sets of formal contrasts…however…In English intonation we can, and I think should, set up a single independent phonological system irrespective of the very many different roles that are played by (different selections of) its terms in English grammar.

The way in which the stratal theory unifies the descriptions at the different stratal into a single coherent, meaning-based account may be illustrated by a return to the Ladd example discussed in Section 2.2.1 above. From the multiple perspectives of the SFL approach there are several things going on at once in both of the utterances quoted from Ladd in the previous section; and also a functional unity between them both. In terms of their agnateness, the (sharp)[34] fall-rise serves to add a sense of (interpersonal) challenge, demanding a response to the information given. The exact same sense of challenge is common to both Ladd's examples: the fact of the phonological choice realising this grammatical (KEY: cf Section 2.3.3.2 below) choice being realised differently in the two utterances is in fact a result of the difference in the (lexicogrammatical content of the) utterances themselves, and of the

---

[34] There is no distinction in Ladd's account between the sharp rise-fall-rise here – the 'pointed' tone 2 in Halliday's TONE system (cf Halliday 1970a: 16-17, 33) - and the smoother (rise)-fall-rise of Halliday's tone 4 (Halliday 1970a: 18, 34): cf Section 2.3.2 below.

prosodic nature of interpersonal meaning (including at the phonetic strata) and not of there being different phonological choices[35].

This (interpersonal) fact is ((meta)functionally and phonologically, though not phonetically) distinct from the fact of there being one accent in the first, two in the second utterance[36]: the former fact – the sense of challenge - is a realisation of interpersonal meaning (the enactment of social relations in the exchange); the latter – the placement of accents - of textual meaning (the way meanings are organised as text and related to the context of the text, including the context of the preceding text). In the second utterance, the first accent is also distinct from the second in terms of metafunctional value: the first accent is the locus of the interpersonal meaning having as its domain the entire utterance, as well as its textual focus, by virtue of the main pitch contour movement (pitch and temporal excursion) occurring here; the second accent is the locus of the textual status of that word only, and adds no interpersonal meaning to the utterance[37]. The Ladd interpretation anatomises (phoneticises) the

---

[35] It is in the phonetic description that the component parts of the sharp fall-rise tone are described; in terms of the phonological description, there is simply a systemic choice amongst a discrete set of options, in this case including a choice at a secondary level of delicacy (cf discussion in Section 2.3.2 below).

[36] Note also that the accent and major pitch movement in the second utterance is actually on the second syllable of the lexical item 'instructor', and not on the final syllable upon which the substantial part of the pitch movement occurs. This is another aspect of the need to differentiate between phonological and phonetic description: the final rise merely continues the contour begun on the second syllable, which is therefore the locus of its instantiation.

[37] The fact of there being a significant pitch rise at the end of this utterance is a consequence of the prosodic organization of the expression of interpersonal meaning (Halliday 1979/2002; Matthiessen

phonological description of the utterance; Halliday's functionalises (semanticises) it[38].

The general SFL theory of metafunction, stratification and rank, as applied to intonational phenomena, means that the different phonetic events can be distinguished and interpreted phonologically, in terms of the role they play in making (stratally higher, and metafunctionally distinct) meanings.

In Halliday and Greaves (2008) the authors recontextualise Halliday's description of intonation from within the multi-dimensional framework discussed in Chapter 1. The description is in most respects the same as that presented in the early work; but what is remarkable about the contemporary construal of that description is the light that four decades of understanding of the theoretical principles that underlay the original description has cast upon it.

1988), such that the realisation of the (single) TONE choice spreads across the entire unit. The rise at the end, as with Ladd's other 'Sue' example, indicates the (interpersonal) TONE choice (sharp fall-rise), not a second (textual) tonic (accent: cf Section 2.3.2 below for a discussion of these terms).

[38] Teich et al (2000), comparing the SFL (called "SFG": 'systemic functional grammar') and ToBI descriptions, have shown how the two may in fact be seen as complementary and related for the purposes of constructing 'concept-to-speech' computational systems for speech generation (Teich et al 2000: 834):

> The goal of the comparison has been to establish equivalents between them. The motivation behind this is to make the two systems collaborate in concept-to-speech generation: ToBI is a phonetic-phonological approach to the description of intonation, SFG offers a linguistic approach to intonation, focussing on the meaningful intonation patterns. ToBI is widely used in speech synthesis, SFG is widely used in natural language generation.

Teich et al establish (2000: 834) "some basic matches between the SFG tunes and ToBI sequences of pitch accents and edge tones", as well as between the SFG 'foot' and the non-nuclear 'pitch accents' in ToBI (cf Section 2.3.2 below).

Halliday and Greaves locate their work, firstly, within the perspective of the phenomenal realms model discussed by Matthiessen earlier (2004a: cf Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1), then relating these to the range of theoretical perspectives on intonation and other phonic phenomena (for example, the autosegmental, IPO (t'Hart et al 1990), and Optimality Theory (based on generative grammar) approaches). Working from the bottom-up, but with the overall picture always, theoretically speaking, in mind, the authors provide an introduction to the SFL theory and description of intonational systems designed to make clear to the reader (and listener: the work has sound files attached, of which the reader is exhorted to avail themselves) the way in which their description is to be properly interpreted.

Many of the criticisms and misunderstandings of the earlier construal of the description are dealt with in clear and engaging prose. Of equal significance and value is the detailed analyses that are included in the appendices, including sound files which the reader/listener can access, thus having direct access to the data upon which the discussions are based. For a text-based approach such as Halliday and Greaves's, this attribute of the work is crucial.

In the next sections I present a brief account of the SFL description, in the first instance from the perspective of the stratification dimension, in the description at the phonological stratum - incorporating the phonetic description of the realisation of the phonological categories – with the rank and delicacy dimensions also involved. With the move to the lexicogrammatical stratum the organisational principle is that of metafunction, with again rank and delicacy as well as axis implicated in the discussion. As mentioned earlier, the description I present below is in most respects

that presented in Halliday and Greaves (2008; cf also Halliday 1967a, 1970a), except where otherwise indicated.

2.3.2   *The Phonological Stratum (Incorporating the Phonetic Stratum)*

For Halliday and Greaves (2008: 15), "[i]n English the phonological rank scale is made up of the tone unit (also referred to as "tone group")[39], foot, syllable and phoneme, with (for some purposes) introduction of a hemisyllable consisting of onset plus rhyme". The tone group is the site for three systems: TONALITY (the chunking of the speech stream into tone groups by pitch contours), TONICITY (the location of a pitch contour, called the tonic element, in a tone group[40]) and TONE (the type of pitch contour: whether rising, falling, or a combination of these). The foot is the site for two systems: RHYTHM (chunking of the speech stream into feet by accents (beats)) and SALIENCE (location in the speech stream of an accent, called an Ictus[41]).

---

[39] Sequences of tone groups are together interpreted to form a tone group complex (Halliday 1967a; Halliday and Greaves 2008) although this is properly a statement at the lexicogrammatical stratum of description (cf discussion of logical use of tone in Section 2.3.3.3 below).

[40] This statement, as with others in Halliday's phonological description (such as discussed in the previous footnote), needs contextualisation within the description at the higher lexicogrammatical stratum: TONICITY is the phonological realisation of a higher-strata grammatical category which gains its systemic valeur with respect to its mapping onto other lexicogrammatical entities (cf Section 2.3.3.1 below). These comments apply also to the Ictus, below.

[41] Variously known otherwise as an 'accent', 'pitch accent', 'stress', 'sentence stress'; or as Ladd (1996: 286: footnote 2) put it, "The terminology in the general area of 'accent' is really a mess". Likewise there has been a longstanding debate about the physical expression of this phonological category in sound (cf Fry 1958; Ladd 1996: 45-51): although for many (eg. Bolinger 1958;

The conventions for transcribing intonation into the written form are as follows: a double forward slash - // - indicates a tone group boundary (TONALITY)[42]; an asterisk followed by a forward slash - */[43] - indicates a tonic syllable (TONICITY) follows; a numeral after the double forward slash - eg. //1 - means tone choice (TONE); a single forward slash - / - indicates a foot boundary (RHYTHM) followed by an Ictus; a caret - ^ - indicates a silent beat (Ictus): i.e. either a new utterance (as for example after a change of speaker) begins with an unstressed syllable; or there is a rhythmic absence of a syllable on a 'beat' in a continuous stream of speech (which I call a Pause)[44]. The transcription and Praat picture (Figure 3) below (cf Appendix 3:

Pierrehumbert 1980) pitch change is the primary or exclusive physical parameter, for others other physical parameters such as intensity (perceived as loudness) or duration are implicated. With respect to the latter, scholars such as Abercrombie (1965), Halliday, van Leeuwen, and in particular Couper-Kuhlen (eg 1993: cf this work by Couper-Kuhlen for a review of literature on this topic) and associates identify rhythm itself – the patterned organization of (pitch or temporal) phonic prominences - as the realisation of accent, the latter two authors via the creation of temporal isochrony: the patterned occurrence in time of perceptually prominent syllables sets up (Couper-Kuhlen 1993) a 'perceptual gestalt' within the context of which succeeding syllables are interpreted as either being accented or not.

[42] The first syllable in the tone group, unless preceded by a caret symbol ^, is an Ictus (and, in Brazil's system, the 'onset').

[43] Note: in the case of there being only one foot, or in the instance of a compound tone, only two feet, the asterix/es is/are ellipsed as being redundant.

[44] For Halliday (1963a/2005: 244): "A pause is defined as silence which effects a break in the rhythm". In the present work, a Pause is a functional category, realised through a silent beat in an established rhythm, which is used for meaningful effect. Note also that a dash immediately following a letter indicates a word which crosses boundaries; which is to be distinguished from a dash after a space following a word, by which interruptions or other truncations of speech in the data are indicated.

Chapter 2_transcription conventions_phonological rank scale) illustrate the transcription system used in the present work and the elements of the phonological rank scale, using the second of the texts from the data corpus of the present work (Chapter 6: interviews) included in Chapter 1 (Section 1.1) (Appendix 1: A1.3.1; Appendix 2: A2.4.1: IU[45]s 7-13; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_transcription conventions_phonological rank scale)[46]:

//1 ^ this / latest reve- */ lation that in //1 fact as / far back as No- */ vember of last //1 year // //2_ DIMIA //4 */ started to / think that in //1+ fact your / sister was Au- */ stralian //5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //

---

[45] "IUs" = 'information units': this is the abbreviation used in the numbering of information units in the data.

[46] I have transcribed the text into conventional orthographic representation – rather than phonetic script - for ease of reading, a convention that will be followed through the present work. I have analysed only the first two of each of the syllable and feet units, but all of the tone groups. Note that the boundaries at all ranks are not precise: as the perceptual point of greatest prominence is (roughly) the beginning of the Rhyme (Cf Couper-Kuhlen 1993 for a discussion of the identification of the 'P-Centre'), the syllabic and thus foot and tone group boundaries should appear at these points accordingly. However, again for ease of reading, I have followed conventional articulatory phonological principles and placed the boundaries where the phoneme, rather Rhyme, begins.
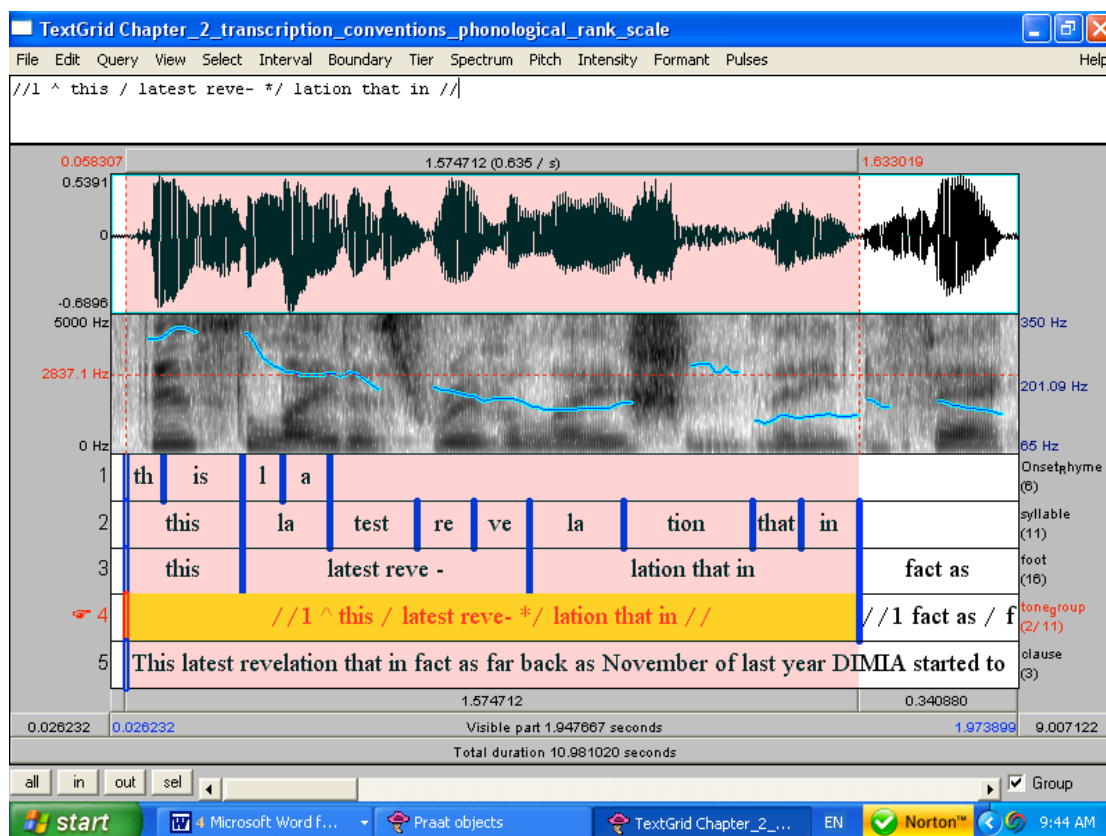
Figure 3: Halliday's transcription system and phonological rank scale

The principle of Halliday's modelling of the rank scale of the tone group is that of perceptual prominence: those items which have some relative phonic prominence, and as such realise grammatical distinctions, are given theoretical status by forming the 'boundaries' of units[47]. These are thus the points at which, at the different ranks, there is something in the sound signal to attract the attention of the listener: in terms of the foot, it is relative temporal or pitch excursion (that is, an extended duration of the syllable, a shift in pitch up or down); in the tone group, a

---

[47] Cf Brown, Currie and Kenworthy (1980; cf also footnote 1 in this chapter above) and Tench (1995) for discussions of alternative views.

distinctive pitch 'shape', which forms the bases for the perception of textual statuses which signal the instantiation of a unit[48].

There is also an axial dimension to the phonological description of intonation systems in the Hallidaian model. In terms of the syntagmatic axis, each tone group has an obligatory tonic (realising the primary delicacy TONE choices) and optional pretonic and post-tonic[49] feet, structured as follows[50]: (pre-tonic) ^ tonic ^ (post-

---

[48] For Halliday, the pitch contour itself is the expression of the three phonological systems of the tone group, realising interpersonal, logical and textual meanings. For van Leeuwen (eg 1982, 1992), there are different phonetic patterns independently realising the different metafunctional systems (van Leeuwen focusses on the textual metafunction). Disentangling those aspects of the sound signal realising textual and interpersonal choices has enabled van Leeuwen to identify additional phonological phenomena – aspects of the organization of sound (cf discussion in Sections 2.3.3.1.1.1, 2.3.3.1.1.3 below). Thinking of the expression of textual and interpersonal meanings as separate has also allowed him to distinguish the expressions of textual meaning in other semiotic modes, such as in film and music (eg van Leeuwen 1999; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; cf also Martinec 1995, 2000). The principle underlying Halliday's model is that the information unit/tone group, as the clause, is the point of intersection of several systems which may map onto the same structural element: as for example a lexical item can function as both Theme and Subject, so a clausal element that is (textually functional) tonic is also the (interpersonally functional) Tone choice. This conflation of tonic and tone choices can be related to the fact that a pitch contour itself has an additional perceptual prominence to that which realises the Ictus: as the realisation of textual status is (iconically) realised by some prominence (eg. Theme as first position), the perceptual prominence of the pitch contour is greater than that of the pitch or temporal prominence that realises an Ictus. What remains to be explored in future work is the interaction of the INFORMATION systems of Halliday's tone group and van Leeuwen's ACCENT and JUNCTURE (cf Sections 2.3.3.1.1.1, 2.3.3.1.1.3 below) systems, in different types of text (but cf Martinec 1995: 158-159 for generalised observations on this interaction).

[49] Note: the pitch contour established in the tonic continues for the remainder of the tone group.

tonic). In terms of the paradigmatic axis, the TONE system consists of five simple tones, which are numbered 1 to 5, construing the systemic nature of the model[51], and two compound tones, which are combinations of tones 1 and 5 with tone 3[52].

The basic phonetic distinction realising the phonological TONE system, long recognised in intonation studies (eg. Walker 1787; Sweet 1877), is the simple binary one between a falling (tone 1) and a rising (tone 2) pitch contour; with combinations of these – falling-rising (tone 4) and rising-falling (tone 5)[53] – and one option which neutralises the distinction – a level[54] tone; and modifications of both the tonic and pretonic such as to realise TONE systems at a secondary level of delicacy[55]. Figure 4

---

[50] Note: the caret - ^ - here indicates ordering, not a silent Ictus; the round brackets – (X) – indicate optionality.

[51] as terms in a closed set of options (Halliday 1967a: 11-12): "The concept of 'tone 1' rests on an abstraction from the phonic data in which one has asked simply 'is this distinction, which I can abstract from observations of the substance, *meaningful*: is it exploited *somewhere* in the grammar or lexis of the language?'" [italics in original].

[52] The two tones have become, in Halliday's (1970a: 12) construal, 'fused' in the language. The important characteristic of these compound tones as distinct from sequences of the same tones is that (Halliday 1963a/2005: 262, fn. 5) "it is not possible for a pretonic to tone 3 to occur here following tone 1 or tone 5" – that is, should there be a pretonic 'step-up' in pitch for example this would be classified as a sequence of the two tones not a single compound tone.

[53] cf Matthiessen (1995b: 451) for a diagrammatic representation of these in terms of the binary distinction and combinations thereof.

[54] In fact realised by a slight rise, indicating that a tonic has been instantiated (without a pitch contour there would be no such indication; although cf van Leeuwen (1992) for an alternative interpretation).

[55] Thus, for example, for tone 1 there is a secondary-delicacy system of three further options on the tonic itself: tone 1 (neutral falling tone); tone 1+ (high falling tone); tone 1_ (low falling tone). In the

below diagrams the primary tone system in terms of an abstract, stylised representation of the phonetic realisation.
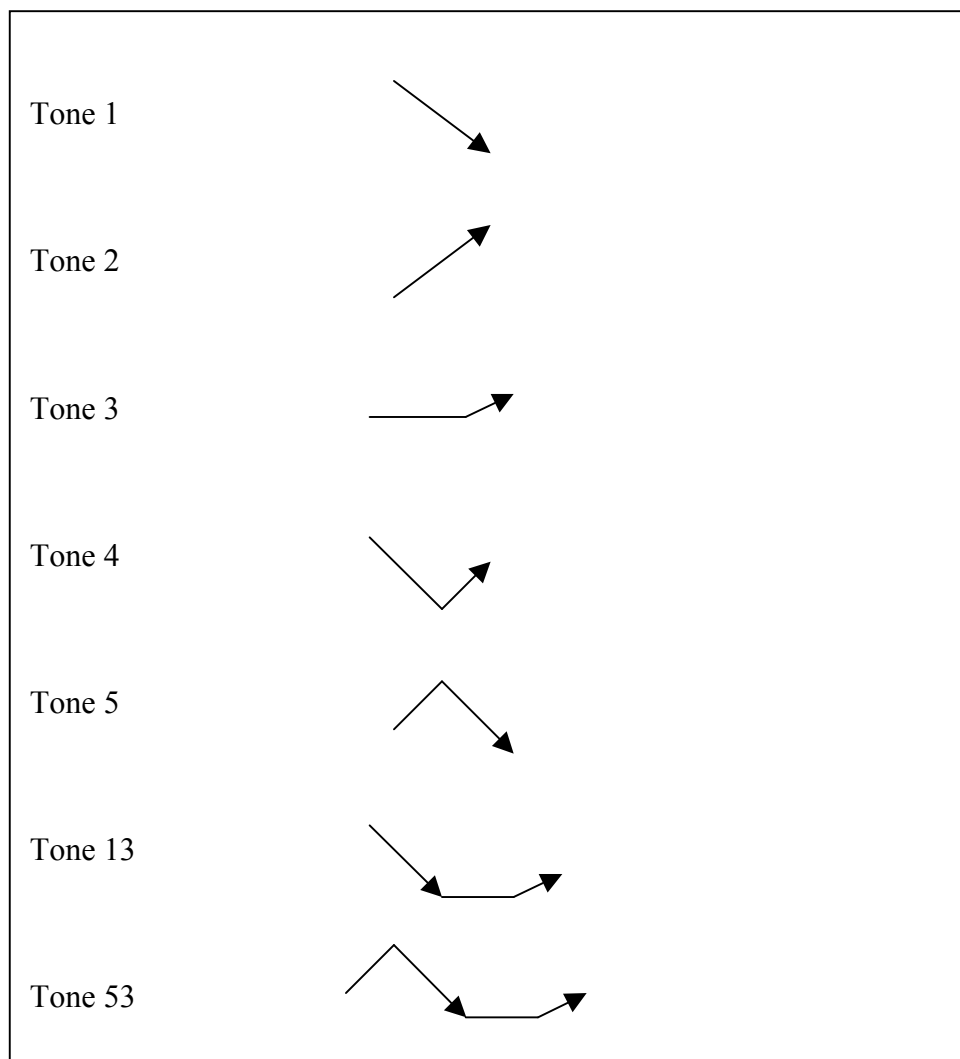
Figure 4: The TONE system of English: Primary level of delicacy

One of the most debated issues in intonation study has been the identification of the tone system. Scholars such as Tench (1990, 1996), for example, contest the existence of the tone 3 option at the primary level of delicacy, arguing that the distinction between a low rise (tone 3) and high rise (tone 2) is a more delicate option

pretonic there are a further three options: .1 (even, or stepping up or down); _1 (bouncing); ...1 (listing: involving a slight rise on each pretonic foot).

in the tone system, analogous with that of the (tone 1) fall and high fall[56]. At the phonetic level of description, Halliday himself recognises that the realisation of tone 3 realisation 'shades' into that of the tone 2, and that their meanings in such cases are often alike. Nevertheless, as with any other linguistic analysis, the identification of system selections is most often unproblematic, as in the following instance (Appendix 1: A1.4.1; Appendix 2: A2.5.1: IUs 5&6; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_tones 2&3 compared):
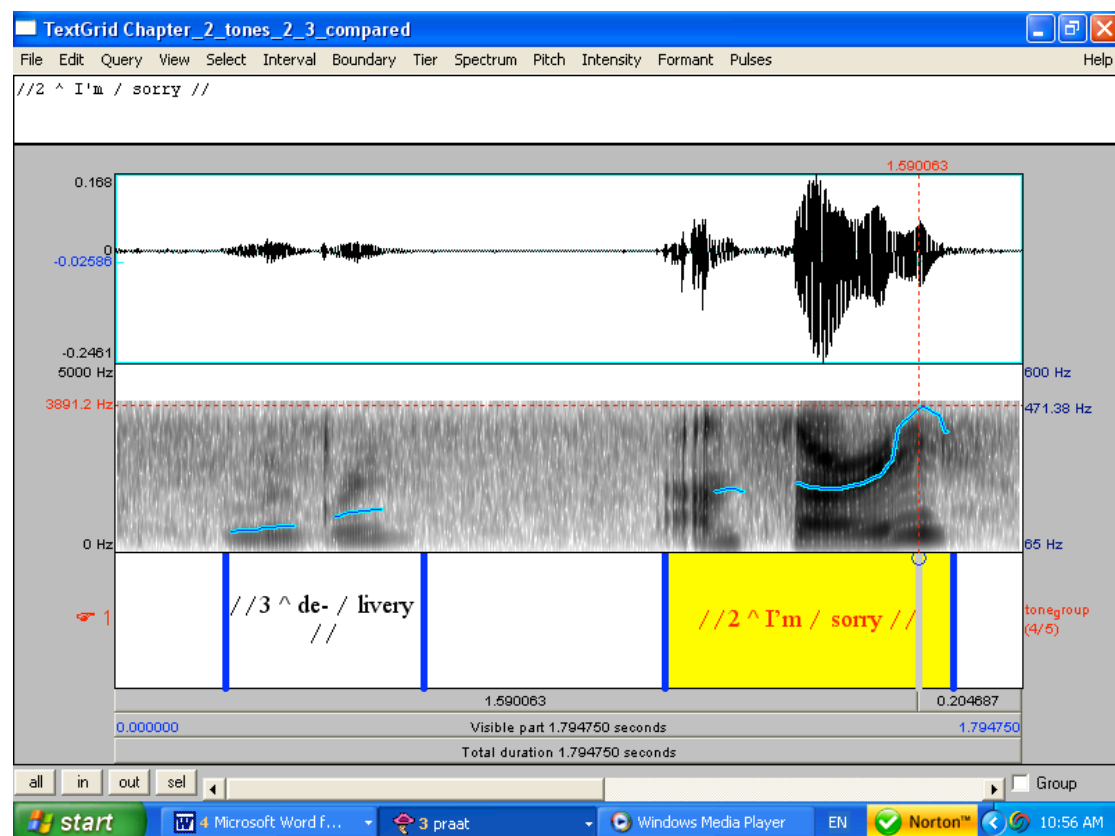
Figure 5: Tones 2 and 3 compared

It should be noted in terms of the analytical process that the meanings realised by tones 2 and 3 are distinct: in the above instances, the first is merely giving information, without any interpersonal sense of engagement (hence the level-rise

---

[56] Cf Tench (1990: 448-54) for a discussion of this issue.

tone); the second does enact a sense of interpersonal engagement. It is via a consideration of both the phonetic phenomena and the meaning being realised that the analysis in the present work has been conducted throughout; and this aspect is particularly important in instances that are difficult to analyse in terms of the phonological choice: one can ask, as for other lexicogrammatical analyses, 'how is this expressive resource functioning to make meaning?'.

The description of the tone system, as its application to text analysis, is thus intimately connected to that of the meaningful deployment of pitch contour movements. The question is that which applies to the investigation of the vowel and consonant systems of languages: does this sound distinction signify a systemic (i.e. meaning-bearing: phonemic) distinction? As is well known, speakers of one language have difficulty recognising phonemic distinctions in another language that don't exist in their own (whether as learner speakers or scholars attempting a description of the language). In the same way, the criterion for determining the primary tone system of English is the role the phonological distinction plays in the construal of semantic distinctions.

Halliday's TONE system is based on the primary-delicacy distinction between a choice from the rising/falling distinction[57] and opting out of that choice – either for

---

[57] Which distinction, with reservations as to it being possible to identify meanings for the tones independent of higher-strata consideration, Halliday (eg. 1970a: 23) relates to the system of POLARITY: a falling tone indicates certainty about the polarity; a rising tone questions the polarity; a falling-rising indicates reservation about polarity; a rising-falling indicates emphatic certainty about

interpersonal, or logical purposes[58] - with secondary modifications of either the tonic or pretonic. Descriptions deriving from the autosegmental-metrical theory, for example, such as illustrated in the Ladd example in Section 2.2.1, do not recognise these distinctions at a secondary level of delicacy, by which for example Halliday distinguishes between a tone 2_ and a tone 4; yet the meaning distinction, as for the tones 2 and 3 above, is clear. The earlier Ladd examples (both tone 2_: the sharp fall-rise), as discussed, have an interpersonal sense of challenge. The tone 4_ choice – a smoother pitch contour with greater temporal excursion – has a distinctly different meaning, that of 'reservation'. There was an instance of this in the text at the beginning of Chapter 1; however, as the pitch in that text is hard to discern (there is music playing in the background) I will illustrate the tone 4_ with another text (Appendix 1: A1.1.1; Appendix 2: A2.2: IUs 1&2; Appendix 3: dec_reserved)[59]:

---

polarity; the level-rise indicates an opting out, thus weak interpersonal engagement with respect to the utterance.

[58] Following from this principle (of valeur: a choice is made out of this limited set of options) my own analytical experience has been that although tone identification is sometimes very difficult (especially at first analysis), as with the analysis of any other system of language, the criterion of meaning-distinction is sufficient to make clear the choice being employed. That is, once one has determined in ones' description that there is a particular set of options operating in the phonology and grammar, then the issue becomes that of deciding which choice has been made in a text. For detailed instructions on the recognition of the different tones, cf Halliday (1970a).

[59] For a system network representation of these options cf Halliday (1967a), or Matthiessen (1995b: 452). Note that some of the representations of the tone choices are different from Halliday's, in particular: the low tone 1 is represented by 1_; the 'broken' tone 2 by 2_; the low tone 4 by 4_; the low tone 5 by 5_; the low pretonic tones 2 and 3 by _2 and _3; and the bouncing tone 1 pretonic by _1. This represents iconically two aspects of the secondary tone system: the symbol before the numeral represents 'pretonic', after represents 'tonic' modifications.
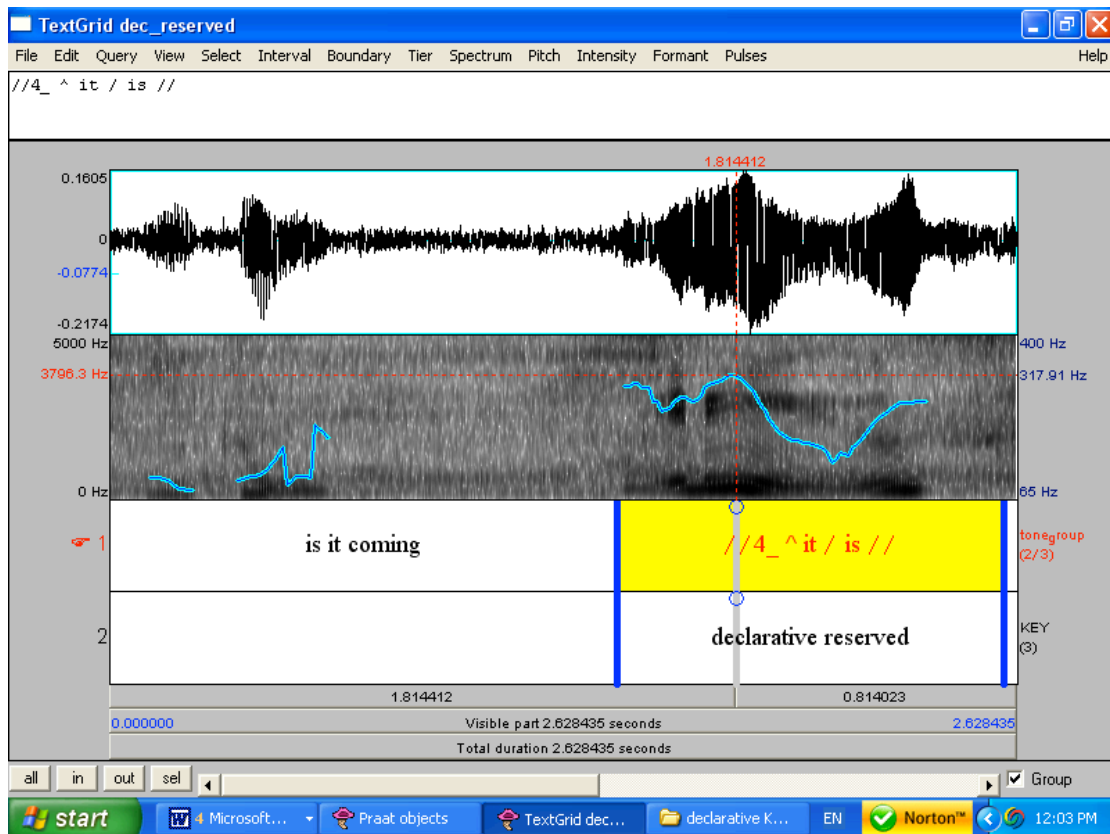
Figure 6: tone 4_

The full set of systemic options in the phonological tone system will be presented together with the lexicogrammatical catergories they realise, in Table 3 in Section 2.3.3.2 below (cf also Appendix 3 for Praat samples of these).

2.3.3   The Lexicogrammatical Stratum

At the lexicogrammatical stratum the principle linguistic units are: the clause; and the information unit – the latter realised by a tone group. These combine to form clause complexes and information nexuses. The clause consists of groups and phrases, which themselves consist of words, which consist of morphemes; the information units consists of information groups (cf discussion for this proposal below). The phonological systems of TONALITY and TONICITY realise, respectively, the textual grammatical systems of INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION (referred to in the present

work as "ID") and INFORMATION FOCUS ("IF"); while TONE realises two systems, the interpersonal KEY, and the logical STATUS systems.

The difference between the two strata as different levels of abstraction can be illustrated by consideration of one aspect of Halliday's multistratal theory of intonation: that of the disjunction between boundaries in the two stratal descriptions. That is, although a tone group and an information unit are roughly coextensive, the former a realisation of the latter, in some cases (and often) the boundaries do not exactly correspond. This point is best illustrated by a text example: Figure 7 shows a Praat picture with the 'tone group' and 'information unit' tiers displayed, revealing the difference in their boundaries (Appendix 1: A1.3.1; Appendix 2: A2.4.1: IUs 7-9; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_tone group_information unit_boundaries):
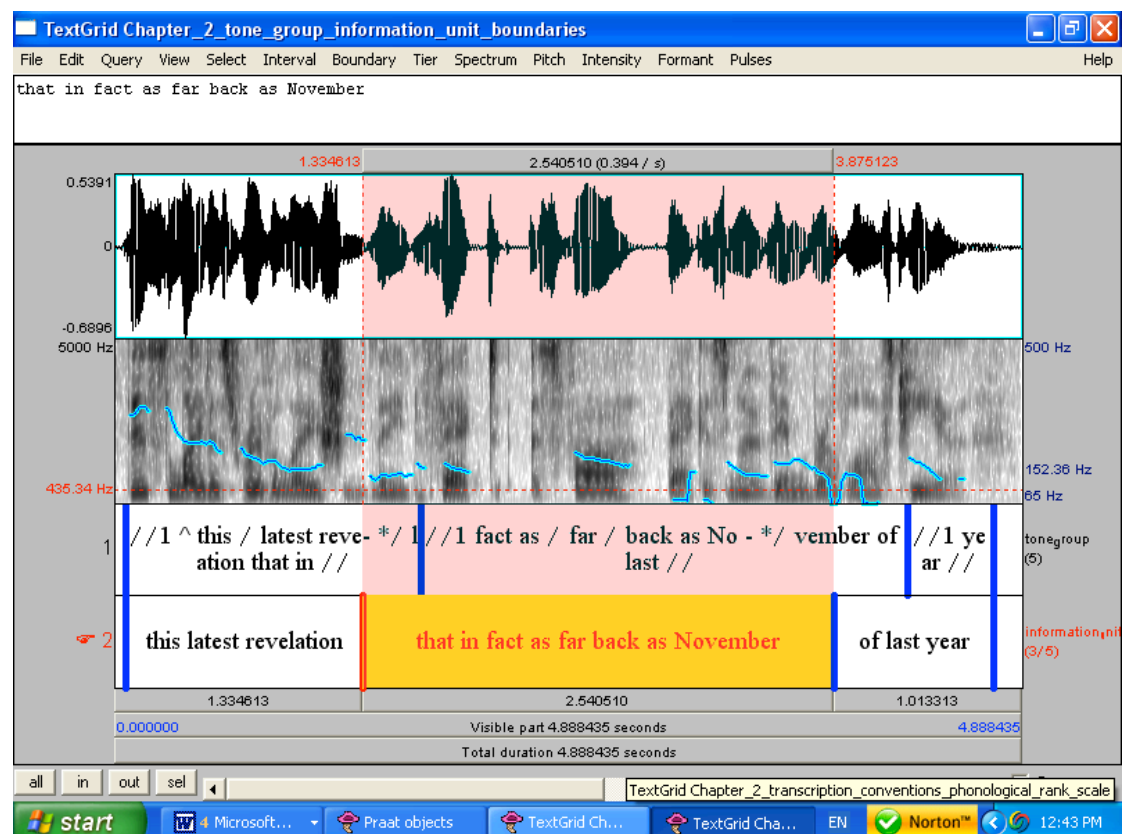
Figure 7: tone group and information unit boundaries

In the present work I propose to add a unit at a lower rank to the information unit, which I call the information group, realised by a foot. Here, there are two systems not in Halliday's description: realised by RHYTHM (the division into feet) is the system of INFORMATION GROUPING ("IG"); and realised by SALIENCE (the assignment of an Ictus to one element (syllable) of the discourse) is the system of INFORMATION PROMINENCE ("IP"). I will discuss the proposal for this unit and its systems, along with the other intonational systems listed above, in Section 2.3.3.1.1.3 below, according to a metafunctional principle of organization; with further suborganisation according to the dimensions of axis, stratification and delicacy. Each section will include brief reviews of relevant studies of the particular systems being introduced.

2.3.3.1　The Textual Metafunction[60]

2.3.3.1.1　The Paradigmatic Axis

2.3.3.1.1.1　INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION

Throughout the last century or so studies of intonation have consistently recognised the existence of what has been variously referred to as the 'breath group' (Sweet 1877: 86; Jones 1937: 58; Lieberman 1967), 'phonemic phrase' (Lieberman 1967), 'sense group' (Armstrong and Ward 1926; Schubiger 1958: 9; O'Connor and Arnold 1961: 3), 'tone group' (Jassem 1952; Halliday 1963a/2005), or 'rhythm group' (van Leeuwen 1982, 1992). In most cases the characterisation of this phenomenon is in terms of the phonological description, with the tone group usually being seen as the

---

[60] For an extended presentation of the discussion presented in this section, cf Smith (in press).

site of a variety of phonological phenomena[61]; although as the term 'sense group' implies semantic considerations have been implicated.

Crystal's (1969, 1975: 15-22) approach to the description of tone group division is in terms of statistical correlations[62] with a variety of structural (clausal) units and elements at the lexicogrammatical level[63]. According to Brazil (1975: 4), "[i]t is common practice to regard a speaker's option to break up a stretch of language into a greater or smaller number of tone groups as having linguistic significance in itself"; but this tends to be with respect to limited cases related to clausal grammatical phenomena, for example in making the distinction between defining/non-defining relative clauses, or in distinguishing clause and group complexes as in the following example, taken from (Halliday 1963a/2005: 271):

// he washed // and brushed his hair //
// he washed and brushed his hair //

For Brazil, however, the division into tone groups is (1975: 5) "a simple reflex of successive choices" from systems within the domain of the tone group. He sees

---

[61] Brazil (1975: 3): "The provision of a formal definition has usually been related, in the literature, to the task of determining its constituents".

[62] which he nevertheless terms (1975: 21) 'rules', which specify (1975: 15) "what syntactic factors determine tone-unit boundaries".

[63] Although in his (1975) work recognising, for those (100/12,000: i.e. less than 1% of) exceptions to his structural schema, the possibility of stylistic (cf Crystal and Davy 1969), idiosyncratic, and attitudinal predictors for tone group division. These explanations – particularly the first and last - are of relevance to the present investigation.

Halliday's proposal for the independent system of TONALITY as (1975: 5) 'a consequence of taking a grammatical view of intonation'.

Van Leeuwen (1982, 1992) and Martinec (1995), on the other hand, have shown how the division of the speech stream into units is exploited semiotically in a conventionalised systemic way - despite disagreeing with Halliday's interpretation of this chunking[64]. For van Leeuwen (1992: 235) JUNCTURE segments "a group of words which belongs together, semantically and pragmatically, a group of words intended as one 'move in the speech act' (Halliday 1967a: 30)", and is used in particular text-types, for specific social purposes, for example in radio announcing and advertising to increase the level of audience attention. For Martinec (1995), following van Leeuwen's separation of the textually and interpersonally relevant systems of intonation[65] allowed him to extend the description of rhythm to the description of at least seven levels of a hierarchy of rhythm (called 'fractal accent waves'), which are then described as exponents of a hierarchy of 'fractal wave import

---

[64] Van Leeuwen (1992: 231):

> I will argue that the two most fundamental functions of intonation in English, often seen as realized by 'tone of voice', are in fact realized by rhythm: ACCENT, which attracts the listener's attention to the salient syllable in a rhythmic foot, and JUNCTURE, which segments speech into RHYTHM GROUPS.

[65] Martinec (1995: 57):

> This thesis argues that the two phenomena belong to different units, accents to the second fractal rhythmic accent wave and intonation to the tone group. The two units each have their own prominence – the second fractal wave has the second fractal wave accent and the tone group has the tonic prominence or nucleus. More generally, it will be argued that pitch level phenomena overall belong to the rhythmic accent wave whereas pitch movement phenomena belong to the tone group and the tone sequence.

focus', distinct from information focus[66], and related to both lexicogrammatical and situational import.

For Halliday, the system of INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION, realised through TONALITY, forms part of the grammatical description of English. This decision to treat tone group division as realising a grammatical system is as much a theoretical one deriving from the general principles of Halliday's systemic functional theory – in particular stratification - as from a consideration of the phenomenon itself. In Halliday's approach one must account for any phenomenon capable of creating meaningful distinctions in discourse at all strata in the model, including grammar - grammar being that level of description which mediates between the expression plane (sound, and its organization into phonological systems) and semantics. Without a grammatical description one must conflate the description of two strata - phonology and lexicogrammar – in accounting for the deployment of intonation resources together with clausal lexicogrammatical resources to make meaningful choices. The question then becomes whether the division into tone groups is a systemic resource for making meaningful distinctions ('this choice, rather than that')[67].

---

[66] Martinec (1995: 159): The second fractal wave accent tends to occur towards the beginning of the clause, so "[s]econd fractal import wave focus and information focus are thus obviously distinct foci. The former highlights a high degree of experiential and/or interpersonal meaning of a lexicogrammatical item, whereas the latter highlights the fact that an item is not derivable from (usually previous) context".

[67] El-Menoufy (1969) in particular presents a detailed demonstration of the semogenic power of this system.

Despite its grammatical status in the theory, Halliday's and the SFL community's treatment and use of ID are fairly cursory compared to that of the assignment of 'Given-New' structure (cf Section 2.3.3.1.2 below), although the phonological and to a lesser extent the grammatical descriptions are elaborated (cf Halliday 1963b/2005: 268-273; Halliday and Greaves 2008: 65-67; El-Menoufy 1969: 35-107). This may be because, according to Halliday (2005: 248-249):

> The three systems, tonality, tonicity and tone, play different roles in English grammar. But in any given utterance they are of course operating in interaction with one another, so that we cannot always give a clear account of the meaning of a particular selection in one system in isolation from the others.

That is, the distribution of clausal information into information units, aside from consideration of the grammatical subsystems described by Halliday, can be at least potentially (Halliday 1963a/2005: 251) "regarded as the distribution of 'information points'"[68] (cf Brazil 1975: 5 claim quoted above). Yet it is also the case that (Halliday 1963a/2005: 252) "the choice of how many tone groups…goes a long way towards determining the choice of how many tonics, and where they are located": that is, both TONALITY and TONICITY (or, rather, ID and IF) can be the dominant determining system.

As I have found in the research reported in the present work, there are certainly interesting avenues for research into the use of ID, in addition to Halliday's early grammatical description. For example, the 'chunking' of clausal discourse into

---

[68] A term taken from Hultzen (1959).

more than one information unit may ascribe additional interpersonal (via KEY) significance to a constituent of a clause that is not itself, in terms of MOOD element of the clause grammar, part of the negotiable proposition: that is, by enabling the assignment of an additional KEY selection, ID can act as a sort of interpersonal 'shorthand', making (quasi-) 'downranked statements' with clausal elements that are not in themselves propositions. One can see this in the interview text quoted in Section 2.3.2 above (Appendix 1: A1.3.1; Appendix 2: A2.4.1: IU[69]s 7-13; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_transcription conventions_phonological rank scale):

> //1 ^ this / latest reve- */ lation that in //1 fact as / far back as No- */ vember of last //1 year // //2_ DIMIA //4 */ started to / think that in //1+ fact your / sister was Au- */ stralian //5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //

In this opening question from a current affairs interview, the interviewer 'chunks' a single clause into seven information units. While some of these information unit divisions are motivated by the clause structure – for example, the downranking of a clause complex, 'that in fact as…Australian', is signalled by ID, as is the assignment of a separate unit to the (downranked) marked Circumstance Theme of that clause complex, 'as far back as November' – other ID choices cannot so readily be referred to clause structure or constituency. The distribution of the Circumstance, 'as far back…year' into two information units is one such example; as is the assignment of a separate information unit to the (downranked) Subject/Senser 'DIMIA'. In these cases it appears rather that it is the assignment of additional interpersonal meaning through the system of KEY (cf Section 2.3.3.2 below) that is

---

[69] "IUs" = 'information units': this is the abbreviation used in the numbering of information units in the data.

driving the marked ID choices (cf Chapter 6 for a discussion of this text)[70]. From another perspective upon the above text, the system of ID can also, in this type of co-selection with KEY, enact an interpersonal prosody across several information units and thus increase the interpersonal 'force' assigned a single proposition.

2.3.3.1.1.2 INFORMATION FOCUS

Halliday's system of INFORMATION FOCUS is that realised through the phonological phenomenon known variously as the 'nucleus' (Palmer 1922; Schubiger 1958), 'tonic' (Halliday 1963a/2005: 241), 'accent' (Bolinger 1972b: 21), 'sentence stress' (Schubiger 1958; Ladd 1996), or 'nuclear accent' (Ladd 1996[71]); and, in terms of its function, more widely known in terms of the syntagmatic axial perspective, as the structure 'Given-New'.

Much of what was said about the view in the general linguistics community of the functional role of TONALITY (ID) applies here also: for example, according to Crystal (1969: 264), "the grammatical functions of tonicity are very much in the minority"; but again, he is talking here about "the number of cases of grammatically

---

[70] From another perspective, the assignment of marked ID together with a selection from the system of KEY may enable a speaker to effectively 'background' the actual proposition, as the KEY selections give the impression of there being successive separate propositions (taking the ongoing attention of the listener along with them) where there are none (that is, the actual proposition is 'lost' in the succession of information units with their (interpersonal) KEY choices). Thanks are due to David Butt (pers. comm.) for this insight, which is of particular interest in the JR text in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.2).

[71] Ladd departs from the canonical autosegmental-metrical view in acknowledging the existence of a pitch accent with a (1996: 211) 'special status' within the tone group, corresponding to Halliday's tonic. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the tone group might otherwise be identified in any principled way within this approach.

conditioned tonicity" – that is, tonicity as a reflex of clausal syntactic phenomena - suggesting a different idea of grammar from Halliday's. For Crystal as for most others, the term 'grammar' refers only to phenomena already described apart from the phenomena realised in intonation systems[72].

Most of the work in this area (including within the SFL community) has had a syntagmatic orientation, such that the systemic consequences of a choice of Focus[73] - that is, as the assignment of textual status to one out of two or more clausal elements in the information unit - has been largely unexplored, except with respect to the marked/unmarked distinction (cf Section 2.3.3.1.2); with some notable exceptions being, for example, Martin (1992: 448-460, 1993), Fries (2002: with respect to N-Rheme in written text), Bowcher (2004), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 579-83), and Halliday and Greaves (2008).   However, as these works suggest, it is possible to consider the selection of New/Focus in paradigmatic terms also: in spontaneous

_____

[72] A constituency-based model of grammar, with no modelling resources for the prosodic interpersonal or wave-like textual phenomena of intonation (cf Halliday 1979/2002; Matthiessen 1988).

[73] Note: the term 'Focus' means 'Focus of New' (cf for example Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 89). There has been much debate about the latter term – 'New' - and its semantic appropriateness (cf Brown 1983 for a discussion), much of which misses the point made by Halliday about the 'ineffability of grammatical categories' (Halliday 1988). The main issue I have is with the axial (syntagmatic) use of the term New, rather than its metalinguistic semantic value. In the present work I use it to suggest a paradigmatic perspective on the choice of 'New' information: that one lexicogrammatical element is made the focus of the domain of a particular mapping of textual status, without the structural overtones (and issues of modelling, in terms of the indeterminacy of the extent of New) associated with the Given-New structure. I therefore employ both terms here as being somewhat interchangeable, but with an axial complementarity between the two.

spoken dialogic, the choice of Focus is a resource for highlighting certain aspects of the clausal discourse, enabling the co-creation of text, and involving the determination of the direction the discursive interaction takes (Martin's 'Point': cf 1992: 448-460).

The systemic potential of a selection in the system of IF must be related to a general issue of the textual metafunction, that of its nature as a 'second-order semiotic': the identification of system options in the textual metafunction obligatorily involves consideration of the complete set of other ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings of the clausal lexicogrammar onto which the textual status of New may be assigned[74]. Scholars such as Martin (1992) and Matthiessen (1992) have discussed this aspect in terms of the way in which the textual metafunction orientates the listener to either field or tenor in the context (cf Chapter 1, Figure 1)[75]. In the present work I will show how the system of IF is a resource for the co-creation of text, and particularly for the highlighting and thus opening to negotiation of certain settings in the parameters of context. As this aspect is best studied over stretches of text, at this point I will merely illustrate the use of IF to highlight certain items of the discourse, including its orientation to the ideational or interpersonal metafunctions. This excerpt is taken from the beginning of the surgical text (Appendix 1: A1.1.1; Appendix 2: A2.2: IUs 1&2; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_IF):

---

[74] Cf in this respect the discussion of representational issues in Matthiessen (1988), Matthiessen and Bateman (1991); cf also Martinec's (1995) discussion of the metafunctional orientations of IF and his second fractal wave import (cf footnote 66 above), particularly in terms of field and tenor instantial systems.

[75] Martin (1993: 244): "Theme in a sense provides the text's angle on its field…New, by contrast, elaborates the field, developing its meanings".
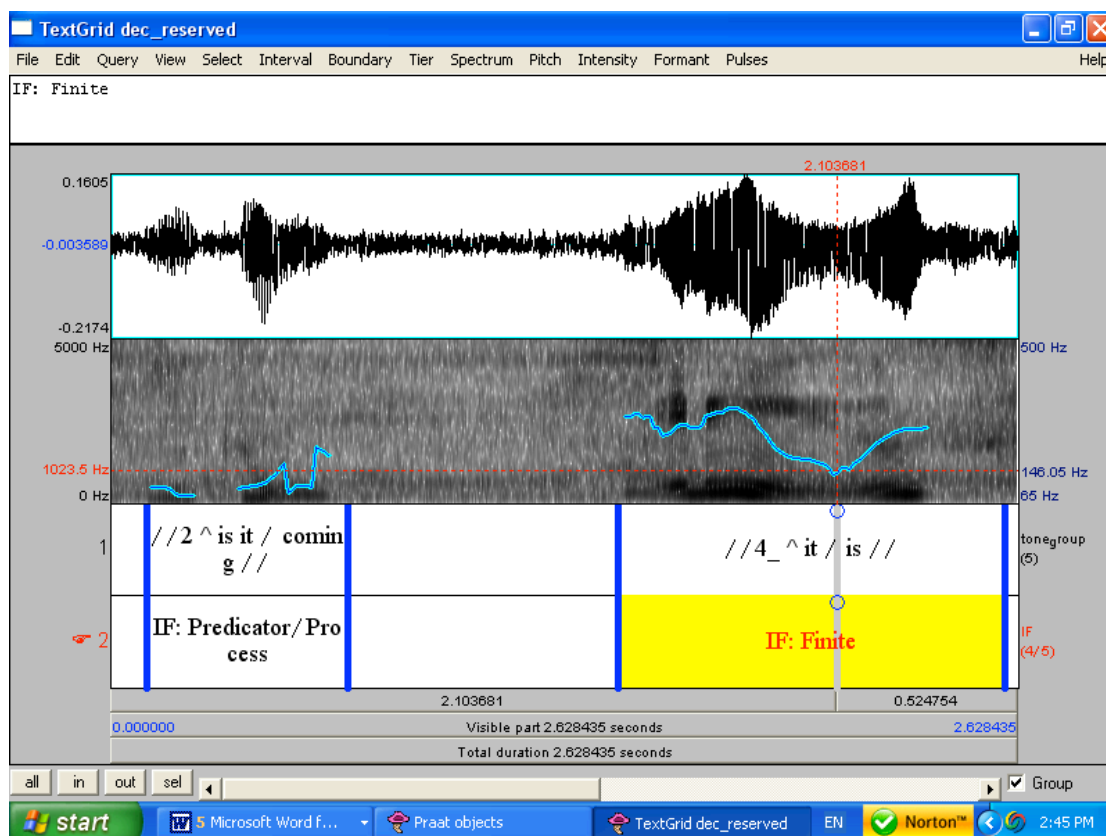
Figure 8: IF: mapping onto ideational and interpersonal elements of discourse

In this excerpt the first speaker assigns Focus to the Predicator/Process 'coming', an ideational element. In the second speaker's reply, the Focus is assigned to the Finite, a clausal element with interpersonal function only. As I will show in Chapter 4, this textual shift, together with the reservation of the KEY selection, is significant for the unfolding of the subsequent text, and for the material actions this text facilitates: highlighting as it does certain tenor settings, this utterance foreshadows a later dramatic shift in textual orientation from the ideational to the interpersonal metafunctions, and thus a renegotiation of the tenor settings prevailing in the context for this text.

2.3.3.1.1.3   INFORMATION GROUPING and INFORMATION PROMINENCE: The 'Language of the Heart'

Throughout the spoken texts of the English language there is a pulse that may be likened to that of a heartbeat. This pulse, identified by most authors studying

prosodic phonological phenomena of the English language, has been described by Halliday (1963a/2005), drawing upon work by Abercrombie (1965), as the Ictus, within and defining the domain of the phonological unit called the foot. Although the phonological systems and structure of the foot have been described in the SFL framework, the systems of grammar which they realise have not. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 15) claim that "the rhythm group, or foot, is largely a timing unit (it has one of two specific functions in the grammar, but its domain of operation is principally phonological)". Halliday (1963b/2005: 274), however, suggests one such function[76]:

> The grammatical meaning of rhythm requires a separate study; as an instance of it might be cited the contrast between // ^ the / question / which he */ asked is // surely ir- */ relevant // (= 'the question "which did he ask?"') and // ^ the / question which he */ asked is // surely ir- */ relevant // (= 'the question that he asked').

Other traditions of intonation study have recognised the importance of the assignment of prominence (although of course under the usual variety of names), and the concomitant rhythms which occur in spoken language, to the creation of meaning in texts. For Brazil (eg. 1978), looking from a discourse level perspective, the system he calls 'Prominence'[77] (Brazil 1978: 55) "represents the speaker's assessment of the information load carried by the elements of his discourse…a signal that the word must

---

[76] Cf El-Menoufy (1969: 35-48) for a detailed discussion. El-Menoufy discusses aspects of what I treat as an issue at the information group rank at the information unit rank: that is, as an aspect of ID.

[77] cf O'Connor and Arnold (1961) and also Martinet (1960/1969: 100-101) for an early and similar use of the term. Thompson and Thompson (2001: 78) also find evidence that (Brazil's) prominence "may be used to signal parallelism" across stretches of text, contributing to the cohesion of that text.

be attended to". For the autosegmental-metrical tradition (working from 'below' in stratal terms), it is the 'pitch accent', rather than the nucleus of a tone group (which for many in this tradition is not recognised), that is the main site of meaning creation through intonation, and scholars such as Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1990: 286) have attempted detailed descriptions of its significance:

> Pitch accent conveys information about the status of the individual discourse referents, modifiers, predicates and relationships specified by the lexical items with which the accents are associated…Accenting or deaccenting of items in general appears associated with S's desire to indicate the relative salience of accented items in the discourse. The type of accent chosen conveys other sorts of information status.

However, it is to van Leeuwen (eg. 1982, 1992) and Martinec that we owe the most stratally-integrated accounts of the use of rhythm and pitch accent. Van Leeuwen, also drawing upon Abercrombie's concept of isochronic rhythm, describes the system of 'ACCENT' as being crucial to the creation of textual meaning[78]. Although, as mentioned earlier, van Leeuwen's description differs in important ways from Halliday's, he works within the broad conceptual framework of SFL and is thus enabled to relate the phonological description to the higher level strata, in particular semantics and context, and instance to text-type (van Leeuwen 1992: 233):

> Studying what speakers accent can be a way of 'reading the mind' of the social institutions within which their speech is located. Thus, if several announcers, in reading the same radio commercial, accent a personal pronoun:
>
> [[if / *you're* looking //] [for a / *top* quality/ *used* / *car* //]

---

[78] Cf also Martinec's (1995) first fractal wave accent, realising the first fractal wave import.

we can interpret this 'exception' to the rule that only content words receive an accent as the realization of a strategy of the social institution of advertising – a strategy of placing emphasis on the 'personal' nature of what is in fact one of the most impersonal and distant forms of communication the world has known, a strategy of making the listeners believe that they are personally addressed.

I propose to incorporate these understandings into the current SFL theory of intonational systems, by adding two systems at the rank below ID and IF: INFORMATION GROUPING (IG) and INFORMATION PROMINENCE (IP)[79]; with the Ictus realising a Prominent, a term in the IP system, at the rank below Focus. The decision in the present work to treat the phonological systems of RHYTHM and SALIENCE as realisations of grammatical systems is partly based on theoretical, but mostly upon pragmatic descriptive considerations.

On the one hand, one would expect there to be some meaningful function for any system identified for the phonology: that is, if one finds phonetic patterns, the assumption is that those patterns either serve some function in the language, or are allophonic variations upon system choices that do make some functional contribution. The fact of RHYTHM and SALIENCE being a part of the phonological description argues for the former interpretation. One has therefore to ask, 'which meaningful

---

[79] But note, although I draw upon van Leeuwen's and Martinec's conceptualisation of the textual metafunction, IP is not the same phenomenon as either ACCENT or the first fractal accent wave import; nor, for that matter, is my use of the term RHYTHM (for the division into feet) the same as van Leeuwen's or Martinec's use of this term.

contrasts do they expound?' Scholars such as Brazil, van Leeuwen and those in the autosegmental-metrical tradition have offered valuable answers to this question.

On the other hand, one has one's own experience of analysing many instances of spoken text where such phonetic patterning does appear to make distinctions in meaning, as the authors discussed above have found. In the present work, following the full multistratal model applying to all language description, I assume that such meaning-bearing phonological systems must therefore have a description at the grammatical stratum. This enables one to then relate these choices to the other lexicogrammatical choices, as engendering textual semantic choices. I will illustrate my rationale for proposing these systems by presenting a text from the interview data (Chapter 6; Appendix 1.3.1; Appendix 2.4.1: IUs 19-21; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_IG and IP):

> //4 cause / if there had been a / reasonable su- / spicion that / she was an au- / stralian / resident or */ citizen then h - //1_ why on earth did they / keep her in de- */ tention for //1 ten / whole */ weeks //

The system of IG can be seen at work particularly in the last information unit – 'for ten whole weeks' – where the unmarked division into feet (one information group for one clausal group/phrase) is overridden to create three information groups for three consecutive words, all as part of one nominal group. This choice by the speaker (to return to the issue raised by Brazil re. ID, Section 2.3.3.1.1.1) is clearly not motivated simply by the individual selections from the system of IP alone (assignment of phonological salience): there is, as with the use of ID, as it were a textual prosody engendered by this selection – or, rather, a marked choice of IG for this single clause

constituent, which heightens the attention to the elements of this group (cf Chapter 6 for a discussion).

Although clearly related and often intertwined, as with ID and IF, the systems of IG and IP play different roles in the discourse. One can see the use of IP at play, for example, in the selection of the logical conjunction 'if' as Prominent, drawing attention to the logic of her argument (and, in the process, as I discuss in Chapter 6, construing a pseudo-legalistic register)[80]. The division of labour between selections in these two systems are, as with ID and IF, often blurred or overlapping; but in terms of IG, the motivation for the choice of two Prominents in addition to the Focus for that nominal group may be ascribed to the 'zooming/focussing' power of this system; while in the case of IP, the instantiation of two Prominents on successive syllables – '(be -)cause' and 'if' - is clearly motivated at least partly by the textual orientation to the logical conjunction.

2.3.3.1.2   Syntagmatic Axis

As mentioned above, most of the work in the area of the textual use of intonation has been with respect to the structure of Given-New, whether at the lexicogrammatical or semantic stratum. From this perspective, the phenomenon has given significantly more attention than ID by scholars within and outside of the SFL tradition: in terms of lexicogrammatical stratum, by Halliday (1967b, c, 1968, 1976; Halliday and Greaves

---

[80] Note: the assignment of Prominence here could just have readily been upon, for example, the Finite 'has' construing textual status (drawing attention to/highlighting) for the interpersonal, rather than logical, metafunction. This is part of the work the textual metafunction does: orienting the listener

2008), Chafe (1974), Brown and Yule (1983) and Fries (1992), with Halliday's contribution to the understanding of this phenomenon being widely acknowledged[81] and employed.

Within an information unit the last content item in an information unit is, in the unmarked case, New. The structural description of the information unit is thus '(Given)[82] ^ New ^ (Given)': the prototypical, unmarked ordering is modelled as a wave of prominence increasing from the low information value of the Given to the culmination of New information as point of highest informational value (in complementarity with the Theme-Rheme structure, which begins with the highest and proceeds to the lowest thematic value); with the assignment of post-New Given status to an element considered the marked option. Because the Focus applies to only one lexicogrammatical element of the clause, the textual status of any prior information is indeterminate; but in effect is usually derivable from interpretation of the co-text (cf Davies eg. 1994).

---

towards a negotiation of one or other of the metafunctions (or two, in the case of textual status for a Finite/Predicator, for instance).

[81] cf for example, Brown and Yule's (1983: 153) assessment of (Halliday 1967b, c, 1968) as an 'extremely influential article' in this area, although aspects of Halliday's interpretation, particularly with respect to the choice and scope of the terms 'given' and 'new', are strongly and widely contested, though not always fully understood – particularly the idea that these terms refer to speaker's *assessment* of what is to be considered Given and New, and are not tied to what has or hasn't had previous mention.

[82] Brackets here indicating optionality; the caret, in this instance, indicates ordering of elements.

The modelling of the syntagmatic axis of this system as a wave has been taken up by some scholars in the attempt to account for textual patterns across texts as a whole, as a proposal for a semantic description of the textual metafunction: Theme and New progression (Fries 1981/1983, 1992[83]), in terms of the global structuring of a text ('method of development'); and what Martin calls the system of 'point'. The syntagmatic view – Given-New and macro-Theme-macro-New - is primarily suited to the study of prototypical (prepared) written text: in a prepared text the global Theme and New structures can be controlled; whereas in dialogic spoken text the resources of IF enable speakers to contest and change the direction a text takes in an interaction, such that it is more difficult to discern a textual structure across the text.

2.3.3.2   The Interpersonal Metafunction: KEY systems

Halliday stands alone in terms of according a fully grammatical status to all the functions of intonation systems, including those called the KEY systems, being careful to distinguish between the phonological, grammatical and semantic descriptions. Other prominent scholars see particular tone choices either as more or less involuntary reflex of emotion (eg. Bolinger 1964/1972, 1970/1972)[84] or direct

---

[83] or, in Fries' terms, in written text called 'N-Rheme'. Fries is careful to distinguish what can and can't be claimed about written, as distinct from spoken text: in the former, in which there is no explicit realisation resources for IF, Fries assumes unmarked New but calls it N-Rheme to distinguish it from New, thus acknowledging the possibility of there being marked New in writing (cf Davies 1986, 1994).

[84] Bolinger characterises intonation as (1964/1972: 29) a "half-tamed servant of language"; and identifies four layers of grammaticality, including (1970/1972: 137):

> A partially grammaticized layer…of 'controlled' affective meanings: the speaker conveys his attitudes and along with them the information that they are part of his message…An ostensibly ungrammaticized layer…the 'uncontrolled' affective meanings…A genuinely

(i.e. non-systemic, non-conventional) exponents of attitude or communicative functions (eg. Tench 1990[85], 1996), resulting in complex discussions centering around the issues of the discreteness of intonation contrasts, and terminology (cf Crystal 1969: 290-308 for a discussion). However, for some, such as Crystal (1969: 291), "[w]hile it is the case that the 'extremes' of intonational movement have more of a directly symbolic, or naturalistic (and hence international) reference, the 'inner core' of intonation is conventional". A (1988) study by Benson et al successfully supports the claim that TONE contrasts are conventional and central to the English language (and thus grammatical) (Benson et al 1988: 41):

> If our tests yield empirical validation of Halliday's system of tone for Canadian English, a very different dialect from the one for which his description was developed, this would add further support to the basic premise of this study, that intonation is, indeed, a central feature of English grammar

Halliday's is a distinct conception of 'grammar'[86], deriving from its place in the overall dimensional (stratal) model of language: in this case, the KEY system

---

> ungrammaticized layer, that of levels dictated by emotion: wide or narrow range, extra-high pitch etc.

[85] Tench (1990) sees intonation in terms of its roles in discourse. What in Halliday's description are grammatical KEY systems fall into his 'communicative' (mostly Halliday's primary TONE system) and 'attitudinal' categories (mostly Halliday's secondary TONE system): the former as direct exponent of discourse semantics; the latter equivalent to what Bolinger (footnote 84 above) referred to as the "genuinely ungrammaticized layer…dictated by emotion".

[86] Tench (1990: 25) discusses Halliday's conception of the term grammar in the following terms, in which what Halliday calls KEY he calls the 'attitudinal' function:

> …the question of the nature of the relationship between intonation and grammar pre-supposes an agreement on the nature – or at least on a definition – of 'grammar'. Halliday appears to have chosen a traditional term to cover a far wider range of linguistic

describes (certain of: cf Section 2.3.3.3) those grammatical resources realised through the TONE system of phonology (eg. tone 1, 2 etc) by which, together with other grammatical and lexical resources, semantic distinctions are made (Halliday 2005: xxvi):

> One advantage of intonation as a grammatical resource is that it can intersect freely with other variables: a clause may be, at the same time, either declarative or interrogative…and, independently, either falling or rising in pitch; giving four distinct possibilities…It may be that two of these combinations…qualify as in some sense unmarked…If so, these might once have been the only possibilities…these features then became partially dissociated…This decoupling of associated variables is a powerful semogenic resource…

On the basis of these considerations Halliday describes KEY systems as options at a further level of delicacy within MOOD systems. As suggested in the above quotation, this decision is one made with reference to the way that selections in these two systems are co-deployed to make meaning in text: that is, for example, a falling tone with a declarative MOOD has a different grammatical function (in construing semantic distinctions) than the same tone choice with the polar interrogative MOOD[87]; as a rising tone with a declarative or polar interrogative has different semantic functions again. As I present examples of all the KEY choices in

---

activity than is traditionally accepted. Crystal and Bolinger use the term 'grammar' for the more traditional, narrower, component of language, namely, syntax. What Halliday has included in grammar includes the three roles of intonation I have already listed, i.e. the attitudinal, communicative and information, as well as what one might call the purely 'synatctic' function.

[87] although of course there is some sense in which the same tone with different MOOD choices are agnate in meaning (cf Halliday 1967a).

the corpus of the present work below, here I will provide only a brief illustration, via the 'ovens' text with which I introduced in Chapter 1 (Appendix 1: A1.2.2; Appendix 2: A2.3.2: IUs 35-38; Appendix 3: Chapter 1: how's your new oven):

interactant	IU	intonation	MOOD	KEY
B1	35	//1 how's */ your new / oven //	wh-interrogative	neutral
B4	36	//4_ ^ it's / fine //	declarative	reserved
B4	37	//4_ ^ it's / fine //	declarative	reserved
B1	38	//_2 not - you're / not in */ love with it //	declarative	challenging

Table 2: MOOD: KEY choices in the first Chapter 1 ('ovens') text

One can see in this short text the way in which KEY choices work together with, as more delicate options in the MOOD choices to enact complex interpersonal semantic choices. The first choice is the congruent one for a wh-interrogative MOOD: this, because it is not the POLARITY that is at stake in this MOOD choice. B4's response is however, with respect to the MOOD choice, equivocal: the declarative shows the information is being given; but this information is assigned the falling-rising TONE that indicates that, with respect to the POLARITY of this proposition, the speaker is enacting both certainty plus uncertainty, that is, as Halliday puts it (1970a: 23), "implying a 'but'". The first speaker then picks up on this reservation, enacting a declarative MOOD again, but this time with the simple rising tone, realising what Halliday calls the 'challenging' KEY, an apt description in this

case[88]: B1 challenges B4 not on her clause lexicogrammar choices, but on the intonational one.

In Table 3 below I detail the intonational options instantiated within the present corpus[89]. As the labels chosen by Halliday, which I have for the most part

---

[88] This is the phenomenon described by various authors (Guy and Vonwiller 1984; Horvath 1985; Warren and Britain 1999; McGregor 2005) as the 'high rising terminal' (HRT), identified as having a variety of functions in discourse, especially a 'collaborative' one, and for several authors emerging as a distinct phonologic category. In the present work it is treated according to the Halliday description as having a single grammatical description (cf footnote 89 below on labels), as distinct from its phonological and semantic descriptions: cf its further illustration and discussion in Chapter Eight, Section 8.2.1.

[89] Note: only those system options occurring in the corpus of the present work are included. Those few which options that are therefore not included (for example the secondary-delicacy declarative 'listing' KEY (listing pretonic)), as well as the full system network representations, can be found in Halliday (1967a); for a summary, cf Matthiessen (1995b), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 142); for extended exemplification and discussion cf Halliday (1970a), Halliday and Greaves (2008). Note also: I have also made a small number of additions and amendments to Halliday's system networks and labels, for example: I have found it necessary to add the tone 5 'committed' option to the wh-interrogative MOOD (this label is, as is the practice in general in the present work, to bring out the agnateness of this and the committed declarative MOOD); likewise the low tonic for the wh-interrogative MOOD is called the 'mild' choice in line with the use of this tone for the declarative MOOD, which is also semantically agnate. Where I have added an option or employed a different term for or adapted an existing one of Halliday's these are marked by an asterix - *. Halliday's labels may be found in (1967a, 1970a), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Halliday and Greaves (2008), and an alternative set in Matthiessen (1995b: 455).

followed[90], are semantically self-explanatory, I will not elaborate on the functions of each choice here: part of the aim in the present research is to explore the use of these systems, illustrating the meanings they realise through extensive text analysis of instances of their use. However, in Appendix C (within the folders for each of the MOOD entry conditions to each KEY system) the reader(/listener/watcher) will find Praat sound and textgrid files for each of the options below

MOOD/ STATUS	KEY	TONE	phonetic description of pitch movement[91]
minor	neutral	1	falling
	neutral+ confirmatory	13	falling+level-rise
	confirmatory	3	level-rise
	committed	5	rising-falling
	uncommitted	_3	low pretonic, level-rise tonic

[90] Halliday's own labels have been inconsistent over the years, although there is a consistency of meaning amongst the various terms. This is no doubt partly because of the perceived need to 'gloss' their typical semantic functions; but unfortunately encourages the widespread perception of the semantic importance of the labels (cf Halliday 1988 on the 'ineffability of grammatical categories'). In fact, these labels are no more nor less accurate than any other grammatical label, such as 'polar interrogative', which is, in some contexts, hardly serving an interrogative function at all: as in the common exclamation "isn't that grand", for the purposes of a (sarcastic) Statement. Another issue in the area of terminology here is the distinguishing of grammatical and semantic labels: cf Matthiessen (1995b: 455), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 142) for different versions of these labels.

[91] Except where indicated (as descriptive of pretonic), all descriptions refer to pitch movement of the tonic contour.

	strong	1+	jump up from previous Ictus to high falling (wide pitch range)[92]
	intense	5_	low rise-fall (narrow pitch range)
	challenging: involved	_2	low pretonic, rising tonic
	address	4	falling-rising
	challenging	2	rising
	challenging: focussing	2_	low pretonic, sharp fall-rise tonic
declarative	neutral	1[93]	falling
	neutral+ confirmatory	1.3	falling + level-rise
	strong	1+	jump up from previous Ictus to high falling tone (wide pitch range)
	strong+ confirmatory	1+3	high falling+ level-rise
	mild	1_	low falling (narrow pitch range)
	mild+ confirmatory[94]	13	falling+ level-rise
	challenging	2	rising

[92] Note: the high fall is distinguished particularly by there being a 'jump up' from the pitch of the previous Ictus, such that there is a discontinuity in the pitch movement (sometimes, but not always, visible in the Praat picture). It is this discontinuity that signals one element (the tonic) as being distinctly the Focus of New, rather than the whole unit. Likewise, the 1_ has a slight jump down from the previous Ictus.

[93] Note: Halliday inserts a dot after the neutral tone 1; I consider this redundant.

[94] Note: in the Praat textgrid (Appendix 3: dec_mild+ confirmatory) for this category one can see the redundacy principle I employ in the representation of TONICITY: as there are only two feet and two tonics, the need to indicate these with an asterix is removed.

	*challenging: focussing	2_	sharp fall-rise
	*challenging: referring	_2	low pretonic, rising tonic
	confirmatory	3	level-rise
	reserved	4_	fall-rise with added pitch and temporal excursion[95]
	committed	5	rise-fall
	committed+ confirmatory	53	rising-falling+ level-rise
	*intense	5_	low rise-fall (narrow pitch range)
	(tag: reversed): neutral	2	rising
	*(tag: reversed): peremptory	1	falling
	*(tag: reversed): peremptory: strong	1+	high falling

---

[95] Note: Halliday calls this a 'low' tone 4, which convention I have followed in the transcription symbol. However, it should be noted that what gives this choice its interpersonal, as distinct from logical meaning (in the tone 4) is the addition of pitch and temporal excursion: these tone 4s have a more pronounced pitch fall (from a higher point than the previous Ictus), and a longer duration than the tone 4, which as it were draws attention to the fact of the fall-rise, and so turns what is a realisation of logical meaning (the tone 4) into that of interpersonal meaning. That is, instead of merely indicating 'there is more to come' (Halliday 1967a) the phonetic excess realises a meaning of 'uncertainty' about the polarity (an adversative meaning: as Halliday puts it, 'there's a but about it'). The opposite effect occurs with the tone 5_: there, the pitch/temporal excursion is lessened, such that the sense encoded by the tone 5 ('not certain' – 'certain') – i.e. the emphatic sense – is lessened, creating, depending on the discourse context, a variety of meanings, such as, in the declarative MOOD, 'wonder' or 'sarcasm' (Halliday 1967a).

	(tag: reversed): peremptory: intense	5_	low rise-fall (narrow pitch range)
polar interrogative	neutral	2	rising
	peremptory	1	falling
	peremptory: mild	1_	low falling (narrow pitch range)
	peremptory+ confirmatory	13	falling+level-rise
	peremptory: mild+ confirmatory	1_3	low falling+ level-rise
	strong+ confirmatory	1+3	high falling+level-rise
	(alternative): neutral[96]	1	falling
	(alternative): committed	5	rising-falling
	insistent	5	rising-falling
	involved	_2	low pretonic, rising tonic
	focussing	2_	sharp fall-rise
wh interrogative	neutral	1	falling
	neutral+ confirmatory	13	falling+level-rise
	committed	5	rising-falling

[96] Refers to the second tone in the sequence: the first is a rising tone, which is classified in the analysis as a normal neutral polar interrogative. The second tone in the alternative type tone sequence is analysed separately as this type as the falling tone is not functioning to realise the peremptory choice, as it would be in the normal type of polar interrogative. The same principle applies of course to the committed alternative type also.

	mild	1_	low fall (narrow pitch range)
	echo	2	rising (on wh-Adjunct)
	deferring	2	rising (not on wh-Adjunct)
	deferring: referring	_2	low pretonic, rising tonic
imperative	neutral	1	falling
	mild	3	low falling (narrow pitch range)
	*plea[97]	4	falling-rising
	question	2	rising
	question: focussing	2_	sharp fall-rise
	compromising	4_	fall-rise with added pitch and temporal excursion
	deliberate	_3	low pretonic, level-rise tonic
	*forceful[98]	1	falling (with negative imperative)

Table 3: KEY systems of the English language and their phonological and phonetic realisations

---

[97] In Halliday's system this is realised by a tone 13. I found none of this type in my data; but I did find an imperative tone 4 (not the tone 4_ realising the imperative compromising KEY). I opted to use the term 'plea' here as it seemed better suited to this choice, at least in terms of its use in the instance in my data, IU 79 in the ovens text. Note: the realisation of this tone 4 is unclear because of the quality of the recording; but after repeated listening, I am convinced, both on phonetic and semantic grounds, that this is indeed the imperative plea, used here in its characteristic function to get the attention of an addressee (a turn-taking and move-initiating strategy).

[98] This is called 'strong' in Halliday's system; but as this term is already taken by the high falling tone I have created this term. Note that in the Praat file I have truncated this instance for reasons of privacy, as the Vocative following the Focus identifies the participant.

2.3.3.3   The Logical Metafunction

There are two tones which form expressive resources for the construal of logical meaning: tone 3, which also has an interpersonal function (cf Table 3, previous section), in certain contexts has a logical function, that of parataxis; and the tone 4, which has a logical function of hypotaxis[99]. Both these choices thus realise logical relations between information units; and as such they work together or in tension with the logical tactic relations between clauses[100]. Thus, by choosing either of these options –called 'coordination' and 'subordination', respectively - in the system Halliday and Greaves call STATUS (2008: Section 6.3.2), a speaker defers the selection of KEY. In a text this can mean that for extended stretches of text there is a

---

[99] This realisation of logical meaning is to be distinguished from the low tone 4_ choice, which realises interpersonal meaning: the latter meaning suggested by the additional pitch/temporal excursion mentioned in Section 2.3.2 (cf also Figure 5).

[100] Halliday also makes reference to another logical use of tone, in terms of tone sequences, realising amongst other functions paratactic elaboration. However, these categories aren't utilised in the present work: while recognising the descriptive value of Halliday's interpretation here, in the present work, for the purposes of exploring register instantiation through intonational systems, I prefer to treat each of such selections as an independent KEY selection. Speakers use sequences of the same tone in such a variety of ways that I find it impossible to distinguish when they are construing elaboration, or merely choosing anew each time from that tone (KEY/ STATUS) choice, often instantiating interpersonal prosodies that obtain across stretches of text (series of KEY selections). Treating each KEY/STATUS choice as independent in the analysis also enables a description in terms of what I have referred to above as the instantiation of 'downranked statements': whether or not a speaker is adding interpersonal meaning to clausal meanings outside of the MOOD block. Treating two KEY selections in sequence as a logical choice obscures this aspect in the analysis.

'dilution' effect of the interpersonal meaning[101], at least in terms of the contribution by KEY, as several information units in an information nexus (complex) are assigned the single and final KEY selection of the nexus, as in the following texts, illustrating, in turn, the use of the subordinate and the coordinate STATUS choices (Appendix 1: A1.2.1, Appendix 2: A2.3.1, IUs 131-134; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_subordinate STATUS; and Appendix 1: A1.2.2, Appendix 2: A2.3.2: IUs 60&61; Appendix 3: Chapter 2_ coordinate STATUS):

H1	131	//4 ^ I / mean / opened the */ door //	subordinate
H1	132	//4 thinking that there was a //	subordinate
H1	133	//4 */ riot going / on with //	subordinate
H1	134	//1 people throwing */ bottles or //	declarative: neutral

Table 4: subordinate STATUS

B3	60	//3 ^ and he / didn't and then I for- */ got //	coordinate
B3	61	//1 now the - the / thing is dis- */ gusting //	declarative neutral

Table 5: coordinate STATUS

In Table 4 one can see the way in which speakers – particularly in certain types of text such as, in this case, a monologic anecdote – chunk up their discourse in such as way as to postpone the KEY selection, via the instantiation of logical rather than interpersonal (KEY) choices for each information unit. H1 needn't have assigned this STATUS choice to these information units: as in the final unit, IU 134, speakers can and often do enact an interpersonal rather than construe a logical

---

[101] At the same time, it is interesting how distinguishing the phonological TONE system from its lexicogrammatical functions helps us see the connection between logical and interpersonal concerns (Matthiessen: pers. comm.).

meaning together with the distribution into information units (as can be seen, H1 continues the clause complex after IU 135; but the logical relation between this and the next unit is signalled in IU 134 not by the intonational but the clause taxis – 'or'). The instantiation of the latter rather than the former choice thus decreases the level of interpersonal meaning of the entire utterance.

Table 5 illustrates also how the clause and intonational taxis grammatical resources interact: IU 60 has two clauses (marked ID) joined by a clausal tactic relation ('and') but no STATUS relation; in contrast to the whole information unit which is joined by a coordinate STATUS relation to the following IU 61. It is not always clear in the analytical process whether to assign coordinate STATUS or the confirmatory KEY to a tone 3. As with any other grammatical analysis, the analyst must decide ultimately according to considerations of function, primarily: whether the tone 3 functions to link two information units (this, whether there is a following unit or not); or to enact an interpersonal function, the low interpersonal engagment of the confirmatory choice. The same functional principle applies in some instances of tone 4/tone 4_ disambiguation (although there the phonetic description must also be part of the analysis).

2.4 Conclusion

It is clear that all the different views that have been taken of intonation phenomena are ultimately necessary to a comprehensive and holistic understanding of its nature and functions. It is also clear that this is a big job, too big for any one scholar or even one group of scholars. It is true that for certain pedagogic purposes the detail and rigour of mainstream phonological and phonetic science (in its instrumental,

experimental and laboratory manifestations) are to a large extent inappropriate and impractical. Likewise, for those developing descriptions, for example, for certain computational or typological tasks, the concern of teachers of the English language that intonation be described first and foremost in terms of its contribution to meaning is an attractive but for pragmatic reasons a secondary one.

It is my contention in the present work, and one of the aims of this work to show, that the issue of the incorporation of intonation into general applied linguistic tasks lies not so much with the theories of intonation as with the theories of language upon which they ultimately depend, and particularly their general theoretical and methodological orientations. The dominant early twentieth century approach to the science of linguistics which grew out of the earlier Romantic and dilettantish interest in the comparative historical origins of languages was, on the whole, not equipped, in terms of approach, techniques or data, to deal with the complexities of naturally-occurring spoken language situated within the contexts of its use. The fact that the technology for the study of sound as text in the same way as for written text has been widely available for several decades now, without its correspondingly widespread use in general linguistics, suggests that the reasons for the lack of application of theories of intonation lies not in the technological, but in the theoretical and methodological limitations of the field.

Nevertheless, as I have shown in this chapter, the wealth of theory, description and sophisticated analytical techniques and resources available at this point in the early twenty-first century mean that the study of intonation and intonational phenomena has never been in a more promising position, as suggested at the head of

this chapter in the Halliday and Greaves quotation. In this chapter I have offered a critical interpretation of the development of intonation study from the stratal perspective; and have then detailed the SFL description from within the general framework of the SFL multidimensional theory, showing how this latter tradition offers powerful linguistic resources for both the study of intonational systems and for incorporating into and enriching this tradition with the rich diversity of scholarly perspectives of the last century or so.

In the next chapter I apply the SFL framework to the consideration of another area of linguistics widely discussed and debated, that of register language. As I suggest there, some of the underlying issues emergent from the study of intonational systems have relevance also to the study of functional text-types, in particular the idea, cited from Matthiessen in Chapter 1 (footnote 54), that there are 'registers of metalanguage', that is, of linguistics.

Chapter Three: Register

(Firth 1957: 190): These systematic constructs are neither immanent nor transcendent, but just language turned back on itself.

(Firth 1968: 33): Technical terms and phrases…are, so to speak, defined operatively…In operational terms, they mean what they do.

(Matthiessen 1993a: 282): If we explore the notion that linguistics is a metalanguage or 'talk about talk' in Firth's wording systematically, we find that insights into register variation in language can also be projected one order up in abstraction and be explored as principles concerning register variation in metalanguage. This will invite us to ask, among other things, whether the variations we find across different accounts are essentially metadialectal – reflections of the linguists – or metaregisterial – reflections of the 'task'.

3.1 Introduction

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, the present work, although concerned with exploring intonational systems, is not so much concerned with the study of these systems per se, but rather of their use within particular types of text: their role in realising, negotiating, challenging and changing register settings, the system meaning subpotentials instantiated by speakers, by which speakers interpret their situational environments and anticipate and negotiate the nature of the discourse within such environments. In Chapter 1 I also raised some of the issues involved in the study of functional text-types – whether under the headings of 'genre' or 'register' – such as the indeterminacy involved in the classification into types, the role of dimensional perspectives - particularly of stratification and instantiation - in the theory of register

and genre, and methodological issues, particularly with respect to the instantiation dimension.

In the present chapter, as in Chapter 2, I start out from a standpoint that sees the different ways of interpreting the phenomenon of functional text-type as in some cases representing alternative views of the same phenomena, and in other cases views of altogether different phenomena[1]. Here, as elsewhere in linguistics (for example, in the theory of 'accent'/'stress': cf Chapter 2, footnote 41), as the Firth quotations at the head of this chapter suggest, much of the debate in this area centres on the use of terminology and the different conceptualisations therein. One task then is to distinguish between the different issues: between the different/same conceptualisations of register and genre theory; between the views of different/same phenomena; and between different/same terminologies. As throughout the present work, and following Matthiessen (1993a), I will address these issues dimensionally, particularly in terms of the two crucial dimensions of stratification and instantiation, with other dimensions such as metafunction also playing a role in the discussion.

It is indeed daunting to venture in to a discussion of an area of linguistics with such a history of debate as this one, moreso for a novice scholar[2]. My aims in doing

---

[1] Cf Pike (1982: 3):

> The list and kind of things men will find will vary radically if they adopt different *theories as tools* with which to search for these units. The theory is part of the observer; a different theory makes a different observer; a different observer sees different things, or sees the same things as structured differently; and the structure of the observer must, in some sense or to some degree, be part of the data of an adequate theory of language.

[2] Cf Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2, footnote 75.

so are twofold: to explore a range of ideas about this phenomenon, and aspects of the phenomenon itself, from within the holistic multidimensional approach outlined in Chapter 1[3]; and so to contextualise the explorations in later chapters with respect to some of the major debates and issues in the field. As for the discussion in Chapter 2, the rich variety of views of the many aspects of the phenomenon of register language may be usefully contextualised and to some extent harmonised within such an approach, and thus appreciated for their respective contributions to this difficult area of linguistic theory and application.

3.2 Terminology, Conceptualisation and Modelling

3.2.1   Early Formulations

The issue of terminology and its conceptual deployment in register theory was raised early on in its study, for example by Spencer and Gregory (1964/1970) in their discussion of field, tenor and mode (cf also Gregory 1967[4]: 194-95; Ellis and Ure 1969), with the issue of the terminological and conceptual division of labour between the terms 'register' and 'genre'[5] - crucial to later discussions of functional text-type - identified (Spencer and Gregory 1964/1970: 95, footnote 14):

---

[3] This is to follow Matthiessen (1993a: 225):

> To explore register and register variation further, it will be useful to review the dimensions of this overall organization…This will make it possible to explore different ways of interpreting registers theoretically and also to specify the theoretical significance they derive from the location in the overall theory.

[4] Gregory (1967: 177) refers to the "current terminological confusion in this area of study".

[5] Cf also Ellis and Ure (1969: 251).

Terminology and definition in this area of language study are both clearly in a developing stage; and the part played by *genre* and a consciousness of *genre* in language choices has still to be stated and reconciled with these other dimensions of language variation [i.e. field, tenor and mode: BAS] [italics in original]

The stratal location of register has also been a point of discussion from Halliday et al (1964) onwards. Halliday et al (1964: 89) make the definitive claim:

It is by their formal properties that registers are defined. If two samples of language activity from what, on non-linguistic grounds, could be considered different situation-types show no differences in grammar or lexis, they are assigned to one and the same register: for the purposes of the description of the language there is only one situation-type here, not two.

However, the presentation of the register model crucially involves the identification of three parameters describing the situational context to which the registerial choice of language features may correlate, and it with respect to these that much of the discussion (here, and in much of the work in later decades) ensues (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964: 90):

There is enough evidence for us to be able to recognize the major situation types to which formally distinct registers correspond; others can be predicted and defined from outside language. A number if different lines of demarcation have been suggested for this purpose. It seems useful to introduce a classification along three dimensions, each representing an aspect of the situations in which language operates and the part played by language in them. Registers, in this view, may be distinguished according to field of discourse, mode of discourse and style of discourse.

Thus there seems to be a distinction made here in this early formulation between the theory of register, and the modelling and methods one may most usefully deploy in its application to text analysis and classification. On the one hand, it is (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964: 93) "as the product of these three [situational: BAS] dimensions of classification that we can best define and identify register"; on the other hand, there is the claim quoted above that "[i]t is by their formal properties that registers are defined". Ellis and Ure (1969) make both linguistic and situational phenomena essential to the identification of register (1969: 252): although "register is a linguistic category", nevertheless "a given language will be said to have a register distinction at a certain point only if there are both linguistic and situational differences there". Their discussion of register also involves giving a detailed account of the situational parameters by which registers may be identified.

For Gregory (1967: 64) register "varieties represent instances of language defined in terms of the similar points they occupy on the continuums of field, mode and personal and functional tenors of discourse", that is, according to Gregory's conception of 'contextual categories'. However, for Gregory, 'context' is a theoretical construct for the actual relation itself of language events and the situational aspects of those events[6]; and Gregory is careful to distinguish between context and situation in this regard (1967: 177-78) [upper caps in original]:

> By SITUATION is meant the study of those extra-textual features, linguistic and non-linguistic, which have high potential relevance to statements of meaning about the texts of language events. By CONTEXT is understood the correlations of formally describable

---

[6] During this period "context" was sometimes used as the term for the 'semantic level.

linguistic features, groupings of such features within texts and abstracted from them, with those situational features themselves constantly recurrent and relevant to the understanding of language events[7]. Context is seen as a level of language, as its concern is with certain patterns and pattern correlations…

In the discussion of patterning, Gregory invokes another dimension of theory implicated in discussions of register, that of instantiation. Ellis, in his (1966) paper 'On contextual meaning', also explicitly locates register in language theory instantially, as a subset of the total meaning potential of a language ('language-variety'), in distinction to dialectal variation (following Halliday et al 1964: 87); but register is also located stratally, and again although register is initially analysed with respect to the lower strata, this analysis is correlated with situational factors also (Ellis 1966: 83):

> Register is a subdivision of language-variety, distinguished from local or social variety by varying with immediate features of the situation of utterance…By register-choice is meant the particular register out of the performer's range to which the utterance may be assigned…the analysis resting in the first place on linguistic features but in the statement correlated with situational ones.

So although register is, in the first instance, a theoretical construct for dealing with language type – i.e. an instantial concept, but located stratally at the language level of description – much of the discussion of its definition and application to descriptive tasks centres on stratal issues, and particularly the description of the

---

[7] Halliday later construes the relation of situation and text in the same way (1992: 9): "What about the relation between…situation and text? This is what we are calling the relation of 'context'".

situational parameters involved in the identification, if not the definition of register language. It is therefore not surprising that, as these early formulations began to be applied and developed further over the following decades, these dimensional issues remained a site for much of the discussion and debate around register theory and its application, particularly those of the stratification dimension.

What later came to be known as the (meta)functional perspective was also implicated in the early formulations of register - although metafunctional theory would not appear for several years - primarily in terms of the division into the situational/contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode. Much of the early debate in terms of the functional descriptions of situation, as for that of the stratal location of register, centres on terminology and its use, particularly with respect to the contextual/situational categories: already in the early development of register theory a major issue is the different uses of terms such as 'field', 'style', 'genre', 'tenor', 'mode', and 'medium'[8].

---

[8] Cf for example Gregory's (1967: 184) discussion of the "descriptive realization of the proposed categories of diatypic variation". The following comment by Gregory (1967: 194), although it refers also to the area of register in general, is specifically contextualised within a discussion of these parameters: "The terminological confusion in this area of study is such that it merits discussion" (a comment reminiscent of Ladd's, quoted in Chapter 2, footnote 41, about 'accent'). For a useful table comparing different authors' deployment of terms across the contextual parameters cf Martin (1999: 26).

3.2.2   Further Developments: Register and Genre

The dimensional issues identified above have remained at the heart of subsequent discussions and debates around the concepts of register and genre. The scholars listed above have continued to explore a variety of dimensional perspectives on register language, and on text-context relations, motivated by a variety of academic purposes. For Ure, the early focus on translation (cf Ellis and Ure 1969: 251) and other inter-language issues has continued, but within a wider sociological outlook (eg. Ure 1982), resulting in a typology of functional categories (cf Matthiessen 2007b for an extension of Ure's pioneering functional typological work). Gregory continued to develop a description of context as a part of language description (eg. Gregory and Carroll 1978), and later within the wider framework of his 'communication linguistics' (eg. 1985, 1988, 2002), including his concept of 'phasal analysis'. Yet it is two other scholars not yet mentioned in this chapter – a former student of Gregory's, Jim Martin; and one building upon Halliday's approach, Ruqaiya Hasan – who have most been associated with the further development of the theory of functional text-type, although both under the name of 'genre' rather than 'register'.

Hasan's early interest in the sociological perspective on register – particularly in relation to Bernstein's theory of 'codes' (Hasan 1973) – has been developed into an abiding interest in the nature of context and the text-context relation (eg. 1978, 1980, 1995, 1999) and, relatedly, semantics and semantic variation (eg. 1989, 1990, 1996; Hasan et al 2007). As with the work by earlier scholars, Hasan's interpretation of register theory involves both language and contextual phenomena; and Hasan is also careful to distinguish the two: thus, although for Hasan (1973: 271) "a particular

register is said to be characterized by reference to some syntactic, lexical or phonological patterns; that is to say, register varieties differ language-internally"; nevertheless, (1973: 271):

> …the distinctive formal patterns characterizing a particular register can
> be shown to be motivated by the factors which correlate with register
> distinction…those which form the relevant parameters of the situation
> giving rise to the use of language and those which arise from the nature
> of the channel through which language is transmitted.

Hasan goes on to challenge the dominant instantial perspective on register, preferring to approach the concept in stratal terms, building an early formulation of what would later become her theory of 'generic structure potential' (Hasan 1985/1989), and thereby motivating her subsequent longstanding interest in both semantic and contextual theory (1973: 273):

> It has been too readily assumed that the easiest and most valid form of
> describing the linguistics characteristics of registers is to state the
> frequency or likelihood of individual patterns or of their combinations.
> I would suggest that it might be advantageous to specify the
> characteristics of given registers by reference to some high-level
> semantic component.

An integral part of Hasan's view of the text-context relation, from her 1973 work onwards, is the concept which was later formulated as the 'metafunctional hookup' (eg. 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985/1989), developed by Halliday, as part of the discussion of register, out of the earlier identified correlations between the

metafunctions and the contextual parameters of his early theory[9] (eg. Halliday 1977: 200-201):

> We are asking, what is the potential of the system that is likely to be at risk, the semantic configurations that are typically associated with a specific situation type?…the options that make up the semantic system are essentially of…four kinds…if we separate the experiential from the logical…We shall be able to show something of how the text is related to the situation if we can specify what aspects of the context of situation 'rule' each of these kinds of semantic options…In the typical instance, the field determines the selection of experiential meanings, the tenor determines the selection of interpersonal meanings, and the mode determines the selection of textual meanings.

Thus, in the mature phase of the development of Halliday and Hasan's register theory, while the 'formal' features of the earlier description are now seen as the lexicogrammatical realisation of the higher-strata semantic choices, these are in turn construed in the theory as being 'determined'[10], 'ruled' or (below) 'associated with' the higher-strata situational choices; with the semantic stratum as the proper stratal location of the register concept, as specified by Halliday (1985b: 39-40):

> A register is a semantic concept. It can be defined as a configuration of meanings that are typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, mode, and tenor. But since it is a configuration of meanings, a register must also, of course, include the expressions,

---

[9] The phylogenesis of the metafunctional hookup theory thus evolved via a trinocular approach: first from 'above' – the situational parameters representing the uses of language; next the view from 'around' – the clusterings of lexicogrammatical systems; then the view from 'below'/'above' – the correlations between these lexicogrammatical clusterings and contextual parameters.

[10] But, cf Thompson (1999), footnote 19 below.

the lexico-grammatical and phonological features, that typically accompany or REALISE [upper caps in original] these meanings.

Hasan, building upon these core dimensional concepts – the stratal location of functional text-type at the semantic stratum; and the 'metafunctional hookup' theory – developed elaborated system networks at both the semantic and contextual strata as the descriptive resources by which her theory of 'generic structure potential' (eg. Hasan 1985/1989) might be operationalised: the set of co-selections from the contextual parameters in any given situation (called the (Hasan 1985/1989) 'contextual configuration' ("CC")) can be used to predict the obligatory and optional elements of generic structure at the semantic stratum – the contextual configuration determines the 'generic structure potential'[11]. Hasan's context networks in particular, as the descriptive resource for the identification of contextual configurations relevant to generic structure, have proved useful for the description at that strata in the present work, in their later elaborated form as developed by her student David Butt (Butt 2003).

However, the metafunctional hookup theory has been brought into question by several scholars. Thompson (1999), reviewing discussions of this issue, suggests that (1999: 107) "both sides of the hookup [context and language: BAS] need to be viewed configurationally"[12] (that is, in terms of configurations of co-selections in different

---

[11] Hasan (1985/1989: 56): "…the features of the CC can be used for making certain kinds of predictions about text structure".

[12] cf also footnote 19 below.

context and semantic systems); and that selections within a particular metafunction may have relevance across the contextual parameters, for example (1999: 121):

> …mood choices are in fact affected by the medium [that is, a mode parameter: BAS]…The use of queclaratives to demand information, for example, relies on the fact that the demand is made not just in speech but in dialogue…More broadly, the analyses presented in this paper suggest that metafunctional choices construe not individual contextual factors…but aspects of contextual configurations…involving all three factors.

From the late 1970s/early 1980s linguists at Sydney University, led by Jim Martin, began to redevelop Halliday's model of context, particularly in relation to Martin's own academic training with Gregory's model, and also with input from the ideas of Hjelmslev on the levels of language and their interrelations – a redevelopment that Martin has taken considerable pains over many publications to explain (cf Martin 1984, 1985a, 1992, 1999, 2001). One issue for Martin, his colleagues and students, was the difference between Gregory's and Halliday et al's modelling of context (Halliday's 'situation') (Martin 1999: 25):

> My own undergraduate training had involved extensive work on text and context as part of Michael Gregory's English program at York University in Toronto. There I was introduced to Gregory's scaffolding for context (field, mode, personal tenor and functional tenor…). In Sydney, I usually taught students who had completed a course in functional grammar with Halliday…many of whom would have run into his alternative three term scaffolding (field, mode and tenor…). The differences between these models often worried students, who found them unsettling at this early phase of their studies.

Martin (1999) goes on to give an account of his work with Frances Christie and Joan Rothery on pedagogic applications of systemic functional linguistics, the latter with whom in particular (Martin and Rothery 1980) Martin developed his theory of genre as (Martin 1999: 26) "a model of context that could be used with teachers to inform literacy teaching". This development centred on Gregory's 'functional tenor' parameter of context (eg. Gregory and Carroll 1978: 53): "Functional tenor is the category used to describe what language is being used for in the situation. Is the speaker trying to persuade? To exhort? To discipline?[13]…The generic structure of text is often defined in terms of functional tenor".

Martin and Rothery's strategy for reconciling Gregory's and Halliday's modelling of context was to treat (Martin 1999: 27) "functional tenor as a variable unlike the others, and placing it in an underlying position with respect to field, (personal) tenor and mode – through which context variables it was realised", thereby

---

[13] For Halliday, in the 1970s, these purposes are subsumed under the mode parameter of context – the role language is playing in the context –under the term 'rhetorical mode' (1977: 201). Halliday in this regard relates the similar and more popularly known concept of 'genre' to his own model (1977: 202): "The concept of genre…is an aspect of what we are calling the "mode"". However, Halliday makes the point that 'genre', as the term is commonly employed, also involves "associations between a particular genre and particular semantic features of an ideational or interpersonal kind…Hence labels for generic categories are often functionally complex". Because of the (Matthiessen 1993a: 232-33) traditional deployment of the term 'genre' in literary studies, Halliday preferred the former term 'rhetorical mode' and, as Matthiessen makes clear, 'genre' plays no part in the terminological apparatus of Halliday's register theory; and that Halliday's (1978) discussion of the term with respect to its use in literary studies (Matthiessen 1993a: 232-33) "should not be read as an attempt to set up *genre* as a systemic term alongside *register*" [italics in original].

both accomodating Halliday's metafunctional hookup "while at the same time making room for a variable that ranged across metafunctions in terms of realisation and could be used talking globally about a text's social purpose". This was later conceptualised in the SFL stratal model as an additional stratum, called 'genre', above Halliday's 'context'[14] - which was itself relabelled as 'register'[15]. Genre, in this model, is (Martin 2001: 288) "concerned with coordinating field, mode and tenor selections and organising them into staged, goal-oriented processes".

The genre model has for Martin and many others several advantages, theoretical and pragmatic, two important of these being the (Martin 1999: 30) "ambition, not yet consummated…to map culture as a system of genres" and (Martin 2001: 289) "the question of handling variation in field tenor and mode from one stage to another within a genre" – the latter of which plays a part in the analysis of certain texts in the corpora of the present work. Although Martin has written that "[e]arly on… educational concerns had a much smaller registerial impact than might appear in retrospect[16], an acknowledged important impetus for such a development was the pedagogic applications mentioned above (cf Martin 1997)[17]. There has been criticism

[14] Sometimes, also, another stratum – ideology – is added (eg. Martin 1992, 2001: 288)

[15] Martin cites as influences on this stratal model (1999: 287-288) East Anglia critical linguistics and, deriving from Hasan and Labov, generic structure.

[16] referring to the discussions with (Martin 1999: 26) "those whose concerns lay outside education", such as Eggins (eg. 1990), Nesbitt (eg. Nesbitt and Plum 1987) and Plum (eg. 1988/1998), Poynton (eg. 1985) and Ventola (eg. 1987).

[17] Martin (1997: 412-13) writes that, in working with educators:

Our immediate stumbling block was practicing teachers who had no knowledge about language to draw when considering their students' writing…Clearly, to get off the ground

of this model, particularly from Hasan (in particular, Hasan 1995), and as discussed in Chapter 1 (cf. Section 1.2.2, footnote 75), confusion amongst those within and outside of the SFL community as to the complementarities and redundancies between the two models and their respective terminologies[18].

At least some of the common perception of difficulty in the area of register and genre theory in (and outside of) the SFL tradition may be ascribed both to the mixing of dimensional perspectives – stratification and instantiation – and the differing terminological frameworks in early register theory, as well as the different construals of the stratification dimension model outlined above. For example in both Halliday's and Hasan's work one finds reference to the language-context relation as one not only of 'realisation' (eg. Halliday 1992b: 15; Hasan 1999: 223), but also as a predictive relation – that is, one more akin to being modelled according to the instantiation dimension[19].

> we needed something simple…To come up with something simple we had to revise the theory of context we had inherited from Halliday…[through genre theory: BAS] we could suppress the grim complexities of register variation and language (including grammar) and concentrate on the more palatable notion of social purpose – as enacted through different kinds of texts (report, narrative, procedure, explanation, exposition, discussion, etc), each with a distinctive kind of beginning, middle and end structure. For some of our colleagues this was heresy (cf Hasan 1995); but it appealed to us, on both theoretical and practical grounds, and proved consumable too.

[18] cf for discussions Martin (1984, 1985a, 1992, 1999, 2001), and Matthiessen (1993a).

[19] Cf Thompson on the metafunctional hookup theory (1999: 106):

> Halliday in particular (e.g. 1978: 143; in Halliday and Hasan 1985/1989: 25) has consistently stressed that the correlations between contextual parameters and metafunctions are a matter of tendency and statistical probability, not of determination.

For example, Halliday (1978: 110) writes, "[g]iven an adequate specification of the semiotic properties of the context in terms of field, tenor and mode we should be able to make sensible predictions about the semantic properties of texts associated with it" [20]. As mentioned earlier, for Hasan also the relation between the contextual configuration and generic structure potential is a predictive one (1978: 230), where "the correlation [of linguistic and extralinguistic variables: BAS] is causally determined, with certain contextual variables functioning as control upon the range of meanings from which selection may be appropriately and relevantly made" – that is,

---

[20] For example also, Halliday (1978: 31): "These three variables [field, tenor and mode: BAS], taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the 'register'"; Halliday (1985/2002: 284): "…given these features of the context of situation, we can make semantic (and therefore lexicogrammatical) predictions with a significant probability of being right"; (Halliday 2005: xxii): "These [the field, tenor and mode categories of context: BAS] started out as just convenient abstractions; it was only later that they proved to be motivated in metafunctional terms, thus helping to explain the two-way predictions that speakers are able to make, from the text to the context or else from the context to the text". The term 'tendency' is also used (Halliday 1977) – again having an instantial flavour – as is 'activate', which is itself related to 'patterning' (i.e. instantiation) (Halliday 1977: 203):

> The patterns of determination that we find between the context of situation and the text are a general characteristic of the whole complex that is formed by a text and its environment. We shall not expect to be able to show that the options embodied in one or another particular sentence are determined by the field, tenor and mode of the situation. The principle is that each of these elements in the semiotic structure of the situation activates the corresponding component in the semantic systems, creating in the process a semantic configuration…This semantic configuration is what we understand by the 'register'….The concept of register is the necessary mediating concept that enables us to establish the continuity between a text and its sociosemiotic environment.

Hasan (1995: 195) relates this conception of the interstratal relation back to Firth's idea that "given a context of situation, you could be expected to predict, within reason, what sort of language will ensue".

the contextual configuration acts as a constraint on the meaning potential at the lower strata[21]. Thus both instantiation – functional type as constraint on semantic potential – and stratification – functional type as realisation of contextual configurations – seem to be implicated in construals of register and genre theory.

These differences between and dimensional issues within the different models of functional text-type are perhaps not only to be seen in terms of the theories themselves: they may be as much a result the complexities of the phenomenon of functional text-type itself - the nature of the relations between a situational context and the use of language within that text – as by the various means by which these complexities are construed for the differing consumer needs of linguistic theory. As Martin has pointed out (footnote 21 above) the relations between a context and the language used within that context seem different from those between the systems at different strata involved in language production (and analysis).

Although a context of situation is itself an instance in the same way as the text which 'constructs' that context is (Halliday 1992b[22]), both language users and

---

[21] Cf also Martin (1999: 29): "…it seemed to us that the realisation relationship between context and language was unlike that across strata within language in that context manifested itself by skewing probabilities in linguistic systems".

[22] One important aspect of the instantial perspective is Halliday's (1992b) modelling of context of situation (for Halliday here still called 'situation', perhaps a more accessible term for his audience of language educators than 'context' – another instance of purpose motivating the use of terminology) and context of culture (the terms 'context of situation' and 'context of culture' first appear in Malinowski (1923/1927) and (1935) respectively: cf Halliday 1991 for a discussion) along the instantial dimension as, respectively, the instance and system poles of the cline of instantiation at the context level, invoking

analysts tend to perceive that context as operative over stretches of text: that is, although it is common to perceive texts as an unfolding pattern of selections, changing over time, the context of situation of a text is more often thought of as a constant, operating across the text[23]. As mentioned above, this aspect of the context-text relation was a motivating factor in Martin's dynamic view of genre. This perspective on context of situation – as an instance which can itself change and be changed by language selections through a text – is a critical one for the discussion of intonational systems in certain (types of) texts: INFORMATION systems in particular are shown through certain texts in the present work to be implicated in shifts in contextual parameter settings (cf discussion of Matthiessen's study of instantial systems and logogenesis below).

---

his famous 'weather-climate' analogy to clarify his construal of the 'dynamics' of an instance of text-context (1992: 8):

> …the situation and the culture…are not two different things; they are the same thing seen from different points of view. A situation, as we are envisaging it, is simply an instance of culture…We can perhaps use an analogy from the physical world: the difference between "culture" and "situation" is rather like that between "climate" and the "weather"…The weather…is the actual instances of temperature and precipitation and air movement that you can see and hear and feel. The climate is the potential that lies behind all these things

[23] Cf also in this regard discussions by Hasan (eg. 1980/1996, 1995, 1999, 2000). For those working in computational linguistics the need to model all strata instantially (in terms of the process of instantiation: cf Matthiessen 1995a) has long been recognised (Matthiessen pers. comm.): cf O'Donnell (1999) who also takes up this issue – of contexts that change over time - as part of his discussion of the computational modelling of dynamic contexts (cf, for the antecedents of the 'dynamic' view of text: Martin 1985a; Ventola 1987).

The different construals of functional text typology by Hasan and Martin in fact have core principles in common: both model genre in terms of the relation between instantiation – text-type – and stratification – the functional interpretation of text-typology – with the former being motivated by the latter; and both construe genre in structural (syntagmatic) terms (genre as structures: although for Martin these are usually construed as 'staged processes')[24]. However, whereas for Hasan a generic structure is the output of the realisation of a contextual configuration, Martin sees genre – 'a staged, goal-oriented process' – as the generator of what Hasan calls a contextual configuration (a register configuration in Martin's terms).

Another scholar to take up the issue of functional text-type – under the heading of 'register' – and address some of these metalinguistic issues within the multidimensional perspectives outlined in Chapter 1 has been Matthiessen (cf 1993a in particular). Matthiessen begins his (1993a) discussion by reference to the concept encapsulated in the two Firth quotations at the head of the chapter (Matthiessen 1993a: 221):

> Register analysis is both a linguistic and a metalinguistic activity…As linguists, we have to engage in register analysis metalinguistically to interpret 'register' theoretically and to produce and evaluate descriptions of registers in terms of the theoretical potential of the metalanguage.

That is, Matthiessen shows that, as with my discussion in Chapter 2 on intonation studies, the work in the area of functional text-type can be seen from the

---

[24] Slade (1994: 50): "What is dominant in both Hasan's and Martin's perspectives on text is the central

perspectives of the different dimensional orientations of the works, and thus contextualised themselves by reference to their respective (usually dual) academic and applied purposes: that is, register and genre may be located instantially, and/or stratally, depending upon one's theoretical orientation and academic purpose. Matthiessen (eg. Matthiessen 2007b: 70-75) has built upon Jean Ure's idea of functional text-typologies (eg. Ure and Ellis 1977)[25], developing a description of some of the major text-types for the English language which are arranged according to some fundamental contextual parametric distinctions: a primary delicacy field typology consisting of eight categories, 'expounding, reporting, recreating, sharing, doing, recommending, enabling, exploring'; and a primary mode distinction between spoken and written, and dialogic and monologic texts.

With these few distinctions Matthiessen is able to classify all texts according to his typological classification system[26]: for example, under the field heading 'recreating', one finds in the spoken, monologic mode 'radio commentary' and 'anecdote', while 'drama' is spoken and dialogic; under 'expounding', one finds a monologic written 'text book', but a 'spoken dialogic' type includes such texts as a 'tutorial' and 'debate'. This approach, as discussed earlier by Ure and Ellis (1977:

---

place of structure".

[25] A similar idea is Martin's 'genre agnation', mentioned above.

[26] Macro-texts may be multiply classified, typically with nuclear text classification with satellite subtext classifications: for example, the nuclear texts of a quality newspaper will be 'reporting', but other satellite texts within a newspaper may be, for example, in the case of editorials and reviews, 'exploring' texts, recipes within the 'enabling' sector, advertisements within the 'recommending' sector (subtype: promoting) and agony aunt letters within the 'recommending' sector (subtype: advising) (Matthiessen pers. comm.).

208-09) "makes it possible to obtain a maximum of information from necessarily restricted data" while "[f]urther sets of texts are added, collected in situations differing on one dimension only, until at last a corpus of texts is built up which can be sub-classified again and again to provide contrasts on all situational dimensions".

This is part of a long-standing interest on the part of Matthiessen, building upon Halliday's (eg. 1959, 1991, Halliday and James 1993[27]) probabilistic approach to language description, in corpus linguistics and the probabilistic profiling of language systems (eg. Matthiessen 1999, 2006, 2007c), particularly in corpora that are registerially organised, within a computational platform (cf Wu 2000), and including profiles of the skewing of probabilities within certain text-types (registers) (eg. Matthiessen and Bateman 1991)[28]. Matthiessen (1993b, 1995a, 2002b, 2007c) has also investigated the concept of logogenesis in terms of instantial networks built up within texts, which are a resource for interpreting texts in terms of what for Martin (1985a), Ventola (1987) and others[29] is called a dynamic perspective.

I drew upon the basic concepts of Ure and Matthiessen's approach to register-typology for the selection of the corpora for the present research. Furthermore, although the approach in the present work (cf Chapter 4), as well as the nature of intonation phenomena, mean that the present work is unable to make any direct contribution to this long-term corpus-based project (including computationally-accessible corpora), the identification of registerially-significant aspects of the use of

---

[27] cf also Nesbitt and Plum (1987).

[28] cf also Bateman and Paris (1991); Bateman and Teich (1995).

[29] Cf also for example Slade (1994), Ravelli (1995).

intonation in the different texts under investigation will, it is hoped, form one step on the long path towards providing intonational resources for such projects into the future, including the automated interrogation of computationally-based corpora. The logogenetic, dynamic perspective is also a crucial resource for the approach taken within the present research, as I build up the description of register language instance by instance, with the 'view from the instance' of selections early in texts forming the context for later interpretations of patterns across texts; while shifts in patterning in intonational systems within texts are also explored from the perspective of both the instance and register views.

3.2.3 Discussion

In Section 3.2 I have traced some of the issues and developments emerging from the study of functional text-types in recent decades of relevance to the present work. I have shown how, without the metalinguistic resources of multidimensional theory, in the study of register, as for that of intonational systems, the seeming inconsistencies in and difficulties revealed by the various approaches discussed above can act as a deterrent rather than as enabling resources with which to (Martin 2000) 'enact functional linguistics' within a wide range of academic contexts; but that these inconsistencies, from within the perspective of the SFL multidimensional framework, can be reinterpreted as enriching complementarities.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the developments in recent decades in the areas of register and genre, made explicit in Matthiessen's (1993a, and later 2007a and b) works, has been the evocation of a consciousness that any theory or description of language, as for any theory of any phenomena – or indeed construal of the

phenomenal world through language - cannot purport to be the final word in the matter of the construal of the 'reality' of the phenomena its seeks to describe, but represents no more nor less than an alternative standpoint, usually taken for particular purposes. This is not an abdication but rather an assumption of intellectual responsibility: for anyone to claim that any theory offers anything more than a particular perspective is to claim more for theory – and the language by which it is realised - than it can deliver; but to be explicit about one's own theoretical orientation and the valeur of the terms one uses is to locate one's work in relation to other (existing and potential) works, enabling the dialogism advocated by Martin (2001), within and across dimensions, fields and even disciplines.

There are echoes in the above discussion of the dimensional issues encountered by scholars in the description of intonational phenomena (cf Chapter 2): for example, in the various approaches outlined above to the description of the strata of situation/context and language and their relations. One recognises on the one hand that a description of register language and the contextual parameters at stake must depend upon an account of meaning distinctions: one of the crucial attributes of a systemic, paradigmatic approach to language description is that one thereby reveals patterning and the resultant probabilities by which texts may be assigned to registers; and the same systemic principle must also apply to the description of context. The same can be said of the phonological description of a language: phonological categories are those realised through acoustically-perceived distinctions in sound that are utilised somewhere in the language[30] to make distinctions in meaning.

---

[30] cf Halliday quote in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2, footnote 51.

On the other hand, the text-context relation ultimately depends, as does intonation (that is, phonological) analysis, on consideration of the actual material aspects of the situational environment that enter into those abstract systemic relations described at the contextual, semantic and lexicogrammatical strata: as Malinowski originally showed, a meaning-based analysis of any text ultimately depends upon an account of some actual happenings in the experience of the speaker. Hasan in particular has devoted considerable effort (eg. 1980/1996, 1985a) to making clear the distinction between the situational description - that is, of socio-material phenomena (that which is construed/enacted/engendered in language): her 'material situational setting' (called the "MSS") - and the contextual description – abstract, systemic: her 'contextual configuration' ("CC")[31]. This differentiation is utilised in the present work, and is crucial to understanding the way in which speakers differentially construe, enact and engender their respective interpretations of the situational environment in terms of contextual parametric settings.

These considerations, of the relations of the semiotic and material realms, may at this point be referred back to the discussion in Chapter 1 of Matthiessen and Halliday's concept of the ordered typology of phenomenal realms. The SFL

[31] Gregory made the same distinction :cf Section 3.2.1 above. Hasan's differentiation between the uses of the two terms is based on the idea of intersubjectivity and the nature of a sign system ('semiotic') (1980/1996: 37-38):

> The word 'situation' in the expression 'context of situation' refers to that part of reality which is filtered through the interactant's focus upon some aspect of his environment….However, we do have to take into account the fact of interaction, the presence of which argues that the subjective must be somehow turned into the intersubjective…The means by which the private is rendered public is provided by the semiotic codes.

framework discussed in Chapter 1, within which register phenomena may be located with respect to the dimensions of instantiation and stratification, may itself then be located within the typology of material, biological, social and semiotic phenomena. Figure 9 below, taken from Matthiessen (pers. comm.), illustrates the location of register phenomena in terms of this typology. Of relevance to the discussion of the relations of the socio-material and the semiotic realms above is Matthiessen's characterisation of the registerial midpoint along the cline of instantiation as 'institution', at all strata: in particular, the status of institutional social roles in their relation to their enactment in semiosis (context/language) is important to several of the discussions in the following chapters:
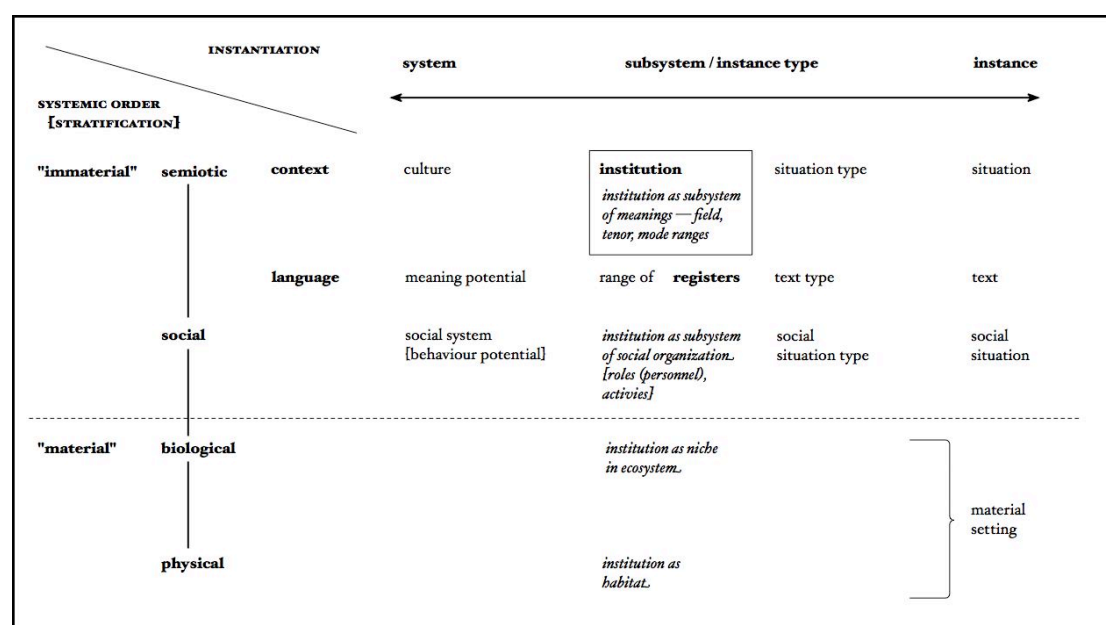
Figure 9: register phenomena as part of the ordered typology of realms (Matthiessen, pers. comm.)[32]

---

[32] Note that for Matthiessen here, as often for Halliday, the term 'situation' is used as synonymous with (and shorthand for) 'context of situation'. However, in the present work the terms 'situation' and 'context' are kept separate in the description (cf discussion in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2).

The study of register thus involves not only semantic, but lexicogrammatical (including intonational), contextual and situational (socio-material) phenomena. As the lower strata descriptions drawn upon for the present work have been presented in Chapter 2, I take the opportunity in this chapter, in Section 3.4, to outline the semantic and contextual resources utilised in the present exploration of register language. But firstly, in Section 3.3, I will review some of the studies of register utilising intonation and intonational systems that have emerged over the last few decades.

3.3 Intonation and Functional Variation

Most of the early studies of 'genre' mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2), taking place as a part of literary theory, had as their main object of investigation, not surprisingly, prototypical written (i.e. prepared, edited) text. Work in the SFL and other neo-Firthian traditions, and indeed in many traditions of linguistics in the last few decades of the twentieth century have however made the study of spoken text an important area of study[33]. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2), although there

---

[33] Halliday et al (1964: 90) point out the difficulties confronting the student of the spoken mode: "…much of the language activity that needs to be studied takes place in situations where it is practically impossible to make tape recordings. It is not surprising, therefore, that up to now we know very little about the various registers of spoken English". More contemporary ethical concerns have added to the problem. However, large-scale corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC Consortium 2005) (100 million words) do contain substantial quantities of spoken text (10%), with a generous register range - although the registerial range for speech in most corpora is more restricted than that for written texts. The London-Lund corpus (Svartvik 1990) contains spoken texts classified according to mode distinctions, and is registerially quite diverse; and is also distinguished in having the marking of about 100 prosodic and paralinguistic features. A sub-corpus of the Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English, the Business Corpus (cf Warren 2004) is also prosodically transcribed. Cf also the

has been a relative neglect of intonational phenomena within linguistics in general, there has been a tradition of study of stylistic or other functional variation of intonation phenomena, working either from instance- or statistically-based views.

The comparison of the spoken and written modes of language itself has been one important area of register study, and in a sense is a prototypical register (and multimodal!) study (eg. Benson and Greaves 1984; Halliday 1985a; Svartvik 1990). It is perhaps because of the dramatically illustrative nature of findings from spoken/written mode comparisons that scholars such as Biber (1988) have developed their methodologies for register variation study within such a comparison[34]. These studies however do not always contain intonation or other prosodic features as part of the analysis.

Where intonation is a part of register studies, it is often from the sort of bottom-up approach discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. For example, Crystal and Davy (1969) work within the approach detailed in Crystal (1969: cf eg. Chapter 2, footnote 26; cf also Crystal 1975). Hirschberg's (2000) study of speaking styles, based upon the mode distinction between 'spontaneous' and 'read' speech, is conducted within the framework of autosegmental theory, also incorporating acoustic phenomena such

Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (Cambridge University 2008), which is a collection of recordings of spoken interactions coded according to the relations between the interactants, in terms of their levels of familiarity, as a resource for studying the effects of these relations on the formality of language used.

[34] Cf also Matthiessen's (2007b) register typology discussed above, which has the spoken/written distinction as one of its determining categories.

as F_0; and Johns-Lewis's (1986) study of discourse modes – that are a mix of Hymes' 'genre' and Crystal and Davy's 'modality' – also studies variation in F_0.

Yaegor-Dror (1996) analyses variation across several registers of language in terms of pitch prominences on negatives, incorporating the semantic aspects of Hirschberg's description of pitch accent. Horvath's (1985) study of variation in Australian English uses genre-like categories based on the type of question used to elicit the data to study the well-known phenomenon, discussed in Chapter 2 (cf footnote 82), called the HRT (High Rising Terminal). Tench (1988, 1990) differentiates six genres – such as anecdotes, different forms of prayer, and public reading (from a bible) – according to such parameters as tonicity, tone, 'paralinguistics features' and hesitation.

Carmichael's (2005) work is conducted within the autosegmental tradition using the ToBI transcription system, but is remarkable in that, working from within a theoretical tradition of intonation description which has privileged the 'bottom-up' perspective, she has investigated variation in intonation patterns within different situational contexts – 'register domains' - drawing upon, amongst others, Halliday's theory of register. Carmichael shows clearly how variation in the use of intonation, even within a theory not designed for multistratal analysis, can be related to the situational environment of its use; and also that speaking situations (2005: 6) "are as multidimensional as the linguistic features that characterize them".

There are of course studies of particular registers which treat of intonation phenomena as a part of the study (cf Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2). Thanks to Brazil's

contribution, much of the work in the Birmingham School tradition on classroom discourse includes a description of intonation as part of the analytical toolkit (eg. Brazil et al 1980); and on the other hand many studies of intonation use data from a specific register as the means by which their investigations are made (eg. El-Menoufy 1969 – casual conversation; Wennerstrom 1998 – academic discourse; Bowcher 2004 – radio sports commentary; Matthiessen et al 2005 – telephonic service encounters) or are of the intonation of particular registers (eg. van Leeuwen 1992; Nihilani and Lin 1998).

Within the SFL tradition, Halliday himself, particularly in the analyses presented in the appendices as part of his 1970 description, has conducted detailed intonation analyses of texts which would be classifiable into different registers, and has continued to include intonational systems as part of his more general descriptive tasks of a variety of text-types (cf discussion of Halliday and Greaves 2008 below). Van Leeuwen (1982, 1985, 1992) investigated the use of phonological systems realising textual systems within a range of different types of radio announcing (cf discussion in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1.1.1 and 2.3.3.1.1.3); as has Martinec for news reading and casual conversation text-types.

Bowcher's (2004) investigation of the register of radio sports commentary also focusses on the use of textual systems of speech (Given-New choices). This study is significant to the present work in terms of its study of the type of elements in the discourse that are assigned the status of New information, and marked New. In a (1999) paper, Bowcher relates the findings of the earlier research to Hasan's concept of institutionalization in terms of an investigation of both Hasan's 'material situational

setting' ("MSS") (Hasan 1981) and her contextual parameters, finding that (1999: 171) "[h]ighly institutionalized environments have a low degree of individual freedom to negotiate that environment". Her approach, which (1999: 171) "provides a systematic way of interpreting the relationship between a text and specific extralinguistic social phenomena", is an important one in terms of my own approach to the analysis of contextual parameters in terms of a situational description (cf also Cloran 1999); and her observation that (1999: 173) "[c]onstancy and change in context are complementary points of view: they are views from different observer time depths along the continuum of system-instance" is a fundamental one to the approach taken to the analyses and discussion in the present work (cf Chapter 4).

The multistratal study by Matthiessen et al (2005) of telephone sales of fast food is also of direct importance for the present work: the initial inspiration for the present approach derives from this work. Focussing on the interpersonal metafunction, this study features the integration of analyses at all strata – phonology, lexicogrammar, semantics, and context – into a coherent account of the meaning-making process in this particular register – a highly routinised and thus somewhat restricted register. The authors discuss instances from a multistratal perspective, then take views from along the cline of instantiation upon statistical profiles of selections in interpersonal systems, while still maintaining the multistratal perspective. In the process they identify many of the crucial issues in such an approach, such as the (2005: 140) "need to pursue a clearer grounding" on semantic coding, and identifying more delicate semantic options within a range of registers. Discussing the advantages of the multistratal systemic-functional approach, Matthiessen et al observe (2005: 141):

the system of SPEECH FUNCTION [cf Section 3.4.1 below: BAS] is represented as strategies for enacting tenor values as meaning in the ongoing creation of dialogue. For instance, we can relate systemic speech-functional variants in politeness to the tenor of the relationship between the operator and the caller in our telephonic service encounters: the operator deploys the appropriate speech-functional strategies for enacting his or her role as an operator-server in relation to the caller-customer…By modelling the resources of SPEECH FUNCTION as a network of options in meaning, we have also been able to be quite explicit about how these different contrasting options are realized grammatically through MOOD, and then in turn phonologically through TONE…if a given speech functional category can be realized in more than one way, we know that the account of speech function has to be extended in delicacy until we can account for the semantic significance of the variation in realization.

The principle of the multistratal approach has been extended in the present work to an investigation of several different types of text, across interpersonal, logical and textual systems of the grammar of the information unit, in a multidimensional account. Of particular interest is the way in which variation in inter-stratal realization strategies may be related both to contextual parameters and to more delicate semantic options. The concept of building up the general description through descriptions of particular registers is at the heart of the general organisational approach taken for the present research.

Also of immense significance for the present work is the approach taken in Halliday and Greaves (2008) to the analysis of texts from a variety of registers: immensely detailed, 'close-up' multidimensional views of selected instances of excerpts from some intriguingly authentic spoken textual interactions. This approach

has been for me both a guide and an encouragement, in terms of the way in which I have approached what I call the 'view from the instance' in the present work. The demonstration that one can make valuable statements of meaning about texts as members of text-types, via the detailed analysis of even small excerpts, has emboldened me to adopt this as the first step in the journey from instance to text-type and register perspectives.

The increase in complexity, that both the computational and theoretical techniques Halliday and Greaves discuss (cf quotation at the head of Chapter 2) makes available, also to a large extent determines both the explorative and multidimensional aspects of the approach in the present work: there is much to be explored in terms of the interactions of systems from the various perspectives afforded by these resources; and the multidimensional approach enables one to manage the complexity that results.

3.4 Descriptive Resources for the Present Work: Semantic and Context Strata

The earlier discussion outlining some of the key developments in the study of functional text-type – as register and genre theory – makes it clear that in order to investigate the use of intonational systems within registers the focus should be as much upon the semantic and contextual strata as upon the lexicogrammatical systems through which they are realised. But it is also the case that systemic descriptions of the higher strata are not as well developed as that for the lexicogrammatical stratum.

Regarding semantic description, as I discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1), part of the problem is undoubtedly the attitudes on the part of influential scholars such as Bloomfield to the feasibility of investigating or describing meaning in linguistic science. Butt (2000) identifies other possible explanations, such as the reductionist approach that sees (2000: 228) "all meanings/texts as the aggregate of cognitive components or universal features". The general dominance of the constituency model for representing the different metafunctions is no doubt also a factor in both the difficulties and successes in semantic description (cf Halliday 1979; Matthiessen 1988; Martin 1992).

Contextual description has in one sense fared well, in that the relation of language use and its situational context has received an increasing level of attention, particularly in recent decades, so as to become a common part of general linguistic tasks. But again, while approaches to contextual description tend to be based on considerations of meaning, the descriptions themselves are not always systemic (abstract); and issues of the composition and relations of the different contextual parameters to each other and to the lower strata have continued to challenge.

In the following two sections I extend the earlier discussions of register with a brief survey of the semantic and contextual descriptions relevant to the present work below: organised, in the first instance, according to the stratal dimension - in terms of semantics, and then, of context - and within that organisational context, according to the metafunction dimension. While this brief outline is in no way meant to be a comprehensive or evaluative account of the work within SFL at these strata – in the sense that these are considered the 'best' descriptions - the descriptions used within

the present research have had for me at least the quality of an enriching perspective on the lower strata analyses, and provide in many instances a matrix for the discursive interpretations of those intonational selections.

As part of the explorative nature of the present work, the investigation of the semantic and contextual descriptions of intonational selections in later chapters will form part of the discussion accompanying the analyses, rather than included with the actual systemic analytical component of the thesis; and will draw upon the situational description given at the beginning of each analysis, as much as the lexicogrammatical analyses. That is, one of the main aims of the present work is to explore the use of intonational systems from the perspective of their role in realising register language which is taken to be, in the present work, constraints operative upon semantic systems, constraints that themselves realise settings in contextual parameters, as semiotic resources for responses to or action upon the situational environment of a text.

3.4.1. Semantics

As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1), within those traditions of language description such as that of the 'descriptivists' and anthropologists such as Malinowski that had always looked at language in authentic texts, scholars had begun to think of language in terms of the ways in which speakers used language to get things done: to reflect and act upon their phenomenal (including social) environment.

Halliday's attempts at developing a theory of the semantic level of language were explicitly contextualised within the dimensional framework of register theory: in

the 1970s he began to develop system networks for the semantic stratum within the context of single register and in a single metafunction: of maternal control of a child (1972/1973), that is, the interpersonal metafunction (cf Hasan et al 2007 for an account)[35]. The development of these detailed but register- and metafunctionally-specific networks were followed by the key proposal of an intersected two-way binary distinction, called the SPEECH FUNCTION network (Halliday 1984): that between giving and demanding information, and goods-&-services. The terms in this four-term system were 'statement', 'question', 'offer', and 'command'. This system network forms the basis for the interpretation of MOOD: KEY choices in the present work, enabling the sort of systemic interstratal analysis undertaken in Matthiessen et al (2005[36]).

The challenge has been since, therefore, to build up the description of semantic systems within an increasing range of registerial domains of meaning potential, and thus to extend the metafunctional range and delicacy of the semantic description. While Halliday's primary descriptive focus has been at the lexicogrammatical stratum, others such as Hasan, Martin, Eggins and Slade and Butt have continued to take up the challenge of developing semantic descriptions of language use[37]. In the light of the earlier discussion, it is perhaps not surprising that

---

[35] Hasan et al (2007) credit these registerially-specific networks as (2007: 708) "particularly relevant to the formation of the metafunctional hypothesis".

[36] For a more elaborated discussion of the semantic perspective in this work, cf Hasan et al (2007).

[37] As always, of course, this is only a generalisation, as Halliday and others with a grammatical orientation have continued, within the contexts of a variety of applications of SFL theory, to develop semantic descriptions. One such description drawn upon in the present work, for example, is that

the two scholars most well known for their work on the semantic description are also those associated within the SFL community with the description of context: Hasan, and Martin.

Hasan's descriptions of semantics, like Halliday's, have usually been contextualised within the framework of a register-specific approach, although her purpose has been somewhat different: whereas for Halliday the study of parent-child interactions was for the purpose of developing register-specific descriptions, Hasan's aim was to develop out of a study of these interactions a general semantic description (eg. Hasan 1989; Hasan and Cloran 1990)[38]. Martin's (1992) work on semantic theory and description is arguably the most comprehensive in the SFL tradition, which offers amongst other advantages a consistent and comprehensive metafunctional orientation and coverage in his work. Martin's description of APPRAISAL networks have proved an invaluable addition to the pool of resources in the present work for making statements of meaning about text and context relations in terms of intonational systems; as does his (1992) discussion of textual semantics, based upon the pioneering work of Fries (1981/1983, 2002), notable for being one of the few treatments of intonational (in this case IF) systems, and including of course descriptions of generic structure.

Eggins and Slade (1997: cf in particular Chapter 5), working from the starting point of Halliday's basic SPEECH FUNCTION network, but incorporating work by

deriving from Mann et al's (1992) 'rhetorical structure theory' (cf Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1), by a group of scholars whose primary interest has been computational linguistics using SFL.

[38] Cf also her investigations of literary texts in this regard (eg. Hasan 1984/1996, 1985b).

the Birmingham School and Martin (1992), developed an elaborate systemic description for interpersonal semantics. The comprehensiveness of Eggins and Slade's semantic description of the interpersonal metafunction has proven an attractive resource for anyone working within this metafunction, including myself; and I have found it to have application beyond the particular register (casual conversation) they studied[39]. Owing to the complexity of the networks, and their widespread use as the standard for interpersonal semantic analysis in the SFL community, I treat these as assumed or easily accessible knowledge. I also draw upon their description of generic structure, derived from Martin and Rothery (eg. 1986) and Plum (1988/1998), in Chapter 5 for the discussion of casual conversations. Eggins and Slade (1997) itself, being multidimensionally organised[40], has in addition been an inspiration and resource for aspects of the organisation of both the research for and its presentation in the present work.

One challenge addressed in the present work has been to investigate how such descriptions as those discussed above may be of benefit to the description of intonational systems, so as to account for how they contribute to the realisation (enact, construe and engender) the register settings in semantic and contextual systems by which speakers negotiate their way through the discursive (and material!) environments of their social activities and relations. The approach taken in the present work is to work towards semantics through the investigation of the strata below and above, following on from the approach outline by Butt (2000: 228):

---

[39] The Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) description upon which they draw also forms part of the set of semantic descriptive resources for the present work, specifically their concepts of 'acts' and 'moves'.

[40] Cf also Slade (in press).

This proposal is an attempt to provide the kinds of statements necessary to carry description between *context* and *lexicogrammar*, between *lexicogrammar* and *context*. Such is the role of a *semantics*. The non-conformal relationship between the levels of *context*, *semantics* and *lexicogrammar* cannot be denied or reduced. This relationship…provides the main resource for displaying how humans use and develop their meaning potential.

The primary systemic analysis in the present work is therefore focussed at the lexicogrammatical stratum; but I incorporate semantic analysis into the discussion of the selections at the lexicogrammatical stratum. The discussions also include an account of situational and contextual phenomena: in the next section I review proposals for the description of the context stratum of relevance to the present research.

3.4.2   Context

Much of the relevant discussion of the development of contextual description has been conducted in Section 3.2 above. As I showed there, the study of register has crucially involved and been the impetus for the development of contextual description. In the present section I present an outline of the contextual description adopted in the present work - that of Hasan and Butt – as one of the two main traditions of contextual analysis within the SFL tradition – the other being that initiated by Poynton (1985) and further developed by Martin (eg. 1992), which is also briefly discussed.

One of Hasan's major concerns in the modelling of context has been to construe the description in abstract, systemic terms, rather than as simply an inventory

of situational elements relevant to the use of language. This was a concern as far back as Firth (1957: 177):

> It will be maintained here that linguistic analysis states the interrelations of elements of structure and sets of systems of 'terms' or 'units' and end-points of mutually determined interior relations. Such interior relations are set up in the context of situation between the following constituents:
>
> > 1. The participants: persons, personalities and relevant features of these.
> >
> > > (a) The verbal action of the participants.
> > >
> > > (b) The non-verbal action of the participants.
> >
> > 2. The relevant objects and non-verbal and non-personal events.
> >
> > 3. The effect of the verbal action.
>
> No linguist has yet set up exhaustive systems of contexts of situation such that they could be considered mutually determined in function or meaning.

Following Firth, Hasan makes clear that regardless of how relevant situational phenomena are to a contextual description, such phenomena do not in themselves constitute a contextual description: the latter is, as Firth repeatedly emphasised, necessarily an abstraction, in SFL made up of systemic (and meaning-bearing) abstract categories. Yet the situational description is clearly necessary to an analysis of a context. In this there is a clear analogy with the description of phonology as distinct from phonetic description: at all points, the discussion of contextual parameters must be made with reference on the one hand to the use of language, and on the other hand to situational description; it is with respect to both descriptions that

one is enabled to account for the contextual aspect of language study. Hasan's approach to and networks of the contextual description have been applied by several scholars (eg. Cloran 1999; Bowcher 1999); and in their extended and adapted form in Butt's (2003) network proposals (cf below) have been an integral part of the exploration of intonational systems in their relations to higher-stratal phenomena.

Poynton's concern with the description of the interpersonal aspect of context – tenor relations – was, in the tradition of SFL, developed in the context of a specific applied task: the investigation of the social construction of gender in and through language. Poynton's description of the (1985: 76) "semiotics of social relations" is, besides the networks of Hasan and Martin, one of the few truly systemic proposals for context. The primary level system is a three term system of entry points into the systems of POWER, CONTACT and AFFECT – with Poynton pointing out that the systems are (1985: 76) "on the whole to be taken as representing clines, or continua, rather than discrete choices". Being systems relevant to the interpersonal metafunction, Poyton's networks are also an attractive resource for the present work; but as they are to a large extent replicated in the Hasan-Butt networks, I have taken the latter as the basis for my discussion of the context stratum. However, it is clear that distinctions such as 'equal/unequal' POWER, 'expertise' and 'authority', and 'frequency' of CONTACT could equally have proven useful for the present work.

Martin's work on tenor is based upon Poynton's description and will not be discussed here. Martin's (1992) description of mode begins with the crucial observation that since mode is (1992: 509) "concerned with symbolic reality", it "is

oriented to both interpersonal and experiential meaning"; which forms the basis for Martin's mode network (1992: 509):

> Interpersonally, mode mediates the semiotic space between monologue and dialogue…The interview genre…involves changes in mode – from dialogue to monologue and back to dialogue again…Experientially mode mediates the semiotic space between action and reflection… mode mediates contextual dependency – the extent to which a text constructs or accompanies its field.

These primary distinctions are clearly of relevance to the study of interstratal relations of INFORMATION systems in the present work; and the issue of the second-order nature of the textual metafunction and the contextual (and registerial) consequences of this are a focus of exploration in the present research. The idea that the textual metafunction mediates the orientations to experiential and interpersonal meaning has been a particularly exciting one for me in the present research: one aspect that emerges during the exploration of the analyses later in the present work is the role INFORMATION systems play in engendering, negotiating and changing contextual (particularly tenor) settings[41]. One of the attractions of Martin's description is its metafunctional comprehensiveness, with a description of field networks also given; but as these are not used in the present work, they will not be addressed here.

David Butt, building upon the description and networks by Hasan, has extended and elaborated her proposals into a comprehensive set of networks (2003)

---

[41] These issues also relate back to the discussion of the metafunctional hookup and its problematisation by Thompson (Section 3.2.2 above).

for the three major parameters of context – field, tenor and mode – which follow Hasan's (and for that matter Firth's) central tenet, mentioned above, that such descriptions must be abstract and systemic in nature, thus ultimately dependent upon consideration of meaning potential. These networks are construed by Butt as no more (or less) than proposals for testing, further investigation and resulting change and adaptation to multiple linguistic tasks (Butt 2003: 6-8):

> In the study of linguistic context one needs to ask: What are the factors in the social and material orders that, individually and interdependently, make a difference to what can be said (or meant!) in a social process? Such factors, or parameters, need to be proposed and tested against their alignments with the semantic behaviour of specific social networks in specific communities. Traditions of linguistic and anthropological work indicate that there are better and worse ways of going about this task. One thing that stands out clearly is that there is no progress possible if no proposals are tested…
>
> …if the network is effective (i.e. instrumentally productive), then we can also regard it as an 'argument', not just an arbitrary proposal. An argument has to be countered by evidence of more effective coverage of explanation and prediction (viz. draw a more semantically 'consequential' network).

It is these networks which, on the whole, form the basis for the exploration and discussion of contextual choices in the analyses in the present work: in fact, as a part of the explorative aim of the thesis, the application and 'testing' of Butt's network proposals is an important focus in the present research[42]. As these networks

---

[42] For an earlier example of the application and adaptational development of Butt's networks, cf Moore (2003).

have to date been available only in mimeo form, I will now present an outline of these networks, focussing in particular on those network options of relevance to the present work: that is, shifts in delicacy and parametric coverage will be deployed in order to constrain the description here presented.

3.4.2.1   Field

In Butt's construal, the field network (2003: 24) "enables 'what is going on' in the context to described in 4 domains of contrast":

> 'sphere of action', with its primary delicacy distinction between 'specialized' and 'quotidian'[43], relates to the use of language in technical/non-technical ways;
>
> the 'material action' parameter (2003: 28) "characterizes the role of the physical/material base of the activity in this context", in terms of whether it is 'obligatory', 'oblique', or 'absent';
>
> 'action with symbols' relates to the role of language in the context, with the (Butt 2003: 29) "first distinction being between Guiding (Practical) and Telling (Conceptual)"[44];

---

[43] Meaning 'everyday': knowledge of social practices accessible through apprenticeship into the ordinary social experiences of non-specific activities; as opposed to those practices which are specialised, set apart in society for selected participants, and not (readily or completely) accessible except for selection as one of the initiates and training/accreditation (cf Butt 2003: 26). In this sense, of course, the dividing line is not always easy to draw: that is, many if not all of the 'ordinary' social practices also involve some form of initiation; on the other hand, one of the moves in latter twentieth century social practice has been towards the wider dissemination of specialised social knowledge (for example the 'plain English' movement).

[44] These categories – or at least the terms used to describe them - would not be out of place as part of the mode parameter of context.

'goal orientation', in terms of whether the goals of the text are 'immediate' or 'longitudinal', 'overt' or 'unconscious', and 'constant' or 'variable'.

3.4.2.2   Tenor

Butt (2003: 12) writes that "[t]he Tenor network allow the context to be mapped in terms of the nature of the participants and, in particular, their statuses and roles in relation to each other, both within the context, and as a result of their shared network". There are four primary distinctions, outlined below:

'social hierarchy', roughly equivalent to Poynton's 'power', is (2003: 13) "made up of three concurrent/parallel systems through which the status/power relations can be described in terms of type":

'hierarchic'/'nonhierarchic': unequal/equal power/status relations;

overtness/covertness/transparency: whether these relations are 'declared (explicit)' or 'uncoded (implicit)';

variability: whether the status/power relations are liable to shift or not ('immutable' or 'mutable');

'agentive role'[45], (2003: 15) "again consisting of three parallel systems…focusses on the actant in the context: that is, how the actant

---

[45] Note: this term might for some have unfortunate connotations of field (related to AGENCY in the TRANSITIVITY). As I understand and use it in the present work, it relates specifically to the role in the context (as enacted through the text) of relevance to the demanding and offering of information and goods-&-services. That is, if someone is assigned/assigns themselves through language an 'agentive role', then that person would be expected to take on SPEECH FUNCTION roles accordingly, 'leading' the semiotic interaction. This tenor setting is crucially at issue, for example, in the surgical text

role is achieved; through what institution; and whether the actant role shifts amongst the participants during the interaction within the context":

'acquired'/'inherent': whether the actant role is a result of some cultural accomplishment (eg. training);

'civic'/'familial': whether the actant role is based on civic, or familial considerations. The civic option leads to a further distinction, between the 'by office' and 'by status' options: for former has the further options, 'supervisory' (determined by a third party)/'negotiated' (office established by negotiation between interactants);

'reciprocating'/'non-reciprocating': whether the actants act upon each other, bi-directionally, or the action is from one upon the other only;

'social distance' (roughly equivalent to Poynton's 'contact') (Butt 2003: 16) "allows the extent of the relationship between the participants to be classified in terms of density ['multiplex'/'uniplex': BAS]; the formality of the context ['regular'/'incidental' contact BAS], and the extent to which the participants have/can be expected to have shared and distinct codes" ('code' in Bernstein's (eg. 1971) sense) ['codal sharing'/'codally distinct': BAS];

'network morphology' (2003: 22) "allows the participants to be classified in terms of their shared social network", in terms of the basis of the network and their roles within it, and the density, diversity, directionality, centrality and clustering in the network.

---

discussed in Chapter 4, where the issue of 'who leads the dance' in the interaction is essentially an issue of 'agentive role', together with 'social hierarchy'.

3.4.2.3 Mode

The principle of this network is that (2003: 37) "[t]he meaning is not independent of its modes of articulation, transmission and reception. To multiply the statements we can make about this dependency…we can elaborate Mode into three 'domains of contrast'":

'role of language' distinguishes three primary (2003: 38) "contrasts that are relevant to the link between the field of activity and the support that the activity demands from language" (and is thus similar to Martin's (1992) description of 'field dependency'): 'constitutive'/'supported'/'ancillary';

'channel' (2003: 43) "selections help to specify the characteristics of signal ['graphic'/'phonic': BAS]…as well as the temporal horizon of the signal", the latter whether: 'real time': 'face-to-face'/'(electronic) carried'; or 'mediated' ('intervened': 'edited/'acted', or 'disrupted': 'delayed'/'reordered'); and also whether the signal is 'singular' or 'multiple': 'overlaid'/'sequential' (these latter of relevance to multimodality study);

'medium' (2003: 47) "must be distinguished from Channel", and is divided according to whether the mode is; 'written-like' or 'spoken-like'; 'crystalline-dense' (nested structures) or 'choreographic movement' (dependent structures); and whether these different types of structure are manifested as 'wave' (ie. 'phased density' or 'phased intricacy' through the text: cf Gregory 1985/2002) or 'constant' (either 'as fixture' (nesting tendency) or 'as fluid' (dependence tendency).

3.5 Conclusion

I have shown in the present chapter how the study of register language, as the Matthiessen (1993a) quotation at the head of Chapter 1 makes clear, involves consideration of all the dimensions involved in language, including: phenomena at all strata (and including socio-material situational phenomena); in all metafunctions; and different perspectives along the cline of instantiation. In the present chapter I have followed a multidimensionally oriented approach in discussing key issues in the study of register language, revealing both inconsistencies and consistencies in the conceptualisations, terminologies and models developed to account for the phenemenon of functional text-types. While scholars have pursued differing interpretations of and dimensional orientations in the study of register and genre, each model has developed over time its own internal consistency, and the different approaches have come to be valued both for their usefulness for particular linguistic tasks as well as for their complementary perspectives on the 'bigger picture' of register theory and description and their application.

In this, one can draw an analogy with language itself: just as no one person can claim total coverage and mastery of all the specialised registers of a language, so too no one linguist can claim to have developed a 'theory of everything' in this domain of enquiry. Rather, one can see that it is in the sum total of the communal effort emerging over the last few decades that such an immensely rich and comprehensive account of functional language types has evolved to account for the way in which speakers, by working within the constraint of language sub-potentials, are able to increase their capacity for meaning generation and so to better negotiate their way through and adapt to the phenomenal world which they inhabit.

For it is in the constraint of register language (including language about language) that speakers are free to develop the meaning potential of language - both within and with respect to those constraints. Speakers make meaning that is, not so much with respect to the total language potential, but to the subpotential seen as appropriate to a particular context type. In studying register language therefore one is investigating not only patterns of choice in lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual system potentials, but the role such patterns play in developing registers that then, once being recognised as such, may themselves become part of the meaning potential and be extended by speaking communities in complexity and range.

For example, the increasing specialisation and resultant expansion of scientific, technical and other registers of language, often drawing upon the store of common everyday speech, is evidence of this. A physicist can expand the (mostly ideationally-oriented) language of physics precisely because it is registerially identified as belonging the field of 'physics', as can a linguist with the 'language about language': the linguist taking over words such as 'subject' and 'agent' from the (Firth 1957: 140) "language of the common sensual life" for specific registerial purposes. This expansion of meaning potential is possible precisely because a (systemic functional) linguist, in using a word such as 'Agent, is drawing upon a particular register usage of this lexical item, and not its full meaning potential (all (register) meanings of the word 'agent', including the entertainment and espionage registers!).

One may expect to find in the interpersonal and textual metafunctions also the same principle in operation: that the constraint of registerial expectations may enable

an enrichment of the meaning potential for those (interpersonal and textual) systems. In the present work I explore the use of register language with respect to its realisation in a particular set of lexicogrammatical resources, intonational systems. As it is the interpersonal and textual metafunctions that are most at stake with the use of intonational systems, I am interested in the way in which selections from these lexicogrammatical systems contribute to the instantiation of register language in a text, and how this process of register instantiation contributes to the expansion of the meaning potential of these metafunctions, within the contexts of and as resources for engaging with the phenomenal world that forms the environment for language use.

Chapter Four:

Multidimensional

Exploration: An Illustration

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 33): Whenever we shift out perspective between text and system – between data and theory – we are moving along this instantiation cline. The system, as we have said, is the potential that lies behind the text.

But 'text' is a complex notion. In the form in which we typically receive it, as spoken and written discourse, a text is the product of two processes combined: instantiation and realization. The defining criterion is instantiation: text as instance. But realization comes in because what becomes accessible to us is the text as realized in sound or writing

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Aim, Approach, and Organisation of Chapter

In the previous two chapters I have contextualised the present research in terms of the development of descriptions of intonation and intonational systems and of register theory. Throughout those discussions I have foregrounded the idea that the variety of views afforded by the multidimensional model of the SFL theory, and their integration into a holistic framework, offers a principled resource for negotiating one's way not only into the study of the complexities of intonational and registerial phenomena and their

relations, but also into the discussion of their treatment within different theoretical traditions and works.

In the present chapter I demonstrate, through an illustrative series of analyses of a text, what it means in operational terms to adopt a 'multidimensional approach' to the study of the use of intonational systems within different registers. Beginning with detailed – particularly, metafunctional and multistratal – 'close-up' perspectives upon instances of text, the approach is to work, through the analyses of instance upon instance, towards registerial views of the text. With respect to the analytical coverage, there are two issues with which to contend.

Firstly, the application of register theory involves the consideration of several dimensions and many parameters, systems and features. Furthermore, intonation transcription is notoriously slow work[1]: the amount of text one can transcribe is severely limited; and having made the phonological transcription, one then needs to analyse these intonation choices in terms of the lexicogrammatical choices they realise, in relation to the other relevant lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual choices of the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. When one considers that Halliday and Greaves (2008) at certain points spend several paragraphs presenting an analysis and discussion of a single information unit, it can be appreciated that a full multidimensional analysis precludes the possibility of combining this approach with a statistical perspective.

---

[1] Cf Chapter 1, footnote 106.

However, as pointed out in the last chapter, there is an important principle at work in the use of language which gives even the view from the instance value in terms of register study. If interactants make habitualised choices in language as the instantiation of particular register settings constraining the overall systemic potential available to them, then it should be possible even in the analysis of small samples of text to begin to detect, through the choices speakers make, those register settings. Thus, although many instances are needed for useful quantitative analytical conclusions to be drawn about the instantiation of a 'register', for the speakers themselves, the identification of register language may be a remarkably swift process. Therefore, the analyst also should be able to begin to make predictions about a text's register by 'tuning in' through the detailed analyses of instances: as I show in this chapter, even a single utterance, which in fact involves many selections from systems at different ranks, strata and metafunction, can provide evidence for the further exploration of register instantiation.

In the present work then, the initial analytical perspective adopted is the 'view from the instance' end of the cline of instantiation; and then the move is along the cline of instantiation, towards a registerial perspective. I take this approach because of the explorative aim of the present work: it is in the detailed analysis of actual utterances, located within the textual and situational contexts of their occurrence, that the use of intonation systems to help instantiate and alter register settings can best be made; which perspective then provides motivations for pursuing particular system analyses in the move along the cline of instantiation.

The view that is built up 'along' the cline of instantiation – that is, the patterns that emerge as instance upon instance is analysed - can also then be calibrated against the detailed analytical view of actual instances, such that the patterns that emerge are seen not just as statistics to be thereafter interpreted, but as the outcome of repeated analyses of an accumulation of utterances, and contextualised within the findings of the more detailed instantial views. Speakers selections are seen to be meaningful not just in terms of their valeur within the overall system potential, but in terms of the (interactants' and analyst's) expectancies within the context of the register already instantiated (identified).

Once the move is made along the cline of instantiation towards a consideration of patterning the organising principle for the analysis is a metafunctional one: firstly, the analysis of interpersonal intonational systems will be made (including in this account also the logical use of tone, for convenience, as the logical metafunction uses the same phonological resources as the interpersonal); and then of textual systems.   Other dimensional moves – sometimes, diversions from the main path, sometimes as part of the central discursive programme – serve to shed light on issues identified in the previous chapters, or of potential interest to the discussion at hand: for example, the shift in rank between the information unit and information group serves to illustrate the way in which textual meaning is constructed through the text, and the consequences of (textual) down/up-ranking of particular lexicogrammatical items. The multidimensional approach allows different perspectives to be brought in at key points, serving the explorative aim but within an integrated and coherent discussion.

Before going into a consideration of the text itself, I will discuss aspects of the situation accompanying the text that enter into contextual relations as construed in the text itself, incorporating brief reference to relevant existing studies. The description of those situational elements is analogous with that conducted at the phonetic stratum: it provides resources for determining the analyses at the (meaning-bearing) contextual and semantic, together with the lexicogrammatical analysis. The description of the situation, however, being descriptive of the non-semiotic (although of course semioticised, in the contextual choices) aspects of the text's environment, may take place apart from and prior to the linguistic and contextual analyses.

I will then present the transcription, including the intonation analysis, of a portion of a spoken interaction accompanying and facilitating a surgical operation. This will be followed by the various lexicogrammatical analyses, one information unit at a time[2], with an accompanying discussion incorporating semantic and contextual analyses.

4.1.2   Relevant Activities and Participants: Situation and its Study

The main situational action involves a surgical team engaged in an operation, specifically an operation for the removal of a cancer of the bowel. At the point in the operation from

---

[2] Note: as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.3, cf Figure 7), although not exactly coextensive, each information unit is realised through a tone group, the latter which can thus effectively stand for the information unit it realises: those lexicogrammatical elements in an information unit which, in the phonological description, occur within the previous tone group may be assumed as part of the following information unit.

which this excerpt is taken, the interaction is centered on two participants[3], namely a senior surgeon ('surgeon') and an advanced surgical trainee ('registrar'). The events, participants and circumstances which the text construes are those associated with the movements of the medical staff and their instruments, and the patient's body parts including the disease: these form the basis for much of the construal of field in the contextual description. The interactants surround the patient, thus in their verbal interactions the phenomena they describe are often visible (and thus assumable) to those engaged in the dialogue.

In terms of the participants' institutionally preset roles and their relations, the senior surgeon has from most perspectives the highest status in the room. The registrar, with her potential career trajectory to senior medical practitioner, has a claim on the next rank, but the scrub nurse (not taking a speaking role in the text excerpt studied in this chapter, but spoken to and playing a role in the performance of the operation), with her advanced position within the nursing career structure, her considerable experience in this role, and her professional responsibility and reputation cannot be seen simply as having lower institutional status than the medical staff. Another participant playing a role in the

---

[3] Note: I use the term 'participant' when referring to the situational classification of these people (eg. in their institutional roles), and 'interactants' when referring to the participants as semiotic beings (using language).

interaction crucial to my analysis of the relations between intonational choices and registerial variation is a junior medical student[4], referred to as 'Olga' in the text.

However, the registrar, while in training, is given the role of performing the operation, under the surgeon's supervision. This means that the surgeon is at the one and the same time supervisor, and (potentially) under the command of the registrar, in that she is free, according to her role as agent of the operation, to give directions to those assisting, which includes the surgeon. Yet at any moment there may be a change in the (interactants' perceptions of) the situation and its events such that the senior surgeon must reclaim his ultimate responsibility to direct the procedure and the advanced trainee: that is, for example, should the operation itself begin to 'go awry', the surgeon, as the one with the ultimate institutional responsibility, has the power to take over the conduct of the operation from the registrar[5].

These considerations I take to be part of the situational analysis, rather than the contextual analysis of the text. The situational roles – such as 'surgeon', 'registrar', 'junior assistant' – I consider non-semiotic because they are not, as institutionally preset

---

[4] Names have of course been changed for the purposes of anonymity. Syllabic (and rhythmic) and to a practicable extent articulatory considerations have been taken into account in the choice of pseudonyms.

[5] Matthiessen (pers. comm.) observes that one could in fact therefore analyse this as two situation types occurring concurrently, either of which may come to the fore at any given moment (as in any master and apprentice arrangement): the doing of the operation; and the teaching of the doing of the operation. These considerations are clearly of relevance to the identification of the text as a 'register'.

designations, such as are open to negotiation through semiotic activity, at least, not in this text. The situational level of description accounts for the non-semiotic aspects of the socio-material environment (potentially) impinging upon the text; the contextual description accounts for semiotic phenomena, as realised in the text itself: the contextual (field, tenor and mode) settings being construed/enacted/engendered by the text[6]. The institutional roles, deriving as they do from the medical system of which the participants are a part cannot, by their nature, be part of the semiotic activity in the text.

They are however of relevance to, though not a part of, the analysis of contextual settings, in particular tenor settings, as evidenced in the text analysis. The main point of the analysis below is to show how intonational systems provide crucial resources for participants to maintain, negotiate and adjust, through their realisation of semantic choices, the delicate tenor balances and other contextual parameters which instantiate the register potential operative for this text, as a response to, or in action upon, the situation with which the semiosis is in symbiotic relation. The events and participants forming the situational environment of a text (including the social roles established within the institution of a hospital/medical system) may and do impinge upon the text's creation; but that latter process of semiotic creation is itself essentially independent of such phenomena: interactants are free - within the constraints of the register settings - to

---

[6] As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.3), there is an analogy here with the descriptions of phonetic and phonological phenomena: the former descriptive of phenomena of relevance to language description, the latter of semiotic (language) phenomena themselves.

semiotically interpret the socio-material activities, entities and their relations how they please.

For example, the institutionally-set hierarchic roles and status relations of the participants in the situation are in effect immutable – as they need to be in this type of situation (cf discussion below); but as the analysis and its discussion in this chapter unfolds it will become clear that the interpretation of the interpersonal relations between these interactants is not, the interactants using language to enact tenor relations both congruent and incongruent to the institutional status relations. The registrar, for example, has a particular institutional role with its own status with respect to the other participants; but how this role/status is enacted in terms of (semiotic) tenor relation between interactants depends, firstly, upon whether she is talking with someone of higher or lower institutional status: she will enact different tenor relations, with respect to her institutional role, depending on the (perceived) relation of her institutional status to that of other participants.

Furthermore, in terms of the type of language used, interactants are, to some extent, free to use language which is not 'congruent' to such institutional roles: in particular a higher-status participant may enact deference to those of lower status. This 'play' in the use of language is dependent upon the fact that the institutional roles are set – otherwise the interactants would need to use language to continually establish their hierarchic status roles during the performance of the operation (as happens in less

institutionalised settings, such as in casual conversation)[7]; and at any time those of higher institutional status may reenact the tenor settings such that they are congruent to the institutional roles. In this particular setting the institutionalisation of roles (within the hospital-medical system) is fixed for good reason: to facilitate concerted group action within a high-risk environment (cf below discussion of Dietrich and Childress 2004a). But is it also for good reason that (certain) interactants may 'ignore' their status: in the service of, for example, team morale, professional respect, or to facilitate more open discussion, those of institutionally higher status may choose to enact tenor settings more appropriate to a less hierarchic social structure.

The relations between institutional role relations and the facilitation of communication have been shown to be important in the findings of the GIHRE Project (Dietrich and Childress 2004a), a project that studies team interaction and communication in high risk environments such as an operating room or the cockpit of an airplane. In general, group interaction is highly dependent on interpersonal communication, with issues such as face-saving and the maintenance of healthy communicative relations[8], including the taking on of speech roles between the interactants, often critical to the success of a team's performance[9].

---

[7] Furthermore, the less the institutionalised nature of the setting (cf Hasan 1980/1996; Bowcher 1999), the more this enactment of status is negotiable (as with for example a group of students sharing a domicile).

[8] for example, reassurance by those of higher institutional status (Krifka et al 2004).

[9] (Dietrich and Childress 2004b: 2): "…disagreement between members of a surgical team can threaten the safety of a patient and reduce the quality of medical care given".

One finding of this project is that the quality of communication decreases in an inverse relation with the increasing situational load: that is, when things go wrong in the situational environment, communication often suffers. An important consideration that emerges in this respect is the relations between communication and positional (hierarchic) and functional (task-based) roles (Dietrich 2004: 203): "Functionally communicating teams will form a larger proportion of the well performing teams than position based communicating team". That is, teams in which those who have lower institutional status but a specific professional perspective feel free to voice concerns openly to those of higher status tend to have more effective communication and thus are more successful in dealing with emergent situational phenomena.

So while there is obviously a need in such workplaces for there to be clearly differentiated roles and hierarchic relations, how these are interpreted through communication between interactants (including, significantly, through silences: i.e. the absence of language use where it may be appropriate or necessary) is itself a separate and critical issue, in terms of the way in which participants in a high-risk environment adapt to often rapidly changing situational pressures and challenges. The surgeon, for example, who has the highest institutional position in the surgical environment of the text studied here, may (and indeed often does) enact a deferential tenor as a strategy for encouraging open communication from his 'inferiors', as well as healthy teamwork and mutual respect.

The description of the way in which interactants, through language, enact for example tenor settings in the context, is thus in the present work kept separate from the description of the social roles and their relations that are of relevance to that tenor description. As I show in the following analyses and discussion in this chapter, keeping the socio-material and contextual descriptions separate is a key aspect of the investigation of the relations of the semiotic and the other three realms, as part of the interstratal perspective in the present work.

4.1.3   The Transcript

Here below in Table 6 is the transcript, marked for intonation systems, of the portion of this surgical text used in the present work. The intonation transcription conventions are as presented in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.2).

interactant	tone group	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE
surgeon	1	//2 ^ is it */ coming //
registrar	2	//4_ ^ it */ is //
registrar	3	//1 mm //
registrar	4	//2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //
registrar	5	//-3 grab */ that //
registrar	6	//2_ */ there you / are //
registrar	7	//5 ^ how a- / nnoying I can */ feel it //
surgeon	8	//2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be- */ low it //
registrar	9	//1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //
registrar	10	//1 in the */ pelvis //

registrar	11	//5_ o- */ kay //
registrar	12	//1 ^ my / fingers */ are below it //
surgeon	13	//1 okay well //
surgeon	14	//2 pull on em */ hard //
surgeon	15	//2 ^ pull / up on that */ band //
surgeon	16	//1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //
surgeon	17	//1 isn't it //
registrar	18	//1 nup (no) //
registrar	19	13 ^ it */ is */ faffing //
surgeon	20	//13 ^ ahh */ not's [that's] not the */ word um //
surgeon	21	//13 ^ it's / all very */ stiff in */ there //
surgeon	22	//1 just from his */ previous dis- / ease //
surgeon	23	//3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //
surgeon	24	//1 see what we run */ into //
registrar	25	//3 o- */ kay //
surgeon	26	//13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Cathy or a //
surgeon	27	//13 medium / sponge //
surgeon	28	//1 so we've - //
surgeon	29	//4_ just / had a - ah / roll it into a */ ball //
surgeon	30	//1 into a */ roll //
surgeon	31	//4 so we've //
surgeon	32	//4 been */ frustrated //
registrar	33	//3 yep //
surgeon	34	//1 ^ and we've / been - */ what //
surgeon	35	//1 ^ re- / pelled //

surgeon		// ^ so we're / gonna try a- / nother - //
registrar	36	//1 way //
surgeon	37	//4 yeah so //
surgeon	38	//2_ just roll that */ down //
surgeon	39	//13 that might be / too */ much */ actually //
surgeon	40	//3 ^ and / get down */ there //
surgeon	41	//2 pull on */ that bit //
surgeon	42	//1_3 and / I'll see / if / Olga and */ I can show you */ that //
surgeon	43	//2_ ummm / Olga can / you - you */ help / me //
surgeon	44	//2 ^ we'll / both - * / hold a / second //
surgeon	45	//13 ^ you / need to get / more than one */ finger down */ there //
surgeon	46	//4 so - / so that you've / got a little bit of a */ front //
registrar	47	//1 hmmm //
registrar	48	//2 at an */ angle //
surgeon	49	//3 yep //
surgeon	50	//2 let me / move the re- */ tractor //
surgeon	51	//2 you stay */ there //
registrar	52	//2 ^ can / you */ suck that //
surgeon	53	//2 ^ that's / nice //
surgeon	54	//3 sweep it out to the */ side //
surgeon	55	//5 that's */ great //
surgeon	56	//5 nice one //
surgeon	57	//3 yep //
surgeon	58	//1 that's going */ great //
surgeon	59	//2 let me move */ this again //

surgeon	60	//3 ^ hh / hmm //
registrar	61	//3 pull up on */ that //
surgeon	62	//3 ^ hang / on //
surgeon	63	//2 ^ hold */ up a little / bit //
surgeon	64	//2 ^ are we */ showing it / to you //
registrar	65	//1 yes //
registrar	66	//13 thank / you //
registrar	67	//4 sorry //
registrar	68	//1_ am - / I'm in the */ way / aren't I //
surgeon	69	//2 no //
surgeon	70	//1 ^ I just can't / stand it any */ more //
registrar	71	//13 ^ I'm / actually */ getting somewhere */ now //
surgeon	72	//1 nah but you're / doing - you're / doing */ fine //
registrar	73	//1 ^ you / wanna take over */ don't you //
surgeon	74	//2 no //
surgeon	75	//5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //
registrar	76	//5 yes you */ do //
surgeon	77	//1_ don't wanna take */ over //
registrar	78	//5 ^ you / do I //
registrar	79	//4_ feel //
surgeon	80	//2 well //
surgeon	81	//1_ no - ^ no I */ don't //
surgeon	82	//1_ ^ I / really */ don't //
registrar	83	//4 ^ I / didn't say I was going to */ let you I //
registrar	84	//4_ just said I */ feel //

surgeon	85	//1 don't / suck up */ there Olga the //
surgeon	86	//1_ action's / down */ here //
surgeon	87	//1_ ^ that's / right //
junior	88	//2_ ^ are you / getting frus- */ trated //
surgeon	89	//2_ me //
junior	90	//4_ yes //
surgeon	91	//1_ no I'm */ not //
surgeon	92	//4 I'm - I'm / very / happy with the way we're pro- */ ceeding you //
surgeon	93	//3 know if I / didn't - / if there was */ bleeding and //
?	94	//1 hmm //
surgeon	95	//3 stuff I would //
surgeon	96	//1_3 not be / happy //
surgeon	97	//1 ^ but I'm */ happy //

Table 6: Intonation transcript of the surgical text

4.2 Views from the Instance End of the Cline of Instantiation

4.2.1   IU 1: surgeon -   //2 ^ is it / coming //

In terms of lexicogrammar, in the interpersonal metafunction the neutral polar interrogative MOOD is chosen, with the KEY selection also being the neutral one for this mood, realised phonologically through the high rising tone selection. Experientially, the clause is 'middle' (or 'intransitive') and 'material' — structurally a configuration of Process+ Actor.   Textually, the Theme includes the interpersonal polar Finite and Actor/Subject. INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION and INFORMATION FOCUS are

also both neutral: this information unit is also a clause; and the last content item is the culmination of New. The Focus is the Process/ Predicator. Textually, also noteworthy is the exophoric 'it', relating to something in the material situational setting (tissue the surgeon is trying to move out of the way). At the semantic level, interpersonally a polar question is asked by the surgeon of the registrar. Experientially, the figure is of a 'movement towards' the speaker and addressee by an object. Textually, this message highlights the progress of the removal of tissue.

In terms of Butt's (2003) contextual description, the surgeon's polar question enacts both his own agentive role related to his situational role as the instructor checking on the progress of the registrar's training, and also the agentive role of the registrar related to her situational role as the one performing the operation. Butt's 'goal orientation' parameter captures a relevant duality in the field settings of relevance here, between the immediate goal of the operation, and the longitudinal one of the training (including the career development of the registrar and the professional reputation of the instructing surgeon: if something goes wrong in the operation ultimately, due to his hierarchic status, he is responsible). The ancillary setting in the role of language mode parameter is realised through the exophoric reference to an object in the situation.

4.2.2   IU 2: registrar - //4_ ^ it / is //

One way of thinking about this instance is to see what has changed and what remains the same with respect to the previous information unit. At one level of analysis, in terms of COHESION, the Residue (consisting of Predicator: *coming*) has been ellipsed. In fact, an examination of the lexicogrammatical and semantic analyses reveals that little has in fact

changed, except in the interpersonal metafunction; but the changes here are significant. In Eggins and Slade's (1997) terms an initiating polar question move has received a support: answer; but the choice of KEY is a marked one, the 'reserved' option: Halliday's description for this choice certainly captures the sense here – there's a 'but' about it.

Textually, although this is unmarked ID, in terms of IF the picture is a little less clear, with respect to the ellipsis of the Predicator. I consider the Focus to be marked because it is not on the last content item, the final content item, although ellipsed, being assumed as present. As discussed in Chapter 2 (cf Section 2.3.3.1.1.2; Figure 8), the choice of the Finite, realizing positive polarity, as textual Focus is significant, as it realises a shift from an experiential to an interpersonal focus that foreshadows later developments in the text[10]: together with the reserved KEY, this choice of Focus enables the registrar to instantiate a shift from a textual highlighting of field (the 'material' Process: *coming*) to tenor in terms her 'agentive role': that is, the question of whether or not 'it is coming' implicates the issue of her agentive role – whether or not she is in charge of the operation (through, crucially, the semiotic activity that facilitates it); and it is the system of IF that engenders this shift in contextual orientation.

4.2.3   IU 3: registrar - //1 mm //

I have included this utterance in the analysis on the basis of the clear instantiation of a pitch contour, that is, a phonological (TONE) and thus grammatical choice: phonology,

---

[10] From Cloran's (eg. 1995) 'commenting', to what one might call a 'negotiating' rhetorical mode setting in the context.

as discussed in Chapter 2, being descriptive of the systemic and functional (i.e. meaningful) organisation of sound. I analyse it as a minor clause with neutral KEY: it realises positive polarity (certainty, or affirmation) with respect to some situational event. In fact, what is happening is that the intonational grammar is sufficient for the pragmatic purpose of the speaker: the representational content (that which the utterance affirms) is exophorically retrievable to the addressee/s; the interpersonal and textual resources of the intonational systems are therefore all that are required to indicate that something is to the satisfaction of the speaker, and thus to 'carry on'. This information unit is emblematic of the text as 'ancillary' to the immediate situational environment, facilitating the role of language here to track the progress of the operation.

4.2.4   IU 4: registrar   //2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //

The TRANSITIVITY configuration is that of an Actor+ Process + Goal+ Circumstance[11]: Manner. It is the Manner Circumstance that is made Focus; with the addressee and (Actor/Subject) speaker as interpersonal and topical Themes. The exophoric deixis of the second person pronoun – 'you' - again realises the ancillary, situationally immediate mode of language use. This is the first information unit so far to have more than one

---

[11] Note: I break with convention, as followed for example in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), in assigning the initial letter of the term 'Circumstance' upper caps throughout the present work. I do this as I see Circumstance as a structural function, agnate with Process, as part of the Participant-Process-Circumstance configuration (one doesn't assign types of Process, but the term 'process' itself, the upper cap initial; although by this principle 'Participant', and not 'Actor', should have the upper cap initial – I keep the conventional treatment for the latter as the term 'participant' is not widely used in this way).

information group: the speaker (registrar) instantiates both a Vocative and a mood Adjunct 'just' as Prominents, both thus highlighting interpersonal meaning. These interpersonal elements, together with the (marked) declarative MOOD and challenging KEY (tone 2/rising pitch) (metaphorically) realise a polite command. The non-congruent lexicogrammatical realisation of the command thus enacts a complex of tenor relations, in terms of her agentive role (in relation to her performance of the operation) and social hierarchy relations with the junior medical assistant[12].

The idea that someone with a higher institutional status should enact deference to those of lesser institutional status is an interesting one (cf discussion in Section 4.1.2 above), which will be taken up as the analysis progresses. At this stage it is appropriate to point out two considerations in the analysis of this utterance. Firstly, although the registrar has the higher institutional status, this is a situational designation, which can be variously interpreted in terms of the enactment of tenor relations (through language): either congruently (command realised through an imperative MOOD and neutral KEY[13]); or non-congruently (as in this instance). Secondly, the lower institutional status of the

---

[12] As always with non-congruent lexicogrammatical realisation of semantic choices, the meaning is a product of both the congruent and non-congruent interpretations of the utterance. In the congruent interpretation of the lexicogrammar, the registrar is letting the other team members know of her proposed movements; while in the metaphorical interpretation she is using language to facilitate those movements.

[13] The congruent version would be a jussive imperative, with *let ... move* as the Predicator/ Process, 'let me move you in deeper', with neutral KEY (falling tone). This would clearly enact a hierarchic social hierarchy relation, a tenor setting redundant within the context of the institutionalised roles and their relations (the registrar needn't enact her hierarchic status: it can be assumed).

junior medical student does not mean that, within the context of the operation, she doesn't have professional status in accord with her own agentive role as assistant within the situation; and it is in the interests of team harmony that each participant be accorded the professional respect of their respective roles (cf Krifka et al 2004).

Following on from the discussion in Section 4.1.2 above, as will become more apparent as the analysis proceeds it appears that it is the very institutionalised nature of the roles and their hierarchic relations that allows those (and only those) of higher status to as it were 'play' with these relations in terms of the enactment of settings in the parameters of tenor: the institutionalised roles and their relations need not, indeed cannot be negotiated, and so may be assumed regardless of the use of language; so the interpersonal relations may therefore be renegotiated and reinterpreted, adding a crucial tone of mutual respect within the context of the collaborative interaction[14].   Any discussion of register settings in this text must take this aspect into account.

4.2.5   IU 5: registrar - //_3 grab */ that //

In terms of the interpersonal metafunction, in the lexicogrammatical description the imperative MOOD is accompanied by a (marked) deliberate KEY choice. It is helpful to analyse this choice at the phonological stratum in terms of its constituent parts: the deliberate KEY is realised by a tone 3 with a low pretonic. The tone 3 along realises a

---

[14] cf in this respect the interpretation of the rising tone (high rising terminal: 'HRT') as realising solidarity in collaborative (and particularly in difficult) tasks (cf eg. Warren and Britain 1999; McGregor 2005; Chapter 7, Section 7.2.3.1.2; Chapter 8, Section 8.2.1).

mild imperative KEY; the low pretonic can be interpreted as realising a low newsworthiness value upon the Predicator/Process (such processes being part of the common material actions of the situation). But Halliday's term 'deliberate' describes well the sense one gets from this choice; which is heightened, in this instance, by the addition of textual prominence to both the elements of the clause, a marked selection in the system of IG, adding itself a sense of deliberative care to the utterance[15].

4.2.6   The View from the Instance: Discussion

I have tried to show in the brief analysis and discussion above some of the semogenic power of the various intonational systems, the way in which they work together with other lexicogrammatical systems to realise meaning as text in context. I have started the analysis at the instance end of the cline of instantiation, firstly, because it is here that the meaning-making power of intonational systems can best be appreciated; and secondly, because it is in a detailed and comprehensive analytical view of instances of text that the process by which register settings are instantiated (or negotiated) can be explored. In a spoken face-to-face dialogic interaction such as this one, the inclusion of analyses of intonational systems gives one vital clues to the identification of the register of a text.

---

[15] This is not to attempt to argue for the appropriateness of the term; but to decide whether to analyse this as a combination of two KEY choices (realised through tonic and pretonic choices), as having both (through the tonic) interpersonal and (through the pretonic) textual meaning, or as a single unified meaning (realised prosodically through pretonic and tonic): that is, whether to assign a separate and independent functional status to the pretonic rather than, as Halliday has done, interpret the pretonic-tonic contour as a complex realisation of a single lexicogrammatical choice.

Certainly, without such analyses the discussion of the text as an instance of a register would be seriously impoverished, if not potentially misleading.

Of course the view from the instance can provide no more than clues for the investigation of register language: for example, the way in which the registrar engenders a textual orientation to the interpersonal metafunction, in answer to an ideationally-oriented question from the surgeon; the way in which complex tenor relations are enacted through non-congruent realisation strategies; and the consequences of these interpersonal strategies for a consideration of the relations of the semiotic and material realms. These clues form themes to be explored, as a principled foundation for the move along the cline of instantiation towards a more probabilistically-oriented view.

Whatever narrowing of analytical perspective one must make to study larger corpora, such a narrowing must be motivated in some way, and the view from the instance is a good place to start making such decisions. These findings of the view from the instance also provide a context within which statements of meaning may be later made about the statistical patterns that emerge across the analysis of a larger corpus of text. In the next section, I move to a consideration of the text in terms of some of the systems shown at work above as they pattern and change pattern across larger excerpts of the text. This will be done primarily in terms of lexicogrammatical analyses, but also with reference to semantics and context in the discussion.

4.3 Towards Register Views

4.3.1   Introduction: Motivating the Move Along the Cline of Instantiation

In this section I make an analytical move along the cline of instantiation towards the identification of patterns of selection within language systems, which will enable observations on the registerial constraints operative on the overall systemic potential. Although the discussion will be concentrated towards the text-type/register view, the multidimensional framework and approach makes it feasible at any point to change the analytical focus to 'zoom in' on any aspect of an instance which throws light on the discussion. Such analytical flexibility keeps the holistic and functional nature of meaning-making in mind, while maintaining a commitment to the exploration of systemic register patterning.

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.3.1.1.2), one issue which has arisen in the research, in terms of analytical method, concerns the nature of the textual metafunction as second-order semiotic: as Matthiessen (1992: Section 3.4.1) puts it, ideational and interpersonal elements are carriers of textual waves of prominence. The question therefore becomes, 'in what way does one model textual choices in terms of this mapping?' (that is, in Matthiessen's 1992: Section 3.4.2 terms, 'imposing discreteness on wave'). This issue is best illustrated via consideration of a text instance, this taken from one of the information units discussed above, IU 5:

TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: Lexis	IF: Grammar	IP: Lexis	IP: Grammar
//-3 grab */ that //	(you) grab	that	Goal/ Complement	grab	Process/ Predicator

Table 7: IU 5: dual metafunctional perspective on INFORMATION FOCUS and INFORMATION PROMINENCE

Firstly, one can analyse the IF and IP choices at either word or clause rank: either as 'grab' and 'that' (representing 'lexis as most delicate grammar': Halliday 1961; Hasan 1987); or as Goal/Complement and Process/Predicator[16].   In terms of the latter perspective, a second issue arises, in terms of metafunction: both these items have both experiential and interpersonal functions. This issue does not always arise: in some cases, such as in IU 2, the selection has a clear metafunctional orientation, in this instance towards the interpersonal metafunction through the instantiation of Focus on the polar Finite 'is':

TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank
//4_ ^ it */ is //	it	is	Finite: Polar (Positive)

Table 8: Interpersonal orientiation of Focus

---

[16] Note: Theme is not analysed in terms of its clause function.

The different metafunctional perspectives enable the researcher to ask whether the speaker is making an item informationally prominent to highlight the intrusion of language into the social environment, or the reflection by language on that environment, or both. These metafunctional perspectives become powerful analytical resources both for tracking shifts in the patterns of instantiation across a text (or corpus) as well as for theorising the role of the textual metafunction, in particular here INFORMATION systems, in assigning co-textual and contextual relevance to ideational and interpersonal meanings and thus, through the textual highlighting function, to mark for negotiation and potential change certain parametric settings in the context. That is, INFORMATION systems may act as a tool for speakers to navigate the text through the field and tenor of a context.

The analysis and discussion below is divided into two main sections, according to two sections of the text across the boundary of which I have identified a significant metafunctional shift in terms of the textual orientation just discussed, as will become apparent as the discussion proceeds. The organisation is thus according to metafunction: firstly I will take interpersonal, then textual views of the use of intonational and other systems to instantiate and negotiate registerial constraint.

4.3.2 The Move Along the Cline of Instantiation: Information Units 1 - 66

4.3.2.1 Interpersonal views

Below in Table 9 I present the analysis of the MOOD: KEY systems for the first sixty-six information units (including the first five presented above). Note that selections from the system of STATUS, realised also through tone choice (tones 3 and 4), are included in the MOOD: KEY column: these IUs are part of information unit nexuses through the logical, and the KEY selection is that of the following information unit[17].

interactant	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	MOOD: KEY; STATUS
surgeon	1	//2 ^ is it */ coming //	polar interrogative: neutral
registrar	2	//4_ ^ it */ is //	declarative: reserved
registrar	3	//1 mm //	minor: neutral
registrar	4	//2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //	declarative: challenging

---

[17] For those instantiations in the system of STATUS not directly connected to another independent information unit it is considered that there is no KEY selection: the speaker is in a sense postponing the choice of KEY to some indefinite future, and is instead merely indicating that the information is 'non-final', that there is 'more to come' upon which the information at hand is logically dependent (hence its common use with Valediction, as in the telephone sales texts, Chapter 7). These may in such cases function as markers of dependency across stretches of text (that one information unit nexus is to be interpreted with respect to the following text).

registrar	5	//-3 grab */ that //	imperative: deliberate
registrar	6	//2_ */ there you / are //	declarative: challenging: focussing
registrar	7	//5 ^ how a- / nnoying I can */ feel it //	declarative: committed
surgeon	8	//2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be- */ low it //	polar interrogative: neutral
registrar	9	//1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //	declarative: neutral
registrar	10	//1 in the */ pelvis //	declarative: neutral
registrar	11	//5_ o- */ kay //	minor: intense
registrar	12	//1 ^ my / fingers */ are below it //	declarative: neutral
surgeon	13	//1 okay well //	minor: neutral
surgeon	14	//2 pull on em */ hard //	imperative: question
surgeon	15	//2 ^ pull / up on that */ band //	imperative: question
surgeon	16	//1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //	declarative: neutral
surgeon	17	//1 isn't it //	declarative tag: reversed: peremptory
registrar	18	//1 nup (no) //	declarative: neutral
registrar	19	13 ^ it */ is */ faffing //	declarative: neutral + confirmatory
surgeon	20	//13 ^ ahh */ not's [that's] not the */ word um //	declarative: neutral + confirmatory
surgeon	21	//13 ^ it's / all very */ stiff in */ there //	declarative: neutral + confirmatory
surgeon	22	//1 just from his */ previous dis- / ease //	declarative: neutral

surgeon	23	//3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //	coordinate
surgeon	24	//1 see what we run */ into //	imperative: neutral
registrar	25	//3 o- */ kay //	declarative: confirmatory
surgeon	26	//13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Cathy or a //	polar interrogative: peremptory + confirmatory
surgeon	27	//13 medium / sponge //	polar interrogative: peremptory + confirmatory
surgeon	28	//1 so we've - //	minor
surgeon	29	//4_ just / had a - ah / roll it into a */ ball //	imperative: compromising
surgeon	30	//1 into a */ roll //	imperative: neutral
surgeon	31	//4 so we've //	subordinate
surgeon	32	//4 been */ frustrated //	subordinate
registrar	33	//3 yep //	declarative: confirmatory
surgeon	34	//1 ^ and we've / been - */ what //	wh-interrogative: neutral
surgeon	35	//1 ^ re- / pelled //	declarative: neutral
surgeon		// ^ so we're / gonna try a- / nother - //	X (no selection)
registrar	36	//1 way //	declarative: neutral
surgeon	37	//4 yeah so //	subordinate
surgeon	38	//2_ just roll that */ down //	imperative: question: focussing
surgeon	39	//13 that might be / too */ much */ actually //	declarative: neutral +

			confirmatory
surgeon	40	//3 ^ and / get down */ there //	imperative: mild
surgeon	41	//2 pull on */ that bit //	imperative: question
surgeon	42	//1_3 and / I'll see / if / Olga and */ I can show you */ that //	declarative: neutral + confirmatory
surgeon	43	//2_ ummm / Olga can / you - you */ help / me //	polar interrogative: focussing
surgeon	44	//2 ^ we'll / both - * / hold a / second //	imperative: question
surgeon	45	//13 ^ you / need to get / more than one */ finger down */ there //	declarative: neutral + confirmatory
surgeon	46	//4 so - / so that you've / got a little bit of a */ front //	subordinate
registrar	47	//1 hmmm //	minor: neutral
registrar	48	//2 at an */ angle //	minor: challenging
surgeon	49	//3 yep //	declarative: confirmatory
surgeon	50	//2 let me / move the re- */ tractor //	imperative: question
surgeon	51	//2 you stay */ there //	imperative: question
registrar	52	//2 ^ can / you */ suck that //	polar interrogative: neutral
surgeon	53	//2 ^ that's / nice //	declarative: challenging
surgeon	54	//3 sweep it out to the */ side //	imperative: mild
surgeon	55	//5 that's */ great //	declarative: committed
surgeon	56	//5 nice one //	minor: committed
surgeon	57	//3 yep //	minor: confirmatory
surgeon	58	//1 that's going */ great //	declarative: neutral

surgeon	59	//2 let me move */ this again //	imperative: question
surgeon	60	//3 ^ hh / hmm //	minor: confirmatory
registrar	61	//3 pull up on */ that //	imperative: mild
surgeon	62	//3 ^ hang / on //	imperative: mild
surgeon	63	//2 ^ hold */ up a little / bit //	imperative: question
surgeon	64	//2 ^ are we */ showing it / to you //	polar interrogative: neutral
registrar	65	//1 yes //	declarative: neutral
registrar	66	//13 thank / you //	minor: neutral + confirmatory

Table 9: IUs1-66: interpersonal analyses

In the early part of the text the surgeon asks two polar (closed) questions (IUs 1 and 8) which check on the registrar's progress with the operation. Up until IU 12, the registrar's intrusion into the speech situation is to either comment upon aspects of the operation in reply to these questions or to issue a command (IU 5). The registrar's responses to the surgeon's questions are significant. Her initial response to the first question (IU 2) is enacted with the declarative reserved KEY; which is then followed several information units later (IU 7) by a declarative committed KEY which, together with the exclamation and the mental Process, enacts a sense of frustration at the progress of the operation (whether or not 'it is coming'). One can see therefore across these two responses a prosody (or at least a pattern) of modalisation, first implied (in the reservation of the tone 4) in answer to the yes/no question regarding her success with the operation at hand; then in the commitment of the tone 5 with respect to her frustration.

Her response to the second (IU 8) of the surgeon's questions is also significant, firstly in that it is delayed (IU 12) – interpolated instead are a continuing series of comments on the progress of the operation at hand, still in response to the surgeon's first question – and secondly in the assignment of marked Focus to the Finite/Predicator (to be discussed in Section 4.3.2.2). There is clearly something of consequence going on in the interpersonal relations, as evidenced through the five marked KEY choices out of the first twelve information units. Two of these marked choices by the registrar, the minor clause intense KEY for the continuative in IU 11 and the declarative focussing challenging KEY (IU 6) for the exclamation, enact in the first instance a (re)assertion of her agentive role in the tenor settings, together with in the second instance the collaborative sense of the high rising terminal (HRT).

To follow on from the discussion in Section 4.2, the surgeon, in his institutional role as instructor, needs to make sure that the registrar is given the scope to be able to develop necessary skills and experience; but in his institutional role as senior surgeon he also must ensure that the patient's health isn't compromised in the process; and this latter consideration is also of course relevant to the registrar and all involved in the operation. The registrar, as the one in charge of the operation, is allowed to direct and comment upon its progress, thus using language to enact the tenor setting of agentive role: by office: negotiated; while the surgeon checks on her progress (with the operation and, by extension, her training), enacting his agentive role (with respect to his institutional role as instructor) but also, by implication, the hierarchic social relations (it is he who asks the

questions)[18]. There are thus multiple tenor settings at stake: the respective agentive roles of the registrar and the surgeon; and their hierarchic status relations.

From IU 13 onwards, after the registrar's delayed response to the surgeon's second question regarding the progress of the operation, there is a shift in the tenor roles as enacted through the language. Firstly, the surgeon changes from asking questions to issuing commands; secondly, from here on it is he, rather than the registrar, who does the commenting on the progress of the operation, with the registrar merely offering supportive affirmation. On one hand this is also part of the enactment of his agentive role as instructor, imparting his greater skill and experience at a difficult moment; on the other hand, in effectively taking charge of the operation (albeit, at this stage, semiotically) he more directly enacts the hierarchic social hierarchy tenor setting, as well as an agentive role for himself as the one in charge now (through semiotic mediation) of the operation. The situational role in terms of who is actually performing the operation is now effectively at issue. The surgeon signals the reassertion of the hierarchic relations both interpersonally and textually: textually, as with the registrar's IU 11, he instantiates a minor clause continuative (IU 13) with its own information unit (cf Section 4.3.2.2 below for a further discussion of this and other textual phenomena); but interpersonally, with the surgeon the KEY chosen is the neutral one, as compared with the registrar's earlier committed KEY continuative (IU 11) – within the registerial social hierarchy relations, he needn't insist on his reassertion of control!

---

[18] Cf Thompson (1999) for a discussion of speech roles with respect to this institutional role (doctor) in another setting.

The patterns of realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION by the surgeon after this shift are also significant. Firstly, a distinct pattern of rising tone commands is instantiated: the imperative question KEY[19] (IUs 14, 15, 38, 41, 44, 50, 51, 59, 63). The choice of imperative MOOD is however realised with a variety of other KEY choices: IUs 23-24 and 30 see the surgeon instantiating the congruent tone 1 neutral KEY, in IU 29 the tone 4_ compromising KEY, and in IUs 40, 54 and 62 the mild KEY.

Of significance also is the way in which (incongruent) MOOD and KEY choices work together to realise more delicate variations of the command SPEECH FUNCTION, thereby enacting a more complex tenor relation: the surgeon uses a polar interrogative MOOD with the peremptory+ confirmatory KEY (tone 13) in IUs 26-27 and 43; and in IUs 45-46 a declarative MOOD with a neutral+ confirmatory (tone 13)[20] KEY.

---

[19] These rising tones echo, at the phonological stratum, the two earlier HRT declaratives by the registrar (IUs 4 and 6), a pattern which continues through the text – an illustration of registerial patterning at the phonological level. The discussion here is concerned with the description at the lexicogrammatical stratum, where these tone choices are differentiated according to their function in realising semantic choices; however it is clear that there is much to gained from an investigation of such phonological patterning, provided that the agnateness across the lexicogrammatical choices these rising tones realise are accounted for in some way semantically – it is not the phonological choices as such, but what they mean that is important. In such an investigation descriptions tying intonation directly to semantics would be useful.

[20] In IUs 19, 20, 21 and 26 there is, as with the rising tone discussed in footnote 19 previous, a phonological prosody in terms of the instantiation of the tone 13 choice across the different MOOD choices.

Although to a large extent enacting a supportive rather than agentive role from IU 13 onwards, the registrar does herself also issue a small series of commands: IU 48 is a (minor clause[21]: challenging KEY) echo of the series of imperative question KEY choices by the surgeon[22]; IU 61 is an imperative mild KEY; while in IU 52 the registrar uses the polar interrogative neutral KEY to enact a polite command.

---

[21] My interpretation of this as a minor clause requires comment, in the light of Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004: 153-54) use of this term for those lexicogrammatical elements that function to realise minor speech functions such as exclamations, calls, greetings and alarms. I will discuss this further in Chapter 7, where this issue is critical to the analysis in that corpus (cf also discussion in Eggins and Slade 1997: 94-95). For the moment I will point out that in the present work I base my use of the term 'minor clause' on whether or not there is a mood element present (cf Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 153), either in the lexicogrammar or in the retrievable co-text: that is, in lexicogrammatical and structural ELLIPSIS terms. (Likewise, the issue of whether certain elements are (minor clause) continuatives or MOOD bearing is based upon functional/semantic considerations). Thus, in IU 48, although the mood element may be retrievable from the situational context (the participants are facing one another), it may also be simply assumed and thus treated as lexicogrammatically redundant by the registrar in a situation where her right to command as the one conducting the operation is situationally (institutionally) preset. In such a case one cannot say that there is an ellipsed mood element; or, if one does, for sure what that MOOD choice is.

[22] This is an extreme example of ancillary language: everything except the Circumstance of Manner is ellipsed - the MOOD block (the command can be assumed from the participant roles in the situation and their institutional relations: when the registrar, who has been tasked with the conduct of the operation, instantiates a Manner Circumstance, the addressee knows this is meant as a command); and the Complement (as with the addressee, this is exophorically retrievable). Cf Thompson (1999) for a discussion of the interaction of (textual) ellipsis and the tenor settings of context, in terms of the metafunctional hookup theory.

As mentioned earlier, the shift in the enactment of tenor relations between IUs 1-12 and 13-66 in this excerpt involves not only a reassertion of command by the surgeon, but also his assumption of the role of commentator upon the operation. The statements by which the surgeon makes his commentary contrast with the registrar's earlier responsive comments: whereas the registrar's commentary involved both reservation (IU 2) and commitment (combined with the sense of frustration of the exclamation: IU7), the surgeon's comments are, initially, neutral statements (IUs 16, 20[23], 21, 22, 34-35, 42) realised by the declarative neutral KEY; and then later realised by committed declaratives (IUs 55 and 56), which augment the lexical realisation of high (graduated) positive APPRAISAL (cf Martin and White 2005) in these utterances[24]; and in IU 17 the surgeon's reversed polarity tag 'isn't it' is given the peremptory KEY (falling tone), again an enactment of the hierachic setting within the tenor of context: his opinion is given here as authoritative, in that the falling tone polar interrogative doesn't really ask for information about the polarity, just affirmation.

---

[23] Double information focus (tone 13) is still considered a neutral key for a declarative MOOD (cf Halliday 1967a: 56-57: system serial no. 21).

[24] One other statement (IU 58), with a declarative neutral KEY, is also co-instantiated with positive APPRAISAL. However, it should also be noted, in relation to the APPRAISAL choices, that many earlier utterances by the surgeon either inscribe or evoke negative appraisal, mostly with respect to the patient's disease, but also to the progress of their attempts to remove the affected tissue – thus echoing the registrar's earlier construal of her difficulty.

The surgeon is clearly in charge at all times; but the way in which his institutional status and roles are enacted in the tenor settings, through the text, show that the relations between situational setting (those aspects of the situation of relevance to the text and context) and the way in which these are interpreted semiotically is anything but a simple matter of 'art (semiosis) reflecting reality'. A complex interaction of tenor settings is enacted by both the surgeon and registrar through a variety of congruent and metaphorical realisations of SPEECH FUNCTION choices in lexicogrammatical selections; and it is through the prism of these contextual settings that the goings on of the situational environment are interpreted and effected.

The relation of the material and semiotic realms can be seen from the synoptic view of the text excerpt as a whole: i.e. the view from along the cline of instantiation, in terms of the statistical profiles of who does the initiating and responding, who commands and who comments, as evidenced through the patterns of selection in lexicogrammatical systems. However, the way in which the different aspects of these tenor settings are enacted through a text as it evolves, in response to both material and semiotic actions in the material situational setting, can only be seen if the synoptic view is complemented by a dynamic view of the logogenetic unfolding, instance by instance, of the text.

From this perspective, both the realisation of the interpersonal meanings of reservation and frustration by the registrar, enacting her stance towards the state of play in the situation (the progress of the operation), and the resultant shift in terms of her and the surgeon's interpersonal roles in the text (the surgeon's assertion of command and

commentary, enacting his own agentive roles with respect to his position as instructor and director of the operation, and the hierarchic tenor) call into question the registrar's role as the one doing the operation. This builds up as it were a tension between the tenor settings and the situational roles: the registrar is still the one (ostensibly, materially) performing (leading) the situational activities of the operation; but her and the surgeon's language choices suggest otherwise, that it is the surgeon who is now leading the operation (via his commands etc).

Considering that all of the surgeon's and at least some of the registrar's commands are issued to those having institutionally set lower status the question arises of why those with institutionalised authority should go to such lengths to realise such delicacy in the interpersonal semantics and context. As discussed in Section 4.1.2 above, the answer to this question may be found in the relation of meaning-making through language and the institutionally pre-set (that is, extra-linguistic) roles. Those of higher institutional status needn't assert their authority through semiosis as it has already been done for them in terms of their institutional position, which is non-negotiable, and therefore effectively a permanent and non-functional aspect of their relations. Thus they are free to enact other interpersonal relations with their institutional 'inferiors', those of respect and deference, through language: they are free to 'play' with semantic choices non-congruent to their institutionalised (and thus considered, in the description, situational) hierarchic relations, for the purposes of team harmony and professional respect.

The points at which the surgeon does assert, or reassert, the hierarchic tenor setting congruent to his institutional role – that is, where he instantiates an imperative neutral KEY (falling tone) command (IUs 24 and 30)[25] – are those where it is needed situationally: when there is some critical stage in the progress or conduct of the material action (the operation) which requires the recalibration of the tenor settings with the institutional role relations, such that the business of the operation gets done effectively. It is the one who has the higher institutionalised status (and ultimate responsibility) only who has this freedom: it is the institutional role relations that enables the surgeon to both take over the conduct of the operation (albeit semiotically, by issuing commands), and to reinterpret the relations of the interactants in a way more conducive to civil co-operation and interpersonal harmony[26].

But critically, the (re)enactment of the hierarchic tenor setting is done with respect to the register settings which prevail in the text: the surgeon's congruently realised

---

[25] If we consider IU 39 to be a command – one could gloss the congruent version as 'don't roll it down that much' (cf IU 85 below for an example of the congruent type) - it is perhaps even more assertive than the congruent imperative neutral KEY would be: that is, by merely stating what the course of action is the surgeon takes as assumed his hierarchic status - his right to direct the course of action - thereby giving it additional force in the context (analogous with the use of ellipsis to suggest a stronger link to the situational context). But in this one could say he is assuming, rather than (re)asserting command (for further instances where command is assumed through non-congruent realisation, cf IUs 81, 82, 86, 87, 91 below).

[26] Where those without the higher institutionalised status make such an attempt to step outside of the interpersonal register settings and change the tenor, the attempt is quite unsuccessful (cf discussion of IUs 88-90 below).

commands are all the more effective for being made against the backdrop of his more usual deployment of complex lexicogrammatical choices realising more polite and deferential commands (for example, the pattern of imperative question KEY, or the compromising KEY in IU 29). As it is the latter more complex interpersonal meanings that prevail across the text, it is these that characterise the text in terms of the register settings operative in the language; and, importantly for my exploration of register language, it is with respect to these more deferential interpersonal register settings that departures, such as when the surgeon (re)enacts the simple hierarchic tenor setting, gain their interpersonal force. Were the surgeon to continually to use language to assert his institutional position, that is, his interpersonal language would lose its force in the context.

In the semiotic interpretation of and action upon the situational environment, interactants draw not so much upon the full potential of language (in this case interpersonal) systems, but select within a constrained register potential that enacts (their respective interpretations of) tenor settings appropriate to their sense of their roles and relations within the situation. Thus, the valeur of the variety of realisation strategies for commands by the surgeon and registrar, for example, must be derived not so much from a consideration of the full systemic semantic potential, as from the registerially determined potential available within this type of text, with its particular tenor settings.

But this registerial potential itself –the semantic and contextual potential operative for social semiotic action within this situation − is not necessarily the same for the

different interactants (cf Butt 2003: 11); and furthermore, is co-constructed and negotiated by the interactants. In addition, it must also be taken into consideration that what I have here called 'departures' from the register settings of deference are themselves also, in a wider perspective, a part of the register of surgical discourse: it is part of the meaning potential of this type of text for those of higher institutional status to periodically enact authority through neutral commands and the like. The reiteration need not be emphasised also, considering the evidence presented above, that intonational systems play an integral role in this dialogic semiotic process.

In the next section I look at another aspect of the way in which language serves interactants in the situation and particularly how language serves as a resource to negotiate and change the direction the text takes: I look at the role of the textual metafunction, and in particular the intonational INFORMATION systems, in assigning relative importance to certain elements of the discourse, so making them relevant to the context of the prior text, the situational context, and the management of future discursively organised social action and reflection.

4.3.2.2   Textual Views

Below, in Table 10, I present the analyses of instantiations from several textual systems in the first 66 information units: INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION, INFORMATION GROUPING, THEME, INFORMATION FOCUS and INFORMATION PROMINENCE. The mappings of these (second-order semiotic) textual systems onto the clausal flow of information is tracked in terms of the structural functions of the elements made Focus or Prominent; thus for example, a Focus might map onto a Process,

Predicator, Actor or Circumstance[27]. Further information about the elements made Focus, such as Process or Circumstance type or more delicate modality specification, at points referred to in the discussion below, are listed in Appendix 2 (A2.2)[28].

interac tant	I U	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THE ME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: Lexis	IP: Grammar
surgeon	1	//2 ^ is it */ coming //	Is it	coming	Process/ Predicator	0	0
registrar	2	//4_ ^ it */ is //	it	is	Finite	0	0
registrar	3	//1 mm //	0	mm	mood	0	0

---

[27] Note: Circumstances, which are of course also Adjuncts in the interpersonal grammar, are not specified as such as they are considered interpersonally of little consequence: the point is that Focus on a Circumstance/Adjunct is an experientially oriented textual choice, and my presentation of the analysis here reflects this. It should also be noted that for consistency the further specification of Circumstances and Processes as for the different participant types – eg. Actor – might have been made here but weren't, as they play no role in the specification of Focus here (and in fact are misleading: it is not the type of Process etc that is at stake in the textual analyses here): cf Appendix 2 (A2.2) for this additional information. That the different participant roles – Actor etc - are shown is of no particular consequence: I simply find the term 'participant' as a broad term for the participants somewhat awkward and unfamiliar.

[28] These, partly as an additional resource for the discussion in the present work, partly as a resource for future research.

							Adjunct
registrar	4	//2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //	Olga I	deeper	Circumstance	Olga; just	Vocative; mood Adjunct
registrar	5	//-3 grab */ that //	(you) grab	that	Goal / Complement	grab	Process/ Predicator
registrar	6	//2_ */ there you / are //	There	there	exclamation	are	exclamation
registrar	7	//5 ^ how a- / nnoying I can */ feel it //	How annoying I	feel	Process/ Predicator	annoying	exclamation
surgeon	8	//2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be- */ low it //	Are your fingers	below	Attribute/ Complement	fingers	Carrier/ Subject
registrar	9	//1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //	(^THERE IS)	suction	Attribute: Premodifier/ Complement	almost; moment	mood Adjunct; Circumstance
registrar	10	//1 in the */ pelvis //	(^THERE IS)	Pelvis	Circumstance	in	Circumstance
registrar	11	//5_ o- */ kay //	0	okay	continuative	okay	continuative
registrar	12	//1 ^ my / fingers	My	are	Process/	fingers	Carrier/

221

		*/ are below it //	finger s		Finite+ Predicator		Subject
surgeon	13	//1 okay well //	0	okay	continuative	0	0
surgeon	14	//2 pull on em */ hard //	(you) pull	hard	Circumstanc e	pull	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	15	//2 ^ pull / up on that */ band //	(you) pull	band	Goal/ Complemen t	up	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	16	//1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //	Nah this	faffing	Process/ Predicator	this	Actor/ Subject
surgeon	17	//1 isn't it //	Is not it	isn't	Finite	0	0
registrar	18	//1 nup (no) //	No	no	mood Adjunct	0	0
registrar	19	13 ^ it */ is */ faffing //	it	is+ faffing	Finite + Process/ Predicator	0	0
surgeon	20	//13 ^ ahh */ not's [that's]²⁹ not the */ word um //	Ahh that	[that]+ word	Tok/ Ir/ Subject + Val/Id/ Complemen t	0	0

[29] Clearly a mispronunciation – therefore I have inserted between square brackets the word I believe was intended.

surgeon	21	//13 ^ it's / all very */ stiff in */ there //	it	stiff+ there	Attribute+ Circumstance	all	Circumstance
surgeon	22	//1 just from his */ previous dis- / ease //	it	previous	Circumstance Premodifier	just; disease	Circumstance: Premodifier; Circumstance: Head
surgeon	23	//3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //	let us	front	Circumstance	let's; straight; middle	Process/ Predicator; Circumstance*2
surgeon	24	//1 see what we run */ into //	let us	into	Phenomenon: (dr) Process/Complement	see	Process/ Predicator
registrar	25	//3 o- */ kay //	0	okay	mood Adjunct	okay	mood Adjunct
surgeon	26	//13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Bradley or a //	Can you	small+ thanks	Goal: Premodifier/ Complement + Salutation	you; sponge ; Bradley	Actor/Addressee/ Subject; Goal: Head/ Complement; Vocative

surgeon	27	//13 medium / sponge //	Can you	medium + sponge	Goal: Premodifier/ Complement + Goal: Head/ Complement	0	0
surgeon	28	//1 so we've - //	So we -	so	continuative	0	0
surgeon	29	//4_ just / had a - ah / roll it into a */ ball //	So we -; (you) roll	ball	Circumstance	just; had; roll	mood Adjunct; Process/ Predicator -; Process/ Predicator
surgeon	30	//1 into a */ roll //	(you) roll	roll	Circumstance	into	Circumstance: preposition
surgeon	31	//4 so we've //	So we	so	continuative	0	0
surgeon	32	//4 been */ frustrated //	So we	frustrated	Process/ Predicator	been	Auxiliary
registrar	33	//3 yep //	So we	yep	mood Adjunct	0	0
surgeon	34	//1 ^ and we've / been - */ what //	And we	what	wh- Predicator	been	Auxiliary -

surgeon	35	//1 ^ re- / pelled //	And we	repelled	Process/ Predicator	0	0
surgeon		// ^ so we're / gonna try a- / nother - //	So we	0	0	going to; another	Finite; Range/Com plement -
registrar	36	//1 way //	So we	way	Range: Head/ Complemen t	0	0
surgeon	37	//4 yeah so //	So we	yeah	mood Adjunct	0	0
surgeon	38	//2_ just roll that */ down //	So (you) just roll	down	Circumstanc e	just	mood Adjunct
surgeon	39	//13 that might be / too */ much */ actually //	That	much+ actually	Attribute / Complemen t + comment Adjunct	that; too	Carrier; Attribute
surgeon	40	//3 ^ and / get down */ there //	And (you) get down	there	Circumstanc e	get	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	41	//2 pull on */ that bit //	(you) pull	that	Goal: Premodifier/	pull	Process/ Predicator

surgeon					Complement		
surgeon	42	//1_3 and / I'll see / if / Olga and */ I can show you */ that //	And I	I+ that	Actor/ Subject + Range/Com plement	and; I; if; Jennie	conjunction; Senser/ Subject; conjunction; Actor/ Subject
surgeon	43	//2_ umm / Olga can / you - you */ help / me //	Umm Olga can you	help	Process/ Predicator	ummm ; Jennie; you; me	continuative ; Vocative; Actor/ Subject; Goal/ Complemen t
surgeon	44	//2 ^ we'll / both - * / hold a / second //	We -; (you)	hold	Process/ Finite+ Predicator	both; second	Actor/Subje ct -; Circumstanc e
surgeon	45	//13 ^ you / need to get / more than one */ finger down */ there //	You	Finger+ there	Goal: Head/ Complemen t + Circumstanc e	need; more	Finite; Goal: Premodifier/ Complemen t

226

surgeon	46	//4 so - / so that you've / got a little bit of a */ front //	So -, so that you	front	Attribute/ Complement	so-; so; got	conjunction -; conjunction
registrar	47	//1 hmmm //	0	hmmm	mood Adjunct	0	0
registrar	48	//2 at an */ angle //	?	angle	Circumstance	at	Circumstance: preposition
surgeon	49	//3 yep //	?	yep	mood Adjunct	0	0
surgeon	50	//2 let me / move the re- */ tractor //	(you) let me	retractor	Goal/ Complement	let; move	Process/ Predicator*2
surgeon	51	//2 you stay */ there //	You	there	Circumstance	you	Actor/ Subject
registrar	52	//2 ^ can / you */ suck that //	Can you	suck	Process/ Predicator	you	Actor/ Subject
surgeon	53	//2 ^ that's / nice //	That	nice	Attribute/ Complement	0	0
surgeon	54	//3 sweep it out to the */ side //	(you) sweep	side	Circumstance	sweep	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	55	//5 that's */ great //	That	great	Attribute/Co mplement	that	Carrier / Subject

surgeon	56	//5 nice one //	0	nice	exclamation	0	0
surgeon	57	//3 yep //	0	yep	mood Adjunct	0	0
surgeon	58	//1 that's going */ great //	That	great	Attribute/ Complemen t	that	Carrier/ Subject
surgeon	59	//2 let me move */ this again //	(you) let me	this (exoph)	Goal/ Complemen t	let	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	60	//3 ^ hh / hmm //	Yes (I)	0	mood Adjunct	0	0
registrar	61	//3 pull up on */ that //	(you) pull	that (exoph)	Goal/ Complemen t	pull	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	62	//3 ^ hang / on //	(you) hang on	on	Process/ Finite+ Predicator	0	0
surgeon	63	//2 ^ hold */ up a little / bit //	(you) hold up	up	Process/ Finite+ Predicator	bit	Circumstanc e
surgeon	64	//2 ^ are we */ showing it / to you //	are we	showing	Process/ Predicator	to	Circumstanc e: preposition
registrar	65	//1 yes //	Yes you	yes	mood Adjunct	0	0

				thank+	Valediction		
registrar	66	//13 thank / you //	0	you	+ addressee	0	0

Table 10: IUs 1-66: textual analyses

The THEME analysis shows that the point of departure for this interaction is habitually the interactants themselves, with thirty-nine instances (fifty-nine percent) where a first or second personal pronoun, or other term referring to an interactant[30], is Theme: twenty-three instances (thirty-five percent) where the second person pronoun is Theme; eleven (seventeen percent) where the Theme is the first person plural pronoun; and five (eight percent) the first person singular pronoun. All of these function as both experiential participant and Subject of their clauses. The text can therefore be said to be predominantly 'about' the interactants themselves: it is them who constitute the main 'angle on the field' (Martin 1992: 452).

As mentioned earlier in the analysis of the first five information units, one parameter at issue from the start of this portion of text is the metafunctional orientation in terms of selections in IF: seen in the shift from the ideational to the interpersonal orientation between IUs 1 and 2. Across the larger text excerpt shown above, this pattern of shift in the IF system in terms of metafunction orientation continues: there are stretches of text where the pattern is of an IF orientation towards ideational elements -

[30] For convenience of presentation I include under the statistics for the different personal pronouns terms such as 'my/your fingers', the implicit Theme 'you', and the first person plural implied by the 'let's' imperatives: in each case, the semantic value of the term is the same (or similar, as meronymy) as the pronoun itself.

Process/Predicators, Attribute or Goal/Complements or Circumstance/Adjuncts[31]. These stretches are interspersed with the assignment of IF to interpersonally-oriented clause elements such as Finite, Finite+Predicator, mood Adjunct and exclamation. Thus, the patterns of selection in the system of IF can be seen from both the synoptic and dynamic (logogenetic) perspectives.

From a synoptic perspective, it is the experiential metafunction which prevails in terms of the textual orientation of the text. For example, those Focuses highlighting Predicators in Processes which have the Finite element realised separately from the Predicator (IUs 1, 7, 16, 32, 35, 43 and 52) can be said to have a clear experiential bias; as can the pattern of IF on a Circumstance also: of the sixty-six information units, seventeen of the Focuses are Circumstances (twenty-six percent)[32]. This pattern of the textualisation of circumstantiation is continued with, in addition, three circumstantial Attributes/Complements[33]. There are also several marked instances of IP on a ("mini-verb": Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 277) preposition within a Circumstance[34]. Nominal Heads within Circumstances also, not surprisingly, occur frequently with the status of Prominent.

---

[31] The latter two interpersonal structural elements are outside of the negotiable MOOD block, hence my characterisation of them as ideationally-oriented.

[32] The Circumstances are: eight of Location (IUs 4, 10, 21, 23, 40, 45, 51, 54); seven of Manner (IUs 14, 29, 30, 48, 72, 85, 86); and one each of Reason (IU 22) and Time (IU 70).

[33] of Location: IUs 8, 68, 71.

[34] of Location (IUs 10, 30, 48); and Recipient (IU 64).

Taken together with the instantiation of processes and other participants as informationally highlighted, one can see in these patterns the textual metafunction in its role of realising the ancillary mode, such that the language facilitates the situational activity. A consideration of what is given textual status creates a remarkably vivid picture of the most significant aspects of what is going on, such as the processes of the operation (eg. IU 1: //2 ^ is it */ coming //; IU 16: //1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //), locations of body parts being operated upon (eg. IU 10: //1 in the */ pelvis //) and the body parts of the surgical actors themselves as instruments (IU 8: //2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be-*/ low it //), and the manner in which certain entities are to be acted upon (eg. IU 14: //2 pull on em */ hard //; IU 48: //2 at an */ angle //). It is not just that there is a field of discourse construing activities and their participant entities: it is that certain aspects of that field are brought to the attention of the interactants[35].

However, amongst this pattern of focus on experiential aspects of the situation, there is also a textual orientation to the interpersonal use of language in both the IF and IP systems. In terms of IF, in IU 8 an initiating question by the surgeon has the Circumstance as Focus in the question; but when the registrar, after a delay in answering, replies in IU 12 to the question it is with marked Focus on the polar Finite+ Predicator 'are' which, from its role as reply to the polar interrogative (that is, in consideration of the cohesive properties of this clause), can be taken to be a Focus on the Finite itself: //1 ^ my / fingers */ are below it //. We begin to discern a pattern of exchange between the

---

[35] cf Martin (1992: 452): "News elaborate the field, developing it in experiential terms".

surgeon and registrar when the latter also responds to a comment by the surgeon with a Focus on the polar Finite (IU 19).

In these instances we can thus see a textual shift in orientation from the experiential (for example, in IU 8 highlighting the location of an object in the situation) to the interpersonal metafunction (highlighting the polarity of the proposition with respect to the location of the object). This is not to say that the interpersonal hasn't been part of the initiating move: the surgeon's question is after all just that, a question realized through a polar interrogative mood. The point is that in the earlier polar question the interpersonal grammar was not itself textualised as situationally relevant or important, whereas in the registrar's responses it is precisely the interpersonal aspect of the proposition – its questioning aspect – that is made (con)textually significant[36].

I have discussed the marked use of IP for the prepositions of Circumstance above; one finds also instances of Prominence on mood Adjuncts and other interpersonally functional elements which, while not necessarily marked as such, do give the text an interpersonal orientation through such highlighting: for example the Vocative and mood

---

[36] It should be reiterated at this point that many of the Focuses have a dual metafunctional profile, such that their interpersonal aspect also is made textually relevant - this is moreso for the Finite+ Predicator elements (IUs 44, 62, 63 – all imperatives) than for the Complements made Focus which, as discussed above, lie outside of the negotiable 'nub' of the clause. The same point can be made for the participants made Prominent, many of which are Subject (eg. 'your/my fingers' in IUs 8 and 12) as well as experiential participant.

Adjunct in IU 2: //2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //; the mood Adjunct in IU 9: //1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //; and the Prominence on the Subject/addressee in 43, 51 and 52. All elements except the last have an exclusively interpersonal function; and the latter seems biassed towards the interpersonal function of language (language to act upon others).

The system of INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION also delivers to the text resources for bringing to the interactants' attention (and for 'hiding'!) certain meanings in the context. In IU 7 marked ID instantiates an exclamative minor clause and a major clause as one information unit. The unmarked choice in this instance would have been to give each their own IU, thus giving the expression of annoyance its own Focus. This, however, would have been to draw attention, one surmises, to an aspect of the situation the registrar would prefer to downplay: her frustration at her lack of progress with the removal of the cancer. She instead textually – in terms of ID - 'passes over' the exclamation, downranking this to the rank of information group[37]. This can be contrasted with the previous information unit (IU 6) in which an exclamation which does comment positively on the progress of the operation is given its own information unit (cf also IU 56 by the surgeon). ID is a crucial resource in these instances for the interactants to highlight or downplay the differing interpretations of the situation.

---

[37] Had the exclamation in IU 7 been given its own information unit one imagines it would also have had the committed KEY, as the actual IU 7 does on the Predicator. This would have further heightened the sense of frustration the registrar construes through the clause grammar.

Four other information units that stand out as marked in terms of ID form a pattern in the text in that they all distribute into an information unit a single constituent of a clause, a continuative (IUs 11, 13, 28 and 31). In each case (except for the third, in which the clause is interrupted, IU 31 thus being a restart), the (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 81) "new move to the next point" which the continuative is signalling is assigned the status of its own information unit. Furthermore, in the case of IU 11, the registrar increases further the textual framing of this move via the marked IG, assigning Prominence to both syllables of the single word 'okay'. In these instances the INFORMATION systems in fact orientate the text towards the textual metafunction: highlighting the role of language in facilitating the social activity at hand – that is, language in its ancillary mode – through the signalling of 'staging' in the text. In general, however, the selections in ID are remarkably congruent throughout. Other instances where the ID does appear to be marked turn out to involve ellipsis, either contextually or co-textually retrievable (IUs 10, 22 and 48).

As done in Section 4.3.2.1 above, one can complement the synoptic view of the discussion above with a dynamic perspective on the logogenetic unfolding of the text, from which perspective many of the selections discussed above are seen to have additional significance. For example, one may see certain sequences of information units in the early part of the text in this light, in terms of the negotiation of the registrar's agentive tenor role. Her first reply, foregrounding the interpersonal through Focus on the polar Finite, has been discussed earlier. We can now see the ID assignment to the exclamations in IUs 6 and 7 in the light of this discussion, as well as those in IUs 11 and 13: in various ways, each of these instances enacts an ongoing buildup of attention to the

enactment of agentive role, as each of the interactants asserts (or in the case of the registrar, attempts to assert) their control of the interaction. In the case of the surgeon's 'okay' in IU 13, a significant shift in the agentive role is in fact enacted: it is from this point that he begins to enact a pattern of commands and comments on the operation.

One may view the shifts from experiential to an interpersonal orientation and back again in the textual metafunction, discussed above, in terms of the logogenetic development of the text. The exchanges of initiation and response discussed above are micro-examples of the logogenetic perspective: the registrar's textual orientation to the interpersonal metafunction can be co(n)textualised with reference to the experiential orientation of the surgeon's propositions. It is also significant in this respect to consider the differing functional roles of 'okay' for the registrar in the text, in terms of their textual profile: her continuative in IU 11 is clearly designed to facilitate a new stage in the discourse, with her reasserting control of the material action; the 'okay' she instantiates in IU 25, after the surgeon has effectively shifted the role of the one performing the operation back to himself (albeit via semiotic mediation), has instead an interpersonal function, affirming the surgeon's proposal (IUs 23 and 24), but is also spoken across two information groups. The markedness of the textual metafunction enables different purposes in these two instances: in the first, a reassertion of (her) agentive role; in the second the affirmation of the surgeon's (re-established) agentive role.

A text is not only an accumulation of the various experiential and interpersonal selections instantiated: we may see these patterns in terms of the role instances play in

developing a text the co-text and contextual environments with which each instance of text interacts and upon which speakers draw for their interpretation of instances. It is only when one sees how experiential and interpersonal meanings are woven together in terms of their various levels of relevance and importance to each other and to the situation that we begin to see emerge an analytical picture of the text as a text: as meaning serving some useful function within sociomaterial environments; and in terms of the text unfolding within, adapting to, and facilitating and ultimately changing the progress of events in the situational context immediately at hand.

The role of the textual metafunction to relate the text to its context does not imply passivity: it is precisely in this role that the textual metafunction enables interactants to highlight various contextual parameters holding within a particular text – as an instance of a register – such that those parameters so highlighted become the site of negotiation and change in the text, and thus ultimately in the way interactants in a context interpret and act upon a situational environment. In the next section this aspect of the enabling function of the textual metafunction will be foregrounded, as I show how a text may dramatically shift in its metafunctional orientation, with potentially equally dramatic material consequences.

4.4 IUs 67-97: Register Variation Within a Text?

The above analyses and discussion revealed some of the analytical complexity one faces when investigating the deployment of intonational systems within a 'register'; and also revealed suggestive patterns of selection in intonational systems, with respect to the

identity of the text as member of a register. But while even a small number of selections from the system potential of the language, seen from the multiple perspectives of a detailed multidimensional approach, can be suggestive of a text type and text-context relations, to establish the identity of a register is another matter: for the identification of definitive patterns the analysis needs to be extended across an accumulation of instances.

One is then confronted with such questions as, 'with respect to what parameters is such an identification reliably performed?'; and 'what are the methodological bases for determining those parameters and their significance?'. Although our own personal intuitions and experiences of our own speech communities and register repertoires are valuable guides to the investigative process, as Malinowski (1923/1927: 297) wrote, "[a]ll Art…which lives by knowledge and not by inspiration must finally resolve itself into scientific study": one needs principled, explicit means by which to make the move from instance to text-type/register study. Furthermore, one needs to account for variations from emergent patterns also, and ask, 'is this variation part of this, or the instantiation of another type of text?'.

It is from the perspective along the cline of instantiation also that departures from such patterns so identified may be properly contextualised: as mentioned earlier, the valeur of instances is not so much determined with respect to the total system potential available to a speaker as to the narrowed potential we recognise as a 'register'. Having set up such a local register potential in a text (cf Matthiessen's 1993b, 1995a 'instantial systems'), to make a departure from this localised system potential is significant with

respect to that narrowed potential. Thus the study of instances is a resource for the study of register language; as the study of register patterning is a resource for understanding the significance of individual instances.

In the previous sections I showed how speakers not only (passively) respond to but (actively) instantiate and (re)negotiate register constraints according to their (perceptions of) their situational needs and wishes of the resources of text[38]. Situations are never entirely predictable and, particularly in the situation being studied here, may change at any time, potentially challenging the registerial constraints in operation; and so too may the various interpretations by different social participants of the situational environment may change; and it is through semiotic resources such as those of language that interactants are enabled to both adapt to and to act upon and shape the course of events in the situational environment.

The patterns observed in the above text excerpt may now be compared with the remaining information units of the text I am exploring, in which there are significant

---

[38] Indeed, this might be said to be what language use is designed to achieve: if a speaker was to simply follow a preset semiotic plan for each type of situation, semiosis – communication – would become redundant; and this is exactly what happens in situation types where the participants know what is going to happen next, as in highly routinised work environments or some marriages and family relationships: in the former, the talk is usually rarely about work; in the latter, as in all highly familiarised relationships, the challenge is to find new situations in which to explore the relationship and to remain alive to that which is not yet known about the 'significant others' – that is, one can never really know what is going to happen next in any relationship or situation.

shifts in some of these patterns. First the interpersonal, then the textual analyses are presented below, separately; but the subsequent discussion draws upon all the intonational and other relevant lexicogrammatical analyses together for the interpretation of the text. Note that the textual analyses does not include the lower rank systems of IG and IP: the selections in ID and IF are considered sufficient to illustrate the issues under investigation in the present section[39].

interactant	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM: SALIENCE	MOOD: KEY / STATUS
register	67	//4 sorry //	subordinate
register	68	//1_ am - / i'm in the */ way / aren't i //	declarative: mild
surgeon	69	//2 no //	declarative: challenging
surgeon	70	//1 ^ I just can't / stand it any */ more //	declarative: neutral
register	71	//13 ^ I'm / actually */ getting somewhere */ now //	declarative: neutral+ confirmatory
surgeon	72	//1 nah but you're / doing - you're / doing */ fine //	declarative: neutral
register	73	//1 ^ you / wanna take over */ don't you //	declarative tag: reversed: peremptory
surgeon	74	//2 no //	declarative: challenging
surgeon	75	//5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //	declarative: committed
register	76	//5 yes you */ do //	declarative: committed
surgeon	77	//1_ don't wanna take */ over //	declarative: mild

---

[39] For a more detailed analysis cf Appendix 2, A2.2.

register	78	//5 ^ you / do I //	declarative: committed
register	79	//4_ feel //	declarative: reserve
surgeon	80	//2 well //	minor: challenging
surgeon	81	//1_ no - ^ no I */ don't //	declarative: mild
surgeon	82	//1_ ^ I / really */ don't //	declarative: mild
register	83	//4 ^ I / didn't say I was going to */ let you I //	subordinate
register	84	//4_ just said I */ feel //	declarative: reserve
surgeon	85	//1 don't / suck up */ there Olga the //	imperative: forceful
surgeon	86	//1_ action's / down */ here //	declarative: mild
surgeon	87	//1_ ^ that's / right //	declarative: mild
junior assistant	88	//2_ ^ are you / getting frus- */ trated //	declarative: challenging: focussing
surgeon	89	//2_ me //	minor: focussing
junior assistant	90	//4_ yes //	declarative: reserved
surgeon	91	//1_ no I'm */ not //	declarative: mild
surgeon	92	//4 I'm - I'm / very / happy with the way we're pro- */ ceeding you //	subordination
surgeon	93	//3 know if I / didn't - / if there was */ bleeding and //	coordination
? (not known)	94	//1 hmm //	minor: neutral
surgeon	95	//3 stuff I would //	coordination
surgeon	96	//1_3 not be / happy //	declarative: mild+

| | | | | confirmatory |
| surgeon | 97 | //1 ^ but I'm */ happy // | | declarative: neutral |

Table 11: IUs 67-97: Interpersonal view

interactant	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM:	THEME	IF: Lexis	IF: Grammar
register	67	//4 sorry //		sorry	exclamation
register	68	//1_ am - / i'm in the */ way / aren't i //	am -; I	way	Attribute/ Complement
surgeon	69	//2 no //	No you	no	mood Adjunct
surgeon	70	//1 ^ I just can't / stand it any */ more //	I	more	Circumstance/ Adjunct
registrar	71	//13 ^ I'm / actually */ getting somewhere */ now //	I	getting+ now	Process/ Predicator+ Circumstance/ Adjunct
surgeon	72	//1 nah but you're / doing - you're / doing */ fine //	no but you	fine	Attribute/ Complement
register	73	//1 ^ you / wanna take over */ don't you //	You	don't	(tag) Finite
surgeon	74	//2 no //	No I	no	mood Adjunct
surgeon	75	//5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //	I	absolutely	mood Adjunct
register	76	//5 yes you */ do //	yes you	do	Finite
surgeon	77	//1_ don't wanna take */ over //	I	over	Process/ Predicator+ Adjunct

register	78	//5 ^ you / do I //	You	do	Finite
register	79	//4_ feel //	I	feel	Process/ Finite+ Predicator
surgeon	80	//2 well //		well	continuative
surgeon	81	//1_ no - ^ no I */ don't //	I	don't	Finite
surgeon	82	//1_ ^ I / really */ don't //	I	don't	Finite
register	83	//4 ^ I / didn't say I was going to */ let you I //	I	let	Predicator
register	84	//4_ just said I */ feel //	I	feel	Process/ Predicator
surgeon	85	//1 don't / suck up */ there Olga the //	(you) don't suck	there	Circumstance/ Adjunct
surgeon	86	//1_ action's / down */ here //	the action	here	Circumstance/ Adjunct
surgeon	87	//1_ ^ that's / right //	that	right	Attribute/ Complement
junior assistant	88	//2_ ^ are you / getting frus- */ trated //	are you	frustrated	Attribute/ Complement
surgeon	89	//2_ me //	Me	me	nominal group[40]
junior	90	//4_ yes //	Yes you	yes	mood Adjunct

[40] This could also be interpreted as an elliptical major clause, either: 'me: [am] I [getting frustrated]', involving a change of case; or, perhaps more accurately, 'are you talking to me?' (i.e. identifying who the referent of the pronoun 'you' is, perhaps rhetorically. Although I think the latter version more likely, the fact that there is no clear ELLIPSIS analysis motivates me to consider this a minor clause (cf Chapter 7, where this sort of problem is an ongoing one).

assistant					
surgeon	91	//1_ no I'm */ not //	no I	not	Finite
surgeon	92	//4 I'm - I'm / very / happy with the way we're pro- */ ceeding you //	I	proceedin g	Circumstance/ Adjunct
surgeon	93	//3 know if I / didn't - / if there was */ bleeding and //	You know if I	bleeding	Existent/ Complement
?	94	//1 hmm //		hmm	continuative
surgeon	95	//3 stuff I would //	you know if I	stuff	Existent/ Complement
surgeon	96	//1_3 not be / happy //	I	not+ happy	Finite+ Attribute/ Complement
surgeon	97	//1 ^ but I'm */ happy //	but I		Attribute/ Complement

Table 12: IUs 67-97: Textual view

Even at a glance one can see that there are significant differences between the previous sixty-six and these thirty-one information units. The first and most obvious phenomenon to be noted in the above portion of text is the dramatic shift in IF from a predominantly experiential to an interpersonal orientation. The THEME analysis shows a continuation – in fact an increase – in the pattern of the interactants being the point of departure (from fifty-nine to seventy-seven percent (24/31))[41]. But within this pattern, there is a shift in terms of the type of pronoun: the first person pronoun from eight percent to fifty-two percent (16/31); the second person singular pronoun from thirty-five

---

[41] Confirming Halliday's (1977: 182) observation that "the most usual type of Theme is a personal pronoun" (although this statement is not located registerially).

to twenty-six percent (8/31); and the second person plural pronoun from seventeen to zero percent (0/31). Thus, although the text is still 'about' the interactants themselves, the interactants each proceed from the point of textual departure of themselves, rather than another interactant or the inclusive 'we'. Much of this can be accounted for by the shift in MOOD: while the first excerpt has a pattern of eighteen second person and first person plural imperatives (twenty-seven percent), in this excerpt there is only one (IU 85) (three percent).

This analysis is richly complemented by a consideration of the system of IF as it is instantiated in this part of the text. Whereas in the first sixty-six information units the incidence of a solely interpersonal Focus – those Focuses of New information that highlight elements with an interpersonal function only - was at a ratio of 9/66 (fourteen percent)[42], here the proportion is 11/31 (thirty-five percent). In the first excerpt an interpersonal focus is interleaved with and supports a predominantly ideational orientation, as language is mainly used to facilitate the social activity at hand. In the second excerpt the pattern is reversed: the predominant metafunctional orientation is towards the negotiation of tenor roles through interpersonal language resources, with some more ideationally oriented commentary on the progress of the operation supporting this negotiation as the surgeon elaborates on why he doesn't want to take over the operation from the registrar.

---

[42] Most of these are mood Adjuncts of polarity in response to a previous move: eg. IUs 23-25: surgeon: //3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //1 see what we run */ into // registrar: //3 o- */ kay //.

This statistical perspective may again be complemented by a discourse analysis view of the text as an instance by instance unfolding of meaningful interaction. Firstly, of course, one can track through the entire text (both excerpts) the thread of interpersonal negotiation of tenor roles, which eventually becomes an explicit field of discourse for the interactants from IU 73 onwards. In the second excerpt, as a field construing the situational roles of the participants is instantiated, this field is explored first in terms of an interpersonal negotiation, and then in terms of the surgeon's commentary upon the operation and his own inner mental state (the latter in response to a challenge by the junior assistant)[43].

For a dramatic example of the value of a dynamic, logogenetic view complementing the synoptic one, one intriguing part of the text is the shift from the interpersonal back to an experiential focus, between IUs 84 and 85. Here, the surgeon asserts not only his authority but also draws upon his experience as a senior medical practitioner to momentarily reorientate the text from a negotiation of interpersonal meanings back to the job at hand (field), using the (far from polite!) imperative forceful KEY (falling tone with negative polarity imperative). This KEY choice thus recalibrates the hierarchic tenor settings with respect to the institutional statuses of the participants in the situation, after the immediately prior co-text where the registrar openly challenges the

---

[43] In terms of the latter field, his institutional (IUs 88-97) status is implied: if he is happy, then that is the end of the matter of who should lead the operation.

higher-status surgeon as to his intentions (inner mental state), and where the surgeon responds in kind, thus helping to co-enact a quite familiar, casual type of tenor relation[44].

This view from the instance is a wonderful illustration of the power of language, revealing the danger inherent in the use of language in such a critical situation: so caught up, presumably, in the interpersonal drama of the negotiation of polarity with respect to tenor roles within the context is the junior medical student, that she has neglected the job for which she is responsible and has been 'sucking' in the wrong place. The urgency in the surgeon's imperative suggests the importance of the command he enacts: one can clearly see here 'importance' engendered in the INFORMATION systems, with marked IG, enabling IP on the negative polarity of the Finite and the Predicator – an illustration of the enabling role of the textual metafunction[45].

His follow-up information unit (IU 86), suggesting the right place for the student to suck, is however realised with the declarative mild KEY, reasserting his deference to professional respect discussed earlier: here, as elsewhere in the text (IUs 42, 77, 81, 82, 87, 91, 96), the surgeon downplays events and his sense of authority via this KEY

---

[44] seen in particular in IUs 69 and 74, in his use of the challenging KEY to deny the suggestion that he wishes to 'take over'.

[45] As I shall show below, the junior assistant's response to this 'dressing down' is itself of interest.

choice[46]. One can see in the patterns of the surgeon's KEY choices (particularly in the patterns of imperative mild, and question KEY choices), which enact a deferential or non-authoritative interpersonal relation, how the register patterns in a text – the actual patterns of lexicogrammatical selection – are made with respect to and must be thus interpreted with respect to the pre-set institutionalised roles of the participants: as discussed earlier, it is precisely because the situational relations are institutionally pre-set that the surgeon can afford to enact a different registerial pattern of interpersonal choices[47]. By enacting the mild KEY, the surgeon by implication thus reenacts the unequal hierarchic setting in the tenor.

The prosodies of declarative committed and mild KEY choices instantiated by both interactants, while establishing interpersonal patterns best seen from the synoptic perspective, may also be seen in terms of the instance by instance unfolding of the interaction: as the two protagonists engage in a verbal 'sparring' match, an initial prosody of commitment by both interactants gives way on the part of the surgeon to a prosody of mild KEY choices. In IU 75 the surgeon 'plays' the interpersonal 'game' started by the registrar: surgeon //5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //. This information unit is marked in terms of ID and KEY: it is not often, and certainly only in certain registers,

---

[46] In this pattern, as in other tone selections (particularly the pattern of high rising tones), one can see a significant phonological prosody across the text, independent of any higher-strata (functional) interpretation.

[47] These observations are of relevance to the work by Hasan (1980/1986) on the relations between the level of institutionalisation and the freedom interactants have to negotiate the context (cf also Bowcher 1999); as well as to studies of interactions between those of differing institutional statuses in high-risk environments (Dietrich and Childress 2004a) discussed in Section 4.1.2 above.

that one would find a mood Adjunct of intensity (degree: total) that is also Focus, the final item in an information unit, and given the intense (tone 5_) KEY. In this part of the text the registrar and surgeon seem to (co-constructively) renegotiate the tenor, from a more formal tenor appropriate to the situational need for mutual professional respect and deference, to one appropriate to a more familiar type of interpersonal relation (cf for example the 'hailstorm' text in Chapter 5).

However, he doesn't let the game go on for long, recalibrating the tenor with respect to his institutionalised authority in his next information unit (IU 77, which finishes the clause started in IU 75), where the Focus is not on the Finite (the negotiation of polarity has been downranked to the status of Prominent) but on the Process/Predicator, and the KEY is mild: (IU 77) //1_ don't wanna take */ over //. The registrar persists, continuing the prosody of committed KEY choices; but the surgeon, after seeming to hesitate in IU 80, (the continuative suggesting he is perhaps considering going into a more experientially-focussed elaboration via an initiating proposition of his own), then reaffirms his interpersonal position vis-à-vis the registrar's proposition (IUs 80-82), again with the mild declarative KEY: //2 well // //1_ no - ^ no I */ don't // //1_ ^ I / really */ don't //.

However, the picture in terms of the negotiation of tenor is more complex than in his previous utterance: on the one hand both information units have the mild KEY choice, again downplaying the debate (low falling tone/mild Key with respect to POLARITY) and enacting by implication the hierarchic tenor; on the other hand, the Focus in both is

the polar Finite, suggesting that the surgeon still considers it necessary to argue the point[48]. It seems as though on the one hand the surgeon is careful to encourage the registrar to feel that she is, in terms of the tenor settings enacted through language, an equal in the interaction: that is, he doesn't at first discourage, but in fact seems to actively encourage the registrar in her more familiar style of discourse (and the shift in orientation to tenor in the IF and IP systems). This may be related to his role of instructor, and the need for an open channel of communication between himself and the registrar: as observed by several scholars in the GIHRE project discussed earlier (Section 4.1.2), in high-risk environments the freedom of those in lower-rank positions to feel emboldened to question or challenge their superiors based on their perceptions of the situation at hand is a critical factor in the different between successful and unsuccessful teams.

On the other hand, the welfare of the patient is ultimately his chief responsibility; and it is perhaps with respect to this situational aspect that he seems, after a brief foray into the realm of 'casual chat' about his inner mental state, to be keen to reinstate the tenor settings congruent to his institutional status and the appropriate relations between the interactants: through the mild KEY; and through the IF focus reiterating his (polar) stance with respect to the proposition being debated. This can of course be seen particularly in his next information units, IUs 84 and 85, discussed above, where he actively asserts the hierarchic tenor setting.

---

[48] Another instance of the conflict of interpersonal Key and textual Focus is in IU 82, which has the mild KEY together with IP mapping (with marked IG) on the mood Adjunct: counter: exceeding – 'really'.

The junior medical student, Olga, seems unaware of this subtle shift in the tenor in the surgeon's (re)enactment of the hierarchic tenor setting. Having just been given a 'dressing down' in IUs 85 and 86, the latter cheekily (in terms of their institutional role relations) demands a polar reply from the surgeon with respect to his inner mental state. It is not just that the act of asking her superior such a question (or indeed, perhaps, any question – her role up to now has been that of a passive observer of the semiotic interaction) is incongruent, if not incongruous, within the context of the registerially appropriate hierarchic relations and the institutional statuses. A large part of the inappropriateness of her utterance is her use of KEY: the polar interrogative focussing KEY, which gives an added sense of interpersonal force (markedness: in the grammar, phonology, and phonetic description) to the (unflattering, negative appraisal of the) Attribute/Complement 'frustrated'[49].

The surgeon's reply (IU 89), echoing the student's question in KEY, shifts the focus of this interpersonal force from his inner mental state to his own person, challenging by implication the student's right to question him in this way by drawing attention to their respective roles (one may gloss this meaning with a predicated Theme: 'It is me you are asking? I can't believe it'). Again, as with his exchange with the registrar (which has clearly emboldened the student), the surgeon then reenacts his authority (in IU 91) via the mild declarative KEY[50]: he need insist no longer; nor is it,

---

[49] Cf IUs 101 and 103 in the 'hailstorm' text for a more appropriate use of the challenging: focussing polar question.

[50] In both exchanges the subsequent reply by the lower-status interactant – that is, upon being challenged by the surgeon – is intriguing, at all strata: in IU 84 the registrar instantiates the reserved declarative KEY -

one gathers, in the surgeon's view appropriate to add to the interpersonal 'heat' already generated in this local instantial system. Already there has been one (potentially) significant material consequence of their verbal 'play' (the student's error in her performance of her material duties, which the language is supposed to be facilitating); and, ultimately, as mentioned before it is the surgeon who has the responsibility for the operation and the patient's safety. Thus, again as for his earlier exchange with the registrar, the Focus in IU 91 is on the polar Finite: the surgeon is still arguing the point; but does so in a way that suggests his is the last word.

4.5 Conclusion

It is clear that there is a major shift in the patterns of selection from intonational and other grammatical systems from the earlier part of the text studied in Sections 2 and 3 to the excerpt studied in Section 4 of this chapter. This contrast was the motivation for the

---

//4_ just said I */ feel //; in IU 90 the student also uses this KEY to confirm her original message - //4_ yes //. At the phonetic stratum, these choices were difficult to analyse, as although the rise at the end of the contour was clearly evident, it was accompanied by a particular voice quality – a constriction in the lower vocal apparatus – which suggested that this may have been an involuntary choice. A tone 4_ begins in the same way a tone 5 does, with a rise-fall, so the implication was that in both cases the committed KEY might have been intended. But I remained with the reserved KEY choice because, firstly, that was what was instantiated in terms of the phonetic description; and secondly, that choice too – whether a voluntary, premeditated choice or not – certainly fitted the cotext and context (tenor) as well, if not moreso. It may be that Ventola's (1987) observations on the scope of a dynamic perspective may apply here: that both interactants as it were 'change course midstream', opting for a tone 4_ instead of a tone 5, and thus deflecting the tenor implications of a committed KEY with their clausal meaning.

division of the text into two main parts: there are other shifts within these divisions, but these serve to illustrate the most significant changes in terms of patterns of selection from the overall system potential. The question then becomes, do we consider this text to exhibit register consistency: is there a shift between registers, or within a register?

The question itself is dependent upon one's conception and application of register theory itself; and, as with the earlier discussion of the shifts in tenor enacted through the language, is answered with respect to one's position along the cline of instantiation: the more varied and extensive the corpus of such texts we might examine, the clearer the picture would become of the extent to which the patterns and shifts in patterns we see in this text are representative of this text-type in general. From different instantial perspectives one may identify different register settings being instantiated in the text.

In terms of one perspective along the cline of instantiation, it is clear that there are significant changes in instantiation patterns such that we could say that there are different text-types being instantiated: in Matthiessen's (2007b) terms, one is a 'doing' type of text (the tenor is that associated with professional situational roles; the mode with facilitating an activity in the material situational setting); the other more of a 'sharing' text (the tenor is that more associated with, for example, casual banter amongst friends; and the textual metafunction orientates to the tenor roles and moves the text further 'away' from the material action it was previously facilitating: that is more towards the constitutive

mode[51]). Likewise, the earlier discussion of interpersonal relations showed that for a large part of the text – that is, if one's corpus was of a particular part of the text – the prevailing 'tone' was one of deference, seemingly at odds with the hierarchic tenor setting one would assume from knowledge of the institutional roles.

However, from a position further along the cline of instantiation one could say that the shifts in both interpersonal and textual systems are to be accounted for within a single (macro-)type, that of surgical discourse: that within this register - with its complex of tenor and mode settings – the dramatic shift in the instantial patterns represents variation from within a single set of semantic potentials, and not from differing system constraints. This is not just a theoretical issue for the observer linguist: for the interactants also (in this, and in many other analogous institutional and particularly high-responsibility, high-risk work environments), the issue of what meaning potential is available or appropriate within the context of situation is potentially crucial to the conduct of that work and the semiotic interaction that facilitates it.

For one interactant in this text, the medical student acting as junior assistant, the boundary of what is/isn't registerially 'correct' isn't clear, and is overstepped; for another, the registrar, the boundary is both different in her case, and more crucially, more negotiable: her capacity for playing with the tenor relations is greater than that of the student. And this is moreso again for the surgeon, who is free to enact both deference

---

[51] Cf Hasan's (1985/1989: 58) characterisation of the ancillary-constitutive mode distinction as a continuum.

and authority where he sees fit; and in whose power it is to either go along with the registrar's renegotiation (or in fact exploration) in the latter part of the text of the tenor settings, and shift in mode (through textual orientation of IF), or to recalibrate those context settings back towards congruency with the institutional roles and relations, and thus to orientate the text back to the job at hand.

The interactants within this context thus make meaningful language choices not so much with reference to the full potential of the language system as to the narrowed subpotential we call register; and it is against the backdrop of the constrained registerial potential instantiated in a text that interactants explore the power of language to change and adapt the social relations and the role of language operative within a situation to suit (their own perceptions of) the requirements of that situation. The constraint on semantic potential that we term register is differentially interpreted both by different interactants, by interactants at different points in the unfolding interaction, and according to differences in the scope of that constraint: a register potential is different depending upon the differences in institutional statuses within the situation, and upon what events and interpretations of those events unfold in the situational environment.

Ultimately, language is an adaptive resource for interpreting and acting upon that environment; and its use as such is both cooperatively managed and communally determined: one can use language to change our interaction with the material environment only to the extent that the inter-subjective community (Hasan 1980/1986) – its culture - assigns us the responsibility to do so. It is within the context of register – the constraint upon the ways in which interactants may manage their semiotic relations with

254

their phenomenal environment - that one can understand how it is that notions of appropriateness emerge; and how it is that, through innumerable instances where such constraint has been negotiated and challenged, registerial expectations are either confirmed or altered, in the latter case to the point perhaps, one might imagine, of changing the institutionalised roles and relations themselves, and other aspects of the situational environment. Lastly, it is within a multidimensional approach, incorporating intonational systems, that such phenomena can be explored in a way sensitive to the nature of this spoken text in its interaction with the socio-material environment.

Chapter Five:Casual Conversation

5.1 Introduction: The Present Chapter; Casual Conversation; Situation

In the previous chapter I demonstrated the approach and certain methodologies for the present work, through the investigation of a particular text: discourse accompanying a surgical operation. I showed, adopting a flexible multidimensional framework and approach, that in the analyses of a particular text it is possible, even across a relatively small sample size, to discern patterns of selection which show that text to exhibit register characteristics: particular sets of system subpotentials available within the total language potential. I also showed that it is in the process of semiotic interaction that register settings are instantiated, negotiated and challenged; and that registers, while certainly constraining the semiotic potential available to speakers in a particular text, may also enable speakers added semiotic 'play' as they make (more finely differentiated) meaning with respect to these register settings.

In the present chapter I explore the use of intonational systems within casual conversation texts. I will continue within the same organisational structure of the previous chapter: beginning from the view from the instance end of the cline of instantiation and working my way towards views suggestive of text patterning and thus of

register instantiation; and complementing the move along the cline of instantiation with an organisation according to the distinction of metafunctional views; and including shifts between ranks and delicacy also. As discussed in the previous chapter, the approach here is to utilise the multidimensional cartography of the SFL model as a resource for negotiating my way through the immense complexity of semiosis involved in an interaction, particularly as one examines larger and larger quantities of text, and for maintaining flexibility and navigational orientation to the wider purpose of the investigation.

In the present chapter I present the analysis and discussion of two texts – two instances of casual conversation. Both texts will be examined within each section: thus, the view from the instance will be of both the texts in turn, as will the view from along the cline of instantiation. Unlike in Chapter 4 the metafunctional perspectives will be integrated into a single discussion in each section. But as in the previous chapter I will preface these analyses and discussion with a short discussion of both some of the extensive body of work dealing with this type of text, and then of the situational elements relevant to the discussion of the contextual and ultimately linguistic choices in the text. Note that in this and subsequent chapters the full scale phonological and lexicogrammatical analyses upon which the discussion is based are to be found in Appendix 2: only (intonationally transcribed) text excerpts will be presented in the text.

5.1.1   *Casual Conversation*

The register of casual conversation has played an important role in the development of language theory and description (cf discussion in Eggins and Slade 1997), and has been

called the foundation register of all language[1]. Malinowski (1923/1927), in discussing

his conception of language in its context of situation, pays special attention to what he

calls (1923/1927: 315) "phatic communion" (1923/1927: 313): "The case of language

used in free, aimless, social intercourse requires special consideration", as it "seems to

deprived of any context of situation". He concludes that although (1923/1927: 315) "[i]t

is obvious that the outer situation does not enter directly into the technique of speaking",

the situation of such an occasion "consists in just this atmosphere of sociability and in the

fact of the personal communion of these people…Each utterance is an act serving the

direct aim of biding hearer to speaker by a tie of some social sentiment or other".

As a result of its lack of immediate goal-orientation (cf Halliday et al 1983: 22)

casual conversation "does not display a schematic structure of the usual kind", and has

been considered difficult to classify or indeed to study[2]. Nevertheless, (Halliday et al

1983: 22) show that "where other text types display MULTIVARIATE structures, chat is

different; it has a UNIVARIATE structure [upper caps in original]. There is only one

---

[1] (cf Halliday et al 1983: 15): "…casual conversation…is important because it is the foundation of all

language. It is in the process of spontaneous discourse that new meanings are made, and that our resources

for making them – the grammatical and semantic systems of our language – continue to grow and develop".

[2] (cf Halliday et al 1983: 15):

> Casual conversation is the most difficult kind of discourse to put on display. First,
> because it is spoken, and to represent speech in writing can never be wholly satisfactory.
> Secondly, because of all kinds of speech casual conversation is the one that is most
> different from written language; hence the distortion that takes place when it is translated
> is correspondingly greater than with other spoken forms".

functional element, and this occurs iteratively". They identify three features of casual conversation as: the presence of topics, but no topic control; interactants, but no status relations; turns, but no assignments of turns. Defining casual conversation by what it does, they claim that (Halliday et al 1983: 23) "[c]hat provides for a suspension of normal patterns of social stratification, and of the normal goal-directness of discourse, by setting up an open-ended interaction that defines its own goals".

The study of casual conversation has also been difficult in terms of the acquisition of authentic data. One reason for the former issue is that, perhaps because of its ostensibly non-purposive, non-institutionalised nature, casual conversations are hard to 'pin down', in terms of 'capturing' such talk in its everyday natural setting: interactants are unlikely to produce casual, friendly banter on demand. The availability of increasingly powerful and unobtrusive recording technologies in the latter decades of the twentieth century has been to some extent the means of overcoming that difficulty (cf for example Hasan and Cloran 1990:70-71; Eggins 1990; Slade 1996). However, issues of privacy and ethics clearance have also made the recording of naturally-occuring casual conversation in some ways more difficult than ever[3].

Nevertheless, its importance to an understanding of language and in particular language development has meant that many works have appeared in the last few decades which either deal exclusively and explicitly with casual conversation as a type or rely

---

Cf also Slade (1994: 73): "Casual conversation is often treated as something chaotic and unstructured".

[3] These comments of course vary in their applicability from one country to another.

heavily upon such data. Much of the data which Halliday drew upon for his study of the ontogenetic development of language in an infant (Halliday 1975) was in fact casual conversation, and the same can be said for Hasan and Cloran's studies of the language interactions of mothers and their children (1990), as well as Plum's (1988/1998) use of the conversational monologues of dog owners discussing their prize show dogs. Scholars to have made the study of casual conversation a direct point of enquiry have been Ventola (1979) and, perhaps the most important work in this area, the individual and collaborative works by Eggins and Slade (Eggins 1990; Slade 1994, Slade 1996[4], in press; Eggins and Slade 1997).

Eggins and Slade (1997) challenge preconceptions of casual conversations as unstructured through the presentation of a detailed, multidimensional integration within the SFL framework of several analytical methodologies, demonstrating (1997: 313) "how the techniques presented permit both the quantitative analysis of synoptic characteristics of casual talk, and the more dynamic analysis of patterns in the unfolding of the talk move by move". This combination of both quantitative and discourse analysis techniques, as I have shown in Chapter 4, is an important aspect of the approach adopted

---

[4] Both the PhD theses by Eggins and Slade are distinguished by the inclusion of detailed intonational analyses using Halliday's description: these form part of the appendices of both works; but unfortunately are scantly drawn upon for their discussions. Nevertheless, these resources provided the primary data for my Honour thesis argument for the existence of register variation of intonation and intonational systems (Smith 2004), revealing statistically significant differences in the probabilistic profiles of the different texts within their corpora corresponding to the different contextual profiles of the texts.

in the present work. In the present chapter I also draw upon the description of genres and generic structure presented in Eggins and Slade (Chapter 6)[5], as well as their semantic network for the interpersonal metafunction discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.1)[6].

Eggins and Slade (1997: 314) explore "how interactants draw on the grammatical, semantic and discourse resources of the language to enact and construct their social identities out of the problematics of sociocultural difference", counting (1997: 316) "as the major contribution" of their book that they "have been able to explore what it means to claim that casual conversation is critical in the social construction of reality", making visible the social functions of casual talk. Their research also supports Burton's (1978) observations that (Eggins and Slade 1997: 47) while "interactants in pragmatic encounters negotiate in order to achieve exchange closure, casual conversationalists are frequently motivated to do just the opposite: to keep exchanges going as long as possible"; and how this can be shown particularly from within a dynamic perspective (cf also Slade 1994[7]). The dynamic perspective on dialogic interaction has relevance to the discussions throughout the present work, although the following comments are specifically of importance to the present chapter (Eggins and Slade 1997: 224):

---

[5] Deriving from the work by Martin (eg. 1985b), Plum (1988/1998).

[6] I also draw upon Mann et al's (1992) rhetorical structure theory.

[7] Slade (1994: 48-49):

> a generic perspective can partly account for the structure and function of gossip but…for a fuller and more adequate description a complementary perspective is needed that focuses not on the global text structure and its component parts, but rather on the dynamic unfolding of the interaction that occurs within the gossip text. The latter perspective then details the processes by which moves of talk succeed other moves.

The dynamic perspective also reveals the fundamental importance of rejoinder moves, and particularly confronting move options, in casual talk. When responding options only are chosen, negotiation leads to the termination of the exchange, particularly if responses are supporting. The selection of rejoinder moves provides a major resource for sustaining any individual exchange, and thereby prolonging the conversation. Confronting reactions are the reactions most likely to engender further talk. Casual conversation thrives on confrontation, and wilts in the face of support.

One other issue arising in the study of casual conversation, for example in the discussions by Malinowski (1923/1927), Halliday et al (1983) and Cloran (eg. 1994, 1999), is the way in which such texts operate in an essentially decontextualised way with respect to the immediate environment of their surroundings. Whereas the surgical text studied in Chapter 4 is (ostensibly) ancillary to and thus intimately connected to and dependent upon for its comprehension the activities and participants in the situational environment immediately to hand, in casual conversation the reverse is generally taken to hold: the process of meaning embodied in phatic communion, by definition, progresses independently of the immediate surroundings and its events and entities. Cloran (1999), however, shows that the level of decontextualisation in a text is in fact a matter of degree: as when the interactants in the surgical text discussed their respective agentive roles, texts contain what she calls (1994) 'rhetorical units' which exhibit varying levels of relevance to the immediate material situational setting.

From the above discussion one would expect that in casual conversation the systems of the textual and interpersonal metafunctions are important both in the

production and analyses of these texts. Clearly then, this type of text is an important one to the study of intonational systems: the INFORMATION and KEY systems should prove crucial to an analysis of the way in which speakers enact tenor relations and engender mode settings. In terms of tenor, one would expect KEY systems to play an important role in the construction of social identities and their relations; while with respect to mode, one might expect that, as distinct from the way in which in the earlier part of the surgical text IF systems orientate the text to the construal of the social activity in the situational setting, that in casual conversations, considering that they are decontextualised, the textual systems would orientate to the prior co-text or, as in the latter part of the surgical text, the social relations in the context[8].

5.1.2   Situation

The situational events and participants relevant to the description of context for the casual conversation texts are those being construed/enacted/engendered through language. On the one hand, these are predominantly those events and entities forming the material for the anecdote in the hailstorm text and the qualities of and activities surrounding the use of a new oven: on the whole, the situational descriptions presented below are in fact on the whole much the same as those that would have been described had the discourse occurred during the actual events described. Thus the field of discourse is that construing the

---

[8] One issue, therefore, is the extent to which the selection patterns in the casual conversation texts align with those in the latter part of the surgical text, thus characterising the latter as a micro-text of the casual conversation type within the surgical macro-text (cf again Cloran 1994, 1999 on rhetorical units and their relations within a text).

phenomena of the hailstorm and ovens; and the roles and relations of those enacting the text is the same regardless of the 'distance' between text and situation. The fact that they are construed 'at a distance' from their actual occurrence (in the 'hailstorm text' this is a distance in time; in the 'ovens' text the distance is primarily that of tense and aspect – the discussion of (present-tense) states and ongoing (habitual) activities) is an aspect of the description of the mode. On the other hand, the social activity in which the interactants are engaged - the semiotic one of conversing – also forms situational material for the construal of field: thus the interactants themselves enter into the field of discourse at points; although still as part of the construction and maintenance of social roles[9].

5.1.2.1 Hailstorm Text

The immediate situational environment surrounding the 'hailstorm' text is a recording studio located in a Sydney university[10]. The occasion of talk was informal and for social purposes: that is, for the purpose of engaging in casual conversation[11]. The participants were all familiar to each other, being in fact friends rather than acquaintances, as is evident throughout the text in the (Butt 2003: 20) 'cultural capital in common' to all (the knowledge of each other's lives). The events and entities forming the bulk of the

---

[9] Cf Matthiessen (1995: 33-35) for a discussion.

[10] The conversation took place on the 21st October 1999.

[11] Although of course staged, in that the participants were aware of being recorded, this doesn't appear to have substantially inhibited the course of what seems to be a typical casual conversation. That is, the normal habituated activity of chatting seems to have prevailed over any self-consciousness at the recording situation: indeed, it is the heavily habituated and thus familiar nature of casual conversation among friends that makes this sound like an authentic instance of this type of text.

material for the construal of field of discourse in this portion of the text are those of the personal experiences of the interactants of a major and destructive hailstorm event which occurred in Sydney earlier that year[12]. The immediately prior text dealt with an unrelated field of discourse: one of the interactant's experiences of physiotherapy. Unlike the language in the surgical text, the language used in this text has, of course, no impact upon the events being construed as field, although the interactants' own personal experience of the events might implicate a situation-text relation in the other direction: the direct personal experiences of the hailstorm might influence the construals of the event (as opposed to the narration of events in which participants have taken no part).

5.1.2.2 Ovens

The second text, referred to as the 'ovens' text, is again contextualised within the environment of a (relatively) informal meeting of interactants who are familiar to each other: in this case, family members having dinner together. As with the hailstorm text, the longer conversational text from which this excerpt is taken ranges over a range of topics; but in the text being studied here the discussion centres on the topic of ovens, and the experiences of a number of the participants of ovens, including one participant's new oven, its qualities, and her experiences with it.

---

[12] Bureau of Meteorology (2008):

> An intense, long-lived thunderstorm, moved over Sydney's eastern and city suburbs during the evening hours producing a large swathe of enormous hailstones. The largest measured hailstone had dimensions of 9×8×8cm, although evidence suggests that larger stones fell in the more severely-damaged areas. This hailstorm was of a magnitude seldom seen in Australia, or the world. It stands as Australia's most costly natural

This text, also like the hailstorm text, occurs in the main after the events being described although, in this case, as the field which is being discussed often construes generalised ongoing activities – the use of ovens in general, which is one assumes a continuing activity from the temporal perspective of the interactants – there is a greater possibility of the discourse here in the text having an affect upon the progress of those activities: that is, like the surgical operation, the semiotic interaction can materially affect the progress of the activities being construed (the interactants' use of ovens new or otherwise); although of course in this text that impact would occur over a greater temporal horizon. One might say then that this text is less situationally contextualised than the surgical text, and more than the hailstorm text. However, as the occasion of the construal of the field of ovens seems to be the concurrent cooking of dinner for the participants (cf footnote 25 below and IU 1), one could imagine that the discussion could feasibly have an effect on the immediate situational context (for example, the discussion of the heating capacities of the oven might influence how long the dinner is left in the oven to cook).

---

disaster (in dollar terms) to date, with insurance claims expected to exceed $1.5 billion dollars.

5.2 The View from the Instance

5.2.1   Hailstorm

5.2.1.1   IU 95[13]: H3 //4 what happened- / just um while you're / speaking of being */ tortured //

In this information unit the speaker (H3) skillfully picks up on the previous topic of conversation – one interactant's experiences of physiotherapy – as a way into textually prefacing her initiating move into the next Theme, that of the effects of the hailstorm. The use of the subordinate STATUS selection (tone 4) helps to signal that this information unit is dependent upon what is to come (as does the meta-discursive textual continuative 'just' –given Prominence - and conjunction 'while'), postponing the interpersonal KEY selection. As with many instances of this type of segue, the actual semantic link is tenuous – at least, in terms of the topic to come – but it does allow the speaker to manage the topic shift with textual prominence: a whole information unit being given over to this textual task. An interesting aspect of this utterance, in this respect, is the false start: this clearly indicates that the speaker was initially in fact moving straight into the new topic without any textual introduction[14]. The restart shifts the realisation of this move from the congruent wh-interrogative MOOD to the non-

[13] This information unit is labelled IU95 as it comes after a long discussion which has also been analysed as part of the research, but not reported on in the present work (although referred to in Section 5.2.1.2).

[14] This is just one instance where a 'false start' in fact turns out to be motivated: the speaker reselects from the higher level meaning-based potential of the language.

MOOD selecting dependent clause, the subordinate STATUS tactically relating this to the succeeding IUs 97 and 98.

5.2.1.2   IUs 97 - 98[15]: H3   //4 what happened to / all - / you had a */ bit of hailstorm / damage //1+ didn't you //

The speaker restarts her previously aborted initiating question move – "what happened -" – but again aborts this strategy for introducing a new macro-Theme in favour of another, with a shift in the systems of: THEME, from the wh-interrogative element to the Carrier/Subject (addressee), which is made Prominent (perhaps as part of a multimodal strategy – together with gesture or gaze – for indicating the identity of the addressee); TRANSITIVITY, from a material Process configuration to that of a relational: possessive; MOOD, from the wh-Interrogative to the tagged polar interrogative; and IF, highlighting the effects of the storm on the addressee[16].

Intonationally, the KEY is again postponed in the first information unit, eventually appearing in IU 98 as the strong peremptory (tone 1+: high falling) polar interrogative choice on the tag, a marked KEY choice: the neutral choice for a polar tag being realised by the rising tone 2. The MOOD enacts a demand for (polar) information with respect to the proposition; the KEY enacts certainty about the proposition. Together MOOD and KEY thus enact a strategy for provoking discussion around the proposition.

---

[15] IU96 is part of the previous discussion of physiotherapy, and so is not included in this analysis.

[16] It is not clear what the IF would have been in the first attempt, but it seems that it might have been the object of the 'happening' rather than, in the restart, the effects of the events.

The provocation is further insinuated in the textualisation of Focus (IU 97) on the Premodifier 'bit' (i.e. on a lexical item which construes a diminished level of damage sustained by the addressee).

Also curious is that this marked Focus of New makes the Head of the nominal group it modifies, 'hailstorm damage', Given information. This is a remarkable strategy: so far as the text available to the researcher goes, there has been no prior mention of this topic (if there had been prior mention, it is at least ninety-five information units earlier). This thus comes under the heading of what Halliday describes as the rhetorical use of Focus (eg. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 91): the speaker, by construing this fresh topic as though it were already 'in the air', gives it a 'current affairs' flavour, as though it is a common or legitimately assumed current topic of discussion amongst the interactants[17].

Given the events that are construed in the following anecdote (cf footnote 12 above), this assumption is undoubtedly valid; but that appropriateness doesn't alter the significance of treating such a topic as Given information. In addition to being a bold textual choice, it can be seen as part of the overall deftness of this interactant in turning from one topic of conversation to another in such a way as to give the new Theme a solid 'grounding' in the discourse. Taken together, these intonational choices aim to provoke the addressee to a discussion of the proposition –in particular the focus of the proposition ('bit': i.e. the level of damage) - a provocation to which he rises accordingly. This

---

[17] Which it was: being one of Sydney's worst natural disasters (cf footnote 12 above).

combination of choices as a strategy for opening up a new macro-Theme (Martin 1992) for development is, as the following text reveals, a highly successful one.

5.2.1.3   IU 99:   H1   //1 ^ oh / god yes //

H1's initial response is to offer an exclamative as Focus ("god"), with the polar mood Adjunct ("yes") being non-Prominent. This initial reply is clearly a response not to the actual Focus of H3's question, but to what would have been Focus of New in the unmarked case: the Head of that nominal group, 'hailstorm damage', rather than the Premodifier 'bit of'. It is interesting to note that the speaker here doesn't use the committed KEY (tone 5) selection, common with exclamatives (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), perhaps because at this stage it is simply a reacting (Eggins and Slade 1997: 195) rather than a continuing move: this speaker doesn't yet 'have the floor'. But it may also be because he has misheard or not yet comprehended the marked selection of Focus: that is, he proceeds according to the habitual expectation that it is a straight question about the hailstorm damage itself, rather than specifically the extent of that damage. He provides an answer here without the additional 'staging' associated with the commencement of a dramatic monologue (cf below, particularly IU 109).

5.2.1.4 IUs 100 & 102[18]: H3 //5 ^ 'cause / your house was / absolutely */ decimated //5_ wasn't it //

From the choice of committed declarative KEY here in IU 100 one may gather that this speaker's previous information unit might have been intended not just as a provocation, but as understatement or irony. H3's use of the same linguistic strategy as in IUs 97-98 (a falling tone for a polar interrogative tag: that is, an intense peremptory KEY) can be contrasted with the shift in lexical appraisal (graduation): from the premodification 'bit' implying diminution of the extent of damage suffered by H1 to sympathetic increase of graduation of the Prominent mood Adjunct of intensity: degree: total 'absolutely' and lexical item 'decimated'. Here, in this solicitous tone, one can see the invitation to the instantiation of a storytelling genre (Eggins and Slade 1997: 236); which one can also see in the committed and then intense choices of KEY. The addressee again features as Prominent, this time obliquely (via meronymy) in the possessive Deictic 'your' (as Theme/Subject/Goal); but the Focus is now the Process itself - 'decimated' - rather than the (extent of the) result of the event being construed.

---

[18] Note: because of the overlapping of speakers' contributions in this section, this tag actually occurs, temporally, after H1's IU101 – hence the numbering; but it is clearly meant to be taken as tag for, and thus analytically part of H3's previous IU. The same phenomenon occurs at various places throughout the text, and the presentation ordered as here accordingly.

5.2.1.5   IUs 101 - 102: H1   //2_ ^ a / bit //...//2_ ^ a / bit //

The addressee of IUs 97-98 now, belatedly, picks up on the point of Focus of H3's first initiating move and, in a classic rejoinder move[19], himself assigns Focus to the Premodifier 'bit', adding in turn the extra force and challenge of the declarative focussing challenging KEY[20]. The marked use of Focus by H3 in IU 97 can now be seen in terms of its effect on the course of the interaction; the textual metafunction, through the system of IF, by highlighting certain aspects of the field, charts for the interactants the course that a speaker wishes the discourse to take through that field[21]. In a similar way to an instance discussed by Eggins and Slade (1997: 254-57), H3 has 'set up' the stage for H1 to launch into a monologic turn. One can see the crucial role that intonational systems, particularly those of the textual metafunction, play, in concert with those of the clause grammar, in this textual 'stage-setting' function.

---

[19] I analyse this, in terms of Eggins and Slade system networks, as a rejoinder: confront: challenge – an analysis which terminologically at least fits nicely with the semantic interpretation of the KEY choice!

[20] cf the discussion of a similar instance of this KEY choice, IU 89 in the surgical text in Chapter 4, Section 4.4. One can see already in this choice a sense that the two texts at this point are similar in 'tenor and tone'.

[21] This aspect of the textual metafunction – its role in directing the projected course for a text – will be crucial to discussions of current affairs interviews in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.2), where the choice of textual 'chart' by one speaker may be contested by another co-interactant. The use of IF to change the textual 'direction' of a text could also be seen in the shift in metafunctional orientation from field to tenor in the surgical text.

It is not clear whether H3's initial diminution of the extent of damage sustained by H1 was intentionally provocative of further conversation or not; but it is certainly taken as so by H1, with this information unit clearly functioning (in Eggins and Slade's 1997: 212-13 terms) as a rejoinder: rebounding move leading, as will be seen below, to the sustained conversation to follow. Eggins and Slade's comments on the use of challenging rejoinders is worth including here in the discussion (1997: 213), in the light of the above discussion and also, in terms of the latter of Eggins and Slade's comments, of the shift in H3's position between IU 97&98 and 100&102, in which H3 moves from a potentially provocative interpersonal stance to one of supportive encouragement:

> Challenging moves…directly confront the positioning implied in the addressee's move, and thus express a certain independence on the part of the speaker. Because they invariably lead to further talk, in which positions must be justified or modified, challenging moves contribute most assertively to the negotiation of interpersonal relationships.

5.2.1.6   IUs 104 & 106:   H1 //5 car */ and house // //1 */ both / cars //

H1 elaborates, still as part of a react (he is not yet holding the floor), on the extent of his hailstorm damage; but with the declarative committed KEY, injecting the additional interpersonal colour I have suggested above seems appropriate to the commencement of a dramatic retelling of events. The Focus is marked in both information units, and for 'good reason': by making Focus the extending conjunction 'and' between the two Heads of this complex nominal group, H1 textualises the meaning of 'extend' as the direction he wishes the text is to take – he indicates his desire to 'take the floor'; and the Focus on the Premodifier 'both' also highlights a level of detail that suggests that H1 is 'gearing up'

for his entrance onto the semiotic dialogic 'stage' as the 'teller of a tale'. This textual strategy is also evident by the marked IG, again in both information units. Thus he textualises his entrance onto the dramatic narrative[22] stage through his choices from INFORMATION systems; and interpersonally adds interest to this entrance through his choices of KEY.

5.2.1.7 IUs 105 & 108:   H3 //4 ^ I mean / I only heard a / little bit about it from */ Kay so / wh - //1 wh - / what actually */ happened //

In this information nexus H3 continues and finalises the stage-setting work she has helped accomplish (together with H1) over several information units. In IU 105 her Focus on the source of what information on this intriguing event she has in possession already ("Kay") and her IP on the Premodifier 'little (bit)' and herself (as Theme/Subject) draws attention to herself in her social status of (Berry 1981) 'secondary knower'. This textual strategy is coupled with the subordinate STATUS selection, to link this to the following information unit in which she (finally, eleven information units after her first false start) returns to the original, aborted initiating question explicitly inviting H1 to offer an account of 'what happened'. Significantly in this respect, it is realised by congruent lexicogrammatical choices: a wh-interrogative with neutral KEY; thematisation of the wh-element, also made Prominent; and Focus on the material

---

[22] Note: my use of the term 'narrative' here is atheoretical. In Plum's terms, the following predominantly monologic text by H1 is more in the nature of an 'anecdote', according to Plum's (1988/1998: 208-211) criteria. It is the latter term that I use in general here.

Process 'happened'. The textual implication is clear: H3 is inviting H3 to take the text into the field of his experiences of the events of the hailstorm using a monologic mode.

5.2.1.8　IU 107:　H1　//1 yeah //

It is not entirely clear if this intended as a mood Adjunct, replying to H3's polar questions (or, indeed, which one, or whether in fact a general reply to both) or a continuative in response to the content question. I take it to reply to the latter of H3's utterances, because of the time-frame involved, and see it as characteristic both of the supportiveness of the dialogic co-authorship between the interactants, and acceptance of the 'floor' for the move towards the monologic mode by H1.

5.2.1.9　IU 109:　H1　//4 ahh / well I mean the - the */ strange thing about it / was that //

One can see the engendering of the commencement of a monologue here in: the ID of one information unit for what is, in a literal grammatical analysis, the first elements (Value/Identified+ Process) of an encoding identifying clause; two continuative Prominents 'ahh' and 'well'; and the use of the subordinate STATUS ('more to come'). Taken literally, the Token/Identifier of this information unit is the entire anecdote to follow; thus we may consider IU 109 to actually serve as a grammatical metaphor: an interpersonal Theme for the discourse to follow. The marked textualisation of Theme+ Process as a separate information unit in fact suggests that it may be playing the semantic role of (an interpersonal) hyper-Theme (Martin 1992). With the marked Focus on the

Epithet 'strange', this strategy as an opening move[23] in a monologic anecdote adds a dramatic touch, signalling (through the resources of the textual metafunction) that the succeeding text should be taken as having something unusual and hence interesting and entertaining about it.

5.2.1.10 Discussion

In the discussion of the surgical text I showed how there were significant shifts between two text excerpts of the text such that, from one perspective along the cline of instantiation, there seem to be different register potentials being instantiated in the text excerpts while, from another perspective further along the instantiation cline, one could argue that the same register settings prevailed throughout with differences in the way this meaning potential was instantiated through the text. In the opening moves of the hailstorm text one can see language called upon for a specific purpose within an overall text structure: to set the stage for the commencement of an extended monologue to follow. That is, in this text as well, one may consider that the patterns of selection found in this excerpt might differ from those of the succeeding text. This will certainly be one aspect to investigate in the move along the cline of instantiation. In more general terms issues of the definition and identification of register language are raised again: whether to define a register in terms of language patterning alone, or whether to consider other factors (as Hasan does) such as global text structure and its relation to the instantiation of differing patterns at different points in the text.

---

[23] In Plum's (1988/1998) terms, the 'abstract'. In fact most if not all of the hailstorm text analysed so far be considered as constituting the (dialogically-constructed) abstract to the following anecdote.

Another important aspect of the investigation is the way in which the textual and interpersonal uses of intonation systems enable the organisation of the text as a coherent unity and the enactment of interpersonal relations in the text. In terms of the former, the context to which the text is made relevant is not an immediate one as in the surgical text: the context in this casual conversation is effectively the co-text. Thus, the engendering function of the textual resources of grammar are those associated with the semantic structuring of the text – again, unlike in the surgical text where information units tend to relate to events unfolding in the situational environment (the 'structure' of the text is extralinguistically/situationally derived).

In terms of the interpersonal metafunction, one can see already in these few choices of KEY the equality and freedom from the constraint and tension in the tenor relations found in the (earlier part at least of the) surgical context. Even where there are similarities – the committed and focussing challenging KEY choices, for example – their use has different tenor implications here to those in the surgical text: for example, whereas the committed KEY choices of the registrar enacts frustration and thus doubt about her agentive role, and later a sense of playful banter about this role, in this text the same choice serves to establish a sense of dramatic interest to the abstract of a forthcoming monologue.

However, it is also evident that in the negotiation of interpersonal (in this case turn-taking) roles, this and the surgical texts have much in common. As in the analysis of the surgical text, this similarity can be seen from the logogenetic perspective: in both

texts, for example, marked KEY choices (eg. the committed or challenging focussing KEY choices) appear at certain points in the unfolding interaction as interpersonal 'spurs', enacting interpersonal value to the construal of the field of discourse. In fact, the entire sequence could be seen as H3 demanding goods-&-services (a tale)[24], and H1 accepting the request. The complexity with which this turn-allocating process is enacted is enabled by the specific constraints operative for this text-type: it is amongst those of non-hierarchic status and low social distance relations that such a co-construction would be expected to occur.

5.2.2   Ovens

5.2.2.1   IU 1:   B3   //13 so / how - / how long do we / leave the um - / how long does the ah - po- / tat - / how long do the po- */ tatoes */ need //

One thing that immediately stands out of course about the above information unit is the number of restarts. This text is thus like the hailstorm one in having a restart at the beginning of a new topic phase (the prior discussion being gossip about friends and the finding of a lost earring)[25]; but unlike the hailstorm text, there are several restarts (three),

---

[24] Or perhaps, this is an 'offer' from H3 to H1.

[25] There had been an earlier discussion about food and lunch options for the following day, and although it stopped short of discussing ovens, at one point the following exchange occurred, in which the expected next word at one point – after "put them in the–" - in the interrupted text (indicated by the dash '–') seems to have been 'oven':

    B4   We know what we know what we can do with the lamb grillers and we can
            always freeze them or something and take them out. So…

and all in one information unit. Like the hailstorm text these restarts involve a change in the realisation of the initiating move[26]; but here the congruent wh-interrogative MOOD is retained: there is none of the elaborative stage-setting (abstract) found in the hailstorm text. This may be because the text which is coming is not an anecdote but an exposition or, in Eggins and Slade's (1997) terms based on Martin and Rothery (1986), an 'observation/comment' type of generic structure: this is the initiation not to a monologic construal of a sequence of events but to a dialogic discussion of states, mainly the attributes of ovens[27], which (Eggins and Slade 1997: 267) involves "no time line of events". The choice of double (major+ minor) Focus is however unusual: it is interesting to note that Halliday's system networks do not include this choice – the compound tone –

B1   Take them back with you and put them in the - or you know like maybe or you
         can have them for tea tomorrow night.

So one could say that the topic of 'food' and by implication 'ovens' had been in the air – certainly the general field of food, its preparation and consumption. But here, after an intervening construal of other fields of discourse (friends; lost earrings) I take the motivation for the introduction of this field to be the situational environment: the interactants are waiting for dinner to be cooked.

[26] The first (one assumes) is a simple restart; but the second is motivated: the first attempt has 'we' as Subject and Actor in a material Process; this is then changed to the 'potatoes' being made Carrier/Subject in a relational circumstantial clause. The third is to repair the number concord – 'does' to 'do' ('the potatoes need'). The latter two restarts thus appear to be motivated, by either stylistic or grammatical reasons.

[27] One could easily imagine a different kind of textual organisation of the 'path through the field' of ovens and their qualities: a dramatic anecdote such as that of the hailstorm, in which there were sequent events with evaluation of those events etc. There is some of that in this text (IUs 16-23), but the point is that it is not organised as a narrative: there is no abstract, no stage-setting, sequence of events.

as an option for the wh-Interrogative MOOD[28] (this KEY choice being normally associated with the giving of information (declarative MOOD) or demanding of goods and services (imperative MOOD)). The motivation may simply be to create an added textual prominence on the Predicator 'need'; but the overall resultant sense of this move is of polite interest rather than excited anticipation.

5.2.2.2   IUs 2 - 3: B1   //3 ^ not */ long an //3 hour //

IUs 2-3 are an example of the meaning potential of tone concord: two information units with the same KEY choice (confirmatory) construing paratactic elaboration. The interpersonal blandness of the minor confirmatory Focus in IU1 is also echoed here: the sense is of there being little going on in the tenor, a sense which is confirmed by the following information units. This information unit is thus, interpersonally, very much in the low-key spirit of the initiating move to which it responds.

---

[28] I spent quite some time making sure this wasn't a tone 4 (although that choice would also have been odd, and not in Halliday's networks): cf Appendix 3: Chapter 5: ovens_IU1. The distinction is in the finality of the initial fall in pitch (on 'potatoes'), and overall contour shape: in a tone 4 the fall is not complete (although it is in a tone 4_ - but there the curve is exaggerated, temporally or in pitch excursion), and the curve of the falling-rising pitch movement is distinct from the simple falling motion and then slight rise of the tone 13 (the tone 4 is made up of two similar movements as 'mirror' images of each other, the second being shorter but not different in rate of change; the tone 13 has two different types of pitch movement – the rise is less sharp than the fall).

5.2.2.3   IUs 4, 5 & 7[29]: B4   `//1 ^ that - ^ that / oven is` `//1 very - // //1 hot hot */ hot //`

IUs 4, 5 and 7 instantiate a highly unusual series of choices in the system of ID. The unmarked Theme/Carrier/Subject - '(that) oven' - of the relational attributive Process is given its own information unit, as Focus, as is the Premodifier of the Attribute 'very'. This textual strategy, along with the fact that B4 actually doesn't immediately finish the clause, allows B1 to interrupt (IU 6) with her own construal of the situation; after which B4 then finishes her clause. The chunking of a clause into two information units according to the Theme + Rheme structure is itself not unusual (for Halliday 1967a: 21, 33, if the clause has marked Theme, two information units is the unmarked term): it is the co-choice of the neutral declarative KEY which makes this ID so highly marked. Furthermore, when a marked Theme is assigned its own information unit, the standard choice is the subordinate STATUS (tone 4), signalling 'more to come' without making any interpersonal selection.

These observations apply to the even more highly marked ID choice of a separate information unit for the Premodifier 'very'. The ID and KEY choices here add interpersonal force to the clause predication: an interpersonal prosody such that the individual information units contribute, along with the repetition by and between both speakers here (IU6) and in B1's overlapping information units, to an increased sense of affirmation with respect to the attribution of the quality of 'hotness' to the oven in question. In APPRAISAL terms (Martin and White 2005), although the ATTITUDE

---

[29] IU 6, by B1, is an interruption of B4's clause, the latter being finished after B1's IU 6.

choices with respect to the oven are indeterminate (we can't say if being 'hot' is 'good' or 'bad', although one suspects it is good – but cf IUs 16-23), the systems of ID and KEY certainly contribute to the realisation of GRADUATION systems, through the increased textual attention, and addition of interpersonal force, to the other discursive and lexicogrammatical resources for enacting appraisal of repetition and lexical choice.

5.2.2.4   IUs 6 & 8 B1   `//1 ^ that / oven is */ hot // //1 ^ it's a / very / hot */ oven //`

At first sight the repetition between B4's move and B1's overlapping sequence of information units here is a simple case of collaborative dialogic co-construction of text. Indeed it is an example of interactive collaboration; but it is in fact the choices in the system of IG that are the raison d'être for the repetitions within IUs 5-8, and which contributes most to the co-constructive enactment of appraisal. The assignment of an information group (rhythmic pulse) to each of the two Premodifiers – 'very' and 'hot' – (as well as the lexical addition of the Premodifier 'very') is further evidence to that presented in Section 5.2.2.3 above of the contribution INFORMATION systems make to the realisation of appraisal systems, in particular GRADUATION. The increased GRADUATION is then augmented by the assignment of neutral Focus to the Head 'oven' in IU7 which should have been made Given, according to many accounts of this system, having previous mention. One can also note, in considering the collaborative co-construction of meaning here, the way in which B1's contribution here echoes, at the lower rank of IG, the distribution of B4's clause into IUs 4, 5 and 7.

5.2.2.5 IUs 9, 11 & 12:   B1   //4 ^ 'cause / that */ cake was //4 in / there / for - on the / instant / forty five */ seconds // //4 ^ ah / forty five */ minutes //

Here again we see marked 'chunking' (ID) creating additional textual highlighting to the text; but here the marked ID (on the Theme/Subject/Carrier - 'that cake') is accompanied by the subordinate choice[30]. The marked ID is echoed at the lower information group rank, with the Deictic Premodifier 'that', the prepositions 'in' and 'for', and the Premodifier 'instant' all being given their own semiotic 'beat' of IP, as well as the items they premodify, reminiscent of the use of IP and IG in certain parts of the surgical text. Here, however, the choices in IG, together with that of ID, are not for the purpose of facilitating situationally-immediate material action: the marked textualisation instead engenders clarity to an exposition upon a particular Theme, the performance of an oven.

5.2.2.6 IU 10:   B3   //3 yeah //

B3, who had just previously attempted and aborted an information unit (cf Appendices 1 and 2), signals acceptance of the continuation of B1's speaker turn through this continuative, with its KEY signalling confirmation of the Subject of the proposition B1 has commenced.

---

[30] But note that IU 12 is a lexical repair – hence an otherwise exact repeat of the last two information groups of the previous information unit (IU 11).

5.2.2.7   IU13:   B4   //1 hmm //

It is not easy to tell whether this is a continuative signalling to B1 to go on, or a polar mood Adjunct either agreeing with B1's proposition, or confirming her repair in IU 12. Semantically, I think it is both: I analyse it grammatically as a polar Adjunct; but interpret its function as an encouragement to B1 to continue, by agreeing with her proposition.

5.2.2.8   IUs 14 - 16:   B1   //4 ^ and / normally //1 [Pause] / it's not */ ready in / forty five //5 minute but //

The comment Adjunct as interpersonal Theme - 'normally' - is given its own information unit, a common textualisation; which is then followed by a Pause (realised through a silent beat in the rhythm)[31]; and then another marked but also common ID assigning a separate information unit to the Circumstance. The Pause adds textual 'weight' to the previous information unit which, together with the marked ID, facilitates a sense of anticipation of what follows. The assignment of IF in IU 15 is also marked; but the ID is also marked and indeed quite odd: part of the Circumstance for this clause – the Head of the nominal group 'forty-five minute' – is assigned a separate information unit, while the Premodifying element of this nominal group is included with this IU 15[32].

---

[31] Cf Appendix 3: Chapter 5_ovens_IUs14-16.

[32] Clearly and unambiguously indicated in the phonetic description by the fact of the post-tonic contour remaining low without any change of direction or height: cf Appendix 3: Chapter 5_ovens_IUs14-16.

I interpret this choice of ID to indicate that the speaker in fact 'changes (interpersonal) course midstream', so as to enact what was initially intended as a neutral statement with neutral ID and marked Focus - // it's not */ ready in / forty five / minute // - as instead a committed statement[33] via marked ID: the addition of interpersonal force in the latter unit of the information nexus enabled by the marked ID can be interpreted as applying to the whole meaning complex[34]. The semantic effect is to add an element of surprise to the construal of the oven's heating capabilities, in keeping with the general prosody of marked interpersonal force vis-à-vis this quality.

5.2.2.9   Discussion

One can already see in the above analysis patterning beginning to emerge in system selections in the text. Firstly, in contrast to the surgical text, but alike to the hailstorm text, there is a pattern of marked ID, co-selected with both the subordinate STATUS and KEY choices, reflecting, or rather, engendering a more structured monologic and constitutive mode[35]. Whereas in the surgical text the textual metafunction serves to tie

---

[33] And indeed, the instantiation of this tone 5 sounds very much like it was a 'last minute' choice, the pitch contour being very sudden in appearing; although the dramatic rise in pitch height makes it clear that this is indeed a tone 5 - the lack of precontour rise rules out the 1+   interpretation: cf Appendix 3: Chapter 5_ovens_IUs14-16.

[34] It is tempting to consider this the strong (tone 1+) KEY, in a relation of contrast to the earlier repair – 'second' to 'minute'. But I find this a weak argument: the sense, both phonetically and semantically, is more the interpersonal commitment of the declarative tone 5 than the contrast of the tone 1+.

[35] There are only 2/97 instances in the surgical text of this use of tone 4 (to co-join information units into a nexus): IUs 83-84 and 92-93 (but arguably also 72), all of which are, significantly, during that part of the

the text to its situational context, here each successive information unit is tied to the local context of its prior co-text. However, whereas in the hailstorm text the interactants co-construct an abstract for the commencement of one interactant's monologic anecdote, here the expositive structure is more oriented to the instantiation of a (less so but also co-constructed) interpersonal prosody of appraisal, and there seems to be as a result less exercise of the interpersonal resources of language: less of the tenor complexities of the surgical text, or the challenging and committed tone found in both the latter part of the surgical text and in the hailstorm text. The interpersonal 'stakes' seem much lower here, as though the speakers have a lesser level of interest in the interactive aspect of the dialogue.

In this text certain suggestive interpersonal patterns emerge almost at once from the text – the use of marked ID in particular with the subordinate STATUS; and a low level of tenor negotiation - whereas in the hailstorm text, as I show later, the early information units don't instantiate patterns found throughout the text but serve a distinct function (as abstract) in the global structure of the overall text. Of course, as discussed throughout this thesis so far, one cannot draw conclusions about patterns in a text from a few of its information units; but in these 'views from the instance' of the two casual conversation texts I have shown both consistencies and inconsistencies in particular between these two on the one hand and on the other hand the earlier surgical text. In particular it becomes clear that in different texts and types of text there are not only

surgical text where the mode becomes more constitutive than ancillary. Here, in this small sample from the ovens text, there are already 4/16 instances of the subordinate choice in information nexuses.

differing uses of the same systems, but the foregrounding of different system: in each of the texts viewed so far in the present work, different patterns have emerged as relevant to a statistical investigation.

5.3 View Along the Cline of Instantiation

5.3.1 Hailstorm: IUs 95 - 198[36]

H1's anecdote (cf Eggins and Slade 1997: 243-57) is, to a large extent, a structured monologue – with occasional input from other interactants designed to push the story along or elicit information on particular points in H1's anecdote. One can thus track the patterns of selection according to the unfolding of this structure, and note departures from the pattern accordingly. After the co-constructed abstract in IUs 95 –108, IUs 109-112 forms the orientation stage of the anecdote; with next a series of remarkable events instantiated, with dialogic commentary interpersed, through IUs 113-169. Thereafter the conversation turns to an exposition about the size of the hailstones, which could still be said however to serve a supportive function within the overall structure of the anecdote (cf Cloran 1995, 1999).

The orientation stage consists of a series of subordinate STATUS and declarative neutral KEY selections. The former is iconic of 'orientation' in its function of indicating 'more to come'. The latter gives (intonationally) independent status to information that is clausally dependent (through the conjunction 'when'), an illustration of the 'tension'

---

[36] For the full analysis of this and other texts in the remaining chapters cf Appendices 1 and 2.

Halliday and Greaves (2008: Section 5.3.1) identifies as possible between the two tactic systems of the clause and information unit: the congruent version would have been either to say 'It started at…', or the present clausal version but with subordinate STATUS. The congruent versions would however have been less facilitative of the dramatic nature of the orientation: the marked ID/IF textualises (highlights, dramatises) the Process of this circumstantial clause; while the KEY enacts interpersonal force. In Mann et al's (1992) rhetorical structure theory terms, the combination of STATUS, KEY and INFORMATION systems works in tension with the clausal taxis to realise a complex satellite relation to the nucleus of the orientation phase - IU 112. The latter itself, however, has the subordinate STATUS, indicating, congruently, the satellite STATUS of the entire orientation sequence (IUs 109-112) to the succeeding nuclear remarkable event.

The appearance of the first remarkable event (in Hasan's 1985/1989 terms, 'Precipitative Event', or 1984/1996 'initiating event') is, characteristically, staged with a marked Theme comment Adjunct 'suddenly' with its own information unit and the subordinate STATUS[37]. This is followed by a series of three declarative committed KEY choices, again iconically signalling the move into the telling of events proper. The move is finished with a neutral KEY polar tag 'you know' inviting dialogic support; but H4 has

---

[37] The event itself is actually construed as the Phenomenon of a mental Process of cognition – 'thought'. This construes the experiences of the hailstorm as central (in terms of the figure) rather than the events of the storm itself; and also sets the stage for the following sequent event (in Mann et al's 1992 terms, the nucleus of the anecdote), in which the events of the hailstorm are central, being construed there as direct sensory rather than perceptive experience.

already come in with a supportive backchannel 'hmmm' and comment 'that's what it sounded like'[38]. H3 also responds with an affirmative 'yeah'; but hers has the rise-fall pitch movement realising the subordinate STATUS that signals 'more to come': i.e. she is saying 'yes, and..', that is, 'go on'.

H1 continues with his tale, moving on to the construal of the next remarkable event, in IUs 121-126. Again the sequence of subordinate STATUS and declarative committed KEY, plus in this case coordinate STATUS and declarative neutral KEY is used, together with marked ID, to weave together a sequence of events into a dramatically staged unity. Note that it is the Subject of the clause realising the sequent event itself (IU122), with its own information unit and Focus, which attracts the committed KEY. It is this that functions as one of the central elements (for Mann et al 1992, nuclear units) in the anecdote: the introduction of the construal of a direct sensory experience (rather than mental process) of a hailstone – 'this ice-block'. The hailstone, as Theme/Actor/Subject, particularly in terms of its size ('iceblock') with its association with the extent of damage it caused, is engendered/construed/enacted as the nuclear participant – as the subsequent exposition (Eggins and Slade's 'observation/comment') about the size of the hailstones reveals. The marked ID and KEY here, as in the earlier construal of the damage[39], are crucial resources for the construction of the dramatic nuclearity of this event. That is, KEY works together with ID and IF to signal what

---

[38] Cf Appendix 1, A1.2.1 for the exact temporal sequencing of information units.

[39] construed as a mental process of perception, of a 'riot going on': cf footnote 37 above.

listeners are to attend to as newsworthy, as dramatically of central interest, in the anecdote[40].

The pattern of monologic anecdote interpersed with supportive or elicitive comments by the other interactants continues. The KEY selections in these short dialogic exchanges, as in the subsequent monologic parts of the text, are themselves often marked: as in the challenging focussing KEY (by H3) in IU 125, or the committed KEY (by H4) in IU 128. The pattern of marked ID selections also continues (eg. IUs 132, 135, 137). The system of IF is however effectively neutralised throughout most of the text (with one, notable exception - cf discussion of IU 140 below; also IU 149), the textual work being done by ID: that is, it is the marked ID that engenders the assignment of unmarked Focus that would have otherwise been marked in the case of unmarked ID.

One remarkable aspect of this anecdote is the wholesale repetition of aspects of the tale, through IUs 131-145, in response to the elicitive statement by H4 (IU 129)[41]. H1's repetition of his previous construal in fact allows him to reengender the flow of information. IUs 132-137, for example, repackage the earlier information in IUs 113-116 as a series of satellite dependent circumstantial clauses to the nuclear section of IUs 140-

---

[40] Cf also Matthiessen (2007c) for a discussion of the relations of generic stages and their differential realisations in lexicogrammatical resources; also Gregory (eg. 2002); and of course Martin (eg. 1984), whose stratification of context was designed to account for this phenomenon.

[41] which itself picks up on H1's earlier portrayal of events as the Phenomenon of a mental Process of cognition.

145; and although the Actor/Subject 'ice-block' again gets its own information unit with committed KEY (IU 143), so too now do the Circumstance of manner 'horizontally' (IU 144) and the Head of the Circumstance 'through the door' (IU 145). In addition, significantly, on the third construal of the same figure – 'opened the door' (IUs 121, 131, 140) – not only is the subordinate STATUS changed to the committed KEY, but the Process itself now receives marked Focus; again suggesting that this event is construed as satellite for the nuclear unit of the entire anecdote rhetorical structure[42] - that is, the move from mental perception to direct sensory experience of the hailstorm event. The display of markedness in KEY and to a lesser extent ID systems continues in the next remarkable event (IUs 147-171) as the main actor describes the scene as he and his co-actors in the scene go outside. Here, we are in the nucleus itself of the anecdote: the direct experience by the interactant of the physical phenomenon of the hailstorm.

This markedness may however be contrasted with the pattern of selection in the next stage of the text, where an expositive dialogue develops around the theme of the size of the hailstones, and in particular ones collected by the actors in the anecdote and kept in a freezer as (unsuccessful) evidence of their size (IUs 170-198, not including IUs 171-

---

[42] For a discussion of the semantic function of marked Focus cf Martin 1992; cf also Martinez-Lirola and Smith (forthcoming a). The other instances of marked Focus in this part of the text are IUs 149 and 169. The latter instance may in fact be unmarked – the Process here, 'coming off', being effectively retrievable from its colligational properties with the Actor 'tiles' – but the former, 'everyone's outside', is genuinely marked, indicating a cohesive link to the previous information unit, 'we go outside', thus also facilitating a heightened textual status to this element of the construal, the fact that everyone is outside – suggestive of the extent of the drama of the event.

173 which are part of/support for the prior, anecdote stage). This ultimately humourous aside is also of course connected to the preceding anecdote, supporting one of its central aspects: the size of the hailstones, which is itself as observed above suggestive of the extent of damage they inflict.

Particularly significant from an analytical perspective - from the view along the cline of instantiation – is the shift in instantial patterns in interpersonal systems between IUs 109-169 and 170-198. Firstly one can note the appearance of a congruently realised polar question (IU 170): a neutral polar interrogative, only the second instance[43]. This question effects the major shift from anecdote to observation/comment (with a delay of three information units) – an instance of congruency being associated with such a shift[44]. Secondly, the patterns of selection in KEY systems observable along the cline of instantiation clearly reflect, or rather, enact a change in the type of interpersonal interaction being co-enacted. Table 13 shows the selections in MOOD: KEY systems between IUs 95-108 (excluding IU 96), IUs 109-169 and 170-198 (excluding IUs 170-173):

---

[43] The other earlier instance was IU 162, which demands further elaboration on the (marked Focus!) information that 'everyone's outside by this stage'.

[44] Compare the surgeon's congruent realisations of commands (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.1: eg. IUs 24 & 30), as a reassertion of his hierarchic tenor relation, so as to reorientate interactants to the business at hand. The issue of congruency and the shifts in text structure is an interesting one which there hasn't been the opportunity to explore further in the present work.

STATUS/ MOOD:	KEY	IUs 95, 97-108		IUs 109-169, 171-173		170, 174-197	
		count	%	count	%	count	%
minor	neutral	0/13	0	4/64	6.2	2/25	8.0
	committed	0/13	0	4/64	6.2	0/25	0.0
subordinate		3/13	23.1	14/64	21.9	4/25	16.0
coordinate		0/13	0	3/64	4.7	0/25	0.0
declarative	neutral	3/13	23.1	12/64	18.8	9/25	36.0
	strong	0/13	0	1/64	1.6	0/25	0.0
	mild	0/13	0	3/64	4.7	2/25	8.0
	committed	2/13	15.4	16/64	25	0/25	0.0
	committed+ confirmatory	0/13	0	1/64	1.6	0/25	0.0
	intense	0/13	0	0/64	0	1/25	4.0
	challenging: focussing	2/13	15.4	1/64	1.6	2/25	8.0
	confirmatory	0/13	0	3/64	4.7	3/25	12.0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory	0/13	0	1/64	1.6	0/25	0.0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory: strong	1/13	7.7	0/64	0	0/25	0.0

	(tag: reversed): peremptory: intense	1/13	7.7	0/64	0	0/25	0.0
polar interrogative	neutral	0/13	0	1/64	1.6	0/25	0.0
wh-interrogative	neutral	1/13	7.7	0/64	0	0/25	0.0
	deferring	0/13	0	0/64	0	1/25	4.0
	deferring: referring	0/13	0	0/64	0	1/25	4.0
Total		13/13	100	64/64	100	28/28	100

Table 13: Comparison of KEY selections in different stages of the hailstorm text

Although the corpus is of course very small for statistical purposes, Table 13 above reveals some suggestive statistics, particularly when contextualised with respect to the view of actual text instances. For example, the use of the declarative neutral KEY, in all cases except one (IU 129, which functions as a demand for, or at least an elicitation of, information[45]) realising a statement, is unevenly distributed across the three main sections

---

[45] Cf Halliday's (1963c: 122) amusingly economical approach to this choice: "There are people, no doubt familiar to most of us, who cause confusion – at least to me – by asking questions with tone 1 affirmative [B.A.S.: later called 'declaratives'] clauses…Such people might perhaps not mind being left temporarily outside the system". Nevertheless, this is a common enough strategy, and needs to be accounted for somewhere in the description; although I too must decline the challenge in the present work, except to observe firstly that the work in discourse analysis subsequent to Halliday's comment might indicate this as

of the text – 23/19/36% - with a substantial increase in the expositive section. For the declarative committed KEY, however, that pattern of instantiation is reversed: if one includes the compound (tone 53) and intense (tone 5_) selections, the distribution – 15/27/4% - reveals a substantial decrease from the anecdote to the exposition stages, with a substantial increase from the orientation to the events stages of the anecdote itself.

This profile can be further enriched with the inclusion of the statistics for the minor clauses which, in terms of KEY, perform much the same function interpersonally as the full declarative clauses[46]. An additional six percent of selections in the events stage have the committed KEY with a minor clause[47], which gives the following statistics overall for the committed KEY for the three stages (declarative and minor clauses

a 'checking' statement, and secondly that further investigation of such utterances at the phonetic stratum might uncover clues to its interpretation, both by languagers and linguists. The redundancy of the lexicogrammatical realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION moves at certain points in dialogue may also be a factor.

[46] Again, as in Chapter 4, I will defer the discussion of my interpretation of the term 'minor clause' until Chapter 7, where it can be properly treated with respect to its prominent usage in that corpus. In terms of KEY, as the mood element is absent, one could assume that the SPEECH FUNCTION is simply that enacted by the KEY, and that thus a rising tone minor clause cannot be classified together with a declarative challenging KEY. However, this objection doesn't apply to the two major types of falling tone – the neutral and committed KEYs – where the minor and major clause KEYs can be treated as agnate precisely because in the case of the falling tone minor clause it is the same SPEECH FUNCTION as for the declarative – statement – that must be assumed in the absence of a mood element.

[47] Although these are mostly continuative backchannels, their enactment of the 'commitment' meaning gives them, in this respect, a similar interpersonal semantic profile to that of the declaratives.

combined): 15/33/4%. There are also additional neutral KEY minor clauses in the remarkable events stage (six percent), and the observation/comment stage (eight percent), which in fact makes the entire anecdote (orientation+ events) section consistent in terms of (declarative and minor clause) neutral KEY choices, and adds further to the contrast between these stages and the exposition: 23/25/44%[48]. Figure 10 below, which follows the concept of a text-score developed by Matthiessen (eg. 2002a & b), illustrates these statistics from a logogenetic perspective according to the three main stages of the text identified above (Series 1 (S1) = committed KEY, Series 2 (S2) = neutral KEY), showing how the level of interpersonal markedness – and thus engagment - across this text varies dramatically with respect to the type of generic stage being instantiated, with a prosody of commitment appearing, not surprisingly, in the remarkable events stage, while in the observation/comment stage interpersonal neutrality (at least in KEY) predominates:

---

[48] Another interesting statistic profiles the use of the coordinate STATUS across the text, with no use in the orientation, five percent in the remarkable events stage, and eleven percent in the observation/comment: it is not until the conversation gets going that speakers construct complexes of meaning; and this may be related more to the commentary than to the story-telling.
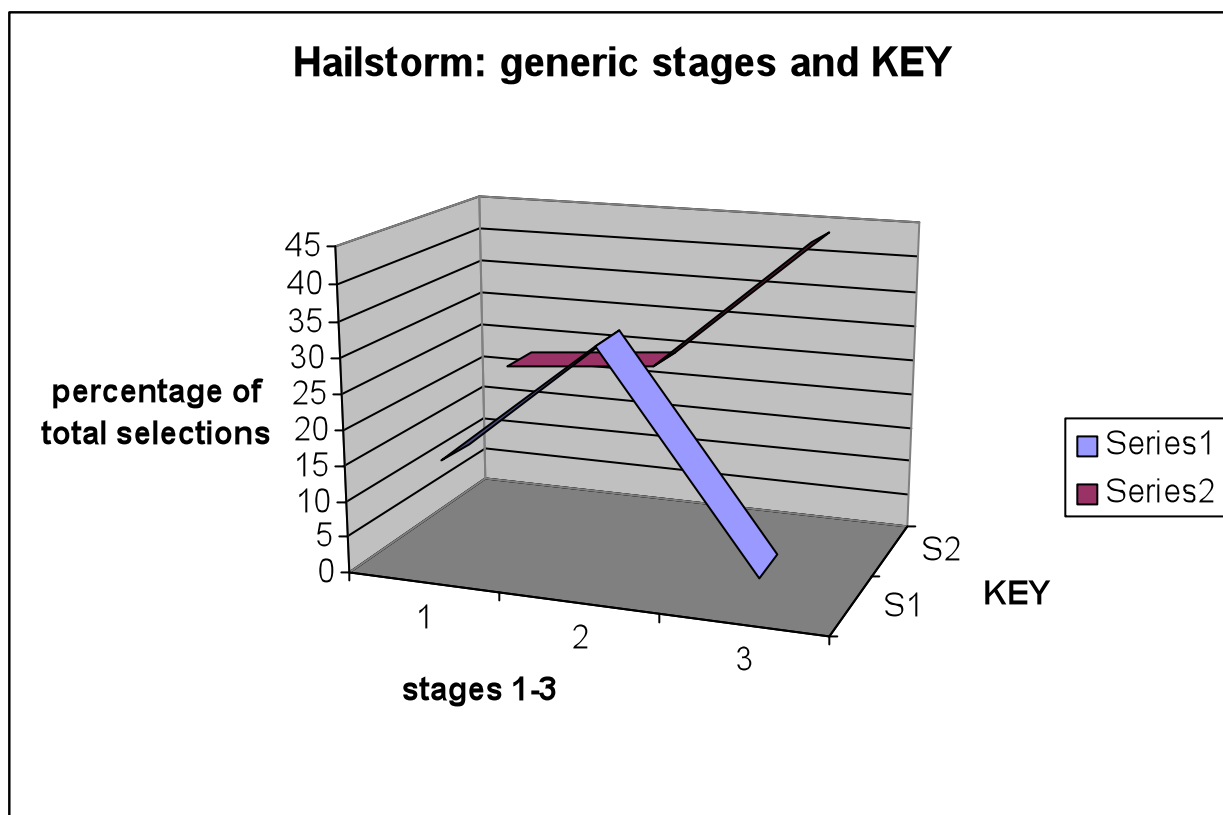
Figure 10: % proportion of committed and neutral KEY selections within three main generic stages of the hailstorm text

The instantial and stratal perspectives also become important when interpreting some of the less frequently instantiated selections: it is an accepted practice to study the typical in terms of the aberrant. As I have shown in the discussion above, individual instances of selections, when considered in terms of both their role in the unfolding logogenesis of the text – that is, instance by instance – and as the realisation of semantic and contextual choices can have a significance equal to or greater than those which pattern frequently across (parts of) the text. The instantiation of the neutral and peremptory polar interrogative choices, the deferring wh-interrogative, and strong, challenging and mild declarative choices, although statistically small, all make crucial contributions to the ongoing negotiation of the interactive co-construction of the text.

The latter (all but one by H1[49]), for example, are particularly intriguing in the way they downplay dramatically staged events[50], and may be compared and contrasted, from the logogenetic and functional perspectives, to the same choices by the surgeon.

There are many other aspects of the text – from both synoptic and dynamic, and other dimensional perspectives – which would add further to this discussion of the use of intonational systems in this particular text and text-type. One can see in the analyses and discussions above – in the dramatisation of the anecdote through the marked textualisation of the staging; and the appeal to interest in the interpersonal effects of marked KEY choices; as well as distributional profiles of intonational systems across different stages - that from a multidimensional perspective, as with the surgical text, one can gain insights into the instantiation of register language from the study of both individual instances and patterns of instances. A single instance, standing alone amongst other patterned selection profiles for particular systems, can have an additional significance because of its instantial profile within the overall or a particular co-textual

[49] Of course on other important analysis not attempted here would be to chart the differences in selections according to each interactant, as done to some extent for the surgical text; not just in terms revealing of idiolectic variation, but with respect to tenor roles and relations – clearly of importance in the surgical context, but of interest also in the (ostensibly) egalitarian context of a casual conversation amongst friends. One revealing statistic, echoing perhaps the Eggins and Slade (1997: 113-14, 160-63) findings, would be the choices by H3 and others in setting the stage for H1's monologue; as well as the role of the mother in the ovens text, Section 5.3.2 below.

[50] including a projected exclamative, traditionally associated (for eg. Cf Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 141) with the committed KEY!

patterning: as I showed in the last chapter, meaning is made not just, or even so much with respect to its valeur within the overall language potential, but within the constrained language potential of register settings; and this also within the local context of the logogenetic unfolding of a text.

These isolated instances may reveal much from a stratal view; but taken as a whole, it is through the consideration of large-scale patterns across a text or a corpus of texts that one can begin to identify the registers and register variation both within and across different sets of texts within a culture, by which members of that culture manage the complexities of their daily existence as social beings. In the next section I turn, more briefly, to a consideration of the other casual conversation text, 'ovens', in terms of its overall patterning; and then briefly compare and contrast these two texts in terms of the findings for each.

5.3.2   Ovens: IUs 1 – 93

In Section 5.2.2 I showed through the analysis of the first few information units how the level of interpersonal engagement, in terms of KEY selections, appeared, even at that early stage of analysis, to be substantially less than that of either the hailstorm or the surgical text – this in spite of there being a higher level of turn-taking than in the hailstorm text. One might say that whereas in the surgical and hailstorm texts speakers appear to have a strong wish to act upon their co-interactants with language, here the interaction is far more casual, less interpersonally purposive: to put it in colloquial terms, the interactants are merely 'chewing the fat'. I also showed how the distinctive staging found in the hailstorm text appears not to exist in the early part at least of the ovens text.

It remains to be seen whether there can be found the sort of dramatic shifts in selection patterns the analysis has revealed for both the hailstorm and the surgical texts, and whether these correspond to the semantic structuring of the text.

The conversation ranges over several themes, but all are within the general field of ovens: particular ovens and their qualities and use, and their cleaning, with departures from these themes such as to comment upon one (non-present) person's inability to clean an oven. As in the early part of the text discussed in Section 5.2.2, despite a high level of turn-taking – mostly between B1 and B4 (the sisters), with B3 (their mother) making occasional contributions (two of these initiating question moves - IUs 1 & 25 - the only two in this part of the text) - the pattern is for a 'weak' interpersonal interaction throughout the text, interspersed with moments of interpersonal 'charge': the text tends to amble along, as it were, with occasional interjections driving the interaction forward.

For example, from IUs 1-34 the declarative and minor clause neutral and confirmatory KEY selections – i.e those considered interpersonally 'disengaged'[51] - together with the subordinate STATUS choices account for twenty-eight of the thirty-four selections – eight-two percent - and the two questions by B3 are also congruently realised. Interspersed[52] then are four marked KEY choices: the declarative committed

---

[51] in the sense that the neutral declarative and minor clause KEY choices are unmarked; while the confirmatory (tone 3) choices 'opt' out of the interpersonal selection with respect to polarity, and so also represent a weakening of the interpersonal interactiveness of the dialogue.

[52] 'Inter-leavened', perhaps, rather than interleaved.

KEY in IUs 16 and 23; the declarative strong choice in IU30; and a minor challenging focussing KEY in IU 24. The use of marked ID identified in Section 5.2.2 continues, as in the hailstorm text creating a higher level of attentiveness to the flow of information. There are some instances of marked Focus - mostly with double Focus (compound tone) choices – which create additional textual highlighting for certain aspects of the field being explored: primarily those related to the heating qualities of the oven under discussion (IUs 15, 30 & 31); with one (IU 26) adding clarity to a particular point of enquiry.

One can see textual markedness also in the systems of IG and IP. For example, in IUs 8, 9, 11, 23 and 31 one finds a marked distribution of the flow of information into information groups ('RHYTHM groups'); and information groups such as the first in IU 15 and in IU 23 also map Prominence on to items only associated with such textual status for good reason: the first with its assignment of Prominence to an inherently 'given' item, 'it's'; the second on the conjunction 'so'. In these cases the 'good reason' seems to be that speakers wish to add, at both ranks of the information unit, heightened textual prominence so as to 'slow down', as it were, the flow of information. In the surgical text these systems were deployed at particular points for clarity needed for that high-risk environment; here, the need seems to be rather to maintain a more leisurely pace for the discussion! While clearly not interested on the whole in a 'heated' interaction, the interactants do engender clarity and attentiveness to the field of discourse.

There are two sections, however, where there is a substantial increase in interpersonal energy: IUs 36-39 and 45-49 are all marked KEY selections. The first of these sections is in fact the text with which I introduced the present work, at the head of Chapter 1 (also discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.2). As I am now in a (theoretical and descriptive) position to fully interpret this excerpt, and because the selections here and in IUs 45-49 are a departure from the patterns throughout most of the rest of the text, I will discuss these sequences from a logogenetic 'view from the instance' perspective.

In the first sequence (IUs 36-39) B1 introduces what might be considered (in Martin's 1992 terms) a new hyper-Theme (the macro-Theme still being 'ovens'), significantly with marked Focus[53]: turning the talk to a consideration of one of the interactants' (newly purchased) ovens. B4's reply is with two reserved declaratives: her positive (clause lexicogrammar) appraisal of the oven is qualified by her (intonational grammar) reservation. B1 picks up on the choice of reserved KEY, but rather than demanding a polar response about B4's (positive or negative) appraisal, B1 also adopts an 'indirect' approach through the co-selection of a declarative MOOD with a (rising tone) challenging KEY: that is, B1 gives information, but in such a way as to invite a response about the polarity of her proposition[54]. B4 then continues in this same indirect

---

[53] Again, cf Martin 1992 and Martinez Lirola and Smith (forthcoming a) for a discussion of the use of marked New as part of the global organisation of a text.

[54] Note well: B1 uses the low pretonic, with its low pitch on the polar Adjunct 'not', indicating that she assumes B4 has a negative appraisal towards the oven: that is, her comment, with its low value assigned to the polar Adjunct, is with respect to the KEY selection in particular (the reservation) not the lexis 'its fine'.

manner, also using the declarative challenging KEY to offer a reason for the qualification of her approval. In this way KEY works together with clause lexicogrammar to enact delicacy in the choices from the intermediate region between 'is' and 'is not'.

In the process they enact a far more complex tenor relation than is realised throughout most of the rest of the text. B3 (the mother)'s earlier initiating questions had nothing like the same effect, interpersonally, in terms of the level of interpersonal interactivity and complexity found in this and the next section (IUs 45-49). In the latter the level of interpersonal 'heat' generated increases again, with the challenging and committed declarative and committed wh-interrogative choices. In these brief departures one is reminded in fact of the interpersonal relation that prevails through much of the hailstorm text, and one is tempted to generalise accordingly: sisters relate much like friends do, at least by comparison with how they relate to their mother; the latter relation which looks a lot more like that which occurs when friends engage in observation/comment rather than dramatic anecdote.

In fact this is after a restart: her first attempt has a high pitch on the polar Adjunct; but that choice would have made the polarity a point of issue where in fact B1 wants it to be understood, through the low pitch accent (cf Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990) that she takes for granted that B4 is not entirely happy with her new oven. This is thus a good illustration of the difference in meaning between the low and neutral pretonic choices: both facilitate textual status to a particular element; but one, the former, enacts an interpersonal assumption – 'I know/can see you think X/that X is so' – and it is this choice which B1 makes which, together with the other KEY and MOOD choices in this exchange, makes for the enactment of a complex interpersonal relation.

The textual metafunction in these information units also undergoes a shift in patterning, in terms mainly of ID; but in this case towards congruency instead of markedness. But again the exceptions to this pattern are of interest; as is the continuing pattern of markedness at the lower rank of information group. The first instance of marked ID after IU 34 is IU 53, enabling B3 to assign Focal status to the Process 'reduces', and a separate information unit to the Circumstance of manner 'dramatically'. The next two are both also by B3, but in the opposite direction: in both IUs 60 and 63 the mother realises two clauses together as a single information unit, a curious (and unusual strategy). One is therefore tempted to characterise this as idiolectic, or perhaps even dialectal variation - part of the older generation's 'style'. But in functional terms one can see that these selections run the elements of B3's mini-narrative together in such a way as to gloss over the significance of the individual elements in favour of a sense of the totality they together facilitate. Further examples of marked chunking of information flow, this time in IG – continuing the pattern identified in the early part of the text (Section 5.2.2) - are IUs 52, 53 and 70 (again, B3).

There are occasional uses of marked Focus, drawing together the text and highlighting certain aspects of the information flow: for example IU 52, with 'oven' as co-textually given; and IU 55 with its marked Focus on the Subject (addressee: the mother). The latter works together with choices in IP to create a pattern of interpersonally-oriented textualisation which recurs through this part of the text: for example, in IU 42 B4's choice of Prominence for the Subject (speaker) 'I' and mood Adjunct 'even'; and for the modal Finite operators 'can' in IU 56 and 'must' in IU 58.

This textual orientation towards the interpersonal metafunction is a departure from the pattern dominating most of the text. In the case of marked Focus in IUs 55, the system of IF in fact helps enact a very low social distance: one could not imagine this move in any other than a highly familiar interpersonal relation (familiarity clearly breeding contempt here). B1, younger duaghter of B3, the instigator of this textualisation, continues the pattern at rank of IP in IUs 62 to 64, making herself as speaker or addressee Prominent on no less than five occasions. Later in the text however another pattern of marked IP, this time experientially-orientated, helps clarify, in the same way as in the surgical text, (spatial relations of) elements of the field: the series of Prominent prepositions in IUs 83-87.

The patterns I have discussed above reveal both consistency and inconsistency in selection profiles for the different systems. In both cases, the choices can be shown to be significant in the light of the registerial settings both assumed and built up through the text. In the next section I present the full statistics for the KEY selections in the ovens text in comparison with those across the whole hailstorm text, and present a brief discussion summarising the significant findings of those statistics, especially in the light of the discussions of these texts I have made in this and previous sections of this chapter.

5.4 Comparison of Texts

The above discussions have shown that, as with the surgical text, one can find considerable variation in patterns of selection within texts. The present chapter has also shown that there can be significant variation as well as similarity between two texts which would ostensibly be classified as members of the same register – that which is

commonly referred to as 'casual conversation'. In this section I briefly make a move further along the cline of instantiation, comparing statistics for the whole of each of the two texts, presented in table 14 below. The gain in corpus coverage, as discussed in Chapter 4, involves a sacrifice in analytical scope: KEY and STATUS systems only will be explored. I will then discuss these statistics in terms of their instantiation of register settings in lexicogrammar, semantics and context.

MOOD:/ STATUS	KEY	hailstorm		ovens	
		count	%	count	%
minor	neutral	6/102	5.9	4/93	4.3
	neutral+ confirmatory	0/102	0.0	2/93	2.2
	confirmatory	0/102	0.0	2/93	2.2
	committed	4/102	3.9	1/93	1.1
	challenging: focussing	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
subordinate		21/102	20.6	15/93	16.1
coordinate		3/102	2.9	1/93	1.1
declarative	neutral	24/102	23.5	32/93	34.0
	neutral+ confirmatory	0/102	0.0	6/93	6.4
	strong	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0

	strong+ confirmatory	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
	mild	5/102	4.9	0/93	0.0
	committed	18/102	17.6	3/93	3.2
	committed+ confirmatory	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	intense	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	reserved	0/102	0.0	2/93	2.2
	challenging	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
	challenging: focussing	5/102	4.9	2/93	2.2
	challenging: referring	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
	confirmatory	6/102	5.9	4/93	4.3
	(tag: reversed): peremptory	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory: strong	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory: intense	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
polar interrogative	neutral	1/102	1.0	4/93	4.3
	peremptory	0/102	0.0	2/93	2.2

	strong+ confirmatory	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
	focussing	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
wh-interrogative	neutral	1/102	1.0	1/93	1.1
	neutral+ confirmatory	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
	deferring	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	deferring: referring	1/102	1.0	0/93	0.0
	committed	0/102	0.0	2/93	2.2
	mild	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
imperative	plea	0/102	0.0	1/93	1.1
Total		102/102	100	93/93	100

Table 14: Comparison of KEY selections for the hailstorm and ovens texts

The two most significant differences in statistics are those of the neutral and committed declarative selections: the proportion of the former is twenty-four percent in the hailstorm to thirty-four in the ovens text; of the latter, eighteen to three percent. If, as done in Section 5.3.1, one includes the minor clause selections, and includes also the neutral, confirmatory[55], neutral+ confirmatory and mild KEY choices, and the committed, strong and intense KEY choices for both major and minor clauses – that is, to reveal the difference between the levels of interpersonal commitment in the two texts, in terms of

---

[55] as also being interpersonally 'weak', as done in Section 5.3.2 (cf footnote 51 above).

the neutral/confirmatory/mild and committed/strong/intense KEY choices - the statistics are as follows: the former are in the proportion of thirty-four to forty-nine percent; the latter, of twenty-three to four percent. That is, there is a difference of fifteen percent between the texts in the instantiation of the interpersonally 'disengaged' neutral/confirmatory/mild KEY selections, and nineteen percent in terms of the 'engaged' committed/intense selections. These last statistics are represented graphically in Figure 11 below (Series 1 & 2 = hailstorm and ovens texts, respectively; 1 = (interpersonally) disengaged, 2 = engaged):
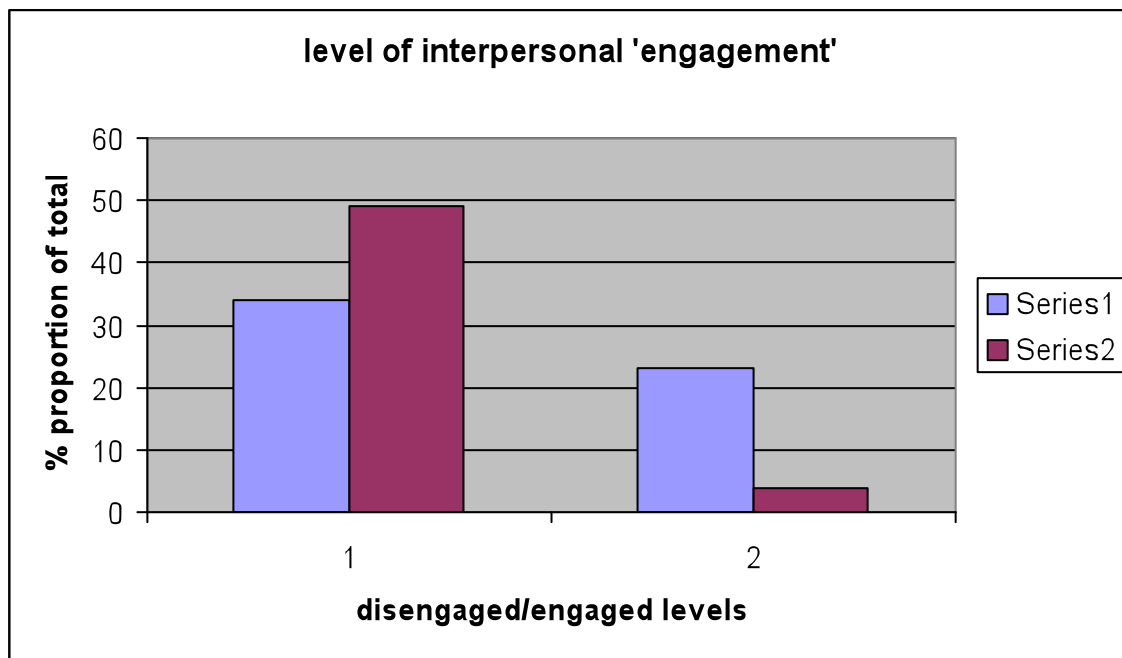
Figure 11: levels of interpersonal disengagement (neutral/confirmatory/mild) and engagement (committed/intense) in the texts

So even taking into account the substantial portion of the hailstorm text given over to an expositive (observation/comment) type of text – that is, the same type as that which prevails through the ovens text, and which the analysis in Section 5.3.1 shows also correlates with less interpersonal engagement through KEY – there is still a significant

difference observable in the interpersonal 'energy' levels between the two texts. These KEY choices are the only ones showing such a significant differences between the two texts. There are several other instances of differences between the texts in terms of KEY selections; however, these are of little significance statistically, and as demonstrated throughout this and the last chapter, many of these must be seen in a closer view of the actual instances for their significance to be appreciated. Across the KEY system potential in general there is otherwise a reasonable balance of selections between the two texts.

5.5 Conclusion

There would no doubt be many further selections which could be shown to be significant in terms of the instantiation of register language in these texts, including of course those of the textual metafunction[56]. I have however tabulated and discussed the statistics for the interpersonal use of intonation only in order offer them as evidence of both the value of the view along the cline of instantiation, and of a major problem one has when undertaking register study in a statistical approach: although significant results, such as those shown above, may be shown, even those as dramatic as the differences just discussed cannot be taken to indicate consistency across actual texts; nor can one assume that a text ostensibly considered a member of one type – such as the ovens and hailstorm

---

[56] In Chapter 8 I will further discuss aspects of the texts investigated in this chapter in terms of a comparative analysis of this type with other types of texts to be investigated in the following two chapters, including a statistical view of INFORMATION systems; but these will not include consideration of variation between these two texts.

texts as instances of 'casual conversation' – will therefore conform to a particular pattern of selections. As in the surgical text, the question becomes whether to consider the departures from patterns as instantiating the same or a different 'register'. In fact, different perspectives along the cline of instantiation give different registerial perspectives on the same data (cf Pike comment in Chapter 3, footnote 1).

As the analyses in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 show, in the attempt to understand a text in its character as an instantiation of a particular register type the multistratal view from the instance end of the cline of instantiation can afford vital evidence that particular settings are in effect in that text: for example, a study of the two instances of the reserved KEY choice in the ovens, and the one in the surgical text, reveal significant perspectives on their use in those texts. On the other hand, significant repetition of a particular system selection across larger corpora might also be suggestive of a particular register setting, as the patterns of committed and neutral selections within and between the two texts investigated in this chapter are shown to enact different interpersonal relations: differences in tenor relations related to the difference between family relations – for example, the difference between the mother-daughter and sister-sister relations – and those of friendship. But even such statistical findings are effectively meaningless without the stratal perspective to give them functional value; and tell one nothing about their occurrence in the logogenetic, dynamic unfolding of the text. For that one needs a flexible approach capable of shunting between different dimensions and positions within those dimensions.

Furthermore, when on compares the analyses in this and the previous chapters, it becomes clear that any move along the cline of instantiation may be usefully motivated by the findings from the view of the instances. In both chapters, the findings of the detailed multistratal, multi-metafunctional analyses at different ranks and delicacies revealed different systems as being of potential significance to a statistical view across the texts as a whole. In the surgical text the system of IF in particular and also KEY emerged early in the analysis as significant; while to have studied the system of ID in this text would have been practically meaningless. This latter system is however crucial to the understanding of the two casual conversations texts; while, in the latter text, it was particularly in the patterns of KEY selection that the two texts could most successfully be compared. In the next chapter I move onto another set of texts, where the move along the cline of instantiation is different again, and somewhat more complex.

Chapter Six: Interviews

6.1 Introduction: The Present Chapter; Interviews; Situation

6.1.1   The Present Chapter

In the previous chapter I investigated a particular set of texts that I characterised as casual conversations, according to there being a lack of any discernable immediate pragmatic purpose to the occasion of talk therein, and to the equality and familiarity of tenor relations. In the present chapter I investigate two current affairs television interviews: texts which can be characterised as a different type, according to there being a pragmatic (although not immediate) purpose to the talk, and to a relative lack of familiarity and certain inequalities between the participants. The design of the chapter is substantially the same as for the previous chapter: firstly, I will make a brief survey of some of the work on the language of interviews (particularly the current affairs televised interview); and then again briefly make a brief situational description as a backdrop to the succeeding semiotic analyses.

However, the presentation of the view along the cline of instantiation is different here to that of the previous chapters. In Chapter 4 and 5 I showed how patterns of selection varied between different sections of the texts, and presented the analyses accordingly: for example, how during the hailstorm casual conversation there was a

significant shift in instantial pattern in the system of KEY during an expositive phase of the text; and for the same system periodic mutations in established selection patterns in the ovens text; and thus revealed these shifts in the presentation of the analyses. In the present chapter I will approach the analysis of selection patterns across the texts as a whole, the reasons for doing so being that in the interviews the selection patterns, aside from, arguably, the opening exchange, exhibit much the same pattern throughout. For this reason also I will make the presentation of the move along the cline of instantiation for the two texts together, in comparison, rather than separately as in the previous chapter.

6.1.2 Interviews

In discussing the interview text-type Bell and van Leeuwen (1994: 3) write that the formal question-and-answer exchange where each interactant is assigned the role of either questioner or answerer plays a crucial role in contemporary Western (and no doubt many an other) society. They review the role of 'questions in society' (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994: Chapter 1), pointing out that (1994: 3) "[i]t is through the asking of questions that our notion of democracy is realised". Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) points to several works demonstrating the increasing level of attention to this text-type by linguists[1].

---

[1] Cf for example Heritage (1985); Greatbatch (1986); Harris (1986); Clayman and Heritage (2002); Lauerbach (2004); Johannson (2006).

Both Bell and van Leeuwen (1994) and Hutchby (2006), in studying televised political interviews, have noted what in this work would be referred to as the complex tensions in tenor relations between the two participants, deriving substantially from the fact of there being two main (sets of) interactant roles and relations. In the first instance, the interviews are ostensibly between two interactants, the interviewer and interviewee, each with their established roles of questioner and questioned[2]. However, there is of course a third party, the viewing public who, certainly in the case of elected political state representatives, have themselves an important relation to both the ostensive interactants in the interview, albeit at a distance: the viewing public can in particular cases exercise the power of election over the interviewee, and in general have the power of 'public opinion'. Both the interviewer, as a media personality, and the interviewee (in particular in certain cases such as an elected public representative), must take cognizance of this secondary tenor relation. An important part of the drama of the current affairs interview is the attempt at what Bell and van Leeuwen call 'entrapment' by the interviewer[3], and the care taken by the interviewee in choosing their words of reply, given that their

---

[2] Although as Hutchby (2006: 123) points out, these norms of exchange can be subverted by an interviewee. The important point he makes, one important for the present thesis as a whole, is that such challenges to the registerial expectancies are thus marked – they gain additional significance - in relation to the registerial norms.

[3] Important in this regard for the present work is the advantage of the interviewer in asking the questions and thus directing the interaction, as observed by Johannson (2006: 228): "The IR [interviewer: BAS] proposes [objects of discourse: BAS] in his or her questions and thus creates a common starting point for the IE [interviewee: BAS] and the public. In the question, there may be a built-in orientation which the IE should adopt in answering."

'spontaneous' discourse in this setting is (Hutchby 2006: 134) "potentially dangerous" and can have lasting ramifications for their career, resulting in the notorious evasiveness of politicians in the interview context.

Bell and van Leeuwen (1994: 1) claim that the "interview has become a dominant mode of conveying information in the broadcasting media". They give a functionally-based analysis of three different media interviews, and make an important (semiotically-motivated) distinction between these as instances of three types, two of which are relevant to the present work. The talkshow interview is seen as based on the conversational type of text, although it can hardly be said to be purely phatic: the casualness is part of the technique of the interviewer, and frequently masks a more serious purpose and gives way to more serious discourse as the interviewee is encouraged to reveal details of their (inner and outer) lives; and the tenor relation is not, as in the texts in the previous chapter, equal.

The political interview is characterised by Bell and van Leeuwen as a contest, an adversarial type of interaction in which the interviewer, self-styled as an 'honest broker' on behalf of the viewing public, asks (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994: 145) "far more demanding" questions than one finds in everyday conversation to entrap the interviewee, in his role of public servant[4]. But they also identify the nature of political debate as

---

[4] Simon-Vandenbergen (1997: 341) observes that several authors have pointed out the change in function of the political interview "at least in democratic cultures…from a deferential type of interaction into an

spectacle; with the way in which the interviewees are allowed to 'escape' with grace the entrapments of the interviewer and, like fictional TV serial characters, live to fight another day raising questions as to the collaborative power relations of mutual dependency between the media and political figures. As Bell and van Leeuwen put it (1994: 137), "we would argue that both cooperation and contestation characterise the media-politics relationship".

6.1.3   Situation

To a certain extent the situation for both the interviews are the same. The interviewer is a senior journalist with extensive experience in this type of context (televised interview), and thus can be assumed to be 'at home' in the setting within which the interview takes place. S/he holds the institutional role of interviewer, the one who is entrusted by their employer (and, by extension, their professional and wider societal communities) to ask questions of and comment upon the discourse of their interviewees. The two interviewees acting in the two texts studied in this chapter have different institutional roles and statuses within the situation, which will be discussed in the following two sections. In terms of the common ground between them in the situation, they both take on, by participating in the interviews, the institutionalised role of interviewee, which obliges them to a large extent to observe certain protocols (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994; Hutchby 2006): to answer the questions put by the interviewer; to refrain from asking

---

adversarial type." Simon-Vandenbergen's work is noteworthy for its inclusion of intonation in the discussion of the use of language to create 'modal (un)certainty'.

their own questions of the interviewer; and to observe the social standards expected of public discourse, and of this (government) broadcaster in particular.

The structure of the interviews is also formalised as part of the effectively non-negotiable situational environment of the interaction. The interviewer begins by making a relatively long introductory monologue, giving the viewer detailed background to the issue/s and/or people to be discussed in the interview, before introducing and greeting the interviewee, and then making the opening question[5]. It is not known to what extent the interviewee is privy to the detailed background of the monologic prelude, although of course in both cases it is assumed that the interviewee has intimate knowledge of the situation being discussed. It should be noted therefore that there are in fact two situations relevant to each of the contexts and texts under investigation here: that of the interview interaction itself; and the current affairs issues which form the main focus of the interview interaction. The 'first-order' situation of the interview environment itself is to a large degree the same for each of the texts (although the interviewers and interviewees are, significantly, different); the 'second-order' situations (those brought into relevance through language, rather than through physical presence) are specific to each text. Below I outline situational aspects of relevance to the texts.

---

[5] This is the point at which the analyses presented in this chapter begin; although the salutations are included, analysed, in Appendices 1 and 2.

6.1.3.1   McKew - Rau ("MR")

Maxine McKew was, at the time of this interview, a veteran journalist with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation for three decades, and host and interviewer for the ABC's Lateline current affairs show for several years[6]. Her interviewee here is Christine Rau, whose sister, Cornelia Rau, was illegally detained by the Australian Government immigration authority ('DIMIA'[7]) for a period of ten months, while suffering from a mental illness which prevented her from identifying herself correctly to her captors (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2005a)[8]. This issue had captured a large amount of attention in the media during the period after her situation was publicly revealed. The interview here is particularly concerned with a 100-page report on the incident produced with the assistance of the Newcastle Legal Centre by the Rau family, which revealed dramatic new aspects of the illegal detention. Much of this detail is included in the preamble by McKew; but the assumption that Rau is not privy to this prologue is seemingly evidenced in the detail of McKew's first question.

---

[6] cf Commonwealth of Australia (2008a). McKew is now a member of the Government in the Australian Parliament, having since retired as a TV journalist and taken up a political career, successfully contesting the seat of Bennelong in Sydney's north –west, formerly occupied by the then Prime Minister John Howard.

[7] 'Department of Immigration Australia'.

[8] She had insisted to the authorities that she was a German tourist.

6.1.3.2 Jones - Ruddock ("JR")

Tony Jones, like McKew, was at the time of the interview (and still is) a veteran journalist of more than 20 years experience, and host for the Lateline programme since 1999 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2008). His interviewee, Philip Ruddock was at the time of interview an even more experienced senior political figure, having been a member of parliament since 1973, and of the government since 1996, acting in the role of Attorney General since 2003[9]. The issue upon which the two interactants are focussed here is the claim by two Chinese would-be defectors to Australia that they held sensitive intelligence information obtained when living and working in China of interest to the Australian Government, and their bid for political asylum upon that basis (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2005b). This issue can perhaps be further contextualised within the situation of an emerging trade and diplomatic relationship between Australia and China, of great financial benefit to the former, but compromised diplomatically by the long-standing ideological differences between the two countries[10], particularly with respect to the treatment of political dissidents and human rights in general.

---

[9] Cf Commonwealth of Australia (2008b). Since his government's defeat at the 2007 election, Ruddock remains in opposition as Member for Berowra, but with no front bench position in the new Opposition party.

[10] Australia being a democracy, the Peoples Republic of China, a one-party state under the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

6.2   View from the Instance

6.2.1   McKew - Rau

6.2.1.1   IUs 7 - 13: McKew //1 ^ this / latest reve- */ lation that in //1 fact as / far back as No- */ vember of last //1 year //4_ DIMIA //4 */ started to / think that in //1+ fact your / sister was Au- */ stralian //5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //[11]

This is the initiating question-move of the interview interaction. McKew is clearly

packaging a lot of background information into this move: the entire utterance is in fact a

single clause, a content question realised as a wh-interrogative, with an elaborated

preposed Subject[12] - from 'This latest revelation' to 'Australian' - which has itself two

---

[11] I discuss these seven information units together in one section because they form a single clause, and move in the discourse, as will become apparent during the discussion, the interpretation of each (or indeed any) independently would seriously compromise that interpretation.

[12] Matthiessen (1995) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) analyse this as (Matthiessen 1995: 834) 'absolute Theme' or just (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 154) 'Absolute', which is (Matthiessen 1995: 834) "absolute in the sense that it does not play a role in the TRANSITIVITY and MOOD structures of the clause". In the present work, however, while agreeing that it does play a textual role as 'Absolute' (as part of a very complex macro-Theme: cf discussion below) I treat the first six information units as 'preposed Subject' – by analogy with 'postposed Subject' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 97-98), because this analysis allows me to talk about this complex nominal group – with its embedded projecting-projected clause complex – as the 'nub' of the discussion to follow, which it clearly is: in arguing about whether

downranked clauses as part of a paratactic elaboration of the nominal Head 'This latest revelation'.

In terms of the claim by Brazil (1975: 5; cf Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1.1.1) that the division into information units is a function of the unit-internal system selections, it is undeniable that to some extent at least the selections in ID are, if not a result of, then at least motivated by or correlated with both the internal composition of the clause[13], and by the selections in IF: certain items are highlighted by McKew as deserving of special attention, thus necessitating more information units. But one can also see that across the seven information units there is as it were a 'prosody' of intensified Focus: it is as though the speaker has, for a period, increased the 'magnification' of her (and her audience's) attention upon the ideational and interpersonal meanings being construed/enacted. This then motivates the question, 'for what reason is this ID mapping?'.

'this' has or hasn't 'gone down well' with the Rau family, one would be debating around the Subject 'This latest revelation….Australian'. I acknowledge that this is thus not the canonical technical interpretation; but here, as elsewhere, the technical term as I use it (cf second Firth quote at the head of Chapter 3) allows me to make more powerful statements of meaning about the 'nub' of the interpersonal negotiation to follow, and to relate this instance to the pattern of postposed Subjects in Ruddock's discourse, in terms of the registerial implications of both.

[13] Cf detailed discussions of correlations between clausal and information unit grammars in Crystal (1969), El-Menoufy (1969), Tench (1990), Halliday (1967a). Cf also Cleirigh (1998: 93): "In lexically dense read speech, prepositional phrases in prepositional phrase complexes and nominal groups in nominal group complexes are highly likely to be chunked as information units by intonation".

This textual phenomenon may be referred, firstly, to the observations in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.3.1.1.1) about the role of ID in making 'mini-statements' or 'downranked statements': ideational elements such as the preposed Subject 'This latest revelation', and the two units construing the paratactic elaboration of the prepositional phrase 'as far back as November of last year' are construed textually and interpersonally as though each could have formed part of a series of ranking, negotiable propositions, but didn't[14]. Secondly, the information in these 'downranked statements' is critical to the issue at hand in the interview, and relevant to the particular negotiable proposition that is being made here: the initiating content question asking how Rau's family reacted to this information.

By packaging all this information as part of a single proposition McKew of course removes these crucial ideational meanings away from the arena of the interpersonal negotiation; but through their construal as separate information units with their own interpersonal KEY selections, she lends to the proposition itself all the force of conviction that these 'statements in shorthand' represent[15], as a series of background evidences of the questionable behaviour of DIMIA. ID is clearly playing an independent role here in the facilitation of textual meaning, packaging the flow of discourse into a

---

[14] The choice in tone is criterial here: the tone 4 choice in IU 11 is not one from the interpersonal KEY but the logical STATUS system, and therefore falls outside the scope of this particular observation; the tone 1 and 1+, tone 2_ and tone 5 choices however do realise KEY selections, and thus independent interpersonal choices.

[15] As also mentioned in Chapter 5 (Sections 5.2.2.3, 5.2.2.4), this is perhaps resource for the realisation of graduation: force upon the evoked negative appraisal of the opening move (Martin and White 2005).

complex but powerful first move in the interaction. It also helps facilitate a more written-like mode of discourse: the complexity is that of preparedness typically associated with writing, with complexing embedded at group rank (Halliday 1985a), which is then however given textual status and thus interpersonal force through ID.

These selections in ID are, however, also selections in IF: 'revelation'; 'November'; 'year'; 'DIMIA'; 'started'; 'Australian'; and 'this' (= 'This latest revelation…Australian'). As mentioned above, these are the elements in the clausal flow of information considered by the speaker to be important in the situation being discussed: together they form a 'mini-narrative' of the events which form the basis for the construal of the field of the interview. There are two choices of Focus which are marked: 'started'; and 'this'. The functional motivation of the choice of marked Focus on the inceptive process 'started' is clear enough: McKew is drawing attention to the inceptive element of the complex mental process of cognition (by DIMIA), this textualisation of the temporal phase, working together with the marked ID on the two nominal Heads of the (marked Theme) Circumstance of temporal location which precede it, to imply the lack of conscientiousness or incompetence on the part of DIMIA (in that they already had suspicions that they were illegally detaining an Australian citizen, but kept her in detention nevertheless, while doing nothing to follow up their suspicions).

The second marked use of Focus is more complex. In making the anaphoric determiner 'this' the culmination of New, McKew makes all of the information serving as preposed Subject that is the referent for the 'this' also a part of this New. However, in a

sense the complex nominal Head 'This latest revelation… Australian' could also be considered (absolute) Theme for the following clause (if one includes it as part of the clause for which it is preposed Subject), being the first experiential item occurring in the clause (as well as being (part of) the text's macro-Theme). In this interpretation Theme is thus also New: a highly marked textualisation. If one considers the preposed Subject not to be Theme, then the Theme is in fact the Wh-interrogative adjunct 'How'; and considering the gradient ('wave-like') nature of Theme, this should be considered to have some Thematic value in any case. Meanwhile, the post-Focal (Given) information – the material/metaphorically mental process of emotion plus Senser/Goal 'gone down with your family' (congruently, 'affected your family') – is thus treated as assumed information by the speaker. This textualisation suggests solidarity through the assumption of an 'insider's' status: the family's reaction is an assumed context.

As a strategy for an opening move in the interview, this complex utterance makes DIMIA's treatment of Rau's sister both departure and destination point; while also making her family's reaction both Theme ('How') and (marked) Given. McKew has set the textual parameters of the dialogic text, its direction and focus: in Martin's terms, she has textualised the 'angle on the field' (Martin 1993: 244), establishing the macro-Theme for the text; but one may also say she has established the macro-New – the main 'point' – of the co-constructed text to follow[16]. The macro-Theme/-New - 'this' - includes all of

---

[16] This conflation of macro-Theme and –New into the introduction is a strategy often to be found in other reporting types of text, where the beginning of the text – the macro-Theme – also includes the main 'take-home' message of the report in the opening paragraph.

the preposed information: the 'point' of the dialogic text to follow is projected by McKew to involve all the information downranked as part of the nominal Head 'This latest revelation', thus charting for the interviewee the suggested 'path through the field' to follow – that is, the main points, related to the macro-Theme, to address in her answer.

Interpersonally, in addition to the neutral declarative selections discussed above, there are three marked KEY choices to be observed. The first is the challenging focussing (tone 2_) choice in IU 10. This choice, which I have discussed in both the surgical and hailstorm texts, gives an added sense of interpersonal force – particularly in its focussing aspect - to the marked ID assigned the ideational element 'DIMIA'. The challenge inherent in this choice, however, is not, I suspect, so much directed at McKew's co-interactant, as happens in the surgical and hailstorm texts, as at the viewing public: McKew is adding a sense of incredulity and an implied accusative stance towards the government body responsible – 'it was DIMIA – can you believe that! – which started to think…'[17].

The second is the strong declarative KEY in IU 12. This is an instance of the common use of this KEY to enact contrast. This KEY choice, as with the challenging: focussing KEY just discussed, may also interpreted in textual terms: the domain of the added interpersonal force is specified as this one item, rather than, as in the committed

---

[17] That is, it is a rhetorical flourish, rather than an integral part of the ongoing dialogic interaction. In this one can see already the dual tenor relation discussed in Section 6.1.2 with respect to the two addressees: the interviewee, and the viewing public.

KEY, operative over the domain of the entire information unit. As a result of this item's highlighting, the meaning of contrast is implied - in this case 'Australian' as distinct from 'German'. The third marked choice of KEY (IU 13) serves the same general function of increasing the level of interpersonal interactivity, but in this case the added interpersonal energy of the (tone 5) committed KEY is with respect to the predication as a whole. Because of the integration of all the elements discussed above into one complex predication, this committed KEY choice can be seen as applying to the entire IU nexus: McKew's initiating move as a whole is being given an added interpersonal 'push'. Thus, although written-like in terms of the preparedness of the seasoned media professional, Mckew's opening move is also interpersonally engaged in a way more characteristic of prototypical spoken text.

Considering the negative appraisal value of the information given in this move, and the situational relations of the interactants – they are not familiar to one another; and one has superior experience and expertise in this context - this can be seen as, together with the assignment of Given status to Rau's family, part of the creation of a tenor relation of solidarity between interviewer and interviewee: McKew is signalling to her interviewee that this interview, although a current affairs type of text, will not be so much of a contest as an exploration of shared interpersonal orientations, something more akin to the collaborative ovens text than to the contests discussed in Bell and van Leeuwen (1994). McKew has thus established both the textual and interpersonal settings for the text: its 'direction'; and, in folk terminology, its 'tone'.

6.2.1.2 IUs 14 - 18: Rau //5 well to / us it's / rather ex- */ traordinary be- //4 cause it's / lifted the / level of what we */ previously / thought was //4 mere in- */ competence //1 up another */ notch where you //5 think that per- / haps / [Pause] there / has been / some sort of / wilful i- */ nertia be- //

McKew's supportive, encouraging first move is responded to in kind by Rau, both in terms of the textual and interpersonal aspects of the text. Interpersonally, Rau's react move (IUs 14-18) is a respond: support (Eggins and Slade 1997: 202) which thus follows the 'tone' set by McKew. The first information unit echoes in KEY McKew's question, an echo which is repeated in IU 18 (and finding a complementary echo in the appraisal value of the lexical choices, 'extraordinary', 'mere incompetence', and 'wilful inertia'). IUs 15-18 together form a series of elaborative 'acts' (Sincalir and Coulthard 1975) as part of the respond move. This elaboration is enabled by the use of the subordinate KEY in IUs 15 and 16; but Rau uses none of the 'downranked statements' which make McKew's move as so complex, textually and interpersonally: the complexity of Rau's move is more that of prototypical spoken, rather than written language[18].

The textual choices, in particular the INFORMATION choices at both two ranks, are also revealing. The Themes construe a complex 'angle on the field': the continuative

---

[18] In Butt's (2003: 47-48) terms, Rau's discourse is more of a 'choreographic-movement' type than 'crystalline dense'.

'well'; the interpersonal 'to us', conjunctions 'because' and 'where', and interpersonal metaphor of modality 'you think that perhaps'. This complexity is complemented by the choices in ID and IF: the downranked clauses in IUs 15 and 16, for instance, are realised – as in McKew's clause - as two information units, the first of which ('previously') has a marked Focus highlighting the temporal aspect in harmony with McKew's orientation to the temporal aspect discussed above, and the second a strongly negative appraisal value ('mere incompetence') also in harmony with McKew's opening move – although in Rau's discourse the appraisal is inscribed (in lexis) rather than evoked in McKew's discourse (through intonational grammar).

These information unit rank choices are further complemented by an interesting series of selections at the rank of information group. In terms of IG, there is, as it were an echo of the IU division in McKew's question: a 'prosody of Prominence' that seems to owe more to the system of IG itself rather than the individual selections of IP, as Rau increases the level of attentiveness to her discourse. The choices in IP are, however, significant in themselves, particularly in terms of metafunctional orientation: many of the items made Prominent have an interpersonal function, such as the appraisally-significant 'rather', 'mere' and 'wilful', the metaphoric modals 'us', 'think' and 'perhaps', and the Finite 'has' – this last facilitated by a Pause[19]; while the logical conjunction 'because' is also Prominent.

---

[19] realised by a silent Ictus in the rhythm established in the previous two feet and continued in the next (cf Appendix 3: Chapter 6: Pause). This Pause also adds textual highlighting to the previous Prominent, 'perhaps'.

Taken together, these selections form an interpersonal prosody which, in harmony with McKew's question, enacts a collaborative interpersonal relation. There is a comparison to be made between the tenor relation being enacted here and in the 'ovens' text in the previous chapter: the text is supportively co-constructed, with a tenor of familiarity (initiated through McKew's demand for information on the family reaction in IU 13 and discussed above in Section 6.2.1.1). However, the relations cannot be said to be equal: McKew's institutional role as senior journalist/interviewer gives her an advantage in terms of preparedness and expertise in the text-type, and this can be seen in the complexity of the organisation of her discourse; and her deployment of interpersonal resources seems more intentional, more by design (setting the tenor), whereas for Rau it seems to be more of an expression of personal feeling (a reaction to McKew's tenor-setting, although still through the conventional resources of lexicogrammar) – although, listening to her text, one can hear that she is attempting to sound very professional and in command[20].

As will become more apparent as the analysis proceeds, Rau's discourse enacts two somewhat conflicting agentive role tenor settings (Butt 2003: 15): on the one hand she enacts a 'familial' role related to her situational role as a close relative of the person being discussed (her agentive role in the tenor is by virtue of a situational familial

---

[20] McKew's interpersonal choices enact a familiarity that is, as with the surgeon's interpersonal choices, designed to off-set the institutional disadvantage of her interviewee: that is, as with the surgical context, the non-negotiability of the situational roles – interviewer and interviewee – allows for a free 'play' of interpersonal choices so as to enact a more 'user-friendly' tenor relation.

relation); on the other hand, as representative of her legal team, she enacts an agentive role of 'civic: by status: expertise' (she can talk as one having some legal expertise, being the one tasked to present the findings of a legal report by her legal team). Thus while Rau seeks to relate to McKew (and by extension the audience) in something like the role of an 'expert', armed with the legal information provided to her by her counsel, at the same time she is the sister of the person being discussed and thus enacts an (inter)personal relationship that commands the sympathies of McKew and the audience. This duality in the tenor: agentive role, which at times seems to be a conflict for Rau, is realised in a shifting pattern of lexicogrammatical selection: for example, in the dual interpersonal and logical orientation in the system of IP and/or the periodic choice of the committed KEY. Indeed, as can be seen in later instances, she appears in places to be struggling to maintain her composure[21].

6.2.1.3   IUs 19 - 23: Rau   //4 cause / [Pause] / if there had been a / reasonable su- / spicion that / she was an Au- / stralian / resident or */ citizen then h - //1_ why on earth did they / keep her in de- */ tention for //1 ten / whole */ weeks //1 while she was */ obviously in a psy- //1_ chotic */ state //

In this series of information units, following on from my observations above on the dual tenor relations construed by Rau, one can see the 'pseudo-legal' discourse Rau construes

---

[21] Of course the extent to which her loss of composure is by design it is impossible to say. The point is that her language reveals this meaning.

realised in the logical argumentation of IUs 19 & 20, and her familial relation in the personal feeling in her interpersonal stance to and textualisation of her ideational meanings in IUs 21 - 23. The legalistic style, as an enactment of her agentive role by 'expertise', is engendered through the use of Prominence for the (text-internal: Martin 1992) logical continuative 'because' and conjunction 'if'[22]. In terms of the familial relation, one can find various textual and interpersonal selections that enact and facilitate the enactment of Rau's personal involvement. Textually, the marked IG for the Circumstance of Duration[23] 'ten whole weeks' facilitates graduation upon the evoked negative appraisal of this Circumstance[24]; while the marked ID of IUs 20-23 facilitates a series of 'mini-statements' as in the McKew question – although again, it should be noted, at clause rank level. Interpersonally, the co-instantiation of the wh-Adjunct 'why on earth' with the mild KEY combines an exclamative-like sense of frustration with a sense that this information is to be expected – 'it is so frustrating; but what else can we expect'. This latter sense prevails over the entire nexus by virtue of the final in the series of information units being also in the mild KEY.

6.2.1.4   Discussion

The entire turn by Rau, from IU 14-23 thus seems at once to be couched in a professional 'media-savvy' style, while yet enacting what is a very personalised

---

expression of negative appraisal. This is congruent with McKew's promptings in her elaborately backgrounded question for her to discuss the Rau family's reaction to the revelations of government mistreatment of her sister. Rau's answering move, that is, in spite of her attempt to fulfil the role of legal representative, is primarily an echo of McKew's committed KEY content question, co-enacting (maintaining) the familial tenor suggested by McKew.

In this text already one can see clearly the collaborative tenor which Bell and van Leeuwen associate with the conversational type of interview. While this is still 'current affairs', there is no attempt by McKew at 'entrapment', but instead a considered attempt by the veteran journalist to put the (one confidently assumes) considerably less experienced interviewee at her ease, encouraging her through the enactment of a familial tenor relation. Rau responds in kind, responding on the one hand appropriately to McKew's proposition in terms of the detail of its (complex preposed) Subject, while on the other hand responding in harmony with McKew's negative appraisal (evoked through clause and intonational lexicogrammar). Her confidence, as seen in her pseudo-professional media-legal style, rewards McKew's initiating efforts at enacting a 'family'-type of interview relationship, as does her display of familial concern and outrage (in response to the proposition of IU 13).

[24] Cf Auer's (1999) comments on the role of rhythm in construing 'hot news'.

6.2.2 *Jones - Ruddock*

6.2.2.1 IUs 3 - 4[25]: Jones //4 ^ are / you at all con- / cerned by the / allegations that a / network of / Chinese */ spies has been //1_ operating in this */ country //

Jones makes his opening move for the interview with a polar question realised through a polar interrogative clause spread over two information units, giving him the opportunity to make two items Focus: ('Chinese) spies'; and ('this) country'. However, in choosing these Foci Jones downranks to the status of Prominent what would have more congruently been the first point of Focus[26], the Phenomenon 'allegations': it is not the acknowledgement of the status of the claims as allegations (which is, one assumes, a legal requirement for the public broadcaster) that is given the Focus, but what would have been the 'nub' (Subject) of the downranked clause were it located at clause rank ('a network of Chinese spies')[27].

---

[25] As with the MR interview, I have begun the presentation of the analysis at the point of the opening question, rather than the salutations.

[26] being the Head of the following postmodifying downranked clause.

[27] One can compare and contrast this opening strategy with that of McKew. Both interviewers ask for the interviewee's (or, in the case of Rau, her family's) reaction to some event or series of events; for both the reaction is construed as a ranking proposition, whereas the events themselves are construed as downranked processes; and for both a (marked) Focus is the participant (Phenomenon –'this'; Actor – 'network of Chinese spies'). But whereas for McKew her Focus is on the ranking Subject, for Jones it is a downranked participant (which would have been Subject if the clause it is part of were a ranking one), as well as on the

One can see in this move the 'tension' between clause and information unit grammar being manipulated for textual and interpersonal effect. On the one hand Jones chooses to make Theme and Subject (as well as Prominent) his addressee 'you' (Ruddock, in his institutional position as Attorney General), thus questioning Ruddock's level or absence of concern at the allegations; but in terms of the IF system, he focusses on the content itself of the allegations[28] - that 'a network…' etc − rather than on the Phenomenon (questionably) causing Ruddock's concern. It is clear that Jones wishes to pass over, textually, the status of the claims referred to as allegations[29]: were they established facts, one imagines that a congruent choice of Focus would have been made[30]. Also of significance textually is the marked IG in IU 3 'network of Chinese spies'[31]: drawing added attention, as does Rau in IU21, to this element of his discourse,

---

Circumstance for this downranked clause. That is, significantly, Jones' ranking proposition is without a Focus: his assignment of textual status (IF) is in tension with his interpersonal (MOOD) choice.

[28] Thus, arguably, rendering in effect the Head if the Adjunct 'allegations' as grammatical metaphor of modality for the embedded clause which modifies it.

[29] This strategy for avoiding Focus on 'allegations' is betrayed in what appears to be a fresh choice after this ranking Head from the system Brazil (1975) calls 'key': the pitch height is 'reset' at the high level at this point (as clearly visible in the Praat picture for this instance: cf Appendix 3: Chapter 6: Brazil's key), as though beginning a new discursive act.

[30] for example: //… con- / cerned by the */ fact that a // network of….//.

[31] This point in the text actually involves a significant shift in the rhythm (cf van Leeuwen 1982, 1992 and Martinec 1995 on rhythmic units) from that of the prior discourse (the ranking clause), another disjunction that adds further evidence to the claim (cf footnote 29 above) that the congruent place for the information group boundary is between the ranking Head and its embedded postmodifying clause - a dramatic 'zooming

again adding textual status to a constituent that is, interpersonally, 'away' from the interpersonal 'nub' of the ranking clause.

Interpersonally, the choice of mild KEY is difficult to interpret: one would have expected perhaps even the committed, if not the neutral KEY. One possible motivation is that the Place – 'in this country' – which would have been Circumstance if occurring in a ranking clause, is somewhat informationally redundant, given the prior co-text. As with Rau's use of this KEY, the sense is of incredulity - something beyond belief (and so beyond a tone 5!)[32]. It is also worth noting that it is with a closed polar question that Jones chooses to begin the interaction (whereas McKew uses an open content question). Bell and van Leeuwen 1994 comment on the use of this choice in the 'adversarial' interview type: it seems to be part of a set of strategies deployed by Jones' to establish his

---

in' textual effect which, as for Rau's IU 21, seems to be in line with Auer's comments on the role of rhythm in construing 'hot news' (Auer 1999).

[32] In Brazil's terms, this would be the low key, suggesting that little new is being added to the shared knowledge of the interactants; Tannen (1984: 85) interprets this as signalling "great earnestness and sincerity". There is clearly much in common between the different construals of the meaning of this selection (and of course in different contexts it takes on different meanings). For example, the meaning ascribed to this choice in Tannen's interpretation could be seen as deriving from the expectancy (low informative value) indentified by Halliday and Brazil: it is given as something beyond discussion, not necessary to negotiate – which is the opposite of its phonetic opposite, the (tone 5) high rise-fall, which signals great certainty, being extremely interactive and negotiatory. One may also compare this tone with the tone 5_ that realises the 'intense' committed KEY, (Halliday 1970a: 32) "showing awe" – again, an intensification of the meaning of the primary tone, the low pitch excursion semiotically in tension with the meaning of the rise-fall.

control in terms of the co-construction of the text to follow[33]. Going on the offensive, his textual and interpersonal meanings create a more aggressive or pro-active sense of where the interview should go than seems appropriate or necessary to the McKew-Rau interaction.

6.2.2.2   IUs 5 - 11:   Ruddock //4_ ^ well I'm / always con- / cerned about er - about alle- */ gations but er //1 ^ one / has to es- */ tablish //-3 whether or */ not ah they are //4 real or i- */ magined //1 umm they / are / just as you have */ asserted at //4 */ this stage alle- //4 gations //

In the previous section I showed how Jones attempts with the opening question, as McKew did in hers, to 'stamp' upon the interaction his own idea of where the text should go, although in doing so, while he is compelled to construct a similarly complex and non-congruent semiotic configuration[34], he is also obliged to create a more awkward set of co-selections. The reasons for this discursive approach become clear when one considers his interviewee's reply. Ruddock has different ideas about the 'point' (Martin 1992) of this interaction: he picks up on what would have been the congruent choice of Focus, and also Phenomenon were it part of the ranking clause - 'allegations' - rather than Jones'

---

[33] This is referred to by Matthiessen (pers. comm.) as the 'Overture' of a text - seen from an interpersonal point of view: it is like a juncture prosody for the whole text, complemented at the end by the interpersonal Finale. The Overture represents the first calibration of tenor relations, and is thus important in interviews, including from the point of view of AFFECT (sociometric role) (Matthiessen pers. comm.).

(marked) Foci, and makes this his point of Focus; thereafter using this textual shift in direction as the basis for a series of information units focussing on the status of the claims as allegations, rather than upon the content itself of the allegations.

One may assume that this is precisely the issue that Jones was trying to avoid making the point of the co-constructed text to follow. But in this dialogue, unlike in the MR text, there are two seasoned media players in contest, and arguably neither can be considered to be superior to the other in terms of the tenor setting of (media) 'expertise': the direction the text will take must be negotiated between the two. Indeed, this negotiation of the unfolding of the text through the textual systems is a characteristic and crucial aspect of this 'adversarial interview' text-type, as part of the larger institutionalised philosophy of a democratic political culture (cf Bell and van Leeuwen 1994 for a discussion). Ruddock adds to his retextualisation of the field the reserved KEY - the 'more to come plus adversative' meaning - further indicating that he does not see his role as interviewee as simply that of a collaborative responder to the propositions and point set up by the interviewer, as did the less experienced Rau.

In Ruddock's first information unit he directly addresses its MOOD, Subject/Theme and Predication; and the choice of the mood Adjunct 'always' as Prominent answers Jones's mood Adjunct about the level or absence ('at all') of Ruddock's concern. In fact, the choice of the reserved KEY and IF in IU 5 are all that signals that Ruddock's turn as a whole will in fact turn out to be a 'rejoinder': that rather

---

[34] Although revealing 'traces' of its congruent version (cf footnotes 29 and 31).

than talking about a 'network of Chinese spies operating in this country', which was the 'point' of Jones' question, Ruddock will address the 'allegations' themselves, their status as allegations, rather than his own lack or level of concern about these claims. In terms of Jones' 'point', Ruddock chooses to chart another 'path through the field' of foreign affairs, espionage and immigration. The notorious propensity for politicians to avoid directly answering or evading questions can be seen here in the light of the grammatical choices, in particular and crucially those which happen to be realised through the phonology of intonation[35].

But Ruddock's turn is more complex than mere evasion: his 'react' (Eggins and Slade 1997) does in fact start out by answering the question itself. However, Ruddock's 'I' in IU 5 is not so much a reference to his own internal mental state, as to his institutional role as Attorney General. This aspect of the interaction becomes clearer as Ruddock's react continues: after initially (in the first, supportive response) making himself (as 'I') Subject, thereafter the Subject becomes the abstract generalised Subject 'one' – clearly referring to his institutional role rather than his own person. Ruddock, through this abstract Subject – 'one' - enacts an agentive role tenor setting with respect to his institutional responsibilities: he is saying in effect 'as Attorney General this is my

---

[35] One can also see this evasiveness in Ruddock's reference to what he calls the 'assertion' by Jones which is in fact, grammatically, outside of the negotiable MOOD block of Jones' clause, as Adjunct, besides being a question rather than statement. The relevant assertion would have been 'that a network of Chinese spies has been operating in this country is an allegation' – clearly a long way from Jones' actual utterance. Ruddock gives this interrupting clause its own IU, with neutral declarative MOOD.

position and its consequences'. All further references to himself – 'I' – are thus to be understood in this sense. This enactment of the 'agentive role: by office' setting is further enhanced through his textualisation of certain interpersonal elements: the modal Finite 'has' (IU 6), with its meaning of 'high obligation', and Finite/Predicator 'are' (IU 9); the assignment of ID to the polar Adjunct 'whether or not' (IU7); as well as the choice of the neutral KEY for IUs 6 and 9, enacting what I am calling 'mini-statements' for these information units.

The difference between the dialogue in this and in the MR text is in the exploitation of the co-constructive nature of dialogue, as related to the interpretation and enactment of the tenor relations holding within the context. In the MR text, we see the two interactants collaboratively and supportively developing the direction and tone, with one (McKew) leading: that is, according to the unequal relations (in terms of media expertise). In this text we see Ruddock establishing his own right to negotiate a textual path for the dialogue, both with reference to his institutional role as Attorney General and his experience and skill as a seasoned media performer[36].

Ruddock's skill as a media 'player' can be seen, for example, in his use the system of ID in such as way as to both increase the level of attention to certain elements of the field and tenor, as well as to enact some of these as downranked statements (as

---

[36] Note: another Butt (2003) parameter, 'agentive role: by status: expertise', seems relevant here in Ruddock's skilled use of language; but it is difficult to specify the lexicogrammatical realisation strategies for this setting.

does McKew in her opening question), suggesting a level of preparedness and textual organisation under the pressure of 'spontaneous' discourse possessed by only those most comfortable in and in command of this type of context. The assignment of marked Focus to the Premodifier of the Head of the Circumstance of Time 'at this stage' further enhances his position which with respect to the interaction: he need not be drawn to give an opinion on what are, at this stage, no more than allegations. Ruddock also deploys the subordinate STATUS choice twice so as to signal that he isn't finished his turn, although it is clear in both cases that he has finished making his point. His success in thus holding the floor so as to develop a more complex argument is one that must be achieved – against the interviewer's potential to intervene at any stage - whereas in Rau's case the scope to develop her argument is supported and encouraged by the interviewer.

6.2.2.3   IUs 12 - 17:   Ruddock //53 ^ the / difficulty for */ me in relation to these */ matters is //5 I can't //4 talk about on- */ going //2 ^ er ac- / tivities in which our se- / curity agencies are in- */ volved in it //4 compromises them //4 ^ err tra- / ditionally we don't */ speak about them //

Having accomplished the textual diversion discussed above (status of allegations, rather himself, as macro-Theme), thus establishing the dubious status of the claims raised by Jones, Ruddock then appears to develop a textual pathway more congruent to Jones' initial Theme: his part to be played in the situation which forms the material for the field of discourse. Ruddock now moves the text explicitly into the field of professional roles, their proper conduct and the difficulty thereof, with what might appear to be a speaker Theme – 'I' – over IUs 13-15. However, as mentioned in the previous section, it is in

fact not himself, but (the difficulty associated with) his institutional role that is Theme for the series IUs 12-15. This entire series of information units is, in a congruent analysis at least, a relational identifying clause (with IU 12 as Value/Identified). One may also argue that IU12 serves as a grammatical metaphor (as for IU109 in the hailstorm text), as an interpersonal Theme for the following IUs 13-15, and hyper-Theme for IUs 13-17[37]. But this interpretation in itself misses the point of Ruddock's textual design in both the congruent and non-congruent interpretations: he makes both his difficulties and himself as Themes. As always with grammatical metaphor, the meaning is a product of both interpretations.

Although Ruddock initially shifts the burden of the responsibility for the interpersonal negotiation from himself as Subject to his difficulties (as Attorney General), he gives himself, as Head of the Postmodifier 'for me…matters', the status of Focus, thus complementing Jones' engendering of him as Theme, enacting this with the committed KEY. Ruddock then goes on to not only to make himself (congruently, downranked) Subject in the next clause, but to give this participant its own IU and also the committed KEY – a highly marked set of choices. If one does take IU12 as a grammatical metaphor (interpersonal Theme), we can analyse Ruddock's choices in IU13 as thus making

---

[37] This interpretation can be explored by enquiring as to the extent of the Token/Identifier. I interpret it as extending to IU17; but this extends across the paratactic relations of elaboration between IUs 12-15, 16 and 17, involving changes in Theme and Subject; which seems to suggest that it is not a structural, but a semantic relation.

himself ('in relation to these matters': i.e. as Attorney General) Theme, Subject and New, with this information as a separate 'act' in his turn.

The interplay of textual and interpersonal systems creates a complex move, clearly designed to both answer the question while yet taking account of the speaker's own ideas about the nature and direction of the interaction. By construing his role in the situation being discussed as a downranked Process as part of the Value/Identifier of a relational identifying Process, his situational (verbal) action (or in this case non-action) is moved away from the site of interpersonal negotiability, as a downranked constituent of a Complement, while the (negotiable) Subject of this complex clause is in fact his 'difficulties...matters'. In terms of the grammar of this part of his reply, if Jones wishes to (congruently) further debate Ruddock's proposition he must address this Subject: to address the downranked Subject 'I' − Ruddock, in his institutional role - would be to 'change the Subject'. By assigning the downranked constituent interpersonal meaning (the marked committed KEY), Ruddock further gives the impression that it is this, rather than the clausal element in IUs 12, that is the negotiable element. That is, the combination of ID and KEY, together with the downranking of this clause, 'hides' the ranking proposition[38], while yet assigning interpersonal force to certain of the downranked meanings.

But the choices in ID, IF and KEY enable Ruddock to enact a marked level of attention and interpersonal force to his construal of himself-as-Attorney General in a way

---

[38] I am indebted to David Butt (pers. comm.) for this insight into this strategy.

345

that implies this participant is in fact both Theme and Subject of the (downranked) clause to follow. The implication of 'speaker as Subject/Theme' (IU13) is there, enacting 'by stealth' his 'agentive role; by office'; while the choice of the challenging KEY in IU15 challenges Jones's presumption that Ruddock can in fact talk about these matters. This latter choice also implies a hierarchic relation: that only Ruddock has the right to make such decisions. Again, these choices are co-instantial with others such as the use of marked ID and the subordinate STATUS, to control the way in which his (increasingly monologic) turn is managed and textualised: for example, the marked ID/IF on the Premodifier – 'ongoing' - of the Verbiage (that which he can't discuss), as in McKew's move, gives the textual status of Focus to the temporal aspect of the field of discourse (the fact that the investigations are ongoing, and thus too sensitive to discuss), and thus moves (his part of) the text in that direction (a textual 'chart' which is then followed in his subsequent IUs).

6.2.2.4 IUs 18 – 21: R //5 ^ ah but it would be na- / ive to be- //4 lieve that er / matters that are re- */ ported on are //_3 not */ matters that the //1 organisations / ahh that / work in this area would / not be aware of and wouldn't */ act on //

In this move, finishing his extended turn, Ruddock's deploys the resources of downranking and INFORMATION and POLARITY systems to instantiate an immensely complex and difficult to interpret clause structure. What he is saying in effect (if one reconstrues and reenacts this meaning in congruent terms) is something like 'the relevant organisations are taking care of their business: to think otherwise is naïve'. It is the latter

346

proposition in this gloss, however, that is the ranking proposition in Ruddock's version: that the entire complex Postposed Subject from IUs 19-21 to follow represents a naïve view. Ruddock's proposition, in effect, enacts a non-agentive tenor role for Jones - as one not holding such an office - and is thus, in addition to being very hard to follow, a way of enacting again the tenor setting 'agentive role: by office' for himself, only this time on behalf of the government officials and departments so obliquely referenced.

This ranking proposition – IU 18 (which however also includes IUs 19-21 as Subject) - and the tenor implication I have identified as enacted by it, is given further interpersonal force through the committed KEY. This clause in fact could be interpreted as part of a grammatical metaphor realising an interpersonal Theme: 'it would be naïve to believe' as modality. In this interpretation Ruddock's assignment of information unit status to this clause, together with the marked KEY, therefore suggests a marked Focus (normally, this type of predicated Theme structure has two clauses as a single information unit), together with a marked KEY choice, adding textual and interpersonal force to both the negative appraisal inscribed by this move and the tenor role discussed above which I suggest that it enacts, that of agentive role: by office.

6.2.2.5   Discussion

Both the contextual implication, and the strategies of the textual and interpersonal metafunctions which engender and enact it, form a recurring characteristic of this interview text: the downranking, combined with ID and KEY selections making marked interpersonal meanings which are nevertheless outside of the negotiatory Mood element of the ranking propositions. In this text then one can clearly see, in all its complexity, the

'contest' Bell and van Leeuwen (1994) have identified, between two seasoned media players: in terms of their respective enactments of tenor roles and relations, of their ideas of where the text they are co-constructing should 'go', and what is/isn't part of the negotiation at hand. The MR text is every bit as co-constructed as that of McKew and Rau; but whereas in that text the co-construction involves Rau collaboratively following McKew's lead, in the interaction between Jones and Ruddock this dialogic co-construction is a negotiable and even contestable process. In the case of both texts, the resources of intonational systems are intimately involved.

6.3 View Along the Cline of Instantiation

6.3.1   Introductory Discussion

One difficulty in the analysis of the present texts is that there is so much going on semiotically, as seen from the 'close up', multidimensional view of individual instances, that it is not an easy task to decide how to proceed when moving along the cline of instantiation. More importantly, the complexities of these texts involves multiple co-selections, which makes the statistical view more difficult to develop. For example, the complexities of both McKew's opening question and Rau's answering turn – in terms of the textual and interpersonal choices, and their combination – involve, among other things: marked ID and IF, both for information flow management and the enactment of 'mini-statements' as discussed in Section 6.2; careful deployment of the systems of IG and IP, decreasing the flow of information and adding textual weight to certain items of the discourse, while also facilitating increased graduation of certain lexically-realised appraisal choices; and KEY, which works together with all the above to enact

interpersonal meaning, including the 'mini-statements' referred to above, as well as strategically-placed marked choices such as the committed KEY in IU13.   The complexities of Ruddock's answers also, as shown above, involve a configuration of multiple selections in clause and information unit grammars.

Part of the analytical difficulty is owing to the nature of the textual metafunction as second-order semiotic: as with the analysis of the surgical text, to track selection patterns in IF and IP one needs reference to ideational and interpersonal elements of the clause. In Chapter 4 I offered one method of counteracting this obstacle: by reference to structural functions of elements of the clause, thereby tracking shifts in the metafunctional orientation of the IF system. However, this method doesn't sufficiently account for the role of ID in both the interview texts in managing the flow of information[39] or, together with KEY choices, in enacting 'mini-statements'; or for how all of these work together to negotiate the co-construction of the text. It also cannot, of course, show how the text unfolds as a logogenetic co-construction, in terms of the shifting choices of Theme and IF: for example, the way McKew packages Theme and New together upon a single element – 'This latest…Australian' and 'this' - faciliating a conflation of macro-Theme/New which determines the trajectory of the ensuing text; or the negotiation of/contest for textual 'direction' engendered by Jones and Ruddock as the

---

[39] The use of ID wasn't an important issue in the surgical text; and wasn't addressed in the analysis of the casual conversation texts: owing to space constraints, I focussed in Chapter 5 on the system of KEY as a way in to discussing pattern shifts between stages within and between texts.

text unfolds. The means for representing these phenomena in a statistical analysis is not evident to the present author[40].

One issue that seems crucial to these texts as members of a distinct type is the level of written-like preparedness evident by comparison to those of the surgical and casual conversation types. Both the MR and JR texts exhibit complexity in the clausal constituency analysis of the sort that is normally associated with prototypical prepared written text. But whereas the opening question of McKew, and much of Ruddock's discourse, involve extensive use of nominal group complexing, for Rau the complexity is comparatively more of a prototypical spoken-like nature, with clause complexing complemented by the strategic use of ID to manage the complexity of this clausal flow of information.

In the case of McKew and Jones' opening questions the nominal complexity can be explained by the interviewers' level of preparedness going into the interview; and the same may also be said to some extent of the discourse of both Rau and Ruddock. But in the case of the latter interactants, one must also include some reference to the level of

---

[40] One potentially fruitful approach might be to conduct a cohesion analysis (cf Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1985/1989), against which could be calibrated the patterns of selection in the IF system. However, space and time constraints forbid such an analysis here. Nevertheless, as with many other findings revealed by the 'view from the instance', this is certainly a future avenue for research into the way in which speakers use IF through a text. Nevertheless, Matthiessen has demonstrated one method for illustrating the logogenetic perspective on a text, across larger stretches of text: this is via the concept of a 'text-score' (cf Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1).

experience and skill in the spontaneous mode, and there are contrasts to be made in this respect: although Rau does construe meanings as downranked parts of a single clause structure (and therefore predication) – cf for example IUs 15-16 - she does so to a lesser degree than the more experienced and practised Ruddock does: it is clear from the analyses and discussion in Section 6.2 that Ruddock's discourse, although ostensibly (and to some extent) spontaneous, is in fact to a large extent prepared. This difference may be correlated with the different levels of experience and expertise on the part of the interactants: Ruddock's written-like preparedness is the outcome of many years of experience perfecting the skills necessary for a public figure in such a context.

This experience manifests in his deployment of both the textual and the interpersonal metafunctions: Ruddock's propensity for downranking so much of his clausal information flow is primarily, one assumes, a strategy for moving such information away from the negotiable clause rank[41]; but his use of ID and KEY, as with McKew's, often gives these non-negotiable elements both textual status and interpersonal force. But whereas for McKew it is a strategy for bringing additional interpersonal meaning and thus force to a single ranking proposition, in Ruddock's case one may say that the reverse is the case: Ruddock's skill in moving certain meanings away from the negotiable part of his discourse while yet assigning them textual and interpersonal value enables him to be seeming to say one thing while in fact strongly implying another. Ruddock's ability to have nothing or little of substance to say in answer to Jones' actual propositions, while seeming to get across certain points in a convincing tone, is as much

---

[41] cf Hutchby (2006) on the dangers for public figures in such interview contexts.

owing to the enabling function of the INFORMATION and THEME systems, together with KEY and STATUS choices, as it is to the use of other clausal lexicogrammatical resources.

So, although there is extensive use of marked ID alike to both texts, one phenomenon to track through the texts is the variation in the way ID interacts with clause grammar and in particular, with clausal constituency. Another method of investigating the differences between these two texts revealed in the 'view from the instance' analyses is to profile selections in ID alongside those of KEY and STATUS: whether speakers are merely 'chunking' their discourse, or are adding KEY selections that add interpersonal meaning to what are often non-negotiable − because downranked − elements of the discourse, as shown above. In the following analysis I will present statistical analyses of the following, for both of the texts:

ID and rank: whether marked or unmarked; and the constituent/s mapped
into that ID (ranking/non-ranking clause, group/phrase, two
group/phrases, etc);

ID and KEY: whether those marked instances of ID correlate with KEY or
STATUS selections;

KEY/STATUS selections

These analyses will be followed by discussions in which I account for the similarities and differences between the two texts in terms of the dominant patterns that emerge from these findings. As there is substantial consistency through the texts in terms of selection patterns I present the analyses as a whole, rather than in stages as in previous chapters.

6.3.2   *INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION: Markedness*

6.3.2.1   Statistical Findings

The following are the statistical frequencies of the incidence of unmarked and marked ID for the two texts[42]. I take marked ID to be any information unit mapped onto less than or more than one clause[43]. Although I acknowledge the variations from this simple

---

[42] Note: where a clause has its Circumstance mapped as a separate information unit, the nuclear part of the clause is counted as unmarked – being in themselves an unmarked mapping of ID - the Circumstance as marked ID (cf the MR text: IUs 45 - 47). But where the nuclear part of a clause is divided into separate information units, both parts of the clause are counted as marked ID.

[43] There are exceptions to this general guide: for example, in the MR text I treat the mapping of IU13 as a separate information unit as unmarked ID, even though, according to my analysis, technically this clause also includes the information in the previous six information units – that is, the entire sequence of IUs 7-13 forms marked ID. I have done this because, on the one hand, the analysis of IUs 7-12 as Preposed Subject allows me to make a discussion of this strategy for the opening question; while on the other hand treating it as separate in the ID analysis enables a clearer picture of differences in the marked use of ID between the two texts – one cannot treat a Preposed constituent as a separate information unit and still retain any coherent sense of what a marked choice in this system means. Halliday (1967a: 33-37) and El-Menoufy (1969: Part I) present detailed discussions of un/marked ID mappings onto clausal structures, in the latter author's case in particular from a distinctly probabilistic perspective; as do Crystal (1969) and Tench (1990; 1996). For example, a marked Theme is in the unmarked case assigned its own information unit (Halliday 1967a: 33); and there are other more complex assignments of unmarked/marked status in Halliday (1967a) depending upon a variety of different clausal structural features and upon cohesive and other properties of the clausal information. However, while acknowledging Halliday's application of the principle of markedness in these cases, I consider that some of the value of the marked/unmarked distinction is lost by this interpretation: in the case of marked Theme, although this is often correlated with

interpretation of markedness offered by Halliday (1967a) and El-Menoufy (1969) – interpretations based to some degree on probabilistic considerations - for the purposes of comparing these two texts in terms of their use of marked/unmarked ID I make the interpretation based on stratal principles - the 'one clause = one information unit' mapping as the prototypical and thus congruent realisation of one message – as both a way of tracking variation according to the stratal 'good reason' principle, and as a compromise necessitated by the move along the cline of instantiation[44].

---

the distribution into two information units, to consider that this choice in ID is marked is to assign it the same status as the markedness in Theme. The latter interpretation taken in the present work allows one to track a speaker's variation from the one clause-one information unit mapping with reference to the management of the flow of information, rather than with respect to a mechanical operation of clausal principles. Of course one may find that a text with lots of marked Theme structuring will also contain lots of marked ID, but that is the point: one would find both systems operating with a pattern of markedness through the text, which pattern can then be interpreted in terms of registerial considerations. However, some special considerations are necessary: for example, whether a projecting (verbal or mental) clause is functioning at clause rank (as grammatical metaphor) or as part of a clause complex (this aspect is a crucial part of the interpretation of the JR text in particular: cf for example IUs 25 & 49, compared with IU75); and continuatives such as 'you know' given an information unit are treated as unmarked ID if interrrupting (as in MR: IU26), but marked otherwise (as in MR: IU29).

[44] I do acknowledge this as an analytical weakness: a text might simply have a lot of marked Themes requiring a pattern of marked ID, which is a pattern clearly of a distinct nature from that of, say, the chunking of (downranked) Actor/Subject and Predicator/Process such as in McKew's opening question in IUs 10-11, or Ruddock's in IUs 13-14 in that text. However, the line is not always easy to draw and at any rate probabilistic interpretations are not necessarily the most appropriate: for example, is Ruddock's habitual use of extensive embedding within nominal groups a motivation for considering, as Crystal (1969) does, any complex nominal group to have an unmarked ID mapping of more than one information unit for

ID	MR			JR		
	interactant[45]	count	%	interactant	count	%
unmarked	McKew	14	16	Jones	17	16
	Rau	21	23	Ruddock	22	21
	total	35	39	total	39	37
marked	McKew	12	13	Jones	24	23
	Rau	43	48	Ruddock	43	41
	total	55	61	total	67	63[46]
total		90	100		106	100

Table 15: proportions of marked/unmarked ID selections contributed in each text by interactants

The comparison of proportions of unmarked to marked ID selections between the MR and JR texts overall shows them to be almost the same, with only a two percent difference between them. The results also show, not surprisingly, that for both texts there is a higher percentage of marked selections by the interviewees as compared to the

---

the clause? Is the markedness of ID thus to be decided on the basis of the amount of information in a clause? I prefer to remain with the prototypical mapping of one information unit for one clause – with the occasional exceptions as in IUs 7-13 – as being the one which is chosen in the default mode: where there is no good reason for it to be otherwise. All other mappings require some explanation, an explanation that is a subsequent step. It is in that explanative stage of my text that I make reference to (probabilistic) registerial considerations.

[45] "int" = 'interactant'.

[46] Rounding to integers has resulted in a discrepancy between the totals for count and percentages.

interviewers in both texts: they in fact take longer turns with more information units[47].

But there is further variation in the proportions for each speaker. Between the interviewees it is in fact Ruddock who has the lower proportion of marked ID choices as compared with Rau: forty-one percent by the former as compared with forty-eight percent in the latter. This can be accounted for by the high proportion of marked ID selections by Jones in the JR text: Jones' marked choices account for twenty-three percent of all ID choices in this text, as compared with McKew's sixteen percent marked choices as a proportion of the total in the MR text. Table 16 below presents a different view upon the statistics above: of markedness as proportions of each speaker's total information units (rather than as proportion of overall total for the text), as well as speakers' overall proportional contribution to the total information units.

---

[47] In Table 16 below I will show the proportions for each interactant of unmarked/marked selections as percentages of their respective total information units.

interactant	unmarked		marked			speaker information units as proportion of total	
	count	%	count	%	total	count	%
McKew	14	54	12	46	100	26	29
Rau	21	33	43	67	100	64	71
							100
Jones	17	41	24	59	100	41	39
Ruddock	22	34	43	66	100	65	61
							100

Table 16: ID markedness as proportion of each speaker's total ID choices

Table 16 shows that Jones instantiates marked ID, as a proportion of his total information units, substantially more than McKew does: fifty-nine percent compared with forty-six percent. However, this table also reveals that the total of information units by Jones in the JR text is of a higher proportion than for McKew in the MR text: thirty-nine percent as compared with McKew's twenty-nine percent. From these statistics one can see that Jones' higher degree of ID markedness correlates with the enactment of a greater intrusion into the speech interaction than McKew's. Table 16 also reveals that while both Rau and Ruddock instantiate a higher level of markedness in their ID choices than their respective interviewers, the proportions of markedness for the two interviewees is almost identical: sixty-seven percent for Rau as compared with Ruddock's sixty-six percent. Figure 12 below shows the statistics for the total information units for each

speaker as a proportion of the total in their text; while Figure 13 shows the speakers'

unmarked/marked information units as a proportion of their total information units (Note:

in each figure, Speakers 1-4 = McKew, Rau, Jones, Ruddock, respectively; in Figure 12,

Series 1 = IUS; in Figure 13, Series 1 = unmarked, 2 = marked selections).

speaker IUs as proportion of total in text
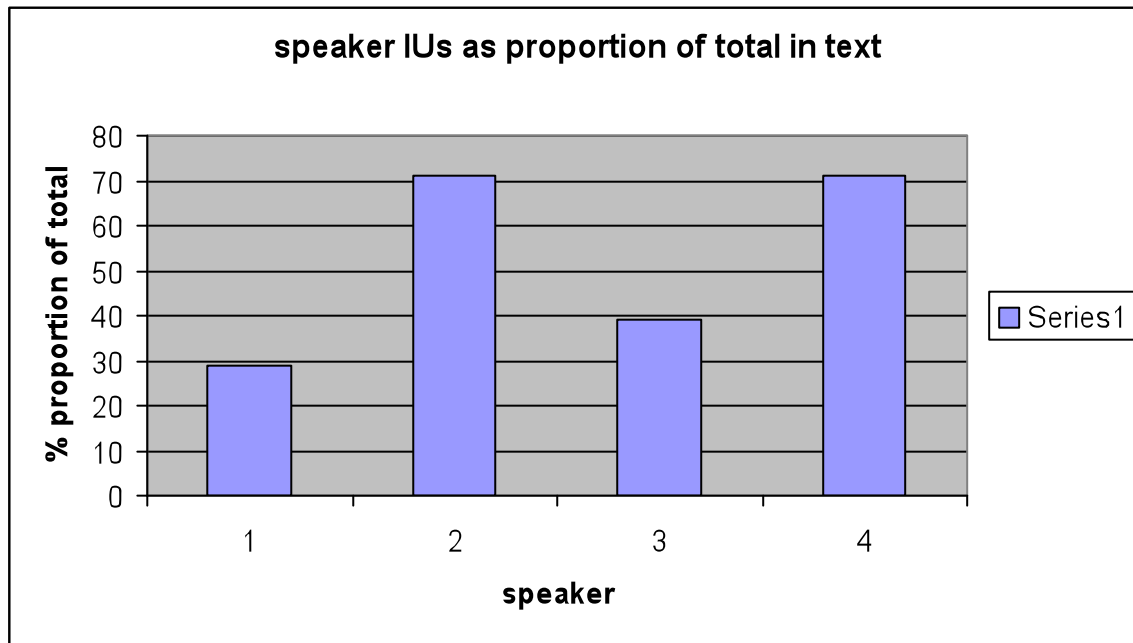
Figure 12: Speakers IUs as proportion of the total in their texts

markedness as proportion of speaker total IUs
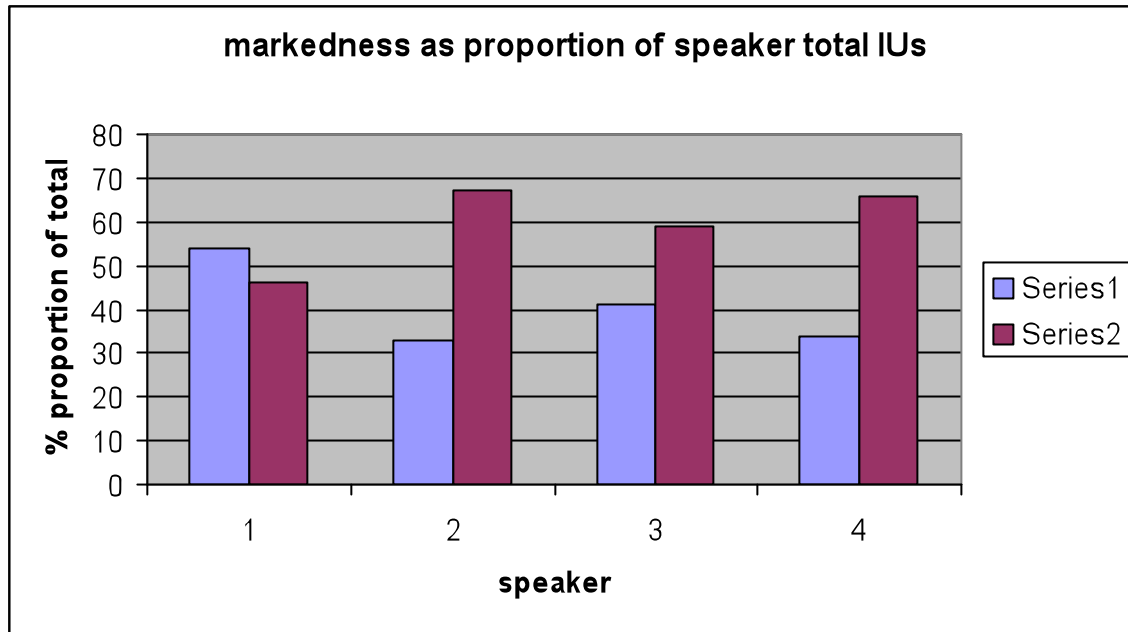
Figure 13: speakers' unmarked/marked IUselections as proportion of their total IUs

I will now take the analysis one step further, presenting in Table 17 below the proportions of markedness for each speaker with respect to the type of information unit-constituent mapping: whether an information unit is mapped onto a ranking or downranked constituent; and whether that constituent is less than, more than or equal to a group/phrase, or more than or equal to one clause.

interactant	constituent	ranking		downranked	
		count	%	count	%
McKew	group/phrase	3	12	2	8
	>[48] group/phrase	2	8	1	4
	< group/phrase	0	0	1	4
	> clause	0	0	0	0
	total: ≠ clause	5	29	4	15
	= clause	14	54	3	12
	total	19	73	7	27
Rau	group/phrase	15	23	7	11
	> group/phrase	9	14	0	0
	< group/phrase	1	2	0	0
	> clause	2	3	4	6
	total: ≠ clause	27	42	11	17
	= clause	21	33	5	8
	total	48	75	16	25
total IUs ≠ clause[49] for MR text		32	36	23	26
total IUs for MR text		67	74	23	26
Jones	group/phrase	8	20	3	7
	> group/phrase	6	15	1	2

[48] ">" = 'greater than'; "<" = less than.

[49] This excludes ranking clauses only.

	< group/phrase	0	0	0	0
	> clause	2	5	1	2
	total: ≠ clause	16	39	5	12
	= clause	17	41	3	7
	total	33	80	8	20
Ruddock	group/phrase	12	18	6	9
	> group/phrase	9	14	7	11
	< group/phrase	2	3	1	2
	> clause	0	0	5	8
	total: ≠ clause	23	35	19	29
	= clause	22	34	1	2
	total	45	69	20	31
total IUs ≠ clause for JR text					
total IUs for JR text		78	74	28	26

Table 17: ID mapping onto clausal constituency

The results presented in Table 17 reveal that, overall, the proportion of information units being mapped onto ranking constituents for both texts is almost identical: about three-quarters in each. When one takes the counts for unmarked ID out of the equation, the remaining statistics reveal that the proportions of the marked ID mapping onto ranking and non-ranking constituents also are almost identical in the two texts: in the MR text, marked ID mapping onto ranking constituents constitute thirty-six percent of the total, onto non-ranking constituents twenty-six percent of the total

361

information units; in the JR text, the proportions are thirty-seven percent ranking to twenty-six percent non-ranking.

However, this remarkable consistency conceals differences in the individual interactants' use of marked ID on ranking/non-ranking clause constituents: for McKew the proportions for marked ID on ranking and non-ranking constituents are twenty-nine as to twenty-seven percent, for Rau forty-two as to twenty-five percent, for Jones thirty-nine as to twenty-percent, and for Ruddock thirty-five as to thirty-one percent. Figure 14 below illustrates these statistics graphically (Note: Series 1 & 2 = ranking and non-ranking constituents, respectively; 1-4 represents McKew, Rau, Jones, Ruddock):
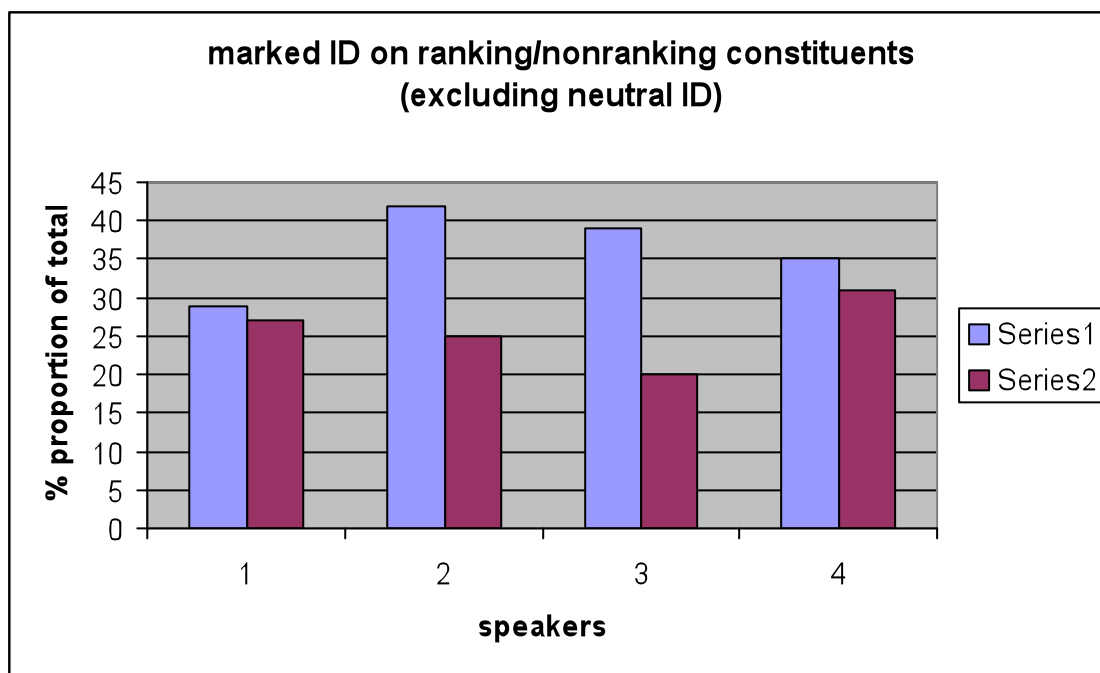
Figure 14: speakers' marked ID on ranking/nonranking constituents (excluding neutral ID) as % proportion of their total IUs

Adding back in the figures for information unit mapping onto ranking clauses, the comparison between the speakers for proportions of ID onto ranking and non-ranking

constituents is as follows: for McKew, seventy-three as to twenty-seven percent; for Rau, seventy-five as to twenty-five percent; for Jones, eighty as to twenty percent; and for Ruddock, sixty-nine as to thirty-one percent. Figure 15 illustrates these statistics graphically (Note: again Series 1 & 2 = ranking and non-ranking constituents, respectively; 1-4 represents McKew, Rau, Jones, Ruddock):
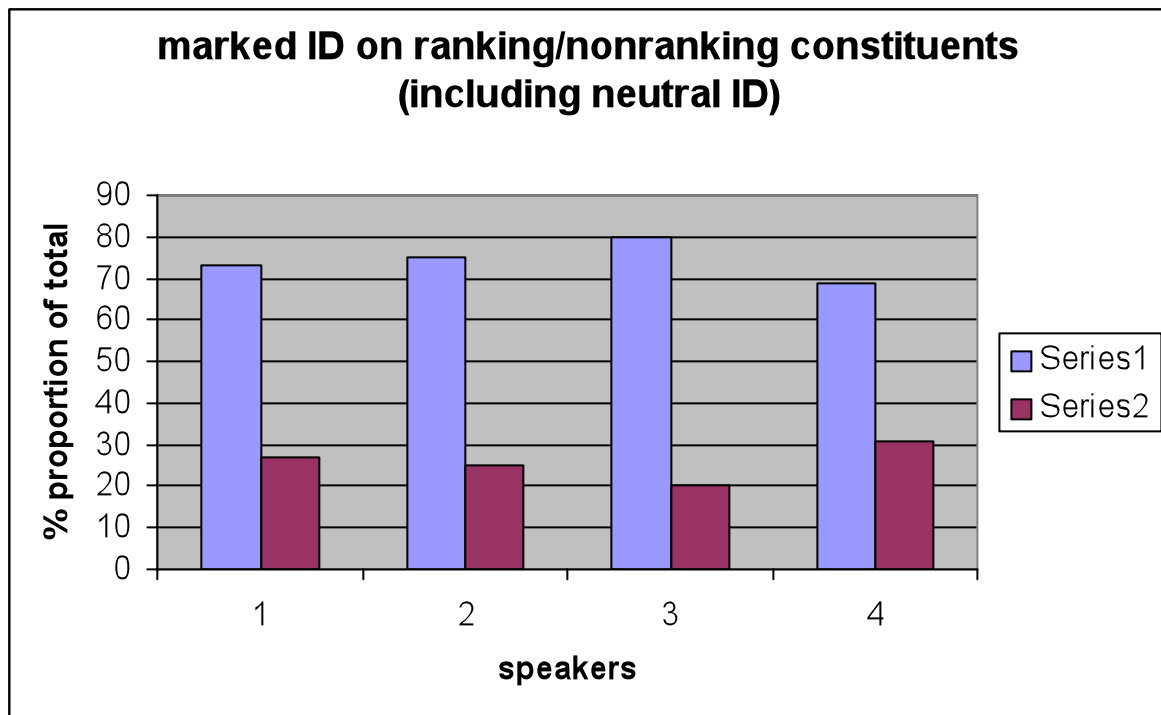
Figure 15: marked ID on ranking/nonranking constituents (excluding neutral ID) as % proportion of their total IUs

With this last set of statistics I am in a position to comment on both the similarities and differences between the interactants' use of ID.

6.3.2.2   Discussion

I should reiterate here at this point that in the following discussion of the above statistical findings I do not mean to suggest that anything like conclusive observations may be made

on the basis of such a small corpus. Rather, what I intend is to show how some of the patterns which emerge from the above analyses may be interpreted both in themselves, but particularly also in terms of the findings afforded by the view from the instance in Section 6.2; and thus how the different perspectives along the cline of instantiation may complement one another.

Thus, the sense that emerged in the discussion in Section 6.2 that marked ID is a characteristic of this type of text is confirmed by the statistics showing that, overall, the two texts show a consistency between them in terms of the proportions of markedness in the use of this system. The comparisons between speakers however show that there are varying levels in the total information units contributed by interviewers and interviewees; and that while there is a consistency in the level of markedness (as a proportion of their total IUs) between the two interviewees, between the interviewers there was a substantial difference, with Jones instantiating a more marked use of this system than McKew.

This statistical finding seems to echo the findings of the analyses of instances in Section 6.2, where it became clear that in the JR text there was a higher level of combativeness than found in the MR text, as befitting a political 'contest' type of interview interaction; primarily it seems on the part of the interviewer. Adding further evidence to Bell and van Leeuwen's observation on this type of text, one can see in the higher level of both intrusion into the speech situation and marked ID selection that Jones, as interviewer entering into the sort of textual game-playing one would otherwise

associate with the interviewees alone, as part of his role as the 'honest broker' on behalf of his audience.

These findings for ID markedness levels for the different speakers are complemented by the higher level of descriptive delicacy in the statistics for the distribution of ranking/non-ranking clausal constituents into information units. These latter statistics again show remarkable consistencies overall between the two texts: the overall proportions for the two texts of ID in terms of ranking/non-ranking constituents show only a one percent difference between the two texts. But patterns of individual speaker choices show substantial variation between the different interactants' ID choices in terms of mapping onto ranking/non-ranking clause constituents, that again correlates with the findings of the earlier view from the instance. Firstly, the statistics for ID on ranking as compared to non-ranking constituents overall show that there is a similarity in the levels of each between McKew and Rau, but a substantial difference between Jones and Ruddock: whereas the interactants in the MR text are alike in their mapping of information unit onto ranking and non-ranking elements, those in the JR text are different, with Ruddock assigning information unit status to downranked constituents more than Jones.

These findings can be related back to the discussion in Section 6.2.2, where Ruddock was shown to use downranking in concert with ID to assign textual significance to elements of his discourse that, being downranked, are not part of the negotiable proposition, as a way of both avoiding making certain meanings negotiable while yet

making them important textually. This appears to be a characteristic across the text, at least for the excerpt here analysed; but particularly for Ruddock. The statistics for marked ID mapping only onto clause constituents, likewise show interesting variations between the speakers: in this analytical view, McKew's pattern of marked ID mapping is almost equally upon ranking and non-ranking constituents, while for Rau the pattern is for a substantial ID orientation towards ranking constituents when instantiating marked ID; with Jones and Ruddock in between, statistically speaking.

The high rate of marked ID upon downranked constituents by McKew can be explained by reference to her opening question, with all its complexity as discussed in Section 6.2.1.1: if one takes out of the picture the five information units by McKew mapped onto downranked constituents of her preposed Subject nominal group (IUs 8-12), the statistics look substantially different, with only two other information units, or eight percent of her total information units, so distributed. From the perspective of these statistics, it is Ruddock again whose use of marked ID stands out: whereas the difference for the others between the instantiation of marked ID upon ranking and non-ranking constituents ranges from twenty-two percent for McKew, nineteen for Jones and seventeen for Rau, for Ruddock the difference is only four percent.

Looked at overall, what these statistics reveal is that which was suggested by the view from the instance: that Ruddock, substantially moreso than any other of the interactants in these interviews, deploys the system of ID to assign textual status to elements of his discourse assigned the rank of a clausal constituent. Such patterns in a

text reflect, or rather, engender a more written-like, prepared type of text: in terms of Butt's (2003: 37-48) mode networks, although the channel setting engendered in this text is clearly 'real-time: face-to-face' – as realised for example in the contest for the textual 'direction' of the text (Section 6.2.2) – the medium is 'written-like' and 'crystalline-dense' (organised around rankshifted structures)[50].

However, as shown for the discussion in Section 6.2.1 of McKew's skillful deployment of ID together with KEY, it is not until one takes into account co-selections in ID and KEY/STATUS systems that one may get a clear picture of the way in which speakers use intonational systems to enact/engender the 'downranked statements' discussed earlier by which they may avoid negotiation on particular points while yet realising those elements with interpersonal meaning (using KEY), as opposed to merely chunking for textual effect (using STATUS). In the next section I will present the analysis and discussion for this interaction; and then I will conclude the chapter with a brief commentary on the results of the chapter as a whole.

6.3.3   *ID and KEY in Concert*

The following table presents the statistics for the interaction of ID and KEY/STATUS systems in both the texts. The focus is on marked ID: by definition unmarked ID already involves a ranking negotiatory element being assigned its own information unit; whereas what is at stake in the analyses presented below is the investigation of speakers' use of (marked) ID together with KEY choices to enact a greater interpersonal interactivity upon

---

[50] One might also think of these findings in terms of Martin's (1984) 'action-reflection' continuum.

meanings not made negotiable in terms of clause (MOOD) grammar, as opposed to the use of STATUS and marked ID to merely 'chunk' the discourse, thereby creating added textual value to the clausal flow of information. It should also be noted that marked ID involving more than (rather than less than) one information unit are excluded from the analysis, as they make no contribution to the interpersonal phenomenon being studied.

int	KEY		STATUS	
	count	%	count	%
McKew	9	75	3	25
Rau	21	58	14	42
Jones	9	38	14	62
Ruddock	24	56	17	44

Table 18: marked ID: correlations with KEY and STATUS choices

The above table shows that it is in fact McKew who proportionally most deploys KEY choices with marked ID selections (seventy-five percent)[51], followed by Rau (fifty-eight percent) and then closely by Ruddock (fifty-six percent), with Jones instantiating a substantially different pattern of selection (only thirty-eight percent). These statistics are represented below in Figure 16 (Series 1-4 = McKew, Rau, Jones, Ruddock):

---

[51] The statistics for KEY choices includes the final elements in a clause assigned more than one information unit, even though these final elements would have an assignment of Focus and (usually) KEY selection in the case of unmarked ID. This is to remain consistent in the analysis, and to take account of instances (for example IU 11) where a clause with marked ID finishes with a STATUS rather than a KEY selection.
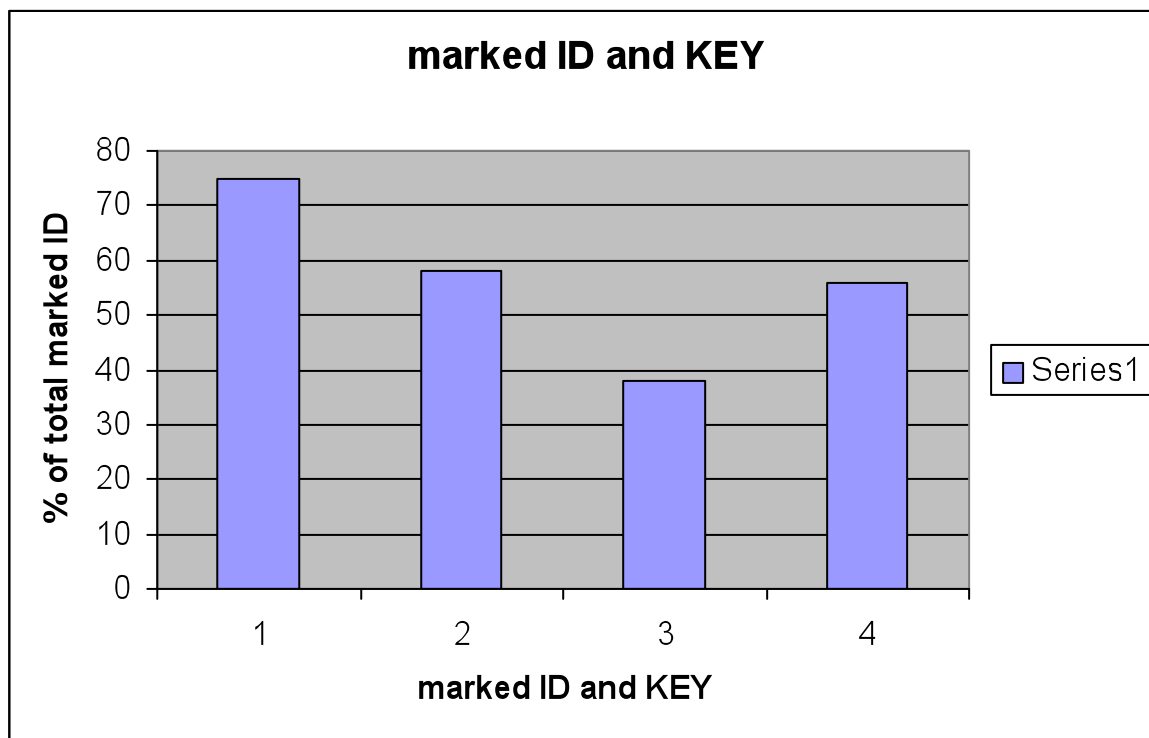
Figure 16: % of marked ID co-instantiated with KEY

However, if one takes the McKew's opening question out of the equation (five KEY selections with marked ID), her use of this strategy is less dominant (fifty-seven percent). Although these statistics are based upon quite small counts (especially in McKew's case), the difference between the use of KEY and marked ID between Jones and the other three interactants is significant. One might explain such a high use of simple 'chunking' via STATUS by reference to the role of the interviewer in the 'adversarial' (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994) type of interview: it is Jones's role to actively pursue Ruddock, raising to a heightened level of consciousness, through marked ID many of the elements of his moves. Jones' use of marked ID is however not for interpersonal purposes: he doesn't seek, as do the others, through this system to open up opportunities

to suggest added interpersonal meaning to that enabled by the congruent MOOD grammar. Jones' discourse, that is, is less declamative than that of the other interactants[52].

6.4 Conclusion

The above discussion, while revealing some significant differences in the patterns of selection between the two texts and the differerent interactants' use of intonational systems, is less conclusive than that in previous chapters. This may be because these texts are more consistent in their patternings than those in previous chapters. But it may also be that the types of analysis chosen in this chapter – those focussing on the use of ID in its various interactions with clause and KEY grammatical system – are of a nature that make the move towards statistical profiling problematic. The complex interactions, of clause and information unit systems also suggest that in this type of text speakers manage their flow of discourse in such a way as to maximise the level of attention to the elements of that discourse. This also involves the assignment of interpersonal meaning to a substantial proportion of that clausal flow, including many downranked elements. In this way speeches are able to enact a declamative style that mixes both the monologic written-like and dialogic spoken-like modes.

In the interview texts, as compared with the surgical and casual conversation texts, one finds marked KEY choices across the text, occurring at specific points in the ongoing unfolding interaction. But in this text, moreso than in those of the previous

---

[52] Thanks are due to David Butt for this insight.

chapters, the use of KEY is more closely linked to the marked use of the ID system: for speakers these two systems together are a resource for both enacting interpersonal meaning with respect to elements of the discourse where the clause MOOD grammar is not active; while they also enable speakers to obscure the elements involved in the ranking interpersonal clause negotiation. Furthermore, in tracking these phenomena in terms of their patterning across the corpus in the selections of different speakers, a complex analytical process involving several stages of a variety of interactions of different systems was required, as shown in previous chapters mainly because of the second-order nature of the textual metafunction; with the interactions of IF and KEY also implicating issues raised (Thompson 1999) about the strength of the metafunctional hookup theory: it seems that the textual metafunction, in its enabling function, is intimately involved in the process of the enactment of tenor parameters, as well as in charting a 'path through a field' of discourse.

Chapter Seven: Sales

7.1 The Present Chapter; Sales; Situation

7.1.1   The Present Chapter

In the present chapter I investigate the telephone sales of fast food, specifically pizza, involving a professional telephone operator/salesperson, and a customer. The present chapter continues in substantially the same global format as previous chapters: moving from a detailed view of instances of text along the cline of instantiation to statistical profiles of selection patterns. However, as for previous chapters also, the present data set contains a substantially different type of text, necessitating differences in methodology. There are aspects of this type of text – in particular its very structured, globally formulaic character (that is, the operators in the main follow a preset formula for the interaction) – that necessitate a slightly different format for the present analysis: specifically, that the opening and then certain other significant points in the structure of the sales interactions will be examined in the 'view from the instance'; after which I will proceed to the view along the cline of instantiation as for the other chapters.

One other analytical move in the present chapter not present in the other chapters – or not to the same degree of coverage – is that into the semantic stratum in the empirical analytical component of the study: I will profile selections in speech function as part of the analysis of the interpersonal metafunction. This, as I will show, is because in the present data one significant aspect to emerge from the view

from the instance is the meaning generation that occurs in the relations of the selections in the semantics and lexicogrammatical strata, through the extensive use of non-congruent choices for the realisation of speech function choices.

7.1.2   Sales

The study of the language of buying and selling has been an important one for the development of linguistic science in the twentieth century, and a test case for certain significant work studying functional text-types. Malinowski's (eg. 1922) study of the 'Kula' exchange of the Trobriand Islander culture stands in this lineage; as does of course Mitchell's oft-cited (1957/1975) study of the language of the marketplace in Cyrenaica. That the early scholars of register study found the language of sales a useful way in to the field is not surprising, considering that in all societies trading forms a major part of their social activity, a generator of cultural forms and, from the student's point of view, is a well-defined activity with its own distinctive forms of language patterning[1].

Hasan found it a useful way in to the discussion of generic structure and text-context relations (Hasan 1985/1989). In the small shop situation referred to by Hasan (1999: 243) "given the socio-economic infrastructure, the small shop owner is dependent on being able to serve his customers to their satisfaction". Although the large food provider studied in the present work is far from being akin to a small shop owner, the service staff are still constrained, if not in practice then in terms of official

---

[1] Hasan (1985/1989: 54): "An understanding of genres from everyday situations – particularly those in which language acts as an instrument….helps us to see clearly the very close partnership between language and the living of life."

customer-service philosophy, to treat the customer as being 'always right'. However, there are aspects of this situation which may work in tension with this 'golden rule' of customer service: the time-constraint, as a result of the volume of customer turnover in a business of this size; as well as the dual role of the operator as on the one hand a customer servant, taking the customer's order, while on the other hand being a sales representative for the company and its profits.

Ventola also made the language of sales the basis for her (1987) work in which she investigated the dynamic approach to language description advocated by Martin (1985)[2]. Ventola shows that it is in the routineness of a situation such as the service encounter that one may see clearly the functions of intra- and inter-textual variation, and identify texts in terms of their similarities and differences as registers/genres (cf also Ventola 1995, 2005). One important finding for the present work is that (Ventola 1987: 235) "TENOR [upper caps in original] choices, i.e. social relationships between interactants, are also likely to change when the social process, the genre, unfolds". Deploying top-down and bottom-up (i.e. multistratal) approaches, and through an integration of the synoptic and dynamic perspectives, Ventola was able to show that while (1987: 235):

> [F]rom the synoptic point of view, post office, shop and travel agency texts are explained as belonging to the genre of service encounters…From the dynamic view, when each text which belongs to the genre of service encounters is generated, the realized generic structures of texts in the data have been shown to vary…different options are followed in the flowchart which represents the dynamic text-unfolding procedure.

---

[2] cf also O'Donnell (1995), for the dynamic perspective on computational modelling of telephonic (information service) interactions.

Matthiessen et al (2005; cf also a report in Hasan et al 2007) also tested the multistratal approach via a consideration of telephone sales of fast food: in fact it was this study that formed the impetus for the present work, the basis of the present approach, and from which corpus the present chapter also derives its data. This work has already been discussed in Chapter 3. Here is it important to note also the observations by Matthiessen et al (2005: 140) that "[t]his particular service encounter context was chosen for analysis for its apparent transparency: it is a social context in which any member of the community may participate"; and also that the (2005: 138) "category of offer is of interest in the social context of a service encounter", this SPEECH FUNCTION choice having no special (congruent) grammatical (MOOD) form for its realization.

Hasan et al (2007: 729) point to a crucial aspect of the tenor settings of the fast food telephonic sales context, its characterisation as neither intimate nor based on a hierarchic power relationship, and the resultant lack of a single assertive or exhortative offer in their corpus. They thus distinguish this particular type of sales context from others in society (2007: 729), identifying what in the present work is considered part of an important tenor duality, the fact that the operator is at once a sales representative for their business while being also responsible for simply taking the customer's order:

> It is interesting to ask why the [exhortative] offer is not selected in this environment? Certainly, if we were to examine advertisements, we would find plenty of [exhortative] offers in the 'hard sell' variety. However, the situation in the pizza order is different. Unlike an advertisement, it is initiated by the customer; perhaps the choice of [consultative] over [exhortative] in this context is a function of the fact that the exchange is

initiated by the customer. Further, it is the customer whose stated needs have to be satisfied.

The telephone channel itself as a means of conveying the sound signal has been shown to be an issue. As Hirson et al (1995) show, the narrow frequency bandwidth of the telephone (in their study of British telephonic communication F_0 is between about 340Hz and 3,400Hz) can affect the comprehension of messages (1995: 238): "…the loss of high and low frequencies may be formally (and perceptually) equivalent to a compromised speech signal in noise, reducing both intelligibility and perceived overall loudness of the speech signal". This may of course prompt speakers to speak more loudly as compensation. Furthermore, certain qualities of the voice and performance of the professional telephone operator (including the use of pitch) may also be a factor in the success or otherwise of the interaction (Oksenberg et al 1986) in what Butt (2003: 45) calls the '(electronic) carried' channel setting of mode.

While for many scholars one major advantage of the sales text type as data is that it is a self-contained, rigorously formalised interaction – that is, it follows a preset generic form, and departures from this form are thus notable and trackable – for the present work this aspect of these texts, while also significant, is useful for a different reason: it allows for the comparison of this formalised type of interaction with other less structured texts (those studied in the previous chapters). The present work also adds to the long tradition of work in the fields of both sales and telephone interactions in two ways by adding intonational systems to the set of analytical resources for the investigation.

7.1.3   Situation

There are certain distinct features of the situation within which the following texts were created that makes for interesting comparisons to the situations of the texts studied in previous chapters. The most obvious of these, mentioned in the previous section, is the physical means by which the speech signal is delivered: the telephone. Interactants are, unlike any of the other texts studied so far, unable to see each other: the interaction is solely via the vocal channel. This aspect will certainly be one to have in mind during the investigation, particularly because of its putative intimate link (via the metafunctional hookup theory) to the construal in language of the mode parameter of context.

In terms of the institutionalised roles of the interactants in the situation (non-negotiable aspects which form the basis for or motivate the enactment of tenor settings), as also mentioned in the previous section the operator has two roles, as both a professional telephonist and salesperson; while the customer might have no, little, some or much experience of this type of interaction (one expects that most of those ordering pizza have done so before; but this is not necessarily the case). The operator is therefore both institutionally and in terms of expertise in charge of and leads the interaction, in a way analogous to that of the interviewer in the previous chapter. There is also, one might suppose, something of both the 'collaborative' and 'contest' aspects of the interviews: the telephone operator is not only facilitating the ordering of fast food (a task requiring collaborative co-enactment of the efficient exchange of information), but is also a salesperson, tasked by the provider to offer the customer more than perhaps they had originally intended.

The entities and events which form the material for the construal of field are the personal name and address details of the customer, and of their order, including payment and aspects of the delivery (for example, estimated time taken), the requesting of these and offering and ordering of sale goods etc. However, there are instances where other factors in the situation come into play (for example, in one text (Sales 3), technical difficulties, requiring telephonic switching of the customer to their local store).

One remarkable aspect of the situations forming the bases for the contexts of each of these texts is their similarity. With the sort of minor exceptions just mentioned where the sales format breaks down - interruptions to the realisation of the format for technical or other reasons - the interactions follow a predictable pattern without there being any noticeable change in the situations of the text. This is what has made this text-type so attractive to those developing new ideas of and approaches to language description: they are members of a heavily routinised situation type. Departures from the routine are (to be) dealt with swiftly and effectively by the operators (the level of dynamism found by Ventola in the face-to-face type of sales interaction is substantially lessened in the telephonic fast food interactions).

This is not to claim that there is no variation in the unfolding of the sales interactions between texts: as Hasan and Ventola have shown for face-to-face sales, there is always scope within the overarching structure format for departures from the usual sequence of steps. However, these are minimal in the sales type studied in this chapter and, significantly, are initiated only by the operator: as with the role of the surgeon in the surgical text, while the operator may vary the sequence in which the

customer telephone, name and address details are acquired, for example, the customer is not at liberty to do so, but must at all times follow the operator's promptings. It is the operator who directs the course of the text – a notable difference from a face-to-face encounter where a customer has some scope to 'drive' the interaction.

The telemarketer operates within a very tight time budget: calls are delivered to the operator via a computer programme, and the expectations are that the operator will process a certain (and large) number of calls within their work shift[3]. This aspect – the time management demands of the situation for the operator – adds a further weight to the necessity of the operator maintaining their professionally proscribed leadership/dominance of the interaction. That the operator is also employed in the task of entering the customer details into a computer database during the interaction would also be a strong motivator to maintain a fairly rigid control over the formulaic sequencing of the interaction, again at odds with their position as customer servant.

For the customers, calling from within a variety of domestic and other situational environments, the issue of time constraint is on the whole, one assumes, not as pressing, so that they may feel at liberty to take their time deciding on an order. But in general, either because of past experience or because of the pressure exerted (through language) by the operator, the customer also moves swiftly through their order, although not always with a clear idea in mind at the outset of their ordering preference. This sets up one of the potential tensions in the telephone fast food sales interaction for the operator, that between ensuring that the customer has the time to

---

[3] I derive this insight from my own two and a half years' experience as a telemarketer.

adequately place their order (and, from a sales perspective, the more ordered the better), while ensuring also that the order is effected in the most efficient time-frame possible (a slow order might take the same time as two fast orders for the same dollar value).

This last point highlights one significant aspect of this situation that distinguishes it from most other, face-to-face ordering encounters: whereas in a restaurant or other sales/ordering environment the customer has both the liberty and the facility to ponder a menu/sales catalogue, within the telephone sales situation there is little of the same sense of leisure or control. Thus, one of the most characteristic aspects of the shop-floor sales interaction – the deference to the customer's needs and wishes/idiosyncrasies etc – is to a large extent negated within this situation-type, which, it might be expected, should lead to interesting tensions in the tenor relations. The customer and operator might have different expectations (as enacted through their language choices) of what is the 'right' way to behave in this, quite modern market environment[4]. Thus, one aspect of the interactions to attend to in the investigation is this interplay of mode and tenor variables within the situations.

---

[4] The issue of speed of course prevails elsewhere in modern society (for example the city fast food outlet at lunchtime); but those situations might either confirm the findings for this situation, or show themselves to be different precisely because of the face-to-face/electronically-mediated distinction.

7.2 View from the Instance

7.2.1   Sales 1

7.2.1.1   Opening Exchange: Business Identification[5]; Operator Identification; and Delivery Status

7.2.1.1.1   IUs 1 – 4:   S1O //3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //_3 my name's Me- */ linda would you like //_2 home de- */ livery or //1 take away //

The operator begins the interaction with a formulaic salutation and operator identification found in all the texts I have studied, and no doubt therefore part of the formula for operators. There is a question whether the tone 3 in the first instance realises a KEY or STATUS selection. In the former interpretation it enacts a definite interpersonal sense, but one of interpersonal disengagement; while the logical interpretation reveals the 'listing' (paratactic extending) use of the coordination STATUS choice, indicating merely that there is more related but tactically independent information to come. The second tone 3 realises a lack of interpersonal commitment (in terms of polarity), with the low pretonic suggesting a low level of information value (as related to the formulaic and thus familiar ritual of operator identification).

IUs 3 and 4 realise a request for order type (delivery or take away), with the use of the rising tone plus falling tone sequence – the neutral realisation of an alternative type polar question – enacting interpersonal engagement, in contrast to the

---

[5] This term is taken from Matthiessen et al (2005: 129).

opening salutations. The first two information units are simply formulaic social (and registerial) necessities with little informational or interpersonal value. The second two enact an interpersonal engagement between the operator and customer; however there is a downplaying of the pre-Focal information in the low pretonic choice of IU 3, which gives the entire utterance the sense of low informational value or expectancy - 'business as usual'. In tandem with these selections, the choice of a separate IG for both lexical elements of the nominal group 'home delivery' is marked, and may perhaps be related to the need for clarity, especially at this initial stage of the sales interaction, as engendered by the operator.

This particular realisation of the introductory move by the operator in fact shows variation from many if not most of the other operator strategies: the usual approach, in the data available to the present research, is to request customer name and address details before the mode of collection choice. In this one can see the variation in formulaic sequencing that is available to the operator.

7.2.1.1.2 IUs 5 - 7: S1C //3 ^ de- / livery //
                S1O //2 ^ I'm / sorry //
                S1C //_3 home de- */ livery //

The customer's first choice in KEY is appropriately interpreted as per Halliday's choice of KEY label for this tone, 'confirmatory': it is simply the giving of information without any interpersonal engagement. The operator's checking question – she hasn't heard the customer's reply – is, however, interpersonally 'charged': congruently analysed, it is the declarative challenging KEY, and there is definitely a

sense of challenge about it[6]; but if one interprets this as metaphorically construing a wh-question – 'what?' – then it could be interpreted as akin either to the deferring wh-interrogative KEY, or as an 'echo question' – //2 */ what did you / say //. From the co-text I assume the latter interpretation, with the construal via this formulaic relational process offering the necessary politeness to offset the seeming brusqueness which accompanies the rising tone echo question.

The politeness implied here, as the following analysis and discussion will confirm, enacts an unequal tenor relation between operator and customer: the operator enacting deference towards the customer according to the traditional customer-salesperson relations[7]. However, as with the surgical context, the (Butt 2003: 15) 'agentive role: civic: by office' tenor setting which the operator enacts (so as to maintain control and thus stay with the preset, efficiency-generating format) cuts across the hierarchic 'social hierarchy' relation (Butt 2003: 13-14), creating a 'play' of interpersonal tensions: the operator is at once enacting deference as a customer servant, while enacting dominance as the professional telephone operator who has a pre-set format to adhere to. Both the customer service and the telephonic fast food ordering aspects of the situation form the bases for the realisation of complex contextual meanings through the text.

---

[6] The pitch excursion in this instance (IU 6) is really quite remarkable (cf Figure 17 below): from 247Hz to 476Hz.

[7] The registerially-set nature of this tenor inequality can be evidenced by instances when it is broken, as in the humorous caricature by John Cleese, in the celebrated 'Fawlty Towers' television show, of the less-than-polite hotel owner, Basil Fawlty. Much of the humour of this, as of so much comedy, derives from the breaking of register convention.

In the customer's repeated, clarifying reply, one can see an echo of the operator's original question: the use of marked IG - // home de- / livery // - for clarity, and the uncommitted KEY which, as I have discussed above, can be interpreted textually in terms of its realisation of a sense of low information value and interpersonal disengagement. The ellipsis of the Mood element in both information units of the customer's reply is retrievable from the co-text, as an engendering through the textual metafunction of the constitutive mode (orienting to the text itself as context).

7.2.1.2 **Customer Details**

7.2.1.2.1 *IU8: S1O //1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please //*

IU8 presents several problems for an intonational analysis; but is also in this sense revealing of the context: is this to be interpreted as a heavily ellipsed wh-interrogative clause (missing the Mood element)[8] - 'what is your phone number…' – or an imperative clause – 'give me your phone number…'. Or can we simply analyse it as a minor clause, in that there is no (retrievable) selection in MOOD? Intonationally, there is little difference whichever analytical interpretation one takes: the neutral KEY choice for the declarative, wh-interrogative and imperative MOOD entry conditions are the same; and the falling tone realises a neutral KEY for both the minor and major clause interpretations of this information unit.

---

[8] or even 'and your number is what?'.

In the present work I treat this as a minor clause, and my reasons involve register considerations. Firstly, in this text, as in so many of this type, the use of nominal groups to exchange information is part of a pattern not always easily referrable to any particular interpretation in terms of ELLIPSIS[9]: in some instances ellipsis is retrievable from the co-text; in many it is not. Secondly, there is an important issue at stake in that, in the context of this type of social activity, the Mood element as a grammatical resource is not necessary to the enactment of the interpersonal negotiation: it can be assumed. But upon what basis is this assumption made?

I infer that for most members of the society of which these interactants are members it is derivable from the registerial expectations: the operator can assume that the customer is sufficiently familiar with this type of social activity to know what the appropriate response to this utterance is. The experiential resources of the clause grammar are all that are required for the exchange of information to take place. The SPEECH FUNCTION choices may be inferred precisely because of registerial knowledge of the speech roles traditionally taken on in this type of text interaction. There is no need of the MOOD system: it is not inferred by ELLIPSIS; it simply isn't there, because it is (registerially) redundant.

Furthermore, this strategy can thus be seen, along with the use of tone 3 discussed in Section 7.2.1.1 above, as part of a general backgrounding of the interpersonal component in the interaction, as the operator 'gets down to business'.

---

[9] Cf Eggins and Slade (1997: 94): "One test for minor clauses is that apparently "missing" elements of structure cannot be ambiguously retrieved".

This could be seen in turn as enacting what in terms of Butt's networks is a high 'social distance' (Butt 2003: 16-17)[10], more specifically, the tenor settings of: 'uniplex: business' – the interactants have only one reason for the interaction - and 'perfunctory' (Butt 2003: 16-17): "The contact is repeated only by issues arising and, therefore, is driven by function, not by a standing arrangement". However, again, for the operator there is a tension in that, although she is 'meeting' the customer most likely for the first time, for her this type of interaction is intensely familiar (unless she is new to the job), being a daily task repeated to the point of habituated unconsciousness.

Working against the negation of the interpersonal metafunction in this instance is the marked choice of Focus of New on the politeness marker 'please', instead of on the congruent 'phone' (number)[11]. With this choice the operator textualises the Adjunct as being the 'point' of the information unit; thus adding a sense of interpersonal energy to the text that really does sound odd (cf Appendix 3: Chapter 7: IF_please)[12]. However, the customer in this interaction speaks particularly softly,

---

[10] cf again Thompson (1999) for a discussion of the interstratal interactions of the textual metafunction and the enactment of tenor settings. But cf also in this regard discussions in previous chapters of the second-order nature and role of the textual metafunction, particularly INFORMATION systems, in engendering an orientation to and thus negotiation of settings in the tenor and field parameters of context.

[11] The determination of markedness in such cases is not as easy to explain as to identify. I take 'phone number' to be the unmarked choice of New according to the standard interpretation of unmarked New as being the last content lexical item.

[12] In listening to the actual spoken text, this textual markedness thus comes across with a sense of interpersonal 'insistence', perhaps heightened further as a result of the excess of (temporal and

which clearly forces the operator into not only this textual strategy, but also into speaking much more loudly[13], as visibly evident in the Praat picture frequency-intensity graph (the black lines at the top) presented in Figure 17 below[14]:
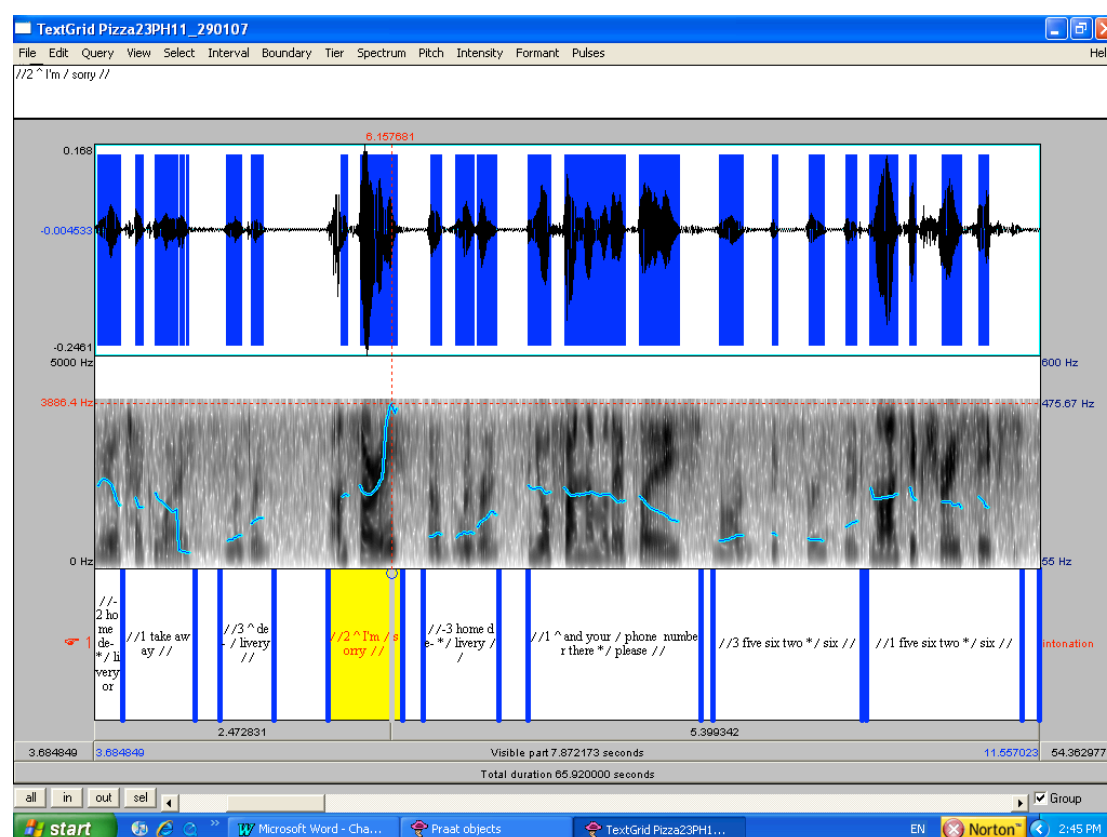
Figure 17: Intensity and frequency in the Sales 1 text

As shown in Chapter 4, the textual metafunction can highlight any metafunction and so bring that aspect of the text to the fore: in this case the

---

intensity value) phonic realisation that often, if not always, accompanies a marked lexicogrammatical choice. The sense, if I may be permitted a crude gloss, is that of 'come on!', an interpretation which sits well with the prior co-text and its evidence of lack of communicative clarity.

[13] cf Hirson et al 1995 on compensatory intensity with respect to the limitations of the telephonic channel

[14] note also in this regard the extreme pitch excursion of IU 6, indicated by the intersection of the two red dotted lines (Hz value indicated to the right)

orientation to the interpersonal is what produces the increased sense of interpersonal engagement in this instance. 'Please' is not only a politeness marker; it is also indicative/emblematic of the basic speech functional choice of 'demand/request goods and services'. The addition of marked New status to this marker thus gives the request an added interpersonal 'push': as though the operator, having been momentarily thwarted in terms of a speedy sale by the previous failure to comprehend the customer's response (brought about by the quietness of the customer's speech), is urging the customer to move more quickly - and more loudly - through the pre-formatted 'game-plan' for the sales interaction.

7.2.1.2.2	***IUs 9 - 13: S1C***	***//3 five six two */ six //***
	S1O	***//1 five six two */ six //***
	S1C	***//3 four five two */ one //***
	S1O	***//2 four five two */ one //***
	S1C	***//3 yep //***

As discussed above, without the Mood element the interpretation of the interpersonal metafunction is problematic, but that difficulty itself is indicative of there being 'something going on' in the context worthy of notice, raising the questions, 'how, and why, is it that both interactants can get along without deploying the central interpersonal resources of lexicogrammar for the negotiation?'. One can see more clearly here how the prototypical interpersonal roles of questioner and answerer are assumed from knowledge of the register: both interactants are familiar with this type of interaction, and know what to expect in terms of the unfolding of the text[15]. The

---

[15] There is evidence of this in other texts not studied for the present work, where the customer clearly doesn't know the format for this type of interaction and thus has trouble understanding what speech role it is that the operator is enacting. In such cases the operator returns to the use of the full Mood element resources for negotiation.

customer therefore merely offers the information 'demanded' by the operator; and the operator repeats this information so as to check with the customer that she has heard correctly.

The most interesting aspect of the interpersonal negotiation is that although the customer's reply and the operator's checking utterances are alike in respect of the absence of the elements of interpersonal grammar, they are distinct in terms of their use of KEY[16]. The customer instantiates his information units with two tone 3s: the first could be seen as either the coordinate STATUS or confirmatory KEY, but the second, being the final in the nexus (if one interprets it as such), must be analysed as the confirmatory choice. As before, whichever the interpretation, a lowered sense of interpersonal engagement is enacted: in the first interpretation (of IUS 9 & 11 as information unit nexus) the confirmatory KEY operates across the entire nexus, IU 9 being a logical STATUS choice; in the latter interpretation, because both information units have the confirmatory choices. The customer's final utterance shows that he interprets the operator's previous KEY choice as demanding a reply, and responds with the confirmatory KEY and positive POLARITY choices.

---

[16] Cf in respect of the following discussion Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 151-52):

> There is also a form of ellipsis of the Subject. In general, every free clause in English requires a Subject, because without a Subject it is impossible to express the mood of the clause, at least in the usual fashion…However, there is another feature associated with the realization of these two structures [declarative and yes/no interrogative], and that is the intonation: declaratives usually do down in pitch at the end, while yes/no interrogatives typically go up…So it is possible to signal mood by intonation, which does not depend on the presence of a Subject; and this makes it possible for the clause to occur without one. There is in fact one condition in which clauses in English systemically occur without Subjects, one that depends on the notions of giving and demanding…"

The operator, however, uses two different KEY selections, both interpersonally interesting, and both thus to be contrasted with the interpersonally disengaged choices of the customer. The first enacts her checking information with the neutral KEY, the second with the challenging KEY. In the first the operator seems to be merely putting the information 'out there' to show her comprehension, and thus allowing for any correction which is, however, not signalled as necessary - the falling tone construes 'polarity certain'. In the second instance however, which is the completion of the checking of the customer's phone details, the operator's rising tone signals that polarity confirmation is sought; the lack of the polar interrogative KEY, however, indicates that it is still 'information given for confirmation of polarity', rather than a direct request for such[17]. Textually, the long phone number is chunked by both speakers into two manageable information units, with the information grouping following a patterned rhythm across speaker turns[18].

7.2.1.2.3 IUs 14 - 15:   S1O //-3 o- */ kay and the //3 surname and / suburb for de- */ livery please //

The operator's next information unit signals a shift from one textual stage to the next, from 'name and phone details' to 'address details'. This textual strategy is agnate with that deployed by the registrar in the surgical text (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.2, IU11): a continuative, engendered with marked information grouping as a metaphor

---

[17] Another way of construing this KEY choice is to say that she 'challenges' her listener to confirm or deny the information given.

[18] cf Couper-Kuhlen (eg. 1993; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996) on the continuation of rhythms across speaker turns (rhythmic cohesion) and their role in establishing interactive dialogic harmony between speakers (with a lack of inter-speaker rhythmic cohesion being deployed by speakers to indicate interactive 'trouble' with respect to something in the discourse).

for textual change ('pay attention: there is something significant going on'). But there is a difference in the operator's information unit here: whereas the registrar asserts a sense of interpersonal certainty in her use of the neutral KEY for the continuative, the operator here has no such tenor issue as is at stake in that text, using the uncommitted KEY. The pattern of tone 3s continues to emerge, realising confirmatory, uncommitted and coordinate selections; as does that of the Mood-less minor clause to enact the exchanges of information in IU15[19].

7.2.1.3   Sales Offer

7.2.1.3.1   IU 22:   S1O //1_3 what would you */ like Mr */ Strangle //

This move is what Hasan (1985/1989) calls the 'sales offer', a pivotal stage in the interaction: it is at this point that the operator takes on the additional role of salesperson, rather than simply that of the facilitator of order details as in previous information units. The MOOD and KEY selections for this instance are mostly congruent: a wh-interrrogative MOOD with, at primary delicacy-level, the neutral KEY; but with the secondary delicacy-level low tonic version which, as it isn't in Halliday's description, I label 'mild' as agnate with the low tonic mild declarative KEY. This KEY choice is interesting at this point: with its meaning of 'mildness' with respect to POLARITY, and thus its meaning of 'expectedness', its use for the important sales offer seems somewhat contradictory to the purpose of the move, which is (in most instances of sales offer moves in the full corpus: cf Matthiessen et al

---

[19] Note that here the politeness-marker 'please' is in its unmarked textual location of post-New.

2005; and other enactment strategies for sales offers below) to promote the wares of the business.

The sales offer stage has been discussed by Matthiessen et al (2005): they show that it is at this stage that the greatest variety in realisation in both clause and intonational lexicogrammar occurs across their corpus. One can interpret this mild wh-interrogative choice in the first instance in the light of this variation. One may also refer the expectedness enacted by this choice to the registerial expectations discussed above: the operator is simply following the formula, without any additional interpersonal effort to 'sell' the product[20]. The minor Focus of the added tone 3 confirmatory KEY adds an interpersonal sense of politeness to the Vocative, through the lack of interpersonal engagement of this choice: again, it is a formulaic gesture, an observation of protocol – although the use of the Vocative itself does enact a closer interpersonal relation at this crucial point in the interaction.

7.2.1.3.2   IU33:   S1O //2 umm would you / like to get a / bottle of / soft drink with that for six- */ teen ninety / five //

This is a later enactment of a sale offer, only this time of a different lexicogrammatical type: whereas in the first offer above (IU22) the MOOD was a wh-interrogative – congruently the realisation of an open question (perhaps to facilitate the fast processing of the customer's order) – here the MOOD is polar interrogative, as the realisation of a definite and specific offer of additional goods not requested by the customer in the original order. This enacts the operator as salesperson proper.

---

[20] although not following the common (and possibly also pre-formatted) strategy of offering a 'special deal' at this point, i.e. a promotion (cf Matthiessen et al 2005, and below for examples).

Considering that it comes after the customer has already been asked for (in IU26) and had added to his order, this can be seen as a promotional move. Keeping in mind that there is no dedicated (congruent) grammatical means for construing an offer, we cannot say that it is a congruent enactment of a sales offer; but the KEY selection is the neutral one for this MOOD[21]. The sense is of a direct offer of goods and services.

7.2.1.4 Closing Exchange: Final Order Details Check; Delivery Time; Valediction

7.2.1.4.1 IUs 41 - 44: *S1O //_2 o- */ kay //2 ^ that's a / thick super su- / preme and a / garlic */ bread //4 ^ uh it's / fifteen */ ninety we'll //5 see you in a- / pproximately / half an */ hour //*

We see again the use of marked information grouping to signal a shift from one stage in the unfolding textual structure to the next, this time with the involved KEY adding interpersonal 'spice', perhaps enacting an added sense of closure while yet holding onto the speaker turn: the 'okay' with the low pretonic and rising tone signalling that the main part of the transaction is at an end, but leading to something else (getting the customer's attention for the checking details to follow). In the following information unit, repeating the customer's order details as a check, the operator also uses the rising tone, as the challenging KEY, presumably again so as to imply a request for confirmation (whether such a confirmation comes immediately, or at all, is not criterial to the interpretation of this choice).

---

[21] Note: the pitch movement realising this tone 2, as measured by F_0, is unusually large: rising from 107Hz to 445Hz (cf another instance (and illustration) of this phenomenon in IU 6 above). This may be interpreted as another (phonetic) indicator of the congruent realisation strategy for this sales offer.

Also of interest, this time in terms of the global textual structure of the interaction, is the final KEY choice in these series of information units. In a way reminiscent of the use of this KEY at certain stages in the 'hailstorm' text I explored in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.1), and one of several instances of this strategy in the corpus I have examined, the 'wrap-up' of the interaction is effected via the use of the committed (tone 5) KEY. While in the hailstorm text it clearly enacts interpersonal meaning – as 'polar certainty' adding interpersonal force to the humourous comment which finalises the exposition on the size of the hailstones - in this instance the meaning seems more exclusively oriented to the signalling of the end of the interaction: that is, the interpersonal 'finality' of the rise-fall tone is taken over as a strategy for the global semantic organisation of the text.

7.2.1.4.2   IUs 45 - 47:   S1C   //3 thank */ you //
                                    S1O   //1 thank you bye- //4 bye //

The valediction stage of the text, as with all that I have studied, ends with a curious use of the confirmatory and subordinate STATUS choices. The former merely enacts a low level of interpersonal engagement: the mechanical production of polite formalities. The latter choice, however, one supposes acts as a sort of metaphor for the continuance of the interaction relationship: this is the tonal equivalent of 'au revoir', or 'see you later'. One could make an entire study of the intonation choices of valedictions and their social meanings alone.

7.2.2   Sales 2

7.2.2.1   Business and Operator Identification;
Customer Details

7.2.2.1.1   IUs 1 – 3   S2O: //_3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //3 my name's */ Brad can I //1 start the order with your */ phone number please //

The first two information units in Sales 2 are almost identical to those in Sales 1, except that in this text the sequence of the primary and secondary delicacy tone 3 choices is reversed. Again, it is difficult to untangle the logical and interpersonal uses of tone here; but taking into consideration the sequencing, and that the second, tone 3 choice comes before the shift from operator identification to the customer details stages, I interpret both tone 3s interpersonally: the first uncommitted KEY, with the low information value of its low pretonic, gives a sort of 'singsong' formulaic feel to the beginning of the interaction; while the confirmatory KEY does just that – it simply confirms the operator's name.

The operator in Sales 2 then chooses a different strategy for the opening move than that of the operator in Sales 1, moving into the customer phone details first (this is the more common sequence in the corpus I have studied). The lexicogrammatical realisation of this move is a polar interrogative. Matthiessen et al (2005), drawing upon a similar instance from the same corpus, analyse this as a question: a demand for information. Of course, in one sense it is: the operator is clearly asking for the customer's phone detail information. But as Matthiessen et al (2005: 136) point out, the interstratal relation is complex, and the speech function choice itself at issue:

396

…a "polite" content question is realized not by a single grammatical feature, but rather by a conjunction of features – viz. 'yes/no interrogative', 'speaker' (subject person), 'low' (degree of modulation). In other words, the Mood element is Finite – *can/ may* ^ Subject = *I*, as in *can I start with your phone number* (as a polite alternative to *What's your phone number*)…Alternatively, the Mood element *can/ may I* may be a realisation of a "polite" command (a request) [italics in original throughout].

One might add to this discussion that the choice of the peremptory KEY for this polar interrogative MOOD also suggests that the Mood element *can I* is in fact metaphorical rather than congruent in function: the falling tone realises the neutral KEY of both the wh-interrogative and imperative MOOD choices. The fact that this Mood element is also non-Prominent lends further weight to this interpretation. One may also compare this realisation strategy for this stage – the gathering of customer details – with that in the previous text, where the entire Mood block was, depending upon one's interpretation, absent.

One can see therefore that the position at which this stage comes in the interaction might determine its interpersonal profile. If at the start of the interaction, not only the Mood block but a complex realisation strategy is present, 'softening' the tenor relations between operator/salesperson and customer through a complex interaction of interpersonal lexicogrammatical co-selections. If later in the interaction, such niceties are obviously considered unnecessary, or in fact to be avoided in the interests of a speedy processing of the order, as the business of the information exchange gets under weigh.

*7.2.2.1.2 IUs 4-9   S2C: //2 ^ it's / five eight one */ two //*

*   S2O: //3 yeah //*

*   S2C: //3 double three seven */ five //*

*   S2O: //3 ^ so / five eight one */ two double*

*   //2 three seven */ five //*

*   S2C: //_3 that's */ it //*

I include these information units because they illustrate the diversity of realisation of the giving and checking of customer details information. The customer's strategy of using the challenging KEY (and note also he uses the full Mood element to enact the giving of information) adds a stronger sense of interpersonal 'energy' to his utterance and to the interaction, thereby making sure not only that his information is communicated clearly, but that he wishes confirmation of its receipt.

The operator responds with the confirmatory KEY and continuative 'yeah', signalling that the customer can continue, the information has been clearly received. The next tone 3 (by the customer) is also confirmatory; but the operator's subsequent tone 3 could be interpreted as either confirmatory or coordinate, as it could be part of an information unit nexus with IUs 7-8. In IU8 the operator then echoes the customer's earlier challenging KEY, again for the purpose of signalling that confirmation is required (that he has got the phone number right). The customer confirms with the uncommitted KEY, suggesting a low level of informativeness for the pretonic element made Prominent - 'that'.

7.2.2.1.3 IU10: S2O //13 and de- / livery or */ take away */ sir //

One can see in the choice of a single information unit for this alternative polar question that the position in the interaction at which a particular stage occurs can affect the realisation strategy: this information unit may be compared with IUs 3-4 in the previous text (Section 7.2.1.1.1), where there was unmarked ID over two units for this question type. One can see that the 'pace' has picked up here as the interaction progresses; one can also see that the habituated, formulaic nature of the interaction may be an influence on the pace of this information gathering stage.

7.2.2.2 Closing Exchange: Delivery Time; Request for Change; Valediction

7.2.2.2.1 IUs 83 - 85: S2O: //3 [o-] / kay / that'll be / with you in about / half an */ hour you'll just //5 need / close to the correct / change for the */ driver sir //

S2C: //5 no */ problem //

Here one can see again the phenomenon discussed in Section 7.2.1.4.1, the use of the committed KEY to enact an added sense of finality to the final stage of the business interaction; only this time the clausal information onto which the KEY choice is mapped enacts a demand (a request for the correct change), rather than a statement (an estimate of delivery time). The fact that at the same point in the unfolding structure of the transaction – that is, at its end – the same KEY choice is used but with different ideational meaning adds further weight to the claim that this KEY choice is in fact being pulled into service to engender (global semantic) textual, rather than interpersonal meaning: it is its place in the global text structure, rather than its specific interpersonal function at this point, that motivates the use of the committed KEY here.

399

The customer's response echoes the operator's KEY choice: it is difficult to say whether this is a commitment to his assent – that he will definitely have the correct change – or an indication of his own sense that the interaction has come to a close.

7.2.2.2.2 IUs 86 - 89: S2O //1 [o-] / kay en- / joy your */ meal Mister / Smith //

S2C: //3 ^ thank / you //

S2O: //4 bye //

S2C: //3 ^ bye / bye //

This sequence shows: firstly the variation with which the final courtesies are enacted, with the operator enjoining the customer to enjoy their meal, and secondly that the final Valediction, while showing certain minor variations from that of the Sales 1 text, is the same in its deployment of tone 3 and tone 4 choices. One variation is in the information grouping of the customer's 'thank you': one information group, as distinct from the two in Sales 1. Again we find both the polite formality of the confirmatory KEY, and the 'we'll meet again' sense of the tone 4 subordinate KEY (note that in this text these utterances overlap: cf Appendix A). As mentioned in Section 7.2.2.2.2 before, these subtle variations would make an interesting study in themselves: for example, in the way different operators and customers choose to enact such formulaic courtesies.

400

7.2.3   Sales 3

7.2.3.1   Departures from the Formula

7.2.3.1.1   IUs 20 - 22:   S2O //1 ahh can //2 you just hold */ on for a minute / for me it's just //2 not going */ through //

In this text the normal formula has been adhered to up to this point, at which something goes wrong: the operator has trouble placing the order (a technical difficulty). I include this text in the corpus for representative purposes: these sorts of problems do occur, and are to be considered part of the text-type therefore (in the same way that the problems in the surgical operation motivate shifts in language). There is a sense in which these problems are extended versions of the sort of miscomprehension problems in the Sales 1 text (Section 7.2.1.1.2: IU6). Certainly in terms of the effect on the tone selection one can see a pattern running through both instances of difficulty in the ordering process: as with IU 6 in Sales 1, the operator resorts to the use of the tone 2 choice, in this case twice in series. In this instance IU 21 is in fact a neutral KEY polar interrogative MOOD choice; but IU 22 is a challenging KEY choice, enacting added interpersonal force to the rationale for the polite command enacted by IU21[22]. The added interpersonal force is complemented by the IP assigned both the (addressee) Subject of the first clause, and the (negative) polar Finite of the second.

---

[22] One can note, however, a 'prosody' in the tone choices: each of these selections makes demands upon the other for some reply with respect to their utterance.

One may also note the assignment of information unit status to the continuative, as well as the neutral declarative KEY, as in other continuatives examined in the present work (eg. IU 14, Section 7.2.1.2.3 above), signalling a shift in the global text structure, from one stage to the next: in this case, from 'business as usual' to 'we have a problem'. The role of INFORMATION systems in particular, and the textual metafunction in general, in the engendering of text structure is an intriguing one for future research.

7.2.3.1.2   S2O: //1_ ^ yeah I'm / having trouble / calling it */ up //2 what I'll / do is I'll / actually trans- / fer you through to the */ store //

S2C: //3 ^ al- / right //

*S2O: // 13 ^ yes I've - 'cause / I / can't - I'm / having trouble / placing the */ order for */ them for //2 some */ reason //*

Here again, after the operator returns from an extended absence trying to deal with the problem, we see the same use of the challenging KEY to enact a higher level of interpersonal interactivity. In these instances one can see what has been referred to as the HRT (High Rising Terminal) in its role of enacting deference: the operator is clearly in a difficult interpersonal position, as a service assistant, and seems to be seeking the customer's approval under these circumstances. One can thus see the unequal hierarchic status of customer and operator enacted in the use of this KEY choice.

Note also that the operator returns from the extended absence to deliver the bad news with a mild Key choice: this choice seemingly enacts a 'low key' approach

to the delivery of this news as a way of downplaying the problem (this is the tone of 'acceptance': cf the surgeon's use of the KEY in Chapter 4 to downplay the dramatic events of that context).

7.2.4   Discussion

As with the texts studied in the other chapters, one can see already in the utterances studied above patterns emerging which distinguish this from the other text-types already studied. One such pattern is the use of tone 3 – either with or without the secondary delicacy-level variation of the low pretonic – in its role of realising an absence or dilution of interpersonal engagement: either as KEY or STATUS selections. As every independent information unit in English must make a selection from the KEY system, thus to make the confirmatory choice is not simply an absence of KEY but is in fact part of the enactment of interpersonal relations in the text, realising the meaning 'no interpersonal engagement' (with respect to POLARITY); while the coordinate STATUS 'spreads' the interpersonal force of the KEY choice of the nexus (in this text often a confirmatory KEY) across more information, thus 'diluting' the interpersonal effect.

Even from the small sample above one can see how these choices, together with the use of the minor clause in the information exchanges, form a dominant pattern of either interpersonal disengagement or where the interpersonal resources of language are redundant, both of which patterns can be interpreted as enacting the tenor settings discussed earlier: a high social distance, in particular the (Butt 2003: 17)

uniplex[23] tenor setting which helps facilitate a swifter business transaction than would be possible with an attention throughout to the sort of social complexities one finds at certain points in the sales texts and in, for example, the surgical text[24]. In these texts either the restricted registerial format of the ordering process (and the co-text of previous meanings) or the choices in KEY alone indicate how the addressee is to interpret a speaker's utterance in terms of the interpersonal exchange: the main interpersonal communicative task being in these cases to signal either a request for confirmation (challenging KEY) or not (confirmatory and uncommitted KEYs).

However, one finds also selections such as the neutral polar interrogatives and wh-interrogatives, as well as the neutral (falling tone) minor clauses, a range of KEY selections that enact a higher level of and more complex interpersonal interaction. The significance of these selections is more clearly appreciated when considered in the light of the places in the text at which they occur: that is, their role as part of the unfolding text structure. The neutral polar interrogatives in the above analyses, for example, occur at the points in the interaction at which the operator is engaged in a sales offer (Sales 1: IU33, Section 7.2.1.3.2)[25], or asks the customer to wait (Sales 3: IU 21, Section 7.2.3.1.1); the neutral and challenging minor clauses are often

---

[23] Butt (2003: 17): "A single link exists between the participants in the context".

[24] or for that matter in a face-to-face sales situation where the social distance is less, for example in a local restaurant or shop.

[25] Matthiessen et al (2005: 138) identify the offer as the possible site "where we find greater phonological variation than at any other point in the exchanges". It is also a site of great phonetic variation: cf footnote 20 above.

deployed for the purpose of checking customer details; while the committed KEY is common for signalling that the business at hand has been transacted.

In general, it appears that the interactants deploy particular strategies for the realisation of interpersonal meaning at certain points where either the formulaic text structure dictates – as in the points just mentioned in the previous paragraphs – or where there is a breakdown in the structure – for example, where the operator has difficulty processing the order in Sales 3. The view from the instance is a powerful resource for exploring these realisation strategies for global structural elements of the text, particularly in terms of the interactants' use of intonational systems of the grammar.

It appears also that the operators are, where necessary, at pains to establish or reestablish the complex mix of tenor relations which obtain throughout the sales interactions: on the one hand the traditional hierarchic relations that traditionally exist between customer and service assistant; on the other hand the agentive role related to the expertise of the operator whose duty, in this particular register (telephone fast food orders), is more to swiftly execute the ordering process than to administer to the customer needs and whims, as one expects in for example the restaurant environment. These potentially competing tenor roles and relations are realised/enacted through a complex of non-congruent co-selections in SPEECH FUNCTION, MOOD and KEY.

7.3 Along the Cline of Instantiation

7.3.1   Introductory Discussion

The above analyses and discussion have identified several interesting patterns and aspects of the texts that invite further examination. However, two problems with this text-type are the size and nature of the texts. The interactions are, compared to the other texts studied in the present work, typically short: the texts I have studied, which are not untypical, are thirty-four, forty-seven and eighty-nine information units long. Being such a routinised interaction, with operators managing the unfolding of the texts according to a preset format, there seems to be very little functional variation between the texts, at least in terms of lexicogrammar. In the two previous chapters I have made the move along the cline of instantiation one functionally motivated by comparative purposes, using the statistics as a way in to the discussion of intra-registerial variation within and between the texts. The question is now how to motivate the move towards the study of statistical patterns in this text-type.

In Chapter 4 and, to some extent, in Chapter 5, one motivation operating in such a move was that of the study of lexicogrammatical (MOOD: KEY) variation across the texts in terms of the global textual structure. In the surgical text, there was a distinct shift in selection patterns at a certain point; in the hailstorm text I showed how the analysis at different stages of that text also revealed shifts in selection patterns from intonational and other systems. In the present section therefore, one aspect to investigate statistically is such shifts according to the different stages of the pizza texts identified above, such as at the points where the exchange of customer information or order is enacted, or where some miscommunication occurs – this

involving statistics across the three texts as one data set. However, the small size of the corpus would weaken the value such a comparison in the present work[26].

One other perspective that is feasible in the present work is the interstratal one on the way in which particular speech functions are differentially manifested in lexicogrammatical selections, and the contextual consequences of such variation in realisation strategies: one can see how different operators enact different interpersonal strategies to enact the appropriate tenor settings both for their customer service and for their operator/ordering-processing roles. The multistratal study reported on in Matthiessen et al (2005) addresses this aspect with respect to particular speech function realisation profiles across their corpus. In the present section I complement that study with one comparing the different realisation profiles between the three texts of two SPEECH FUNCTION categories: statement, and polar question. These are the only categories with sufficient instances in each of the texts to warrant such an analysis[27].

---

[26] Cf Mathiessen et al (2005) who profile just such particular points in texts from the same corpus, but across a significant corpus size. Such a large corpus of these particular telephone sales texts was also available to the present work, but this scope is beyond that of the present work.

[27] Of course the corpus is, in this as in previous chapters small; but the purpose throughout is an explorative one. In this corpus, moreso than the others, because of the homogeneity of the texts in terms of register language, the most effective comparison is between these and the texts of the other corpora, a comparison which is done in Chapter 8. However, it is interesting at this point both to model the interstratal perspective on realisation strategies in the texts – an analysis not feasible across the entire corpus of the present work – as well as to investigate the possibility of inter-operator and – customer variation in realisation strategies.

As Matthiessen et al (2005: 140) observe, the speech function categories "provide only quite generalised labels for describing highly varied, and ultimately fuzzy modes of social action", so that "there is a need to pursue a clearer grounding on which move is coded as a 'question, 'statement', 'command' or 'offer'". The decision whether a move is a statement or a question where no MOOD is selected, for example, is often particularly difficult: for instance, is IU 12 in Sales 1 a (checking) statement, 'giving back' the information just given by the customer for checking; or does it in fact realise a polar question, by virtue of the challenging KEY this minor clause is assigned?

I interpret this particular instance as a question, as it is clear that information, or at least a response, is demanded: the operator, through the rising tone, seeks to know whether or not the details she has heard are correct – that is, it is a request for polarity information[28] - and the customer's response confirms this. But it is also in another sense giving information: again, perhaps, as a consequence of the pressing time constraints of the production-line 'fast food' business, it can be interpreted as enacting both the giving and demanding of two different types of information. This dual SPEECH FUNCTION role can be more clearly seen in another instance, this time from Sales 2, where a new move is instantiated with what is clearly the giving of information, but that is also clearly demanding polar information – asking the customer if the delivery time is acceptable, as the customer's response makes clear.

---

[28] As discussed earlier, co-textual considerations are also important - the textual context in which the ambiguous minor (and sometimes major) clauses occur – as are registerial considerations: the expectation of what interpretation is appropriate at a certain point in the preset ordering format.

In this case (and there are several instances in the data) I code this as enacting both SPEECH FUNCTION choices:

operator	19	//1 ^ [o]kay a- */ bout / half hour //	minor: neutral	statement
operator	20	//2 */ wait on de- / livery / sir //	minor: challenging	statement/ polar question
Customer	21	//3 yeah that's */ fine //	declarative: confirmatory	statement

Table 19: the dual SPEECH FUNCTION role of a declarative challenging MOOD: KEY choice

It should be noted that Matthiessen et al (2005) treat the information nexus as the basic unit of analysis: that is, where there is more than one information unit in a dependency relation, the entire nexus is considered one realisation (instance) of a speech function. Thus, they find, for example, that of the seventy-nine percent of statements in the declarative MOOD, sixteen percent are realised with a tone 2^2 sequence[29] (that is, the challenging KEY). In this respect, in the following analyses I take a simplified approach to the statistical profiling of KEY and STATUS selections as the realisation of SPEECH FUNCTION: where there is more than one information unit involved in the realisation of a single semantic choice, each unit is coded separately as an instance of the realisation of that semantic choice.

---

[29] Mathiessen et al (2005), as part of their illustration of the effectiveness of multistratal description, make TONE rather than KEY the systemic parameter under analysis. The KEY choice is, in all except the tone 3 (STATUS) instances discussed above, derivable from the MOOD selection.

Thus, for example, in a $2^2{}^{30}$ tone group complex in a declarative MOOD, realising a statement – that is, in a nexus consisting of two challenging KEY choices[31] - each KEY choice adds an independent count to the statistics for the realisation of statements by the declarative challenging KEY choice. As such this of course loses some of the descriptive power of the Matthiessen et al work[32], but it does add consistency and simplicity to the profile of KEY and STATUS[33] choices, especially where the rank status of a sequence of information units (whether as members of a nexus, or simply a sequence) is in doubt or where there is great variation in sequencing such that the statistical profiling becomes cumbersome.

---

[30] In this case the caret symbol – "^" – represents the ordering of the two tone choices, not a silent Ictus as elsewhere in the present work.

[31] Which may or may not, depending on a consideration of the instances themselves, construe a paratactic elaborative relation between the information units.

[32] This is particularly so in terms of the realisation of an alternative polar question (as in IUs 3-4, Section 7.2.1.1.1), which in the neutral case is realised by a polar interrogative MOOD with a sequence of a tone 2 – 1. This is treated as a separate lexicogrammatical category in the analysis below.

[33] As regards STATUS choices, where these occur as part realisation of a statement or polar question – for example, in a coordinate-neutral declarative nexus – their inclusion as an independent part of the statistical profile enables one to see the extent to which dependent information is construed as a part of the enactment of a particular speech functional category: a pattern of STATUS choices contributes to what I have earlier (Section 7.2.4) called a 'dilution' of the interpersonal force of a move, such that a single KEY choice has as its domain a complex of information units. This aspect is also significant in, for example, the interview texts, where speakers may (or may not) construe complex information unit nexuses as part of a single interpersonal move, with a single KEY selection. In such cases, as here, the profiling of the STATUS selections separately as realisations of SPEECH FUNCTION enables the researcher to investigate the extent to which a speaker either increases or decreases the rate of information flow with respect to the level of interpersonal engagement and (polar) certainty.

7.3.2   Comparison of Patterns of Realisation Strategies in the Interpersonal Metafunction Between the Texts: Statements and Polar Questions

7.3.2.1   Statement

Table 20 below presents the results for the analysis of MOOD and KEY choices for the statement SPEECH FUNCTION category.   There is no differentiation in the following tables between the statistics for operators and customers.

MOOD	KEY/ STATUS	Sales 1		Sales 2		Sales 3	
		count	%	count	%	count	%
coordinate		2	9.5	3	7.9	1	5.6
subordinate		4	19	3	7.9	1	5.6
minor	neutral	0	0	2	5.3	1	5.6
	confirmatory	3	14.3	0	0	3	16.7
	neutral+ confirmatory	1	4.8	1	2.6	0	0
	committed	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
	challenging	0	0	4	10.5	3	16.7
declarative	neutral	2	9.5	8	21	1	5.6
	confirmatory	5	23.8	9	23.7	1	5.6
	neutral+ confirmatory	0	0	2	5.3	1	5.6
	uncommitted	2	9.5	1	2.6	0	0

	committed	1	4.8	0	0	0	0
	challenging	0	0	2	5.3	4	22.2
	challenging: referring	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
	strong	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
	mild	1	4.8	0	0	2	11.1
total		21	100	38	100	18	100

Table 20: Total MOOD: KEY/STATUS selections

These statistics are of course, for the most part – particularly for the Sales 1 and 3 texts – too small to make any definitive statements about variation in patterning across the texts. However, they do show fully the variation in the use of major and minor KEY choices, as represented in graph form in Figure 18 below. The key for Figure 18 for the numeric x-axis, and for the text identities – 'series 1-3' – is as follows:

1 = coordinate	9 = declarative: neutral+ confirmatory
2 = subordinate	10 = declarative: confirmatory
3 = minor: neutral	11 = declarative: uncommitted
4 = minor: confirmatory	12 = declarative: committed
5 = minor: neutral+ confirmatory	13 = declarative: challenging
6 = minor: committed	14 = declarative: challenging: referring
7 = minor: challenging	15 = declarative: strong
8 = declarative: neutral	16 = declarative: mild

series 1 = Sales 1; series 2 = Sales 2; series 3 = Sales 3
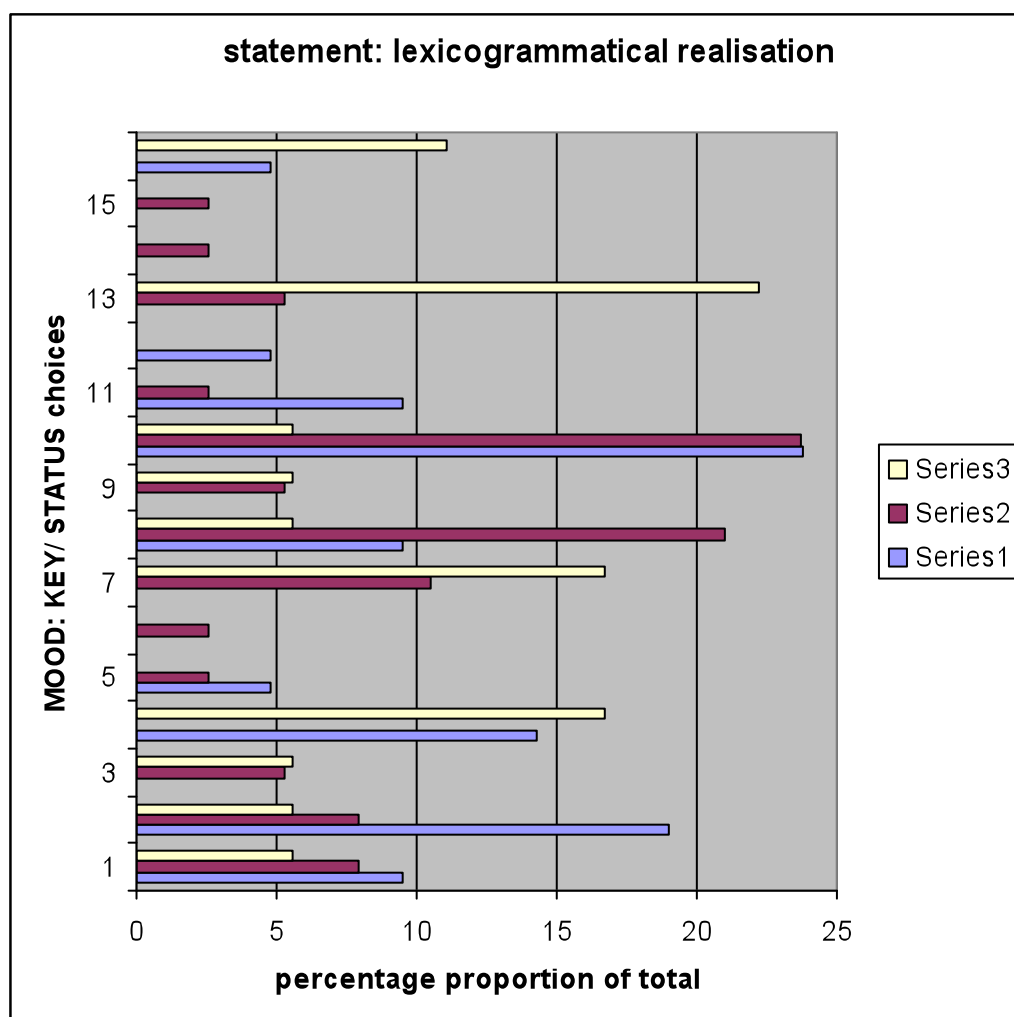
Figure 18: statement: lexicogrammatical realisation across the sales corpus

As in previous chapters, the minor and major KEYs are treated as in effect being the same, and I will now conflate these figures to get a more productive sense of the variation in KEY across the texts[34].

---

[34] The subordinate and coordinate selections will be again kept separate in this graph.

MOOD	KEY/ STATUS	Sales 1		Sales 2		Sales 3	
		count	%	count	%	count	%
coordinate		2	9.5	3	7.9	1	5.6
subordinate		4	19	3	7.9	1	5.6
KEY	neutral	2	2.5	10	26.3	2	11.1
	confirmatory	8	38.1	9	23.7	4	22.2
	neutral+ confirmatory	1	4.8	3	7.9	1	5.6
	uncommitted	2	2.5	1	2.6	0	0
	committed	1	4.8	1	2.6	0	0
	challenging	0	0	6	15.8	7	38.9
	challenging: referring	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
	strong	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
	mild	1	4.8	0	0	2	11.1
total		21	100	38	100	18	100

Table 21: conflated minor and major MOOD: KEY, and STATUS selections

Although the counts are still quite low for many of the above categories, there are significant findings that, if they are only provisional, are at least quite suggestive, particularly in the light of the view of the instance upon the different texts. I will first present the above statistics in graph form where the significance of the profiles are more readily appreciated. The key for Figure 19 is as follows (the texts are represented as for Figure 18 by the 'series 1-3'):

1 = coordinate   7 = committed

2 = subordinate   8 = challenging

3 = neutral   9 = challenging: referring

4 = confirmatory   10 = strong

5 = neutral+ confirmatory   11 = mild

6 = uncommitted
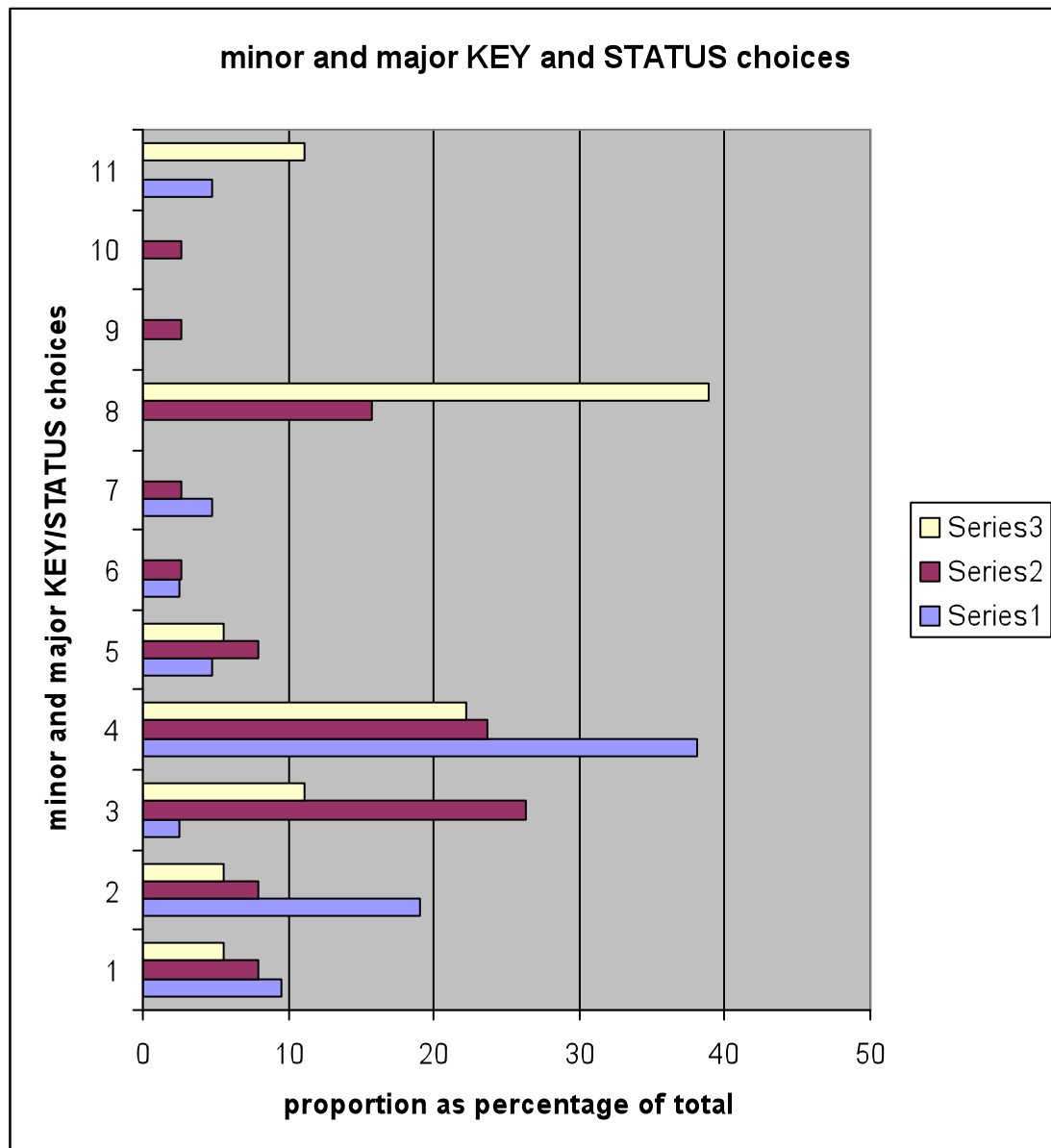
Figure 19: conflated minor and major KEY, and STATUS choices

The most significant patterns in the above graph are those of the neutral, confirmatory and challenging KEY, and the subordinate STATUS choices. In terms of the former KEY choice, each of the sales texts has a substantially different

415

proportion of this choice: sales 2 has the highest, with twenty-six percent; the proportion in sales 3 is substantially lower, at eleven percent; while sales 1 has only three percent. Sales 1, however, has a higher proportion of the confirmatory KEY than both the other sales texts: thirty-eight percent in the former, as compared with twenty four percent in Sales 2 and twenty-two percent in Sales 3. These differences thus to some extent account for one another: the higher percentage of the neutral KEY in Sales 2 at least partly accounts for its lower proportion of the confirmatory KEY; while the low proportion of the neutral KEY statement in Sales 1 can be substantially referred to the high proportion of the confirmatory KEY in that text.

It is difficult to determine conclusively whether the high rate of neutral declarative KEY choices is motivated by contextual settings or merely a result of non-functional speaker variation (personal style): certainly the customer in Sales 2 seems to enact a more confident interpersonal stance towards the interaction, and the operator also seems more interpersonally engaged in this interaction than in Sales 1. The lower level of interpersonal engagement in the latter text could be influenced by the customer's demeanour; but could also be simply a result of boredom on the part of the operator. Again, the small corpus makes the identification of a functional or registerial interpretation inconclusive.

But it is the profiles of the patterns of choice of the challenging KEY as realisation of a statement that are the most remarkable: this time it is Sales 3 that has by far the highest rate of selection of this choice, with thirty-nine percent of its total choices being this KEY; while for Sales 2 it is sixteen percent and none at all in Sales

1^{35}. Sales 1 has however a higher proportion of subordinate choices than the other

two texts: nineteen percent, as compared with eight and six percent in Sales 2 and 3

respectively. The distinctive statistical comparative profile of this choice warrants

further discussion.

The use of the challenging KEY in Sales 2 again seems to be part of the

idiosyncratic style of both the operator and customer in this interaction. The customer

is the first to instantiate this choice, a characteristic use of all the instances in this text:

operator	2	//3 my name's */ Brad can I //	declarative confirmatory	statement
operator	3	//1_ start the order with your */ phone number please //	polar interrogative: peremptory: mild	command
customer	4	//2 ^ it's / five eight one */ two //	declarative: challenging	statement

Table 22: challenging declarative statement in Sales 2

In this instance there is no interactive history and no interpersonal difficulty

evident to motivate the customer's use of this KEY here, which is clearly not meant as

the enactment of a polar question (cf Section 7.3 above; 7.3.1.2 below): this is the use

traditionally referred to as the 'high rising terminal' (HRT) (cf discussion in Chapter

8, Section 8.2.1). However, in the following instance from Sales 3, there is a

difficulty evident, in the operator's processing of the order that, in addition to the

---

[35] Note: these challenging declaratives are kept distinct in the analysis from those which enact the

demand for information, analysed in the next section below. In the cases profiled in these statistics, the

semantic function is to give information only: the rising tone enacts a more delicate semantic function

than that of SPEECH FUNCTION.

instances of this choice already instantiated by the customer, perhaps adds to the proportion of this choice in this text: there is a definite sense of appeal in the operator's use in the following instances:

operator	21	can //2 you just hold */ on for a minute / for me it's just //	polar interrogative: neutral	command
operator	22	//2 not going */ through //	declarative: challenging	statement/ polar question
S2O	27	//1_ ^ yeah I'm / having trouble / calling it */ up //	declarative: mild	statement
S2O	28	//2 what I'll / do is I'll / actually trans-/ fer you through to the */ store //	declarative: challenging	statement/ polar question
S2C	29	//3 ^ al- / right //	minor: confirmatory	statement

Table 23: Sales 3: challenging declarative as statement and polar question

Thus one can see that there are different shades of meaning for such a choice depending upon the co-textual and situational/contextual environment. In some instances one can find a reason for its use perhaps in the personal speaking styles of individual speakers, but motivated also perhaps by the register: the perceived need by certain interactants to enact a collaborative solidarity in the tenor relations; as well as of course the issues of comprehension inherent in the telephonic channel of communication[36]. But there also appears to be some functional motivation for its use in relation to the events of the situational context: particularly where difficulty occurs,

---

[36] Cf discussions in Guy and Vonwiller (1984), Horvath (1985), Warren and Britain (1999) and McGregor (2005).

this KEY choice as a realisation of a statement is a way of enacting the appropriate relationship necessary to cooperatively managing situational trouble[37].

7.3.2.2   Polar question

The following analysis in Table 24 presents the results for the analysis of MOOD and KEY choices for the polar question SPEECH FUNCTION category. As in the previous section, there is no differentiation in the following tables between the statistics for operators and customers, although most polar questions are by the operator.

MOOD	KEY/ STATUS	Sales 1		Sales 2		Sales 3	
		count	%	count	%	count	%
coordinate		1	9.1	3	16.7	1	14.3
polar interrogative	neutral	1	9.1	1	5.6	1	14.3
	(alternative) neutral	1	9.1	2	11.1	1	14.3
	involved	1	9.1	0	0	0	0
	peremptory	0	0	1	5.6	0	0
minor	challenging	2	18.2	3	16.7	0	0
	confirmatory	1	9.1	1	5.6	1	14.3
	neutral	2	18.2	1	5.6	0	0

[37] As I show in Chapter 8 (Section 8.2.1) this explanation perhaps also accords with the statistical profile of its use in the surgical text, although in that analysis SPEECH FUNCTION is not taken into account.

	neutral+ confirmatory	0	0	1	5.6	0	0
declarative	challenging	2	18.2	3	16.7	2	28.6
	confirmatory	0	0	0	0	1	14.3
	(tag: reversed): neutral	0	0	1	5.6	0	0
wh interrogative	neutral[38]	0	0	1	5.6	0	0
total		11	100	18	100	7	100

Table 24: MOOD: KEY and STATUS realisations of polar questions in sales corpus

As in previous analyses, the above statistics are both too low to make any useful observations on the selection trends of each of the texts. What the above table does reveal, again as before, is the range of lexicogrammatical co-selections by which this particular SPEECH FUNCTION choice is realised. Particularly of interest is extent to which the minor and declarative challenging KEY choices are deployed to enact a polar question: as I will discuss further in Chapter 8 (Section 8.2.1), this is a registerial characteristic of this particular corpus. To get a better sense of the proportions of the congruent polar interrogative, and other choices, I will conflate the above into the following categories, as represented in Figure 20 below, which I consider for my purposes here to be equivalent in terms of KEY (the texts are indicated as before by 'series 1-3'):

---

[38] In this instance, the operator is enacting a polar question checking on the content question that the customer has just asked: the operator is not in this instance asking a content question himself.

1 = polar interrogative: neutral, (alternative) neutral[39], involved[40], minor: challenging[41], declarative (tag: reversed): neutral[42];

2 = declarative: challenging;

3 = minor confirmatory, declarative confirmatory[43];

4 = minor: neutral

5 = minor: neutral+ confirmatory

6 = peremptory

7 = wh interrogative

8 = coordinate

---

[39] The alternative type has a falling tone as the neutral selection.

[40] This KEY is included as it is a secondary delicacy modification of the neutral polar interrogative.

[41] The minor challenging KEY, being Mood-less, as a realisation of a polar question is effectively the same as a neutral polar interrogative, with the KEY signalling the SPEECH FUNCTION. This is distinct from the declarative challenging KEY where the two interpersonal selections in grammar are in tension with one another, creating additional meaning.

[42] This KEY is a rising tone with a polar interrogative tag to a declarative, and is thus the same as a normal polar interrogative KEY.

[43] These two are treated as alike, as the principle of classification discussed in footnote 40 doesn't apply to the minor choice here: there is no explicit indication of the 'demand information' SPEECH FUNCTION in the minor confirmatory choice – one derives this from the mere fact of the information having been repeated, which is clearly to check the information (polar question) not to give it. The minor is thus seen as equivalent to the declarative choice, as is the usual interpretation.
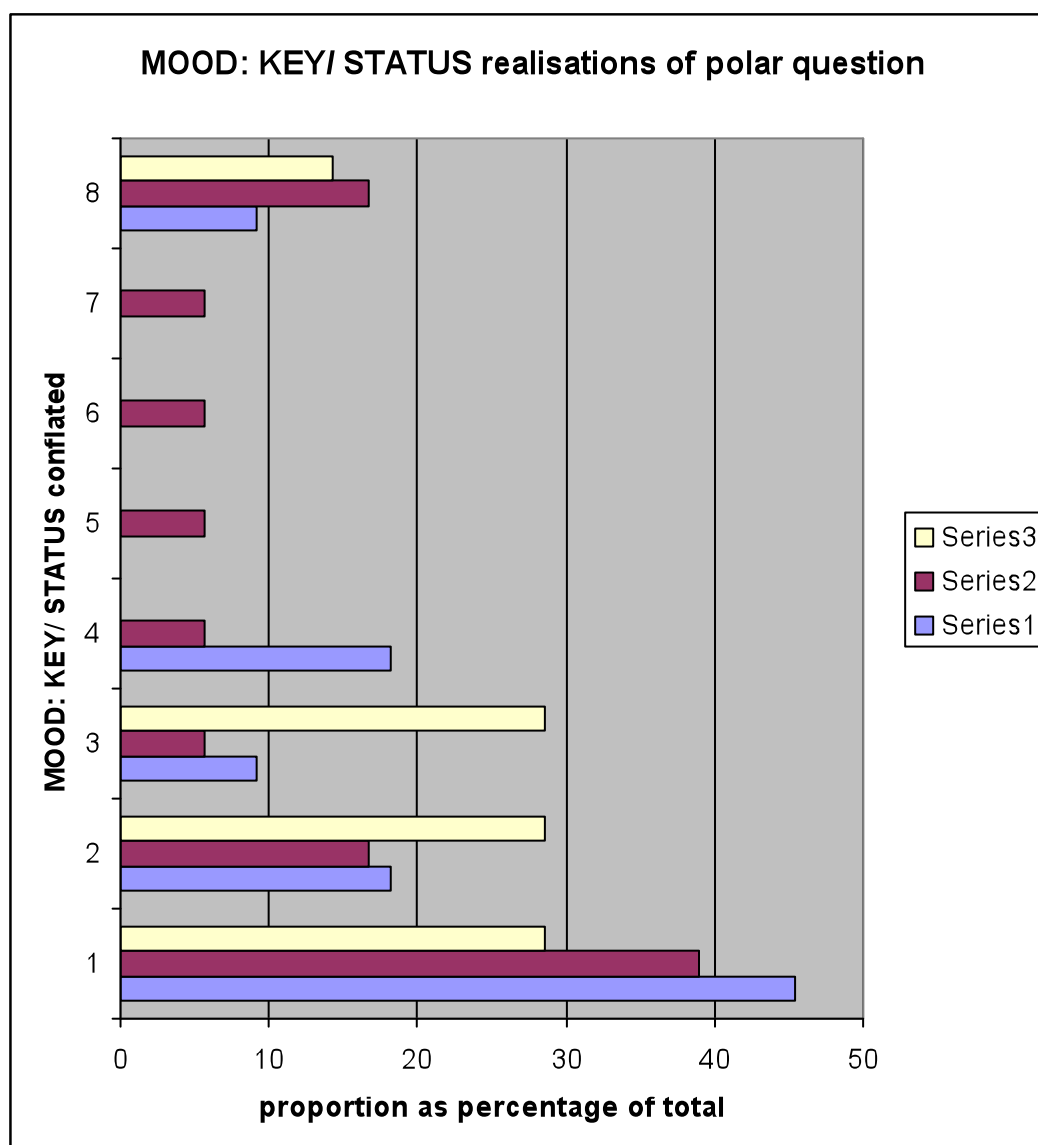
Figure 20: MOOD: KEY and STATUS realisations of polar questions in the sales texts

Again, the statistics are far too small to make any claim about registerial patterning; but there are aspects of the above profile that are interesting in terms of the different realisation strategies in the texts, and their possible significance. Firstly, Sales 2 has the greater range of realisation strategies. This may be a consequence of the greater length of this text: where the ordering interaction is an extended one, the operator may seek to vary the realisation strategies; or it may simply be that the longer text affords more scope for variation. Secondly, for Sales 1 and 2 the

proportion of the neutral polar interrogative or minor challenging KEY choices is greater than that for Sales 3. This may again reflect the fact that much of the interaction in Sales 3 is an unusual one, where the routine format is departed from to deal with a technical issue.

Thirdly, Sales 3 is also distinct in having a higher proportion of both the declarative challenging and the minor and major confirmatory KEYs. The latter KEY profile can be accounted for by the first part of the text, where it is business as usual, as in the following excerpt:

	//3 ^ so that's / double five / double	declarative	polar question
operator	6 seven three / six four */ eight //	confirmatory	

Table 25: declarative confirmatory realisation of polar question in Sales 3

However, the profile of the declarative challenging KEY, as discussed earlier (Section 7.3.1.1), can be referred to the interpersonal strategy the operator enacts to placate the customer when things have gone wrong with the order and it cannot be finalised: in this case, there are clear tenor implications in the registerially unusual statistical profile of this KEY. Although the counts are too low to be anything more than suggestive, the calibration of this statistic against the findings of the view of the instances themselves is revealing and warrants further analysis across a larger corpus of texts where such difficulties ensue, and against findings from other studies of the HRT.

7.4 Conclusion

Despite the difficulties mentioned in this chapter in terms of the size of the texts for comparative purposes, and the consistencies of selection patterns within this register, there are nevertheless some tantalisingly suggestive findings, in particular the differing levels of interpersonal engagement evident between the three texts. In terms of the differences between Sales 1 and 2 in terms of selection patterns from the neutral and the confirmatory KEY choices, a functional, registerial interpretation could not be made: one cannot say whether or not this variation may in fact be a result of idiosyncratic factors, such as tiredness or boredom on the part of the operator, or the particular (for example declamative) style of the customer and the customer perceptions of what constitutes the appropriate way to interact with a customer servant in this type of situation.

The distinct differences between on the one hand Sales 1 and 2, and on the other hand Sales 3 in terms of the use of certain KEY options – particularly the challenging KEY – seem, however, to be more functionally related. As I showed in the earlier view from the instance, the occurrence of a seriously disruptive technical difficulty seems strongly implicated in a higher level of interpersonal engagement as evidenced through the use KEY, as the operator seeks to ameliorate the consequences of this difficulty – the termination of her role in placing the customer's order, handed over to the local store – through the collaborative 'appeal' inherent in the challenging KEY statement.

The most significant finding to emerge from the study of this text-type is, however, the uniformity of patterning in intonational systems across the texts (with

the exception of the abnormal Sales 3 which, like the latter part of the surgical text, calls into question the issue of register classification): in particular, in these texts, as compared with most of the other texts studied in the present work, the interpersonal metafunction seems to be negated to a large degree – as evidenced in the KEY selections, and the unusually high rate of usage of the minor clause – as the interactants simply 'run through' the routine formula for enacting the ordering of fast food. This type of context, that is, is what Hasan has termed a highly institutionalised one (Hasan 1981; Bowcher 1999), where interactants have little freedom for variation from the registerially appropriate settings in context, semantics and lexicogrammar.

However, this last finding is one best viewed in comparison with the other corpora explored in the present work. In the next chapter I will profile selection patterns across all the texts studied in the present chapter as part of a statistical profile of selection patterns for the sets of texts in all four chapters explored in the present work.

Chapter Eight: Register Variation

8.1 Introduction: Analytical Views Within and Between Chapters

In the previous four chapters I have conducted a variety of analyses of the texts within the different corpora of each chapter. The aim in each chapter has been to characterise the use of intonational systems as resources for the instantiation of register language within those texts. Because of the approach taken, based primarily upon the instantiation dimension, the view from the instance identified in the different corpora of each chapter particular systems as being important for that corpus, in terms of the significant patterns within each of and between the texts, giving each chapter therefore a different analytical focus. A major consideration in the previous four chapters has been to provide a comprehensive variety of analytical views of intonational systems at work in these texts so as to explore the power of these systems as meaning-making resources, as well as to capture some of the most significant aspects of their use in each text and corpus.

Thus, in Chapter 4 the view from the instance revealed that there were patterns of significance to the study of register language emerging in both the MOOD: KEY and INFORMATION FOCUS systems, with significant variation within the text excerpt. In Chapter 5 I discovered significant variation in one system – MOOD: KEY – both within one of the texts – the hailstorm text – as seen from the perspective of generic structure (from the syntagmatic, semantic perspective: from 'across' and 'above'); and also

between the hailstorm and the ovens texts (from the paradigmatic perspective at the lexicogrammatical stratum). In Chapter 6 the view from the instance showed a different pattern of significance, this time in the textual metafunction: in fact, a complex pattern of interaction between the system of ID and KEY systems. In Chapter 7 the picture formed in the view from the instance was again a little different to that in previous chapters: this time, even in the view of instances, the texts showed a remarkable consistency in keeping with the heavily routinised nature of the interaction, while some variation between individual interactants was revealed in the view along the cline of instantiation; and another view was taken of statistical patterns across the texts, this time from the perspective of interpersonal semantics, again showing some variation in realisation strategies, for two SPEECH FUNCTION categories, but this time not only with reference to idiolectal but also to functional motivations.

That the view from the instance for each text revealed different systems as patterning in significant ways is of course at least partly a consequence of the analytical view taken: without doubt, had I adopted a different analytical focus in each case, there might have been (and indeed were) other systems worthy of investigation for the move along the cline of instantiation. As I showed in Chapter 4, the move towards statistical profiling will inevitably involve sacrifices of some kind, as multidimensional detail gives way to scope. However, I have treated the initial view from the instance end of the instantiation cline as a resource for making such methodological decisions.

As I have shown in the last four chapters, on the one hand the multidimensional view from the instance represents analyses of multiple selections and thus may itself shed light on the phenomenon of register language: as Halliday and Greaves (2008) demonstrate, even a single instance of text can be suggestive in terms of the classification of that instance as a member of a register. On the other hand, the move towards statistical views, if it uses as its methodological foundation the view from the instance, may also be related back to the multistratal view from the instance, contextualising the statistical view within the findings of the more detailed and comprehensive multidimensional analyses. That is, the views along the cline of instantiation, as for those from different strata, may be used as complementary and integrated resources in the search for linguistic statements of meaning, rather than as separate domains.

The same methodological principles apply in the analysis presented in the present chapter, where I make statistical comparisons between the corpora of each chapter. It is clearly not practicable within this one work to extend all the analyses conducted throughout the chapters across the four corpora. Thus, in the present chapter the approach is to restrict the analytical scope to three systems: MOOD: KEY, STATUS, and INFORMATION FOCUS. Of course one could have chosen any of the systems investigated in previous chapters; but in choosing these particular systems I am not aiming to identify these as the most significant for cross-registerial statistical comparison. Rather, my reason is more pragmatic: it is these systems which offer the most straightforward analyses for the move further along the cline of instantiation. For the interpersonal systems the analysis involves the extension of the statistical analyses

presented in Chapters 4 and 5; for the textual systems, the statistical view of IF mapping onto the ideational and interpersonal elements of the clause. There is clearly much that will be 'lost' by this analytical restriction: for example, the 'dynamic' logogenetic view of the text as an unfolding process of meaning instantiation within local (co-/)contexts. But the analysis in the present chapter is not meant to stand alone, but is a complementary resource to the other explorative analyses in earlier chapters.

The present work, as I have made clear, is an exploration of the use of intonational systems within and as an instantiation of register languages. Therefore, the move further along the cline of instantiation taken in the present chapter is to be seen as but one aspect of this investigation – one of several views - rather than as the outcome and end-point of the analyses of the previous chapters. The purpose here is to explore what happens when the analytical scope is extended across the whole corpus of texts within which, in terms of the situational description, one would expect to reveal register variation. However, the analyses conducted in the present chapter, as for earlier statistical views, are also ultimately contextualised with respect to the view from the instance afforded in earlier chapters of the texts themselves; the patterns revealed in statistical profiling represent ongoing instances of selections from multiple systems within changing co-textual and contextual conditions. The view from the instance thus gives value to the statistical view, enabling statements of meaning to be made at all points along the cline of instantiation, and indeed along all the dimensions of SFL theory.

8.2 Variation Between Registers

8.2.1   MOOD: KEY/ STATUS

8.2.1.1   Analysis and Discussion

In this section I take a variety of views of the statistics for MOOD: KEY and STATUS selection patterns across the four corpora of Chapters 4 to 7. Table 26 below presents the counts and percentage proportions for all the MOOD: KEY and STATUS selections across the four corpora. It should be noted that the statistics for all the KEY choices are to some extent determined by the instantiation of the MOOD choices, regardless of KEY: that is, what is being represented in these statistics is not the variation between KEY choices but the variation between MOOD: KEY choices. That is, if a particular text or set of texts has substantially more of one KEY choice, this may be at least partly explained by a high rate of instantiation of that MOOD choice of which it is a secondary delicacy option. This of course particularly obvious in the imperative KEY choices, rare in all except the surgical text; but also to a lesser extent in terms of the other MOOD and STATUS choices (particularly the minor clause choices). However, this is taken into account in the discussion of register variation of KEY choices: what is being examined is variation in patterns of KEY selections as further options in MOOD systems: in this discussion, I am looking at variation in the use of specific MOOD: KEY choices across the corpus. It is in the examination of MOOD and KEY together, rather than of one or the other alone, that one can build up the most comprehensive picture of interpersonal variation. This narrowing of analytical focus is acknowledged as a weakness in the view

taken here; however, this criticism also applies however to the profiling of these MOOD:

KEY choices in terms of SPEECH FUNCTION: the point is that it is in the view along

the cline of instantiation that such sacrifices begin to be necessary.

MOOD/ STATUS	KEY	surgical		casual conversation		interviews		sales	
		count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
minor	neutral	4/97	4.1	10/195	5.1	1/196	0.5	12/170	7.1
	neutral+ confirmatory	1/97	1.0	2/195	1.0	0/196	0	2/170	1.2
	confirmatory	3/97	3.1	2/195	1.0	2/196	1.0	26/170	15.3
	committed	1/97	1.0	5/195	2.6	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	uncommitted	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	3/170	1.8
	strong	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	intense	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	challenging: involved	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	address	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	challenging	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	14/170	8.2
	challenging: focussing	1/97	1.0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
subordinate		8/97	8.2	36/195	18.5	67/196	34.2	11/170	6.5

coordinate		3/97	3.1	4/195	2.1	2/196	1.0	15/170	8.8
declarative	neutral	14/97	14.4	56/195	28.7	57/196	29.1	13/170	7.6
	neutral+ confirmatory	7/97	7.2	6/195	3.1	7/196	3.6	4/170	2.4
	strong	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	3/196	1.5	1/170	0.6
	strong+ confirmatory	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	mild	7/97	7.2	5/195	2.6	2/196	1.0	3/170	1.8
	mild+ confirmatory	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	committed	4/97	4.1	21/195	10.8	19/196	9.7	2/170	1.2
	committed+ confirmatory	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	4/196	2.0	0/170	0
	intense	1/97	1.0	1/195	0.5	1/196	0.5	0/170	0
	uncommitted	0/97	0	0/195	0	2/196	1.0	3/170	1.8
	reserved	4/97	4.1	2/195	2.6	1/196	0.5	0/170	0
	challenging	4/97	4.1	1/195	0.5	2/196	1.0	13/170	7.6
	challenging: focussing	1/97	1.0	7/195	3.6	3/196	1.5	0/170	0
	challenging: referring	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	confirmatory	2/97	2.1	10/195	5.1	3/196	1.5	15/170	8.8

	(tag: reversed): neutral	0/97	0	0/195	0	1/196	0.5	1/170	0.6
	(tag: reversed): peremptory	2/97	2.1	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory: strong	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	(tag: reversed): peremptory: intense	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
polar interrogative	neutral	4/97	4.1	5/195	2.6	1/196	0.5	8/170	4.7
	peremptory	0/97	0	2/195	1.0	5/196	2.6	3/170	1.8
	peremptory: mild	0/97	0	0/195	0	1/196	0.5	1/170	0.6
	peremptory+ confirmatory	2/97	2.1	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	peremptory: mild+ confirmatory	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	strong+ confirmatory	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	(alternative): neutral	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	4/170	2.4

	(alternative): committed	0/97	0	0/195	0	1/196	0.5	0/170	0
	insistent	0/97	0	0/195	0	1/196	0.5	0/170	0
	involved	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	focussing	2/97	2.1	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
wh-interrogative	neutral	1/97	1.0	2/195	1.0	6/196	3.1	7/170	4.1
	neutral+ confirmatory	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	committed	0/97	0	2/195	1.0	1/196	0.5	0/170	0
	mild	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	3/196	1.5	0/170	0
	echo	0/97	0	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	deferring	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	deferring: referring	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
imperative	neutral	2/97	2.1	0/195	0	0/196	0	1/170	0.6
	mild	4/97	4.1	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	plea	0/97	0	1/195	0.5	0/196	0	0/170	0
	question	8/97	8.2	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	question: focussing	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	compromising	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	deliberate	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0
	forceful	1/97	1.0	0/195	0	0/196	0	0/170	0

totals	97/97	100	195/ 195	100	196/ 196	100	170/ 170	100

Table 26: MOOD: KEY selections across the different corpora

As discussed above, there are many aspects of the analysis presented in Table 26 that cannot be addressed here, although they are clearly significant: in particular, instances of particular KEY selections in one corpora but not the others can be immensely suggestive, if viewed from the multistratal view of the instance, in the same way that certain words or phrases might be characteristic (iconic) of a particular register setting. So, for example, each of the variety of imperative KEY choices found in the surgical text, although each is only a single or small number of instances (except for the characteristic 'question' imperative), reveal interesting interpersonal variations that acquire importance within the context of the tenor relations discussed in Chapter 4; as do other choices such as the referring wh-interrogatives in the casual conversations[1], and the focussing polar interrogatives in the surgical and casual conversation corpora.

---

[1] There is an intriguing illustration of the (rare and) interpersonally significant use of this KEY choice in Slade's (1996: Volume 2: 273) PhD thesis data, where it is the newcomer to a workplace – 'Jessie' – who is the only one in the corpus to use this KEY, in her second content question in the excerpt below, in order to enact deference to one of the other more senior interactants – 'Judy' (transcription conventions are as for the present work; "==" represents overlap):

interactant	text and intonation	tone	MOOD: KEY
Jessie	//1 Mmm what's happened a- / bout */ Richard //	1	wh-interrogative: neutral

One can see that certain of these instances are revealing not only in terms of the multistratal view, but also from the view of the local context of the prior co-text. I have already shown in Chapter 4, for example, how the logogenetic view casts light on the use of the neutral imperative and mild KEY choices by the surgeon at certain points to restore both the 'natural' hierarchic order (in IUs 85-86, to get the job done at a critical point), as well as a sense of calm (softening the assertion of power while reassuring that 'all is well' in the situation and, more importantly, the tenor); and in the hailstorm text how the prosodies of committed KEY appear at certain dramatic points in the tale, as the same KEY does at the end of each of the completed sales texts. These are commonly used KEY choices; but the same perspective on statistically rare KEY choices is also revealing.

For example, there is only one instance of an imperative 'plea' choice in the whole corpus, and it occurs in the ovens text at a point (IU 79) where the mother (B3) demands the attention of one of her co-interactants - //4 */ listen / [indistinct - one

Judy	//1 Ah a- / bout */ Richard //	1	wh-interrogative: neutral
Judy	//3 Ah //	3	minor: confirmatory
Judy	//1 nothing [laughs] //	1	declarative: neutral
Judy	//3 He's / been */ spoken / to //	3	coordinate
Judy	//1 it'll be a / sort of a / ^ / watch and */ wait ==something…	1	declarative: neutral
Jessie	==//2 yeah what do / reckon its going to */ happen?	2	wh-interrogative: deferring
Judy	//1 not a */ thing //	1	declarative: neutral

437

syllable: Vocative] because do //1 you think I should / get ah some re- / placement ah */ elements // - to introduce a new topic after an extended turn by B1. This rare KEY choice is clearly useful for B3 to both engender a significant textual shift in the dialogue – through the assignment of ID and IF to the single lexicogrammatical element realising the imperative MOOD – and, importantly for considerations of tenor and register, to do so with this somewhat deferential KEY choice[2]: considering the mother's secondary interactive role in general in this text, she no doubt considers it necessary to enact some deference (to her daughters' conversational dominance) to achieve her turn-taking strategy[3]. The use of the reserved KEY in both the surgical and ovens texts also illustrates the importance of the logogenetic perspective: in both texts this KEY choice is a crucial impetus to the further unfolding of the dialogic exchange – in IU 2 in the surgical, and IUs 36 and 37 in the ovens text – while in IUs 79, 84 and 90 in the surgical text they occur at significant points in the ongoing negotiation of the tenor roles; as do the two focussing KEY choices in IUs 88 and 89 in the same text.

The findings from this analytical perspective, and the study of the rare KEY choices, are certainly signposts towards future research. But in this section I am concerned with the discussion of those more substantial statistics revealing significant

---

[2] Halliday's construal of this KEY choice as a 'plea' is a very good approximation of its function in this instance.

[3] One imagines the daughters might have used the neutral, more commanding (less imploring) tone 1 for this imperative.

variation in patterns of MOOD: KEY and STATUS selection between the texts, of which there are several. Before going on to discuss some of the most significant of these, I will first present the statistics of importance to the subsequent discussion in graph form below, for ease of reference. Note that in Figure 21 below, the following MOOD: KEY and STATUS variables are represented in numeric form along the x-axis, and the corpora identified as 'series 1-4':

1 = subordinate STATUS;   8 = declarative neutral KEY;

2 = coordinate STATUS;   9 = declarative confirmatory KEY;

3 = minor neutral KEY;   10 = declarative challenging KEY;

4 = minor confirmatory KEY;   11 = declarative challenging:
   focussing KEY;

5 = minor challenging KEY;   12 = declarative committed KEY;

6 = minor challenging: focussing KEY;   13 = declarative mild KEY.

7 = minor committed KEY;

series 1 = surgical   series 3 = interviews

series 2 = casual conversation   series 4 = sales
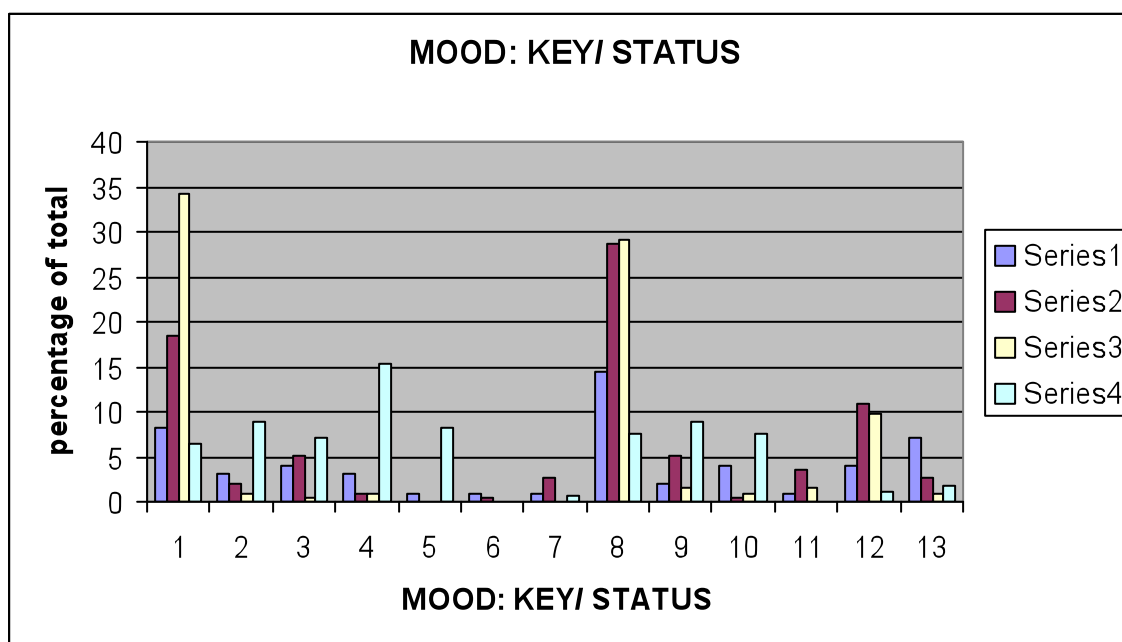
MOOD: KEY/ STATUS

Figure 21: proportions of selected MOOD: KEY/ STATUS choices as percentage of total

One can see at a glance that there are substantial differences in the patterns of instantiation for certain of the KEY and STATUS choices across the different corpora investigated in the present work. If one combines the proportions of minor and declarative KEY choices[4], there are four selection patterns which stand out as being the

---

[4] In terms of the minor confirmatory KEY, as discussed above, not only this particular KEY choice but the minor clause KEY selections in general are notable in terms of this cross-corpus comparison to a large degree simply because there is a much higher rate of instantiation of minor clauses in this corpus than in the others: no less than thirty-six percent of all choices in the sales texts are minor clauses; whereas for the other corpora the proportions are, for the surgical text twelve percent, for the casual conversations ten percent, and for the interviews two percent. The above consideration doesn't prevent one from interpreting the comparison of the use of the minor confirmatory KEY choice across the four sets of texts. However, unless one adds to these figures those for the declarative confirmatory KEY the analysis of the minor

most dramatic: these are the variations in patterns of selection of the subordinate STATUS, the neutral KEY, the confirmatory KEY, and the challenging KEY. I will concentrate the discussion below on these statistics; other statistics – such as the coordinate STATUS, and committed and mild KEY choices - will be addressed more briefly. Firstly, I will present the statistics in graphic form for the minor and major declarative clauses combined, as well as some other of the more significant statistical comparisons: as above, the graph lists the different categories along the x-axis in numeric form; the corpora, again represented as 'series 1-4', are as for Figure 21 above:

1 = subordinate	8 = challenging: focussing
2 = coordinate	9 = reserved
3 = neutral	10 = mild
4 = confirmatory	11 = polar interrogative: neutral
5 = neutral+ confirmatory	12 = wh interrogative: neutral
6 = committed	13 = imperative: neutral
7 = challenging	14 = imperative: question
series 1 = surgical	series 3 = interviews
series 2 = casual conversation	series 4 = sales

equivalent will be revealing more about the difference between the use of the minor and major clause MOOD choices across the corpus than about the use of the confirmatory KEY (cf discussions of the use of the minor clause KEY options in Chapter 7).
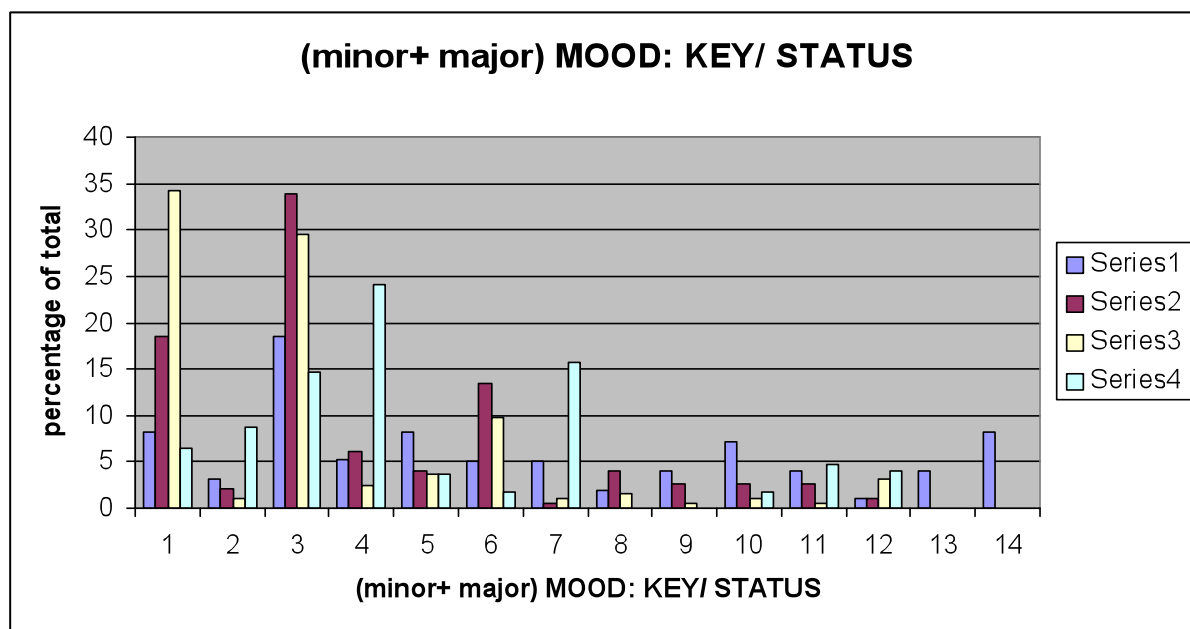
Figure 22: proportions of selected (minor+ major clause) MOOD: KEY/ STATUS choices as percentage of total

Adding the declarative to the minor confirmatory KEY[5] statistics reveals the following proportions across the corpora: in the surgical text, five percent of all choices are confirmatory, in the casual conversations six percent, in the interviews three percent, and in the sales texts twenty-four percent. These figures thus reveal a staggering difference between the sales and the other registers. One needn't search far for an explanation: in the telephone sales texts much of the interaction involves the simple exchange of information, without there being the need for any interpersonal 'energy' or engagement. The use of the confirmatory KEY in both the declarative and minor clauses

---

[5] One could also add the neutral+ confirmatory or even the committed+ confirmatory choices, but these are considered here to be substantially different selections, whereas the minor and declarative choices are considered essentially agnate in terms of KEY.

442

can thus be seen in terms of the meaning construed by the term 'confirmatory' itself: much of the interaction is about simply confirming information.

The low level of interpersonal engagement revealed in this pattern also at least partly explains the frequent use of the minor clause in these texts: the MOOD resources for giving and demanding information and goods and services and enacting interpersonal relations normally required in most registers are to a large extent rendered redundant in such a routinised, formulised encounter[6], where interactants can proceed with a strong expectation of what comes next. Thus if a Mood-less clause is instantiated, as discussed in Chapter 7, the co-textual and registerial environment will supply the relevant SPEECH FUNCTION choice. The confirmatory KEY is therefore used both to give and demand information, as the following exchange from Sales 1, discussed in detail in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2.1.2), illustrates (this table also has illustrations of the use of the challenging KEY, discussed below):

interactant	information unit	text and intonation analysis	MOOD: KEY/ STATUS
operator	2	//_3 my name's Me- */ linda would you like //	declarative: uncommitted
operator	3	//_2 home de- */ livery or //	polar interrogative: involved
operator	4	//1 take away //	polar interrogative (alternative

---

[6] Cf also Thompson's discussion of Mood-less questions by a doctor maintaining his status as primary knower (1999: 110): "Questions in which the process is ellipsed are formally neutral as regards mood…they allow the doctor not to have to "admit" ignorance through his mood choice" [that is, by enacting an interrogative].

			type): neutral
customer	5	//3 ^ de- / livery //	declarative: confirmatory
operator	6	//2 ^ I'm / sorry //	minor: challenging
customer	7	//_3 home de- */ livery //	declarative: uncommitted
operator	8	//1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please //	minor: neutral
customer	9	//3 five six two */ six //	coordinate
operator	10	//1 five six two */ six //	minor: neutral
customer	11	//3 four five two */ one //	minor: confirmatory
operator	12	//2 four five two */ one //	minor: challenging
customer	13	//3 yep //	declarative: confirmatory
operator	14	//_3 o- */ kay and the //	minor: uncommitted
operator	15	//3 surname and / suburb for de- */ livery please //	minor: confirmatory
customer	16	//3 Strangle //	minor: confirmatory
customer	17	//3 Blackmores //	minor: confirmatory
operator	18	//1 Strangle sixty- */ two //	minor: confirmatory
operator	19	//2 Batman street */ Blackmores //	minor: challenging
customer	20	//3 yep //	declarative: confirmatory

Table 27: confirmatory and challenging KEY choices illustrated

In IU 5 one can see the prototypical use of the confirmatory KEY – with the declarative MOOD - by the customer to give the information demanded by the operator. However, in IU 15 the operator uses the same KEY choice – this time with a minor clause – as a resource for demanding information. Looked at from another perspective, this instance shows the redundancy in this register of the resources of MOOD and the low level of interpersonal engagement in the KEY choice: the operator is merely moving the

444

customer through a preset format for the exchange of information. IUs 16-18 and 20 show this KEY choice again in its prototypical deployments for the giving (IUs 16 and 17) and checking (IUs 18 and 20) of information[7]. Although these patterns were revealed within Chapter 7, in this analysis here one can contextualise that earlier discussion with respect to an inter-corpora, cross-registerial comparison, showing how characteristic such patterns of interpersonal disengagement are of the sales texts.

The above text excerpt also illustrates the use of the (minor) challenging KEY in the sales text for the purpose of demanding (checking) information (IUs 12 and 19). It is also used in IU 6 to demand the repeat of information given by the customer[8]. Not surprisingly, it is in the sales register that one finds the large proportion of instances of the minor challenging KEY, used for these purposes. The declarative challenging KEY is also used in the sales texts, to roughly the same degree, and for the same purpose; but

---

[7] The (minor) confirmatory KEY is also used with continuatives, such as in the ovens text (IUs 10 - 'yeah' - and 40 - 'you know'). There are instances where its use (with the declarative MOOD) seems to be similar to that described for the HRT, eg. in the hailstorm text (IU 169 – H1: //5 ^ but / then it got / too */ bad so //1 everyone had to rush */ in because it was //5 dangerous I mean it //1 literally */ was //4 not just the */ ice-blocks but the - the //3 */ tiles coming / off //): that is, the speaker seems to use the confirmatory KEY to seek confirmation (dialogic collaboration, or corroboration) of his claim.

[8] As discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2.1.1.2), although, technically, this is a major clause, I treat the use of this formulaic phrase – 'I'm sorry' – as equivalent to other such devices such as 'what?' or 'huh?', that is, as a minor clause it is also similar to an exclamation, except that it demands rather than gives information. The basic meaning is that of the SPEECH FUNCTION: these are the basic devices for giving and demanding, dependent almost entirely upon the choice of KEY): cf also IU 35 in the Sales 1 text.

there are instances where its use is more alike to that commonly ascribed to the high

rising terminal (HRT), such as in the following (Sales 2: IU 42): customer //2 ^ okay no

well we'll / have a / large */ then //. One instance only of this latter (HRT) usage can also

be found in the casual conversations[9], in the ovens text (IU 39, which in fact follows the

exchange quoted at the beginning of the present work in Chapter One): B4 //2 er - I'm /

still sort of / working it */ out a / bit you //.

Although Halliday's construal of this KEY choice as 'challenging' is appropriate

to all these uses[10] – this KEY challenges the listener/s to supply a response – the

descriptions of its various uses by, for example, Horvath (1985), Warren and Britain

(1999) and MacGregor (2005) – for example, of the HRT as seeking verification of

comprehension and building speaker solidarity - would provide a more differentiated

and precise account of these and the earlier instances across the corpus (cf also the

discussion in Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1.1)[11]. In the surgical text – the other corpus to

have a significant proportion of its use - there are two instances, however, that are

---

clearly best described by the 'challenging' label: (IUs 68 and 69) registrar //1_ am - / I'm in the */ way / aren't I //, surgeon //2 no //; and (IUs 73 and 74) registrar //1 ^ you / wanna take / over */ don't you //, surgeon //2 no //. In both instances the challenging reply by the surgeon is just that: a challenge to the registrar's suggestion that the surgeon wishes to reassert his institutional hierarchic role.   However, in the sales texts the interpersonal resources of intonational grammar are taken over, on the whole, by the system of SPEECH FUNCTION for the enactment of the exchange of information.

The text excerpt in Table 27 also contains two interesting uses of the minor neutral KEY. IU 8 by the operator - //1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please // - could be seen as functioning as an eliciting question[12]; or else interpreted as a command (as for the operator's opening demand for information discussed in Chapter 7, Section

---

[12] This is similar to the use of 'queclaratives' discussed by Thompson (1999), where a declarative is used to elicit information, but with different tenor implications. An example of a queclarative in the data is in the Jones-Ruddock interview text (IUs 42-48): //4 ^ from / what you're */ saying ah the //4 sensitive in- / telligence infor- */ mation //4 held / by Mister */ Hao and Mister //4 Chen // //4 ^ ah / will be */ assessed by the //1 government //1 or / by its */ agencies //. Thompson's observations on the tenor implications of such a choice in a doctor-patient interaction are of interest in the context of the Jones-Ruddock interaction (1999: 111): "In a sense the doctor is having his communicative cake and eating it: he gives information (a speech role associated with knowledgeable status) but receives confirmation as something that he needs to be sure of". In the 'adversarial' type of interview its use can be contextualised within the need by Jones to assume knowledgeable status while provoking contestation and seeking assent: in this case, by making a claim to have interpreted the import of Ruddock's meaning.

7.2.2.1.1)[13]. Either way, the tendency in this register for the interpersonal metafunction to be backgrounded is evident in this choice[14]; as it is in IU 10, the second instance of this choice, where the operator repeats the customer's phone details back to him for confirmation: in this case, the falling tone doesn't signal that the operator is requesting a confirmation of her comprehension from the customer - as with the HRT and confirmatory instances discussed above - but is merely confirming her comprehension[15].

The proportions for the neutral minor and major KEY selections are as follows: for the surgical text, nineteen percent; for the casual conversations, thirty four percent; for the interviews, thirty percent; and for the sales texts, fifteen percent. These statistics reveal differences between the surgical and sales texts on the one hand and the casual conversations and interviews on the other. The lower proportion for the surgical text

---

[13] Again, following Thompson's (1999) discussion, this semantic indeterminacy, rather than being seen as a by-product of the speakers' use of the minor clause, could in fact be seen as a motivating factor in the ellipsis of the Mood element: in this case avoiding the need for the sort of interpersonal complexity seen in the opening move of the operator in Sales 2 (realising complexity in the tenor relations). But in fact, as Thompson suggests (as Hasan did earlier), the point is that the text-context relation is a complex and often indeterminate one: in this case, it may be that the need for a swift transaction combines with the usual tenor issues (of hierarchic status, and (professional sales) expertise) between salesperson and customer (cf discussions in Chapter 7).

[14] Although, cf discussion of the tenor ramifications of the minor clause in footnotes 4, 6 and 13 above.

[15] Of course, by doing so the operator is in fact implying that this is still a checking statement – if her details were wrong the customer is thereby given an opportunity to correct her – but the difference is one of KEY: in this instance the KEY doesn't request a confirmation, but instead signals that comprehension has already occurred.

can be accounted for to a large degree by the high rate of imperative KEY choices in that text - eighteen percent in total – but also its higher rate of mild, challenging and reserved KEY choices – totalling twelve percent. For the sales corpus, the significantly higher proportions of twenty-four percent for the confirmative KEY and sixteen percent for the challenging KEY account to a large extent for the lower rate of the declarative KEY in this corpus. Taking the MOOD and KEY choices together, one can see clearly how the texts in these two corpora are less declarative in 'tone' than those of the other two corpora.

Considered together with the profiles for the committed KEY, one can see that there is a much higher level of 'certainty' (about the polarity of utterances) in the casual conversation and interview texts than in the surgical and sales texts. The committed KEY choices for the minor and declarative clauses show a similar but less dramatic comparative profile: the surgical text has a proportion of five percent of this KEY; thirteen percent in the casual conversations; ten percent in the interviews; and two percent in the sales texts. When one considers that most of the selections for the surgical text are in the final stages discussed in Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 – that is where the text turns to a focus on the interpersonal metafunction (enacting tenor roles) – the results appear even more clearly interpretable: this KEY selection, with its greater level of interpersonal commitment, occurs more where there is some argumentation or other form of interpersonal engagement taking place, as in the casual conversation (particularly the hailstorm text) and interview corpora. Both the work of Eggins and Slade (1997) on the former register, and Bell and van Leeuwen (1994) on the latter,

show how these registers (or, the case of the latter, certain types of text within the interview text-type) are crucially about the negotiation of interpersonal difference.

The last major comparative profile to be considered is that of the two STATUS choices. The comparison of the proportions of subordinate choices across the corpora reveals dramatic differences: in the surgical text the proportion is eight percent; in the casual conversations, nineteen percent; in the interviews thirty-four percent; and in the sales texts, seven percent. One might assume that these patterns clearly reflect the different mode settings of each corpora: that it is only in the more monologic texts that one can find such a high level of information unit complexing. However, in the sales texts one in fact does find information unit complexing, but with the coordinate KEY: nine percent; as compared with three percent in the surgical text, two percent in the casual conversations, and one percent in the interviews. In the sales texts the information which is exchanged – for example, telephone numbers or order details – is simply 'chunked' into smaller units for the purpose of comprehension. In the casual conversation and interview texts, however, the information flow is chunked not only for the purposes of comprehension (in the fact that it is chunked) alone, but to develop complex monologic text: either the events and expositive discourse of the anecdote with its attendant subordinate circumstantial detail; or the complex logical argumentation of the interviews.

Of course in the above discussion there is much that is of necessity omitted: there are many individual selections, as I have discussed above, that by themselves reveal

significant aspects of the texts as members of their respective registers. Taken as a whole, those various options that are selected only once or seldom across the corpus also reveal the extent of MOOD and KEY variation across the different corpora. This is revealed to some extent in Figures 21 and 22 above: one can see that while the surgical text shows a greater distribution of choices across the range of KEY options available, the interview texts show the least variation. In the following graph I add to this picture the statistics for those selections which haven't been addressed in the above discussion, to give a sense of the extent to which in each corpus the range of KEY selections is drawn upon (Note: the KEY choices identified by the numeric values along the y-axis are not specified in Figure 23; the corpora are identified as before by the 'series 1-4'):
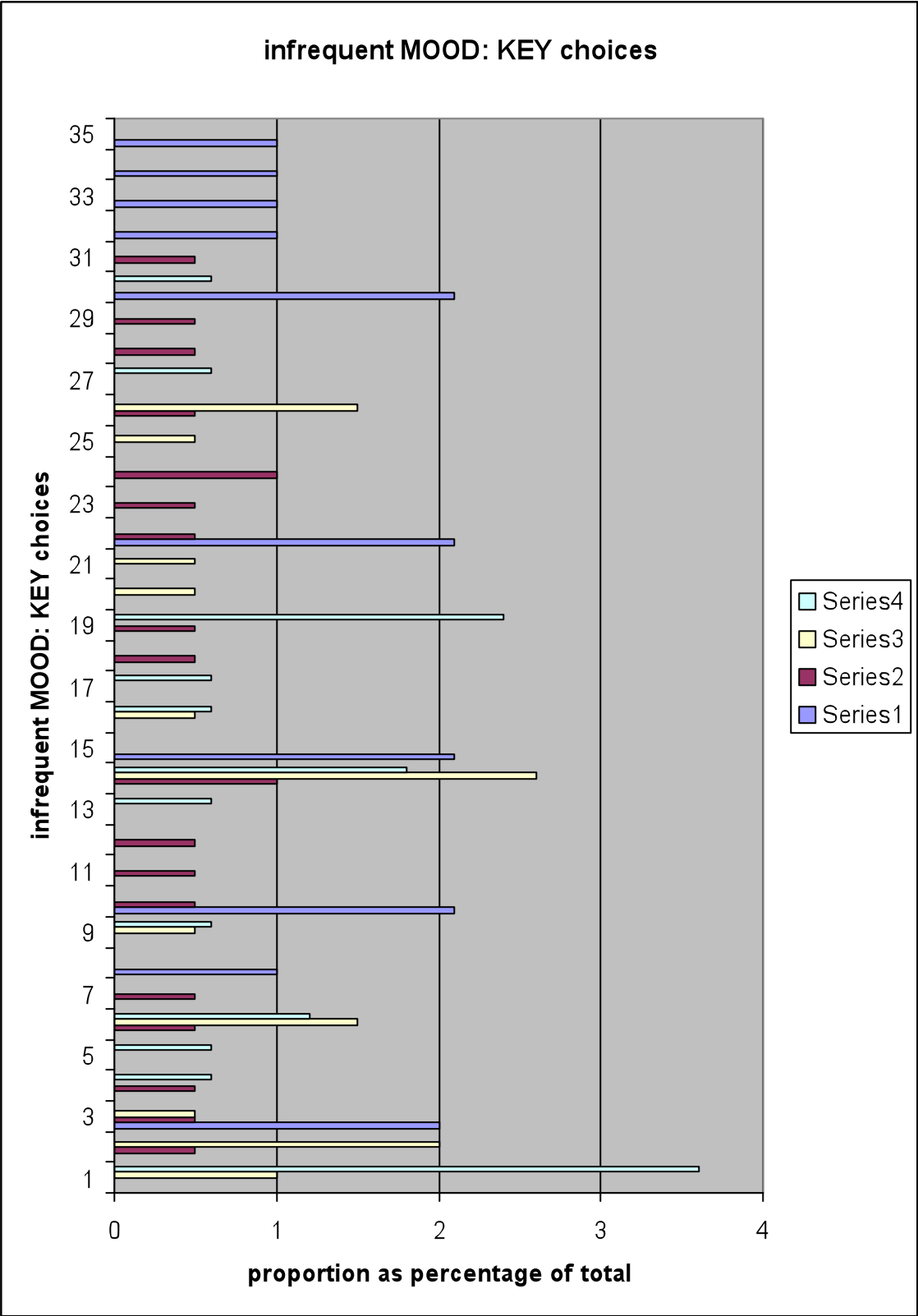
Figure 23: selected infrequent MOOD: KEY choices

This graph shows that for all the corpora except for the interviews there is quite a variation in the range of MOOD: KEY choices: that is, the interview texts are the most homogenous interpersonally. Of course this is to some extent accounted for by the variation in MOOD alone: the level of use of the non-declarative MOOD in the interviews is substantially less than that of the other sets of texts. But my aim here is not to profile KEY choices alone, independently of MOOD (that is systemically impossible); nor is my argument here to discount the value of a study of MOOD choices alone – such a study is possible and valuable, precisely because the latter are more primary delicacy options.

The point is that in the interview corpus the range of interpersonal resources of grammar in general (both MOOD and KEY) drawn upon is more constrained than in the other corpora. This raises the issue of why in the interview texts there is less variation in KEY selection. I showed in Chapter 6 how the system of ID in particular was significant for the move along the cline of instantiation, in concert with KEY; one might add to that observation that the systemic range of KEY is less important than its role in the enactment of interpersonal meaning upon clausal elements not themselves given rank status as negotiable propositions in the discourse.

8.2.1.2   Conclusion

In the above statistical analyses of KEY and STATUS across the corpora of the present work, as in the earlier analyses in each chapter, certain patterns emerge as significant which, when related back to earlier detailed perspectives upon the actual texts, help to identify ways in which the different corpora can be seen as instances of

'registers'. However, it is clear that while forming complementary perspectives in the exploration of the texts as members of registers, the different views here also bring into relief different patternings to those of the earlier chapters: the views in this chapter in some ways confirm, in other ways present different interpretations of the texts in terms of their registerial profiles.

Subtle variations such as those seen between the different operators in the sales texts, and between the two successful and one unsuccessful transaction are obscured in the move here along the cline of instantiation; but the difference in the use of the confirmatory KEY in the sales as compared with the other corpora, already so evident in Chapter 7, are made manifest in statistical terms in the perspective adopted in this chapter. One can also see in the KEY statistics presented in this chapter for the two 'conversational' texts – those less associated with an immediate pragmatic purpose for the use of language – the more declamative nature of these text-types, as speakers seek to convince or entertain their listeners, as compared with the more active use of language in the surgical and sales texts; but this perspective again obscures the variations seen in earlier chapters within and between these texts.

Furthermore, one could profile the statistics in a variety of other ways to bring out different patternings: for example, conflating the statistics of certain KEY choices – such as the challenging and challenging: focussing KEYs – so as to provide different perspectives to those adopted here on the phenomena of register variation. The present work has been designed not so much to provide conclusive insights into the register

nature of each of the texts and corpora, but to explore different analytical perspectives on the data and the relations of these different perspectives to the findings and the findings to each other. The findings arising out of analyses in earlier chapters clearly motivate further research of the type taken in the present chapter across a range of systems and analytical views.

8.2.2   INFORMATION FOCUS

8.2.2.1 Analysis and Discussion

In the present section I investigate the patterns of selection in the system of IF across the four corpora of Chapters 4 to 7, according to the method employed in Chapter 4, but with a single metafunctional orientation: that is, the mapping of Focus onto the interpersonal elements of the information units is investigated, such as to explore the level of orientation to the interpersonal metafunction across the corpora. Thus, a set of thirteen interpersonal categories form the paradigm from which the system of IF selects[16], which

---

[16] This paradigm is of course not available in every information unit: for many, in fact only one, for example the nominal group in the sales corpus, is available. However, in the case of the nominal group for example, where the experiential resources of lexicogrammar only are available, the aim of this categorical paradigm – to profile IF orientation to the interpersonal metafunction - is met. This analysis, however, doesn't take into account whether the Focus is accompanied by a KEY selection or not, or what type: that is, for example in cases where the clause grammar gives only an experiential option for Focus - in a nominal group information unit - there may or may not be an interpersonal selection in the KEY choice.

are listed here in an approximate[17] scale of interpersonal relevance or nuclearity: Subject, Finite, Finite+Predicator, mood/wh Adjunct[18], exclamation, comment Adjunct, politeness marker (eg. 'sorry', 'thanks')[19], Vocative, Complement, Predicator, circumstantial Adjunct, nominal group[20], and continuative/conjunctive Adjunct[21]. I include minor Focus (realised in the tone 13 and 53 choices) as a full count, as the purpose of this

---

[17] Such a scale is not meant to be exact: it is not clear to me which of, for example, the comment adjuncts, exclamations, Vocatives, politeness markers or complements are the more important or nuclear interpersonally. In the case of the Vocatives and politeness markers, for example, speakers will often use a Vocative in the same place in a compound Focus information unit as a politeness marker – as the point of a minor Focus – suggesting they may be equivalent in terms of interpersonal value: eg. (Sales 1: IU 22): operator //1_3 what would you */ like Mr */ Strangle //; (Sales 1: IU 27) //13 and a */ garlic bread */ thanks //. I have however included the mood and wh Adjuncts together as these pairs of categories seem to function in much the same way in terms of their interpersonal nuclearity. Such as scale may of course be contested; but that would be entirely in the spirit of the present work, which is an explorative one. This scale, that is, is a proposal for one way to think about the use of the system of IF across large corpora.

[18] wh-Adjuncts can of course function in a variety of interpersonal roles – Adjunct, Complement, Subject – but I include them with mood Adjuncts as an explorative categorisation only for the present analytical purposes: across their different functional categorisations in the data I estimate they would appear as less central than Subjects and more central than Complements.

[19] These are of course also comment Adjuncts (of the 'entreaty' type); but I analyse them separately for the purposes of the subsequent discussion (these politeness markers appear significant in their register profile.

[20] functioning as minor clauses, primarily in the sales texts (cf discussion in Chapter 7).

[21] These last two, also categorised together, are of course textual categories, but are included, as is the nominal group, so as to offer a comprehensive coverage of the data. In terms of the textual orientation to the interpersonal metafunction being explored here, these are of course at the lowest end of the scale of interpersonality.

additional Focus is to assign textual status to an additional element of the discourse. The opening and final courtesies (Salutations and Valedictions) in the sales texts will not be included, to bring them into line with the other texts where such elements have also been omitted (in particular the interviews).

	surgical		casual conversation		interviews		sales	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Subject	2/106	1.9	31/205	15.1	39/205	19.0	4/166	2.4
Finite	9/106	8.5	5/205	2.4	4/205	2.0	1/166	0.6
Finite+ Predicator	4/106	3.8	3/205	1.4	6/205	2.9	2/166	1.2
mood/wh Adjunct	13/106	12.3	11/205	5.4	5/205	2.4	14/166	8.4
exclamation	2/106	1.9	5/205	2.4	0/205	0	0/166	0
comment Adjunct	1/106	0.9	1/205	0.5	4/205	2.0	0/166	0
politeness marker	3/106	2.8	0/205	0	0/205	0	8/166	4.8
Vocative	0/106	0	1/205	0.5	0/205	0	3/166	1.8
Complement	29/106	27.4	81/205	39.5	73/205	35.6	61/166	36.7
Predicator	15/106	14.2	21/205	10.2	20/205	9.8	6/166	3.6
circumstantial Adjunct	18/106	17.0	23/205	11.2	47/205	22.9	15/166	9.0

nominal group	1/106	0.9	3/205	1.4	0/205	0	26/166	15.7
continuative/ conjunctive Adjunct	9/106	8.5	20/205	9.8	7/205	3.4	26/166	15.7
totals	106/ 106	100	205/ 205	100	205/ 205	100	166/ 166	100

Table 28: IF: Mapping onto interpersonal and other elements of information units

As with the statistics for the MOOD: KEY/ STATUS choices, these statistics reveal important variation in the use of IF across the four corpora. Those interpersonal categories showing substantial variation across the corpora in terms of their assignment of textual status as Focus of New are Subject, Finite, mood/wh Adjunct, politeness marker, Predicator, and circumstantial Adjunct, with the nominal group and continuative/conjunctive Adjuncts also revealing significant variation between the corpora. This variation is more readily seen in graphic form, as presented below. In this graph I include all the selections, so as to get a sense also of the range of selections and their proportions. The key for the numeric representation is as follows (the corpora are as before represented by the 'series 1-4'):

1 = Subject   8 = Vocative
2 = Finite   9 = Complement
3 = Finite+Predicator   10 = Predicator
4 = mood/wh Adjunct   11 = circumstantial Adjunct
5 = exclamation   12 = nominal group
6 = comment Adjunct   13 = continuative/conjunctive Adjunct
7 = politeness marker
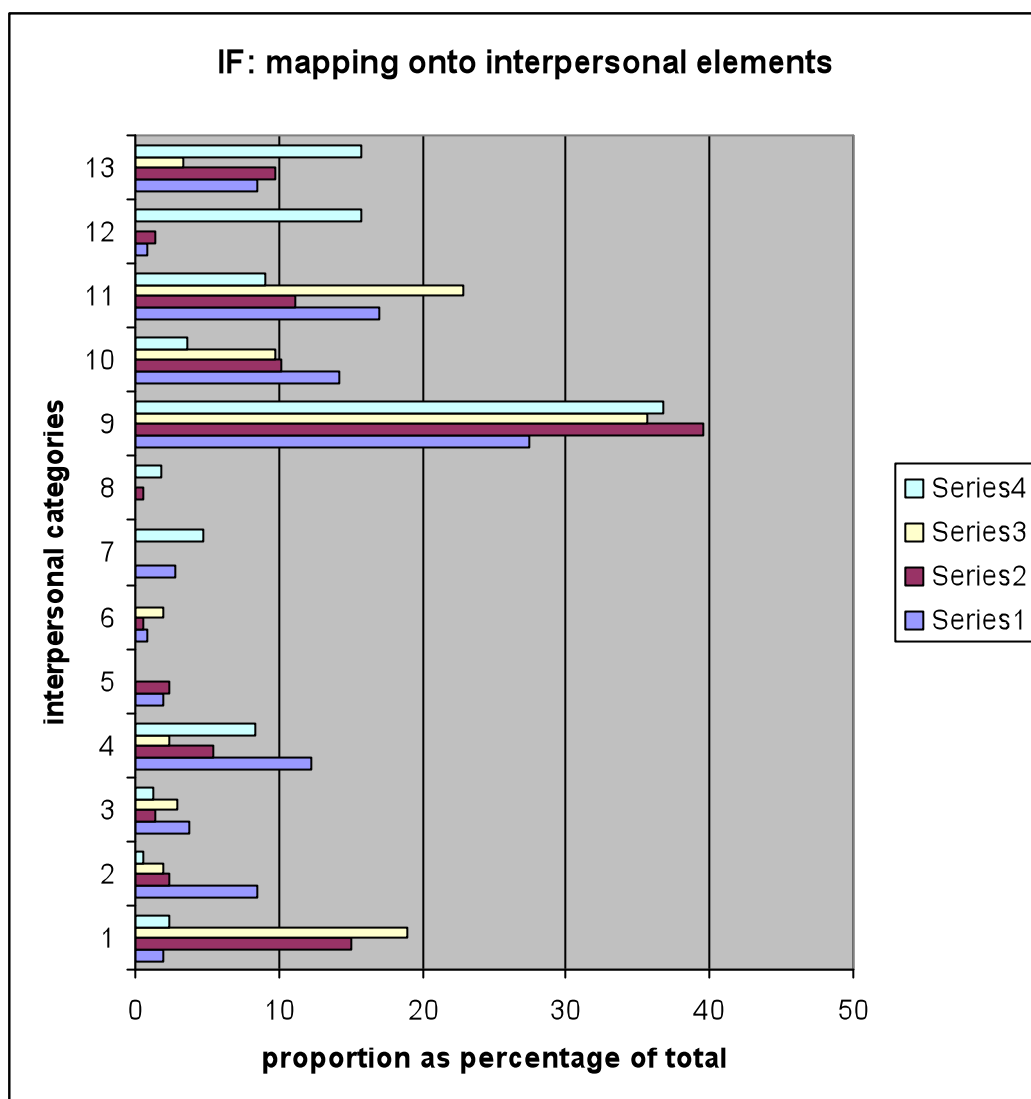
Figure 24: IF: mapping onto interpersonal elements

The high rate of instantiation of Focus upon the Subject in the casual conversation and interview texts – fifteen and nineteen percent, respectively - as compared to that in the surgical and sales texts – two percent for each – is of two main types. In terms of the corpus of interview texts, as discussed in Chapter 6, the high incidence of Subject as culmination of New can be accounted for to a large extent by the high rate of complex embedding and other forms of downranking of constituents, such that these constituents –

for example a pre- or postposed Subject – are spread over more than one information unit, and sometimes several. One illustration from the interview text (IUs 18-21) will suffice to exemplify this type:

Ruddock	18	//5 ^ ah but it would be na- / ive to be- //	Complement
Ruddock	19	//4 lieve that er / matters that are re- */ ported on are //	(postposed) Subject
Ruddock	20	//_3 not */ matters that the //	(postposed) Subject
Ruddock	21	//1 organisations / ahh that / work in this area would / not be aware of and wouldn't */ act on //	(postposed) Subject

Table 29: an exemplification of (a postposed) Subject as Focus from the Jones-Ruddock interview

As I discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.2.4), this particular type of grammatical construction (substantially repeated by Ruddock in his succeeding turn), with its Subject 'it' having as its referent the complex postposed Subject 'to believe…wouldn't act on', could be interpreted metaphorically, such that IU 18 is serving as an interpersonal metaphor of modality. However, this obscures the fact that the entire postposed element does in fact carry the burden of the interpersonal responsibility: if one were to argue with this proposition, one would be arguing with the full complexity of (downranked) meanings which constitute it. As also discussed in Chapter 6, such downranking also allows the elements of the downranked clause to be made Focus: in this instance, the Predicators 'reported' and 'act', and the Finite 'not'. These are all both downranked elements as Foci, and part of the ranking Subject – it is in this sense that it is important to

count each instance of Focus here separately, contributing to the statistics for the assignment of Focus to Subject[22].

In addition to this type of complex Subject in the interview texts, there is another common type that is instantiated in both the interview and casual conversation corpora, although this type of more common in the latter: this is where a clause is distributed into more than one information unit such that a non-complex Subject is made Focus. Halliday (1967a) has discussed this marked ID in terms of the system of THEME – that this is a strategy for marking Theme as Focus - but it is clear that there is also, at least in some instances, an interpersonal influence operating, such that the 'nub' of the proposition is also the culmination of New (and textually highlighted). Some examples of different types of Subject/Focus are listed below, including instances, albeit not common, where this assignment of Focus occurs with neutral ID: that is, where the Focus of New as Subject is marked, the post-Subject information being Given, either because of previous mention or because of the informational redundancy (the interpersonal element made Focus is listed in the right hand column):

interview: Jones-Ruddock			
Ruddock	49	//4 ^ I'm / saying that er in- //	Predicator
Ruddock	50	//4 telligence */ issues are a- //	Subject
Ruddock	51	//1 ddressed by / competent */ agencies //	circumstantial Adjunct

---

[22] These comments also apply of course to the preposed Subject in the McKew-Rau text discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.1.1); as well as complex Subjects that are not pre- or postposed, as in hailstorm IU 109 in the table below.

461

Ruddock	52	//2_ */ that's what I'm / saying //	Subject
interview: McKew-Rau			
Rau	59	//4 what we dis- / covered to- */ day was that on the //…	Subject
casual conversation: hailstorm			
H1	109	//4 ahh / well I mean the - the */ strange thing about it / was that //…..	Subject
H1	147	//1 then all */ hell breaks / loose we //	Subject
H1	148	//3 go out- */ side and //	circumstantial Adjunct
H1	149	//1 */ everyone's out- / side by the - //	Subject
casual conversation: ovens			
B4	4	//1 ^ that - ^ that / oven is //	Subject
B4	5	//1 very - //	Complement
B1	6	//1 ^ that / oven is */ hot //	Complement
B3	81	//2 ^ do / they wear */ out the //	Predicator
B3	82	//2 elements //	(postposed) Subject
B4	83	//1_ what - / in the - in the */ what //	Subject[23]
B1	84	//2_ ^ in the */ stove //	Subject

Table 30: various instances of Subject/Focus across the interview and casual conversation texts

Although there are a variety of different types of Subject/Focus, they all have in common that the element of the clause carrying the burden of the interpersonal negotiation is also made the textual highlighted element: that is, the textual orientation is

---

[23] 'do the elements in the stove wear out'.

towards the interpersonal[24]. This orientation was seen in detail in the discussion in Chapter 4 of the textual shift in the surgical text from a predominantly experiential (for example, Predicator or circumstantial Adjunct as Focus) to an interpersonal focus (Finite or polar mood Adjunct as Focus). From one perspective, it is one of the consequences in the interview texts of instantiating such complex pre- and postposed Subjects that the text becomes heavily orientiated to the interpersonal metafunction, with the (textual) point of the interaction made to be that which is stated or argued. These complex Subjects are often so made Focus in those texts precisely because they are thereby made the main points of the interaction – the direction in which the speaker wishes the text to travel is towards the negotiation of tenor, rather than field. This is illustrated explicitly in Ruddock's reply in IU 52, where the argument in IUs 50-51 is taken up by the anaphoric Subject 'that'. In the casual conversations it is often the case that a Subject is taken up and made a point of discussion – as for example in IUs 4-6 in the ovens text above - as in the interviews a Focussed Subject can become a point of contention[25]. This is also the case for a Prominent Subject, as evidenced in the following exchange, which could be considered the nuclear exchange of the JR interview text (IUs 99-104):

---

[24] This includes those instances of marked Focus where the Given information is so either because of its previous mention (IU 147) or is otherwise informationally redundant (IU149): regardless of these textual considerations, the orientation is still towards the interpersonal metafunction.

[25] In the casual conversations Foci that are Subject are perhaps more often textually oriented towards the Theme; but there are instances that have a clear interpersonal orientation (the Subject not being Theme): eg. from the ovens text B1 IU 55: //1 what would */ you know about / cleaning / ovens //.

Ruddock	99	//1 ^ we - look / you're asking / me to offer a */ view //	Complement
Jones	100	//4 mmm I //	continuative
Ruddock	101	//4 umm / on - ah - yeah well / I'm not going to offer a */ view on //…	Complement
Jones	102	//5 am in- //	Finite
Jones	103	// 5 deed //	mood Adjunct
Jones	104	//5_ yes //	mood Adjunct

Table 31: nuclear exchange in the JR text: IF mapping onto experiential and interpersonal elements

It is a critical point in the ongoing interview debate: persistent questioning from Jones provokes Ruddock to offer this comment on the nature of the interview itself, in terms of the roles of the two interactants, 'you' and 'me' (and the false start 'we'), assigning each of these personal pronouns Prominence. Bell and Van Leeuwen have shown how in the 'adversarial' political interview the interactants take up established social roles, with the interviewer as the 'honest broker' relentlessly pursuing politician on behalf of the viewing public. In these choices in IP Ruddock in a sense (perhaps inadvertantly) draws attention to this aspect of the exchange, its membership of the political interview type: the implication is that Jones has asked Ruddock something beyond his capacity to answer, i.e. outside the scope of his social role.

Jones pounces on this, responding with irony by drawing additional attention to his affirmation of Ruddock's observation through marked ID and IF, and a prosody of interpersonal commitment through a series of committed KEY selections on positive polar items. The meaning is clear: Jones asserts that it is indeed his role to seek (one the

public's behalf) a view from the public servant. In tandem with his marked KEY choice is his IF selection, which orientates the text towards the interpersonal negotiation, of the tenor roles, in Ruddock's utterance assigned the lower rank status of Prominents. Ruddock's subsequent reply, continuing his claim that it is not his (insitutional) place to give a view, continues the IF orientation to the experiential in the Focus on the less-interpersonally relevant Complement. The point is that the exchange both enacts and debates social roles; and that the course of this debate is crucially managed through the system of IF: the textual metafunction enables the interpersonal exchange.

The above statistics suggest that it is in the less pragmatically-motivated contexts of these two corpora – the casual conversations and the interviews - that one finds a greater interpersonal orientation in the system of IF. But the statistics for the mapping of Focus onto the Finite element suggest otherwise, as do those for mood Adjuncts as Focus: in terms of the former, there is a substantial difference between the surgical and the other corpora – nine percent in the surgical, two percent in the casual conversation and interview, and one percent in the sales texts[26] – while the proportions of mood Adjunct as Focus also show differences in patterning again, with twelve percent in the surgical and eight percent in the sales texts, as compared with five percent in the casual conversations and two percent in the interviews.

---

[26] The comparison is not affected by the inclusion of the statistics for the Finite+Predicator as Focus, but are in fact slightly enhanced.

The high proportion of the Finite as Focus in the surgical text of course can be readily referred to the latter stage of the text, discussed at length in Chapter 4, where the textual orientation shifts to the interpersonal metafunction as the interactants re-negotiate their respective enactments of their tenor roles and relations (whether the surgeon does or doesn't want to take over). Taking this into account, one can see again that this part of this text is more like the casual conversations and interviews in terms of the interpersonal orientation. The figures for the mood Adjunct can be accounted for very simply: aside from the uses of mood Adjuncts of polarity in the latter part of the surgical text, the same type of mood Adjunct is used through both the surgical and sales texts to enact assent, respond to questions or an offer, or confirm details, that is, for the exchange of information or goods and services, as in the following instances[27]:

surgical			
surgeon	23	//3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //	circumstantial Adjunct
surgeon	24	//1 see what we run */ into //	Complement
registrar	25	//3 o- */ kay //	mood Adjunct: polarity
surgeon	31	//4 so we've //	continuative
surgeon	32	//4 been */ frustrated //	continuative
registrar	33	//3 yep //	mood Adjunct: polarity
Sales 1			
operator	12	//2 four five two */ one //	nominal group

[27] The casual conversations also have several instances of a mood Adjunct as Focus, which are also mostly those of polarity, although there are also instances of other types such as that of temporality in the following (hailstorm IU 181): H1 //3 lot's of people have */ still got them - [begins to laugh] //.

customer	13	//3 yep //	mood Adjunct: polarity
operator	33	//2 umm would you / like to get a / bottle of / soft drink with / that for six- */ teen ninety / five //	circumstantial Adjunct
customer	34	//1 no thank you //	

Table 32: mood Adjuncts of polarity in the surgical and sales texts

The presence of politeness markers in the sales and surgical texts and their absence in the other corpora is also readily explicable: firstly, the sales and surgical texts involve considerations of tenor inequality and social distance, so it is not surprising that it is in these corpora that one finds several instances of Focus – occasionally marked - upon lexical items realising politeness, as in the following instances:

Sales 1			
operator	8	//1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please //	politeness marker (marked IF)
customer	27	//13 and a */ garlic bread */ thanks //	nominal group+ politeness marker
Surgical			
surgeon	26	//13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Cathy or a //…	Complement+ politeness marker
registrar	66	//13 thank / you //	politeness marker+ politeness marker[28]

Table 33: politeness markers in the sales and surgical corpora

Amongst the more experientially- and textually-oriented Foci, three significant differences between the corpora stand out. Firstly, the high rate of minor clause nominal groups and textual elements as Focus in the sales texts accounts to a large extent for the lower rate of circumstantial Adjuncts and Predicators as Focus in these texts. The minor clauses have been discussed (cf Chapter 7). The textually-oriented Foci are almost all continuatives, facilitating the swift execution of the customer ordering process.

---

[28] This instance is particularly interesting, coming as it does just before the shift to an interpersonal focus in the system of IF: the mapping of double Focus onto a formulaic phrase such as this is marked in the same way that it is on a continuative such as 'okay' (IU 11), signalling an over-emphasis on the personal affect realised through 'thank you'. The effect is to enact an awkward sort of deference into the tenor relations, a carefulness in tenor that sounds out of place amongst these close work colleagues and the otherwise almost informal tenor that prevails.

Secondly, the surgical text shows a more even distribution across these less interpersonally-oriented categories, facilitating the task at hand by focussing on the processes the language supports (Predicators) and the entities involved in (Complements) and circumstances (circumstantial Adjuncts) attendant upon those processes. Thirdly, the relatively high rate of instantiation of circumstantial Adjuncts as Foci in the interview texts – predominantly in the McKew-Rau interview - reflects the need for interactants in these contexts to elaborate upon the nuclear processes and their participants with detailed circumstantial information, as support for their arguments and questions, in both literal and metaphorical Circumstances, as in the following examples[29]:

McKew-Rau			
Rau	30	//4 under the mi- */ gration act you ca- // nnot hold…..	circumstantial Adjunct
Rau	56	//1 where we've been / de - ah / outlining in / great */ detail //	circumstantial Adjunct
McKew	45	//4 ^ but of course at the / same time er your / sister is / still main- */ taining ah //	Predicator
McKew	46	//4 */ in / Baxter that //	circumstantial Adjunct

Table 34: circumstantial Adjuncts in the MR interview text

Across the full graph of statistics in Figure 24 above one can further contextualise the patterns of selection of IF on interpersonally-relevant elements of the clause just

---

[29] One should also take into account circumstantial elements in downranked clauses, functioning as, for example, Complement in the ranking clause: e.g. (Mckew-Rau text: IUs 59-60) Rau //4 what we dis- / covered to- */ day was that on the //5 twenty */ first of Nov- / ember / two thousand and / four there was //…

discussed with respect to the general pattern of choice in this system, which clearly orients toward the experiential metafunction: the large proportion of choices in IF for all the corpora, aside from the choices already mentioned, assign Focus to either the Complement, Predicator, circumstantial Adjunct or, in the case of the sales texts, the nominal group or the textual Continuative/Conjunction categories. If one draws a (somewhat arbitrary, but nevertheless revealing) line of division between the first eight, and the last five categories, as being a rough approximation to the division between the interpersonally and experientially/textually-oriented categories, the statistics are these: sixty-eight percent of the surgical Foci are experientially-oriented; seventy-two percent of the casual conversations and interviews; and eighty-one percent of the sales texts. That is, there is a much greater textual focus on non-interpersonal than on interpersonal elements of the clause.

8.2.2.2   Conclusion

As discussed in earlier chapters, the systems of the (second-order semiotic) textual metafunction prove difficult to 'track' in terms of patterns of selection across larger corpora. In the present chapter I have adapted and simplified methods developed for analysis of smaller size samples of text in earlier chapters, so as to enable the move further along the cline of instantiation. While this of course represents a weakening of the value of the analysis, it allows larger-scale patterns to be revealed, patterns which, like those for the KEY and STATUS systems, are at once supportive of and different from the findings of earlier chapters, and which both reveal and obscure significant aspects of the register profiles of the texts.

On the one hand one can see in the above statistics a pattern not visible in the analyses of earlier chapters: a similarly lower level of interpersonal Focus in all the texts[30], not surprisingly revealing that it is the experiential metafunction that is the 'default' or at least most common orientation of the system of IF[31]. On the other hand, and contextualised with respect to that overarching pattern, one can identify different types of interpersonal and experiential Focus patterns across the corpora, and relate these statistical profiles to the registerial perspectives – particularly from the multistratal perspective – built up in the earlier chapters.

Thus, the comparatively significant pattern of Focus in the interview text on the Subject can be linked to the way in which speakers (particularly the senior politician Ruddock) enact quite complex constituents as Subject, thus making the 'nub' of the debate to include a lot of embedded or otherwise downranked information. Again, while this is a finding already emerging from the earlier Chapter 6 exploration, it can now be seen as a pattern that marks this text as having a distinct functional profile with respect to the rest of the corpus in the present work. Likewise, in the pattern of Finite Focus in the surgical text, the politeness markers in the surgical and sales texts, the relatively high rates of Focus on textual elements in the sales texts, circumstantial elements in the interviews, and the range of experientially oriented elements in the surgical text, one can

---

[30] The lower proportion in the sales texts can substantially be accounted for by the higher level of textual focus on textual elements – the continuatives and conjunctive Adjuncts.

[31] This can be interpreted as a complementary textualisation to that of Theme, whose default mapping is on the Subject.

discern significant relations between the registerial profiles that these patterns represent, and the contextual settings that have been shown to be operative in the earlier analyses of instances of these texts.

Again, as for the discussion above of MOOD: KEY/ STATUS choices, the more substantial statistics can overshadow or obscure the significance of some of the smaller proportions which, from a multistratal perspective on instances, can be equally revealing of registerial variation. For example, the distribution of the small number of Focal Vocatives – three in the sales, and one in the casual conversation texts – seems suggestive and would make an interesting further investigation across a larger corpus. Likewise, although outside of the scope of the present investigation of intonational systems, it is significant to a consideration of tenor that there are no exclamations in either the interviews or the sales texts: these being contexts in which such informal expressions of personal affect are the most inappropriate (owing to the social distance in the sales texts, and the level of formality and the tenor of professional expertise enacted)[32]. These are no more than tantalising hints for further analysis; but that is the point about the explorative cartography-based SFL approach adopted here: one may 'zoom in' on particular phenomena; or these may be identified as important for future research, having been located on the multidimensional map.

---

[32] One would expect if there were to be exclamations in the interviews, they would have been in the more casual conversational McKew-Rau interview; and in the sales, in Sales 3 where the operator is frustrated in her attempts to process the order.

8.3 Conclusion

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2) I made the point that the study of functional text-types has tended to be aligned along the instantiation and stratification dimensions, with resultant sacrifices whereby those studies applying statistical techniques for cross-registerial comparisons have tended to make the stratal perspective a second and often optional step, while the stratal approach to the study of register and genre has tended to remain focussed on specific text-types and instances of these. In Chapter 3, the discussion of the development of register and genre theory showed how this dual dimensional nature of the theory of functional text-type is not only motivated by the various construals of this phenomenon but also because of the nature of the phenomenon itself: register language – the concept of a functional text-type - involves both instantial and stratal considerations. In Chapter 4 I demonstrated the approach taken in the present work, whereby different views along the cline of instantiation are taken of the data, enabling complementary analytical orientations to both the stratification and instantiation dimensions; with the resultant sacrifices necessitated by the move further along the cline of instantiation. In Chapters 4-7 I applied this instantial 'shunting' approach in the analyses of four corpora, in each the various analytical views revealing different aspects of significance to the exploration of intonational register language, while there also emerged as it were a progression through each chapter, a building up from the suggestive patterning of the earlier view of instances to the more conclusive findings of the statistic views across the entire texts.

I have made it clear all along that the purpose and direction of the present work has not been such as to make this final analytical chapter the culmination, the outcome of the work in previous chapters. Certainly, each stage in the analysis can be seen as a step towards the full-scale statistical analyses across the entire corpus, and as a resource for making statements of meaning about the findings that emerge from the analyses in the present chapter. However, that is only one of several ways of looking at the present chapter, and the whole of the present work. The analyses conducted here in Chapter 8 can also be seen as no more or less than simply representing another perspective, this time further along the cline of instantiation, adding to the total set of perspectives which the explorative aim and approach taken in the present work has facilitated. Each perspective has its own strengths and weaknesses – not least because of their differing applicability to any particular text.

In terms of the (second-order semiotic) IF system in particular, but also for the analysis of KEY and STATUS, the methods of analyses I have developed and applied in this chapter, as throughout the present work, are certainly only themselves exploratory: they provide the initial means by which one might begin to make statements of meaning about the use of intonational systems as a resource for the instantiation of register settings. Although I believe already in the present work there are conclusive findings revealed by the analyses adopted here, and certainly many findings suggestive of future research, my main claim in this chapter as elsewhere in the present thesis is that I have made the attempt to explore and map out some of the outlines, however inadequately, of an area of linguistics – intonational systems in a register perspective - which, even in the

early twenty-first century, remains underexplored, obstinately shrouded in mystery. My aim in the present chapter in particular was to explore what it means to conduct analyses of patterning in the use of intonational systems across a range of corpora, both in terms of the analyses here themselves, and in relation to those of earlier chapters; and to confront some of the issues involved in such an exploration. I have identified significant patterns of selection in KEY, STATUS and IF systems, and related these to what the earlier chapters showed to be significant text-context relations; but I have also uncovered, here as elsewhere in the present work, many problems to which there are no immediate or only provisional solutions. Such is the nature of exploration, and the inherent challenges of exploring new territory.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Register Description of Intonational Systems: Contributions of the Present Work

In Chapter 1 I began the discussion in the present work by reference to the differences between spoken and written language. Using a text excerpt from the data, I showed how meanings which are in the original spoken form are not represented in the orthography of the written form, the latter being designed originally for specific social functions where such meanings were clearly not considered essential. I further discussed the potential ramifications of this omission in English-speaking societies where the written form has, over millennia, increasingly been called upon to represent the spoken language, for example in literary speech, reported speech in the press, documentary evidence within legal and other professional contexts, and a long list of other registers one could continue to extend indefinitely[1]. Of course at this point in the first decade of the twenty-first

---

[1] My own inspiration for this perspective upon my work came towards the end of my Honours year, when I had the good fortune to attend a dramatisation in Sydney (at the old police court museum) of excerpts from the transcripts of the trials of Oscar Wilde, performed by his grandson Merlin Holland and a descendant of Alfred (Lord) Douglas. I was intrigued by the actors' interpretation into speech of this particularly interesting script, purporting to be as it did a record of the speech of one of the most respected and reknowned orators in modern times in, some might say, his finest hour. I was interested in particular of course in the way they interpreted the intonational selections (a sort of archaeology of the spoken word

century, with a continuing increase in more powerful and widely available spoken and visual recording technologies, one might expect that such issues are becoming of less importance. But this can be so only to the extent that dependence upon the written word for the transmission of culture ceases (one assumes that Shakespeare, for example, will remain of interest to future generations).

I made the claim that it is in the study of register language – the expectancies speakers have in certain contexts of situation of the type of language which is appropriate to that situation – that one may find the resources needed to make educated decisions about how to translate the written into the spoken mode[2]. That is, the present work is, in

through the artefact of written transcription) of Wilde and his interlocutors. But in fact, this interest was complemented by an interest in the register aspects of the exchange, as I had made a study during an undergraduate SFL course of these trials in terms of their register and contextual descriptions, in which I found that there were two contexts and registers operative: that of the great dramatist and oratorial artist, performing before his audience (an artistic, literary-dramatic type of discourse); and of the courtroom (legal discourse). The tragedy of Wilde was to interpret the situation (intentionally or otherwise) in terms of one register (the artistic one) and its contextual parameters and semantic constraints only. When I asked Mr Holland about the basis of his interpretation of intonation he first asked if I was "of the Birmingham School"; and then informed that he hadn't given the issue of intonation much conscious thought, but had tried to 'put himself in his grandfather's shoes', as it were. It was at this point that I saw the value to literary studies and the study of other valued texts of register descriptions of the use of intonational systems.

[2] The register principle would operate also upon the reverse direction: where an author wishes to represent speech as accurately or evocatively as possible, or so as to suggest certain (intonational) meanings in the written text (cf Martinez- Lirola and Smith forthcoming b).

one sense, designed to be a resource for those wishing to develop more principled means for making choices in intonational systems when reading (and particularly reading aloud) text purporting to represent spoken text[3]. However, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, this consideration is also in fact the means by which I have chosen to introduce, illustrate the value and justifying the approach of the present work.

It is clear that in order to provide the means by which speakers of written text may interpret with sensitivity their source texts one must first explore and describe specific registers of language in terms of the use of intonational systems within and as part of the instantiation of those registers. This involves, in the first instance, determining the contributions that intonational systems make within different types of text via a detailed consideration of instances of text; and then profiling the use of these systems across larger stretches of text so as to build up a picture of the patterns (and thus expectancies) of their use within each type of text.

It is this aim, to provide descriptions of the use of intonational systems within specific registers, which forms the primary motivation and is the chief contribution of the present work. In the present work I have thus continued the task begun by Halliday, El-Menoufy, Van Leeuwen, Bowcher and others, in providing multistratal descriptions of intonational systems within different registers of significance to my culture. As Firth initially suggested, it is via the study of the habitual types of language employed by

---

[3] Written text not designed to be translated into the spoken mode is a particular register of written language, with its own intonational properties when read aloud (cf Halliday 1970).

members of a language community that one may most effectively and in a principled manner build towards a description of the total meaning potential of that language. The value of the register approach of course applies to the investigation and description of all language systems; but especially for those realised through the phonological resources of intonation, which have been relatively under-explored within linguistics in general in terms of their use within authentic naturally occurring spoken discourse.

It is partly in consideration of the treatment intonational systems have received in general linguistic description and application, and partly in consideration of some of the more intractable of issues emerging from the study of functional text-types, that I chose to adopt the flexibility of an explorative approach that draws fully upon the linguistic resources of the SFL multidimensional framework outlined in Chapter 1. This flexible approach has enabled me, firstly, to add to the understanding of the use of intonational systems as resources for the realisation of registerially constrained semantic systems, which themselves realise particular sets of contextual parameters, thus enabling speakers to manage the complexities of both language and the phenomenal realms that form the environments and motivations for the use of language. Secondly, the multidimensional framework and explorative approach adopted in the present work has allowed me both to model register description in terms of location along the cline of instantiation, while also enabling flexibility in the way in which the term 'register' is used. Register, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, is no more nor less than a way of looking at language: there exist in fact no such phenomena as 'registers' independent of the analytical methodologies and viewpoints one adopts in the analysis of language in context. A register, that is, as with

all language about language is, to return to the Firth quotation at the head of Chapter 3, 'neither immanent nor transcendent'.

In the research reported upon in the present work I have problematised certain issues in the development of the study of both intonational and register phenomena, in Chapters 2 and 3, identifying the utility here also of the SFL multidimensional approach in providing a coherent account of work in the relevant fields. I then demonstrated in Chapter 4 the efficacy of this approach for the exploration of the use of intonational systems within a particular text, discourse ancillary to a surgical operation, where I showed some of the semogenic power of these systems, particularly within this type of text, as well as exploring some of the patterns of significance emerging from the analysis whereby one might begin to make observations on the register settings operative within this type of context. Certain issues emerged in the move towards register perspectives: one such issue was the significant shifts in IF selection patterning in particular within the text and the consequences of these shifts for the descriptions both of the contextual settings and the register constraints of that text.

In Chapters 5 to 7 I extended the approach modelled in Chapter 4 to the exploration of three further types of text, which I characterised as: casual conversations; (televised current affairs) interviews; and (telephonic fast food) sales. In each of these chapters, on the one hand I was able to cast further light upon the nature of intonational systems and their functions; while on the other hand building up descriptions of particular registers within the general speech community that I hope will serve both as a resource

for and stimulus to further research in the areas of intonational and registerial phenomena. The view from the instance in Chapter 5 revealed the systems of KEY and STATUS to be significant, in both intra- and inter-text comparison, as resources for the negotiation of tenor settings and the co-construction of a particular text structure. In Chapter 6 found the interactions of ID and KEY in particular of interest, and grappled with the means by which such emergent patterns may be explored further along the cline of instantiation. In Chapter 7 I took a multistratal view in the move along the cline of instantiation, showing how the consistency across and between the texts in terms of intonational selections obscured more subtle variations in lexicogrammatical realisation strategies for SPEECH FUNCTION choices.

Within and between these chapters one issue was the consequences of adopting differing analytical views, both in terms of the study of intonational systems and of register: as Pike observed (cf Chapter 3, footnote 1), differences in analytical approach and methodologies in fact reveal not only different perspectives upon phenomena but different phenomena (in terms particularly of the variant patterning profiles visible at different points along the instantiation cline). This principle motivated me to adopt in Chapter 8 a further perspective along the cline of instantiation, comparing the corpora from each of Chapters 4-7).

I have made it clear this further analytical perspective was not designed to be the culmination of the work in the previous chapters: in the spirit of the explorative approach, it simply represents one more amongst the several perspectives along the cline of

instantiation; and as I have maintained throughout, each perspective has its own value as a resource for register description. However, I have also continued to emphasise the value of such a variety of perspectives not only within itself - as a set of complementary views of the data - but in terms of the additional value one acquires by the integration of these different perspectives: it is when one combines the findings of different analytical views, not only along the cline of instantiation but within all the dimensions of the SFL framework, that the extravagant richness of the multidimensional framework and approach becomes evident.

This, as I suggested in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.1), is to act upon Matthiessen's insight that register theory represents an integration of both the polysystemic approach of Firth with the holistic ecological approach advocated by Halliday and the SFL community (foreshadowed in Firth's urging towards the 'synthesis' advocated by Sweet). Both within each of the earlier chapters and in Chapter 8, the findings of the view along the cline of instantiation were also contextualised, in the discussion of their significance, with respect the earlier detailed views of instances of text.

At each step in the move along the cline of instantiation, the resultant analytical constraint served an enabling function in that it concentrated the analysis and discussion on one or two particular aspects of the use of intonational systems. In Chapter 8 this resulted in some more statistically valuable observations on the differences in patterns of KEY/STATUS and IF system selections between the four types of text. In general, each aspect of the expanding description can be related to any other aspect and, as observed by

Halliday and Matthiessen in the quotation at the head of Chapter 4, ultimately calibrated with respect to and contribute to the overall picture.

9.2 Limitations of the Present Work

One consequence of the explorative approach is that the descriptions I have developed, of the uses of intonational systems within and instantiating different registerial constraints, do not therefore necessarily form a coherent account across the entire thesis: the intonational systems and their semantic and contextual functions emerging as significant in the study in one chapter were not on the whole those at stake in the other chapters. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the different views along the cline of instantiation, within each chapter and between Chapters 4-7 and Chapter 8, not only reveal different perspectives upon the same phenomena but also reveal different phenomena. Thus the lack of consistent analytical coverage of particular systems across the entire corpus is clearly a weakness of the approach adopted in the present work.

Another acknowledged weakness in the present work is the lack of comprehensive analytical coverage: although I have attempted to incorporate investigations of a variety of significant uses of intonational systems, as the view from the instance reveals there are clearly many more aspects which could have been explored further along the cline of instantiation. Furthermore, in terms of the scope of the data, the small corpus size of each of the text samples weakens the value of the observations made upon patterns in the data. Another deficiency in the present work is that I was unable to draw comparisons between the work conducted here and other register descriptions of

intonational systems: to a large degree of course this is because there is very little in the way of register description available for such comparisons; however the work by for example El-Menoufy (1969), Eggins (1990), Slade (1996) and Bowcher (2004) in particular would no doubt provide useful material for further cross-registerial comparison.

In general, in adopting an explorative approach I feel that I have laid my work open to the criticism that it is eclectic both in analysis and discussion and thus suffers from a lack of conscientious attention to or rigorousness in the study of any one aspect of intonational or register phenomena. These criticisms could also be applied to the earlier chapters contextualising the present work, where I focussed on particular aspects of the development of the field of intonation study of relevance to my overall discursive aim: this approach departs from the long tradition in intonation study of making extensive literature reviews and theoretical discussion a foundation of the work. This, as I have acknowledged all along, is the paradox of the principle of register language, as applied to metalanguage: what is at once an enabling constraint in scope and methodology can of course also produce a disabling effect, especially to those whose concentration is upon one particular area of the phenomena I have explored in the present work. The means by which one's (language about) language gains its power within particular registers is also the means by which it is limited.

9.3 Directions for Future Research

The future for research into and incorporating intonational systems is brighter at this point in time than it has ever been. This is firstly because, with powerful software resources such as Praat, the means by which 'scholars of sound' may analyse and present analyses of intonation phenomena at all strata are now freely available to all who wish to avail themselves. Secondly, the development in descriptions of intonation and intonational systems provided by Halliday and other scholars over the last few decades in particular has meant that the theoretical and descriptive resources are available with which to not only explore these systems, but to integrate the various analyses and their findings into a coherent description of the semiotic significance of sound patterns at all levels (the advantages of both the technological and the theoretical and descriptive resources are wonderfully described and illustrated in Halliday and Greaves 2008). One avenue for future research then is that implemented already by Teich et al (2000), and pursued to some extent in the present work: the integration of insights and description from different theoretical traditions (and strata) into a single framework that makes coherent the different traditions and thus may draw upon their respective and combined strengths.

But perhaps the most promising exploitation of the various resources available in the early part of the twenty-first century is to on the one hand build up the description of intonational systems in general through the description of particular registers, while on the other hand applying these descriptions to the challenges of general linguistic tasks. SFL in particular has been a theory that, from its inception, has been applied with

wonderful success across a wide range of linguistic domains: language description and typology across a wide range of languages (and language families); computational applications; a wide range of pedagogic contexts; medical, legal and political discourses; literary theory and criticism; multimodality; and the philosophy of science in general and systems thinking in particular. It is not making a great leap of faith to suggest that the inclusion of intonational systems, so crucial to the process of meaning-making in many registers of spoken language, would complement and enrich these successes further. This would in turn return to the general description of intonation and intonational systems further insights for the elaboration and extension of the existing descriptions.

9.4 Register and Intonational Systems: Final (and Personal) Reflections

To follow on from the last point in Section 9.3, it has been one of the greatest challenges and often frustrations to the present researcher to be to a large degree deprived of a wider community of scholars in the field of intonation study with which one can habitually exchange ideas, feeding into the progress of one's own understanding and also into the common weal of understanding of intonational phenomena. That is not to say that there aren't many scholars both within and outside of SFL engaged in the study of intonational systems: I hope that in the discussions in the present work I have acknowledged much of the significant work by those who have ventured forth into this realm of study. Rather, I have found that the regular discussions one expects with colleagues in one's academic community around the world on issues related to systems of the clause, where one can as it were on a regular basis self-reflect on one's thinking and work within the context of such a community, is sometimes sorely lacking. We who are familiar with the issues

involved in the analysis and discussion of intonational systems in a multistratal perspective are somewhat of a small club.

One overarching aim that I have had in mind in the research for and presentation of the present work therefore is to make a contribution to progress in these two difficult fields of enquiry, intonational systems, and register. When I first took on this research in 2004, as part of my Honours degree, I was shocked at the reactions of even very well established scholars within and outside of SFL: those interested in grammar and discourse tended, on the whole, to recoil (in one memorable occasion, physically!) at the thought of engaging in research involving intonational phenomena, with the implication of the shadowing realm of phonetic and phonological analysis; while those experts in the field of traditional mainstream phonetic and phonological science would on the whole become very wary or uninterested where higher-strata issues appeared for discussion. I was fortunate in studying in a linguistics department where both the multidimensional systemic functional linguistic tradition – grammarians and discourse and context analysis - and mainstream phonetics and phonology tradition were available for me to both study and teach[4].

Hence, in exploring intonational systems within the SFL approach, my aim was as much to demonstrate, as Halliday has done over more than four decades, the importance of the role these systems play in our everyday communication of culture, including across

---

[4] It is perhaps noteworthy in this regard that both Van Leeuwen's (1982, 1985, etc) work and that of Teich et al (2000) grew out of the same fertile soil, that of the Linguistics Department at Macquarie University.

the reaches of intergenerational time, where the traces only of that culture have been inscribed in written script for us to interpret correctly back into speech. I hope that the exploration in the present work by myself, and that of others who have been working for longer than I in this field and by those to come, show and will continue to show that there is no more substantive difficulty in the analysis and study of intonational systems than that of any other lexicogrammatical, semantic or contextual system, and that the rewards for trying are many.

The progress that will be made in the understanding of spoken text in all its semiotic splendour will be substantially assisted when it is considered as commonplace to talk about KEY as it is to discuss MOOD, or to apply IF analysis as readily as THEME to the study of a text; when conference and other communal discussions in general linguistics about spoken language habitually accord to intonational systems their rightful place alongside all other grammatical systems. This progress, in the understanding of intonational phenomena and application of that understanding by the general SFL and wider linguistic science community, it must be emphasised, can best be done, and in a sense can only be done, within the context of the register approach - one register at a time. In this way anyone reading from a script may have the systemic functional resources to consciously apply that knowledge which is otherwise only found in the intuitions and understandings of the gifted actor: to understand the particular with respect to the general, and the general with respect to the particular.

Bibliography

Abercrombie, D. (1965) *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press.

Armstrong, L. E., Ward, I. C. (1926/1931) *Handbook of English Intonation*. Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner; Reprinted as *Handbook of English Intonation*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.

Atkinson, D, Biber, D. (1994) Register: A review of empirical research. In D. Biber and E. Finegan (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. New York: Oxford University Press: 351--85.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2005a) Interview: Maxine McKew and Christine Rau. (Broadcast 3rd June 2005). *Lateline*. http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2005/s1384384.htm. Accessed 30th August 2005. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2005b) Interview: Tony Jones and Philip Ruddock. Broadcast 8th June 2005. *Lateline*. http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2005/s1387904.htm. Accessed 30th August 2005. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2008) Tony Jones. *Lateline*. http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/about.htm. Accessed 9th June 2008. Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Bateman, J. A. (ed.) (2006) *Linguistics and the Human Sciences (Special Issue on Genre)* 2 (2).

Bateman, J. A., Paris, C. L. (1991) Constraining the deployment of lexicogrammatical resources during text generation: Towards a computational instantiation of register theory. In E. Ventola (ed.) *Functional and Systemic Linguistics: Approaches and Uses*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 81--106.

Bateman, J. A., Teich, E. (1995) Selective information presentation in an integrated publication system: An application of genre-driven text generation. *Information Processing and Management* 31 (5): 753--67.

Baumann, S and Grice, M (2006) The intonation of accessibility. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 1636--57.

Bell, P., Van Leeuwen, T. (1994) *The Media Interview: Confession, Contest, Conversation*. Kensington, NSW: University of New South Wales Press.

Beckman, M. E., Hirschberg, J., Shattuck-Hufnagel, S. (2005) The original ToBI system and the evolution of the ToBI framework. In S.-A. Jun (ed.), *Prosodic Typology: The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press: pp. 9--54.

Benson, J. D., Greaves, W. S. (1984) *You and Your Language: The Kinds of English You Use. Volume 1: Styles and Dialects*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Benson, J. D., Greaves, W. S., Mendelsohn, D. J. (1987) The centrality of intonation in English: An experimental validation of some aspects of M. A. K. Halliday's theory of intonation in a Canadian context. In M. A. K. Halliday and R. Fawcett (eds.) *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics: Volume 1: Theory and Description*. London; New York: Frances Pinter: 39--51.

Bernstein, B. (1971) *Class, Codes and Control, Volume 1: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. (ed.) (1973) *Class, Codes and Control, Volume 2: Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Berry, M. (1981) Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis: A multi-layered approach to exchange structure. In M. Coulthard and M. Montgomery (eds.) *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 120--45.

Bhatia, V. K. (2004) *Worlds of Written Discourse.* London; New York: Continuum.

Biber, D. (1988) *Variation Across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, D. (1995) *Dimensions of Register Variation: A Cross-Linguistic Comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, D. (2007) Towards a taxonomy of web registers and text types: A multidimensional analysis. In M. Hundt, N. Nessellhauf and C. Biewer (eds.) *Corpus Linguistics and the Web*. Amsterdam: Rodopi: 109--31.

Biber, D., Connor, U., Upton, T. A. (eds.) (2007) *Discourse on the Move*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Biber, D., Finegan, E. (eds.) (1994a) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Biber, D., Finegan, E. (1994b) Introduction. In D. Biber and E. Finegan (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. New York: Oxford University Press: 3--12.

Bloomfield, L. (1926) A set of postulates for the science of language. *Language* 2 (1): 53--64.

Bloomfield, L. (1930) Linguistics as a science. *Studies in Philology* 27: 553--57.

Bloomfield, L. (1933) *Language*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

BNC Consortium (2005) *British National Corpus*. http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.xml. Accessed 7th May 2008. University of Oxford.

Bolinger, D. L. (1951) Intonation: levels versus configurations. *Word* 7: 199--210.

Bolinger, D. L. (1958) Intonation and grammar. *Language Learning* 8: 31--37.

Bolinger, D. L. M. (1964/1972). Around the edge of language: Intonation. *Harvard Educational Review* 34 (2): 282--93. Reprinted in D. L. M. Bolinger (ed.) *Intonation: Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: 19--29.

Bolinger, D. L. M. (1970/1972) Relative height. In P. R. Leon, G. Faure, A. Rigault and M. Didier (eds.) *Prosodic Feature Analysis*: 109--25. Reprinted in D. L. M. Bolinger (ed.) *Intonation: Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: 11--29.

Bolinger, D. L. M. (1972) Introduction. In D. L. M. Bolinger (ed.) *Intonation: Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: 11--29.

Boas, F. (1911) *Handbook of American Languages, Part I* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40). Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institute.

Boas, F. (1940) *Race, Language and Culture*. New York: The Free Press.

Boersma, P., Weenink, D. (1992) *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer*. Version 4.6.37. http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/download_win.html Amsterdam: Institute of Phonetic Sciences, University of Amsterdam.

Bowcher, W. L. (2003) Speaker contributions in radio sports commentary. *Text: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 23(4): 445--476.

Bowcher, W. L. (2004) Theme and New in play-by-play radio sports commentating. In D. Banks (ed.) *Text and Texture: Systemic Functional Viewpoints on the Nature and Structure of Text*. Paris: L'Harmattan: 455--493.

Bowcher, W. L. (1999) Investigating institutionalization in context. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and Context in Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 141--76.

Brazil, D. (1975) *Discourse Intonation.* Birmingham: English Language Research, University of Birmingham.

Brazil, D. (1978) *Discourse Intonation II.* Birmingham: English Language Research, University of Birmingham.

Brazil, D., Coulthard, Malcolm, Johns, Catherine (1980) *Discourse Intonation and Language Teaching*. Essex: Longman Group.

Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983) *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Bruce, G., Horne, M. (2000) *Prosody, Theory and Experiment: Studies Presented to Gosta Bruce*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Bureau of Meteorology. (2005) The Sydney Hailstorm – 14th April 1999. http://www.bom.gov.au/weather/nsw/sevwx/14april1999.shtml. Accessed 14th January 2008. Commonwealth of Australia.

Burton, D. (1978) Towards and analysis of casual conversation. *Nottingham Linguistics Circular* 17 (2): 131--59.

Butt, D. G. (2000) Semantic Cycles: Structure statements at the level of meaning. In D. G. Butt and C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (eds.) *The Meaning Potential of Language: Mapping Meaning Systemically*. Extract from Mimeo. Sydney: Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University: 228--39.

Butt, D. G. (2001) Firth, Halliday and the development of systemic functional theory. In S. Auroux, E. F. K. Koerner, H-J. Niederehe, K. Versteegh (eds.) *History of the Language Sciences*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter: 1806--1838.

Butt, D. G. (2003) *Parameters of Context: On Establishing the Similarities and Differences Between Social Processes*. Mimeo. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Butt, D. G., O'Toole, M. (2003) Transactions between matter and meaning: A functional theory for the science of text. In M.-c. Amano (ed.) *Creation and Practical Use of Language Texts*. Nagoya: Graduate School of Letters, Nagoya University: 1--23.

Butt, D. G., Wegener, R. K. A. (2007) The work of concepts: Context and metafunction in the systemic functional model. In R. Hasan, C. M. I. M.

Matthiessen, J. Webster (eds.) *Continuing Discourse on Language, Volume Two*. London: Equinox: 589--618.

Cambridge University. (2008) *Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English*. http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/cancode.htm. Accessed 25th May 2008. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carahar, B. G. (2006) Genre theory: Cultural and historical motives engendering literary genre. In G. Dowd, L. Stevenson and J. Strong (eds.) *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism*. Bristol; Portland, Oregon: Intellect: 29--39.

Carmichael, L.M. (2005) *Situation-based Intonation Pattern Distribution in a Corpus of American English.* Unpublished PhD thesis. Washington: University of Washington.

Cartmill, J., Moore, A., Butt, D., Squire, L. (2007) Surgical teamwork: Systemic functional linguistics and the analysis of verbal and non-verbal meaning in surgery. *ANZ Journal of Surgery* Supplement 1 (77): 79--79.

Chafe, W. (1974) Language and consciousness. *Language* 50 (1): 111--133.

Chafe, W. (2006) Reading aloud. In R. Hughes (ed.) *Spoken English, TESOL and Applied Linguistics*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 53--71.

Cheng, W., Greaves, C., Warren, M. (2005) The Creation of a Prosodically Transcribed Intercultural Corpus: The Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English (Prosodic). *ICAME Journal* 29: 47--68.

Christie, F. (ed.) (2002) *Classroom Discourse Analysis: A Functional Perspective*. London: Continuum.

Christie, F. and Martin, J. R. (eds.) (1997) *Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School*. London; Washington: Cassell.

Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002) *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Cloran, C. (1994) *Rhetorical Units and Decontextualisation: An Enquiry into some Relations of Context, Meaning and Grammar*. PhD Thesis. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Cloran, C. (1995) Defining and relating text segments: Subject and Theme in discourse. In R. Hasan and P. H. Fries (eds.) *On Subject and Theme: A Discourse Functional Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cloran, C. (1999) Context, material situation and text. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and Context in Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 177--217.

Colie, R. L. (1973) Genre-systems and the functions of literature. In B. K. Lewalski (ed.) *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 1--31.

Commonwealth of Australia (2008a) The Hon Maxine McKew MP, Member for Bennelong (NSW). *Parliament of Australia House of Representatives*. http://www.aph.gov.au/house/members/biography.asp?id=BP4. Accessed 9th June 2008. Commonwealth of Australia.

Commonwealth of Australia (2008b) The Hon Philip Ruddock MP, Member for Berowra (NSW). *Parliament of Australia House of Representatives*. http://www.aph.gov.au/house/members/biography.OJ4. Accessed 9th June 2008. Commonwealth of Australia.

Conrad, S. and Biber, D. (eds.) (2001) *Variation in English: Multi-Dimensional Studies*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Coulthard, M. and Montgomery, M. (eds.) (1981) *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Coulthard, M. (1977) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.

Coulthard, M. (ed.) (1992) *Advances in Spoken Discourse Analysis*. London; New York: Routledge.

Couper-Kuhlen, E (1993) *English Speech Rhythm: Form and Function in Everyday Verbal Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2001) Interactional prosody: High onsets in reason-for-the-call turns. *Language in Society*. 30: 29--53.

Couper-Kuhlen, E., Selting. M. (eds.) (1996) *Prosody in Conversation: Interactional Studies*. Cambridge University Press.

Cruttenden, A. (1986/1997) *Intonation (2nd Edition)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1969) *Prosodic Systems and Intonation in English*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D, Davy, D. (1969) *Investigating English Style*. London: Longman.

Crystal, D. (1975) *The English Tone of Voice*. London: Edward Arnold.

Cutler, A. and Ladd, D. R. (eds.) (1983) *Prosody: Models and Measurements*. Berlin; Heidelberg; New York; Tokyo: Springer-Verlag.

Danielsson, B. (1963) *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation 1551, 1569, 1570: Part II: Phonology. Stockholm; Goteborg; Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.*

Davies, M. (1986) Literacy and Intonation. In B. Couture (ed) *Functional Approaches to Writing: Research Perspectives*: 199--220. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 199--220.

Davies, M., (1994) 'I'm Sorry, I'll Read That Again': Information Structure in Writing. In Cmejrkova and Sta-cha. (eds.) *The Syntax of Sentence and Text*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 75--89.

Dietrich, R. (2004) Determinants of effective communication. In R. Dietrich and T. M Childress (eds.) *Group Interaction in High Risk Environments*. Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate: 185--205.

Dietrich, R., Childress, T. M. (eds.) (2004a) *Group Interaction in High Risk Environments*. Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate.

Dietrich, R., Childress, T. M. (2004b) Introduction. In R. Dietrich and T. M. Childress (eds.) *Group Interaction in High Risk Environments*. Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate: 1--8.

Docherty, G. J., Ladd, D. R. (eds.) (1992) *Papers in Laboratory Phonology II: Gesture, Segment, Prosody*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dowd, G. (2006) Introduction: Genre matters in theory and criticism. In G. Dowd, L. Stevenson and J. Strong (eds.) *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism*. Bristol; Portland, Or.: Intellect: 11--27.

Dowd, G., Stevenson, L. and Strong, J. (eds.) (2006) *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism*. Bristol; Portland, Oregon: Intellect.

Eggins, S., Martin, J. R. (1997) Genres and registers of discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (ed.) *Discourse as Structure and Process*. London: Sage: 230--56.

Eggins, S. (1990) *Keeping the Conversation Going: A Systemic-Functional Analysis of Conversational Structure in Casual Sustained Talk*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Eggins, S. and Slade, D. (1997) *Analysing Casual Conversation*. London; New York: Cassell.

Ellis, J. (1966) On contextual meaning. In C. E. Bazell, J. C. Catford, M. A. K. Halliday and R. H. Robins (eds.) *In Memory of J. R. Firth*. London: Longmans.

Ellis, J. (1982) Register range and change. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 35: 35.

Ellis, J. and Ure, J.N (1969) Language varieties: register. In A. R. Meetham and R. A. Hudson (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Information and Control*. Oxford: Pergamon: 251--59.

El-Menoufy, A. (1969) A study of intonation in the grammar of English, Vol 1: Theory and description, Vol 2: Texts. Unpublished PhD Thesis, London University.

Emeneau, M. B. (1943) Franz Boas as a linguist. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 61: 35--38.

Farrell, J. (2003) Classical genre in theory and practice. *New Literary History* 34 (3): 383--408.

Firth, J. R. (1957) *Papers in Linguistics: 1934 - 1951*. London: Oxford University Press.

Firth, J. R. (1968) *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth: 1952-59*. F. R. Palmer (ed.) London; Harlow: Longmans: 27--34.

Firth, J. R. (1957/1968) A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-1955. *Studies in Linguistic* Analysis. (Special volume of the Philological Society). Oxford: 1--31. Reprinted in F. R. Palmer (ed.) *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth: 1952-59*. London; Harlow: Longmans: 27--34.

Fowler, A. (1982) *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Freeman, D. C. (ed.) (1970) *Linguistics and Literary Style*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Fries, P. H. (1981/1983) On the status of Theme in English: Arguments from discourse, in *Forum Linguisticum* 6: 1--38. Reprinted in J. S. Petofi and E. Sozer. *Micro and Macro Connexity of Texts*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag: pp. 116--152.

Fries, P. H. (2002) The flow of information in a written text. In P. H. Fries, M. Cummings, D. Lockwood and W. Spruiell (eds.), *Relations and functions within and around language*. London: Continuum: 117--55.

Fry, D. B. (1958) Experiments in the perception of stress. *Language and Speech* 1: 12--52.

Ghadessy, M. (ed.) (1988) *Registers of Written English: Situational Factors and Linguistic Features*. London: Pinter.

Ghadessy, M. (ed.) (1993) *Register Analysis: Theory and Practice*. London; New York: Pinter Publishers.

Gibbons, J., Prakasam, V., Tirumalesh, K. V. and Nagarajan, H. (eds.) (2004) *Language in the Law*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Goldsmith, J. A. (1989) *Autosegmental and Metrical Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Greatbatch, D. L. (1986) Aspects of topical organisation in news interviews: The use of agenda shifting procedures by interviewees. *Media, Culture and Society* 8: 441--55.

Greaves, W. S. (2007) Intonation in systemic functional linguistics. In R. Hasan, C. M. I. M. Matthiessen and J. Webster (eds.) *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective, Volume Two*. London: Equinox: 979-1025.

Gregory, M. (1967) Aspects of varieties differentiation. *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 177--198.

Gregory, M. (1985) Towards communication linguistics: A framework. In J. D. Benson and W. S. Greaves (1985). *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation: 119--134.

Gregory, M. (1988) Generic situation and register: A functional view of communication. In J. D. Benson, M. J. Cummings and W. S. Greaves (eds.) *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 301--329.

Gregory, M. (2002) Phasal analysis within communication linguistics: Two contrastive discourses. In P. H. Fries, M. Cummings, D. Lockwood and W. Spruiell (eds.) *Relations and Functions Within and Around Language*. London: Continuum: 316--345.

Gregory, M., Carroll, S. (1978) *Language and Situation: Language Varieties and their Social Contexts*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Gussenhoven, C. (2004) *The Phonology of Tone and Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guy, G., Vonwiller, J. (1984) The meaning of an intonation in Australian English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 4: 1--17.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1958) Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis. *Studies in Linguistic Analysis* (special volume of the Philological Society). Oxford: Blackwell: 54--67.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1959/2005) *The Language of the Chinese 'Secret History of the Mongols'* (Publications of the Philological Society 17). Oxford: Blackwell. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *Studies in Chinese Language* (Collected Works, Volume 8). London: Continuum: XX--XX.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1961) Categories of the Theory of Grammar. *Word*, 17: 241--292.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1963a/2005) The tones of English. *Archivum Linguisticum*. 15 (1): 1--28. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday & J. Webster (eds.) *Studies in English Language* (Collected Works, Volume 7). London: Continuum: 237--263.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1963b/2005) Intonation in English grammar. *Transactions of the Philological Society*: 143--169. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *Studies in English language* (Collected Works, Volume 7). London: Continuum: 264--286.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1963c) Intonation systems in English, in A. McIntosh and M. A. K. Halliday (eds.) *Patterns of Language: Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics*. London: Longmans, Green and Company: 111--133.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1964/1968) Syntax and the consumer. In C. I. J. M. Stuart (ed.) *Report of the Fifteenth Annual (First International) Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press: 1127. Reprinted in R. J. O'Brien (ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table Selected Papers in Linguistics, 1961-1965*. Washington, DC: Georgetown UP: 189--202.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1966) Some notes on 'deep' grammar. *Journal of Linguistics* 2.1: 57--67.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1967a) *Intonation and Grammar in British English*. The Hague; Paris: Mouton.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1967b) Notes on transitivity and theme in English: Part 1. *Journal of Linguistics* 3 (1): 37--81.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1967c) Notes on transitivity and theme in English: Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3 (2): 199--244.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1968) Notes on transitivity and theme in English: Part 3. *Journal of Linguistics* 4 (2): 179--215.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1970a) *A Course in Spoken English: Intonation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1970b) Functional Diversity in Language as Seen from a Consideration of Modality and Mood in English. *Foundations of Language* 6: 322--361.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1972/1973) Towards a sociological semantics. In *Working Papers and* Prepublications (Series C, no. 14). Centro Internazionale di Semiotica e di Linguistica, Universita de Urbino. Reprinted in *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London, Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1973) *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London, Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1974/2007) Language and social man. *School Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching: Papers, Series II*. Volume 3. London: Longman. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *Language and Society* (Collected Works, Volume 10). New York: Continuum: 65--130.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1975/2003) Learning how to mean. In E. Lenneberg and E. Lenneberg (eds.) *Foundations of Language Development: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*. London: Academic Press: 239--65. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *The Language of Early Childhood* (Collected Works, Volume 4). New York: Continuum: 28--59.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1975). Learning How to Mean: Explorations in the Development of Language. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1976) Theme and information in the English clause. In M. A. K. Halliday and G. R. Kress (eds.), *Halliday: System and Function in Language: Selected Papers*. London: Oxford University Press: 174--188.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1977) Text as semantic choice in social contexts. In T. A. van Dijk and J. S. Petofi (eds.) *Grammars and Descriptions: Studies in Text Theory and Text Analysis*. Berlin: de Gruyter: 176--225.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1979/2002). Modes of meaning and modes of expression: Types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic

functions. In D. J. Allerton, E. Carney and D. Holdcroft, *Function and Context in Linguistic Analysis: A Festschrift for William Haas*: 196--218. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *On grammar*. London: Continuum: 57--79.

Halliday, M. A. K., Plum, G., Armstrong, E., Ashforth, T., Cloran, C., Collins, P., Fraser, H., Nicholas, H., Poynton, C., Steele, R., Ventola, E. (1985) On casual conversation. In R. Hasan (ed.) *Discourse on Discourse: Workshop Reports from the Macquarie Workshop on Discourse Analysis, February 21-25, 1983*. Mt. Gravatt, Queensland: Applied Linguistics Association of Australia: 15--32.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1984) Language as code and language as behaviour: A systemic-functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. In R. P. Fawcett, M. A. K. Halliday, S. M. Lamb and A. Makkai (eds.) *The Semiotics of Culture and Language, Volume I: Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Frances Pinter: 3--35.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985a) *Spoken and Written Language*. Waurn Ponds, Vic.: Deakin University: distributed by Deakin University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985b) Register variation. In Halliday, M. A. K., Hasan, R. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Waurn Ponds, Victoria: Deakin University: 29--43.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985/2002) Dimensions of discourse analysis: Grammar. In T. A. van Dijk (ed) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Volume 2: Dimensions of Discourse*. London: Academic Press: 29--57. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *On Grammar*. London: Continuum: 261--286.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1988) On the ineffability of grammatical categories. In J. D. Benson, M. Cummings and W. S. Greaves (eds.), *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 27--51.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1991) Towards probabilistic interpretations. In E. Ventola (ed.) *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 55: Functional and Systemic Linguistics Approaches and Uses*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 39--61.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1992a) How do you mean? In M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds.) *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter. 20--35.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1992b) The notion of 'context' in language education: Interaction and development. In T. Le and M. Causland (eds.) *Proceedings of the International Conference held in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 30 March-1 April 1991*. University of Tasmania: Language Education: 1--26.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1992/2005) Language as system and language as instance: The corpus as theoretical construct. In Svartvik (ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm 4-8 August 1991*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *Computational and Quantitative Studies* (Collected Works, Volume 6). London: Continuum: 76--92.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1992/2003) Systemic grammar and the concept of a "science of language". *Waiguoyu (Journal of Foreign Languages)* 2: 1--9. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *On Language and Linguistics (The Collected Works of M. A. K. Halliday, Volume 3)*. London; New York: Continuum:199--212.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1996) On grammar and grammatics. In R. Hasan, C. Cloran and D. G. Butt (ed.) *Functional Descriptions: Theory in Practice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 1--38.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1998/2005) Things and relations: Regrammaticalizing experience as technical knowledge. In J. R. Martin and R. Veel (eds.) *Reading Science: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourses of Science*. New York: Routledge. Reprinted in M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *The Language of Science*. (Collected Works, Volume 5). New York: Continuum: 49--101.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2000) Phonology Past and Present: A Personal Retrospect. *Folia Linguistica* 34 (1/2): 101--11.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2003) Introduction: On the 'architecture' of human language. In M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *On Language and Linguistics* (Collected Works, Volume 3). New York: Continuum: 1--29.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2004) M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *The Language of Science* (Collected Works, Volume 5). New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2005) Introduction: Towards an appliable description of the grammar of a language. In M. A. K. Halliday and J. Webster (eds.) *Studies in*

English Language (Collected Works, Volume 7). New York: Continuum: xii-
-xxx.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Greaves, W.S. (2008) *Intonation in the Grammar of English*.
London: Equinox.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1976) *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Halliday, M. A. K., Hasan, R. (1985/1989) *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of
Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Waurn Ponds, Victoria: Deakin
University. Reprinted in Halliday, M. A. K., Hasan, R. *Language, Context and
Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective (2nd Edition)*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K., James, Z. (1993) A quantitative study of polarity and primary
tense in the English finite clause. J. M. Sinclair, M. Hoey and G. Fox (eds.)
*Techniques of Description: Spoken and Written Discourse (A Festschrift for
Malcolm Coulthard)*. London; New York: Routledge: 32-66.

Halliday, M. A. K., McIntosh, A. and Strevens, P. (1964) *The Linguistic Sciences and
Language Teaching*. London: Longmans.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1999) *Construing Experience
through Meaning: A Language-Based Approach to Cognition*. London; New
York: Cassell.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional
Grammar (3rd edition)*. London: Arnold.

Harris, S. (1986) Interviewers' questions in broadcast interviews. In J. Wilson and B.
Crow (eds.) *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics Volume 8*.
Jordanstown: University of Ulster: 50--85.

Harris, T. (1995) Genre. *Journal of American Folklore* 108 (430): 509--27.

Hasan, R. (1973) Code, register and social dialect. In B. Bernstein (ed.), *Class, Codes
and Control, Vol 2: Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*.
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 253--292.

Hasan, R. (1978) Text in the systemic-functional model. In W. Dressler (ed.) *Current
Trends in Textlinguistics*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter: 228--246.

Hasan, R. (1980/1996) What's going on? A dynamic view of context in language. In J.
E. Copeland and P. W. Davis (eds.) *The Seventh LACUS Forum*. Columbia:
Hornbeam Press: 106--121. Reprinted in R. Hasan, G. Williams, D. Butt and

C. Cloran (eds.) *Ways of Saying, Ways of Meaning: Selected Papers of Ruqaiya Hasan*. London; New York: Cassell: 37--50.

Hasan, R. (1984/1996) The nursery tale as genre. *Nottingham Linguistics Circular* 13: 71--102. In R. Hasan, G. Williams, D. Butt and C. Cloran (eds.) *Ways of Saying, Ways of Meaning: Selected Papers of Ruqaiya Hasan*. London; New York: Cassell: 51--72.

Hasan, R. (1985a) Meaning, Context and Text: Fifty Years after Malinowski. In J. D. Benson & W. S. Greaves (eds.) *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation: 17--49.

Hasan, R. (1985b) *Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press.

Hasan R. (1985/1989) The structure of a text. In Halliday, M. A. K., Hasan, R. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Waurn Ponds, Victoria: Deakin University. Reprinted in Halliday, M. A. K., Hasan, R. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective (2nd Edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 52--69.

Hasan, R. (1987) Lexis as most delicate grammar. In M. A. K. Halliday and R. Fawcett (eds.) *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics: Volume 1: Theory and Description*. London; New York: Frances Pinter: 184--212.

Hasan, R. (1989) Semantic variation and sociolinguistics. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 9(2): 221--275.

Hasan, R. (1995) The conception of context in text. In P. H. Fries, M. Gregory & M. A. K. Halliday (eds.) *Discourse in society*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex: 183--296.

Hasan, R. (1996) Semantic networks as a tool for the analysis of meaning. In R. Hasan, G. Williams, D. Butt and C. Cloran (eds.) *Ways of Saying, Ways of Meaning: Selected Papers of Ruqaiya Hasan*. London; New York: Cassell: 105--131.

Hasan, R. (1999) Speaking with reference to context. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and Context in Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 219--329.

Hasan, R. (2000) The uses of talk. In M. Coulthard and S. Sarangi (eds.) *Discourse and Social Life*. New York: Longman: 28--47.

Hasan, R., Cloran, C. (1990) A sociolinguistic interpretation of everyday talk between mothers and children. In M. A. K. Halliday, J. Gibbons and H. Nicholas (eds.).

Learning, Keeping and Using Language: Selected Papers from the Eighth World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Sydney, 16-21 August 1987. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 67--99.

Hasan, R., Cloran, C., Williams, G., Lukin, A. (2007) Semantic networks: The description of linguistic meaning in SFL. In R. Hasan, C. Matthiessen and J. Webster (eds.) *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective, Volume Two*. London: Equinox: 697-738

Heritage, J. (1985) Analyzing news interviews: Aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In T. A. Dijk (ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis Volume 3*. New York: Academic Press: 95--119.

Hewings, M (ed.) (1990) *Papers in Discourse Intonation*. Birmingham: English Language Research, University of Birmingham.

Hill, A. (1958) *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Hirschberg, J. (2000) A corpus-based approach to the study of speaking style. In G. Bruce and M. Horne (2000) *Prosody, Theory and Experiment: Studies Presented to Gosta Bruce*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers: 335-50.

Hirson, A., French, P., Howard, D. (1995) Speech fundamental frequency over the telephone and face-to-face: Some implications for forensic linguistics, In J. W. Lewis (ed.) *Studies in General and English Phonetics: Essays in Honour of Professor J. D. O'Connor*. London, New York: Routledge: 230--240.

Hirst, D. and Di Cristo, A. (eds.) (1998) *Intonation Systems: A Survey of Twenty Languages*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hjelmslev, L. (1953) *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. (English translation by F. J. Whitfield) Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics.

Horvath, B. (1985) Variation in Australian English: The sociolects of Sydney. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hultzen, L. S. (1959) Information points in intonation. *Phonetica* 4.

Hutchby, I. (2006) *Media Talk: Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Hymes, D. H. (1968) The ethnography of speaking. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague; Paris; New York: Mouton: 99--138.

Hymes, D. H. (1974/1989) Ways of speaking. In R. Baumann and J. Sherzer (eds.) *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 433--51.

Jassem, W. (1952) *Intonation of Conversational English*. Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences.

Johannson, M. (2006) Constructing objects of discourse in the broadcast political interview. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38 : 216--29.

Johns-Lewis, C. (1986) Introduction. In C. Johns-Lewis (ed.) *Intonation in Discourse*. London; Sydney: Croom Helm; San Diego: College-Hill Press: xix--xxxiv.

Johns-Lewis, C. (1986) Prosodic differentiation of discourse modes. In C. Johns-Lewis (ed.) *Intonation in Discourse*. London, Sydney: Croom Helm; San Diego: College-Hill Press: pp. 199--292.

Jones, D (1909) *Intonation Curves*. Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner.

Jones, D (1956) *Outline of English Phonetics (8th Edition)*. Cambridge: Heffer.

Joos, M. (1961) *The Five Clocks*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Jun, S.-A. (2005). *Prosodic Typology: The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Kenyon, J. S. (1948) Cultural levels and functional varieties of English. *College English* 10 (1): 31--36.

Kingdon, R. (1958) *The Groundwork of English Intonation*. London: Longmans.

Kohler, K. J. (2006) Paradigms in experimental prosodic analysis: From measurement to function. In S. Sudhoff, M. Lenertova, R. Meyer, S. Pappert, P. Augurzky, I. Mleinek, N. Richter, J. Schieber (eds.) *Methods in empirical prosody research*. Berlin; New York: Walter De Gruyter: 123--52.

Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse – The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.

Krifka, M., Martens, S., Schwaz, F. (2004) Linguistic factors. In R. Dietrich and T. M. Childress (eds.) *Group Interaction in High Risk Environments*. Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate: 75--86.

Ladd, R. (1992) An introduction to intonational phonology. In G. J. Docherty and D. R. Ladd (eds.) *Papers in Laboratory Phonology II: Gesture, Segment, Prosody*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 321--334.

Ladd, D.R. (1996) *Intonational Phonology*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Lamb, S. M. (1966) *Outline of Stratificational Grammar*. Washington D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

Lauerbach, G. (2004) Political interviews as hybrid genre. *Text* 24 (3): 353--97.

Leckie-Terry, H. (edited by D. Birch) (1995) *Language and Context: A Functional Linguistic Theory of Register*. London; New York: Pinter.

Lee, D. Y. W. (2001) Genres, registers, text types, domain and styles: Clarifying the concepts and navigating a path through the BNC jungle. *Language Learning and Technology* 5(3): 37--72.

Lehiste, I. (1970) *Suprasegmentals*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press.

Lemke, J. L. (1985) Ideology, intertextuality, and the notion of register. In J. D. Benson and W. S. Greaves (eds.), Systemic Perspectives on Discourse. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 275--294.

Lieberman, P. (1967) *Intonation, Perception, and Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press.

Longacre, R. E. (1974) Narrative vs other discourse genres. In R. Brend (ed.) *Advances in Tagmemics*. Amsterdam: North-Holland. 357--376

Malinowski, B. (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, B. (1923/1927) The problem of meaning in primitive languages, In C. K. Ogden, I. A. Richards (eds.). *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism* (2nd edition revised). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner: 296--336.

Malinowski, B. (1935) *Coral Gardens and their Magic, Volume 2*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Mann, W. C., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., Thompson, S. A. (1992) Rhetorical structure theory and text analysis. In W. C. Mann and S. A. Thompson (eds.) *Discourse Description: Diverse Linguistic Analyses of a Fund-Raising Text*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 39--79.

Martin, J. R. (1984) Language, register and genre'. In F. Christie (ed.) *Children Writing: Reader*. Waurn Ponds, Victoria: Deakin University.

Martin, J. R. (1985a) Process and text: Two aspects of human semiosis. In J. D. Benson and W. S. Greaves (eds.) *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 248—274.

Martin, J. R. (1985b) *Factual Writing: Exploring and Challenging Social Reality*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

Martin, J. R. (1992) *English Text: System and Structure.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Martin, J. R. (1993) Life as a Noun: Arresting the universe. In M. A. K. Halliday and J. R. Martin (eds.) *Writing Science: Literary and Discursive Power*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press: 221--67.

Martin, J. R. (1997) Linguistics and the consumer: Theory in practice. *Linguistics and Education* 9 (4): 409--46.

Martin, J. R. (1999) Modelling context: A crooked path of progress in contextual linguistics. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and context in functional linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 25--61.

Martin, J. R. (2000) Design and practice: Enacting functional linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 20: 116--26.

Martin, J. R. (2001) A context for genre: Modelling social processes in functional linguistics. In J. Devilliers and R. Stainton (eds.) *Communication in Linguistics: Papers in Honour of Michael Gregory*. Toronto: GREF: 287--328.

Martin, J. R. (2004) Prosodic structure: grammar for negotiation. *Ilha do Desterro: A Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies* 46 (special issue on systemic functional linguistics in action): 41--82.

Martin, J. R., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1991) Systemic typology and topology. In F. Christie (ed.) *Literacy in Social Processes: Papers from the Inaugural Australian Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference, Deakin University, January 1990*. Darwin: Centre for Studies of Language in Education, Northern Territory University: 345--383.

Martin, J. R., Rose, D. (2003) *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. London; New York: Continuum.

Martin, J. R., Rothery, J. (1980) Writing Project: Report 1980. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. Sydney: Department of Linguistics, University of Sydney.

Martin, J. R., Rothery, J. (1986) Writing Project Report No. 4. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. Sydney: Department of Linguistics, University of Sydney.

Martin, J. R., Veel, R. (1998) *Reading Science: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourses of Science*. New York: Routledge.

Martin, J. R., White, P. R. R. (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Hampshire; New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Martin, J.R. and Wodak, R. (eds.) (2003) *Re/Reading the Past: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Time and Value* (Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture, 8). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Martinec, R. (1995) *Hierarchy of Rhythm in English Speech*. PhD Thesis. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Martinec, R. (2000) Rhythm in multimodal texts. *Leonardo* 3 (4): 289--97.

Martinet, A. (1960/1969) *Elements de Linguistique Generale*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. English translation *Elements of General Linguistics* (2nd edition). London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Martinez-Lirola, M., Smith, B. A. (forthcoming a) The Predicated Theme in Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948): A resource for written text. Manuscript. Alicante: University of Alicante.

Martinez-Lirola, M., Smith, B. A. (forthcoming b) Contextual functions of predicated Themes: Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* as dialogue with Apartheid South Africa. Manuscript. Alicante: University of Alicante.

Mathesius, V. (1961/1975) *A Functional Analysis of Present-Day English on a General Linguistic Basis* (Translated L. Duskova. Originally published Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences). The Hague: Mouton.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1983) Choosing primary tense in English. *Studies in Language* 7 (3): 365--429.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1988a) Representational issues in systemic functional grammar. In J. D. Benson and W. S. Greaves (eds.) *Systemic Functional Approaches to Discourse*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 136--175.

Matthiessen, C. M.I.M. (1988b) *What's in Nigel: Lexicogrammatical Cartography*. ISI Nigel documentation.

Matthiessen, C. (1992) Interpreting the Textual Metafunction. In M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds.) *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter: 37--81.

Matthiessen, C. (1993a) Register in the Round: Diversity in a Unified Theory of Register Analysis. In M. Ghadessy *Register Analysis: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter: 221--292.

Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M. (1993b) *Instantial Systems and Logogenesis*. Written version of Paper presented at the Third Chinese Systemic-functional symposium, Hangzhou University, Hangzhou, June 17-20, 1993. Manuscript. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1995a) THEME as an enabling resource in ideational 'knowledge' construction. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Thematic Development in English Texts*. London; New York: Pinter.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1995b) *Lexicogrammatical Cartography: English Systems*. Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1999) The System of TRANSITIVITY: An exploratory study of text-based profiles. *Functions of Language* 6 (1): 1--51.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2002a) Combining clauses into clause complexes: A multifaceted view. In J. Bybee and M. Noonan (eds.) *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse: Essays in Honour of Sandra A. Thompson*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 237--322.

Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M. (2002b) Lexicogrammar in discourse development: logogenetic patterns of wording. In G. Huang and Z. Wang (eds.) *Discourse and Language Functions*. Shanghai: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press. 91--127.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004a) The natures of the development of 20th century linguistics. Manuscript. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Matthiessen, C. M.I.M. (2004b) Descriptive motifs and generalizations. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin and C. M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds.) Language Typology: A Functional Perspective. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 537--673.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2005) Lexicogrammar in Systemic Functional Linguistics: Descriptive and theoretical developments in the "IFG" tradition since the 1970s. Manuscript. Sydney: Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2006) Frequency profiles of some basic grammatical systems: An interim report. In G. Thompson and S. Hunston (eds.) *System and Corpus: Exploring the Connections*. London; Oakville: Equinox: 103--42.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2007a) The "architecture" of language according to systemic functional theory: developments since the 1970s. In R. Hasan, C. M.

I. M. Matthiessen, J. Webster (eds.) *Continuing Discourse on Language, Volume Two*. London: Equinox: 505--61.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2007b) Theory of language as a semiotic system: dimensions of organisation. In I. Koboyashi, M. Sasaki and K. Teruya (eds.) *Systemic Frontiers*. Manuscript. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2007c) Lexicogrammar in systemic functional linguistics: Descriptive and theoretical developments in the 'IFG' tradition since the 1970s. In R. Hasan, C. M. I. M. Matthiessen, J. Webster (eds.) *Continuing Discourse on Language, Volume Two*. London: Equinox: 765--858.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., Bateman, J. A. (1991) *Text Generation and Systemic-Functional Linguistics: Experiences from English and Japanese*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., Lukin, A., Butt, D., Cleirigh, C. and Nesbitt, C. (2005) A case study of multistratal analysis. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* (Supplement 19): 123--150.

Matthiessen, C., Nesbitt, C. (1996) On the idea of theory-neutral descriptions. In R. Hasan, C. Cloran and D. Butt (eds.) *Functional Descriptions: Theory in Practice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 39--83.

McGregor, J. (2005) *High Rising Tunes in Australian English: An Analysis of the Discourse Context of the Map Task*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: Paper 3. Sydney: Macquarie University.

McIntosh, A. (1961) "Graphology" and meaning. *Archivum Linguisticum* 13: 107--20.

Mitchell, T.F. (1957/1975) The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica: a situational statement. *Hesperis* 26: 31--71. Reprinted in T. F. Mitchell (ed.), *Principles of Firthian Linguistics*. London: Longman: 167--200.

Moore, A. F. (2001) Categorical conventions in music discourse: Style and genre. *Music and Letters* 82 (3): 432--442.

Moore, A. R. (2003) *The Discursive Construction of Treatment Decisions in the Management of HIV Disease*. PhD Thesis. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Neale, S. (1980) *Genre*. London: British Film Institute.

Nesbitt, C., Plum, G. (1987) Probabilities in a systemic-functional grammar: The clause complex in English. In M. A. K. Halliday and R. Fawcett (eds.) *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics: Volume 1: Theory and Description*. London; New York: Frances Pinter: 6--33.

Nihalani, P., Lin, T. P. (1998) Intonation patterns in news broadcasts, *World Englishes*. 17: 15--29.

O'Connor, D. J., Arnold, G. F. (1961) *Intonation of Colloquial English: A Practical Handbook*. London: Longmans.

O'Donnell, M. (1999) Context in dynamic modelling. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and Context in Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 63-99.

O'Halpin, R. (2001) Intonation Issues in the Speech of Hearing Impaired Children: Analysis, Transcription and Remediation. *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics*. 15 (7): 529--550.

Oksenberg, L., Coleman, L., Cannell, C.F. (1986) Interviewers' voices and refusal rates in telephone surveys. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. 50 (1): 97--111.

Ovadia, R., Fine, J. (1995) A functional analysis of information in Asperger's Syndrome. In J. Siegfried (ed.) *Therapeutic and Everyday Discourse as Behaviour Change: Towards a Micro-Analysis in Psychotherapy Process Research*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 491--510.

Palmer, H. E. (1922) *English Intonation with Systematic Exercises*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.

Palmer (1968). Introduction. In F. R. Palmer (ed.) *Selected papers of J. R. Firth: 1952-59*. London; Harlow: Longmans: 1-11.

Pierrehumbert, J. B. (1980) *The Phonetics and Phonology of English Intonation*. PhD Thesis. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Pierrehumbert, J., Hirschberg, J. (1990) The meaning of intonational contours in the interpretation of discourse. In P.R Cohen, J. Morgan and M. E. Pollack (eds.) *Intentions in Communication*. Cambridge: MIT Press: 271--311.

Pike, K. L. (1945) *Intonation of American English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Pike, K. L. (1982) *Linguistic Concepts: An Introduction to Tagmemics*. Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press.

Plum, G (1988/1998) *Text and Contextual Conditioning in Spoken English: A Genre-Based Approach*. PhD Thesis. Sydney: Sydney University. Reprinted in Monographs in Systemic Linguistics. Nottingham: Department of English, University of Nottingham.

Poynton, C. (1985/1989) *Language and Gender: Making the Difference*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press. Republished Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ravelli, L. J. (1995) A dynamic perspective: Implications for metafunctional interaction and an understanding of Theme. In R. Hasan and P. H. Fries (eds.) *On Subject and Theme: A Discourse Functional Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 187--235.

Reid, T. B (1956) Linguistics, structuralism, philology. *Archivum Linguisticum*. 8: 28--37.

Robins, R. H. (1964/1980) *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey (Third Edition)*. London; New York: Longmans.

Rose, D. (2001) *The Western Desert Code: An Australian Cryptogrammar.* Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Sampson, G. (1980) *Schools of Linguistics: Competition and Evolution*. London; Melbourne; Sydney; Auckland; Johannesburg: Hutchinson.

Sapir, E. (1921) *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Sapir, E. (1963) *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*. D. G. Mandelbaum (ed.) Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sapir, E. (1929/1963) The status of linguistics as a science. *Language* 5: 207--214. Reprinted in D. G. Mandelbaum (ed.) *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press: 160--166.

de Saussure, F. (1916/1974) *Course in General Linguistics*. (ed. C. Bally and A Sechehaye). Patis: Payot. Revised English edition, with translation from the French by W. Baskin: Fontana/Collins.

Schubiger, M. (1958) *English Intonation: Its Form and Function*. Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Schubiger, M. (1965/1972) English intonation and German modal particles – a comparative study. *Phonetica* 12: 65--84. Reprinted in D. Bolinger (ed.) *Intonation*. Middlesex; Baltimore; Ringwood: Penguin Books: 175--93.

Selting, M. (1988) The role of intonation in the organization of repair and problem handling sequences in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12: 293--322.

Selting. M., Couper-Kuhlen, E. (eds.) (2001) *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Simon-Vanderbergen, A. (1997) Modal (un)certainty in political discourse: A functional account. *Language Sciences* 19 (4): 341--56.

Sinclair, J. H. and Coulthard, R. M. (1975) *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English used by Teachers and Pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.

Slade, D. (1994) Gossip: Two complementary perspectives on the analysis of casual conversation in English. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* Series S, 11: 47--82.

Slade, D. (1996) *The Texture of Casual Conversation: A Multidimensional Interpretation*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Slade, D. (in press) *The Texture of Casual Conversation: A Multidimensional Interpretation*. London: Equinox.

Smith, B. A. (2004) *Register Variation of Intonation*. Honours Thesis. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Smith, B. A. (in press) The language of the heart and breath: Bridging strata, bridging discourses of INFORMATION systems. *Online Conference Proceedings for the 2007 ASFLA Congress: Bridging Discourses, held at Wollongong University, 29th June-1st July 2007*. Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

Spencer, J. and Gregory, M. J. (1964/1970) An approach to the study of style. In J. Spencer and M. J. Gregory *Linguistics and Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprinted in D. C. Freeman (ed.) *Linguistics and Literary Style*. New York; Chicago; San Francisco; Atlanta; Dallas; Montreal; Toronto; London; Sydney: Holt, Rinehart and Winston: 73--95.

Stilwell, R. J. (2000) Sense and sensibility: Form, genre and function in the film score. *Acta Musicologica* 72: 219--240.

Svartik, J. (1990) *The London Corpus of Spoken English: Description and Research*. Lund University Press.

Swales, J. (1990) *Genre Analysis: English in an Academic Research Setting.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sweet, H. (1875-76) Words, logic and grammar. *Transactions of the Philological Society*: 470--503. Quoted in Firth, J. R. (1968) F. R. Palmer (ed.) *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth: 1952-59*. London; Harlow: Longmans: 36.

Sweet, H. (1877) *A Handbook of Phonetics: Including a Popular Exposition of the Principles of Spelling Reform*. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Tannen, D. (1984) *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk Among Friends*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing.

Teich, E. (1999) *Systemic Functional Grammar in Natural Language Generation: Linguistic Description and Computational Representation*. London; New York: Cassell.

Teich, E., Hagen, Eli, Grote, Brigitte, Bateman, John. (1997) From communicative context to speech: Integrating dialogue processing, speech production and natural language generation. *Speech Communication* 21: 35--36.

Teich, E., Watson, C. I., Pereira, C. (2000) Matching a tone-based and tune-based approach to English intonation for concept-to-speech generation. In *COLING 2000: Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Computational Linguistics, July 31-August 4, Universitat des Saarlandes, Saarbrucken, Germany*. San Franciso, California: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers: 829--35.

Tench, P. (1988) The stylistic potential of intonation. In N. Coupland (ed.) Styles of Discourse. London: Croom: 50--84.

Tench, P. (1990) *The Roles of Intonation in English Discourse*. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris: Peter Lang.

Tench, P. (1992) From prosodic analysis to systemic phonology. In P. Tench (ed.), *Studies in Systemic Phonology*. London; New York: Pinter Publishers: 1--16.

Tench, P. (1995) The boundaries of intonation units. In J.W. Lewis, (ed.) *Studies in General and English Phonetics: Essays in Honour of Professor J. D. O'Connor*. London, New York: Routledge: 270--277.

Tench, P. (1996) *The Intonation Systems of English*. London; New York: Cassell.

t'Hart, J., Collier, R. and Cohen, A. (1990) *A Perceptual Study of Intonation: An Experimental-Phonetic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Terken, J. and Hirschberg, J. (1994) Deaccentuation of Words Representing 'Given' Information: Effects of Persistence of Grammatical Function and Surface Position. *Language and Speech*, 37(2): 125--45.

Thompson, G. (1999) Acting the part. In M. Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and Context in Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 101--124.

Thompson, G., Collins, H., M. A. K. Halliday (2001a) Interview with M. A. K. Halliday, Cardiff, July 1998. *D.E.L.T.A*. 17 (1): 131--53.

Thompson, S. (1995) Teaching intonation on questions. *ELT Journal* 49 (3): 235--243.

Thompson, S., Thompson, G. (2001b) Patterns of cohesion in spoken text. In M. Scott and G. Thompson (eds.) *Patterns of Text: In Honour of Michael Hoey*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 55--82.

Trosborg, A. (1997) Text typology: Register, genre and text type. In A. Trosborg (ed.) *Text Typology and Translation*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benamins: 3--23.

Ure, J. (1971) Lexical density and register differentiation. In G. E. Perren, J. L. M. Trim (eds.) *Applications of Linguistics: Selected Papers of the 2nd International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Cambridge 1969*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 443--52.

Ure, J. (1982) Introduction: Approaches to the study of register range. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 35: 5--23.

Ure, J. Ellis, J. (1977) Register in descriptive linguistics and linguistic psychology. In O. Uribe-Villegas (ed.) *Issues in Sociolinguistics*. The Hague; Paris; New York: Mouton.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1982) *Professional Speech: Accentual and Junctural Style in Radio Announcing*. Unpublished MA (Hons) Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1985) Persuasive speech: The intonation of the live radio commercial. *Australian Journal of Communication* 7: 25--34.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1992) Rhythm and social context: accent and juncture in the speech of professional radio announcers. In P. Tench (ed.) *Studies in Systemic Phonology*. London; New York: Pinter Publishers: 231--262.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1999) *Speech, Music, Sound*. Hampshire; London: MacMillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2005) *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London; New York: Routledge.

Ventola, E. (1987) *The Structure of Social Interaction: A Systemic Approach to the Semiotics of Service Encounters*. London: Pinter.

Ventola, E. (1979) The structure of casual conversation in English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 3: 267--298.

Ventola, E., (1995) Generic and register qualities of texts and their realization. In P. H. Fries and M. Gregory (eds.) *Discourse in Society: Systemic Functional*

Perspectives. (Meaning and Choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex: 3--28.

Ventola, E. (2005) Revisiting service encounter genre. *Folia Linguistica* 39: 19--44.

Walker (1787) *The Melody of Speaking*. London: Printed for the author; and sold by G.G. J. and J. Robinson, and T. Cadell. Reproduced (1970) *The Melody of Speaking*. Menston: The Scolar Press.

Warren, P. (2004) //↓ so what have YOU been WORKing on Recently//: Compiling a specialized corpus of spoken business English. In U. Connor and T. A. Upton (eds.) *Discourse in the Professions: Perspectives from Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Warren, P., Britain, D. (1999) Intonation and prosody in New Zealand English. In K. Kuiper and A. Bell (eds.) *New Zealand English (Vol. 25)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 146--172.

Wegener, P. (1885) *Untersuchungen Uber die Grundfragen der Sprachlebens*. Halle.

Wennerstrom, A. (1998) Intonation as cohesion in academic discourse. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 20: 1--25.

Wennerstrom, A. (2001) *The Music of Everyday Speech*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Whorf, B. (1940/1956) Science and linguistics. *Technological Review* 42: 229--31. Reprinted in J. Carrol (ed.) *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press: 207--XX.

Wu, C. (2000) *Modelling Linguistic Resources*. PhD Thesis. Sydney: Macquarie University.

Appendix One: Transcriptions

Intonation transcription conventions are as for Chapter Two (Section 2.3.2).

Overlaps are indicated by the # symbol, which is aligned at the precise horizontal location corresponding with the point in the previous utterance where the overlap occurs (where there is a subsequent tone group to the overlapping tone group, and the former doesn't overlap with the previous speaker's utterance, this is indicated by a space such that the latter tone group begins after the transcription of the previous speaker's tone group has finished).

Tone groups sharing the same boundary indicate that the rhythm of the first is preserved across to the second. If a tone group has its own left-boundary this indicates that the rhythm is broken/a shift in rhythmic patterning (usually, but not always, by a temporal discontinuity; however, sometimes a speaker will 'cut into' his/her own rhythm to quickly add another tone group: this happens for example between IU50&51 in the Surgical text: Appendix Three: Appendix 1_IUs 50&51).

A1.1 *Chapter Four*

A1.1.1 Surgical Text

s = surgeon; r = registrar; j = junior medical student assistant

s   //2 ^ is it */ coming //

r   //4_ ^ it */ is // //1 mm // //2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper // //-3 grab */ that // //2_ */ there you / are // //5 ^ how a- / nnoying I can */ feel it //

s   //2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be- */ low it //

r   //1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //1 in the */ pelvis // //5_ o- */ kay // //1 ^ my / fingers */ are below it //

s   //1 okay well // pull on em */ hard // //2 ^ pull / up on that */ band // //1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //1 isn't it //

r   #//1 nup (no) //   //13 ^ it */ is */ faffing //

s   #//13 ^ ahh */ not's [that's] not the */ word um // //13 ^ it's / all very */ stiff in */ there // just from his */ previous dis- / ease //3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and // see what we run */ into //

r   //3 o- */ kay //

s   //13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Cathy or a //13 medium / sponge // //1 so we've - //4_ just / had a - ah / roll it into a */ ball //1 into a */ roll // //4 so we've //4 been */ frustrated //

r   //3 yep //

s   //1 ^ and we've / been - */ what //1 ^ re- / pelled // // ^ so we're / gonna try a- / nother - //

r   //1 way //

s   //4 yeah so //2_ just roll that */ down // //13 that might be / too */ much */ actually // //3 ^ and / get down */ there //2 pull on */ that bit //1_3 and / I'll see / if / Olga and */ I can show you */ that // //2_ ummm / Olga can / you - you */ help / me //2 ^ we'll / both - * / hold a / second // //13 ^ you / need to get /

	more than one */ finger down */ there //4 so - / so that you've / got a little bit of a */ front //
r	//1 hmmm // //2 at an */ angle //
s	//3 yep // //2 let me / move the re- */ tractor // //2 you stay */ there //
r	//2 ^ can / you */ suck that //
s	//2 ^ that's / nice // //3 sweep it out to the */ side // //5 that's */ great // //5 nice one // //3 yep // //1 that's going */ great // //2 let me move */ this again // //3 ^ hh / hmm //
r	//3 pull up on */ that //
	[indistinct - two syllables]
s	//3 ^ hang / on // //2 ^ hold */ up a little / bit //2 ^ are we */ showing it / to you //
r	//1 yes // //13 thank / you // //4 sorry // //1_ am - / i'm in the */ way / aren't i //
s	//2 no // [Pause] //1 ^ I / just can't / stand it any */ more //
	[sounds of appreciative mirth]
r	//13 ^ I'm / actually */ getting somewhere */ now //
s	#//4 nah but you're / doing - you're / doing */ fine //
r	//1 ^ you / wanna take / over */ don't you //
s	//2 no //5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //
r	# //5 yes you */ do //
s	//1_ don't wanna take */ over //
r	//5 ^ you / do I //4_ feel //
s	//2 well // //1_ no - ^ no I */ don't // //1_ ^ I / really */ don't //
r	//4 ^ I / didn't say I was going to */ let you I //4_ just said i */ feel //
s	//1 don't / suck up */ there Olga the //1_ action's / down */ here // //1_ ^ that's / right //
?	// [indistinct - one syllable] //
s	//3 ^ [indistinct - one syllable] / [indistinct - one syllable] //
j	//2_ ^ are you / getting frus- */ trated //
s	//2_ me //
j	//4_ yes //
	[laughter]
s	//1_ no I'm */ not // //4 I'm - I'm / very / happy with the way we're pro- */ ceeding you //3 know if I / didn't - / if there was */ bleeding and // //3 stuff I would //1_3 not be / happy //
?	#//1 hmm //
s	//1 ^ but I'm */ happy //

A1.2   *Chapter Five: Casual Conversation*

A1.2.1   **Hailstorm**

H1	early 40s male
H2	1 year old girl (doesn't take part in the text interaction below)
H3	early 40s female
H4	late 40s female
H5	early 40s female

H4	//1 I get a */ double //
H1	//3 mm //
H4	#//1 dose for - for //1 fifty dollars //
H3	// ^ so / maybe it's got a / pay with his - //
H4	#//1 and you get / some of it / back on your - / on your um - */ you know // //3 Medi- */ care what- //3 ever its */ called //
H3	#//1 yeah //1 right //
H1	#//4 oh you / get - you / get some */ back then // //4 ^ oh / that's alright //
H3	#//4 what happened- / just um
H4	#//1 yeah I get */ half back // [^ indistinct - two syllables] / [indistinct - two syllables] - //
H3	#//while you're / speaking of being */ tortured // [Pause] //4 what happened to / all - / you had a */ bit of hailstorm / damage //1+ didn't you //
H1	//1 ^ oh / god yes
H3	#//5 ^ 'cause / your house was absolutely */ decimated //
H1	#//2_ ^ a / bit //
H3	//5_ wasn't it //
H1	#//2_ ^ a / bit //
H4	// ^ oh yeah its - //
H1	#//5 car */ and house //
H3	//4 ^ I mean / I only heard a / little bit about it from / Kay so //
H1	#//1 */ both / cars // #//1 yeah //
H3	#//1 wh - / what actually */ happened //
H1	//4 ahh / [Pause] well I mean the - the */ strange thing about it / was that //1 when it */ started about //1 eight o'clock at */ night // [Pause] //4 um we were / sitting watching the */ tv and //4 suddenly I / thought // [Pause] //5 god there's a bloody */ riot going on in the //5 */ street someone's ch - throwing //5 bottles around you //2 know //
H4	#//1 hmm //1 that's what it */ sounded like //
H3	#//4 yeah //
H1	//4 and um [hesitation] / Mike opens the */ door //5 and / this */ ice-block //3 ^ I / kid you */ not //3 shoots / hori- / zontally [laughs, loses tone: 'tally' is not voiced] / through the */ door //
H4	#//2_ ^ oh / I haven't / heard */ that //
H1	//1 right into the */ kitchen and it's a // long - //
H3	#// ^ oh / big little - / how bi - //
H4	#// ^ you mean you / didn't know - //
H1	#//4 you know that - / you know the s - / length of our */ house //
H4	#//5 yeah //
H4	#//1 you're saying you / still didn't know what was */ happening //
H1	//5 no //
H4	^ you / didn't even kno - //
H1	#//4 ^ I / mean / opened the */ door //4 thinking that there was a //4 riot going / on with //1 people throwing */ bottles or //

#[laughter]
H1   //1 tiles or - or //1+ bricks //
H4   #//53 ^ did / sound like / that //1 didn't it it was //1_ just so */ loud //
                                                      #[sounds of assent]
H1   //5 ^ and / then */ opened the / door [and] the //4 first thing I */ realised was
      that this //
H4   #//4
      hmm //
H1   //5 ice-block //5 shoots / hori- */ zontally through the //5 door //1_ ^ and we
      thought / oh my */ god and //1 then all */ hell breaks / loose we //3 go out- */
      side and //1 */ everyone's out- / side by the - //4 this stage //5 ^ but / really */
      dangerous because //
H3   #//5 hmm //
H1   //5 tiles were actually //
H3   #//5 god //5 yeah //
H1   //1 you know cas- //5 cading off the */ roofs //
H3   #//5 hmm //
H1   //3 and ah - you know */ cars //1 bang //1_ bang / bang / cars going */ off //
H5   #//2 ^ was /
      everybody in the */ street //
H1   //1 yeah //5 ^ but / then it got / too */ bad so //1 everyone had to rush */ in
      because it was //5 dangerous I mean it //1 literally */ was //4 not just the */ ice-
      blocks but the - the //3 */ tiles coming / off //
H3   //2 ^ and / how big were */ they //
H1   #//5 ^ it/ just gets */ worse it - // oh - //
H3   //3 ooh it gets */ worse ooh I //4 like the sound of */ that //
H1   //1 ^ they were */ that / big 'bout // 'bout the / size of a- //
H3   #//2 how ' bout a */ cricket ball
      //
H1   //4 ^ ohh / yeah a- //1_ bout the size [of] a */ cricket ball //1_ ^ I've / still got
      one in the */ freezer //
H5   //2_ ^ oh you've / still got one in the */ freezer //
H4   #//1 hmm //13 lot's of people have / still got them - [begins to
      laugh] //
H1   #//3 ^ yeah that's */ right //4 but //
          [laughter]
H1   #//4 ^ the / problem with */ freezers is that //
H3   #//1 very */ funny //
H1   //3 it - it e- */ vaporates so it's //
H5   #//1 yeah //1 that's */ right gets //
H1   #// gradually getting / small - [lost in mirth] //
H5   #//1 smaller //
          [general laughter]
H3   //1 you should[ve] taken a */ photo Dave so //
H1   #//1 ^ in / six / months it will be / like */ that //
H5   #// ^ is / that - //
H3   #//1 people could be-
      */ lieve you //
H5   #//1
      s - so the */ impact when you //4 */ show people is // not - [laughter] //

H1   #//1 ^ it'd / be - b - be /
one - like one of those */ fishing / stories //
        [laughter]
H1   //2_ ^ [struggling with urge to laugh] it was / that */ big //
H3   #//5_ that */ big //
[abandoned laughter all round]

A1.2.2   Ovens

<B1[1]> Female, aged 41, Anglo-Australian, sister of <B4> and <B5>, daughter of
       <B3>
<B2>   Female, aged 38, Anglo-Australian, partner of <B5>
<B3>   Female, aged 74, Anglo-Australian, mother of <B1>, <B4> and <B5>
<B4>   Female, aged 47, Anglo-Australian, sister of <B1> and <B5>, daughter of
       <B3>

B4   Found my earring.
B3   What
B1   You found you earring. Oh good.
B3   Where was it?
B4   On the bed. [inaudible mutter]
B3   Did you have a?
B4   No.
B1   Did you have a – [exclamation]
B4   Mmm.
B1   Well we still haven't found the screw but we've found the earring and your
      nausea has passed so two out of three ain't bad.
B4   Mmm.
B1   Yes well Jodie's taken Philip for a walk. [chuckles]
B4   [chuckles]

B3   //13 so / how - / how long do we / leave the um – / how long does the
      ah – po- / tat - / how long do the po- */ tatoes */ need //
B1   //3 ^ not */ long an //3 hour //
B4   #//1 ^ that - ^ that / oven is //1 very - //
B1   #//1 that / oven is */
      hot //
B4   //1 hot hot */ hot //
B1   #//1 ^ it's a / very / hot */ oven //
B3   // ^ so / that / means that [indistinct - three or four syllables] - //
B1   #//4 ^ 'cause / that */ cake was //
B3   #//3 yeah //
B1   #//4 in / there / for
      – on the / instant / forty five */ seconds // //4 ^ ah / forty five */ minutes //
B4   //4 Hmm //

---

[1] Note: the names 'B1-B4' are derived from the name of the original source of this text, which I have
retained as it forms part of a larger corpus so named.

B1   //4 ^ and / normally //1 [Pause] / it's not */ ready in / forty five //5 minute but //4 that's starting to get - / like I'm - I'm / very glad that I */ checked it when I / did cause it's //1 actually starting to */ burn around the - //

B4   #//1 mm //

B4   /1 ^ I mean / we noticed when we / put those little sorta */ croutony things in then - //

B1

#//2 ^ they / hiss */ eh //

B4   # //5 hear the - / they */ pssshhh [imitating sound of croutony things in very hot oven] // //13 no sort of / just - //5 so its a / very */ very very -//

B1   //2_ ^ char- */ coals [laughter] //

B3   //1 ^ and / all - is / that / with or with- / out the / fan forced */ oven //

B4   //13 ^ oh it's */ with I */ think //

B1   //1 yeah //

B4   //1 hmmm // // so um - //

B3   //1 ^ per- / haps you don't */ need it //

B4   #//1+3 ^ but / no he */ did */ say that he // did [indistinct] - //

B3   #// ^ and [indistinct - one syllable] / no he / said it - //

B4   #//13 Dave */ did say last */ night that it was a //4 hot */ oven so //

B1   //1 ^ well I / think the thing / is that / ever - / everybody just / gets used to / ovens being so */ dreadful //

B4   //1 hmmm //

B1   //1 and / not */ working at the - [laughter] //

B3   [indistinct - one syllable]

B1   //1 how's */ your new / oven //

B4   //4_ ^ it's / fine // //4_ ^ it's / fine //

B1   //-2 not - you're / not in */ love with it //

B4   #// ^ it's / not - //   //2 er - I'm / still sort of / working it */ out a / bit you //3 know jus - but it – I -//

B3   //you know / [indistinct] //

B4   //13 ^ this / getting to / know your bloody */ functions */ on it that //1 I don't / even know whether or not I'm / using the right */ function // //4 ^ but I / haven't cooked a / roast in it or anything like */ that / yet so - // //1 [whispers] ^ but it / needs a */ clean //

B1   //2 ^ but it's / clean did you */ say //

B4   //5_ ^ it / needs a */ clean //

B1   //2_ ^ it / needs a */ clean // //5 how could it / need a */ clean //

?   [indistinct - one syllable]

B3   // ^ do / you - have you / got - [indistinct] //

B1   #//1+3 ^ have you / cooked in / it [laughs] //

B1   //4 ^ ohh I've / cooked */ in it //
      [loud, long laughter]

B3   //2 ^ no / have you - have you / put ahh - do you / cook in those um / [Pause] - ah / foil con- */ tainers or have you //4 got / foil */ down in the / oven to // //1 well / put / that in - / that - that / absolutely re- */ duces //1 [Pause] / ^ dra- / matically //

B1   //1 what would */ you know about / cleaning / ovens //
      [extended laughter]

B3 #//1 ^ I / can do */ that // //4 ^ the / last time the / oven was */ cleaned I //4 said to Nicolas you / must put */ foil down // //1 ^ he said */ yes //3 ^ and he / didn't and then I for- */ got and // //1 now the - the / thing is dis- */ gusting //

B1 //1 well I - / I always remember /when I left - when I / left um / [Pause]/ Sheperds */ Avenue // //1 ^ and / you came over and / you cleaned the */ oven and //4 I - ah - and / I said oh – oh I'm / so em- */ barrassed //4 you know the */ oven - //4 sh - [brief chuckle] and she / said */ darling do you //13 realise that the / last time you [brief chuckle] */ my oven was */ cleaned was - was //5 when you got */ married and Kath - //1 [laughing] leen came and / stayed [laughs] and / cleaned the */ oven and at //2 that stage */ that was / five / years // //13 ^ well / when I - / wen - / when the o - / when my */ old oven was coming */ out I //
#[laughter] [indistinct speech]

B1 //1 said to */ Simon I said //3 now d - you're / not allowed to open it */ up // //1 ^ and / look at it //
[laughter]

B1 //5 ^ he's going / why //

B3 // oh you know that - //

B1   #//13 ^ but there are / just so many / better things to */ do with your */ [laughs] time // [laughter]

B4 //1 ^ it's / true //

B1   #//4 ^ than / clean them //

B3 //4 */ listen / [indistinct - one syllable: Vocative] because do //1 you think I should / get ah some re- / placement ah */ elements // //2 ^ do / they wear */ out the //2 elements //

B4 //1_ what - / in the - in the */ what //

B1 //2_ ^ in the */ stove //

B4   #//1 on the */ stove //

B3   #//1 ^ on the */ stove on the s - //1 on */ top //

B4   #//1 ^ what / aren't they / aren't they * / working //

B3 // ^ well - y - //

B1 //1 I think you should get the */ gas co- / nnected //

B3 //5 ohh */ look //
   #[laughter]

B4   #//1 ^ s'pose */ Nicolas won't / [indistinct - one or two syllables] //

B3   # //1 ^ I'll / have to wait until / Nicolas / passes / on to the / next */ stage be- //3 fore I */ do that //

A1.3 Chapter Six: Interviews

A1.3.1 McKew-Rau

M = McKew; R = Rau

M: These now are all issues now before the Palmer Inquiry but major questions about DIMIA's overall management of detainees has led the Rau family to run its own parallel investigation. Aided by the University of Newcastle

Legal Centre, they produced a 100-page document this week that details a shocking number of misjudgments in the treatment of Cornelia Rau. Their conclusion: that DIMIA's treatment of Ms Rau has opened a bleak window on mandatory detention

[Pause] //4 ^ well / helping */ with that investi- / gation has been Cor- //1+ nelia Rau's */ sister Chris- //1 tine who //1 joins me in the / studio */ now //13 thanks very much for / coming */ in */ Chris //

R: # //13 hi / Maxine //

M: //1 ^ this / latest reve- */ lation that in //1 fact as / far back as No- */ vember of last //1 year // //2_ DIMIA //4 */ started to / think that in //1+ fact your / sister was Au- */ stralian //5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //

R: //5 well to / us it's / rather ex- */ traordinary be- //4 cause it's / lifted the / level of what we */ previously / thought was //4 mere in- */ competence //1 up another */ notch where you //5 think that per- / haps / [Pause] there / has been some sort of / wilful i- */ nertia be- //4 cause / [Pause] / if there had been a / reasonable su- / spicion that / she was an Au- / stralian / resident or */ citizen then h - //1_ why on earth did they / keep her in de- */ tention for //1 ten / whole */ weeks //1 while she was */ obviously in a psy- //1_ chotic */ state //

M: //5 what does the Mi- / gration Act re- */ quire that in //1+ fact ah if they */ think that - you //3 know they //4 are / citizens or */ residents they //5 should be - ah / certainly not de- */ tained //

R: //4 ^ well you / see //4 under the Mi- */ gration Act you ca- //1 nnot */ hold //1 ^ a / citizen or a */ resident you can //1 only hold / someone who has an / invalid / passport or */ visa um //4 under the Mi- */ gration Act you //4 have to be / reasonably su- */ spected of //1 being an / illegal */ immigrant and as //1 soon as Co- / rnelia - Cornelia's i- / dentity came //1 into su- */ spicion //1 from within / Baxter it- */ self then //1 that whole / reasonable su- */ spicion was just //1 cancelled */ out and she //1 should have been re- */ leased //4 preferably to a //1 hospital //

M: //4 ^ but of course at the / same time er your / sister is / still main- */ taining ah //4 */ in / Baxter that //4 she's either / Anna / Schmidt or Anna */ Brutmeyer //

R: # //1 yes //

M: #
//1 ^ but / would you / say then that this / email su- */ ggests that in //4 fact in */ spite of / that you //3 know they're //1 getting the im- / pression that */ clearly she //1 is Aus- */ tralian //

R: //1 ^ well co- / incidentally we've been / going through a / very long chro-*/ nology which we //1 haven't / sent to Mick */ Palmer yet ah //1 where we've been / de - ah / outlining in / great */ detail //1 everything that / we know */ happened during the //5 ^ / course of this ah - her - the / saga of her de- */ tention and //4 what we dis- / covered to- */ day was that on the //5 twenty */ first of Nov- / ember / two thousand and / four there was //1 actually a / missing / persons / article in the / Sunday / Mail in */ Adelaide // //1 ^ which has a / reasonably high circu- */ lation there and a- //4 pparently it's / practice in */ DIMIA to //4 scrupulously */ vet the //1 papers before the de- / tainees */ see them now on the //4 twenty first of No- / vember there was an / article in the / Sunday mas - */ Mail saying - // //3 giving Cornelia's spe- / cific um / physical characte- */ ristics her // //4 ^ her / height her / weight her */ eye colour // //3 um a di- / stinguishing mole on her / left */ cheek they //4 didn't

run a */ photo //1 [Pause] but they / did say that she / had a / medicon- / dition - / medical con- / dition and that she / had gone */ missing and so //1 [Pause] / um / the / u - the / uni of / Newcastle */ rang me to- / day and //5 said / you know this is / no co- */ incidence that //4 this article */ ran at the //4 same ti - y - / three days be- / fore / suddenly with - / in gs */ l you get a //1 memo saying we have / reason to su- / spect that she / may be an Australian */ citizen //

M: //1 What do you see is the co- */ nnection //

R: //1 Well / we see the / possible connection that / somebody in Baxter / read that article and put / two and two to- */ gether //1 [Pause] / and on the / twenty fourth of November / also the Daily Telegraph in / Sydney ran a */ photograph of Cor- //1 nelia with the / headline / where is Cor- */ nelia //1 [Pause] / so / we think per- / haps / those two / things are interre- */ lated //

M: // 4 mmm // //1 So / what do you con- */ clude then about the de- / partment's //1 */ handling of all / this I mean is - // //2 ^ is it in- / competence o - //5 or in- / different - in- */ difference //

R: //5 ^ well you'd / have to assume it was a / mixture of */ both I think be- //4 cause there / also seems to be this / attitude that um - / very */ secretive atti- / tude where //3 anyone from out- / side is / um / either ig- */ nored or //5 turned away or /even given mis- */ leading information there were //5 people */ right the way / down through Cor- //1 nelia's */ case who were //4 told by / DIMIA o- */ fficials //1 oh she's / going to be */ deported //1 um you know */ she's al - / right she's been //1+ carefully e- / xamined and we / think she's o- */ kay //

A1.3.2   Jones-Ruddock

J = Jones; R = Ruddock

J   //4 ^ Phillip Ruddock */ thanks for / joining us //

R   //1 pleasure //

J   // 4 ^ are / you at all con- / cerned by the / allegations that a / network of / Chinese */ spies has been //1_ operating in this */ country //

R   //4_ ^ well I'm / always con- / cerned about er - about alle- */ gations but er // //1 ^ ah one / has to es- */ tablish //-3 whether or */ not ah they are //4 real or i- */ magined //1 [Pause] / umm they / are / just as you have */ asserted at //4 */ this stage alle- //4 gations //53 [Pause] the / difficulty for */ me in relation to these */ matters is //5 I can't //4 talk about on- */ going //2 [Pause] er ac- */ tivities in which our se- / curity agencies are in- */ volved it //4 compromises them //4 ^ err tra- / ditionally we don't */ speak about them // //1 ^ ah but it would be na- / ive to be- //4 lieve that er / matters that are re- */ ported on are //-3 not */ matters that the //1 organisations / ahh that / work in this area would / not be aware of and wouldn't */ act on //

J   //1 ^ are you / taking */ measures or //1 are those organisations / taking measures to in- / vestigate the / claims that are being made */ now // //13 that's the point that I'm / making //

R   # //1_ ^ well / I'm just simply */ saying it would be na- //13 ive to be- / lieve // //4 ^ that they / wouldn't be a- */ ware of the alle- //1 gations that are being / made and / wouldn't / act u- */ pon them //

J   //53 ^ it would be / naive of them */ not to investigate in */ fact //

R   # //1 hmm //

J   # //13
that's what you're / saying //

R   #//13 that's / right //

J   //4 ^ al- / right //4 why has it been / left to the */ immigration de- / partment to //1 deal with the */ asylum / claims of //4 two / chinese de- */ fectors //4 [Pause] */ both of / whom //1_ ^ ahh / say they have / sensitive in- / telligence infor- */ mation //

R   //1_ if there */ are people with er //4 sensitive / teleph - in - in- */ telligence information // //1+3 umm you work */ with them in re- / lation to */ that //

J   //4 ^ from / what you're */ saying ah the //4 sensitive in- / telligence infor- */ mation //4 held / by Mister */ Hao and Mister //4 Chen // //4 ^ ah / will be */ assessed by the //1 government //1 or / by its */ agencies //

R   //4 ^ I'm / saying that er in- //4 telligence */ issues are a- //1 ddressed by / competent */ agencies //2_ that's what I'm / saying //

J   //4 ^ if they */ have //4 [Pause] in- / tent - in- */ telligence infor- / mation //4 sensitive in- */ telligence infor- / mation //5 ASIO² would want to */ see it //2 wouldn't it //

R   //4 it would be */ naive //5 umm to ah / think that err an / agency would */ not //4 [Pause] / ahh ex- */ plore those //4 issues that are //5 relevant to their */ mandate//

J   //1 ^ a - / wouldn't that be / also relevant to the */ asylum / claims of these //5 people if they were in //4 fact de- */ fectors // 4 [Pause] carrying / sensitive in- */ telligence infor- / mation it's //4 then a-/ ssessed by in- / telligence organi- */ sations to be im- //5 portant infor- */ mation // //4 doesn't / that then i- / mmediately / put those people into a / different */ category from //1 those who are a- / ssessed by the immigration de- / partment */ normally //

R   //5 no the um - // //1 there are - there are / two */ streams //1 umm and a de- / cision has been */ taken //1 on the issue of terri- */ torial a- / sylum um //4 I under- */ stand that it //2_ */ may be re- / opened //2 umm on a / further appli- */ cation but er er //13 that decision was / taken //13 on the inform- / ation //5 [Pause] er that was pro- */ vided //4 ^ um / now //4 in re- */ lation to ahh the //4 question //4 um / of a con- / vention based * / claim //1 for pro- */ tection // [inbreath] //4 ahh */ those / matters are de - //3 termined on the / basis of */ fact // [pause] //1 and */ law //3 does a person have a / well founded */ fear of being //1 persecuted if they're re- / turned to their home */ country //53 um and */ all of the */ facts that are //1 */ relevant to / that will be con- //1 sidered by / relevant */ officers who are ex- //1 perienced in / making those de- */ cisions //

J   //53 ^ it's / pretty straight- */ forward though */ isn't it if they're //4 carrying / sensitive in- */ telligence inform- / ation that would // [inbreath] //4 deem them in their own */ country to be //1 traitors if they / handed it over to another */ power

R   //1 ^ we - look / you're asking / me to offer a */ view //

J   //4 mmm I //5 am in- // 5 deed //5_ yes //

R   #//4 umm / on - ah - yeah well / I'm not going to offer a */ view on //1 what a / competent */ officer has to de- //4 cide //4 using their */ own / judgment //1 umm in re- / lation to these */ matters //

J   // 4 yeah //

R   #//2 umm it'd be / quite im- */ proper //4 um and it / would er - it would des- / troy the efficacy of the */ system were I to be //1 */ offering those / comments //

A1.4 Chapter Seven: Sales

A1.4.1 Sales 1 (S1)

S1O = Sales 1 operator; S1C = Sales 1 customer

S1O   //3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //_3 my name's Me- */ linda would you like //_2 home de- */ livery or //1 take away //

S1C   //3 ^ de- / livery //

S1O   //2 ^ I'm / sorry //

S1C   //_3 home de- */ livery //

S1O   //1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please //

S1C   //3 five six two */ six //

S1O   //3 five six two */ six //

S1C   //3 four five two */ one //

S1O   //2 four five two */ one //

S1C   //3 yep //

S1O   //3 o- */ kay and the //3 surname and / suburb for de- */ livery please //

S1C   //3 Strangle //3 Blackmores //

S1O   //1 Strangle sixty- */ two //2 Batman street */ Blackmores //

S1C   //3 yep //

S1O   //4 ^ it's a- / pproximately half an */ hour //1_3 what would you */ like Mr */ Strangle //

S1C   //3 ahh a / large */ super su- / preme //

S1O   //2 yep //

S1C   //3 ummm */ pan //

S1O   //2 ^ okay / anything */ else sir //

S1C   //13 and a */ garlic bread */ thanks //

S1O   //3 ^ so / just have a / thick super su- */ preme and a //2 */ garlic bread Mr / Strangle //

S1C   //3 yep //

S1O   //4 comes to / fifteen */ ninety //

S1C   //3 yep //

S1O   //2 umm would you / like to get a / bottle of / soft drink with that for six- */ teen ninety / five //

S1C   // 1 no thank you //

S1O   //2 sorry //

S1C   //1 no thanks //

S1O   //1 o- */ kay //4 ahh it's a- / pproximately half an */ hour do you //

S1C   //1 ahh I've / got a */ twenty dollar note //

S1O   //_2 o- */ kay //2 ^ that's a / thick super su- / preme and a / garlic */ bread //4 ^ uh it's / fifteen */ ninety we'll //5 see you in a- / pproximately / half an */ hour //

S1C   //3 thank */ you //

S1O   //1 thank you bye- //4 bye //

A1.4.2　Sales 2 (S2)

S2O = Sales 2 operator; S2C = Sales 2 customer

S2O:　//_3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //3 my name's */ Brad can I //1 start the order with your */ phone number please //

S2C:　//2 ^ it's / five eight one */ two //

S2O:　//3 yeah //

S2C:　//3 double three seven */ five //

S2O:　//3 ^ so / five eight one */ two double //2 three seven */ five //

S2C:　//_3 that's */ it //

S2O:　//13 and de- / livery or */ take away */ sir //

S2C:　//13 ^ ahh de- / livery / please //

S2O:　//1+ ^ and / surname and */ suburb //

S2C:　//3 ^ ahh it's / in ah / Berwick */ Down it's under Bu- //1 nnoo //

S2O:　//3 ^ now that's / Bosmarty */ Place //3 ahh / unit fifty */ five block //2 three / Half- / time */ Avenue Berwick / Place //

S2C:　//_2 that's */ it //

S2O:　//1 ^ [o]kay a- */ bout / half hour //2 */wait on de- */ livery / sir //

S2C:　//2 yeah that's */ fine //

S2O:　//1 and would you / like to try the current */ special of //3 three large starting from //2 twenty two ninety */ five //

S2C:　//13 ^ hm / nah there's / only two of us */ here */ mate //

S2O:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　#//1 ^ okay / what would you */ like //

S2C:　//1 ah can / I just get a ah - / ho - / how many / pieces */ is a / large //1 one */ large //

S2O:　//1 ^ how many */ pieces / is a - //

S2C:　　　　　　　　　　#//1 yeah // //1 large //

S2O:　//1 yeah //

S2C:　//1 eight //2 is it //

S2O:　//1 yeah // eight slice - //

S2C:　　　　　　　#//4 sorry and the //2 medium //

S2O:　//4 ahh we / don't have a */ medium we've //

S2C:　　　　　　　　　　　# // ^ so / that's - //

S2O:　//4 got a */ regular but that's //1+ that's */ six slices but the //4 store doesn't actually de- */ liver / them //

S2C:　//2 ^ okay no well we'll / have a / large */ then //

S2O:　//3 yeah //

S2C:　//2 ^ can / I get a / large um / half and */ half //

S2O:　//2 yeah //

S2C:　//3 ^ ah / half // //3 ^ ah / meat */ lovers with //2 barbeque */ sauce //

S2O:　//3 yeah //

S2C:　//4 ^ and / half / super su- */ preme //

S2O:　//3 ^ a - / huh //

S2C:　//3 but can / I get um like - / what - / how do you spice it / up - with that */ chilli or - //

S2O:　//3 ah you can / have some hot / spices there */ free or you can //13 put ah / jalapeno */ peppers on as */ well //

S2C:　　　　　　　　　　# // no - //

S2O: //3 they're an extra */ dollar //
S2C: //1 ^ no / just um / hot / spices but / not too - [let's? -] / just */ mild //
S2O: //3 */ okay / sure //
S2C: //3 yeah //
S2O: //1 ^ and / what */ base for the / pizza / sir //
S2C: //1 ah */ pan / please //
S2O: //_3 o- / kay // //2 ^ did you / want the */ super supreme or the o- //1 riginal //
S2C: //1 ^ nah */ super su- / preme //
S2O: //2 ^ o- / kay so I've got a / large pan half */ barbeque / meatlovers half / super
       su- / preme with hot / spices //
S2C: //2 ^ mm / hmm //
S2O: //2 ^ did you / want the hot / spices / just for the su- */ preme half //
S2C: //1 yeah / just the su- */ preme half //
S2O: //2 o - / kay so / twelve ninety */ five //
S2C: //2 ^ mm / hmm //
S2O: //3 ahh we've / got you / in at ah Del - / santo in- */ dustrial e- / state //
S2C: #//1 that's it //3 yep // //3 that's */
       it // //1 ^ ah / just make sure the / spices */ are / mild //
S2O: //1 okay //
S2C: //3 yep // [silence] //2 ^ that's / twelve ninety */ five was it //
S2O: //3 twelve ninety */ five was there //
S2C: #//3 yeah //
S2O: #//1 any drinks or */ garlic bread at / all sir //
S2C: #//1 no */
       thank you //
S2O: //3 [o-] / kay / that'll be / with you in about / half an */ hour you'll just //5 need
       / close to the correct / change for the */ driver sir //
S2C: //5 no */ problem //
S2O: //1 [o-] / kay en- / joy your */ meal Mister / Smith //
S2C: #//3 ^ thank / you //
S2O: //4 bye //
S2C: #//3 ^ bye / bye //

A1.4.2   Sales 3 (S3)

S3O = Sales 3 operator; S3C = Sales 3 customer

S2O: //3 welcome to */ Pizza Spot //3 my name is */ Crystal could I //1 start with
       your */ phone number / please //
S2C: //3 d - / double five double */ seven //2 three eight four */ six // [a series of
       utterances to son: not part of the sales interaction, so not analysed]
S2O: #//3 ^ so that's / double five / double seven three / six four */ eight // // ch - //
S2C: // ahh - //
S2O: //3 ^ would you like de- */ livery or //1 take away //
S2C: //4 ahh - / take a */ way I've //1_ got one of those er / five ninety */ five //
S2O: //3 yep could //1_3 I have your */ surname */ please //
S2C: //2 Anderson //
S2O: //1 ^ and / what store are you / picking that */ up from //
S2C: //2 sorry //
S2O: //2 ^ what */ store are you / picking that / up from //
S2C: //2 ahh in the */ Centre // //3 Henley //

S2O: //3 Henley //
S2C: //1 ahh can //2 you just hold */ on for a minute / for me it's just //2 not going */ through // //1 ^ [I'll] just / check with the */ supervisor //
S2C: //1 yeah //
         [long delay in dialogue]
S2O: //2 ^ are you */ there Mister / Anderson //
S2C: //2 mmm //
S2O: //1_ ^ yeah I'm / having trouble / calling it */ up //2 what I'll / do is I'll / actually trans- / fer you through to the */ store //
S2C: //3 ^ al- / right //
S2O: // 13 ^ yes I've - 'cause / I / can't - I'm / having trouble / placing the */ order for */ them for //2 some */ reason //
S2C: //3 yep // //3 good //
S2O: //1 thanks //

A2 Appendix Two: Analyses

A2.1 Abbreviations used in the Analyses

Abbreviation	Full term	Abbreviation	Full term	Abbreviation	Full term
*X	times by X	ext	extent	possd	possessed
[ ]	not clearly articulated but present	extend	extending	possr	possessor
acc	accompaniment	Fin	Finite	Postmod	Postmodifier
Act	actor	foc	focussing	Pred	Predicator
add	address	hear	hearsay	predict	prediction
addr	addressee	honor	honorific	Premod	Premodifier
Adj	Adjunct	I	imperative	presum	presumption
adv	adversative	ID	INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION;	Prepos	Preposition
anaph	anaphoric	Idd	Identified	prob	probability
Attr	Attribute	IF	INFORMATION FOCUS	Proc	Process
attrib	attributive	IG	INFORMATION GROUPING	pur	purpose
beh	behavioural	iding	identifying	quest	question
Carr	Carrier	insist	insistent	reas	reason
chall	challenging	int	intensive	Rec	Receiver
Circ	Circumstance	inten	intense	Recip	Recipient
com	committed	inting	intensifying	ref	referring
comm	comment	inv	involved	rel	relational
Comp	Complement	IP	INFORMATION PROMINENCE	res	reserved
compar	comparison	Ir	Identifier	rev	reversed

comprom	compromising	lim	limiting	Salut	Salutation
conc	concession	loc	location	Say	Sayer
cond	condition	mann	manner	Sens	Senser
conf	confirmatory	mat	material	sp	speaker
Conj	Conjunctive	matt	matter	spat	spatial
cont	continuative	men	mental	sub	subordinate
contin	contingency	metaph	metaphoric	Subj	Subject
coord	coordinate	min	minor (clause)	temp	temporal
count	counterexpectancy	mod	modal	Tok	Token
D	declarative	N	neutral	tot	total
def	deferring	neg	negative	uncom	uncommitted
deg	degree	P	polar interrogative	us	usuality
del	deliberate	P(Alt)	polar interrogative (alternative type)	Val	Value
dr	downranked	per	peremptory	ver	verbal
exc	exceeding	Phen	Phenomenon	Verb	Verbiage
excl	exclamative	pol	polar	Voc	Vocative
exis	existential	polite	politeness marker	W	wh-Interrogative
Exist	Existent	pos	positive	WhAdj	wh-Adjunct
exoph	exophoric	poss	possessive	WhComp	wh-Complement

A2.2 Surgical Text (Chapter Four)

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	1	//2 ^ is it */ coming //	is it (the tissue)	coming	Proc: mat/ Pred	0	0	P: N
r	2	//4_ ^ it */ is //	is it (the tissue)	is	Fin: pol (pos)	0	0	D: res
r	3	//1 mm //	exophoric reference	mm	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	min: N
r	4	//2 Olga I'm / just gonna move you in */ deeper //	April I	deeper	Circ: loc: spat	Olga; just	Voc; Mood Adj: count: Lim	D: chall
r	5	//_3 grab */ that //	(you) grab	that	Goal (exoph)/ Comp	grab	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: del
r	6	//2_ */ there you / are //	there	there+ are	Excl	are	Excl	D: chall: foc
r	7	//5 ^ how a- / nnoying I can */ feel it //	I	feel	Proc: men/Pred	annoying	Excl	D: com
s	8	//2 ^ are your / fingers down bel - be- */ low it //	are your fingers	below	Attr: circ: loc/Comp	fingers	Carr/ Subj	P: N
r	9	//1 almost like a */ suction effect at the / moment //	(there is)	suction	Exist/Comp	almost; moment	Mood Adj: deg: high; Circ: loc: temp	D: N
r	10	//1 in the */ pelvis //	(there is)	pelvis	Circ: loc: spat	in	Circ.: loc: spat: Prepos	D: N
r	11	//5_ o- */ kay //	0	okay	cont	okay	cont	min: inten
r	12	//1 ^ my / fingers */ are below it //	my fingers	are	Proc: Rel/Fin/Pred	fingers	Carr/ Subj	D: N
s	13	//1 okay well //		okay	Cont			min: N
s	14	//2 pull on em */ hard //	(you) pull	hard	Circ: mann	pull	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: quest
s	15	//2 ^ pull / up on that */ band //	(you) pull	band	Goal/Comp (exoph)	up	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: quest

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	16	//1 ^ nah / this is */ faffing //	nah this (?)	faffing	Proc: mat/ Pred	this	Act/ Subj (exoph)	D: N
s	17	//1 isn't it //	this (?)	isn't	Fin: pol	0	0	D (tag: rev): per
r	18	//1 nup (no) //	no	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: N
r	19	//13 ^ it */ is */ faffing //	it (?)	is+ faffing	Fin: pol (pos)+ Proc/Pred	0	0	D: N+ conf
s	20	//13 ^ ahh */ not's [that's] not the */ word um //	ahh that (faffing)	[that]+ word	Tok/Ir (anaph)/ Subj+ Val/Idd/Comp	0	0	D: N+ conf
s	21	//13 ^ it's / all very */ stiff in */ there //	it (the patient's tissue)	stiff+ there	Attr: int/Comp+ Circ: loc: spat/Comp	all	Carr/Subj	D: N+ conf
s	22	//1 just from his */ previous dis- / ease //	it (the patient's tissue)	previous	Circ: reas: Premod	just; disease	Mood Adj: count: lim; Circ: Head	D: N
s	23	//3 let's just go / straight down the / middle of the */ front and //	let us	front	Circ: Loc: Spat	let's; straight; middle	Proc: Mat/Pred; Circ: Loc: Spat; Circ: Loc: Spat	coord
s	24	//1 see what we run */ into //	let us	into	Phen: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	see	Proc: men/Pred	I: N
r	25	//3 o- */ kay //	0	okay	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	okay	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	min: conf
s	26	//13 ^ can / you get a little */ small / sponge */ thanks / Cathy or a //	can you	small+ thanks	Goal: Premod/Comp + polite	you; sponge; Cathy	Act/Subj (addr); Goal: Head; Voc	P: per+ conf
s	27	//13 medium / sponge //	can you	medium+ sponge	Goal: Premod/Comp + Goal: Head/Comp	0	0	P: per+ conf
s	28	//1 so we've - //	so we -	so	cont	0	0	min: N
s	29	//4_ just / had a - ah / roll it into a */ ball //	so we -; (you) roll	ball	Circ: mann	just; had; roll	Mood Adj: count: lim -; Proc: rel: poss -; Proc: mat/ Pred	I: Comprom

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	30	//1 into a */ roll //	so we -; (you) roll	roll	Circ: mann	into	Circ: mann: prep	I: N
s	31	//4 so we've //	so we	so	cont	0	0	sub
s	32	//4 been */ frustrated //	so we	frustrated	Proc: mat/ Pred	been	Auxiliary	sub
r	33	//3 yep //	0	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: conf
s	34	//1 ^ and we've / been - */ what //	and we	what	WhAdj	been	Auxiliary	W: N
s	35	//1 ^ re- / pelled //	and we	repelled	Proc. mat/ Pred			D: N
s		// ^ so we're / gonna try a- / nother - //	so we	0	0	going to; another	Auxiliary; Range: Premod/ Comp	0
r	36	//1 way //	so we	way	Range: Head/Comp	0	0	D: N
s	37	//4 yeah so //	so we	yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	sub
s	38	//2_ just roll that */ down //	so (you) just roll	down	Circ: mann	just	Mood Adj: count: lim	I: quest: foc
s	39	//13 that might be / too */ much */ actually //	that	much+ actually	Attr: int/ Comp+ comm Adj	that; too	Carr (exoph); Attr: int	D: N
s	40	//3 ^ and / get down */ there //	and (you) get down	there	Circ: loc: spat	get	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: mild
s	41	//2 pull on */ that bit //	(you) pull	that	Goal: Premod (exoph)/Comp	pull	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: quest
s	42	//1_3 and / I'll see / if / Olga and */ I can show you */ that //	and I	I+ that	Act/Subj (sp)+ Range (exoph)	and; I; if; Olga	Conj: extend; Sens/Subj (sp); Mood Adj: pol (pos); Act/Subj	D: N+ conf
s	43	//2_ ummm / Olga can / you - you */ help / me //	ummm Jennie can you	help	Proc: mat/ Pred	ummm; Olga; you; me	cont; Voc; Act/Subj (addr); Goal	P: foc
s	44	//2 ^ we'll / both - * / hold a / second //	we	hold	Proc: mat/Fin+ Pred	both -; second	Subj -; Circ: temp: ext	I: quest

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	45	//13 ^ you / need to get / more than one */ finger down */ there //	you	finger+ there	Goal: Head/ Comp+ Circ: Loc	need; more	Fin: mod: median; Goal: Premod/Comp	D: N+ conf
s	46	//4 so - / so that you've / got a little bit of a */ front //	so -, so that you	front	Attr: possd/Comp	so-; so; got	Conj: reas -; Conj: reas	sub
r	47	//1 hmmm //		0 hmmm	Cont	0	0	min: N
r	48	//2 at an */ angle //	(you) ?	angle	Circ: mann	at	Circ: mann: Prepos	min: chall
s	49	//3 yep //	(I)	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: conf
s	50	//2 let me / move the re- */ tractor //	let me	retractor	Goal/Comp	let; move	Proc: mat/Pred; Proc: mat/ Pred	I: quest
s	51	//2 you stay */ there //	you	there	Circ: loc: spat	you	Act/Subj (addr)	I: quest
r	52	//2 ^ can / you */ suck that //	can you	suck	Proc: mat/ Pred	you	Act/Subj (addr)	P: N
s	53	//2 ^ that's / nice //	that (the operation progress)	nice	Attr: Int/ Comp	0	0	D: chall
s	54	//3 sweep it out to the */ side //	(you) sweep	side	Circ: Loc: Spat	sweep	Proc: mat/ Pred	I: mild
s	55	//5 that's */ great //	that	great	Attr: int/Comp	that	Carr /Subj (exoph)	D: com
s	56	//5 nice one //		0 nice	Excl	0	0	min: com
s	57	//3 yep //		0 yep	Cont	0	0	min: conf
s	58	//1 that's going */ great //	that (the operation)	great	Attr: int/Comp	that	Carr /Subj (exoph)	D: N
s	59	//2 let me move */ this again //	let me	this	Goal/Comp (exoph)	let	Proc: mat/Pred	I: quest
s	60	//3 ^ hh / hmm //		0	0 Cont	0	0	min: conf
r	61	//3 pull up on */ that //	(you) pull	that	Goal (exoph)/Comp	pull	Proc: mat/Pred	I: mild
s	62	//3 ^ hang / on //	(you) hang on	on	Proc: mat/Fin+ Pred	0	0	I: mild

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	63	//2 ^ hold */ up a little / bit //	(you) hold up	up	Proc:mat/ Fin+ Pred	bit	Circ: ext	I: quest
s	64	//2 ^ are we */ showing it / to you //	are we	showing	Proc: mat/Pred	to	Circ: Recip: Prepos	P: N
r	65	//1 yes //	0	yes	Mood Adj: pol (yes)	0	0	D: N
r	66	//13 thank / you //	0	thank+ you	polite+ polite	0	0	Min: N+ conf
r	67	//4 sorry //	(I?)	sorry	Cont	0	0	sub
r	68	//1_ am - / i'm in the */ way aren't i //	am -; I	way	Attr: circ/ Comp	am -; I'm; aren't	Fin: pol -; Carr/Subj (sp)	D: mild
s	69	//2 no //	0	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: chall
s	70	//1 ^ I / just can't / stand it any */ more //	I	more	Circ: Temp: Ext	stand	Mood Adj: count: lim; Proc: ment/Pred	D: N
r	71	//13 ^ I'm / actually */ getting somewhere */ now //	I	getting+ now	Proc: mat/Pred+ Circ: loc: temp	actually	Mood Adj: count: exc	D: N+ conf
s	72	//4 nah but you're / doing - you're / doing */ fine //	no but you	fine	Circ: mann	no; doing-; doing	cont; Proc: rel -; Proc: rel: attrib/Pred	sub
r	73	//1 ^ you / wanna take / over */ don't you //	you	don't	Fin: pol (neg)	want	Proc: men/ Pred; Proc: mat	D (tag: rev): per
s	74	//2 no //		no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)			D: chall
s	75	//5_ ^ I / don - I - I - I */ absolutely //	I	absolutely	Mood Adj: deg: tot	don -	Fin: pol (neg) -	D: inten
r	76	//5 yes you */ do //	yes you	do	Fin: pol (pos)	yes	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: com
s	77	//1_ don't wanna take */ over //	I	over	Proc: mat/Pred	don't	Fin: pol (neg)	D: mild
r	78	//5 ^ you / do I //	you	do	Fin: pol (pos)	0	0	D: com
r	79	//4_ feel //	I	feel	Proc: men/Pred	0	0	D: res
s	80	//2 well //	0	well	cont	0	0	min: chall

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
s	81	//1_ no - ^ no I */ don't //	I	don't	Fin: pol (neg)	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: mild
s	82	//1_ ^ I / really */ don't //	I	don't	Fin: pol (neg)	really	Mood Adj: count: exc	D: mild
r	83	//4 ^ I / didn't say I was going to */ let you I //	I	let	Proc: mat/Pred	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	sub
r	84	//4_ just said i */ feel //	I	feel	Proc: men/Pred	just	Mood Adj: count: lim	D: res
s	85	//1 don't / suck up */ there Olga the //	(you) don't suck	there	Circ: loc: spat (exoph)	don't; suck	Fin: pol (neg); Proc: mat/Pred	I: forceful
s	86	//1_ action's / down */ here //	the action	here	Circ: loc: spat (exoph)	action	Carr/Subj; Circ: loc: spat (exoph)	D: mild
s	87	//1_ ^ that's / right //	that	right	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: mild
j	88	//2_ ^ are you / getting frus- */ trated //	are you	frustrated	Attr: int/Comp	getting	Proc: rel: inting/Pred	P: foc
s	89	//2_ me //	0	me	nom gp (sp)	0	0	min: chall: foc
j	90	//4_ yes //	0	yes	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: res
s	91	//1_ no I'm */ not //	no I	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: mild
s	92	//4 I'm - I'm / very / happy with the way we're pro- */ ceeding you //	I	proceeding	Proc: mat/Pred	I; very; happy	Carr/Subj; Attr: int: Premod; Attr: Head	sub
s	93	//3 know if I / didn't - / if there was */ bleeding and //	if there was	bleeding	Exist/Comp	know; didn't - ; if	cont; Fin: pol (neg); Conj: cond: Conc	coord
?	94	//1 hmm //	0	hmm	0	0	cont	min: N
s	95	//3 stuff I would //	if there was	stuff	Exist/Comp	0	0	coord
s	96	//1_3 not be / happy //	I	not+ happy	Fin: pol (neg)+ Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: mild+ conf
s	97	//1 ^ but I'm */ happy //	but I	happy	Attr: Int/Comp	0	0	D: N

A2.3 Casual Conversation (Chapter Five)

A2.3.1   Hailstorm

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H3	95	//4 what happened- / just um while you're / speaking of being */ tortured //	just while you	tortured	Proc: mat/Pred	what; just; speaking	Wh Subj; cont; Proc: mat/Pred	sub
H4	96	//1 ^ yeah I get */ half back //					Part of earlier conversation	
H5		// [^ indistinct - two syllables] / [indistinct - two syllables] - //	0	0	0	0	0	0
H3	97	//4 what happened to / all - / you had a */ bit of hailstorm / damage //	what -; you	bit	Attr: Premod/Comp	what; all; you; damage	Wh Subj -; Circ -; Carr/Subj; Attr: Possd: Head/ Comp	sub
H3	98	//1+ didn't you //	did not you	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0	0	D (tag: rev): per: strong
H1	99	//1 ^ oh / god yes //	Oh God yes (I)	god	Excl.	0	0	D: N
H3	100	//5 ^ 'cause / your house was / absolutely */ decimated //	because your house	decimated	Proc: mat/Pred	your	Goal: Premod/Subj; Mood Adj: Int: deg: tot	D: com
H1	101	//2_ ^ a / bit //	you	bit	Possd: Premod/ Comp	0	0	D: chall: foc
H3	102	//5_ wasn't it //	was not it (your house)	wasn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0	0	D (tag: rev): per: int

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	103	//2_ ^ a / bit //	you	bit	Attr: Premod/ Comp	0	0	D: chall: foc
H4		// ^ oh yeah its - //	0	0	0	0	0	0
H1	104	//5 car */ and house //	car and house	and	Goal: Conj: extend/ Subj	car	Goal/Subj	D: com
H3	105	//4 ^ I mean / I only heard a / little bit about it from */ Kay so / wh - //	I mean I	Kay	Say	I; little; wh -	Recip/Subj (sp); Verb: Premod/Comp	sub
H1	106	//1 */ both / cars //	both cars	both	Goal: Premod/ Subj	cars	Goal: Head/Subj	D: N
H1	107	//1 yeah //	my house	yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: N
H3	108	//1 wh - / what actually */ happened //	what	happened	Proc: mat/Pred	wh -; what	Act/Wh Subj	W: N
H1	109	//4 ahh / well I mean the - the */ strange thing about it / was that //	ahh well I mean the strange thing about it	strange	Val/Idd/Subj	ahh; well; was	cont; cont; Proc: rel: inting/Pred/Fin	sub
H1	110	//1 when it */ started about //	when it (the hailstorm)	started	Proc: mat/Pred	when	Conj: temp	D: N
H1	111	//1 eight o'clock at */ night //	when it	night	Circ: loc: temp	eight	Circ: loc: temp	D: N
H1	112	//4 um we were / sitting watching the */ tv and //	um we	tv	Phen/Comp	um; sitting	cont; Proc: mat/Pred	sub
H1	113	//4 */ suddenly I / thought //	suddenly I	suddenly	comm Adj	thought	Proc: men/Pred	sub
H1	114	//5 god there's a bloody */ riot going on in the //	god there is	riot	Exist/Comp	god	Excl	D: com

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	115	//5 */ street someone's ch - throwing //	god there is	street	Exist: (dr) Circ: loc: spat	0	0	D: com
H1	116	//5 bottles around you //	someone	bottles	Goal/Comp	0	0	D: com
H4	117	//1 hmm //		0 hmm	cont	0	0	min: N
H4	118	//1 that's what it */ sounded like you //	that (= H1's description as 'riot')	sounded	Val/Idd: (dr) Proc: rel/Comp	that (= H1's description as 'riot')	Tok/Ir (anaph)/Subj	D: N
H1	119	//2 know //		0 know	cont	0	0	min: N
H3	120	//4 yeah //		0 yeah	cont	0	0	sub
H1	121	//4 and um / Mike opens the */ door //	and um Mike	door	Goal/Comp	and; Mike	Conj: extend; Act/Subj	sub
H1	122	//5 and / this */ ice-block //	and this ice block	ice-block	Act: Head/Subj	and; this	Conj: extend; Act: Premod/Subj	D: com
H1	123	//3 ^ I / kid you */ not //	I	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	kid	Proc: mat/Pred	D: conf
H1	124	//3 shoots / hori- / zontally [laughs, loses tone: 'tally' is not voiced] / through the */ door //	and this ice-block	door	Circ: loc: spat	shoots; hori; zontally; through	Proc: mat/Pred/Fin; Circ: mann; Circ: Prepos	coord
H4	125	//2_^ oh / I haven't / heard */ that //	oh I	that	Phen/Comp	I; heard	Sens/Subj (sp); Proc: men/Pred	D: chall: foc
H1	126	//1 right into the */ kitchen and it's a //	and this ice-block	kitchen	Circ: loc: spat	right	Circ: Premod	D: N
H1		// long - //	it (the hallway?)	0	0	long	Attr: Premod	0
H3		// ^ oh / big little - / how bi - //		0	0	big; how	Premod -; Attr/WhComp -	0
H4		// ^ you mean you / didn't know - //	you mean you	0	0	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	127	//4 you know that - / you know the s - / length of our */ house //	you	house	Phen: Postmod/Comp	you -; you; length	Sens/Subj (addr) -; Sens/Subj (addr); Phen/Comp	sub
H4	128	//5 yeah //		yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: com
H4	129	//1 you're saying you / still didn't know what was */ happening //	you	happening	Phen: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	you; still	Sens/Subj (addr); Mood Adj: temp	D: N
H1	130	//5 no //	I	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: com
H4		// ^ you / didn't even kno - //	you -	0	0	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0
H1	131	//4 ^ I / mean / opened the */ door //	I mean I	door	Goal/Comp	mean; opened	(metaph) cont; Proc: mat/Pred/Fin	sub
H1	132	//4 thinking that there was a //	I	thinking	Proc: men/Pred	0	0	sub
H1	133	//4 */ riot going / on with //	there	riot	Exist/Comp	on	Proc: exis	sub
H1	134	//1 people throwing */ bottles or //	with people	bottles	Goal/Comp	people	Act/Subj	D: N
H1	135	//1 tiles or - or //	with people	tiles	Goal/Comp	0	0	D: N
H4	136	//53 ^ did / sound like / that //	it	sound; that (= H1's description as 'riot')	Proc: rel/Pred+ Val/Idd (exoph)/Comp	0	0	D: com+ conf
H1	137	//1+ bricks //	with people	bricks	Goal/Comp	0	0	D: strong
H4	138	//1 didn't it it was //	did not it (the hailstorm)	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0	0	D (tag: rev): per

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H4	139	//1_ just so */ loud //	it (the hailstorm)	loud	Attr: int/Comp	just	Mood Adj: count: lim	D: mild
H1	140	//5 ^ and / then */ opened the / door [and] the //	and then I	opened	Proc: mat/Pred/Fin	then	Conj: extend	D: com
H1	141	//4 first thing I */ realised was that this //	and the first thing I realised	realised	Val/Idd: Postmod (dr) Proc: men/Subj	first	Val/Idd: Head	sub
H4	142	//4 hmm //		0 hmm	cont	0	0	sub
H1	143	//5 ice-block shoots //	and the first thing I realised	ice-block	Tok/Ir: (dr) Act/Comp	0	0	D: com
H1	144	//5 hori- */ zontally through the //	and the first thing I realised	horizontally	Tok/Ir: (dr) Circ: Mann/Comp	horizontally	Tok/Ir: (dr) Circ: Mann/Comp	D: com
H1	145	//5 door //	and the first thing I realised	door	Tok/Ir: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/ Comp	0	0	D: com
H1	146	//1_ ^ and we thought / oh my */ god and //	and we	god	Excl	oh	Excl	D: mild
H1	147	//1 then all */ hell breaks / loose we //	then all hell	hell	Act/Subj	loose	Circ: mann	D: N
H1	148	//3 go out- */ side and //	we	outside	Range (Circ: Loc: Spat?)	go	Proc: Mat/ Pred	coord
H1	149	//1 */ everyone's out- / side by the - //	everyone	everyone	Carr/Subj	outside	Attr: Circ/Comp	D: N
H1	150	//4 this stage //	everyone	this	Circ: Head: Premod (anaph)	0	0	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	151	//5 ^ but / really */ dangerous because //	it (the situation)	dangerous	Attr: int/Comp	really	Mood Adj: count: exc	D: com
H3	152	//5 hmm //	0	hmm	cont	0	0	min: com
H1	153	//5 tiles were actually //	because tiles	tiles	Act/Subj	0	0	D: com
H3	154	//5 god //	0	Excl/Cont	Excl	0	0	min: com
H3	155	//5 yeah //	0	Cont	cont	0	0	min: com
H1	156	//1 you know cas- //	you/Tex?	you	cont	0	0	min: N
H1	157	//5 cading off the */ roofs //	tiles	roofs	Circ: loc: spat	cascading	Proc: mat/Pred	D: com
H3	158	//5 hmm //	0	Cont	cont	0	0	min: com
H1	159	//3 and ah - you know */ cars //	and you know cars	cars	Act/Subj	and	Conj: extend	coord
H1	160	//1 bang //	cars	bang	Excl	0	0	min: N
H1	161	//1_ bang / bang / cars going */ off //	cars	off	Proc: mat/Pred	bang; bang	Excl*2	D: mild
H5	162	//2 ^ was / everybody in the */ street //	was everybody	street	Circ: loc: spat	everybody	Carr/Subj	P: N
H1	163	//1 yeah //	everybody	yeah	Mood Adj: Pol (Pos)	0	0	D: N
H1	164	//5 ^ but / then it got / too */ bad so //	but then it	bad	Attr: int/Comp	then; too	Conj: temp; Attr: Premod	D: com
H1	165	//1 everyone had to rush */ in because it was //	so everyone	in	Circ: Loc: Spat	everyone	Act/Subj	D: N
H1	166	//5 dangerous I mean it //	it (the situation)	dangerous	Attrib: Int: Qual/Comp	0	0	D: com
H1	167	//1 literally */ was //	it (the situation)	was	Proc: Rel: Attrib/Pred/Fin	literally	Mood Adj: count: exc	D: N
H1	168	//4 not just the */ ice-blocks but the - the //	it (the situation)	ice-blocks	Carr/Subj (Postposed)	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	169	//3 */ tiles coming / off //	it (the situation)	tiles	Carr/Subj (Postposed)	off	Carr/Subj (Postposed): (dr) Proc: mat/Subj	D: conf
H3	170	//_2 ^ and / how big were */ they //	and how big	they	Carr/Subj	how	Attr: int/Wh Comp	W: def: ref
H1	171	//5 ^ it / just gets */ worse it - //	it (the situation)	worse	Attr: int/Comp	just	Mood Adj: count: lim	D: com
H1		// oh - //	0	0	0	oh	cont	0
H3	172	//3 ooh it gets */ worse ooh I //	ohh it (the situation)	worse	Attr: int/Comp	ooh	Excl	D: conf
H3	173	//4 like the sound of */ that //	ooh I	that (that it gets worse)	Phen/Comp	like	Proc: men/Pred	sub
H1	174	//1 ^ they were */ that big 'bout //	they (hailstones)	that	Attr: int: Premod/Comp	0	0	D: N
H1		// 'bout the / size of a - //	they (hailstones)	0	0	about; size	Attr: int: Premod/Comp -; Attr: int: Head/Comp -	0
H3	175	//2 how ' bout a */ cricket ball //	were they (hailstones)	cricket	Attr: int/Comp	how	Fin: pol	W: def
H1	176	//4 ^ ohh / yeah a- //	they (hailstones)	yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	sub
H1	177	//1_ bout the size [of] a */ cricket ball //	they (hailstones)	cricket	Attr: int/Comp	about	Attr: Premod/Comp	D: mild
H1	178	//1_ ^ I've / still got one in the */ freezer //	I	freezer	Circ: loc: spat	still	Mood Adj: temp	D: mild

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H5	179	//2_ ^ oh you've / still got one in the */ freezer //	oh you	freezer	Circ: loc: spat	still	Mood Adj: temp	D: chall: foc
H4	180	//1 hmm //		0 hmm	cont	0	0	min: N
H4	181	//3 lot's of people have */ still got them - [begins to laugh] //	lot's of people	still	Mood Adj: temp	lots	Carr: Premod/Subj	D: conf
H1	182	//3 ^ yeah that's */ right //	yeah that	right	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: conf
H1	183	//4 but //	but the problem with freezers	but	Conj: adv	0	0	sub
H1	184	//4 ^ the / problem with */ freezers is that //	but the problem with freezers	freezers	Val/Idd/Subj	problem	Val/Idd/Subj	sub
H3	185	//1 very */ funny //	that (= that H1 still has one in the freezer)	funny	Attr: int/Comp	very	Attr: Premod	D: N
H1	186	//3 it - it e- */ vaporates so it's //	but the problem with freezers	evaporates	Tok/Ir/ (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	it (the hailstone)	Act/Subj -	D: conf
H5	187	//1 yeah //		0 yeah	cont	0	0	min: N
H5	188	//1 that's */ right gets //	that (H1's 186 Statement)	right	Attr: int/Comp	that	Carr/Subj	D: N
H1		// gradually getting / small - [lost in mirth] //	(the hailstone)	0	0	gradually; small -	Circ: mann; Attr: int -	0
H5	189	//1 smaller //	(the hailstone)	smaller	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: N
H3	190	//1 you should[ve] taken a */ photo Dave so //	you	photo	Scope/Comp	you	Act/Subj (Addr)	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H1	191	//1 ^ in / six / months it will be / like */ that //	in six months (it = the hailstone)	that (= gesture indicating size)	Attr: int/ Comp (exoph)	six; months; like	Circ: loc: temp*2; Attr: Premod/Comp	D: N
H5		// ^ is / that - //	0	0	0	that ?	?	0
H3	192	//1 people could be- */ lieve you //	so people	believe	Proc: men/Pred	we	Sens/Subj	D: N
H5	193	//1 s - so the */ impact when you //	so the impact when you show people	impact	Val/Idd/Subj	0	0	D: N
H5	194	//4 show people is //	so the impact when you show people	show	Val/Idd: Postmod (dr) Proc: mat/ Subj	0	0	sub
H5		// not - //	so the impact when you show people	0	0	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0
H1	195	//1 ^ it'd / be - b - be / one - like one of those */ fishing / stories //	it (the fact of the hailstone shrinking)	fishing	Val/Ir: Premod/Comp	be; one; stories	Proc: rel/Pred/ Fin; Val/Ir/Comp -; Val/Ir: Head/Comp	D: N
H1	196	//2_ ^ [struggling with urge to laugh] it was / that */ big //	it (the hailstone)	big	Tok/Ir: Head/Comp	that (reference to gesture indicating size?)	Tok/Ir: Premod (exoph)	D: chall: foc

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
H3	197	//5_ that */ big //	it (the hailstone)	big	Tok/Ir: Head/Comp	that (reference to gesture indicating size?)	Tok/Ir: Premod (exoph)	D: inten

A2.3.2　　　Ovens

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B3	1	//13 so / how - / how long do we / leave the um - / how long does the ah - po- / tat - / how long do the po- */ tatoes */ need //	so how long	potatoes+ need	Carr/Subj+ Proc: rel/Pred	how - ; how - ; leave - ; how; potatoes - ; how	Circ/WhComp; Proc: mat/Pred; Circ/Wh-Comp*2 -	W: N+ conf
B1	2	//3 ^ not */ long an //	the potatoes	long	Attr: circ/Comp	0	0	D: conf
B1	3	//3 hour //	the potatoes	hour	Attr: circ/Comp	0	0	D: conf
B4	4	//1 ^ that - ^ that / oven is //	that oven	oven	Carr/Subj	oven; very		D: N
B4	5	//1 very - //	that oven	very	Attr: Premod/Comp	0	0	D: N
B1	6	//1 ^ that / oven is */ hot //	that oven	hot	Attr: int/Comp	oven	Carr/Subj	D: N
B4	7	//1 hot hot */ hot //	that oven	hot	Attr: int/Comp	hot	Attr: int/Comp	D: N
B1	8	//1 ^ it's a / very / hot */ oven //	it (= that oven)	oven	Attr: int/Comp	oven; very; hot	Attr: Premod*2	D: N
B3		// ^ so / that / means that [indistinct - three or four syllables] - //	so that (that the oven is hot)	0	0	so; that; means	Conj: reas; Tok/Idd/Subj (anaph) -; Proc: rel	0

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B1	9	//4 ^ 'cause / that */ cake was //	because that cake	cake	Carr (exoph/anaph?)/Subj	that	Carr: Premod/Subj	sub
B3	10	//3 yeah //	that cake	yeah	cont	0	0	min: conf
B1	11	//4 in / there / for - on the / instant / forty five */ seconds //	because that cake	seconds	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	in; there; for; instant; forty-five	Attr: circ: Prepos/Comp; Attr: Head/Comp; Circ: ext: Prep -; Circ: Premod + Circ: Head	sub
B1	12	//4 ^ ah / forty five */ minutes //	because that cake	minutes	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	forty-five	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	sub
B4	13	//1 hmm //	that cake	hmm	cont	0	0	min: N
B1	14	//4 ^ and / normally //	and normally it (a cake)	normally	Mood Adj: Us	0	0	sub
B1	15	//1 [Pause] / it's not */ ready in / forty five //	it (a cake)	ready	Attr: int/Comp	it; forty-five	Carr (exoph)/Subj; Circ: ext	D: N
B1	16	//5 minute but //	it (a cake)	minute	Circ: ext	0	0	D: com
B1	17	//4 that's starting to get - / like I'm - I'm / very glad that I */ checked it when I / did cause it's //	but that (time?) -; I	checked	Attr: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	that (time?); like; very; did	Carr (exoph)/Subj (exoph) -; cont -; Attr: int: Premod/Comp; Attr: (dr) Postmod: Fin: temp/Comp	sub
B1	18	//1 actually starting to */ burn around the -//	it (the cake)	burn	Proc: mat/Pred	actually	Mood Adj: count: lim	D: N
B4	19	//1 mm //	0	mm	cont	0	0	min: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B4	20	//1 ^ I mean / we noticed when we / put those little sorta */ croutony things in then - //	I mean when we	croutony	Goal/Comp	we; put	Sens/Subj (sp); Proc: mat/Pred	D: N
B1	21	//2 [indistinct - one syllable] */ [indistinct - one syllable, possibly - "eh"] //	?	?	?	?	?	?
B4		// hear the - / they / pssshhh [imitating sound of croutony things in very hot oven] //		0	0	hear; they; pssshhh	Proc: men/Pred -; Act/Subj; Excl	0
B4	22	//13 no sort of / just - //	0	no+ just	cont+ cont	0	0	min: N+ conf
B4	23	//5 so its a / very */ very very -//	so it (the oven)	very	Attr: Premod/Comp	so; very	cont; Attr: Premod	D: com
B1	24	//2_ char- */ coals [laughter] //	0	charcoals	Nom gp	charcoals	Thing	min: chall: foc
B3	25	//1 ^ and / all - is / that / with or with-/ out the / fan forced */ oven //	and all -; is that (cooking time)	oven	Attr: circ: Head: Head/Comp	all - ; that (cooking time); with; without; fan	? -; Carr (anaph)/Subj; Attr: circ: Prepos/Comp*2; Attr: Head: Premod/Comp	P(Alt): N
B4	26	//13 ^ oh it's */ with I */ think //	oh it (cooking time)	with+ think	Attr: circ: prepos/Comp; Proc: men/Mood Adj: prob: outer: low (metaph)	0	0	D: N+ conf
B1	27	//1 yeah //	0	yeah	cont	0	0	min: N
B4	28	//1 hmmm //	0	hmmm	cont	0	0	min: N
B4		// so um - //	0	0	0	so	cont	0

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B3	29	//1 ^ per- / haps you don't */ need it //	perhaps you	need	Proc: Rel: Ascr: Poss/ Pred	perhaps	Mood Adj: Prob	D: N
B4	30	//1+3 ^ but / no he */ did */ say that he //	but no he	did+ say	Fin: Pol + Proc: Verb/ Pred	no	cont	D: strong + conf
B4		// did [indistinct] - //	that he	0	0	did -	Fin: pol (pos)	0
B3		// ^ and [indistinct - one syllable] / no he / said it - //	and no he	0	0	no; said	cont; Proc: ver/Pred/Fin	0
B4	31	//13 Dave */ did say last */ night that it was a //	Dave	did+ night	Fin: pol (pos)+ Circ: loc: temp	Dave	Say/Subj	D: N+ conf
B4	31	//4 hot */ oven so //	that it (the oven)	oven	Attr: Int: Qual/Comp	hot	Attrib: Premod	sub
B1	32	//1 ^ well I / think the thing / is that / ever - / everybody just / gets used to / ovens being so */ dreadful //	well I think the thing is that everyone	dreadful	Scope: Postmod (dr) Attr: int/Comp	think; is; everybody; gets; ovens	Mood Adj: prob; Proc: rel/(metaph) Mood Adj: prob: outer: low; Act/Subj -; Act/Subj; Proc: mat/Pred; Scope: (dr) Carr/Comp	D: N
B4	33	//1 hmmm //	0	hmmm	cont	0	0	min: N
B1	34	//1 and / not */ working at the - [laughter] //	well I think the thing is that everyone	working	Scope: (dr) Proc: rel/Comp	not	Conj: ext; Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: N
B3		[indistinct - one syllable]			0		0	0
B1	35	//1 how's */ your new / oven //	how	your	Carr: Premod/Subj (addr)	oven	Attr/Wh Comp; Carr: Head/Subj	W: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B4	36	//4_ ^ it's / fine //	it (my new oven)	fine	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: res
B4	37	//4_ ^ it's / fine //	it (my new oven)	fine	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: res
B1	38	//_2 not - you're / not in */ love with it //	you	love	Attr: circ/Comp	not - ; not	Fin: pol (neg)	D: chall: ref
B4		// ^ it's / not - //		0	0	not	Fin: pol (neg)	0
B4	39	//2 er - I'm / still sort of / working it */ out a / bit you //	er I	out	Proc: mat/Pred	still; working	Mood Adj: temp; Proc: mat/Pred; Circ: mann	D: chall
B4	40	//3 know jus - but it - I //	er I	know	cont		0	min: conf
B1		// you know / [indistinct] //		0	0	you	cont	0
B4	41	//13 ^ this / getting to / know your bloody */ functions */ on it that //	this getting to know your bloody functions on it	functions+ on	nom gp: (dr) Phen+ Circ: Prepos	getting; know	nom gp: (dr) Proc: men: Inceptive; nom gp (dr) Proc: men: Head	min: N + conf
B4	42	//1 I don't / even know whether or not I'm / using the right */ function //	that I	function	Goal/Comp	I; even; using	Sens/Subj (sp); Mood Adj: count: exc; Proc: mat/Pred	D: N
B4	43	//4 but I / haven't cooked a / roast in it or anything like */ that / yet so - //	but I	that (a roast)	Goal: Postmod (dr) Attr (anaph)/Comp	haven't; roast; yet	Fin: pol (neg); Goal/Comp; Circ: loc: temp	sub
B4	44	//1 [whispers] ^ but it / needs a */ clean //	but it (the oven)	clean	Attr: poss/Comp	needs	Proc: rel/Pred/Fin	D: N
B1	45	//2_ ^ but it's */ clean did you / say //	but it (the oven)	say	Attr: int/Comp	clean	Proc: ver	D: chall: foc

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B4	46	//5 ^ it / needs a */ clean //	it (the oven)	clean	Attr: Possd/Comp	needs	Proc: Rel: Poss/Pred	D: com
B1	47	//2_ ^ it / needs a */ clean //	it (the oven)	clean	Attr: Possd/Comp	needs	Proc: rel/Pred/Fin	D: chall: foc
B1	48	//5 how could it / need a */ clean //	how	clean	Attr: Possd/Comp	how; need	Circ: cause: reas/Wh Adj; Proc: rel/Pred	W: com
?		[indistinct - one syllable]		0	0	0	0	0
B3		// ^ do / you - have you / got - [indistinct] //		0	0	you -; got	Subj -; Proc: rel/Pred -	0
B1	49	//1+3 ^ have you / cooked in / it //	have you	cooked+ it (the oven)	Proc: mat/Pred+ Circ: loc: spat	0	0	P: per: strong+ conf
B4	50	//4 ^ ohh I've / cooked */ in it //	ohh I	in	Circ: loc: spat: prep	cooked	Proc: mat/Pred	sub
B3	51	//2 ^ no / have you - have you / put ahh - do you / cook in those um - [pause] ah / foil con- */ tainers or have you //	do you	containers	Circ: loc: spat	have; put -; cook; foil	Fin: pol (pos); Proc: mat/Pred -; Proc: mat/Pred; Circ: Premod	P: N
B3	52	//4 got / foil */ down in the / oven to //	or have you	down	Circ: loc: spat	got; foil; oven	Rel: Poss/ Pred; Attr: Possd; Circ: Loc: spat	sub
B3	53	//1 well / put / that in - / that - that / absolutely re- */ duces //	that (putting foil down)	reduces	Proc: mat/Pred	well; put; that -; absolutely	Cont -; Proc: mat -; Goal/Comp -; Act (exoph)/Subj; Mood Adj: int: deg: tot	D: N+ conf
B3	54	//1 ^ dra- / matically //	that (putting foil down)	dramatically	Circ: mann	0	0	D: N
B1	55	//1 what would */ you know about / cleaning / ovens //	what	you	Sens/Subj (sp)	what; cleaning; ovens	Phen/Wh Comp; Circ: matt*2	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B3	56	//1 ^ I / can do */ that //	I	that (put foil down)	Scope (anaph)/Comp	can	Fin: mod: low	D: N
B3	57	//4 ^ the / last time the / oven was */ cleaned I //	the last time the oven was cleaned	cleaned	Circ: temp: loc: (dr) Proc: mat	last; oven	Circ: loc: temp: (dr) Goal	sub
B3	58	//4 said to Nicolas you / must put */ foil down //	I; you	foil	Goal/Comp	said; must	Proc: ver/Pred; Fin: mod: high	sub
B3	59	//1 ^ he said */ yes //	he; yes (I)	yes	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: N
B3	60	//3 ^ and he / didn't and then I for- */ got //	and he; and then I	forgot	Proc: men/Pred	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	coord
B3	61	//1 now the - the / thing is dis- */ gusting //	now	disgusting	Attr: int/Comp	now; thing	Circ: Loc: Temp; Carr/ Subj	D: N
B1	62	//1 ^ well / I - / I always remember / when I left - when I / left um / [Pause] / Sheperds */ avenue //	well I	avenue	Scope/Comp	I -; I; when/ left -; left; Sheperds	Sens/Subj (sp) -; Sens/Subj (sp) -; Conj: temp -; Proc: mat/Pred; Scope/Comp	D: N
B1	63	//1 ^ and / you came over and / you cleaned the */ oven and //	and you; you	oven	Goal/Comp	you; you	Act/Subj (addr); Act/Subj (addr);	D: N
B1	64	//4 I - ah - and / I said oh - oh I'm / so em- */ barrassed //	I	embarrassed	Attr: int/Comp	I; I	Say/Subj (sp) - ; Say/Subj (sp) -; Attr: Premod/Comp	sub
B1	65	//4 you know the */ oven - //	the oven -	oven	Participant?	you	cont	sub
B1	66	//4 sh - [brief chuckle] and she / said */ darling do you //	she; darling do you	darling	Voc	said	Proc: ver/Pred	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B1	67	//13 realise that the / last time you [brief chuckle] */ my oven was */ cleaned was - was //	darling do you; the last time my oven was cleaned	my oven	Val/Idd: (dr) Goal: Premod/Subj+ Val/Idd: (dr) Proc: mat/Subj	realise; last	Proc: men/Pred; Val/Idd: Head	D: N+ conf
B1	68	//5 when you got */ married and Kath - //	the last time my oven was cleaned	married	Tok/Ir (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	when	Tok/Ir (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Comp	D: com
B1	69	//1 [laughing] leen came and / stayed [laughs] and / cleaned the */ oven and at //	the last time my oven was cleaned	oven	Tok/Ir (dr) Goal/Comp	Kathleen; stayed; cleaned	Tok/Ir (dr) Act/Comp; Tok/Ir (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Tok/Ir (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	D: N
B1	70	//2_ that stage */ that was / five / years //	and at that stage	that (when the oven was cleaned)	Carr/Subj	that; five; years	Circ: loc: temp: Premod; Attr: circ*2/Comp	D: chall: foc
B1	71	//13 ^ well / when I - / wen - / when the o - / when my */ old oven was coming */ out I //	well when I	old	Act: Premod/Subj+ Proc: mat/Pred	when -; when -; when	Conj: temp -; Conj: temp	D: N + conf
B1	72	//1 said to */ Simon I said //	I	Simon	Recip	said	Proc: ver/Pred/Fin	D: N
B1	73	//3 now d - you're / not allowed to open it */ up //	now you	up	Proc: mat/Pred	now; not; allowed	cont; Fin: pol (neg)	D: conf
B1	74	//1 ^ and / look at it //	now you	look	Proc: mat/Pred	0	0	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B1	75	//5 ^ he's going / why //	he	why	Wh Adj	0	0	W: com
B3		// oh you / know that - //		0	0	0	0cont; cont	0
B1	76	//13 ^ but there are / just so many / better things to */ do with your */ [laughs] time //	but there are	do+ time	Exist: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp+ Exist: (dr) Circ: mann/Comp	just; better	Mood Adj: count: lim; Exist: Premod	D: N + conf
B4	77	//1 ^ it's / true //	it (the proposition in IU 76)	true	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: N
B1	78	//4 ^ than / clean them //	but there are	clean	Exist: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	0	0	sub
B3	79	//4 */ listen / [indistinct - one syllable: Vocative] because do //	listen	listen	Proc: mat/Pred	?	Voc	I: plea
B3	80	//1 you think I should / get ah some re- / placement ah */ elements //	because do you	elements	Attr: possd/Comp	you; get; replacement	Sens/Subj (addr); Proc: rel; Attr: Premod/Comp	P: per
B3	81	//2 ^ do / they wear */ out the //	do they (the elements)	out	Proc: mat/Pred	they (elements)	Act (anaph)/ Subj	P: N
B3	82	//2 elements //	do they (the elements)	elements	Act/(postposed) Subj	0	0	P: N
B4	83	//1_ what - / in the - in the */ what //	they (the elements)	what	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Subj	what -; in -;	Act: (dr) Circ: spat: loc/Subj -; Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat: Prepos/Subj	W: mild
B1	84	//2_ ^ in the */ stove //	they (the elements)	stove	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Subj	in	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat: Prepos/Subj	P: foc
B4	85	//1 on the */ stove //	they (the elements)	stove	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Subj		0Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat: Prepos/Subj	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
B3	86	//1 ^ on the */ stove on the - //	they (the elements)	stove	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Subj	0	0	D: N
B3	87	//1 on */ top //	they (the elements)	top	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Subj	on	Act: (dr) Circ: loc: spat: Prepos/Subj	D: N
B4	88	//1 ^ what / aren't they - / aren't they * / working //	what are not they	working	Attr: int/Comp	aren't -; aren't	Fin: pol (neg) -, Fin: pol (neg)	P: Per
B3		// ^ well - y - //	0	0	0	0	0	0
B1	89	//1 I think you should get the */ gas co- / nnected //	I think you	gas	Carr/Comp	I; connected	Sens/Mood Adj: prob: median; Attr: int/Comp	D: N
B3	90	//5 ohh */ look //		0 look	Excl	ohh	Cont	min: com
B4	91	//1 ^ s'pose */ Nicolas won't / [indistinct - one or two syllables] //	(I) suppose Nicolas	Nicolas	Act/Subj	?	?	D: N
B3	92	//1 ^ I'll / have to wait until / Nicolas / passes / on to the / next */ stage be- //	I; Nicolas	stage	Scope: Head/Comp	have; Nicolas; passes; on; next	Fin: mod: high; Act/Subj; Proc: mat*2; Scope/Comp	D: N
B3	93	//3 fore I */ do that //	before I	do	Proc: mat/Pred/Fin	0	0	D: conf

A2.4 Interviews (Chapter Six)

A2.4.1 McKew – Rau

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
M	1	//4 ^ well / helping */ with that investi- / gation has been Cor- //	well helping	with	Proc: mat/Pred/Fin	helping; investigation	Proc: mat/Pred; Goal/Comp	sub
M	2	//1+ nelia rau's */ sister Chris- //	helping	sister	Act/Subj	Cornelia	Act/Subj	D: strong
M	3	//1 tine who //	helping	Christine	Act/Subj	0	0	D: N
M	4	//1 joins me in the / studio */ now //	who (Cornelia Rau's sister Christine)	now	Circ: loc: temp	joins; studio	Proc: mat/Pred; Circ: loc: spat	D: N
M	5	//13 thanks very much for / coming */ in */ chris //	0	in+ Chris	Proc: mat/Pred+ Voc	coming	Salut; Proc: mat/Pred	min: N+ conf
R	6	//13 hi / Maxine //	0	hi+ Maxine	Salut+ Voc	0	0	min: N+ conf
M	7	//1 ^ this / latest reve- */ lation that in //	this latest revelation that in fact as far back as November of last year DIMIA started to think that in fact your	revelation	nom gp: Head/(Preposed) Subj	latest	nom gp: Premod/Subj	D: N

			sister was Australian; how					
M	8	//1 fact as / far back as no- */ vember of last //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	November	nom gp: (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Subj	fact; far;	nom gp: (dr) Comm Adj: fact/Subj; (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Subj	D: N
M	9	//1 year //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	year	nom gp: (dr) Circ: loc: temp: Postmod/Subj	0	0	D: N
M	10	//2_ DIMIA //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	DIMIA	nom gp: (dr) Sens/Subj	0	0	D: chall: foc
M	11	//4 */ started to / think that in //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	started	nom gp: (dr) Proc: men: (inceptive)/Subj	think	nom gp: (dr) Proc: men: Head/Subj	sub
M	12	//1+ fact your / sister was Au- */ stralian //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	Australian	nom gp: (dr) (Projd) Val/Ir/Subj	fact; sister	nom gp: (dr) (Projd) Comm Adj: fact/Subj; Val/Idd/Subj	D: strong
M	13	//5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //	this latest revelation...Australian; how	this	(anaph) Phen/Subj	how; family	Circ: mann; Sens	D: com
R	14	//5 well to / us it's / rather ex- */ traordinary be- //	well to us (the Rau family) it (this latest revelation…Australian)	extraordinary	Attr/Comp	well; us; rather	cont; Circ: angle; Mood Adj: int: deg	D: com

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	15	//4 cause it's / lifted the / level of what we */ previously / thought was //	because it (this latest revelation...Australian)	previously	Goal: Postmod/Comp	because; lifted; level; thought	Conj: cause: reas; Proc: mat/Pred; Goal: Postmod*2/Comp	sub
R	16	//4 mere in- */ competence //	it = this latest revelation..Australian	incompetence	Goal:Postmod/ Comp	mere	Goal/Comp: Postmod	sub
R	17	//1 up another */ notch where you //	it = this latest revelation..Australian	notch	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	up	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	D: N
R	18	//5 think that per- / haps / [Pause] there / has been / some sort of / wilful i- */ nertia be- //	where you think that perhaps there has been	inertia	Exist: Head/Comp	think; perhaps; has; some; wilful	Proc: men/Mood Adj: prob: median (metaph); Mood Adj: prob: outer: low; Fin: pol (pos); Exist: Premod*2/Comp	D: com
R	19	//4 cause / [Pause] / if there had been a / reasonable su- / spicion that / she was an Au- / stralian / resident or */ citizen then h - //	because if there had been	citizen	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Val/Ir/Comp	because; if; reasonable; suspicion; she; Australian; resident	Cont; Conj: Caus-Cond: Cond; Exist/Comp: Premod; Exist/Comp: Head; Exist/Comp: Postmod: (dr) Tok/Idd; Exist/Comp: (dr) Val/Ir*2	D: N
R	20	//1_ why on earth did they / keep her in de- */ tention for //	then why on earth	detention	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	why; keep	Wh Adj; Proc: mat/Pred	W: mild
R	21	//1 ten / whole */ weeks //	why on earth	weeks	Circ: ext: temp: Head	ten; whole	Circ: Premod*2	W: N
R	22	//1 while she was */ obviously in a psy- //	while she (Cornelia Rau)	obviously	comm Adj	while	Conj: temp	W: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	23	//1_ chotic */ state //	she (Cornelia Rau)	state	Attr: circ: loc (metaph)/Comp	psychotic	Attr: circ (metaph): Premod/Comp	W: mild
M	24	//5 what does the mi- / gration act re- */ quire that in //	what	require	Proc: rel: poss/Pred	what; migration act	WhComp; Carr/Subj	W: com
M	25	//1+ fact ah if they */ think that - you //	that if in fact they (DIMIA)	think	Proc: Men: Cogn/Pred/Fin	fact;	CommAdj: fact	D: strong
M	26	//3 know they //	they	know	Cont	0	0	min: conf
M	27	//4 are / citizens or */ residents they //	they (detainees/ people in Australia in general)	residents	Attr: int/Comp	are; citizens	Proc: rel/Pred/Fin; Attr: int/Comp	sub
M	28	//5 should be ah / certainly not de- */ tained //	they (detainees/ people in Australia in general)	detained	Proc: mat/Pred	should; certainly	Fin: mod: median; Mood Adj: prob: outer: high	D: com
R	29	//4 ^ well you / see //	well you see under the Migration Act you (one)	you see	cont	0	0	sub
R	30	//4 under the mi- */ gration act you ca- //	under the Migration Act you (one)	Migration Act	Circ: loc: spat (metaph): Head	under	Circ: loc: spat (metaph): Prepos	sub
R	31	//1 nnot */ hold //	under the Migration Act you (one)	hold	Proc: mat/Pred	cannot	Fin: pol (neg)	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	32	//1 ^ a / citizen or a */ resident you can //	under the Migration Act you (one)	resident	Goal/Comp	citizen	Goal/Comp	D: N
R	33	//1 only hold / someone who has an / invalid / passport or */ visa um //	under the Migration Act you (one)	visa	Goal: Postmod: (dr) Attr/Comp	only; someone; invalid; passport	Goal: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Premod/Comp	D: N
R	34	//4 under the Mi- */ gration Act you //	under the Migration Act you (one)	Migration Act	Circ: loc (metaph): spat: Head	under	Circ: loc (metaph): spat: Prepos	sub
R	35	//4 have to be / reasonably su- */ spected of //	under the Migration Act you (one)	suspected	Proc: men/Pred	have; reasonably	Mood Adj: obl: high; Mood Adj: deg: med	sub
R	36	//1 being an / illegal */ immigrant and as //	under the Migration Act you (one)	immigrant	Attr: Head/Comp	being; illegal	Proc: rel; Attr: Premod	D: N
R	37	//1 soon as Co- / rnelia - Cornelia's i- */ dentity came //	as soon as Cornelia's identity	identity	Act: Head/Pred	soon; Cornelia -; Cornelia's	Conj: temp; Act/Subj -; Act: Premod/Subj	D: N
	38	//1 into su- */ spicion //	Cornelia's identity	suspicion	Circ: loc: spat (metaph)	into	Circ: Loc: Prepos	D: N
R	39	//1 from within / baxter it- */ self //	Cornelia's identity	Baxter	Circ: Loc: Postmod	from	Circ: Loc: Prepos; Circ: loc: Head	D: N
R	40	//1 ^ then / that whole / reasonable su- */ spicion was just //	then that whole reasonable suspicion	suspicion	Goal: Head/Subj	that; reasonable	Goal: Premod (anaph)*2	D: N
R	41	//1 cancelled */ out and she //	that whole reasonable suspicion	out	Proc: mat/Pred	cancelled	Proc: mat/Pred	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	42	//1 should have been */ released //	and she (Cornelia Rau)	released	Proc: mat/Pred	should	Fin: mod: obl: high	D: N
R	43	//4 preferably to a //	she (Cornelia Rau)	preferably	comm Adj	0		0sub
R	44	//1 hospital //	she (Cornelia Rau)	hospital	Circ: loc: spat	0		0D: N
M	45	//4 ^ but of course at the / same time er your / sister is / still main-*/ taining ah //	but of course at the same time	maintaini ng	Proc: ver/Pred		Circ: loc: temp: Premod; Sens; Mood Adj: temp	sub
M	46	//4 */ in / Baxter that //	at the same time	in	Circ: loc: spat: Prepos		Circ: loc: spat: Head	sub
M	47	//4 she's either / Anna / Schmidt or Anna */ Brutmeyer //	that she	Brutmeye r	Val/Ir/Comp		Tok/Idd; Val/Ir*2	sub
R	48	//1 yes //	yes she	yes	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0		0D: N
M	49	//1 ^ but / would you / say then that this / email su- */ ggests that in //	but would you	suggests	Proc: ver/Comp	would; say	Fin: mod: med; Proc: verb/Pred;	D: N
M	50	//4 fact in */ spite of / that you //	you	spite	Circ: contin: Prepos	fact	comm Adj: fact; Circ: Head	sub
M	51	//3 know they're //	you	know	cont	0		0min: conf
M	52	//1 getting the im- / pression that */ clearly she //	you	clearly	Attr: possd (dr) comm Adj/Comp		Proc: rel/Pred; Attr: phased: Head/Comp	D: N
M	53	//1 is Aus- */ tralian //	you	Australian	Attr: possd: (dr) Attr/Comp	is	Fin: pos (pos)	P: per

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	54	//1 ^ well co- / incidentally we've been / going through a / very long chro-*/ nology which we //	well coincidentally we	chronology	Scope: Head/Comp	coincidentally; going; very	comm Adj; Proc: mat/Pred; Scope: Premod/Comp	D: N
R	55	//1 haven't / sent to Mick */ Palmer yet ah //	which we	Palmer	Recip	haven't	Fin: pol (neg); Proc: mat/Pred	D: N
R	56	//1 where we've been / de - ah / outlining in / great */ detail //	where we	detail	Circ: mann: Head	where; outlining; great	Conj: elab: descr; Proc: mat/Pred; Circ: Head: Premod	D: N
R	57	//1 everything that / we know */ happened during the //	we	happened	Scope: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	everything; we	Scope: Head/Comp; Scope: (dr) Sens/Comp	D: N
R	58	//5 course of this ah - her - the / saga of her de- */ tention and //	we	detention	Scope: (dr) Circ: Postmod/Comp	course; saga	Scope: (dr) Circ: loc: temp: Head - ; Scope: (dr) Circ: loc: temp: Head/Comp	D: com
R	59	//4 what we dis- / covered to- */ day was that on the //	what we discovered today	today	Val/Idd: (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Subj	what; discovered	Val/Idd: Head/Subj; Val/Idd: (dr) Proc: men/Subj;	sub
R	60	//5 twenty */ first of Nov- / ember / two thousand and / four there was //	what we discovered today	first	Tok/Ir (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Comp	twenty; November; two; four	Tok/Ir (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Comp	D: com
R	61	//1 actually a / missing / persons / article in the / Sunday / Mail in */ Adelaide //	what we discovered today	Adelaide	Tok/Ir (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Comp		Tok/Ir (dr): Mood Adj: count: exc; Tok/Ir (dr) Exist*3; Tok/Ir (dr) Circ: loc: spat*2	D: N
R	62	//1 ^ which has a / reasonably high circu- */ lation there and a- //	which (the Sunday Mail)	circulation	Attr: possd: Head/Comp	reasonably	Attr: Premod/Comp	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
	63	//4 pparently it's / practice in */ DIMIA to //	and apparently it (to scrupulously vet…them)	DIMIA	Circ: loc: spat	apparently	comm Adj; Val/Idd/Comp	sub
R	64	//4 scrupulously */ vet the //	it (to scrupulously vet…them)	vet	Tok/Ir: (dr) Proc: mat/Subj (Postposed)	scrupulously	Tok/Ir: (dr) Circ: mann/Subj (Postposed)	sub
R	65	//1 papers before the de- / tainees */ see them now on the //	it (to scrupulously vet…them)	see	Tok/Ir: (dr) Proc: men/Subj (Postposed)	papers; detainees	Tok/Ir: (dr) Goal/Subj (Postposed); Sens/Subj (Postposed)	D: N
R	66	//4 twenty first of No- / vember there was an / article in the / Sunday mas - */ Mail saying -//	now on the twenty-first of November	Mail	Circ: loc: spat	twenty; November; article; Sunday	Circ: loc: temp; Exist/Comp; Circ: loc: spat	sub
R	67	//3 giving Cornelia's spe- / cific um / physical characte- */ ristics her - //	an article in the Sunday Mail	characteristics	Exist: (dr) Goal: Head/Comp	giving; specific; physical	Exist: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Exist: (dr) Goal: Premod*2/Comp	D: conf
R	68	//4 ^ her / height her / weight her */ eye colour //	an article in the Sunday Mail	eye	Exist: (dr) Goal/Comp	height; weight	Exist: (dr) Goal*2/Comp	sub
R	69	//3 um a di- / stinguishing mole on her / left */ cheek they //	an article in the Sunday Mail	cheek	Exist: (dr) Goal: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Comp	um; distinguishing; left	cont; Exist: (dr) Goal: Head/Comp; Exist: (dr) Goal: (dr) Circ: Premod/Comp	D: conf
R	70	//4 didn't run a */ photo //	they (the Sunday Mail)	photo	Attr: possd/Comp	didn't	Fin: pol (neg)	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	71	//1 [Pause] but they / did say that she / had a / medicon- / dition - / medical con- / dition and that she / had gone */ missing and so //	but they	missing	Attr: int/Comp	did; had; medical; condition; had	Fin: pol (pos); Proc: rel: poss/Pred/Fin; Attr: poss*2; Fin: pol (pos)	D: N
R	72	//1 [Pause] / um / the / u - the / Uni of / Newcastle */ rang me to- / day and //	and so um the Uni of Newcastle	rang	Proc: mat/Pred/Fin	um; the; Uni; Newcastle; today	cont; Deictic: determiner; Act/Subj*2; Circ: loc: temp	D: N
R	73	//5 said / you know this is / no co- */ incidence that //	the Uni of Newcastle; this (that this article ran…before)	coincidence	Attr: int/Comp	said; you; no	Proc: ver/Pred/Fin; cont; Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: com
R	74	//4 this article */ ran at the //	this (that this article ran…before)	ran	Carr: (dr) Proc: rel: circ/Subj (Postposed)	this	Carr: (dr) Carr: premod/Subj (Postposed)	sub
R	75	//4 same ti - y - / three days be- / fore / suddenly with - / in GS */ L you get a //	this (that this article ran…before)	GSL	Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Circ: loc: spat: Head/Subj (Postposed)	same; three; before; suddenly; within	Carr: (dr) Circ: loc: temp/Subj (Postpos); Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Circ: loc: temp*2/Subj (Postposed); Carr: (dr) Circ: Comm Adj: qual: predict/Subj (Postpos);Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Circ: Prepos/Subj (Postp)	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	76	//1 memo saying we have / reason to su- / spect that she / may be an Australian */ citizen //	this (that this article ran…before)	citizen	Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Attr: (dr) Attr: int/Subj (Postposed)	memo; reason; suspect; may	Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Attr: possd/Subj (Postposed); Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Attr: (dr) Attr: poss/Subj (Postposed);Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Attr: (dr) Proc: men/Subj (Postposed); Carr: (dr) Circ: (dr) Attr: (dr) Fin: mod: med/Subj (Postposed)	D: N
M	77	//1 What do you see is the co- */ nnection //	what	connection	Val/Idd/Comp	what	Tok/Ir/whSubj	W: N
R	78	//1 Well / we see the / possible connection that / somebody in Baxter / read that article and put / two and two to- */ gether //	well we	together	Phen: Postmod: (dr) Attr: int/Comp	well; we possible; somebody; read; two	cont; Sens/Subj; Phen: Premod/Comp; Phen: Postmod: (dr) Act/Comp; Phen: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Phen: Postmod: (dr) Carr/Comp	D: N
R	79	//1 [Pause] / and on the / twenty fourth of November / also the Daily Telegraph in / Sydney ran a */ photograph of Cor- //	and on the twenty-fourth of November	photograph	Attr: possd/Comp	and; twenty; also; Sydney	cont; Circ: loc: temp; Conj: extend; Circ: loc: spat	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	80	//1 nelia with the / headline / where is Cor- */ nelia //	and on the twenty-fourth of November	Cornelia	Attr: Postmod: Circ: Postmod: (dr) Carr/Comp	nelia; headline; where	Attr: Postmod: Circ: acc/Comp; Attr: Postmod: Circ: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Wh Circ/whComp	D: N
R	81	//1 [Pause] / so / we think per- / haps / those two / things are interre- */ lated //	so we	interrelated	Attr: int/Comp	so; we; perhaps; those; things	Conj: cause-cond; Mood Adj: mod: prob: low; Carr: premod; Carr: Head	D: N
M	82	// 4 mmm //	we	mmm	cont	0	0	sub
M	83	//1 So / what do you con- */ clude then about the de- / partment's //	so what	conclude	Proc: men/Pred	so; what; department's	cont; WhComp; Circ: matt	W: N
M	84	//1 */ handling of all / this I mean is - //	what	handling	Circ: matt	this (the situation detailed by Rau)	Circ: matt: Postmod	W: N
M	85	//2 ^ is it in- / competence o - //	I mean is it (the department's...this)	incompetence	Val/Ir/Comp	0	0	P: N
M	86	//5 or in- / different - in- */ difference //	is it (the department's...this)	indifference	Val/Ir/Comp	or	Val/Ir: Conj: extend/Comp	P (Alt): com
R	87	//5 ^ well you'd / have to assume it was a / mixture of */ both I think be- //	well you	both	Val/Ir/Comp	have; mixture	Fin: mod: high (pos); Val/Ir	D: com

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	88	//4 cause there / also seems to be this / attitude that um - / very */ secretive atti- / tude where //	because there also seems to be	secretive	Exist: Premod/Comp	because; also; attitude; very; attitude	Conj: reas; Conj: extend; Exist/Comp -; Exist: Premod: Premod/Comp; Exist/Comp	sub
R	89	//3 anyone from out- / side is / um / either ig- */ nored or //	where anyone from outside	ignored	Proc: mat/Pred	anyone; outside; um; either	Scope/Subj; Scope: Postmod/Subj; cont; Conj: adv	coord
R	90	//5 turned away or / even given mis- */ leading information there were //	anyone from outside	misleading	Goal/Comp	turned away; even	Proc: mat/Pred; Mood Adj: count: exc	D: com
R	91	//5 people */ right the way / down through Cor- //	there were	right	Circ: ext: spat (metaph)	people; down	Exist/Comp; Circ: ext: spat (metaph)	D: com
R	92	//1 nelia's */ case who were //	there were	case	Circ: ext: spat (metaph)	Cornelia's	Circ: ext: spat (metaph)	D: N
R	93	//4 told by / DIMIA o- */ fficials //	there were	officials	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Say/Comp	told; DIMIA	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Proc: ver/Comp; Exist: Postmod: (dr) Say/Comp	sub
R	94	//1 oh she's / going to be */ deported //	there were	deported	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	oh; going	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Excl/Comp; Exist: Postmod: (dr) Fin: tense/Comp	D: N
R	95	//1 um you know */ she's al - / right she's been //	there were	she	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Carr/Comp	um; alright	cont; Exist: Postmod: (dr) Attrib: int/Comp	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	96	//1+ carefully e- / xamined and we / think she's o- */ kay //	there were	okay	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Attrib/Comp	carefully; examined; think	Exist: Postmod: (dr) Circ: mann/Comp; Exist: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Exist: Postmod: (dr) Proc: men/Comp	D : strong

A2.4.2   Jones – Ruddock

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	1	//4 ^ phillip ruddock */ thanks for / joining us //	Phillip Ruddock thanks	thanks	Salut	joining	Salut	sub
R	2	//1 pleasure //		0 pleasure	Attr/Comp	0	0	D: N
J	3	//4 ^ are / you at all con- / cerned by the / allegations that a / network of / chinese */ spies has been //	you	spies	Phen: (dr) Act	you; concerned; allegations; network; Chinese	Sens/ Subj (addr); Proc: men/ Pred; Phen: Head; (dr) Act*2	sub
J	4	//1_ operating in this */ country //	you	country	(dr) Circ: loc: spat	operating	(dr) Proc: mat	P: per: mild
R	5	//4_ ^ well I'm / always con- / cerned about er - about alle- */ gations but er //	well I	allegations	Circ: matt	always; concerned	Mood Adj: us; Proc: men/ Pred	D: res
R	6	//1 ^ one / has to es- */ tablish //	but one	establish	Proc: men/ Pred	has	Fin: mod: high	D: N
R	7	//-3 whether or */ not ah they are //	but one	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	whether	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	D: uncom

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	8	//4 real or i- */ magined //	but one	imagined	Attr: int/ Comp	real	Attr: int/ Comp	sub
R	9	//1 [Pause] / umm they / are / just as you have */ asserted at //	umm they = the allegations	asserted	Proc: ver/ Pred	are; just	Cont; Fin/ Pred; Conj: mann: comparison	D: N
R	10	//4 */ this stage alle- //	they = the allegations	this	Circ: Head: Premod (exoph)	0	0	sub
R	11	//4 gations //	they = the allegations	allegations	Attr: int/ Comp	0	0	sub
R	12	//53 [Pause] the / difficulty for */ me in relation to these */ matters is //	the difficulty...matters	me+ matters	Val/Idd/Subj+ Val/Idd/Subj	difficulty	Val/Idd/Subj	D: com+ conf
R	13	//5 I can't //	the difficulty...matters	I	Tok/Ir: (dr) Act/Comp	0	0	D: com
R	14	//4 talk about on- */ going //	the difficulty...matters	ongoing	Tok/Ir: (dr) Scope: Premod/Comp	talk	Tok/Ir: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	sub
R	15	//2 [Pause] er ac- / tivities in which our se- / curity agencies are in- */ volved in it //	the difficulty...matters	involved	Tok/Ir: (dr) Scope: Postmod: (dr) Proc: rel/Comp	activities; security	Tok/Ir: (dr) Scope: Head; Tok/Ir: (dr) Scope: Postmod (dr) Carr/Comp	D: chall
R	16	//4 compromises them //	it = talking about these activities	compromises	Proc: mat/ Pred/ Fin	0	0	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	17	//4 ^ err tra- / ditionally we don't */ speak about them //	err traditionally we	speak	Proc: mat/ Pred	traditionally	Circ: loc: temp	sub
R	18	//5 ^ ah but it would be na- / ive to be- //	ah but it (to believe…act on)	naïve	Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: com
R	19	//4 lieve that er / matters that are re- */ ported on are //	it (to believe…act on)	reported	Carr: (dr) Tok/Idd: Postmod (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj	believe; matters	Carr: (dr) Proc: men/(Postposed) Subj; Carr: (dr) Tok/Idd: Head/(Postposed) Subj	sub
R	20	//_3 not */ matters that the //	it (to believe…act on)	matters	Carr: (dr) Val/Ir: Head/(Postposed) Subj	not	Carr: (dr) Fin: pol (neg)/(Postposed) Subj	D: uncom
R	21	//1 organisations / ahh that / work in this area would / not be aware of and wouldn't */ act on //	it (to believe…act on)	act	Carr: (dr) Val/Ir: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj	organisations; ahh; work; not	Carr: (dr) Val/Ir: (dr) Sens/(Postposed Subj); Cont; Carr: (dr) Val/Ir: (dr) Sens: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed Subj); Carr: (dr) Val/Ir: (dr) Fin: pol (neg)/(Postposed Subj)	D: N
J	22	//1 ^ are you / taking */ measures or //	are you	measures	Scope/ Comp	taking	Proc: mat/ Pred	P: per

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	23	//1 are those organisations / taking measures to in- / vestigate the / claims that are being made */ now //	are those organisations	now	Circ: loc: temp	taking; investigate; claims	Fin: pol; Proc: mat/Pred; Proc: mat/Pred; Scope/Comp	P: per
J	24	//13 that's the point that I'm / making //	that's	that+ making	Tok/Ir (anaph)/Subj+ Val/Idd: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	0	0	D: N+ conf
R	25	//1_ ^ well / I'm just simply */ saying it would be na- //	well I	saying	Proc: verb/Pred	I'm	Say/Subj	D: mild
R	26	//13 ive to be- / lieve //	it (that they wouldn't…upon them)	naïve; believe	Attr: int/Comp	believe	Carr: (dr) Proc: men/(Postposed) Subj	D: N+ conf
R	27	//4 ^ that they / wouldn't be a- */ ware of the alle- //	it (that they wouldn't…upon them)	aware	Carr: (dr) Proc: men/(Postposed) Subj	wouldn't	Carr: (dr) Fin: pol (neg)/(Postposed) Subj	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	28	//1 gations that are being / made and wouldn't / act u-*/ pon them //	it (that they wouldn't…upon them)	upon	Carr: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj	allegations; made; act	Carr: (dr) Phen/(Postposed) Subj; Carr: (dr) Phen: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj; Carr: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj	D: N
J	29	//53 ^ it would be / naive of them */ not to investigate in */ fact //	it = not to investigate	not; fact	Carr: Mood Adj: pol (neg)/(Postposed) Subj+ Comm Adj: factual	naïve	Attr: int/ Comp	D: com+ conf
R	30	//1 hmm //	it = not to investigate	hmmm	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	Min: N
J	31	//13 that's what you're / saying //	that (IU29)	that; saying	Tok/Ir (anaph)/Subj+ Val/Idd: Postmod: (dr) Proc: ver/Comp	0	0	D: N+ conf
R	32	//13 that's / right //	that (IU31)	that; right	Carr (anaph)/Subj+ Attr: int/Comp	0	0	D: N+ conf
J	33	//4 ^ al- / right //	0	alright	cont	0	0	sub
J	34	//4 why has it been / left to the */ immigration de- / partment to //	why	immigration	Recip	why; left; department	WhAdj; Proc: mat/Pred; Recip	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	35	//1 deal with the */ asylum / claims of //	why	asylum	Goal: Premod/Comp	deal; claims	Proc: mat/Pred; Goal/Comp	W: N
J	36	//4 two / Chinese de- */ fectors //	why	defectors	Goal: Postmod/Comp	two; Chinese	Goal: Postmod: Premod*2/Comp	sub
J	37	//4 [Pause] */ both of / whom //	why	both	Goal: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Say/Comp	whom	Goal: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Say/Comp	sub
J	38	//1_ ^ ahh / say they have / sensitive in- / telligence infor- */ mation //	why	information	Goal: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Attr: poss: premod*2/Comp	say; sensitive; intelligence	Goal: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Proc: ver/Comp; Goal: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Attr: poss: premod*2/Comp	W: mild
R	39	//1_ if there */ are people with er //	if there are	are	Proc: exis/Pred/Fin	if	Conj: causal-cond	D: mild
R	40	//4 sensitive / teleph - in - in-*/ telligence information //	if there are	intelligence	Exist: Postmod: Premod/Comp	sensitive; information	Exist: Postmod: Premod/Comp; Exist: Postmod: Head/Comp	sub
R	41	//1+3 umm you work */ with them in re- / lation to */ that //	umm you (one)	with+ that (IUs 39-40)	Circ: acc: Prepos+ Circ: matt (anaph)	umm; relation	cont; Circ: contin	D: N+ conf
J	42	//4 ^ from / what you're */ saying ah the //	from what	saying	Proc: verb/Pred	what	Verb/Comp	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	43	//4 sensitive in- / telligence infor- */ mation //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	information	Scope/Subj	sensitive; intelligence	Scope: Premod*2/Subj	sub
J	44	//4 held / by Mister */ Hao and Mister //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	Hao	Scope: Postmod: (dr) Carr: Head/Subj	held; by	Scope: Postmod: (dr) Proc: rel: poss/Subj; Scope: Postmod: (dr) Carr: Prepos/Subj	sub
J	45	//4 Chen //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	Chen	Scope: Postmod: (dr) Carr/Subj	0	0	sub
J	46	//4 ^ ah / will be a- */ ssessed by the //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	assessed	Proc: mat/ Pred	will	Fin: mod: med	sub
J	47	//1 government //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	government	Act	0	0	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	48	//1 or / by its */ agencies //	ah the sensitive intelligence information...Mister Chen	agencies	Act	by	Act: Prepos	D: N
R	49	//4 ^ I'm / saying that er in- //	I	saying	Proc: ver/ Pred	0	0	sub
R	50	//4 telligence */ issues are a- //	I	issues	Scope/Subj	intelligence	Scope: Premod/Subj	sub
R	51	//1 ddressed by / competent */ agencies //	I	agencies	Act: Head	addressed; competent	Act: Premod	D: N
R	52	//2_ */ that's what I'm / saying //	that (IUs 50-51)	that (IUs 50-51)	Tok/Ir/Subj	saying	Val/Idd: (dr) Proc: ver/Comp	D: chall: foc
J	53	//4 ^ if they */ have //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	have	Proc: rel: poss/Pred/Fin	0	0	sub
J	54	//4 ^ in- / tent - in- */ telligence infor- / mation //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	intelligence	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp	information	Attr: possd: Head/Comp	sub
J	55	//4 sensitive in- */ telligence infor- / mation //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	intelligence	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp	sensitive; information	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp; Attr: possd: Head/Comp	sub
J	56	//5 ASIO would want to */ see it //	ASIO	see	Proc: men/ Pred	ASIO	Sens/Subj	D: com

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	57	//2 wouldn't it //	would'nt it (ASIO)	wouldn't	Fin: pol (neg)	0	0	D (tag: reversed): N
R	58	//4 it would be */ naive //	it (to think…mandate)	naïve	Attr: int/Comp	it (to think…mandate)	Carr/Subj	sub
R	59	//5 umm to ah / think that err an / agency would */ not //	it (to think…mandate)	not	Carr: (dr) Fin: pol (neg) /(Postposed) Subj	umm; think; agency	cont; Carr: (dr) Proc: men/(Postposed) Subj; Carr: (dr) Act /(Postposed) Subj	D: com
R	60	//4 ahh ex- */ plore those //	it (to think…mandate)	explore	Carr: (dr) Proc: mat/(Postposed) Subj	ahh	cont	sub
R	61	//4 issues that are //	it (to think…mandate)	issues	Carr: (dr) Scope/(Postposed) Subj	0	0	sub
R	62	//5 relevant to their */ mandate//	it (to think…mandate)	mandate	Carr: (dr) Scope: Postmod (dr) Attr: int/(Postposed) Subj	relevant	Carr: (dr) Scope: Postmod (dr) Attr: int/(Postposed) Subj	D: com
J	63	//1 ^ a - / wouldn't that be / also relevant to the */ asylum / claims of these //	wouldn't that (having sensitive intelligence information)	asylum	Attr: Postmod: Premod/Comp	wouldn't; also; claims	Fin: pol (neg); Attr: Premod: extend/Comp; Attr: Postmod: Head/Comp	P: per

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	64	//5 people if they were in //	wouldn't that (having sensitive intelligence information) people	people	Attr: Postmod: Postmod/Comp	0	0	P: insist
J	65	//4 fact de- */ fectors //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	defectors	Attr: int/Comp	fact	CommAdj: fact	sub
J	66	// 4 ^ carrying / sensitive in- */ telligence infor- / mation it's //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	intelligence	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: poss: Premod/Comp	sensitive; information	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: poss: Premod/Comp; Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: poss: Head/Comp	sub
J	67	//4 then a-/ ssessed by in- / telligence organi- */ sations to be im- //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	organisations	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attributor/Comp	then; assessed; intelligence	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Conj: temp/Comp; Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attributor: Premod/Comp	sub
J	68	//5 portant infor- */ mation //	if they (Mister Hao and Mister Chen)	information	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Head/Comp	important	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Premod/Comp	P: insist

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	69	//4 doesn't / that then i- / mmediately / put those people into a / different */ category from //	doesn't that (IUs 65-68)	category	Circ: loc: spat: Head	doesn't; that (IUs 65-68); immediately; put; different	Fin: pol (neg); Act (anaph)/Subj; Mood Adj: temp; Proc: mat/Pred/Fin; Circ: loc: spat: Premod	sub
J	70	//1 those who are a- / ssessed by the immigration de- / partment */ normally //	doesn't that (IUs 65-68)	normally	Circ: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Circ: mann: compar	those; assessed; department	Circ: Postmod: Head; Circ: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat; Circ: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Act	P: per
R	71	//5 no the um - //	no that (IUs 65-68)	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: com
R	72	//1 there are - there are / two */ streams //	there	streams	Exist: Head/Comp	two	Exist: Premod/Comp	D: N
R	73	//1 umm and a de- / cision has been */ taken //	umm and a decision	taken	Proc: mat/ Pred	umm; decision	cont; Scope/Subj	D: N
R	74	//1 on the issue of terri- */ torial a- / sylum um //	a decision	territorial	Circ: matt: Head: Premod	on; asylum	Circ: matt: Prepos; Circ: matt: Head	D: N
R	75	//4 I under- */ stand that it //	um I understand that it (the decision process)	understand	Proc: men/ Pred/ Fin	I	Sens/Subj	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	76	//2_ */ may be re- / opened //	I...it (the decision process)	may	Fin: mod: low	reopened	Proc: mat/Pred	D: chall: foc
R	77	//2 umm on a / further appli- */ cation but er er //	I...it (the decision process)	application	Circ: cause: reas	umm; further	cont; Circ: Premod	D: chall
R	78	//13 that decision was / taken //	but that decision	that+ taken	Scope: Premod (anaph)/Subj+ Proc: mat/Pred	0	0	D: N+ conf
R	79	//13 on the inform- / ation //	but that decision	on+ information	Circ: Prepos+ Circ: cause: reas	0	0	D: N+ conf
R	80	//5 [Pause] er that was pro- */ vided //	but that decision	provided	Circ: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat	0	0	D: com
R	81	//4 ^ um / now //	um now in relation…convention based claim	now	cont	0	0	sub
R	82	//4 in re- */ lation to ahh the //	um now in relation…claim	relation	Circ: matt: Prepos	in	Circ: Prepos	sub
R	83	//4 question //	um now in relation…claim	question	Circ: matt: Head	0	0	sub
R	84	//4 ^ um / of a con- / vention based * / claim for pro- //	um now in relation…claim	claim	Circ: matt: Head	of; convention	Circ: matt: Prepos; Circ: matt: Premod	sub

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	85	//1 */ tection //	um now in relation…claim	protection	Circ: matt: Head: Postmod	0	0	D: N
R	86	//4 ahh */ those / matters are de - //	um now in relation…claim	those	Scope: Premod (anaph)/Subj	ahh; matters	cont; Scope: Head/Subj	sub
R	87	//3 termined on the / basis of */ fact //	um now in relation…claim	fact	Circ: mann	determined	Proc: mat/Pred; Circ: mann	coord
R	88	//1 and */ law //	um now in relation…claim	law	Circ: mann	and	Conj: extend	D: N
R	89	//3 does a person have a / well founded */ fear of being //	um now in relation…claim	fear	Attr: Head/Comp	does; well	Fin: pol; Attr: Premod/Comp	D: conf
R	90	//1 persecuted if they're re-/ turned to their home */ country //	um now in relation…claim	country	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Comp	persecuted; returned	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp; Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	D: N
R	91	//53 um and */ all of the */ facts that are //	um and all...relevant to that	all+ facts	Scope: Premod/Subj+ Scope: Head/Subj	um	cont	D: com+ conf
R	92	//1 */ relevant to / that will be con- //	um and all...relevant to that	relevant	Scope: Postmod: Attr/Subj	that	Scope: Postmod: Attr/Subj	D: N
R	93	//1 sidered by / relevant */ officers who are ex- //	um and all...relevant to that	officers	Act	considered; relevant	Proc: mat/Pred; Act	D: N

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
R	94	//1 perienced in / making those de- */ cisions //	um and all...relevant to that	decisions	Act: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Scope	experienced; making	Act: Postmod: (dr) Attr; Act: Postmod: (dr) Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat	D: N
J	95	//53 ^ it's / pretty straight- */ forward though */ isn't it if they're //	it (the decision process)	straightforward+ isn't	Attr/ Comp+ Fin: pol (tag: rev: neg)	pretty	Attr: Premod/Comp	D: com+ conf
J	96	//4 carrying / sensitive in- */ telligence inform- / ation that would //	it (the decision process)	intelligence	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp	carrying; sensitive; information	Proc: rel: poss/Pred; Attr: possd: Premod/Comp; Attr: possd: Head/Comp	sub
J	97	//4 deem them in their own */ country to be //	it (the decision process)	country	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Comp	deem	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: rel: int/Comp	sub
J	98	//1 traitors if they / handed it over to another */ power //	it (the decision process)	power	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Recip/ Comp	traitors; handed	Attr: Postmod: (dr) Attr: int/Comp; Attr: Postmod: (dr) Proc: mat	D: N
R	99	//1 ^ we - look / you're asking / me to offer a */ view //	look you	view	Goal/Comp	you; me	Say/Subj; Rec/Comp	D: N
J	100	//4 mmm I //	mmm I	mmm	cont	0	0	sub
R	101	//4 umm / on - ah - yeah well / I'm not going to offer a */ view on //	yeah well I	view	Goal/Comp	umm; on; I	cont; Circ: matt -; Act/Subj	sub
J	102	//5 am in- //	I	am	Fin: pol (pos)	0	0	D: com

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT
J	103	// 5 deed //	I	indeed	Comm Adj: ass	0	0	D: com
J	104	//5_ yes //	I	yes	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: inten
R	105	//1 what a / competent */ officer has to de- //	I	officer	Circ: matt: (dr) Act: Head	what; competent; officer	Circ: matt: (dr) Scope; Circ: matt: (dr) Act: Premod	D: N
R	106	//4 cide //	I	decide	Circ: matt: (dr) Proc: mat	0	0	sub
R	107	//4 using their */ own / judgment //	I	own	Circ: matt: (dr) Goal: Premod	using; judgment	Circ: matt: (dr) Proc: mat; Circ: matt: (dr) Goal: Head	sub
R	108	//1 umm in re- / lation to these */ matters //	I	matters	Circ: matt: (dr) Circ: matt: Head	umm; relation	cont; Circ: matt: (dr) Circ: matt: Prepos	D: N

A2.5 Sales (Chapter Seven)

A2.5.1   Sales 1

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STATUS	SPEECH FUNCTION
S1O	1	//3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //	(you = the customer)	pizza	Circ: loc: spat	welcome	Salut	min: conf	
S1O	2	//_3 my name's Me- */ linda would you like //	my name	Melinda	Tok/Ir/Comp	my	Val/Idd: Premod/Subj	D: uncom	statement
S1O	3	//_2 home de- */ livery or //	would you	delivery	Phen/Comp	home	Phen/Comp	P: inv	polar question
S1O	4	//1 take away //	would you	take away	Phen/Comp	0	0	P (Alt): N	polar question
S1C	5	//3 ^ de- / livery //	(I)	delivery	Phen/Comp	0	0	D: conf	statement
S1O	6	//2 ^ I'm / sorry //	I	sorry	cont	0	0	min: chall	content question
S1C	7	//_3 home de- */ livery //	I	delivery	Phen/Comp	home	Phen/Comp	D: uncom	statement
S1O	8	//1 ^ and your / phone number there */ please //		0please	polite	phone	nom gp	min: N	content question
S1C	9	//3 five six two */ six //		0six	nom gp	five	nom gp	coord	statement
S1O	10	//1 five six two */ six //		0six	nom gp	five	nom gp	min: N	polar question
S1C	11	//3 four five two */ one //		0one	nom gp	four	nom gp	min: conf	statement
S1O	12	//2 four five two */ one //		0one	nom gp	four	nom gp	min: chall	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S1C	13	//3 yep //	0	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)		0	0 D: conf	statement
S1O	14	//_3 o- */ kay and the //	0	okay	cont	okay	cont	min: uncom	0
S1O	15	//3 surname and / suburb for de- */ livery please //	0	delivery	Nom gp: Circ: Cause: Purp	surname; suburb	nom gp	min: conf	content question
S1C	16	//3 Strangle //	0	Strangle	nom gp		0	0 min: conf	statement
S1C	17	//3 Blackmores //	0	Blackmores	nom gp		0	0 min: conf	statement
S1O	18	//1 Strangle sixty- */ two //	0	two	nom gp	Strangle	nom gp	min: conf	polar question
S1O	19	//2 Batman street */ Blackmores //	0	Batman	nom gp	Blackmores	nom gp	min: chall	polar question
S1C	20	//3 yep //	0	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)		0	0 D: conf	statement
S1O	21	//4 ^ it's a- / pproximately half an */ hour //	it (the pizza delivery)	hour	Tok/Ir/Comp	approximately	Tok/Ir: Premod/Comp	sub	statement
S1O	22	//1_3 what would you */ like Mr */ Strangle //	what	like+ Strangle	Proc: men/Pred+ Voc	what	Phen/WhComp	W: mild + conf	content question
S1C	23	//3 ahh a / large */ super su- / preme //	ahh (I)	super	Phen: Premod/Comp	ahh; large; supreme	cont; Phen: Premod/Comp; Phen/Comp	coord	statement
S1O	24	//2 yep //	0	yep	cont		0	0 min: chall	0
S1C	25	//3 ummm */ pan //	ummm (I)	pan	Phen/Comp	ummm	cont	D: conf	statement
S1O	26	//2 ^ okay / anything */ else / sir //	(is there)	else	nom gp	anything; sir	nom gp; Voc	min: chall	polar question
S1C	27	//13 and a */ garlic bread */ thanks //	(I)	garlic+ thanks	nom gp+ polite	and	Conj: extend	min: N+ conf	statement

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S1O	28	//3 ^ so / just have a / thick super su- */ preme and a //	so (you)	supreme	Attr: possd/Comp	just; thick	Mood Adj: counter: lim; Attr: Premod/Comp	coord	polar question
S1O	29	//2 */ garlic bread Mr / Strangle //	so (you)	garlic	Attr: possd/Comp	Strangle	Voc	D: chall	polar question
S1C	30	//3 yep //	(I)	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: conf	statement
S1O	31	//4 comes to / fifteen */ ninety //	(the price of the order)	ninety	Tok/Ir/Comp	comes; fifteen	Proc: rel: int/Pred/Fin; Tok/Ir/Comp	sub	statement
S1C	32	//3 yep //	0	yep	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S1O	33	//2 umm would you / like to get a / bottle of / soft drink with / that for six- */ teen ninety / five //	umm would you	sixteen	Circ: ext	umm; like; bottle; soft; that	cont; Proc: men/Pred; Goal/Comp*2; Circ: acc; Circ: ext?	P: N	offer
S1C	34	//1 no thank you //	no I	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: N	statement
S1O	35	//2 sorry //	0	sorry	polite	0	0	min: chall	content question
S1C	36	//1 no thanks //	no I	no	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	0	0	D: N	statement
S1O	37	//1 o- */ kay ahh it's a- //	0	okay	cont	okay	cont	min: N	0
S1O	38	//4 pproximately half an */ hour do you //	it (the waiting time)	hour	Tok/Ir: Head/Comp	approximately	Tok/ Ir: Premod/Comp	sub	statement
S1O	39	//2 need any */ change there //	do you	change	Attr: possd/Comp	need	Proc: rel: poss/Pred	P: N	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S1C	40	//1 ahh I've / got a */ twenty dollar note //	ahh I	twenty	Attr: possd/Comp	ahh; got	cont; Proc: rel: poss/Pred	D: mild	statement
S1O	41	//_2 o- */ kay //		0 okay	cont	okay	cont	min: chall: inv	0
S1O	42	//2 ^ that's a / thick super su- / preme and a / garlic */ bread //	that (the order)	bread	Tok/Ir/Comp	thick; supreme; garlic	Tok/Ir: Premod/Comp; Tok/Ir: Head/Comp*2	D: chall	polar question
S1O	43	//4 ^ uh it's / fifteen */ ninety we'll //	uh it (the price)	ninety	Tok/Ir/Comp	fifteen	Tok/Ir/Comp	sub	statement
S1O	44	//5 see you in a- / pproximately / half an */ hour //	we	hour	Circ: loc: temp	see; approximately	Proc: men; Circ: spat: temp: Premod; Circ: Head	D: com	statement
S1C	45	//3 thank */ you //		0 you	Valediction	thank	Salut	min: conf	
S1O	46	//1 thank you bye- //		0 thank	Valediction	0	0	min: N	
S1O	47	//4 bye //		0 bye	Valediction	0	0	min: add	

A2.5.2   Sales 2

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	MOOD: KEY / STATUS	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2O	1	//_3 welcome to */ Pizza Town //		0Pizza	Salut	welcome	Salut	min: uncom	
S2O	2	//3 my name's */ Brad can I //	my name	Brad	Tok/Ir/Comp	my	Val/Idd: Premod/Subj	D: conf	statement
S2O	3	//1_ start the order with your */ phone number please //	can I	phone	Circ: means	start	Proc: mat/Pred	P: per: mild	command
S2C	4	//2 ^ it's / five eight one */ two //	it (my phone number)	two	Tok/Idd/Comp	five	Tok/Idd/Comp	D: chall	statement
S2O	5	//3 yeah //	it (ph. number)	yeah	cont	0	0	0min: conf	0
S2C	6	//3 double three seven */ five //	it (ph. number)	five	Tok/Idd/Comp	double	Tok/Idd/Comp	D: conf	statement
S2O	7	//3 ^ so / five eight one */ two double //		0two	nom gp	five	nom gp	min: conf	polar question
S2O	8	//2 three seven */ five //		0five	nom gp	three	nom gp	min: chall	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	9	//_3 that's */ it //	it (ph. number)	it (the phone number)	Val/Idd/Comp	that (IUs 6-7)	Tok/Ir/Subj	D: uncom	statement
S2O	10	//13 and de- / livery or */ take-away */ sir //	0	take-away+ sir	nom gp+ (honor) Voc	delivery	nom gp	min: N+ conf	polar question
S2C	11	//13 ^ ahh de- / livery / please //	0	delivery+ please	nom gp+ polite	0	0	min: N+ conf	statement
S2O	12	//1+ ^ and / surname and */ suburb //	0	suburb	nom gp	surname	nom gp	min: strong	content question
S2C	13	//3 ^ ahh it's / in ah / Berwick */ Down it's under bu- //	ahh it (IU 12)	Down	Circ: loc: spat	in; Berwick	Circ: Prepos; Circ: Head	coord	statement
S2C	14	//1 nnoo //	ahh it (IU 12)	Bunnoo	Circ: loc: spat	0	0	D: N	statement
S2O	15	//3 ^ now that's / Bosmarty */ Place //	now that (address)	Place	Tok/Ir/Comp	Bosmarty	Tok/Ir/Comp	coord	polar question
S2O	16	//3 ahh / unit fifty */ five block //	now that (address)	five	Tok/Ir/Comp	ahh; unit	cont; Tok/Ir/Comp	coord	polar question
S2O	17	//2 three / Half- / time */ Avenue Berwick / Down //	now that (address)	Avenue	Tok/Ir/Comp	three; Half-; time; Down	Tok/Ir/Comp*4	D: chall	polar question
S2C	18	//_2 that's */ it //	now that (address)	it (the address)	Val/Idd/Comp	that (IUs 15-17)	Tok/Ir/Subj	D: chall: ref	statement
S2O	19	//1 ^ [o]kay a- */ bout / half hour //	0	about	nom gp: Premod	half	nom gp: Premod	min: N	statement
S2O	20	//2 */ wait on de- / livery / sir //	0	wait	nom gp: Head	delivery; sir	nom gp: Postmod; polite	min: chall	statement

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	21	//3 yeah that's */ fine //	yeah that (delivery time)	fine	Attr: int/Comp	yeah	cont	D: conf	statement
S2O	22	//1 and would you / like to try the current */ special of //	and would you	special	Scope/Comp	and; like	cont; Proc: men/Pred	P: per	offer
S2O	23	//3 three large starting from //	and would you	three	Scope: Postmod/Comp	0	0coord		offer
S2O	24	//2 twenty two ninety */ five //	and would you	five	Scope: Postmod: Postmod: (dr) Circ: loc: spat (metaph)/Comp	twenty	Scope: Postmod: (dr) Circ: loc: spat (metaph)/Comp	P: N	offer
S2C	25	//13 ^ hm / nah there's / only two of us */ here */ mate //	no there are	here+ mate	Circ: loc: spat+ Voc	nah; only	Mood Adj: pol (neg); Exist: Premod/Comp	D: N+ conf	statement
S2O	26	//1 ^ okay / what would you */ like //	okay what	like	Proc: men/Pred	what	Phen/WhComp	W: N	content question
S2C	27	//1 ah can / I just get a ah - / ho - / how many / pieces */ is a / large //	how many pieces	is	Proc: rel: iding/Pred/Fin	I -; how; pieces; large	Carr/Subj -; Tok/Ir: Premod/WhComp;Tok/Ir: Head/WhComp; Val/Idd/Subj	W: N	content question
S2C	28	//1 one */ large //	ah can I	large	Val/Idd: Head/Subj	one	Val/Idd: Premod/Subj	W: N	content question
S2O	29	//1 ^ how many */ pieces / is a - //	how many pieces	pieces	Tok/Ir: Head/WhComp	is	Proc: rel: iding/Pred/Fin	W: N	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: word rank	IF: clause rank	IP: word rank	IP: clause rank	MOOD: KEY / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	30	//1 yeah //	how many pieces	yeah	Mood Adj	0	0	D: N	statement
S2C	31	//1 large //	how many pieces	large	Val/Idd/Subj	0	0	W: N	content question
S2O	32	//1 yeah //	how many pieces	yeah	cont	0	0	min: N	0
S2C	33	//1 eight //	how many pieces	eight	Tok/Ir/ Comp	0	0	min: N	polar question
S2C	34	//2 is it //	is it (the pizza)	is it	(tag) Fin: pol	0	0	D (tag reversed): N	polar question
S2O	35	//1 yeah //	yeah (it = the number of pieces)	yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: N	statement
S2O		// eight slice - //	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S2C	36	//4 sorry and the //	0	sorry	cont	0	0	sub	0
S2C	37	//2 medium //	0	medium	nom gp	0	0	min: chall	polar question
S2O	38	//4 ahh we / don't have a */ medium we've //	ahh we	medium	Attr: possd/Comp	ahh; don't	cont; Fin: pol (neg)	sub	statement
S2C		// ^ so / that's - //	0	0	0	0	0	0	
S2O	39	//4 got a */ regular but that's //	we	regular	Attr: possd/Comp	got	Proc: rel: poss/Pred	sub	statement
S2O	40	//1+ that's */ six slices but the //	but that (the regular)	six	Tok/Ir: Premod/Comp	that (the regular)	Val/Idd/Subj	D: strong	statement

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2O	41	//4 store doesn't actually de- */ liver / them //	but the store	deliver	Proc: Mat/Pred	store; them	Act/Subj; Goal/Comp	sub	statement
S2C	42	//2 ^ okay no well we'll / have a / large */ then //	okay no well we	then	Conj: caus-cond	have; large	Proc: rel: poss/Pred; Attr: possd/Comp	D: chall	command
S2O	43	//3 yeah //		0yeah	cont	0	0	0min: conf	0
S2C	44	//2 ^ can / I get a / large um / half and */ half //	can I	half	Attr: possd/Comp	I; large; half	Carr: possr/Subj; Attr: possd: Premod/Comp; Attr: Head/Comp	P: N	command
S2O	45	//2 yeah //	yeah you	yeah	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: chall	statement
S2C	46	//3 ^ ah / half //	can I	half	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp	0	0	coord	command
S2C	47	//3 ^ ah / meat */ lovers with //	can I	lovers	Attr: possd/Comp	meat	Attr: possd/Comp	coord	command
S2C	48	//2 barbeque */ sauce //	can I	sauce	Attr: Postmod/Comp	barbeque	Attr: Postmod/Comp	P: N	command
S2O	49	//3 yeah //		0yeah	cont	0	0	0min: conf	0
S2C	50	//4 ^ and / half / super su- */ preme //	can I	supreme	Attr: possd/Comp	half; super	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp; Attr/Comp	sub	command
S2O	51	//3 ^ a - / huh //		0uh-huh	cont	0	0	0min: conf	0
S2C	52	//3 but can / I get um like - / what - / how do you spice it / up - was that */ chilli or - //	but can I	chilli	Tok/Ir/Comp	but -; I -; what -; how; up	conj: adv -; Carr: possr/Subj -; Wh Adj -; Wh Adj; Proc: mat/Pred	coord	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2O	53	//3 ah you can / have some hot / spices there */ free or you can //	ah you	free	Circ: mann: qual	ah; have; spices	cont; Proc:rel: poss/Pred; Attr: possd/Comp	coord	statement
S2O	54	//13 put ah / jalapeno */ peppers on as */ well //	or you	peppers+ well	Goal/Comp+ Circ: acc	put; jalapeno	Proc: mat/Pred; Goal/Comp	D: N+conf	statement
S2C		// no - //	0	0	0	0	0	0	
S2O	55	//3 they're an extra */ dollar //	they (the jalapeno peppers)	0	Tok/Ir/Comp	they (the jalapeno peppers)	Val/Idd/Subj	D: conf	statement
S2C	56	//1 ^ no / just um / hot / spices but / not too - / just */ mild //	0	mild	Attr: int/Comp	just; hot; spices; not -; just	Mood Adj: count: lim; nom gp*2; Fin: pol (neg) -; Mood Adj: count: lim	min: N	command
S2O	57	//3 */ okay / sure //	0	okay	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	sure	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	D: conf	statement
S2C	58	//3 yeah //	0	yeah	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S2O	59	//1 ^ and / what */ base for the / pizza / sir //	0	base	nom gp: Head	what; pizza; sir	nom gp: Premod/WhComp; Circ: acc; honor	W: N	content question
S2C	60	//1 ah */ pan / please //	0	pan	nom gp	ah; please	cont; polite	min: N	statement
S2O	61	//-3 o- / kay //	0	okay	cont	okay	cont	min: Uncom	0
S2O	62	//2 ^ did you / want the */ super supreme or the o- //	did you	super	Phen: Premod/Comp	want	Proc: men/Pred	P (Alt): N	polar question
S2O	63	//1 riginal //	did you	original	Phen: Premod/Comp	0	0	P (Alt): N	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	64	//1 ^ nah */ super su- / preme //	I	super	Phen: Premod/Comp	supreme	Phen: Head/Comp	D: N	statement
S2O	65	//2 ^ o- / kay so I've got a / large pan half */ barbeque / meatlovers half / super su- / preme with hot / spices //	okay so I	barbeque	Attr: possd: Premod/Comp	okay; large; meatlovers; super; supreme; spices	cont; Attr: Premod/Comp; Attr: Head/Comp; Attr: Premod/Comp; Attr: Head/Comp; Attr: Postmod/Comp	D: chall	polar question
S2C	66	//2 ^ mm- / hmm //	0	mm-hmm	cont	0	0	min: chall	statement
S2O	67	//2 ^ did you / want the hot / spices / just for the su- */ preme half //	did you	supreme	Attr: circ/Comp	want; spices; just	Proc: men/Pred; Phen/Comp; Mood Adj: count: lim	P: N	polar question
S2C	68	//1 yeah / just the su- */ preme half //	I	supreme	Attr: circ/Comp	yeah; just	Mood Adj: pol (pos); Mood Adj: count: lim	D: N	statement
S2O	69	//2 o - / kay so / twelve ninety */ five //	0	five	nom gp	okay; twelve	cont; nom gp	min: chall	statement/ polar question
S2C	70	//2 ^ mm- / hmm //	0	mm-hmm	cont	0	0	min: chall	statement
S2O	71	//3 ahh we've / got you / in at ah Del - / santo in- */ dustrial e- / state //	ahh we	industrial	Val/Ir: circ/Comp	ahh; got; in; Delsanto; estate	cont; Proc: rel: circ/Pred; Tok/Idd: Prepos/Comp; Tok/Idd: Head*2	D: conf	statement
S2C	72	//3 that's it //	that (address)	that (IU71)	Tok/Ir/Subj	0	0	D: conf	statement

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	73	//3 yep //	0	yep	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: conf	statement
S2C	74	//1 that's */ it //	that (address)	it (the address)	Val/Ir/Comp	that (IU71)	Tok/Idd/Subj	D: N	statement
S2C	75	//1 ^ ah / just make sure the / spices */ are / mild //	ah just make sure	are	Proc: rel: inting/Pred/Fin	just; spices; mild	cont; Carr; Attr: int/Comp	D: N	command
S2O	76	//1 okay //	just make sure	okay	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: N	statement
S2C	77	//3 yep //	0	yep	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S2C	78	//2 ^ that's / twelve ninety */ five was it //	that (the price)	five	Tok/Idd/Comp	twelve	Tok/Idd/Comp	D: chall	polar question
S2O	79	//3 twelve ninety */ five was there //	twelve-ninety five	five	Carr/Subj	twelve	Carr/Subj	D: conf	statement
S2C	80	//3 yeah //	0	yeah	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S2O	81	//1 any drinks or */ garlic bread at / all sir //	0	garlic	nom gp	any; all	nom gp: Premod; nom gp: Postmod	min: N	polar question
S2C	82	//1 no */ thank you //	no	thank	polite	no	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	D: N	statement
S2O	83	//3 ^ [o-] / kay / that'll be / with you in about / half an */ hour you'll just //	okay that (the order)	hour	Circ: loc: temp	okay; that (the order); with; half	cont; Carr/Subj; Attr: circ/Comp; Circ: loc: temp	coord	statement
S2O	84	//5 need / close to the correct / change for the */ driver sir //	you	driver	Circ: cause: pur	need; close; change	Proc: rel: poss/Pred; Attr: possd: Premod	D: com	command
S2C	85	//5 no */ problem //	0	problem	nom gp	no	nom gp	min: com	statement
S2O	86	//1 ^ [o-] / kay en- / joy your */ meal Mister / Smith //	okay enjoy	meal	Phen/Comp	okay; enjoy; Smith	cont; Proc: men/Pred/Fin; Voc	I: N	command

Int	IU		THEME	IF: Lexis	IF: Grammar	IP: Lexis	IP: Grammar	M: K / STAT	
S2C	87	//3 ^ thank / you //		0you	polite	0	0	min: conf	
S2O	88	//4 bye //		0bye	Valediction	0	0	sub	
S2C	89	//3 ^ bye / bye //		0bye	Valediction	0	0	min: conf	

A2.5.3   Sales 3

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: Lexis	IF: Grammar	IP: Lexis	IP: Grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2O	1	//3 welcome to */ Pizza Spot //		0Pizza	Salut	welcome	Salut	min: conf	
S2O	2	//3 my name is */ Crystal could I //	my name	Crystal	Tok/Ir/Comp	my	Val/Idd: Premod/Subj	D: conf	statement
S2O	3	//1 start with your */ phone number / please //	could I	phone	Circ: mann: means	start; please	Proc: mat/Pred; polite	P: per	command
S2C	4	//3 d - / double five double */ seven //		0seven	nom gp	double	nom gp	coord	statement
S2C	5	//2 three eight four */ six //		0six	nom gp	three	nom gp	min: chall	statement
S2O	6	//3 ^ so that's / double five / double seven three / six four */ eight //	so that (the phone number)	eight	Tok/Ir/Comp	double; double; six	Tok/Ir/Comp *3	D: conf	polar question
S2O	7	//3 ^ would you like de- */ livery or //	would you	delivery	Phen/Comp	0	0	coord	polar question

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: Lexis	IF: Grammar	IP: Lexis	IP: Grammar	M: K / STAT	
S2O	8	//1 take away //	would you	take away	Phen/Comp	0	0	P (Alt): N	polar question
S2C	9	//4 ahh - / take a */ way I've //	ahh I	away	Phen/Comp	ahh -; take	cont; Phen/Comp	sub	statement
S2C	10	//1_ got one of those er / five ninety */ five //	I	five	Attr:possd/Comp	got; five	Proc: rel: poss/Pred; Attr:possd/Comp	D: mild	statement
S2O	11	//3 yep could //	0	yep	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S2O	12	//1_3 I have your */ surname */ please //	could I	surname+ please	Attr: possd/Comp+ polite	I	Carr: possr/Subj (sp)	P: per: mild+ conf	command
S2C	13	//2 Anderson //	0	Anderson	nom gp	0	0	min: chall	statement
S2O	14	//1 ^ and / what store are you / picking that */ up from //	and what	up	Proc: mat/Pred	what; picking	Circ: Premod/WhAdj; Proc: mat/Pred	W: N	content question
S2C	15	//2 sorry //	0	sorry	cont	0	0	min: chall	content question
S2O	16	//2 ^ what */ store are you / picking that / up from //	what store	store	Circ: loc: spat/WhAdj	picking; up	Proc: mat/Pred*2	W: echo	content question
S2C	17	//2 ahh in the */ Centre //	0	Centre	Circ: loc: spat: Postmod (dr) Circ: loc: spat	ahh	cont	min: chall	statement

Int	IU	TONALITY; TONICITY; TONE; RHYTHM; SALIENCE	THEME	IF: lexis	IF: grammar	IP: lexis	IP: grammar	M: K / STAT	SPEECH FUNCTION
S2C	18	//3 Henley //	0	Henley	Circ: loc: spat: Postmod (dr) Circ: loc: spat	0	0	min: conf	statement
S2O	19	//3 Henley //	0	Henley	Circ: loc: spat: Postmod (dr) Circ: loc: spat	0	0	min: conf	polar question
S2O	20	//1 ahh can //	0	ahh	cont	0	0	min: N	0
S2O	21	//2 you just hold */ on for a minute / for me it's just //	can you	on	Proc: mat/Pred	you; for	Act/Subj (addr); Circ: caus: behalf: Prepos	P: N	command
S2O	22	//2 not going */ through //	it (the order)	through	Proc: mat/Pred	not	Mood Adj: pol (neg)	D: chall	statement/ polar question
S2O	23	//1 ^ I'll just / check with the */ supervisor //	I	supervisor	Scope/Comp	check	Proc: mat/Pred	D: N	statement
S2C	24	//1 yeah //	0	yeah	cont	0	0	min: N	statement
S2O	25	//2 ^ are you */ there Mister / Anderson //	are you	there	Attr: Circ/Comp	Anderson	Voc	P: N	polar question
S2C	26	//2 mmm //	mmm I	mmm	Mood Adj: pol (pos)	0	0	D: chall	statement
S2O	27	//1_ ^ yeah I'm / having trouble / calling it */ up //	yeah I	up	Attr: possd: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	having; calling	Proc: rel: poss; Attr: possd: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	D: mild	statement

									statement/ polar question
S2O	28	//2 what I'll / do is I'll / actually trans- / fer you through to the */ store //	what I'll do	store	Tok/Ir: (dr) Circ: loc: spat/Comp	what; do; actually; transfer	Val/Idd: (dr) Scope/Subj; Val/Idd: (dr) Proc: mat/Subj; Tok/Ir: (dr) Mood Adj: count: exc/Comp; Tok/Ir: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	D: chall	
S2C	29	//3 ^ al- / right //		0alright	cont	0	0	min: conf	statement
S2O	30	// 13 ^ yes I've - 'cause / I / can't - I'm / having trouble / placing the */ order for */ them for //	I	order+ them	Attr: possd: (dr) Goal/Comp+ Attr: possd: (dr) Circ: cause: pur/Comp	I -; having; placing	Act/Subj (sp) -; Proc: rel: poss/Pred; Attr: possd: (dr) Proc: mat/Comp	D: N+ conf	statement
S2O	31	//2 some */ reason //	I	reason	Circ: cause: reas	some	Circ: Premod	D: chall	statement
S2C	32	//3 yep //		0yep	cont	0	0	min: conf	0
S2C	33	//3 good //		0good	cont	0	0	min: conf	statement
S2O	34	//1 thanks //		0	polite			0	min: N	