

JASFL Occasional Papers

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Volume 1 Number 1 Autumn 1998

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Synergy on the paget Exploring interventionic complementarity in page-based multipodal text

Thematic Development in *Noruwei no Mori:*Arguing the need to account for co-referential ellipsis

Elizabeth Anne Thomson University of Wollongong

Introduction

In November 1996 the Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics sponsored a workshop on Theme analysis in which the beginning of chapter one of Murakami's Noruwei no Mori (Norwegian Wood) was used to illustrate how systemic functional grammar can describe thematic development in Japanese. This paper derives from that workshop.

This paper details a discourse perspective approach to Theme analysis taking into account the role of ellipsis. It argues that the method of development of *Noruwei no Mori* correlates with the organization of the individual clauses within the text. This correlation is evident in the choice of the first position element in the clause. This element functions as Theme and participates in the thematic development of the text as a whole.

The element that realizes Theme is at the same time participating in other systems in the grammar. While it has been necessary to isolate Theme as a separate grammatical function to see what textual meaning it realizes, it is important to describe how it interacts with other systems, and how this interaction affects thematic choices. For example, Theme interacts with ellipsis of participants in the first position of the clause. This paper will argue that ellipsis must be taken into account when analyzing Theme in Japanese. Analysis which ignores the role of ellipsis is impoverished to the extent that a clear illustration of the method of thematic development within the text does not result.

Ellipsis

Let me begin by describing ellipsis in Japanese. Boxwell (1995), in his informative paper on the operation of ellipsis in Weri, a language of Papua New Guinea, discusses and describes ellipsis in a cogent manner. I will take his lead and explain ellipsis in Japanese according to his description.

Boxwell begins with Halliday and Hasan's (1976: 143) definition: 'an elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere'. Boxwell (1995: 131) then adds, 'ellipsis, then, is characterized by the noticeable omission of element(s), and the resultant incompleteness of structure and the recoverability of the omitted element(s) from the context'. Consider the following Japanese examples:

- 1) Hannin ga shinnyuu shite toosoo suru made [zero] yaku 5 hun kan datta. The time it took for the man to enter and escape was within about 5 minutes.
- Mikka wa Setsubun [zero].
 The third was the Setsubun Festival.
- 3) Obaasan wa ureshikute, [zero] sugu te o nobashite, [zero] sore o tsukamaemashita. The old woman was delighted, so she stretched out her hand and she grabbed it.

Example 1) illustrates an elliptical nominal Thing, jikan (time). The ellipsed Thing is recoverable from the immediate situation and not the cotext. Example 2) illustrates an implicit relational process. The verb, datta (was) is missing. The ellipsed verb is recoverable, not from the immediate situation, but in a sense, from the cotext, via the predictability of the grammar. In example 3) the Actor, obaasan (old woman) is mentioned in the first clause and then omitted in the subsequent two clauses. The ellipsed Actor, obaasan is recoverable from the immediate cotext. In this example, obaasan in the subsequent two clauses is given information, information already presented to the reader/listener. It is an example of anaphoric reference and is assigned this status via the operation of ellipsis.

Ellipsis and co-referentiality

The type of ellipsis represented by examples 1) and 2) above occurs frequently in Japanese but the kind of ellipsis that is illustrated by example 3) is the kind that is under discussion here. This type of ellipsis occurs frequently in first position and therefore interacts with and affects Theme. It is important then, that we look more closely at this type of ellipsis, how it functions and what meaning it realizes.

Ellipsis is one part of the lexico-grammar that 'contributes to the semantic structure of the discourse ... [setting] up a relationship that is not semantic but lexicogrammatical — a relationship in the wording rather than directly in the meaning' (Halliday, 1994: 316). In English, ellipsis generally realizes relationships of 'co-classification' (Hasan, 1984a, 1985) however, it is recognized that ellipsis also plays a role in 'establishing the relation of co-referentiality' (Boxwell, 1995: 124). Co-referentiality is a kind of reference that must meet two conditions:

- 1. there must be at least 'two instances of reference'.
- 2. the reference must be to the same thing.

In Japanese, the kind of ellipsis illustrated in 3) above functions to co-refer. It refers back to, and in some cases, forward to the same referent which creates identity chains and ties between clauses. This co-reference is most evident in Participant ellipsis as illustrated in example 3) above. It is however, also possible to have other Participant and Process ellipsis. Consider example 4) below.

 (i) Kusa no nioi, kasuka na hiyayakasa o hukunda kaze, yama no ryoosen, inu no naku koe,

sonna mono ga mazu saisho ni ukabiagatte kuru.

- (ii)[zero] totemo kukkiri to [zero].
- (i) The smell of the grass, the slight cold wind, the mountain ridge, the noise of the dog bark, these things were the first things to surface.

(ii) (They) (surfaced) very clearly.

In the second clause (ii), both the Phenomenon as Subject, ...sonna mono (these things) and the mental process, ukabiagatte kuru (to surface in one's mind - to recall) are ellipsed and in each case the ellipsed item is recoverable from the cotext immediately preceding the clause, totemo kukkiri to (very clearly). In each case the ellipsed item and its presupposed item refer to the same situational referent and so are co-referential. It is this kind of co-referential ellipsis that interacts with Theme in Japanese texts.

Now let me turn briefly to a discussion on the realization of Theme before demonstrating how co-referential ellipsis and Theme interrelate.

Theme

Halliday (1994: 37) defines Theme as '... the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned... [and] the part in which the Theme is developed is called in Prague School terminology the Rheme'. This

definition excludes any conflation between the organization of information into 'new' and 'given' with the organization of a message into Theme and Rheme. Fries (1995) rightly points out that Halliday's definition of Theme is metaphorical and difficult to interpret. He consequently offers a less metaphorical and more interpretable rewording of Halliday's definition: 'The Theme of a T-unit provides a framework within which the Rheme of the T-unit can be interpreted' (Fries, 1995a: 4). In this definition the term, T-unit corresponds to what Fries calls, 'an independent conjoinable clause complex, a unit very similar to the "T-unit" of American educational literature' (Fries, 1995b: 49).

Theme, as defined above, is a functional category which suggests that the category of Theme can be realized by different languages using different realization devices. To understand this distinction, let us look at the realization of Theme in English.

Theme in English is realized by first position in the clause (Halliday, 1994: 38). Halliday uses the following texts as examples.

a. The duke has given my aunt that teapot. Theme | Rheme

b. Very carefully, she put him back on his feet again.
 Theme | | Rheme

c. For want of a nail, the shoe was lost.
Theme

In each of the above examples Theme is realized not by the grammatical unit of nominal group (1), adverbial group (2) or prepositional phrase (3), but by the position these elements occur in, that is, first position.

Thematic Development

While these examples a), b) and c) above are at clause rank, Fries (1983: 119) has demonstrated that in English the notion of Theme 'correlates with the method of development of a text and the nature of text'. In other words, by following the thematic progression of a text one can see clearly the argument or purpose of that text. Tracking Theme makes explicit the method of development of a text. Fries has borrowed heavily from Danes' work on thematic progression in which Danes defines thematic progression as '... the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter...), to the whole text, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot' (Daneš, 1974: 114). Daneš identifies three generic types of thematic progression. These are: 1) simple linear thematic progression in which the Theme of a clause originates in the Rheme of a preceding clause; 2) thematic progression with a continuous Theme that 'enters into relation with a number of different Rhemes'; and 3) thematic progression with derived Themes (Daneš, 1974: 118-119). According to Fries (1995c: 320), 'In this case, the passage as a whole concerns a single general notion, and the Themes of the various constituent clauses all derive from that general notion, but are not identical to one another. These three types are illustrated in Figures 1, 2 and 3 below.

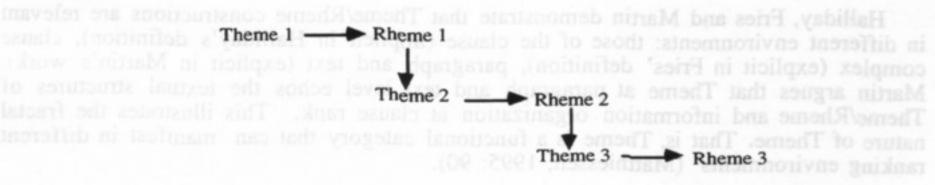


Figure 1 Linear Thematic Progression

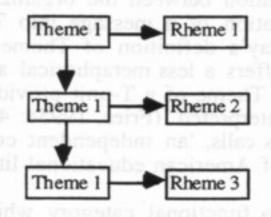


Figure 2 Continuous Thematic Progression

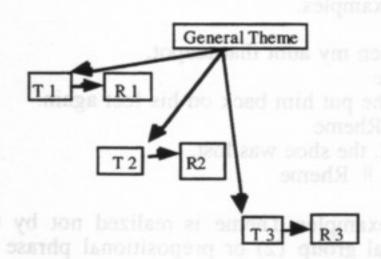


Figure 3 Derived Thematic Progression
(Daneš, 1974: 118-119)

Martin (1993) also discusses the method of thematic development and its connection to text type. In his work on the analysis of Australian junior secondary science and history discourses he analyzes the themes and the information structure of a group of texts used by students and states: 'Thematic selections ... articulate an angle on the field which is patterned in semantically definable ways ... reflecting the different methods of development appropriate to Reports in science and history and to scientific Explanations' (Martin, 1993: 244). Martin clearly demonstrates that the themes of scientific and historical discourses are different because they contribute to the overall purpose of the text, that is, to the genre. He notes that

... scientific discourse in junior-secondary school textbooks is organized as one large report, within which explanation and experiment genres are embedded. In contrast, history textbooks at this level are organized as generalized recounts, within which reports and more occasionally exposition are embedded. Generically then science is about what the world is like, whereas history is about what happened (Martin, 1993: 267).

Halliday, Fries and Martin demonstrate that Theme/Rheme constructions are relevant in different environments: those of the clause (implicit in Halliday's definition), clause complex (explicit in Fries' definition), paragraph and text (explicit in Martin's work). Martin argues that Theme at paragraph and text level echos the textual structures of Theme/Rheme and information organization at clause rank. This illustrates the fractal nature of Theme. That is, Theme is a functional category that can 'manifest in different ranking environments' (Matthiessen, 1995: 90).

Having briefly sketched the systemic functional description of Theme I would like to present an analogy of the function of Theme in text. Thematic development is like a system of road signs. A road sign points the driver in the direction he/she wishes to go. The sign is labelled. It tells you where you are going. If it didn't have a label, you wouldn't know where you were going and if the sign didn't indicate a direction, then you

wouldn't know which way to go. In other words, a road sign must have two characteristics to be interpretable. It must label the place in which it points and it must indicate the direction. A road sign does not point nowhere. And neither does Theme. Individual Themes are like road signs and when all the signs or Themes are taken as one system, this constitutes thematic development. Halliday argues that 'if in any given language the message is organized as a Theme-Rheme structure, and if this structure is expressed by the sequence in which the elements occur in the clause, then it seems natural that the position for the Theme should be at the beginning, rather than at the end or at some other specific point' (Halliday, 1994: 38). Following this logic through and applying it to my analogy above, it would seem that in a language that structures Theme as first position in the clause, then Theme, our road sign will point from right to left (in a language that is orthographically written right to left) or else, top to bottom (in a language like Japanese where it can be written vertically). Thus Theme intrinsically incorporates directionality, that is to say, it relates to the unfolding of text in time.

Extending the analogy a little further, consider you are driving to a country fair. There is a sign on the road which tells you the name of the fair and points in the direction of the fair. A little further down the road, there is another sign confirming that you are going in the right direction, and still further there is another sign but this time the sign does not have any label, rather it just has the same kind of arrow, let's say, a red one. While ever you keep finding red arrows you know that they point to the fair. You know this because the arrow is the same and that is the clue that leads you back to the original sign which named the fair. In other words, even without the written 'label' on the road sign, the driver knows that the arrow is pointing in the direction he/she wishes to go. The 'label' is retrievable from the context. I suggest that this also possible with Theme. While the Theme stays the same, or the label on the road sign does not change, then the listener or reader can continue on through the text knowing that the Theme remains constant. In other words, Themes can be operating even if they are not explicitly named. It is this phenomena that I want to discuss in relation to thematic development in Japanese. In Japanese, Themes exist, they are operational but they may or may not be explicitly evident in the text, that is to say, they are not named.

Theme in Japanese

So far, I have talked about the notion of Theme and how it is realized in English. I now want to turn to Theme as it is realized in Japanese and then look at how ellipsis and Theme interact.

Japanese sentence structure has been likened to a train (Tsukuba Language Group, 1991: 14). The verb is always sentence final (the train engine) with the other elements preceding the verb in packages of 'element+particle'. These packages are Participants and Circumstances in the Transitivity structure. The packages are like the train cars—'The engine of the train is pulling a passenger car, a dining car and a freight car. The order of the cars can change, but the engine always comes in rightmost position' (Tsukuba Language Group, 1991: 14). The salient point here is that the order of the 'cars' can change. Students of Japanese, myself included, are told that the order of the elements does not matter provided the verb is always sentence final. Yet, from a systemic functional point of view that is a weak argument. Halliday has argued that choice in language is never unmotivated. If you have a choice as to where to put parts of a sentence then that choice must be motivated by something. Usually this motivation relates to the creating and organizing of textual meaning: 'Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice ...' (Halliday, 1994: xiv).

Here lies justification for the existence of Theme in Japanese. Is the motivation behind the choice of positioning elements in a Japanese clause related to thematic organization? Samuel Martin strongly suggests that it is in his book, A Reference Grammar of Japanese. He states that 'Japanese is usually said to have a free word order with respect to the adjuncts. This means that so long as you put the predicate (the nuclear sentence) at the end, where it belongs in a well-planned sentence, you are free to present each of the build-up phrases early or late as you see fit thematization, for example, will place an adjunct at the beginning of the sentence' (Martin, 1988: 35).

Furthermore, Japanese has a typical, unmarked word order of SOV (Subject^Object^Verb). The grammatical subject, that is the Actor/Agent in the transitivity structure, tends to be in first position. It follows then that the Actor comes first, unless there is a good reason not to position it first. The Actor precedes the Process thereby enabling a Theme/Rheme structure expressed by the sequence of the elements in the clause.

The above argument, that Theme in Japanese is realized by first position in the clause, suggests the following hypothesis: If first position is salient for thematic organization of a Japanese text then changing the first element of the clause should disrupt the Theme thereby making the message in the text difficult to retrieve. I tested this hypothesis by selecting two authentic Japanese newspaper articles in which I changed the first element in the clauses in each article. This effectively re-ordered the elements without changing the logico-semantic relationships or the grammatical structure. Thirty native speaker informants were then given the original and the tampered texts and asked to read them both and decide which, in each pair was the easier to read and understand. The results showed that the original texts were by far easier to read and understand. This study is reported in detail in Testing for Theme in Japanese, (Thomson, 1998: 219-242). The study clearly showed that first position mattered in Japanese thematic development. The readers found that they either became lost or they found it difficult to follow the point of the texts when the first position elements were changed.

As a result of the above study I claimed that first position realizes Theme in Japanese. I have analyzed the first section of chapter one in Murakami's novel, Noruwei no Mori applying this claim. Based on the premise that first position realizes Theme, let's look at what these Themes look like.

Unmarked Theme

The unmarked Theme in Japanese is that element which is found in first position, that being most typically, the 'doer' Participant in the transitivity structure. Of course each transitivity process type has a different type of Participant: in the material processes we have Actors; in verbal processes we have Sayers; in mental processes, Sensers; in existential processes, Existents; in relational processes, Identifieds and Carriers etc. Each of these Participant types are typically found in first position. Generally, unmarked Themes are followed by particle wa as they are most often organized as 'given' information. Look at the following examples from Noruwei no Mori.

Itami wa	nai.
Pain	does not exist
Existent	Process: existential
Theme	Rheme

Boku wa	nanigoto ni yorazu bunshoo ni shite kaite minai koto ni wa monogoto o umaku rikai dekinai to iu taipu no ningen na no da.
I in floor	am the kind of human being who cannot understand incidents well no matter what the event unless I write them down.
Identified	Process: relational
Theme	Rheme

Taskaba Language Group, 1991: 14). The salient point here is that the order of the

In each of the examples above the Theme is a Participant: in (1) the Participant is the Existent (the thing that exists); in (2) the Participant is the Identified (the thing that is identified by the information in the Rheme). These are unmarked Themes.

Marked Theme

Marked Themes are clause constituents which are not usually found in first position but are put in first position nonetheless, thereby contributing to thematic development. These constituents are usually circumstantial Adjuncts or Participants that are not the 'doer' in the transitivity structure such as Goal and Phenomenon. Consider these examples.

(3)

Theme	Rheme
Circumstance: Location	Process: material
But in the Lufthansa plane at Hamburg airport,	these things continued to kick around in my head longer and stronger than usual.
Shikashi Hanburuku Kuukoo Ruhutohanzuki no naka de,	karera wa itsumo yori nagaku itsumo yori tsuyoku boku no atama o keritsuzukete ita.

(4)

Sono hoka ni wa	donna mono-oto mo nakatta.
Other than that,	there was no other sound.
Circumstance: Accompaniment	Process: material
Theme	Rheme

(5)

Sono merodii wa	itsumo no yoo ni boku o konran saseta.
The melody	confused me as always.
Participant: Phenomenon	Process: mental
Theme	Rheme

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate circumstances as marked Theme while example (5) illustrates a 'non-doing' Participant, Phenomenon as a marked Theme.

Theme in Clause and in Clause Complex

The examples thus far are all examples of Themes in a clause simplex. In other words, each example is of Theme in a single clause functioning in the text. However, often times one clause combines with one or more clauses to form a clause complex. If a clause complex has more than one clause it is expected that there would be more than one Theme. Indeed, this can be the case. Consider the following example.

(6)

Clause 1		Clause 2	
Theme 1	Rheme 1	Theme 2	Rheme 2
The oak leaves	rustled;	far away,	a dog's bark could be heard.
Kashiwa no ha ga	sarasara to oto o tatte,	tooku no hoo de	inu no naku koe ga kikoeta.

Example (6) is a paratactic clause complex of the extending expansion type. In the first clause the Participant, Kashiwa no ha (oak leaves) is in first position, and therefore functions as an unmarked Theme, while in the second clause the Circumstance, tooku no hoo de (far away) is placed first, and thus functions as a marked Theme. Thus it is clear that one clause complex can have two Themes and consequently also, two Rhemes. Each clause in a clause complex has its own thematic structure.

Multiple Themes

The discussion thus far has presented examples of single Themes. It is possible to have more than one constituent as Theme. Halliday (1994: 53) states that 'the Theme extends

shakes her head, stands up and gives him a

from the beginning of the clause up to (and including) the first element that has a function in Transitivity. This element is called the topical Theme; so we can say that the Theme of the clause consists of the topical Theme together with anything else that comes before it'. Halliday is explaining that it is possible to have more than one element operating as Theme. These elements construe meanings related to the three metafunctions. Elements such as vocatives and modals construe an interpersonal meaning, while elements such as conjunctions construe textual meanings. The topical Theme construes experiential meanings. Again though, this description relates to English rather than to Japanese.

In the description of marked and unmarked Theme in Japanese above, the discussion centred on topical Themes only. Japanese does appear however, to have textual Themes occurring quite regularly but very few interpersonal Themes. In *Noruwei no Mori* there are only four interpersonal Themes out of ninety-one possibilities (see the Appendix, Tunits nos. 4, 61, 78 & 81). This relates in part to the fact that modal markers in Japanese typically occur in clause-final position, bound to the end of the Predicator and are not free to move. Also, Japanese does not utilize modal adjuncts as freely as English. Textual Themes, on the other hand, do occur and are usually realized by conjunctions. In example (7) below and the earlier example (1), the Textual Theme is realized by the conjunction, *shikashi* (but).

(7)

Theme	THE STREET	Rheme
textual	topical	
But	in that scene	people could not be seen.
Shikashi	sono huukei no naka ni wa	hito no sugata wa mienai.

Co-referential Ellipsis and Theme

Earlier in the discussion on clause complexes, I mentioned that a clause complex which has more than one Theme will also have more than one Rheme. By this I mean that for every Theme there exists a Rheme. To explain, I will return briefly to the road sign analogy. A road sign points somewhere, as does the Theme. The Theme is a point of departure for the rest of the message. You cannot have a Theme without 'the rest of the message'. Logically speaking, it is impossible to have a road sign pointing nowhere. At best the sign is no longer functioning as a road sign. In the same way, it is impossible to have a Rheme-less clause. Implicit in the metaphor, 'point of departure' is movement away from the point of departure - directionality that is going somewhere. The destination is the Rheme.

Having said that, I am now going to complicate matters by pointing out that many clauses in Japanese do not seem to have a Theme. They certainly have Rhemes but not Themes. This is particularly evident in clause complexes which have only one Participant realizing an unmarked Theme in the initial clause. The following, apparently Theme-less clauses are due to the operation of co-referential ellipsis.

- (i) Kanojo wa soo itte (ii) kubi o huri, (iii) seki kara tachiagatte (iv) totemo suteki na egao o boku ni mukete kureta.
- i) She said that and ii) shook her head, iii) stood up from her seat and iv) gave me a beautiful smile.

This clause complex consists of four clauses each describing the behaviour of kanojo (she). However, kanojo is only mentioned once at the beginning of clause (i). Despite this, the following three clauses all directly refer to the behaviour of the referent, kanojo. We know this because of the operation of co-referential ellipsis. Even though kanojo is not mentioned we know, from our knowledge of the grammar, that she is the Actor who 'shakes her head, stands up and gives him a smile' because she is recoverable from the first clause in the clause complex. We are now faced with the decision of how to analyze the thematic patterns in this clause complex.

One way would be to analyze the themes at clause rank. Of course we would have to account for the operation of co-referential ellipsis by acknowledging the absence of the Actor which in turn, results in the Theme function, first position being absent. This does not however reduce the role or function of the Theme. Thematic orientation is still occurring even if the element is not there. This is the point where ellipsis and thematic development interact.

Ellipsis is acting cohesively tying together the clauses that relate to each other while Theme is acting to organize the information contained in the clause textually. It is therefore entirely possible to have Rheme only clauses in Japanese provided you can retrieve the co-referentially ellipsed Participant from elsewhere in the text. The clause rank analysis is illustrated below in example (8).

(8)

Clause 3	The second section of the second	Clause 4	
Ellipsed Theme 3	Rheme 3	Ellipsed Theme 4	Rheme 4
(she)	stood up, and	(she)	gave me a beautiful smile
(iii)	seki kara tachiagatte	(iv)	totemo suteki na egao o boku ni mukete kureta.
Clause 1	4. 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	Clause 2	
Theme 1	Rheme 1	Ellipsed Theme 2	Rheme 2
She	said that, and	(she)	shook her head,
(i) Kanoji wa	soo itte,	(ii)	kubi o huri,

Thematic segments, or T-units

Alternatively, there is another way to analyze this clause complex (example 8). Rather than analyze each individual clause, it seems more efficient to analyze the complex as one unit given the fact that the ellipsed Themes in clauses (ii), (iii) and (iv) are co-referential to the same referent in clause (i), that is, *kanojo*. Analyzing the clause complex as one unit is precisely the kind of unit Fries prefers in his analysis and which he has labelled, the T-unit. The T-unit Theme analysis is illustrated below in example (9).

a conjoined clause complex which thereby limits the application of the term. Example

previous example is the presence of the full stop. This however, does not change (9)

T-unit	(defined as conjoinable clause complex)	
unmarked Theme	Rheme	
She	said that and shook her head; stood up from her seat and gave me a beautiful smile.	
(i) Kanojo wa	soo itte, (ii) kubi o huri, (iii) seki kara tachiagatte (iv) totemo suteki na egao o boku ni mukete kureta.	

Fries (1995a: 4) states that 'the Theme of a T-unit provides a framework within which the Rheme of the T-unit unit can be interpreted'. Let's apply this definition to the example above. Clause (iv) ends with the verb, mukete kureta. This clause has the following constituents: a Process realized by mukute kureta (faced and gave...); a Goal realized by totemo suteki na egao o (a very beautiful smile); a Beneficiary realized by boku ni (me) but no Actor. The 'doer' in this clause is missing. The reader has to refer back, or sometimes forward in the text to find it. Moving backwards, the reader won't find the Actor in clause (iii) because it is similarly, Actor-less, as is also clause (ii). The reader has to continue moving backwards until an Actor is found, which in this case, is evident in clause (i) and realized by the pronominal, kanojo (she). Naturally, the reader does not 'move backwards' retrieving the Participant, but rather the grammar indicates to the reader/listener that the topical Theme remains constant, clause by clause within a T-unit unless there is an explicit thematic switch. This process of locating the Actor is illustrated below in Figure 4.

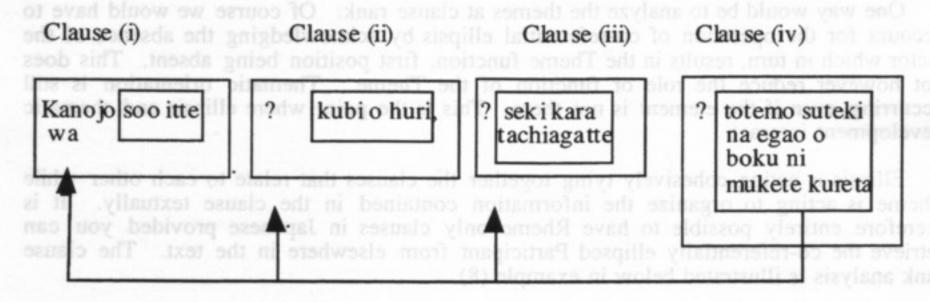


Figure 4

The reader keeps moving backwards in the text until the Actor constituent is located. In this example, the Actor is three clauses away from clause (iv), thus the Rheme in clause (iv) can only be interpreted by reference to the Actor in clause (i). The same applies to clause (ii) and (iii). In each case the Rheme can only be interpreted by reference to clause (i). This is a T-unit.

Having illustrated that the term T-unit, as Fries defines it, is a useful category for investigating Theme in Japanese, I now want to extend the definition of the term to add open-endedness to it. By this I mean, Fries has clearly limited the definition of a T-unit to a conjoined clause complex which thereby limits the application of the term. Example (9) illustrates this. In Japanese, due to the operation of co-referential ellipsis, readers often times must cross sentence boundaries in their effort to locate the Actor. By confining the definition of a T-unit to within the clause, it is difficult to account for the operation of one Theme across sentence boundaries. It therefore seems more useful to leave the definition of T-unit as an open-ended unit enabling its application to text segments larger than the clause complex. In example (10) below, boku (I) is overtly stated as Actor in clause (i) and ellipsed in the following four clauses in the complex and then in the following separate clause simplex. In order to interpret the Rheme of the following separate clause simplex, it is necessary for the reader to retain the Theme, boku from the previous clause complex. The only difference between this example and the previous example is the presence of the full stop. This however, does not change the process of having to find the Actor in order to interpret the Rhemes. Therefore, I would label this text segment a T-unit in order to capture the operation of Theme applying not only across clauses in a clause complex, but also across sentences.

(i) Boku wa	kao o agete, (ii) [zero] hokkai no jookuu ni ukanda kurai kumo o nagame, (iii) [zero] jibun ga kore made no jinsei no katei de ushinatte kita ooku o mono mokoto o kangaeta. (iv) [zero] Ushinawareta jikan, shi ni arui wa satte itta hitobito, moo modoru koto no nai omoi [zero].
	lifted my head and (ii) (I) looked at the clouds floating north in the sky and (iii) (I) thought about the many loses in my life up until now. (iv) (I) (thought about) time which was lost: people who are dead or gone; feelings that do not return.
Theme	Rheme

The co-referential ellipsis is indicated by [zero]. Each clause has to refer back to the Actor, boku in order to interpret each Rheme. Clause (iv) is interesting because apart from co-referential ellipsis of the Actor, there is also co-referential ellipsis of the Process, kangaeta (thought) and part of the Phenomenon, koo iu koto o. The clause consists entirely of new information, all given information is ellipsed, including the Actor. It is not uncommon to have clauses containing only new information. These clauses usually take their Theme from preceding clauses. This being the case, Rheme only clauses are a

feature of Japanese. But I want to reiterate that these Rheme-only clauses do have Themes. It is just that their Themes are not overtly stated but rather, they are ellipsed.

Deciding What Constitutes First Position

Having reached this point in the discussion I shall now summarize, through a series of steps which can be followed, how I have selected Theme in the text, Noruwei no Mori.

To begin with, I have used the T-unit as my unit of analysis. The T-unit can be realized by 1) a clause simplex, 2) a clause complex, 3) individual clauses within the clause complex and 4) across sentence boundaries.

Steps to Deciding what Constitutes First Position

Step 1: If the clause is a simplex, then the first element is either a Participant, circumstantial Adjunct or Complement. As noted previously, Participant types depend on the kind of Process. These Participants, when appearing in first position are classed as unmarked Themes as illustrated in example (1) where itami (pain) is the Existent in the existential Process.

Step 2: In a simplex, if there is no unmarked Theme then look to see if the Participant has been co-referentially ellipsed. If it has been ellipsed then the simplex may form part of a larger T-unit. This is the case with simplex (ii) in example (11) below.

(11)

	mazu saisho ni ukabiagatte kuru. (ii) [zero] totemo kukkiru to [zero].
(i) The smell of the grass, the slight cold wind, the mountain ridge, the moise of the dog bark, these things	were the first things to surface. (ii) (They) (surfaced) very clearly.
Theme	Rheme
T-unit	

Step 3: In a simplex, if the Participant is not ellipsed but appears in a position other than first position, then the first element in the simplex is a marked Theme realized either by a circumstantial Adjunct or a Complement as illustrated in example (12) below.

(12)

Other than that,	donna mono-oto mo nakatta. there was no other sound.
Circumstance	Participant + Process: existential
marked Theme	Rheme

Step 4: If the clause is a complex, then the first element may be an unmarked Participant which 'acts' in all the clauses of the complex. It is expected that this Participant will be ellipsed in the following clauses within the complex which thus operates as one T-unit as illustrated previously in example (9).

Step 5: In a complex, if the first element appears to be a clause rather than a nominal group then check if the clause is paratactic or hypotactic. If it is hypotactic, it is usually the Beta clause. If a Participant is present in the Beta clause it may only be the Participant within the beta clause rather than the clause complex. The entire Beta clause is the Theme within the clause complex as in example (13) below.

feature of Japanese. But I want to reiterate that these Rheme-only clauses do (61)

Juuhachinen to iu saigetsu ga sugisatte shimatta ima de mo,	boku wa ano soogen no huukei o hakkiri to omoidasu koto ga dekiru.
Even though 18 years has past,	I am able to remember clearly that grassland scene.
β Clause as Theme	α Clause as Rheme
T-unit	

Step 6: If however, the clause is paratactic in a complex, then treat it as having its own Theme. If paratactic clauses have different Participants then each clause will function as a separate T-unit. T-units that occur within clause complexes are usually paratactically related. In example (14) below, the one clause complex consists of two T-units in which the clauses are paratactically related.

(14)

T-unit 1		T-unit 2	· 1000年,1000年,1000年
Clause 1		Clause 2	
Theme 1	Rheme 1	Theme 2	Rheme 2
The stewardess	smiled sweetly and left;	the music	changed to a Billy Joel tune.
	nikkori to waratte itte shimai,	ongaku wa	Birii Joeru no kyoku ni kawatta.

Theme Analysis Of Noruwei No Mori

By accounting for the operation of ellipsis we can begin to see the method of thematic development in a text. The fact that Participants are co-referentially ellipsed justifies the creation of a T-unit segment. It is this segment that allows us to make explicit and describe the thematic development of a text.

Before describing the thematic development in *Noruwei no Mori*, I will briefly introduce the text. *Noruwei no Mori* is a narrative. The main character is a man who describes one of his past experiences using the first person, *boku* (I). Knowing this much about the story we can expect the story to be organized around the main character, *boku*, and the particular experience he describes. Chapter one of the book sets the scene for the rest of the story. We are told about an event that occurred eighteen years earlier which involved a woman called *Naoko*. This memory floats back into *boku*'s mind when he hears the Beatles' song, 'Norwegian Wood' while deplaning in Germany. The Themes of the T-units reflect this expectation.

The first part of Chapter one has been analyzed. It consists of 169 clauses and is divided up into 91 T-units. The complete T-unit analysis appears in the Appendix.

T-unit Types

The T-unit types appearing in the text are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1 T-unit Types

and the second of the second second	No. of T-	units
T-unit as clause complex T-unit as clause simplex T-unit within the clause complex T-unit across sentence boundaries	30 30 24 7	33% 33% 26% 8%
Total number of T-units	91	100%

Thomson: Thematic Development in Noruwei no Mori

In Table 1 the most common T-units are type 1: T-unit as clause complex, and type 2: T-unit as clause simplex. The T-unit as clause complex type also contains the most co-referential ellipsis with the Participant's acts, feelings, thoughts etc. extending across the clauses.

T-unit Theme Types

The types of Themes arising out of the analysis of Noruwei no Mori are tabled below.

Table 2 Theme Types

		No	. of Th	emes
1. unmarked Themes			64	70.3%
2. marked Thernes			27	29.7%
a) adjunct Themes	13	14.3%		
b) beta clause Themes	14	15.4%		
Total number of Themes			91	100%

As shown in Table 2, the most prominent T-unit Theme type is the unmarked Theme. Over 70% of the Themes in the text are Participants in first position, that is, unmarked Theme. Marked Themes constitute 29.7% of the Themes with 14.3% of these being Adjuncts and 15.4% being beta clause Themes. These beta clause Themes are usually projected Locutions in verbal clauses. The fact that marked Themes are relatively fewer than unmarked Themes ties in with Fries' (1995c: 326) comment that, 'in narratives, ... references to spatial location in event-line processes will be less likely to occur thematically'.

Correlation of T-unit with Theme type

Correlating the T-unit with the Theme type shows us that unmarked Themes occur in all the T-unit types, while most of the marked beta clause Themes occur in the T-unit as clause complex type. Most of the marked Adjunct Themes occur in the T-unit as clause simplex type. This is illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Correlation of T-unit with Theme Type

	unmarked	marked	
		adjunct Themes	beta clause Themes
1. T-unit as clause complex	(18) 19.8%	(0)	(12) 13%
2. T-unit as clause simplex	(22) 24.0%	(8) 9.0%	(0)
3. T-unit within the clause complex	(18) 19.8%	(4) 4.3%	(2) 2%
4. T-unit across sentence boundaries	(6) 7.0%	(1) 1.1%	(0)

Unmarked Themes

From Table 4 it can be seen that of the 64 unmarked participant Themes, the main character, boku (I) occur the most frequently — over 26%. Next are the set of nature Themes which relate to when the main character is describing the natural surroundings of the event he experienced some eighteen years earlier. The nature Themes only occur when he is describing the past event rather than when he is telling the story. These natural surroundings include soogen (grasslands), kumo (clouds), kaze (wind), yamahada (mountainside), ha (leaves) etc. The inanimate Themes are Themes that relate directly to the time of his storytelling. At the time of storytelling, he is sitting in a hikooki (aeroplane), listening to ongaku (music) and recalling his kioku (memory). These nominals occur thematically. The next most frequent types of Theme are substitution Themes such as, sore (it) and kore (this). These typically refer to the nature and inanimate referents. Following on, we have substantially less occurrence of the other Participants, Naoko (Naoko - a woman's name) and the suchuwaadesu (flight attendant).

Naoko is Theme only when the main character talks about the event eighteen years ago while the flight attendant interacts with Boku in the present. The occurrence of both these Participants is balanced in the text as boku moves back and forth between the present and the recollection. These occur less frequently as Themes. This is not surprising given the fact that the story is written by and is about the main character, boku. It is perfectly predictable that boku would appear most often as the unmarked Theme.

Table 4 Breakdown of Unmarked Theme

	No. of Themes	Percentage
Boku	17	26.5%
Nature Themes	12	19%
Inanimate Themes	.11	17%
Substitution Pronouns	10	16%
Suchuwaadesu	5	8%
Naoko	4	6%
Nominalisations	4	6%
Naoko and Boku	1	1.5%
Total	64	100%

Thematic Development in Noruwei no Mori

In order to talk about thematic development, the discussion needs to return to how the Theme orients the reader to the message and how this orientation is developed. The thematic progression types identified by Dane's are general and have been applied to languages other than English to describe thematic development. When these types are applied to Noruwei no Mori, linear, continuous and derived progression are all evident. These patterns of thematic progression tend to align with particular T-units types. Typically, the T-unit as clause-complex type and T-unit across sentence boundary type display continuous thematic progression. The thematic progression is occurring within the T-unit and this is represented in Figures 5 and 6 below.

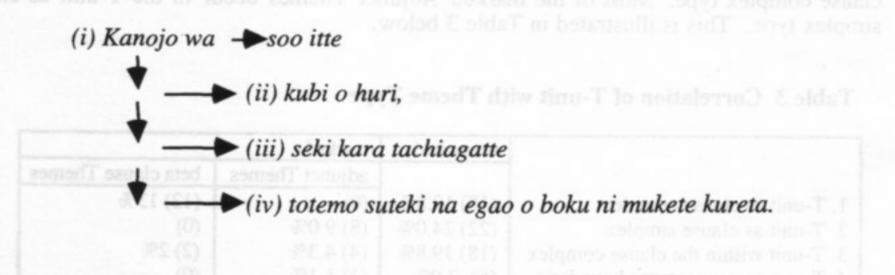


Figure 5 Continuous Thematic Progression in T-unit as clause complex type

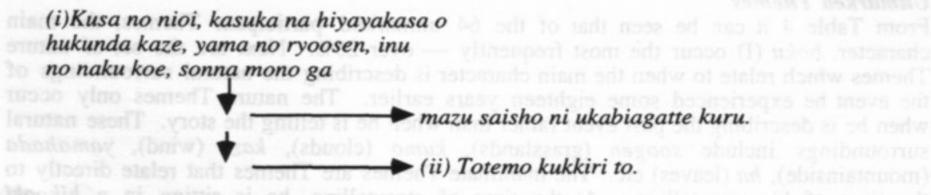


Figure 6 Continuous Thematic Progression in T-unit across sentence boundary type

Linear thematic progression appears in all the T-Unit types. The thematic progression is however occurring between the T-units rather than within the T-units. Consider Figure 7.

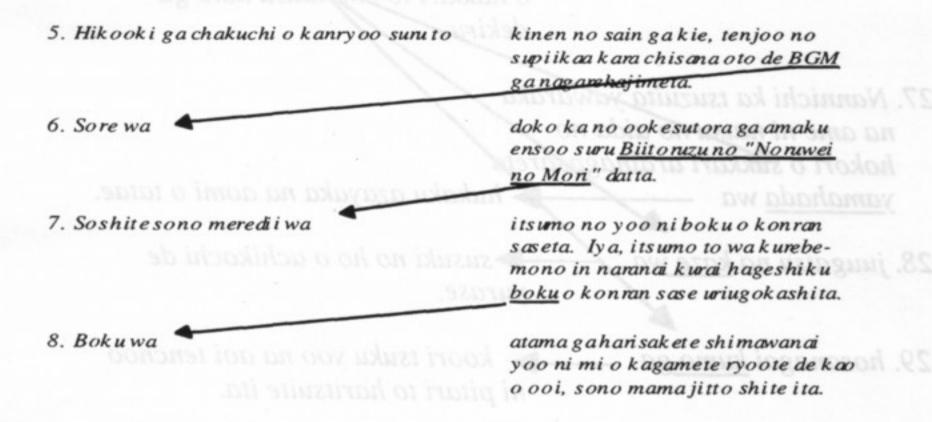


Figure 7 Linear Thematic Progression between T-units

In Figure 7, the Theme in T-unit no. 6, a clause simplex, derives from the Rheme in T-unit no. 5, a clause complex; the Theme in T-unit no. 7, which crosses sentence boundaries, derives from the Rheme in no. 6, and the Theme in T-unit no. 8, another clause complex, derives from the Rheme in no. 7.

In Figure 8 below we have a linear progression within a clause complex where the Theme in the second clause, *koi* is derived from the Rheme in the first clause.

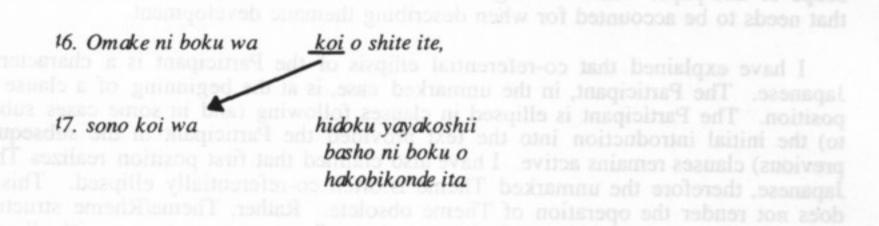


Figure 8 Linear Thematic Progression within a clause complex consisting of two
T-units

Finally, an example of derived progression is present in Figure 9. Here we have a single general notion, soogen no huukei (grassland scene) which is located in the Rheme of T-unit no. 26 and from which are derived three constituent Themes: yamahada (mountainside), kaze (wind), and kumo (clouds) which are all related to the grassland scene in T-unit no. 26.

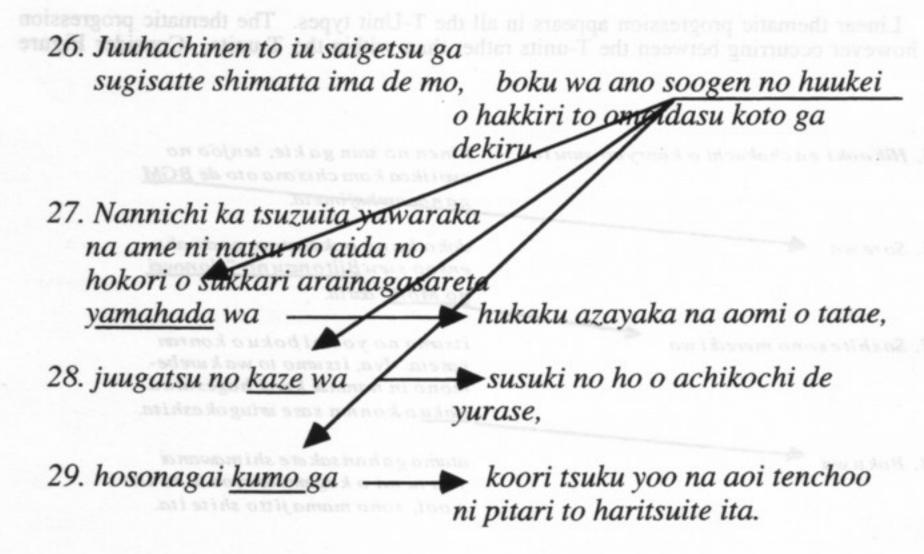


Figure 9 Derived Thematic Progression

By tracking the Themes of individual T-units, the progression of these Themes in combination as they construe different patterns of thematic progression can be illustrated.

Conclusion

There are of course many more comments that could be made about the thematic development of the extract from *Noruwei no Mori* but that would take me beyond the scope of this paper which has argued that co-referential ellipsis is a feature of Japanese that needs to be accounted for when describing thematic development.

I have explained that co-referential ellipsis of the Participant is a characteristic of Japanese. The Participant, in the unmarked case, is at the beginning of a clause in first position. The Participant is ellipsed in clauses following (and in some cases subsequent to) the initial introduction into the text provided the Participant in the subsequent (or previous) clauses remains active. I have also claimed that first position realizes Theme in Japanese, therefore the unmarked Theme is often co-referentially ellipsed. This ellipsis does not render the operation of Theme obsolete. Rather, Theme/Rheme structures are still construed but the selection of what constitutes first position interacts with ellipsis.

In order to illustrate this characteristic of Japanese grammar I have relied on Fries' categorization of a text segment as a T-unit. His definition, that the 'Theme of a T-unit provides a framework within which the Rheme of the T-unit unit can be interpreted' has been extremely useful in capturing the intersection between the operation of ellipsis and Theme choice in Japanese. I have however preferred to use Fries' definition in an openended manner rather than limiting the T-unit to the clause complex. By keeping the delimitation of the T-unit open I am able to account for Themes that clearly cross sentence boundaries. This traversal of sentence boundaries by Theme is again due to the operation of ellipsis.

After first establishing that ellipsis matters in Japanese when making Theme choices, I illustrated this through using examples from *Noruwei no Mori*. This text displays the thematic progression types as described by Daneš which would not necessarily have been explicit had ellipsis not been accounted for in the first instance. I have also demonstrated that the choice of Theme reflects the purpose of the text and thus to some extent, the genre. The most common unmarked Theme was boku, (I). The narrative is about boku

by boku and this is clearly the dominant Theme, and so it should be. Boku is the major road sign in this narrative.

In short, I have described ellipsis as it operates in Japanese with a view to illustrating how co-referential Participant ellipsis occurs in first position and therefore has a direct effect on thematic choice. I have argued that ellipsis must be taken into account when analyzing Theme. Analysis which ignores the role of ellipsis is impoverished to the extent that a clear illustration of the method of thematic development within a text does not result. Further, analysis which ignores ellipsis can result in Rheme-less constructions which are logical impossibilities within the system of Theme/Rheme organization in any language.

*I wish to thank Professor Noboru Yamaguchi and Fukushima University for their kind support of my work. This support included the opportunity to study at Fukushima University in 1996 in the capacity as Research Fellow during which time I wrote this paper.

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Appendix

Theme Units (T-units)

Haruki Murakami, Noruwei no Mori pp. 7-12.

Key << >>	indicates an embedded clause, i.e. a clause that is located inside another clause but which is not rank-shifted.
"s on "or on a	indicates quotation marks in the original Japanese text.
()	indicates lexical items, groups and clauses which are ellipsed in the original text.
Theme	Theme of T-unit
1., 2., 3., etc.	numbered T-units.

Dai issho

- 1. <u>Boku wa</u> sanjuunana-sai de, sono toki booingu 747 no shiito ni suwatte ita. 2. <u>Sono kyodai na hikooki wa</u> buatsui amagumo o << kugurinukete>> kooka shi, Hanburuku Kuukoo ni chakuriku shiyoo to shite iru tokoro datta. 3. <u>Juuichi gatsu no hiyayaka na ame ga</u> daiichi o kuraku some, amagappa o kita seibikoo-tachi ya, nopperi to shita kuukoo biru no ue ni tatta hata ya, BMW no kookokuban ya sonna nani mo kamo o furandoru-ha no inutsu na e no haikei no yoo ni misete ita. 4. <u>Yareyare, mata doitsu ka, to</u> boku wa omotta. 5. <u>Hikooki ga chakuchi o kanryoo suru to</u> kinen no sain ga kie, tenjoo no supiikaa kara chisana oto de BGM ga nagarehajimeta. 6. <u>Sore wa</u> doko ka no ookesutora ga amaku ensoo suru biitoruzu no "Noruwei no mori" datta. 7. <u>Soshite sono meredii wa</u> itsumo no yoo ni boku o konran saseta. Iya, itsumo to wa kurabemono ni naranai kurai hageshiku boku o konran sase uriugokashita.
- 8. Boku wa atama ga harisakete shimawanai yoo ni mi o kagamete ryoote de kao o ooi, sono mama jitto shite ita. 9. Yagate Doitsu-jin no suchuwaadesu ga yatte kite, <<kibun ga warui>> no ka to eigo de kiita. 10. Daijoobu, sukoshi memai ga shita dake da to boku wa kotaeta. 11. (Suchuwaadesu wa) <<"Hontoo ni daijoobu?">> 12. "Daijoobu desu, arigatoo" to boku wa itta. 13. Suchuwaadesu wa nikkori to waratte itte shimai, 14. ongaku wa Birii Joeru no kyoku ni kawatta. 15. Boku wa kao agete hokkai no jooku ni ukanda kurai kumo o nageme,, jibun ga kore made no jinsei no katei de ushinatte kita ooku no mono no koto o kangaeta. Ushinawareta jikan, shi ni arui wa satte ita hitobito, moo modoru koto no nai omoi, (koo iu koto o kangaeta). 16. Hikooki ga kanzen ni sutoppu shite, 17. Hitobito ga shiitoberuto o hazushi, monoire no naka kara baggu yara uwagi yara o toridashihajimeru made, boku wa zutto ano soogen no naka ni ita. 18. Boku wa kusa no nioi o kagi, hada ni kaze o kanji, tori no koe o kiita. 19. Sore wa 1969nen no aki de, 20. boku wa moo sugu nijussai ni naroo to shite ita.
- 21. <u>Mae to onaji suchuwaadesu ga</u> yatte kite, boku no tonari ni koshi o oroshi, <<moo daijoobu ka to>> tazuneta. 22. <u>"Daijoobu desu, arigatoo. Chotto kanashiku natta dake da kara" (It's all right now, thank you. I only felt lonely, you know.) to boku wa itte hohoenda. 23. <u>(Suchuwaadesu wa)</u> <<(Well, I feel same way, same thing, once in a while. I know what you mean. "Sou iu koto watashi ni mo tokidoki arimasu yo. Yoku wakarimasu">>(to itta). 24. <u>Kanojo wa</u> soo itte kubi o huri, seki kara tachiagatte totemo suteki na egao o boku ni mukete kureta. "I hope you'll have a nice trip. Auf Wiedersehen! Yoi goryokoo o. Sayoonara." (to itta.) 25. <u>"Auf Wiedersehen!" to boku mo itta.</u></u>
- 26. Juuhachinen to iu saigetsu ga sugisatte shimatta ima de mo, boku wa ano soogen no huukei o hakkiri to omoidasu koto ga dekiru. 27. Nannichi ka tsuzuita yawaraka na ame ni natsu no aida no hokori o sukkari arainagasareta yamahada wa hukaku azayaka na aomi o tatae, 28. juugatsu no kaze wa susuki no ho o achikochi de yurase, 29. hosonagai kumo ga koori tsuku yoo na aoi tenchoo ni pitari to haritsuite ita. 30. Sora wa takaku, 31. jitto mite iru to me ga itaku naru hodo datta. 32. Kaze wa soogen o watari, kanojo no kami o kasuka ni yurasete zookibayashi ni nukete itta. 33. Kashiwa no ha ga sarasara to oto o tate, 34. tooku no hoo de inu no nakukoe ga kikoeta. 35. Maru de (sore wa) betsu no sekai no iriguchi kara kikoete kuru yoo na chiisaku kasunda nakigoe datta. 36. Sono hoka ni wa donna mono-oto mo nakatta. Donna mono-oto mo wareware no mimi ni wa

todokanakatta. 37. (Watashitachi wa) Dare hitori to mo surechigawanakatta. 38. (Boku wa) Makka na tori ga niwa soogen no naka kara nani ka ni obieta yoo ni tobiagatte zookibayashi no hoo ni tonde iku no o mikaketa dake datta. 39. Arukinagara Naoko wa boku ni ido no hanashi o shite kureta.

- 40. Kioku to iu no wa nan da ka hushigi na mono da. 41. Sono naka ni jissai ni mi o oite ita toki, boku wa sonna huukei ni hotondo chuui nante harawanakatta. 42. (Boku wa) Toku ni inshooteki na huukei da to mo omowanakatta shi, juuhachinen-go mo sono huukei o saibu made oboete iru kamo shirenai to wa kangaetsuki mo shinakatta. 43. Shoojiki na tokoro, sono toki no boku ni wa huukei nante doo de mo ii yoo na mono datta no da. 44. Boku wa boku jishin no koto kangae, sono toki to nari o narande aruite ita hitori no utsukushii onna no koto o kangae, boku to kanojo to no koto o kangae, soshite mata boku jishin no koto o kangaeta. 45. Sore wa nani o mite mo nani o kanjite mo nani o kangaete mo, kekkyoku subete wa boomerang no yoo ni jibun jishin no temotio ni modotte kuru to iu nendai datta no da. 46. Omake ni boku wa koi o shite ite, 47. sono koi wa hidoku yayakoshii basho ni boku o hakobikonde ita. 48. Mawari no huukei ni kimochi o mukeru yoyuu nante doko ni mo nakatta no da.
- 49. <u>De mo ima dewa</u> boku no nouri ni saisho ni ukabu no wa sono soogen no huukei da. 50. <u>Kusa no nioi, kasuka na hiyayakasa o hukunda kaze, yama no ryoosen, inu no naku koe, sonna mono ga mazu saisho ni ukabiagatte kuru. Totemo kukkiru to. 51. <u>Sorera wa amari ni mo kukkiri to shite iru node, te o nobaseba hitotsu hitotsu yubi de nazoresoo na ki ga suru kurai da. 52. <u>Shikashi, sono huukei no naka ni wa</u> hito no sugata wa mienai. 53. <u>Dare mo</u> inai. 54. <u>Naoko mo</u> inai shi, 55. <u>boku mo</u> inai. 56. <u>Wareware wa ittai doko ni kiete shimatta n daroo, to</u> boku wa omou. 57. (<u>Boku wa</u>)<</p>
 Oooshite konna koto ga okoriuru n daroo, to>> omou. << Are hodo daiji soo ni mieta mono wa, (doko ni itte shimai) kanojo ya sono toki no boku ya boku no sekai wa, minna doko ni itte shimatta n daroo, to>> (omou)</u></u>

58. (Sore wa) Soo (desu ne,) 59. boku ni wa Naoko no kao o ima sugu omoidasu koto sae dekinai no da. 60. Boku ga te ni shite iru no wa hitokage no nai haikei dake na no da.

- 61. Mochiron jikan sae kakereba boku wa kanojo no kao o omoidasu koto wa dekiru. 62. (Boku wa) Chiisana tsumetai te ya, sarari to shita tezawari no massugu na kirei na kami ya, yawaraka na marui katachi no mimitabu ya sono sugu shita ni aru chiisana hokuro ya, huyu ni naru to yoku kite ita joohin na camel no koota ya, itsumo aite no me o jitto nozokikominagara shitsumon suru kuse ya, tokidoki nani ka no kagen de huruegimi ni naru koe (maru de kyoohuu no huku oka no ue de shabette iru mitai datta) ya, sonna imeeji o hitotsu hitotsu tsumikasanete iku to, hutto shizen ni kanojo no kao ga ukabiagatte kuru. 63. Mazu yokogao ga ukabiagatte kuru. 64. Kore wa <<tabun boku to Naoko ga itsumo narande>>aruite ita sei daroo. 65. Da kara boku ga saishoo ni omoidasu no wa itsumo kanojo no yokogao na no da. 66. Sore kara kanojo wa boku no hoo muki, nikkori to warai, sukoshi kubi o kashige, hanashikake, boku no me o nozokikomu. 67. Maru de (kanojo wa) <<sunda izumi no soko o chirari to yogiru chiisana sakana no kage osagashi motomeru mitai ni>> (boku no me o nozokikomu.)
- 68. Demo sonna huu ni boku no atama no naka ni Naoko no kao ga ukande kuru made ni wa sukoshi jikan ga kakaru. 69. Soshite nengetsu ga tatsu ni tsurete sore ni yoo suru jikan wa dandan nagaku natte kuru. 70. Kanashii koto de wa aru keredo, 71. sore wa shinjitsu na no da. 72. Saisho wa gobyoo areba, omoidaseta no ni, 73. sore ga juubyoo ni nari, sanjuubyoo ni nari ippun ni naru. 74. Maru de yuugure no kage no yoo ni sore wa dondon nagaku naru. 75. Soshite osoraku yagate wa yuuyami no naka ni suikomarete shimau koto ni naru no daroo. 76. (Sore wa) Soo (desu ne,) 77. boku no kioku wa Naoko no tatte ita basho kara kakujitsu ni toozakari tsutsu aru no da. 78. Choodo boku ga katsute no boku jishin ga tatte ita basho kara kakujitsu ni toozakari tsutsu aru yoo ni (naru.). 79. Soshite huukei dake ga, sono juugatsu no soogen no huukei dake ga, maru de eiga no naka no shoochoo-teki na scene mitai ni kurikaeshi kurikaeshi, boku no atama no naka ni ukande kuru. 80. Soshite sono huukei wa boku atama no aru bubun o shitsuyoo ni keritsuzukete iru. 81. Oi, (boku) okiro, 82. ore wa mada koko ni iru n da zo, 83. (boku) okiro, okite rikai shiro, dooshite ore ga mada koko ni iru no ka to iu sono riyuu o (rikai shiro) 84. Itami wa nai. 85. Itami wa mattaku nai. 86. (sono huukei ga) Ketobasu tabi ni utsuro na oto ga suru dake da. 87. Soshite sono oto sae mo tabun itsuka wa kiete shimau no daroo. Hoka no nani mo kamo ga kekkyoku wa kiete shimatta yoo ni. 88. Shikashi Hamburg Kuukoo no Ruhutohanza-ki no naka de, karera wa itsumo yori nagaku itsumo yori tsuyoku boku no atama o keritsuzukete ita. 89. (Boku) Okiro, rikai shiro, to. (iinagara) 90. Da kara koso boku wa kono bunshoo o kaite iru. 91. Boku wa nanigoto ni yorazu bunshoo ni shite kaite minai koto ni wa monogoto o umaku rikai dekinai to iu taipu no ningen na no da.

Synergy on the Page: Exploring intersemiotic complementarity in page-based multimodal text

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Abstract

This paper problematises the co-occurrence of visual and verbal modes in page-based multimodal text. It is proposed that a social semiotic, metafunctional view of communication as developed by M.A.K. Halliday is an effective theory for informing attempts to account for the visual-verbal interface in texts of this type. It is further argued that visual-verbal intersemiotic relations are predominantly characterised by intersemiotic complementarity, and that this complementarity can be identified and explicated through the adaptation and application of the linguistic concepts and analytical techniques commonly used in the analysis of cohesion in language. An analytical framework is presented, and an analysis of a sample text is provided.

Introduction

Throughout the twentieth century the central focus of the discipline of linguistics has been on the structural, psycholinguistic or functional features of language. Increasingly however, the most recent trends in the latter half of the century have involved a developing interest in and research into forms of communication other than the linguistic, and the ways that they systematise and project their meanings. This increasing interest has its genesis not only in the evolution of semiotic theory, but also the impetus provided by innovations in communication modes that have produced a revolution in communication technology. As a consequence of this, much new research and discussion about the ramifications of these changes has been generated, and this is reflected in discussions on the design of intelligent multimedia interfaces, automated presentation design, and associated architectural and modelling issues (e.g. Maybury, 1993), the analysis of meaning projections in digital imagery (e.g. Marchese, 1995), and an evolving philosophical debate about the 'visual' nature of contemporary culture (e.g. Jenks, 1995).

In Western culture, and indeed most industrialised cultures, there is no question that the linguistic, spoken and written forms are generally viewed as the dominant, and indeed, the superior mode of communication. The visual sign is generally seen as being subordinate to the spoken/written sign, and even more so is the aural sign. The dominance of the linguistic, and the dominance of the written over the spoken as the more 'advanced' mode is all-pervasive, and is inculcated across various cultures in and through educational practices and attendant value systems (McLuhan, 1964; Ong, 1982). The linguistic dominates; it dominates in the educational systems, and it dominates in the print media, whether it be academic or media-based, whether the texts therein utilise only the spoken or written mode, or whether they combine it with some kind of visual representation.

congruence and attitudinal dissonance (modelit

What is also being increasingly recognised is that developments in general linguistic theory can inform the interpretation of other communication modes besides language. Researchers utilising concepts from linguistic theory to examine non-linguistic modes have included the Prague School of the 1930's and 1940's, the Paris School of the 1960's and 1970's (see Nöth, 1990 for a good overview), and more recently what has been loosely characterised by Kress and van Leeuwen as 'the fledgling movement of ... "Social Semiotics" (1996: 5). This latter paradigm utilises Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory (hereafter SFL), developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1978, 1985, 1994). This theory interprets language as a socially-based semiotic system, and applications of it to non-linguistic forms of communication have in recent times been gaining prominence through research on the visual semiotics of displayed art forms such as sculpture, architecture and painting by O'Toole (1994; 1995), and the proposal of a 'grammar' of visual design in images in general as well as in educational contexts by Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996).

According to the SFL model, language is viewed in a 'social semiotic perspective', where 'social' refers firstly to the social system (which is synonymous with culture) and secondly to the fact that language is to be interpreted in terms of its relationship to social structure (Halliday, 1978; 1985: 3-4). To Halliday semiotics is not simply 'the general study of signs', but is 'the study of sign systems ... the study of meaning in its most general sense' (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 3-4). The discipline of linguistics can be seen as one 'kind of semiotics' which studies the ways that language is a meaning-making system. However, Halliday makes the point that there are 'other ways of meaning, other than through language ... there are many other modes of meaning, in any culture, which are outside the realm of language' (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 4). These other modes of meaning may comprise

both art forms such as painting, sculpture, music, the dance, and so forth, and other modes of cultural behaviour that are not classified under the heading of forms of art, such as modes of exchange, modes of dress, structures of the family, and so forth. These are all bearers of meaning in the culture. Indeed we can define a culture as a set of semiotic systems, as a set of systems of meaning, all of which interrelate (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 4 my emphasis).

The assumption that semiotic systems interrelate seems to be an established one. Aspects of this have been explored in some depth for example by semioticians like Schapiro (1973: 9-11), who studied medieval images derived from religious narratives, and Barthes (1977: 38-41), who in his famous essay 'The Rhetoric of the Image' examined the various ways that verbal text and image interact in press photographs and advertisements, asserting inter alia that the relation between them is one of either anchorage (image-text dependency) or relay (image-text co-operation). The question therefore arises: if it is assumed that different semiotic systems can and do work together semantically, what evidence is there for it, and how can it be accounted for? Or put in another way, what is the function of the visual vis a vis the verbal mode, and vice versa?

To address these questions, this paper will present a theoretically motivated investigation of the proposition that both the verbal and visual modes, while utilising the meaning-making features peculiar to their respective semiotic systems, do 'work together' in various contexts to project a unified, coherent message to their viewers/readers. This investigation will involve the presentation of a framework which illustrates the ways that this co-operation is realised in page-based multimodal text, and proposes that the visual and verbal modes semantically complement each other to produce a single textual phenomenon in a relationship which can be referred to as intersemiotic complementarity.

It is argued that intersemiotic complementarity will obtain when one or more of the following occurs:

• when the IDEATIONAL meanings in both modes are related lexico-semantically through intersemiotic sense relations of repetition, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, and collocation.

• when the INTERPERSONAL meanings in both modes are related through intersemiotic reinforcement of MOOD, and through intersemiotic attitudinal congruence and attitudinal dissonance (modality) relations.

 when the TEXTUAL (Composition) meanings are integrated by the compositional relations of information value, salience, visual framing, visual synonymy, and reading paths.

The analysis which follows will test this claim, and will present a framework developed to explore it. It is important to note that the realisation of intersemiotic complementarity in multimodal text does not imply that the visual semiotic and verbal semiotic simply cooccur on the page space and have a simple conjunction relationship. Rather, the implication is that the relationship is synergistic in nature. The concept of synergism describes the ability of elements, in the act of combining, to produce a total effect that is greater than the sum of the individual elements or contributions (Random House, 1992). This necessarily implies that while a multimodal text with one of the modes removed would still produce a coherent visual or verbal text, it would be one which would somehow be diminished in its communicative power. It is the aim of this paper therefore to take a first step towards the explanation of how this synergism is realised, and to test the claim that intersemiotic complementarity occurs in ideational, interpersonal and textual (composition) terms. To do this, a multimodal text in the form of a full-page advertisement extracted from The Economist magazine shall be used (hereafter referred to as the WMI text - see Appendix).

A Framework for Intersemiotic Complementarity

The framework which forms the basis for the analysis derives from a Hallidayan metafunctional view of communication, as derived from SFL theory, and is presented in Figure 1.

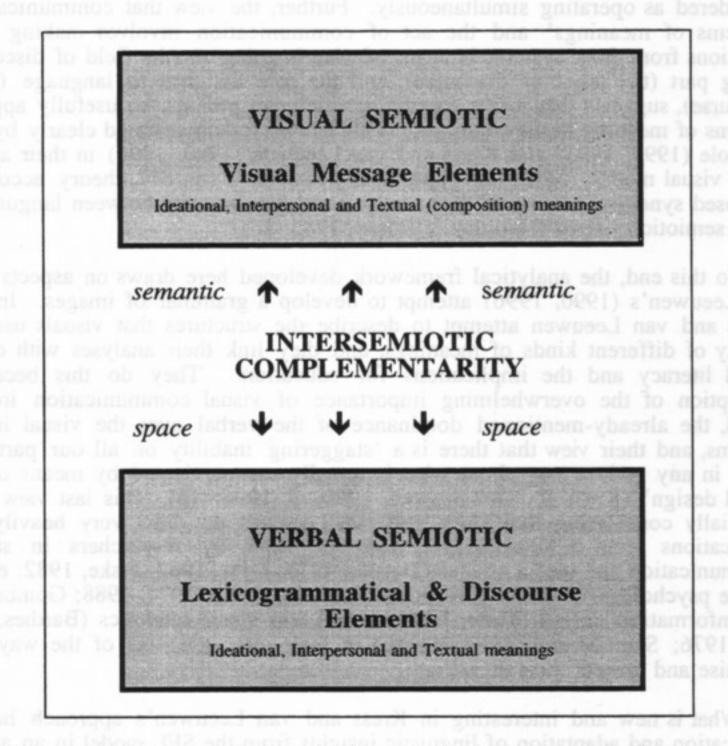


Figure 1 Visual-verbal Intersemiotic Complementarity on the Page

Apart from attempting to explicate the nature of intersemiotic complementarity through an analysis of the WMI text, a major objective of this paper is to determine if some of the concepts and terminology of existing linguistic theory, and their attendant analytical tools can be productive in explaining how semiotic systems interact. To this end it will utilise the concept of sense relations in lexical cohesion as outlined by Halliday

(1994: 330-334) and Halliday and Hasan (1985: 80-82), and will attempt to adapt the analytical tool of cohesive chains which is commonly used to illustrate the ways that lexical items in text are semantically related to each other (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 84).

Without providing an exposition of the various definitions of text typically and traditionally applied by theoretical and applied linguistic researchers (see for example Stubbs, 1983; Brown & Yule, 1983; Hoey, 1991; van Dijk, 1977; Halliday & Hasan, 1976 etc.), a multimodal text (which is here defined as any text which utilises more than one semiotic resource system to project its meanings) will accord with Halliday and Hasan's view that it is 'a semantic unit: not of form, but of meaning' (1976: 1-2), and that it is functional, or that it 'is doing some job in some context' (1985: 10). Cohesion is also viewed in terms of meaning, in that it refers to the 'relations of meanings that exist within the text, and that define it as a text' (1976: 4). Although Halliday and Hasan here are referring primarily to language in its spoken or written forms, they are aware of the fact that their view of text as contextualised meaning and function permits the consideration of other modes of meaning-making. Thus, a text 'may be either spoken or written, or indeed any other medium of expression that we may like to think of' (1985: 10 my emphasis).

SFL theory is an exotropic theoretical paradigm which inherently allows, through its usage, the ability to explain a range of communicative phenomena, and an ability to communicate and work with other theoretical paradigms (Hasan, 1997, in press). A strength of the SFL model is that the concept of a text in terms of metafunctional meaning also permits an analysis of semiosis from three different metafunctional perspectives, the ideational, interpersonal and textual, with the assumption that an analytical focus on any one necessarily implies that the other two are and should be considered as operating simultaneously. Further, the view that communication involves 'systems of meanings' and the act of communication involves making simultaneous selections from those systems in terms of what is going on (the field of discourse), who is taking part (the tenor of discourse), and the role assigned to language (the mode of discourse), suggests that it is a paradigm which can perhaps be usefully applied to other systems of meaning besides language. This has been demonstrated clearly by the work of O'Toole (1994, 1995) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996) in their applications to other visual modes. What this paper asks however, is can SFL theory accommodate the proposed synergistic sense of intersemiotic complementarity between language and those other semiotic systems (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 26)?

To this end, the analytical framework developed here draws on aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1990, 1996) attempt to develop a grammar of images. In both books, Kress and van Leeuwen attempt to describe the structures that visuals use to realise a variety of different kinds of meanings, and they link their analyses with discussions of visual literacy and the implications for education. They do this because of their perception of the overwhelming importance of visual communication in the modern world, the already-mentioned dominance of the verbal over the visual in educational systems, and their view that there is a 'staggering inability on all our parts to talk and think in any serious way about what is actually communicated by means of images and visual design' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 3, 1996: 16). This last view is surprising, especially considering that Kress and van Leeuwen do draw very heavily on selected publications from a considerable body of work by researchers in such areas as communication and media studies (Dondis, 1973; Dyer, 1982; Fiske, 1982; et. al.), studies on the psychology of visual perception (Arnheim, 1969, 1974, 1988; Gombrich, 1960; et. al.), information design (Tufte, 1983; et. al.) and visual semiotics (Barthes, 1967, 1977; Eco, 1976; Saint-Martin, 1987; et. al.) in their interpretations of the ways that images organise and project their meanings.

What is new and interesting in Kress and van Leeuwen's approach however, is the application and adaptation of linguistic insights from the SFL model in an attempt to link the visual meanings in an image to the producers of that image and their particular social contexts. Of significance in this regard also is the work of O'Toole (1994, 1995). O'Toole reinterprets the metafunctions of language in his examination of the language of displayed art. He has reinterpreted the metafunctions to be 'representational' for ideational, 'modal' for interpersonal, and 'compositional' for textual, to provide interesting analyses of the ways that the visual modes of sculpture, architecture, and classical art project their meanings. O'Toole's work is important too in terms of its

application of the Hallidayan linguistic principle of Rank Scale to the interpretation of displayed art—here art is viewed and interpreted in terms of an hierarchy of meaningful units, which for O'Toole is interpretation at the levels of the Work as a whole, Episode, Figure, and Member (1994: 14-15). As the present focus is to look at the intersemiotic relations between the visual and verbal aspects of multimodal texts, both Halliday's metafunctions along with selected ideas derived from the reinterpretation of these metafunctions by Kress and van Leeuwen and O'Toole are utilised in the development of a theoretical framework for determining *intersemiotic complementarity*.

In this paper the metafunctions will be interpreted in the following ways. The ideational metafunction is the function of language to represent the 'goings on' in the world. In analysing visuals the starting point is to identify the represented participants, or all the elements or entities that are actually present in the visual, whether animate or inanimate. The interpersonal metafunction is the function of language to represent the roles and statuses that participants hold in any form of interaction, and here the interactive participants are the foci—this includes the participants who are interacting with each other in the act of reading a visual, one being the graphic designer or drawer, and the other the viewer, and the social relations between the viewer and the visual. metafunction is that function of language through which a text can be recognised as having coherence and as making sense, rather than as a series of unconnected words or phrases or sentences, and the focal point here is a consideration of multimodal text in terms of its coherent structural elements or composition. In this paper, compositional intersemiotic complementarity refers primarily to aspects of layout and design which combine and integrate the interactive and represented participants in a way in which the graphic designers or drawers wish to present at a particular point in time (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 183).

Table 1 Analytical Framework for Visual-Verbal Intersemiotic Complementarity

METAFUNCTION	Visual Meanings	Intersemiotic Complementarity	Verbal Meanings
IDEATIONAL	Variations occur according to the Coding Orientation. In the Naturalistic Coding we can look at: • Identification of represented participants • Activity portrayed • Circumstances of means, accompaniment and setting • Attributes of represented participants	Various lexico-semantic ways of relating the experiential and logical content or subject matter represented or projected in both visual and verbal modes through the intersemiotic sense relations of: • Repetition • Synonymy • Antonymy • Meronymy • Hyponymy • Collocation	Lexical elements which relate to the visual meanings. These lexical items arise according to: Identification (participants) Activity (processes) Circumstances Attributes
INTERPERSONAL	Variations occur according to the Coding Orientation. In the Naturalistic Coding we can look at: • Address to the viewer • Level of Involvement of viewer • Power relations between viewer and represented participants • Social Distance between viewer and represented participants • Modality - believability or acceptability of the portrayal	Various ways of intersemiotically relating the reader/viewer and the text through MOOD and MODALITY through the intersemiotic semantic relations of: • Reinforcement of address • Attitudinal Congruence • Attitudinal Dissonance	Elements of the clause as exchange which relate to visual meanings. These arise according to: The MOOD element in the clause realising speech function The MODALITY features of the clause Attitude - use of attitudinal adjectives.
TEXTUAL - COMPOSITION	Variations in visual meanings occur according to choices made in: Information Value - intra-visual placement Visual Salience Framing of visual elements	Various ways of mapping the modes to realise a coherent layout or composition by Information Valuation on the page Salience on the page Degree of framing of elements on the page Inter-visual synonymy Reading paths	The body copy (verbal element) as an orthographic whole realised by various typographical conventions: General Typesetting: Copyfitting: Other Typesetting Techniques Also: Theme/Rheme, Given/New Structures

The visual representation of intersemiotic complementarity framework shown in Figure 1 can now be expanded into an analytical table (see Table 1) showing a range of potential ways in which these intersemiotic metafunctions reflect relations between different semiotic systems in a multimodal text. The term Compositional has been bracketed under Halliday's Textual because it captures more fully the sense of two modes interacting with each other to project meaning coherently on the page. This is in agreement with Kress and van Leeuwen's usage, but is at slight variance with O'Toole's (1994: 278) use of the term composition, where he uses it in the more traditional sense of composition within the piece, and the artistic interpretation of how the elements of a work of art cohere to produce a sense of visual unity or wholeness within the work.

The analytical framework presented in Table 1 will be expanded and examined in the ensuing analyses via the presentation of a series of tables. Each table focuses on a specific intersemiotic metafunction and outlines the main areas where intersemiotic complementarity may be realised.

The WMI Advertisement

The WMI text is an extract from the issue of *The Economist* magazine dated September 2nd 1995, and is an advertisement for Waste Management International, a company based in Hong Kong (see the Appendix). It is multimodal in the sense that it includes two instances of both the visual mode (a monochrome photograph from the naturalistic coding orientation and a company insignia or logo) and the verbal mode (orthographic print of varying fonts). It appears in an Asian edition of the magazine, so the advertisement is addressed to a particular population in terms of its readership. *The Economist* issues a North American/European and an Asian edition every week. They are essentially the same issue in terms of the articles, but they often differ in terms of the front page artwork and subject matter, and in certain kinds of advertising (Garrett, 1994).

In The Economist magazine each multimodal and single mode text is a realisation of a particular contextual configuration of field, tenor and mode, however, these configurations derive their meaning from the broader world economic, financial and ecopolitical culture, as well as from The Economist magazine as a journalistic publishing institution which is comprised of a range of attitudes towards, and perceptions of its readership, incorporating also various views of its role as a publisher and advertiser dealing with economic, financial and eco-political issues. This context of culture includes how The Economist magazine itself views the medium of its message, in other words its views of both its verbal and visual output in relation to their relative primacy, priorities, typographic conventions, writing/stylistic conventions and so on.

The multimodal WMI advertisement which is the subject of analysis here is a metafunctional construct in that it is a complex of simultaneously interacting ideational, interpersonal and textual (composition) meanings. A reader (hereafter the reader is assumed to be the viewer/reader) of *The Economist* who sees this advertisement would interact with this complexity by comprehending the experiential and logical content represented and referred to in the visual and verbal sectors of the page, as well as any interrelationships between them. The reader would also be asked to respond to the ways he or she is being addressed, whether it be in terms of any potential visual or verbal offers or statements, questions asked or commands issued, as well as a variety of projected attitudes and judgements. Further, the reader would need to appreciate in visual and verbal terms the timeliness and topicality of the product being advertised, or its relevance to the context in which it occurs, as well as the coherence between one part of the page and every other part.

Ideational Intersemiotic Complementarity

The analysis which follows will focus on evidence for lexico-semantic intersemiotic complementarity between the visual and verbal aspects of the WMI advertisement. The range of ideational features which may be examined in analysing a multimodal text is outlined in Table 2, which is an elaboration of the ideational portion of Table 1.

Table 2 presents the ideational features in terms of a range of questions. It should be noted that not all of the questions will apply to a text at any one time. The degree of application of these questions will very much depend on the type of text—for example, an article dealing with the latest news in a complex financial issue and utilising a sketch caricature and a photograph will perhaps reveal a far more complex mix of messages and usages of these realisations than a straightforward advertisement focusing on a single product or service.

Table 2 Ideational Intersemiotic Complementarity

METAFUNCTION	VISUAL MEANINGS	INTERSEMIOTIC COMPLEMENTARITY	VERBAL MEANINGS
which is out and the best back, giving the back, giving the canoning what gamised into the carrie on of the Carrie on of the Carrie of the Symbols of the Symbols of the Symbols participant whose is the Symbols participant are the symbols in participant are the participant a	Variations occur according to the coding orientation. In the Naturalistic coding we can look at: Identification: Who or what are the represented participants (actor, recipient, goal)? Who or what are they interacting with? Are the participants interacting? (vectors). Activity: What action is taking place, events, portrayal, scene, states, types of behaviour (gestures, facial expressions, stance, physical moves)? Circumstances: where, who with, and by what means are the activities being carried out (setting, means, accompaniment)? Attributes: what are the qualities and characteristics of the participants?	Various lexico-semantic ways of relating the experiential and logical content or subject matter represented or projected in both visual and verbal modes through the intersemiotic sense relations of: • Repetition: identical experiential meaning. • Synonymy: the same or similar experiential meaning. • Antonymy: opposite experiential meaning. • Meronymy: the relation between the part and whole of something. • Hyponymy: the relation between a general class of something and its subclasses. • Collocation: an expectancy or high probability to cooccur in a field or subject area.	
INTERPERSONAL			
TEXTUAL - COMPOSITION			

In examining the ideational features of the WMI text, the first step is to ascertain who or what is in the visual frame (the represented participants, whether animate or inanimate), what action is taking place (in terms of who or what is the actor and who or what is the recipient or object of that action), and what those actions represent circumstantially according to the wider context of situation.

An examination of the WMI text in terms of the represented participants, or Identification, or Who or what is in the visual frame, reveals quite obviously a naturalistic monochrome photograph of a young woman, possibly between the ages of 16 and 20 years of age, standing upright and facing potential viewers, as well as a company insignia signifying that the company is Waste Management International (WMI). The primary visual in this text is the whole image. Going down the visual rank from the whole figure portrayed to the rank of member (body part or feature), we see that the most salient represented participant features are a clipboard held or displayed in a typical clipboardholding gesture, the safety helmet she is wearing, the insignia of the company or group on the helmet, and what could be construed as a uniform of some kind—perhaps a school or trainee uniform. The size of this clipboard and the helmet in relation to the whole figure of the young woman make them the features with visual weight, which according to Arnheim (1988: 229) is 'the dynamic power in an object by virtue of its conspicuousness, size, shape, location etc.'. Other less salient features are her hair, which is out and unrestrained, and the posture she has selected with her other hand behind her back, giving her stance a sense that it is perhaps a posed one.

In terms of the Activity, or What action is taking place, we can see that the action taking place is the action of posing or portrayal of some kind on stance. The represented participants outlined above all form part of the whole figure which is organised into this pose. It is in Kress and van Leeuwen's terms a Conceptual Representation encoding what they refer to as an Analytical Process which involves the part/whole relation of the Carrier (the whole) and its Possessive Attributes (the parts). These possessive attributes are denotative features which do not reveal much beyond their straightforward identification—they do however realise connotative meanings, somewhat akin to what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 108) refer to in their categorisation of the Symbolic Process within the set of processes they identify as Conceptual Representations. These processes are about what a participant means or is (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 108). In other words, these processes are connected to the symbolism or messages conveyed by the participant relations portrayed. Where there are two participants, the participant whose meaning is established in the relation is also the Carrier, and the participant which represents the meaning or identity itself is the Symbolic Attribute. This is the Symbolic Attributive process, where objects in images are significant due to, amongst other things, their conventional symbolic value, or are made prominent by being foregrounded or looking slightly incongruent in some way (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 108).

The <u>Circumstances</u>, or <u>Where</u>, who with and by what means, are also interesting in terms of the lack of a backgrounded setting, and the fact that no other human or non-human participants are in the visual frame with which actional vectors may be formed. There is therefore no sense that the objects worn or carried by the main participant are used in any action beyond that of display. This lack of any circumstantial elements therefore serves to accentuate what is on display, and this is the symbolic attributes of the represented participants both singly and in combination.

The symbolic attributes projected by this photograph are realised by the portrayal of a human Carrier holding in the foreground (and therefore displaying) an implement commonly used in listing, checking, assessing, and management contexts (a clipboard). The Carrier is also wearing a safety helmet which connotes protection, safety and taking care in potentially hazardous situations, and such helmets are invariably worn to protect workers in situations where plant and machinery are operating. This helmet is also labelled with an insignia which identifies the helmet as belonging to a particular organisation or industry, and since the Carrier is wearing this helmet, she too is connoted as belonging to that organisation in some way or capacity. The Carrier is also wearing what could be construed as a company uniform of some sort, an interpretation which may be reinforced by her identification with some industrial organisation. This could however be a school or college uniform, because the Carrier is a very young woman. This impression of youth is reinforced by the fact that her hair is out or not restrained in any way, which is incongruent with the fact that she is wearing a safety helmet that is commonly worn in contexts where long unrestrained hair is often viewed as a potential safety hazard. At the rank of the whole figure therefore, the symbolic attributes of these represented participants combine into a visual gestalt (Arnheim, 1969, 1974) which confers on the young woman the meaning of a young trainee manager in some potentially hazardous resources development industry (as opposed to a service industry).

Given these interpretations, the symbolic attributes of the most prominent of the ideational representations can be identified and summarised in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Visual Message Elements

Represented Participant	Visual Message Elements (Symbolic/connotative meanings)	
Whole figure	A person involved in the resources development industry.	
Young woman	A symbol of youth (a young woman with her future before her).	
Clipboard	A symbol of assessment, control, management.	
Safety helmet	A symbol of protection, safety, care.	
Insignia (photograph & symbol)	A symbol of an organisation or group (here it is WMI).	
Uniform	A symbol of membership in some organisation (could be a school, or it could be a company)	

Starting with the visual message elements outlined in Table 3, and checking through the verbal aspect of the text for semantically-related lexical items produces a series of lexical inventories (this is an adaptation of the use of lexical strings which express semantic relations between the lexical items. Here they express the semantic relations between the visual message elements and the lexical items found in the verbal aspect of the text, and as such constitute what may be referred to as an inventory or list of intersemiotic semantic relations). The sentence-level breakdown of the verbal aspect of the text into sentences is presented in Table 4 and the results of this procedure can be seen in Table 5. Decisions about which lexical items to include or exclude in relation to each visual message element are based on the notion that the lexical items should be the closest semantically to each visual element, or be reasonably expected to co-occur or collocate in a text drawn from a particular context of situation. All uses of language have an immediate environment in which they operate, and this text is an instance of language 'structured as a *field* of significant social action' (Halliday, 1978: 43).

Table 4 Verbal Aspect of the WMI Text

Number	Sentence/Move					
1.	Does your environmental policy meet your granddaughter's expectations?					
2.	Is your business or community among the millions of customers across the world already using our environmental services?					
3.	If it is, you'll be aware of our total commitment to protecting and sustaining the environment.					
4.	Why?					
5.	Because we believe a high standard of performance is good for the environment and essential to maintain the public trust and the confidence of our customers and investors.					
6.	We also believe our services - integrated waste management - have an important role in the drive towards sustainable development.					
7.	In plain language, that means we'll help our customers reduce, reuse and recycle unwanted material wherever possible and manage residual wastes in ways that safeguard the environment now and in the future.					
8.	Finally, we feel openness is fundamental to the success of our operations.					
9.	So we're happy to discuss our environmental policy and talk about our people's commitment and performance.					
10.	For more information about our total commitment, please call us at Pacific Waste Management in Hong Kong: 852 2827 1383.					
11.	Waste Management International					
12.	A WMX Technologies Company					
13.	Total Commitment to a Sustainable Future					

What can be seen by an analysis of this text is that in ideational terms, there is clear evidence of visual-verbal intersemiotic complementarity, as indicated by the large number of lexical items which relate to the topic-focus of the advertisement. This topic-focus is the presentation of the WMI Corporation as a concerned and responsible company involved in environmental waste management, and therefore the future. As Table 5 shows, in the inventory concerned with this central topic, that of Resources Industry (realised by the visual gestalt projected by whole figure of the woman), we find that there is a very significant usage of lexical items which intersemiotically collocate to varying degrees with that particular field, as well as some instances of intersemiotic meronymy, where such lexical items as customers, investors and company (which refer to people or institutions) and terms such as waste(s) (which refer to products) may be considered as forming meronyms of the superordinate Resources Industry.

Table 5 Ideational Intersemiotic Complementarity

S's	Resources Industry (Woman)	Youth - the future (young woman)	The company (WMI)	Organisation (uniform)	Protection/ safety (helmet)	Management (clipboard)
1	environmental	granddaughter's (C)				policy (C)
2	business (C) customers (M) environmental (C)	expectations (C)	nts outlined	community (C)	th the visual	
3	environment (C)	lexical items pro	of the us	it for semantic an adaptation	sustaining (C) protecting (R)	
4	les olterenes	hey express the	erall an	east transval arts	one between	
5	environment (C) customers (M) investors (M)	tems found in the	he lexical ty be refer	elements and	sual message as such con	standard of performance (C) maintain (C)
6	waste (M) development	sustainable (C)	4 and the	esented in Table	entences is pr	management (R)
7	customers (M) reuse (C) recycle (C)	now (C) future (R)	terns to ind tion that the easonably	which sextout based on the no element, or be	help (C) safeguard (R)	manage (R)
	material (C)	All uses of	of situation	cular context	from a part	
Ben	wastes (M) environment (C)	is text is an insider, 1978; 43).	teH) 'gons	which they open infreant social a	ironment in a field of six	
9	environmental (C)					policy (C) performance (C)
10	Waste (M)		12	of the WMI Te	erbal Aspect	Management (R)
11			Waste Management International (R)			Neglect
12	Technologies (C)	ighter's expectations	WMX (R)	Company (C)	your environs	
13	Company (M)	Sustainable Future	to engillim ad	ommunity among t ervices?	ear business or a	

Other significant visual symbolic attributes are intersemiotically related also. The clipboard representing Management is complemented verbally by the repetition of such terms as management and manage, and this is collocationally supported in varying strengths with such lexical items as maintain, performance, policy and standard of performance. The complementarity between the young woman connoting a representative of the future and the verbal aspect of the text is also evidenced by the specific reference to a granddaughter, the repetition of future and the collocational support provided by the reference to now, expectations, and the use of words such as sustainable, which carry a suggestion of the consideration of the future. This verbal reference to a granddaughter also has a strong intersemiotic collocational relationship to the image — this is because the word granddaughter refers to the female gender and a young woman is depicted (as opposed to a young man), but less overtly because the young woman shown is of an age where she could be someone's granddaughter. This has implications regarding the text constructors' assumptions about the potential

readership of *The Economist* magazine and of its advertisements. Given the nature of the gender-bias in company management in major corporations (whether they be developed or developing economies), the expected readership would be mostly male, in middle to upper-management, and perhaps close to retirement age. The safety helmet as a represented participant, along with the collocational usage of such lexical items as sustaining and help and the repetition of protecting and safeguard, are also further evidence that the constructors of this text have chosen both these modes in order to present an intersemiotically consistent and coherent message to any potential readers. This combined message of safe management of resources for future generations is designed to be strongly associated with the company WMI, which is also visually referred to via the two instances of the insignia, and is intersemiotically complemented through its verbal repetition as Waste Management International, or WMI.

Interpersonal Intersemiotic Complementarity

An examination of the interpersonal features of the image in the WMI text involves a consideration of the ways that relations between the visual and the viewer are represented. The ways in which the producer and viewer of a visual are placed socially in relation to each other is important because this can affect the topic of the visual, the ways that it can be read, and as a result the ways that it can be interpreted. An examination of these interpersonal features will require an analysis of intersemiotic aspects of address, levels of involvement, power relations and social distance, and an analysis of visual-verbal modality. The range of potential visual and verbal realisations of these interpersonal, intersemiotic complementarity relations are outlined in Table 6, which, like Table 2, is an elaboration of a portion of Table 1, in this case that pertaining to the interpersonal metafunction.

Taking Halliday's notion of speech functions and the speech acts they can realise, and Kress and van Leeuwen's re-interpretation of these into 'image acts' in their visual grammar, we can see that visual forms of communication can also realise similar forms of address, but through the meaning-making features which are peculiar to visual semiotic systems. In Halliday's (1994: 69) exposition of the speech functions, speakers can give information (make a statement), which can then be agreed with or contradicted, or they can give goods and services (make an offer), which can then be accepted or rejected. Also, speakers can demand information (ask a question), which can then be answered or disclaimed, or demand goods and services (give a command), which can then be obeyed or refused. Kress and van Leeuwen propose however that in Western cultures, visuals generally perform only two image acts, and not the full range that is possible with the four primary speech functions. These they refer to as visual 'offers' and 'demands' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 129). This is presumably an attempt to deal with the fact that the nature of the medium being employed, and the chronological and physical distance between the interlocutors (the drawer/graphic designer and the viewers) precludes the viewer from actually physically responding to an offer or demand for goods and services. Thus, when images offer they most commonly offer information, and when they demand, they most often demand the particular goods and services which would realise a particular social relation, or some kind of response from the viewer.

The realisation of a visual demand is determined by the presence or absence of a gaze, which indicates a form of direct or indirect address to the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 121-130). The producer is thus using the image to act on or do something to the viewer. The gaze always takes the form of a vector formed by the glance of one or more of the animate represented participants outwards to the viewer of the visual. This may often be supported by some kind of physical gesture. The animate represented participant(s), which could be human or animal (mostly human), will demand something via one or more pairs of eyes looking directly at the viewer, and what is demanded by the represented participant(s) in the image depends entirely on how the look is conveyed. There may be a smile (suggesting friendliness), a direct stare (suggesting contempt), or a raised eyebrow (suggesting a quizzical or questioning action). Each of these actions requires some kind of response from the viewer in terms of entering into some kind of social relation, which in this case is to accede to or deny the demand (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 122-123).

Table 6 Interpersonal Intersemiotic Complementarity

METAFUNCTION	VISUAL MEANINGS	INTERSEMIOTIC COMPLEMENTARITY	VERBAL MEANINGS
IDEATIONAL			
visually referred visually referred ented through its are represented ally in relation to ally in relation of wisual-verbal address, levels of wisual-verbal of visual-verbal the Table 2, is an ese interpersonal the interpersonal to visual semiotic a similar forms of speakers can give to visual semiotic and redicted, or they epted or rejected at the be answered or they a then be answered or a they a then be obeyed a then be obeyed at the obeyed at	Variations occur according to the Coding Orientation. In the Naturalistic Coding - it is a continua of the use of: Address: Gaze at the viewer (direct or indirect). Involvement & Power: Perspectival aspects of the role of the horizontal angle, and the vertical angle. Social Distance: Size of frame (close up, medium, long shot etc.) affecting the affinity between viewer and image. Modality: Contextualisation (full background to a complete absence of background). Degree of representing detail. Texture, Illumination (light and shade). Colour saturation showing degree of reality.	Various ways of intersemiotically relating the reader/viewer and the text through MOOD (Address via offers, commands, statements, questions) and MODALITY (Attitude re something as real or unreal, true or false, possible or impossible, necessary or unnecessary) through the intersemiotic relations of: • Reinforcement of Address: an identical form of address (MOOD). • Attitudinal Congruence: a similar kind of attitude (MODALITY). • Attitudinal Dissonance: an opposite or ironic attitude (MODALITY).	Elements of the clause as exchange which relate to visual meanings. These arise according to: • The MOOD element in the clause realising speech function (offer, command, statement, question) as determined by the subject/finite relationship. • The MODALITY features of the clause indicating views on possibility, probability, and certainty.
TEXTUAL- COMPOSITION			

The monochrome photograph of the young woman in the WMI text can be interpreted as demanding information via the speech function of asking a question. It depicts a young woman whose gaze, supported by slightly raised eyebrows, is directed right at the eyes of the viewer, and this is realised by the fact that a straight-line vector can be drawn from her eyes directly to the eyes of the viewer. It is a portrayal of a young woman who is directly addressing the viewer with some kind of query. However, the image in and of itself does not reveal what that question or query is—the viewer only knows that he or she is being directly addressed by being asked something, and some kind of a response or an answer is required.

This something is provided by the rest of the page, with the verbally-provided question directly above her head. If one assumes a reading path of image to verbal text, then a look at the verbal aspect after the image reveals that the first two sentences contain two Subject/Finite relationships which realise an interrogative MOOD. Thus, the image, which asks a visual question, is immediately and directly complemented intersemiotically by the following process:

Does your environmental policy		meet	your granddaughter's expectations?
Finite Subject		Predicator	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
MOOD: Interrogative			Residue

Here is an instance of intersemiotic Reinforcement of Address, where the reader is addressed in the same way by both modes—there is firstly a visual question or query, realised by the slightly raised eyebrows and the direct gaze which basically says 'I am talking to you', and then there is the repetition of this form of address via a clause which has a Subject/Finite relationship which is interrogative in MOOD, and is realising the unmarked speech function of asking a question. This intersemiotic complementarity in terms of reinforcement of address obtains whether the reading path is image to verbal or vice versa. This interpersonal, visual-verbal address is of course supported in ideational terms by the image of the young woman (the granddaughter) and the symbolic attributes of the resources industry's safety helmet, clipboard and WMI company insignia (environmental policy).

Once the main question is asked, the form of address continues with another question, which attempts to move from the personal to the collective. The reader is asked whether or not he/she also is using the WMI services. Thus we have a kind of supplementary reinforcement of the address, with the verbal text continuing on in the same vein, addressing the reader and requiring some kind of cognitive response. Whether the reader responds yes or no, this sets him or her up to receive the advertising message, which is the WMI Corporation as a concerned and responsible company involved in environmental waste management, and therefore the future. This second instance of intersemiotic complementarity is also realised by a clause which has a Subject/Finite relationship that is interrogative in MOOD, and is realising the unmarked speech function of asking a question.

Is	your business or community	among the millions of customers across the world already using our environmental services?
Finite	Subject	e viewer and the represented participants. The
merer	MOOD: Interrogative	Residue

We therefore have an instance of intersemiotic complementarity in terms of the ways that both the visual and verbal modes address the readers. Both the modes ask questions which the readers can answer or disclaim. We can interpret this as an instance of intersemiotic Reinforcement of Address.

This interpretation of the WMI text as being a multimodal or composite text consisting of visual and verbal questions is supported by the level of involvement required of the reader in answering these questions. The monochrome photograph of the young woman is a naturalistic visual which, in terms of the horizontal angle, has a frontal point of view (as opposed to an oblique one). The frontal plane of the viewer of this visual is parallel to the frontal plane of the most visually salient represented participant, the young woman. There is thus a strong degree of involvement with the woman required on the part of the viewer, not by choice (although that may be the case), but by the requirement to be involved which is coded (or loaded) into the visual by its constructor(s). It is a scene which shows someone who is fully facing towards any and all potential viewers, and because of the frontal nature of the angle puts the viewers in the direct line of address. There is really no escape for the viewers—they are required to either directly reject or turn away from the full frontal address of the young woman (something which is hard to do in any human interaction, although there is more freedom here), or to receive and respond to the kind of address encoded in her posture, gestures and gaze. The viewer is thus strongly engaged and addressed in this photograph.

This level of engagement of the reader with this multimodal advertisement is also intersemiotically reinforced by a further aspect which is specific to images, especially photographic images. This is the degree of social distance between the represented participants and the viewer(s), as realised by the size of frame. As Kress and van Leeuwen explain, in television production the size of frame is related strongly to how much of the human body is shown in the visual frame. There is thus the close up, the medium shot, and the long shot etc. (1990:44; 1996:130). These different kinds of shots used in television production can be paralleled with the varying distances between people when they talk to each other face to face, where it can be intimate or friendly (as in a spouse or

friend or acquaintance), or unknown (as in a complete stranger). These distances are of course culturally determined, but generally speaking one can apply these ideas to the meanings encoded in visuals when a close up shot of someone's head and shoulders, as opposed to the top half of the torso, and as opposed to the full body within three metres or at over thirty metres or more is utilised.

In the naturalistic, monochrome photograph of the young woman, the degree of social distance between the represented (human) participant can be characterised as one of a close social to personal distance which is realised by a medium close shot, where the woman's full figure is not shown, but is cut off at the thigh. This can be contrasted with the 'up close and personal' sense of the close-up shot, where the frame includes only the upper body (head and shoulders) of the subject, and with the long shot, where full figures are shown and a great deal of the physical context in which they are placed is also portrayed. The medium close shot here however has the effect of making the figure portrayed seem to be socially included with the viewers with a decided sense of personal involvement as well, and lends weight to previous interpretations which suggest it is a portrayal which asks the viewer to socially engage with the represented participant, and it goes beyond simply being asked to just observe her portrayal or pose.

The power relations between the viewers and the represented participants in a visual are encoded in the vertical angle formed between them. This is an important aspect of cinematography where the viewers of film are required to react to the participants in a particular shot according to whether they are looking down to, up to, or at eye-level with them. There are therefore three possibilities here: a high angle, a low angle and an eye-level angle. The high angle encodes the meaning that the viewers are looking down on the represented participants, suggestive of a superiority to them or of their insignificance, a low angle that the viewer is looking up to them, suggestive of an inferior position to them or of their magnificence, and an eye-level angle is suggestive of equality between the viewer and the represented participants. The naturalistic, monochrome photograph of the young woman forms an eye-level angle between the viewer and herself and therefore does not place her in a superior or inferior position. These power relations of equality, combined with the frontal point of view encoded in the horizontal angle and the sense of inclusion produced by the encoded social distance, support the idea that the image is attempting to include or engage the viewer rather than dominate or elevate the viewer.

In the verbal aspect of the text there are also clear attempts to directly involve the reader as the other interactant in this demand for a response, again indicating an instance of interpersonal intersemiotic complementarity. An examination of the text reveals, for example, that there are no forms of direct yet impersonal address, such as reference to the reader as 'the reader' or 'the viewer'. There are however uses of the second person pronoun 'you', and the second person pronoun possessive 'your' to directly address the readers and to engage them as members of a group which believes the environment and family are important concerns, as in

Does your environmental policy meet your granddaughter's expectations?, Is your business or community among the millions of customers?, and If it is, you'll be aware of our total commitment

There are further attempts to engage the viewers in a kind of conversational process, where the answers to the previously posed questions draw the readers into a staged argument. Once the readers respond to these questions posed by the image and initial sentences, they are then given a conditional statement where it is suggested that if the answer is affirmative to the first series of questions, then they would be members of that group of people who are aware of the need to be 'protecting and maintaining the environment', which is also WMI's policy. If negative, then there is a covert message that the reader is not looking after the next generation, and is not on a performance par with 'the millions of customers across the world who are using our environmental services'.

Once the reader responds, he or she is further engaged by the rhetorical 'Why?', which links the statement of the company's commitment and the reasons for it. This information is then provided, and there are a number of instances of the first person plural pronouns of 'we/us/ours' used in the non-inclusive and inclusive sense to explain the company's point of view as in references such as:

Because we believe a high standard is good to maintain the public trust and the confidence of our customers and investors.

If the reader has answered affirmatively to the questions posed, then he or she is now being included as a recipient of the information being given and an equal member of the group, as realised by 'our customers'. This is seen throughout the text, as the following examples show:

We also believe our services
In plain language, that means we'll help our customers
Finally, we feel openness is fundamental to the success of our operations, and So we're happy to discuss our ... and talk about our people's commitment.

This 'conversation' between the advertisement and the reader is concluded with a request to call the WMI offices if more information is required. This is an attempt to allow those less-informed companies and individuals who were not aware of 'our total commitment', to become informed and to join in the commitment.

In the WMI text therefore, we have instances of intersemiotic complementarity in terms of both the verbal and visual modes addressing the viewers and the readers in the same way - they both ask questions which can then be answered or disclaimed. The readers are not explicitly referred to in the verbal aspect of the text, but they are addressed directly and then included into one of two groups—those who can answer YES to the first set of questions, and those who answer NO. Either of these answers is appropriate, because the reader is then addressed and included in the offers of information which follow the questions (as realised by the declarative MOOD of the remaining clauses). Therefore, in terms of address, involvement, social distance, and power relations there is clear evidence of the intersemiotic relation Reinforcement of Address, which realises interpersonal intersemiotic complementarity.

From the kinds of attitudes presented by the visual mode, we see that when questions are asked or information is offered, it can be answered or disclaimed, affirmed, or denied by the viewer(s). In language, the truth or credibility of what is represented by a speaker or writer is expressed through the use of modality at the clause level, and the polarity between the affirmation and denial of this offered information is expressed in terms of whether something is or is not, or whether it is real or unreal. In between these two extremes there are other possibilities which express degrees of certainty or uncertainty, where perhaps something could happen, or of usuality, where something might sometimes happen, but not always.

In the visual semiotic code, visuals can also be interpreted in terms of the truth, credibility, and probability of what they represent to the viewer(s), and the information they offer can also be affirmed or denied according to whether something is or is not, real or unreal, as well as whether other possibilities exist which can express degrees of certainty or uncertainty, or of usuality. The interpretation of the degrees to which a visual is considered to be real or unreal, credible or incredible, possible or impossible depends in the first instance on its coding orientation (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996). The WMI photograph is a type of naturalistic visual. Such visuals are considered to be real/unreal or possible/impossible depending on the degree of accuracy of their representation of reality. Figure 2 shows a continuum of naturalistic visuals used in *The Economist* magazine. This continuum illustrates the varying degrees to which these visuals (and by default their creators) attempt to portray 'natural' images (visuals which the members of a particular cultural setting would agree to be an accurate representation of reality, as viewed by the human eye).

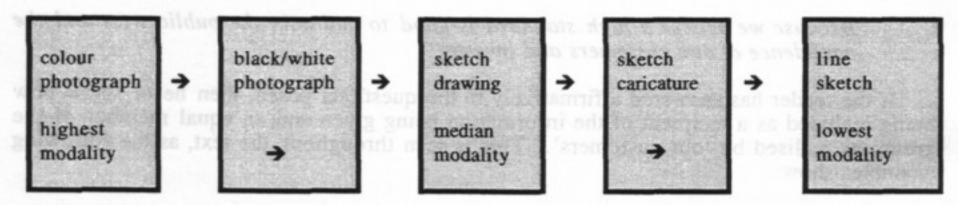


Figure 2 Modality in the Naturalistic Visual Continuum

The WMI photograph is an attempt to represent familiar objects, characters and actions (real or fictional) which are easily recognisable to the viewers, but are slightly abstracted from full colour via the use of monochrome photography. This is not a totally accurate representation for these reasons, but it is still a naturalistic photographic form. This may be contrasted for example with a sketch caricature which does not present reality to the same degree, but presents a whimsical version of it. As such, in the type of visual used in the WMI text, the visual modality of the individual portrayed in terms of it being real or credible is high. There is less freedom for the viewer(s) to agree or disagree with the portrayal, or to contradict it. It is therefore presented as an acceptable interpretation of reality, and as such carries a higher modality in terms of its probability as an accurate representation of 'truth' than, say, caricatured sketches or line drawings.

The absence of colour and the abstraction away from many physical details of the setting which could have been included, such as office furniture and industrial machinery, or landscape features such as plants, trees etc., also combines with the monochromaticity to slightly lessen the visual modality. Although this type of naturalistic visual can be interpreted as an accurate or real portrayal, this is mediated by the fact the subject is presented with a reduced setting, which has the effect of drawing attention to the meanings that the drawers wish to attach to what this woman is doing, carrying and wearing.

An examination of the verbal aspect of the text reveals that the levels of indeterminacy which could be provided by modalisation are limited. When the writers of this verbal text present information about their company, they use the positive finite operator to clearly express the actuality of what they are stating. This is revealed in

... we believe a high standard is good ...
We also believe our services ... have an important role ...
We feel openness is fundamental ..., and
So we're happy to discuss ... and to talk about our people's ...

This form of address to the reader about their company's policy and beliefs constitutes the presentation of an attitude by WMI that has a high probability of being true and therefore highly credible. It is presentation of certainty. When they address the customers about what they (the customers) may or may not be thinking however, there is some modulation. This is seen when they address the reader regarding their assumptions about what the reader will or will/not be aware of, as in

If it is, you will be aware of our total commitment ...

and when they make their promises to the customers (in case they can't fulfil them), as in

In plain language, that means we'll help our customers ...

Thus we have a situation where a credible monochrome image is complemented by verbal language which is direct, believable and only slightly modulated. Both image and verbal text are presenting to the readers an attitude that the multimodal message presented is truthful, believable and sincere — it is an intersemiotic presentation of certainty. In terms of address therefore, we have intersemiotic complementarity that is realised by the attitudinal congruence generated by the certainty and credibility projected by the visual and verbal aspects of the WMI text.

Textual (Composition) Intersemiotic Complementarity

An examination of the textual features of a multimodal text involves an examination of those features of the layout or composition of the text which allow the elements on the page to be viewed as coherent parts of the one composite text. These features are not placed on the page randomly, but are placed there for various purposes, the most important of which is to convey to the readers a sense of unity, of co-operation, and of coherence in terms of the main and supporting messages. The ways that this compositional aspect of multimodal text can realise intersemiotic complementarity is given in Table 7, which, like Tables 2 and 6, is an elaboration of a section of Table 1. Here the focus is on the textual/composition aspects of the multimodal text.

Table 7 Textual (Composition) Intersemiotic Complementarity

METAFUNCTION VISUAL CONVENTIONS		INTERSEMIOTIC COMPLEMENTARITY	VERBAL MEANINGS & CONVENTIONS	
IDEATIONAL				
INTERPERSONAL				
TEXTUAL - COMPOSITION	Variations in visual conventions occur according to choices made in terms of: Information Value: Top/bottom placement (vertical axis). Left/right placement (horizontal axis). Balance (or balancing centre and margins). Salience: Foregrounding & backgrounding. Relative sizing. Contrasts in tones and differences in sharpness of focus. Framing (weak and strong): Clear spaces or actual frame lines. Contrasts in tones and/or colours. Structural elements which divide visual space. Vectors producing an hierarchy of elements via arrangements of abstract graphic elements. Similarity and differences in size or volume in co-occurring images.	Various ways of mapping the modes to realise a coherent layout or composition by • information Valuation on the page: Left/right placement (horizontal axis); Top/bottom placement (vertical axis); Balance (centre and margins). • Salience on the page: Foregrounding and backgrounding; Relative sizing; Tonal contrasts and variations in focus. • Degree of framing of elements on the page: Clear spaces or actual frame lines; Contrasts in tones and/or colours. Visual-verbal bleeding; run-around; margins; gutters. • Inter-Visual synonymy: Degrees of semblance in form across modes. • Reading Path: The impact of potential reading paths.	The body copy (verbal element) as an orthographic whole realised by various typographical conventions: General Typesetting: Contrasts in font sizes and colour, including the use of bold, italics and underlining. Copyfitting: Columns, line spacing, line length (justified or ragged), runarounds. Other Type-setting Techniques: Display type (headlines, headings, sub-headings); Blurbs; Captions; Boldface lead-ins; By-lines. Also grammatical and discourse features e.g. THEME/RHEME and Given/New Structures	

There are a number of important visual-verbal compositional aspects in this text which show that both the modes work together to produce a coherent and unified visual-verbal message for the readers. These aspects are examined in this framework by adapting and extending the work of Arnheim (1974, 1988) on pictorial design and visual (gestalt) perception, Dondis (1973) on the fundamentals of visual literacy, Uspensky (1973) on the poetics of composition in classical art, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) on compositional structuring principles in images, and O'Toole (1994) on composition in displayed art.

These compositional aspects are basically concerned with where the visuals are placed spatially on the page in terms of horizontal/vertical, left/right, or central placement, the relative size of the visual and verbal elements to each other, or visual salience, how the visuals and the type interact for page space, and how the visuals interact with each other.

These compositional features of the WMI text will be examined according to the following textual intersemiotic complementarity relations:

• Information valuation on the page:

Salience on the page

Degrees of framing of elements on the page

Inter-visual synonymy

• The importance of potential reading paths.

A consideration of information valuation on the page requires an examination of the relative placement of the visual and verbal modes. In this text there are two important spatial propensities operating in terms of the vertical or top/bottom and the horizontal or left/right placement of the image and the verbal text on the page. What is immediately of notice is that vertically the page has four sections — the top sector of the page is occupied by the verbally realised question, Does your environmental policy meet ..., the less-valued bottom of the page sector is occupied by the verbal statement of the WMI Company's stated corporate aim, and the middle of the page is occupied by both the photographic image and the main body of the orthographic text. Considering that the main form of address to the viewers and readers of this text is to pose a set of questions to draw the reader in, it is interesting to note that the most highly valued sector (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996:193-4), the top half of the page, is occupied by both the visually-posed question, as realised by the woman's direct questioning gaze, and the verbally posed question. Their relatively close placement together in this more prized sector of the page means that the questions raised multimodally are more highly valued in terms of attracting reader interest. This is an important aspect of reading path which is discussed below.

In terms of the horizontal or left/right placement of the image and the verbal text on the page, we see that they occupy the middle or centre section, and they form basically two halves of the section. The image is placed in a primary position in relation to the magazine's spine, and the fact of its visual salience in terms of size means that a casual reader flipping through the magazine will more easily see the image of the young woman first and may be attracted to the advertisement because of the directness of the gaze. This accords with the 'attract' function of images in advertising and in many of the articles in The Economist magazine, which is to grab the attention of the reader.

On the other hand, the image and the verbal text are both placed in the centre of the page, also a primary position in terms of visual weight and a divider or balancing centre between the two halves of the page centre section. One of the functions of composition is to be engaged in a 'striving for unity' (Arnheim, 1988:133), and this is provided by the equality evident in the division of the page into two halves. One of the functions of central placement is that perceptually, for the viewer, it acts as a 'stabiliser of weight', where visual elements which are 'located in the central area or on a centrally located axis gain[ed] in power' and help the objects outside the centre zone to be 'united and stabilised when they are grouped around the balancing centre' (Arnheim, 1988: 133). Thus, the effect of the verbal headings being placed above and below the centre section of the verbal page space is stabilised by the equality evident in the central placement of the visual and verbal text, and the sense of compositional unity and intersemiotic complementarity is realised.

One further aspect which could be important is Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) interpretation of Given-New relations in terms of placement on the page. In SFL, the Textual metafunction is realised in those grammatical and discourse features which serve to organise text. These resources provide readers with cues as to where they are and where they are going. In English, what is expressed first, or what is in the left hand position, is very often what carries information which may be retrieved from the context, and may be considered as given, or understood as known by the reader. This Given-New structure is mapped onto the thematic structure of a text, providing a 'composite texture to the discourse and thereby relat[ing] it to its environment' (Halliday, 1994: 299). Kress and van Leeuwen have reinterpreted this for the visual semiotic system, so that the left to

right orientation of the reading path in English and the organisation of meaning into a Given-New contrast is also important in organising the ways that meanings are represented to the viewers, but in ways that are of course peculiar to the visual mode. In a visual semiotic, there are strong culturally-based conventions for interpreting how visuals can be read. One of these is the left to right reading path orientation, and the visual expectancy that this can produce in viewers. This expectancy is complemented by the Given-New and THEME-RHEME organisation in verbal text. In the text under discussion here, the verbal text is organised into two parts according to Themes; the first part contains Themes relevant to the reader 'you' (Is your business ...; If it is, you) while the second part contains Themes relevant to the company, 'we' (Because we; We; In plain language, that means we; Finally, we; So we; For more information about our total commitment). This organisation is mirrored in the visually salient opening question which includes the phrases your granddaughter and environmental policy, in that order. This opening question could be interpreted as the Theme of the text as a whole. The image of the young woman (who could be connoted as representing a family member of the viewer/readers, as well as an employee of the company, WMI) visually brings together the elements of the opening question - 'you' (the reader) and 'we' (the company, which is referred to indirectly by 'environmental policy'). Both the visual and the verbal thus work together to reinforce the connection between 'you' (the reader) and 'we' (the company).

Interpreting visual-verbal intersemiotic relations in this text in the light of its Given-New organisation, we can suggest that the image of the young woman occupies the lefthand or Given position of the page, while the New or right-hand position is occupied by the verbal text. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 189) suggest that in many multimodal magazine layouts the left-hand space of the Given is usually taken up by verbal text, while that of the New (right-hand) is often taken up by one or more images, with the images providing a way of quickly and directly letting the viewers know what is the new information coming. They provide many examples of this - however they do comment that there are exceptions to this verbal-visual, Given-New ordering, such as instances where the image is presented as the Given and the New is the verbal text. They discuss specific instances to show that the realisations of this Given-New distinction are not always predictable, and it seems that this WMI advertisement is one of those exceptions, where the young woman (the granddaughter or anyone's young daughter) is addressing the viewer directly through her questioning gaze. Once the viewer's attention has been gained and has accepted the nature of the Given question, he or she can then be presented with the New information, which is supplied in verbal form on the right-hand side of the advertisement, and relates to how the WMI company can help, depending on the answer given by the reader. The image could be interpreted as Given if we take the view that the reader could be of an age where he or she does in fact have a granddaughter (which as already noted is most probably assumed by the creators of this advertisement), The new information provided in the verbal form would then directly relate to the reader/viewer the you of the text.

The complementarity relation salience on the page has to do with the relative sizes of the visuals (their visual salience) compared to the verbal aspect of the text in relation to the space taken up by each on the page. It is concerned with how important the elements are to the compositional makeup of the text. According to White (1982: 127), size is an indicator of visual importance, so a graphic designer should

Signal the Big Idea of the story in the Big Picture - and make that big picture as big and as dominant as possible. Then, reinforce the big idea within the big picture with smaller ideas carried in the smaller pictures, to flesh out the big idea, add details, corroborate the thesis ... In visual terms, such attention-focusing is achieved most easily by the simple expedient of giving the important picture the size that shows its importance.

The size of the image of the young woman in relation to the amount of space taken up by the type shows that it is significant and has an important part to play in the transmission of the topic-focus of the text. This effect is accentuated by the fact that her image forms one half of the middle section of the page, and well over three quarters of the left hand side of the page. Further, her image carries visual weight in terms of the colour saturation provided by her dark dress, and the saturation provided by the dark hair

which frames her face and makes it more visually salient (which also has the effect of forcing the viewers' eyes to be directed towards her questioning face and eyes). The attracting sense provided by this monochrome colour saturation is mediated however by the salience of the top and bottom headings, which is realised by the black, large type font, and has the effect of balancing the 'weight' of the image's colour saturation. Further, the impact of her address to the viewers is compositionally supported through the choice of size of frame to realise a particular social distance. The medium close shot-size of the photographic image has allowed the visual constructor to load other messages into the visual through the inclusion of the safety helmet, the clipboard and the uniform, rather than having just the isolated, strong effect of a close up shot of her eyes dominating. It is not simply a question being asked, but a question with other features in the context of who she portrays herself to be, and what she is shown as being capable of doing.

In relation to the degrees of framing of elements on the page, the first and most obvious feature here is the fact that the page space can be divided up clearly into four balanced sections. This is represented in Figure 3.

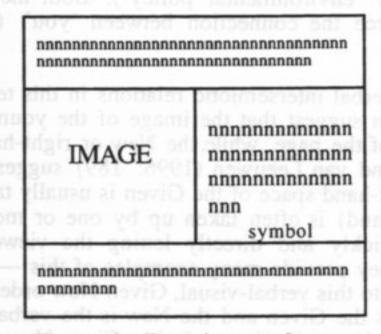


Figure 3 Framing on the page

In many texts visuals often compete to varying degrees with the verbal aspect of the text for page space. Here however, there is no sense of competition but a clear demarcation and balancing in terms of spatial allocation. There are uniform proportional divisions between the verbal (type) space and the visual space of the photograph and insignia. In fact the insignia seems to form a sort of visual 'full-stop' to the right hand block of verbal text.

This text displays a typical clear division in framing terms. Although there is no conventional but strict framing device like a drawn-in line border, there is an orderly, clear space around the visual to delineate it precisely from the other parts of the page. The image is not however forcing the type to conform to its shape, a technique referred to as a runaround and commonly used by graphic designers for effect—a dangerous one since in design terms whenever it is used there must be some sacrifice in legibility (White, 1982: 106-7). Here there is a clear even space between the visual and the type, so that the arrangement of the elements on the page in relation to each other creates a sense of unity and little if any sense of competition for page space. The overall effect for the reader is of textual intersemiotic complementarity, in that the image forms an integral part of the page, the two modes in a sense occupy their page spaces in an orderly and non-disruptive way, and the reader retains a sense of visual unity so that the message can be easily projected. These intersemiotic textual features work in concert with the interpersonal and ideational intersemiotic semantic relations in the text to satisfy several conditions of intersemiotic complementarity.

So far, we have found evidence supporting the realisation of intersemiotic complementarity on the page in terms of information valuation, salience and the degrees of framing of elements. The next sections will deal with two other important aspects of textual (composition) intersemiotic complementarity, that of inter-visual synonymy and the effect of potential reading paths.

In many multimodal texts there is often more than one visual utilised, and in The Economist magazine this can potentially include naturalistic photographs, sketch caricatures and drawings, or mathematical tables, charts, graphs and diagrams. When visuals have been derived from the same coding orientation, there is potential for them to co-operate on the page also. This complementarity is often realised through what may be termed inter-visual synonymy, where there is some semblance in form across the page, which in a sense mirrors the meaning expressed by both visuals. An examination of this visual to visual interface in the WMI text shows this kind of inter-visual synonymy in the insignia on the young woman's helmet and under the right hand verbal text, where it forms some kind of a 'full stop' to the text. The primary or first-order function of the insignia is to identify the WMI corporation, and the fact that it is also placed prominently (in the centre) of the helmet above the visually salient eyes projects a clear associative message initially of group membership, but more importantly of association with the values projected by the safety-conscious, managerially-efficient, with her future-allbefore-her company trainee. This is an interesting example of how two different coding orientations, the naturalistic and straightforward abstract or symbolic, complement each other in reinforcing the intersemiotic complementarity inter-visually and between the visual and verbal modes.

An aspect which is interdependent with the compositional principles of information value, salience, framing and visual synonymy on the page discussed so far is that of potential reading paths. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 218-223) discuss this when they refer to 'linear' and 'non-linear' compositions. The former refers to the strictly coded verbal text of English, which in its single-mode form must be read from left to right (e.g. a novel), and the latter to multimodal (composite) texts which can be approached in alternative non-linear (circular, diagonal, spiralling) ways (e.g. newspapers, magazines). Reading paths relate to the hypothetical viewer's eye movement from the most salient points in the composition to the next or less salient points. There is of course a cultural element to this in that viewers from different cultures (and even different age groups or educational backgrounds and contexts) may read a visual in differing ways.

Kress and van Leeuwen also comment about the reading paths commonly used in magazines and newspapers, comments that are relevant to the interpretation of *The Economist* magazine text in this paper. They suggest that the reading paths followed in magazines often involve the readers flicking through and stopping as pictures or headlines catch their eye, and then perhaps returning to the articles which piqued their interest. Alternatively, they may go straight to the article relating to the front page topic or headline, or to their favourite columnist, or the sports section. Many readers of newspapers may in fact read the back page first. Thus the reading path is selective and partial, as opposed to strictly linear. They comment further that

whether the reader only 'reads' the figure and the headline [referring to a magazine text they are discussing], or also part of the verbal text, a complementarity, a to-and-fro between the text and image, is guaranteed the most plausible reading path is the one in which readers begin by glancing at the photo, and then make a new start from left to right, from headline to photo, after which, optionally, they move to the body of the verbal text. Such pages can be scanned or read, just as pictures can be taken in at a glance or scrutinised in their every detail (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 218-219).

An interview with Ms. Penny Garrett (1994), the Chief Editor of Graphic Design at The Economist magazine's corporate headquarters in London reveals that this is precisely what the graphic designers of each issue of The Economist magazine assume that their readers will do, and so they attempt to construct their issues accordingly. Kress and van Leeuwen's use of the term 'complementarity' here is interesting — in the above quotation the term is used in a different sense to the usage in this study, in that their usage refers generally to the fact that a reader of a multimodal text tends to read all elements of a multimodal text in some culturally-determined way or direction. Intersemiotic complementarity in this paper however is a theoretically-motivated term which is used to explain not only why a reader does move 'to-and-fro between the text and image', but also what intersemiotic resources are drawn upon to produce this sense in the reader that the text before him or her is a single, coherent multimodal text.

Another influence on the reading path is the way that visual saliency is interdependent with placement in the visual field. This is concerned with Arnheim's (1988) work on left-right directionality, and relates to the reading path that a typical reader will follow. In the WMI text it could easily be assumed that the first thing seen by viewers would perhaps be the image of the young woman addressing them directly with a question. This could be due to the photograph having its own visual 'weight' because of its placement on the left hand side of the visual frame or field, and the fact that it would be the first thing that the eye could catch. The next thing seen would be visually salient, and in the WMI text this would be the question asked at the top of the page — this question occupies the upper sectors of the visual frame and so carries its own 'weight' in that sense. So the constructor of any multimodal text must take account of the fact that readers will assume that visuals are part of the page space and that they will be viewed as part of the whole text. They would therefore attempt to include visual and verbal instances which can readily realise intersemiotic complementarity in ideational, interpersonal and textual (composition) terms.

Conclusions

In this paper a framework for the analysis of page-based multimodal texts has been presented in an attempt to prove the proposition that intersemiotic complementarity obtains when a range of conditions are met. To that end it has been argued that a metafunctional interpretation of visual-verbal intersemiotic relations in multimodal text would prove fruitful in clarifying the ways that the intersemiotic relations in multimodal texts are realised. It has also been argued that both the verbal and visual modes project their meanings in concert, and that this interrelationship is one of intersemiotic complementarity. Through an analysis of the WMI text in terms of the three metafunctions, the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual (composition), it has been demonstrated that in this text this complementarity is realised ideationally through the intersemiotic lexico-semantic sense relations of repetition, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, and collocation, interpersonally through meanings projected in both modes through the reinforcement of intersemiotic forms of address (MOOD), and intersemiotic attitudinal congruence and dissonance (modality) relations, and textually (compositionally) via the complex interplay of various compositional relations of information value, salience, framing, inter-visual synonymy, and reading paths on the page.

It is clear also that just one text like the WMI text is an amazingly rich source of complexity in multimodal meanings and intersemiotic complementarity, and that there are further areas which would be rich avenues of exploration, and levels of delicacy in analysis which could be developed further. One area which may be very interesting is how the visual and verbal modes realise intersemiotic complementarity at the level of a multimodal text's discourse structure, and even in terms of texts as realisations of a particular generic structure. It is also of interest to an investigation of the ways that intersemiotic complementarity is realised when applied to other modes such as the aural-visual on television. Finally, the kind of analytical framework introduced here has elements which could make this a particularly useful tool in first and second language pedagogy, especially in many of the subject areas which frequently utilise multimodal methods of projecting meaning.

* I wish to thank Professor Emerita Ruqaiya Hasan for her advice and terminological assistance with the interpersonal aspects of the intersemiotic complementarity framework, and Wendy Bowcher for her editorial assistance.

Notes

1. The use of the term complementarity in this paper differs substantively from Greimas' usage, that of a logical relation between semantic oppositions as represented in his 'semiotic square' (see Nöth, 1990: 318-319). The term has also been used in research on the nature of the relationship between speech and writing — the views of this relationship suggest that it is one of heteronomy, or of autonomy, or of partial to full interdependence or complementarity (see Nöth 1990: 262-263). Complementarity in

- this latter area means that writing and speech can influence each other in linguistic communication, and thus are fully interdependent.
- 2. Barthes (1977: 41) explores this phenomenon briefly in his exposition of relay between text and image, where he claims that 'text and image stand in a complementary relationship; the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general syntagm and the unity of the message is realised at a higher level'. Thus relay, in terms of an interpretation of the total message of the verbal/visual text involves a reciprocal association between both the verbal and visual (image) constituents, with each mode contributing to the overall message projected. The actual mechanisms by which these mode-based contributions produce this 'more general syntagm' are not explored in any depth by Barthes.

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Appendix

Waste Management International Advertisement, *The Economist*, September 2nd, (1995) p. 30.

Does your environmental policy meet your granddaughter's expectations?



Is your business or community among the millions of customers across the world already using our environmental services?

If it is, you'll be aware of our total commitment to protecting and sustaining the environment.

Why? Because we believe a high standard of performance is good for the environment and essential to maintain the public trust and the confidence of our customers and investors.

We also believe our services – integrated waste management – have an important role in the drive towards sustainable development.

In plain language, that means we'll help our customers reduce, reuse and recycle unwanted material wherever possible and manage residual wastes in ways that safeguard the environment now and in the future.

Finally, we feel openness is fundamental to the success of our operations. So we're happy to discuss our environmental policy and talk about our people's commitment and performance.

For more information about our total commitment, please call us at Pacific Waste Management in Hong Kong: 852 2827 1383.



Waste Management International
A WMX Technologies Company

Total Commitment to a Sustainable Future

Appendix Waste Management International Advertisement, The Economist, September 2[™], (1995) p. 30.

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In plain language, that means we'll help out customers reduce, reuse and recycle unwanted material wherever possible and manage residual wastes in ways that safeguard the environment now and in the future.

Finally, we feel openness is fundamental to the success of our operations. So we're happy to discuss our environmental policy and talk about our people's commitment and performance.

For more information about our total commitment, please call us at Pacific Waste Management in Hong Kong: 852 2827 1383.





Waste Management International

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Intonation in English - Workshop

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Introduction

This paper is a workshop report of the JASFL Spring Workshop conducted on June 8, 1996. The aim of the workshop was to introduce the Systemic Functional model of intonation and attempt to use it to analyze a short 'simulated' authentic English text. It was recognized that an in-depth analysis of intonation would not be possible in the allotted time frame, but it was hoped that some preliminary ideas on how to approach the analysis of intonation using the SF framework would be achieved in this workshop. The workshop began with a brief overview of intonation and its place in Systemic Functional linguistic theory. After this, features of the model of intonation were presented and the workshop members were divided into two working groups. Each group was given short tasks such as listening to tapes from Halliday (1970), discussing these and analyzing short texts. The workshop culminated in a preliminary analysis of a simulated authentic conversational English text. This workshop report largely follows the plan of the workshop and includes material from the workshop with changes made to suit the format of this report.

An Outline of the System of Intonation in Systemic Functional Theory

Intonation ... functions in the lexico-grammatical system: it encodes some aspect of the wording, and therefore directly expresses contrasts in meaning (Halliday, 1985: 48).

Rather than viewing intonation as a purely acoustic phenomenon, Systemic Functional linguistic theory emphasizes the key role that intonation plays in the creation of meaning. Intonation is viewed as one of the resources upon which speakers draw to make meaning in context. Any instance of language use represents a selection from the total potential of the language system (meanings, wordings and soundings) and what motivates this selection is the context of situation. The context of situation is a conceptual construct consisting of three interdependent variables, field (the nature of the social process), tenor (the nature of the participants in the social process) and *mode* (the nature of the medium of exchange). These three variables correlate in general terms, with features of the language system—a tristratal schema where meanings are realized in wordings which are realized in sounds. Linguistic meaning can be thought of in terms of three metafunctions: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Field tends to activate ideational meanings; tenor tends to activate interpersonal meanings; and mode tends to activate textual meanings. These in turn are realized in certain lexicogrammatical systems. Ideational meanings are realized in such systems as Transitivity; interpersonal meanings through such systems as Mood; and textual meanings are realized through such systems as Theme.

Features of the intonation system, play a significant role in the realization of textual, interpersonal and logical meanings (from the ideational metafunction). As noted in the quotation at the beginning of this section, the intonation system functions in the lexicogrammatical system. Within the intonation system itself, there are three possible categories of selection. They are TONALITY, TONICITY and TONE. Although these categories will be outlined independently it should be remembered that they work interdependently to construe meanings associated with the relevant context of situation. For instance, the

selection of a tone group (TONE) implies a tone boundary (TONALITY) and a syllable carrying tonic prominence (TONICITY) and these together are activated by certain contextual constraints. Table 1 shows in bold type, the categories of intonation and their place in the realization of meaning.

Intenstion in English - Works

Table 1 The Place of Intonation in the Langu	age System
--	------------

Language Strata				
Metafunctions (Semantics)	Ideational N	Metafunction	Interpersonal	Textual
	Experiential	Logical	Tokyo	
∠ (realized by)	K	ĸ	ĸ	ĸ
Lexicogrammatical Systems	Transitivity	Hypotaxis, Parataxis	Mood, Key	Theme, Information Unit (Given & New)
s podlanotni to s	Ľ	L ad a	κ.	/ gode in K
Phonology/ Graphology		Tone Sequences e.g. a rising tone followed by a falling tone	rising, falling, (etc.) of pitch (TONE)	Placement of 'tonic prominence' (TONICITY) The organization of spoken language into 'tone groups' (TONALITY)

The three categories of TONALITY, TONICITY and TONE are also interdependent on other features of the English sound system. One of these is rhythm. Rhythm plays an important part in the understanding and identification of intonation patterns, and for this reason it is apropos to briefly outline it here.

Rhythm

English is a stress-timed, or foot-timed language which means that utterances can be organized into feet (like bars in music) which are roughly equal in length. A foot can be further broken down into syllables, and within a foot the first syllable is always salient, or stressed, while the other syllables (if there are more than one) are non-salient. A foot may also begin with a silent beat which is called a silent *ictus*, but this does not break the rhythm of the utterance (Halliday, 1970: 1-3). These features of rhythm can be compared to a bar in music. For example a piece of music in 3/4 time such as a waltz has a rhythmic beat of 'strong-weak-weak'. Each bar has three beats in it no matter whether it is made up of eighth notes or a rest. Even if the first beat of the bar is silent, the rhythm is not broken. Spoken English also follows very rhythmic timing such that a foot with five syllables is virtually the same length as a foot with one syllable, all other things (such as tempo) being equal. So, if we say, for example, the sea was getting very rough with the strong beats falling on 'sea', 'get', and 'rough', we find that the middle foot contains four syllables while the last foot contains only one syllable. The four-syllable foot /get-ting-ve-ry/ requires the speaker to 'squash' the syllables up so that this foot will equal the one-syllable foot, /rough/.

Another important point about salience is that it is connected with word accent. Halliday (1970: 2) states that the most likely syllables to become salient in connected speech are:

- (1) one-syllable words of the content class (lexical words).
- (2) the accented syllable of a word with more than one syllable.

Those syllables which are more likely to become weak syllables in connected speech are

- (1) one-syllable words of the "form" class (structural words).
- (2) the non-accented syllables of words with more than one syllable.

Although rhythm is not meaning-making like tone, it is important to the production and comprehension of English, and it plays an important role in the recognition of features of the system of intonation, including the recognition of tone group boundaries.

The notation used to mark foot boundaries, silent beats and salience in a transcription is as follows:

```
/ - a single slash indicates a foot boundary - a salient syllable always comes after a foot boundary - an 'insert' symbol is used to mark a silent beat
```

The utterance the sea was getting very rough can now be transcribed in the following way:

∧ the /sea was /getting very /rough

We shall now turn to the three categories of the system of intonation, TONALITY, TONICITY and TONE.

TONALITY

TONALITY, which is the segmentation of the flow of discourse into tone groups, makes it possible to locate the boundaries between tone groups. If we want to investigate patterns of tone group segmentation in discourse, we need to find the boundaries of tone groups. Some tone groups extend over rather long stretches of speech, longer than a clause or even a clause complex, while other tone groups may extend only over a word or a syllable. Such patterning helps us to identify a text type or register, i.e. whether it is a written text that is being read out loud, a prepared speech as opposed to an impromptu speech, or a sportscast, or a gossip session. Each of these types of texts will have specific patterns of TONALITY. For instance, Halliday (1970: 4) notes that 'in reading aloud, or in more formal speech, clauses tend to be divided into quite a number of tone groups, because they are rather long and full of information'. Tench (1988) has found that 'length of intonation unit seems to correlate with the degree to which the semantic content [of the spoken text] is prepared' (Tench, 1988: 80). In specific portions of sports commentaries, tone group boundaries coincide largely with grammatical structures such as nominal groups or circumstances. In general, however, the tone group can be of any length 'depending on the particular meaning that the speaker wishes to convey' (Halliday, 1970: 4).

The notation used to mark tone groups is a double slash //. The utterance the sea was getting very rough can now be presented in the following way.

// ∧ the /sea was /getting very /rough //

TONICITY

TONICITY is the system of assigning tonic prominence to a syllable in the tone group, thus indicating which part of the tone group is considered by the speaker to be important, or new. The tonic syllable always falls on a salient syllable and is recognized by a distinct change of pitch. According to Halliday, it 'carries the main burden of the pitch movement in the tone group' (Halliday, 1970: 4).

The assignment of tonic prominence is 'a way of relating what is being said to what has gone before [and] ... is therefore an essential part of the organisation of discourse' (Halliday, 1970: 41). The most neutral place in each tone group for tonic prominence to fall is the last lexical item in the tone group. This is the most likely place that speakers would assign the tonic prominence if they were to read the utterance out of its context. This is thus known as 'neutral TONICITY'. The notation used to mark tonic prominence is either underlining or bold type. In this report underlining shall be used.

Using this idea of neutral TONICITY, the utterance the sea was getting very rough can now be transcribed as follows.

// ∧ the /sea was /getting very /rough //

The identification of tonic prominence is useful in finding out if there are any special meanings stemming from the context of situation and associated with the utterance. For example, consider the following utterance.

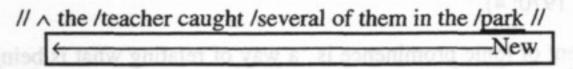
The teacher caught several of them in the park

It will be assumed that this utterance constitutes one tone group, that is, in this utterance there is only one syllable which takes tonic prominence. By changing the syllable which takes tonic prominence, we can demonstrate how the utterance construes a different meaning with each change. In each of the following examples a different syllable has been underlined to indicate tonic prominence.

- 1. // ^ the /teacher caught /several of them in the /park //
 - 2. // ^ the /teacher caught /several of them in the /park //
 - 3. // ^ the /teacher caught /several of them in the /park //

In example 1 the tonic prominence falls on tea of teacher. Here the speaker has chosen to place focus on the word teacher. This suggests that a question that may have preceded this utterance in the context could have been, who caught them? By placing tonic prominence on tea the speaker is attending to the 'who' part of the question. In doing so, the speaker is indicating that it was the teacher and not, perhaps the police, or the townspeople who caught them. In example 2 the focus is on the number of them caught, so a possible question preceding this utterance is, Were any of them caught? or How many of them were caught? In example 3 the focus is on the location of the catching, so a possible question preceding this utterance is Do you know where they were caught? To attend to this question, the speaker is obliged to place tonic prominence on the word park. Example 3 shows the neutral position for tonic prominence, i.e. on the last lexical item in the utterance.

The placement of the tonic syllable also has an important grammatical function. In order to discuss this, we need to reinterpret the tone group as a unit of information. In Table 1 it can be seen that INFORMATION UNIT is a structure in the lexicogrammatical level of language. An information unit has both obligatory and optional elements. The obligatory element is called the 'New' element, while the optional element is called the 'Given' element. This can be explained in the following way. In each information unit, tonic prominence indicates 'the culmination of what is new' (Halliday, 1985: 55). From the above utterance, 'the teacher caught several of them in the park', each time the tonic prominence changed position, the speaker indicated that he/she was attending to something different in the context. The piece of information that is attended to in each case is presented as something 'new'. Therefore, the tonic syllable is an indicator of the 'New' element in an information unit. If there is anything after the tonic it is known as the 'Given' element. So, the obligatory element in the information unit is the New while the optional element is the Given. As the New element is a culmination point, there may not be a clear line that can be drawn to show whether what comes before the tonic is new, or given. We need to go back in the text and the context to make any decisions on this. Therefore, the structure of the information unit is (G)^ N^ (G) obligatory New element, optionally preceded and/or followed by something Given (Halliday, 1985: 55). Example 3 from above could be analyzed in the following way.



Tonic prominence and the structure of the Information Unit provides a means of ascertaining how the information in a text flows or what the overall structure of a text is. Examining those items in the text which are given tonic prominence indicates what the speaker perceives to be the foci of the message, or what the speaker perceives to be new information throughout the text. With reference to the function of tonicity in discourse, El-Manoufy (1988: 8-9) states

The selection of a particular word as the tonic word indicates whether or not the speaker is "presupposing" something in the previous discourse or in the situation. This presupposition acts as a link, relating the content of the information unit to that discourse or situation ... it is organization in terms of establishing relationships between the different bits of discourse and between them and the situation.

TONICITY therefore contributes to the realization of Textual meanings and thereby contributes to the realization of Mode.

TONE

The description of TONE, which constitutes a major portion of this report uses examples drawn directly from Halliday's A Course in Spoken English: Intonation (1970). Readers are advised to consult this book for a full discussion of the system of TONE. It should be noted that this report does not include a discussion of pretonics or secondary tones and their associated meanings. Unfortunately, the time allocated to the workshop and the general aims of the workshop did not allow for more than a cursory look at these features of the intonation system.

Table 1 indicates that TONE plays a part in realizing both interpersonal and logical meanings and is realized by changes in pitch. In terms of interpersonal meanings, the choice of tone realizes speech function, such as statement or question, as well as modality, such as assessment and possibility and speaker's attitude, such as deference, assertiveness, tentativeness and hostility. These latter features can all be grouped under the heading, 'Key'. Choice of tone thus plays an important role in the realization of Tenor. There are seven primary tones including two compound tones. They are outlined below along with their basic meanings and some examples of utterances in which they are used. Their role in realizing logical meanings is also suggested. (Example utterances in this section are taken from Halliday (1970) except where indicated.)

TONE 1 (Basic meaning: certainty)

Tonic: falling

// 1 Arthur and /Jane left for /Italy this /morning //

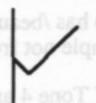
Tone 1 is realized by falling pitch. It is the neutral tone for statements, wh-questions, commands and exclamations. The basic meaning of Tone 1 is 'certainty'. However, depending on the kind of utterance it is used in, the speaker's attitude that is conveyed may differ. For example, when used for a negative command, such as 'don't do it again', it gives a sense of forcefulness, whereas when used in the utterance of a statement-question, such as 'Peter's not here yet' it expresses the speaker's observation of a fact, or situation. A sequence of Tone 1s indicates a sequence of independent pieces of information. It may also indicate certainty when used with a tag question such as

// 1 ^ they live in /Beckenham //1 don't they// ('I'm fairly sure they do')

TONE 2 (Basic meaning: uncertainty)

Tonic: high rising

or falling-rising (pointed)



// 2 do they /take the /car when they /go a/broad //

Tone 2 is realized by a high rising pitch. The basic meaning that it expresses is one of uncertainty in the speaker and is hence the neutral tone for polar interrogatives. When a Tone 2 is used in an utterance which is grammatically a statement, it changes this statement into a question. When used in a wh-question, it can change the function of the wh-question to become either deferential in key, or to become that of an echo question. Tone 2 can also make a response sound contradictory or confrontational such as in the following example.

Question: Have you got the tickets?

Response: // 2 ^ no I /haven't /got the /tickets// ('out of the question')

Some common clause sequences with Tone 2 are listed below.

Tone 1 & 2 (polarity changed) // 1 Peter's here // 2 isn't he //

Tone 2 & 1 (alternative question) // 2 did you play /tennis // 1 \(\lambda \) or / golf // ('which?')

Tone 2 & 2 (list question) // 2 did you play /tennis // 2 \wedge or / golf // ('yes or no?')

Tone 1 & 2 (statement with tag question implying uncertainty)

// 1 \rightarrow they live in /Beckenham //2 don't they//

TONE 3 (Basic meaning: confirmation, incompleteness)

Tonic: low rising

nterpersonal meanings, the choice

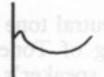
// 3 Arthur /likes to /have it /while he's /there //

Unlike Tone 2, the rise in pitch of Tone 3 is very slight, and at times almost level. When used in making a statement, Tone 3 can express the speaker's desire to reassure. If the speaker chooses a Tone 3 when making a command, the command is more likely to sound polite, or not so serious in nature. Tone 3 can express a sense of incompleteness, as when a speaker is saying a list of items. Each item may be said using a Tone 3 and only until the speaker uses a Tone 1 will the list sound complete. The clause complex sequence of Tone 3 followed by Tone 1 is the neutral sequence for co-ordination, or paratactic clause relation. For example,

// 3 John went /out and // 1 Mary stayed at /home //

TONE 4 (Basic meaning: reservation or contrast)

Tonic: falling-rising (rounded)



// 4 ^ they /didn't /take the /car /last time they /went // ('so why are they taking it this time...')

According to Halliday, Tone 4 is the second most common tone in English next to Tone 1. The basic meaning of Tone 4 is that of reservation, contrast or strong personal opinion that may be in contrast with the listener's opinion. For example, when a speaker uses a Tone 4 on a statement such as, 'Kyoto has beautiful temples', the listener is waiting for the 'but' and the piece of contrasting information that expresses the real reason why, for instance, the speaker would not like to live in Kyoto.

// 4 Kyoto has /beautiful /temples // 1^ but I /much prefer /Tokyo's /night life // (this example not from Halliday (1970))

A sequence of Tone 4 and Tone 1 (or Tone 1 followed by Tone 4) is the neutral sequence chosen where one clause is dependent on the other, as in the above example.

Bowcher: Intonation in English

TONE 5 (Basic meaning: strong certainty)

Tonic: rising-falling (rounded)



// 5 ^ I /didn't /know they'd /ever /been to /Italy //

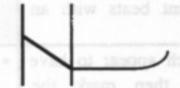
Tone 5 is opposite in shape to Tone 4 and is likewise opposite in meaning. Whereas Tone 4 indicates to the listener that there is more to follow, Tone 5 expresses the sense that there is nothing more to be said. It is used on statements to express the strong commitment of the speaker to an opinion or an idea or in exclamatory responses to express surprise or sudden realization, such as in the following example.

// 5 ^ so /that's why we /always /saw them /there //

If Tone 5 is used in addressing someone it is more than likely that the speaker is scolding that person. A sequence of Tone 5s indicates a sequence of independent pieces of information.

TONE 13 (Basic meaning: Circumstantial information in tone 3 element)

Tonic: first tonic falling, second tonic low rising



// 13 Arthur's /been there /twice in the /last /year or /so //

Tone 13 is a compound tone in that Tone 1 and Tone 3 have become fused. This tone does not represent a tone sequence because there is no possibility for any pretonic to occur before the onset of the Tone 3 rise. In utterances which use Tone 13, there are two tonic syllables. The first falls on the major piece of information in the utterance, while the second falls on relatively minor information. Tone 13 may express a plea or a speaker's attempt at persuading the listener to do something, as in the following example.

// 13 Try not to /step in it // (a mother telling her child not to step in some milk spilled on the kitchen floor)

Tone 13 is commonly found in utterances which include a clause final adjunct or a substitution clause, as in the following examples.

// 13 \(\triangle \text{there are /\frac{deer}{deer}} \text{ in those /\woods // \(\) // 13 \(\triangle \text{ it's a /real /\text{nuisance /that /\dog // \)

TONE 53 (Basic meaning: Circumstantial information in Tone 3 element)

Tonic: first tonic rising-falling (rounded), second tonic low rising



// 53 ^ he's /never /taken /Jane on /any of his /visits /though //

Tone 53 is the only other compound primary tone in English. Because of the intensity of Tone 5, utterances which use Tone 53 express a stronger commitment on the part of the speaker either in level of excitement or surprise, hostility or anger in the first part of the utterance, with minor related information expressed through the second part of the utterance

using the Tone 3 movement. Like Tone 13, Tone 53 can also be used on utterances in which there is a clause final adjunct or where there is a substitution clause.

Analysis

After listening to examples of the primary tones using Halliday (1970) and conducting short associated tasks such as dividing short utterances into feet, finding the tonic syllable and determining the tone group of utterances, the participants in the workshop were asked to attempt to analyze a simulated authentic conversational English text. Included in each workshop participant's package of handouts was a set of recommended steps for analyzing the intonation patterns. These steps are reproduced in Table 2.

The time allotted to the workshop unfortunately did not allow participants to complete the analysis of the text. The analysis presented in this paper was completed after the workshop with the help of Lawrence Pikus of Yokkaichi University.

Table 2 Steps to Analyzing the Text

Step	nalyzing the Text Helpful Hints			
1. Listen to the text and mark the feet boundaries and any silent beats with an insert symbol.				
2. Mark the syllables which appear to have tonic prominence and then mark the structure of the information unit (Given and New).	 See Halliday's analysis of the 'Silver' Text in Introduction to Functional Grammar (1994), especially pages 370-378. Remember that the New element is the obligatory element of the information structure and it may extend from the last lexical item back to the beginning of the utterance. Remember that there may be a Given element both before and after the New. Check what has been said before in the conversation. 			
3. Mark the tone group boundaries and the tone group choices.	their meanings. You should be able to eliminate certain tone group choices because their meanings do not correlate with the meaning of the speaker. If you are still unsure, listen to the recording of the tone groups and their meanings again, and then listen to the utterance that you are unsure about. Check the meaning again and then try to make a decision. • Remember that the tone group boundaries often extend over more than one clause or are less than one clause. The neutral tone group boundary is one clause = one tone group.			
4. Read the dialogue out loud by using the tone groups that you have marked in. Does it seem natural?	 Remember that some tone group sequences are reflecting logical relations between clauses. If your reading doesn't seem natural, listen to the tape again, check the meaning that is being conveyed and then make any necessary changes. 			

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N. B. utterances are organized according to turns - each turn takes a new line and number. This analysis is largely a broad analysis. Only a few secondary tones have been marked. Selected utterances show Given and New structure. Utterances located to the right are placed approximately where one speaker interrupts or overlaps the other speaker.

R= Robert, J= Jane (m) = minor information. G = Given

1. R:	// 2 ∧ ciga/ <u>rette</u> //
	New

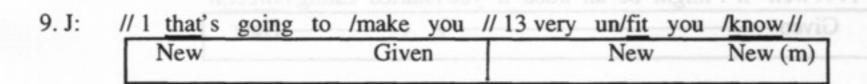
Given ←—New Given	2. J:	// 3 ∧ no	/ thank	you // 5	I've	given	/ up	you	/know
Orien the orien			14.04.7	G	iven	←	-Nev	v G	iven

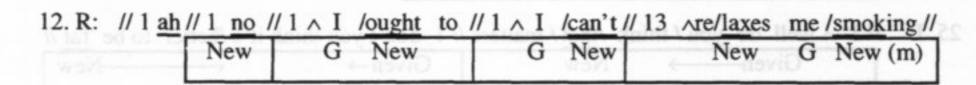
6. J: // 3 well // 3 ^ al/right /then//

R: coughs

8. R: // 1 no //	3 ∧ no it's	/ <u>not</u> /	/1 ∧ it's /only / ∧ it'	s /only / A I /only get it / first
Γ	Given	New	Given —	See R bit shink I -> (

thing	in	the	/morning /
_			-New





J.								
	// 2 really // // 4 mmm // 1/							
		G New						
J:	// 3 well /have	you /ever	/thought of	f // 1 just	/cutting	/down//	,	
	Given-			│ ←		- New	0 V 7 W	
R:	// 13 ah /no th	nat's //13 all	very /well	but // 1	31/1/	wouldn't	en/joy	it
			v New (Given		New	
	// 13 ∧ I de/pe	end a/bit on	/my /smoki	ng // 1	∧I / <u>mu</u> s	st say //		
	Given N	lew	New (m) Gi	ven G	iven Ne	ew		
J:	// 4 ^ you /cou	uld /gradual	ly // 3 ^ I /	mean //	3 well	if you	/tried //	
		New						
	//2 have	/th annals t	6 / 2 2	1V H D0	/ // 1	or not i	/day //	
	// 3 have you Given			ng /up /			New	
	I CIIVEII				*	•		
	Given			(Main)	111/211	BA CNI	law C	
R:	// 1 yes // 1 oh			79300	a / good	d i// 4 dea	but er	//
R:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/ <u>well</u> // 1 y		/is quite	a / good	d i// 4 dea		//
	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/ <u>well</u> // 1 y	es // 1 ^that	/is quite New		New	40 13	
R: J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/ <u>well</u> // 1 y	es // 1 ^that	/is quite New		// 2 /		_
J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/well // 1 y	Given	/is quite	/sondae	// 2 /	v ^it / <u>is</u> //	_
l:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/well // 1 y	Given	/is quite	/sondae	// 2 /	v ^it / <u>is</u> //	_
l:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/well // 1 y	Given	/is quite New	g //	// 2 /	vit / is // G New	_
I:	// 1 yes // 1 oh	/well // 1 y	Given	/is quite New	g //	// 2 /	vit / is // G New	_
J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh // 1 / I / think Given // 1 oh dear // 1	/well // 1 y	Given count or /s	/is quite New	g //	// 2 /	vit / is // G New	_
J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh // 1 \square I // 1 hink Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \square well it	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given count or /s	/is quite New something	g //	/sweets//	vit / is // G New	_
J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh // 1 \square I // 1 hink Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \square well it Given	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given count or /s New	/is quite New something	g //	/sweets// -New	vit / is // G New	_
J: R:	//1 yes //1 oh //1 \wedge I //1 think Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \well it Given	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given count or /s New an i/dea if y	/is quite New something	d eating	/sweets// -New	v / is // G New	_
J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh // 1 \square I // 1 hink Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \square well it Given	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given count or /s New an i/dea if y	/is quite New something	d eating	/sweets// -New	ssibly //	_
I: R:	//1 yes //1 oh //1 \wedge I //1 think Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \well it Given	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given / count or /s New an i/dea if y uldn't do /s	/is quite New something ou /starte that // lew	d eating 1 ∧ cou	/sweets// -New	ssibly //	
J: R:	//1 yes //1 oh //1 \wedge I //1 think Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \well it Given	/well // 1 y I'd /lose / well / might be a	Given / count or /s New an i/dea if y uldn't do /s	/is quite New something ou /starte that //	d eating	/sweets// -New Idn't /posven New	ssibly //	
J: R: J:	// 1 yes // 1 oh // 1 \shall I / think Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \shall it Given // 1 oh // 1 no //	/well // 1 y Well // lose / well / might be a	Given / count or /s New an i/dea if y uldn't do /s	/is quite New something ou /starte that // lew / 1 why?	d eating	/sweets// -New Idn't /pos ven New	ssibly //	
J: R: J:	//1 yes //1 oh //1 \wedge I //1 think Given // 1 oh dear // 1 // 1+ \well it Given	/well // 1 y Well // lose / well / might be a	Given / count or /s New an i/dea if y uldn't do /s	something ou /starte that // lew // 1 why? //	d eating	/sweets// -New Idn't /posven New	ssibly //	

	// 1 <u>no</u> // 1 × 1/ <u>don t</u>	// 13 A I'd / rather be fa I'd /rat Given	New New (m)
875	// 1 certainly // New		
J:	// 1^ oh /dear // 1 ^ o		
R:	// 1 anyway //		
J:	// 1 hey I've /got a		
	Iliday's 'Silver' text, page	New	
14.	// I What S / that //		
	New		
	New		
J:			
I:		it to convey in terms	
	// 1+ why don't you	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+ New	New /sister /did //
	// 1+ why don't you	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+	∧ my /sister /did //
R:	// 1+ why don't you Given	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+ New	//1 yeah/
R:	// 1+ why don't you Given	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+ New // 1 oh//	//1 yeah/
R:	// 1+ why don't you Given // 1 look // 4 \(\text{you} \) you y	// 1 oh// // ou /don't seem to / realise / th	//1 yeah/
R:	// 1 + why don't you Given // 1 look // 4 \(\text{you y} \) Given // 4 \(\text{if /I / gave it /up} \)	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+ New // 1 oh// // ou /don't seem to / realise / th New // 4 ∧ if/I /didn't /smoke at /all	// New /sister /did // New //1 yeah/ nat /that // 1 I /like /smoking Given New Given
R:	// 1+ why don't you Given // 1 look // 4 \(\text{you y} \) Given	u /go to a /hypno/tist // 1+ New // 1 oh// // ou /don't seem to / realise / the New	// New //1 yeah/ nat /that // 1 I /like /smoking Given New Given
R:	// 1 + why don't you Given // 1 look // 4 \(\text{you y} \) Given // 4 \(\text{if /I / gave it /up} \) Given New	// 1 oh// // Ou /don't seem to / realise / the New // 4 \wedge if /I /didn't /smoke at /all Given New	// New /sister /did // New //1 yeah/ nat /that // 1 I /like /smoking Given New Given
J: R: R:	// 1 + why don't you Given // 1 look // 4 \(\text{you y} \) Given // 4 \(\text{if /I / gave it /up} \) Given New	// 1 oh// // Ou /don't seem to / realise / th // 4 \wedge if I /didn't /smoke at /all Given New Industry if I /didn't /smoke at /all New Industry if I /didn't /smoke at /all Industry if I /didn't	// New //1 yeah/ nat /that // 1 I /like /smoking Given New Given

Interpretation

The analysis of the text provides an idea of the kind of choices that the speakers make to convey their meaning. However, in order to relate the analysis to the context of situation, or to show how intonation choices play an important role in construing the context of situation, the analysis requires some kind of interpretation. This was implied in the hints for analyzing the text where participants were asked to consider the meaning of the speaker when trying to ascertain the choice of tone (see Table 2). So, in order to provide a fuller account of how to interpret the analysis, each workshop participant was provided with a set of steps to follow in an interpretation of an analysis of intonation. These steps are reproduced in Table 3.

Table 3 Steps for Interpreting the Analysis

Steps	tonation in the 'Silver' text to help guide you.) Helpful Hints
Which tone group sequences are reflecting logical relations between clauses? Make a brief statement about the relation between the clauses in these sequences.	
 2. i) Check to see how the information is organized. i.e. do the tone groups coincide with clauses? If not, a) what elements of the clause have become one information unit? or b) where does the information unit extend across more than one clause? ii) What comments can you make about the relationship between the grammatical structure of clauses and the tone group boundaries? 	See Halliday's 'Silver' text on page 375 and page 379 for an example
3. Find all the marked tone group structures. This is where the tonic does NOT fall on the last lexical item. What special meanings are being conveyed by the placement of the tonic? Consider any cohesive roles that are being played? What do the speakers want to convey in terms of the flow of information?	Check Halliday's 'Silver' text, page 369 and page 379 for some examples here.
Tone 1 Tone 2 Tone 3 Tone 4 Tone 5 Tone 13 Tone 13 Tone 13 Tone 53 Tone 54 Tone 55 Ton	rdinate clause) dent clause followed by its main clause) clause followed by dependent clause) ment with tag question) ment with tag question)
iii) What is the most common /least common tone group cl iii) Can you make any other comments about why the pa a clustering of tone group choices in one part of the di	tterns of choices occurred? (For example, was there
5. What are the neutral tone group choices for the dialogue? Where have marked tone group choices been made? What special meanings are being conveyed through the choice of marked tone groups? You may wish to review what is meant by neutral choice and what is meant by marked choice.	 See page 370, 380 and 384 of IFG for some examples here. You should consider the possible relationship between the choice of tone group and the relationship between the speakers? Are they ever being forceful, tentative, pleading etc.?
6. Can you make any further comments about the choice of tone, the placement of tone group boundaries, and the	Consider dividing the text into segments for ease of discussion the way that Halliday does

Unfortunately, it was not possible to complete an interpretation of the analysis during the workshop time. Therefore, a suggested interpretation was completed after the workshop, again with the help of Lawrence Pikus. This interpretation is presented in a series of steps which correlate with those from Table 3.

A Possible Interpretation of the Analysis

Step One

Two examples of tone group sequences can be found at Turns 17 and 33. Turn 17 is an example of a series of Tone 3s followed by a Tone 1 tone sequence. Each of the Tone 3s are suggesting that the speaker, in this case Jane, has not completed what she wants to say and the listener, Robert, must wait until the Tone 1 utterance. The Tone 1 utterance completes Jane's turn. This is a very typical use of Tone 3 & Tone 1 sequence, where Tone 3 indicates incompleteness (Halliday, 1970: 33).

Turn 33 is an example of a 4 & 1 tone sequence. In this example there are two Tone 4 utterances followed by a Tone 1 utterance. The use of tone 4 in these instances is congruent with the grammatical structure of conditional sentences, or the use of 'if' clauses. Robert utters both of these dependent clauses on a Tone 4 indicating that there is some information to follow upon which this information is dependent. The independent information is that the speaker may end up 'attacking people'.

Step Two

Rather than mention all of the cases in which tone groups coincide with clauses or those cases in which they do not, only a few examples will be noted here. Turn 31, for instance, is a fine example of where the tone group coincides with the clause and incidentally, where the assignment of tonic prominence is neutral. Turn 7 is an example of where a tone group may coincide with one word. In this case the words, 'a terrible' and 'cough' which constitute one nominal group are uttered with two tone groups, a Tone 5 and a Tone 4. Both of these tone groups are marked in this case, suggesting that this nominal group holds special meaning. In fact, because Jane uses these tone groups on this nominal group the effect is that both the words are highlighted and we can infer that Jane is expressing her strong opinion about the cough. Tone 5 on 'terrible' is her expression of certainty that the cough is terrible, while tone 4 on 'cough' is perhaps suggesting a sense of reservation or concern for the man. In any case, the use of both these tone groups indicates an intrusion into the personal space of the listener, Robert (Halliday, 1970: 34-35). Incidentally, this intrusion is not welcomed by Robert as is evident in the next turn where he tries to deflect Jane's concern.

Step Three

An example of marked TONICITY can be found at Turn 33. Here, tonic prominence is placed on the syllable 'tack' from attacking. Robert has highlighted, not the group of things that he would attack, but the act of attacking which we can deduce is not what the speaker considers 'normal' behaviour but the aberrant behaviour which would result from his giving up smoking.

At turn 25 tonic prominence is placed on the word, 'that'. This is marked TONICITY, as neutral TONICITY would have fallen on 'mat' from matters. Here Jane is marking the word 'that', because she is explicitly referring back (anaphoric reference) to the series of utterances in which she and Robert discuss the possibility of his eating sweets, rather than smoking and his claim that doing so would make him fat. By placing prominence on 'that' she not only focuses on the reference back to his idea about 'fatness', but highlights her opinion that to consider something as trivial as being fat rather than unhealthy (because of smoking) is not sensible, and in fact she goes on to say this in the next utterances.

Step Four

The most common tone group was Tone 1 and the least common tone group was Tone 53. Tone 1 is the neutral tone for many speech functions, including wh-questions and statements and as there are many of these in the dialogue it is not surprising to find a proliferation of Tone 1. There is also the fact that Robert often seems to be trying to state with certainty his feeling that he does not want to give up smoking—and Jane is often asserting that he should.

Table 4 From Step 4 of 'Steps to Interpreting the Analysis'

Type of Tone Group/Tone Sequence	No. of Occurrences
Tone 1	49
Tone 2	3 more shot to esigmax
Tone 3	9
Tone 4	10
Tone 5	5
Tone 13	9
Tone 53	0
2 & 1 (alternative question) 2 & 2 (list question) 3 & 1 (co-ordinate clause) 4&1 (dependent clause followed by its main clause) 1 & 4 (main clause followed by dependent clause) 1 & 2 (statement with tag question) 1 & 1 (statement with tag question)	0 0 at turns. 18 + 20, 33 (2 sets) at turn 25 0

There are a couple of places in the dialogue where the speaker uses the same intonation patterns. For example, at turn 12 Robert replies to the question 'why don't you try give up' with a series of Tone 1s ending with a compound Tone 13. Here he is presenting first his position, which we can deduce is a fairly emphatic 'no', along with his acceptance that he is certain that he should give up, followed by his certainty in his reasons why he is not prepared to give up smoking. He ends this series of Tone 1s with the displaced subject 'smoking'. Expressing his certainty in not giving up smoking but finishing with the rise on the displaced subject 'smoking', suggests perhaps his concession to politeness or a slightly defensive attitude. Had he finished on a falling tone, such as Tone 1, his reply may have appeared too strong and confrontational. By ending on a slight rise, he appears to be attempting to weaken the forcefulness of his reply and to try to maintain a friendly atmosphere.

At turn 16 Robert uses a series of Tone 13s. This tone is used when a speaker wishes to highlight major and minor pieces of information in his/her utterance. In the examples from the text, this seems to be exactly what Robert is doing. The main pieces of information that he is highlighting are the conversational acknowledgment, 'ah', the first part of the phrase 'all very well' which refers back to Jane's suggestion to cut down, the modal 'wouldn't' and the process 'depend'. The secondary focus is on his reply to cutting down smoking 'no', the second part of the phrase 'all very well', the main verb 'enjoy' and the main topic of the conversation 'smoking'. It appears that he is trying to get his message across to the woman without appearing to be too forceful, but he does wish to be firm and therefore the use of Tone 13 allows him to highlight almost all of his utterance and his opinion of her advice to try cutting down on smoking by appearing both firm and at the same time polite. The final tone group in this particular turn is a Tone 1. The tonic prominence is placed on the modal 'must', which reinforces his attitude of firmness in his commitment to not giving up smoking.

· Step Five

There are a few prominent examples of the use of marked, or non-neutral tone choices. The neutral tone choice for a yes-no question, for example, is a Tone 2. However, Jane asks several yes-no questions using Tone 1 (at turns 15, 17, 25). At turn 15 she is asking if Robert has ever thought of just cutting down on his smoking. Here she splits this question into two tone groups, the first being a Tone 3 and the second a Tone 1. By doing this, Jane appears to be holding back her suggestion of just cutting down and then presenting her suggestion as a 'bright idea' that offers a palatable solution to Robert to quit smoking. There is the possibility that the use of a Tone 3 followed by a Tone 1 in this instance may be a strategy to make the polar interrogative appear as a statement, or suggestion open for discussion rather than just requiring a yes/no answer. Jane perhaps sees this as a solution to Robert's problem of smoking rather than a genuine question requiring a yes or no answer. Jane uses this strategy again in her next turn at turn 17. Here, she first uses a Tone 4 to suggest to Robert that he could give up smoking 'gradually'. The use of a Tone 4 in this instance has the effect of contrasting the word 'gradually' with something like 'immediately', although she never explicitly does this. She then presents her next polar interrogative in two tone groups, a Tone

3 followed by a Tone 1. This again appears to have the effect of holding off the main point of her question and again makes the question appear as a suggestion, or a thought, or an idea that has just come to her and is open for discussion. Her use of a wide Tone 1 on the final point of her question appears to be quite forceful, and could be her way of attempting to force Robert to view her idea of cutting down by 'one every day' as a strong possible alternative to giving up immediately, and a viable strategy for giving up smoking gradually.

At turn 25, the use of a tone 1 on two polar interrogatives by Jane seems to indicate her impatience or frustration with Robert. Here (as mentioned in step three), Robert seems to think that eating sweets will make him unhealthy. From Jane's point of view, however, being fat should not be considered worse than being unhealthy. This sense of impatience or frustration with Robert is reinforced in the last utterance of turn 25 where Jane uses the contrastive Tone 4.

At turn 5, Robert uses a Tone 4 instead of the neutral Tone 1 for the statement, 'well you don't mind if I have one'. The tonic prominence is placed on the word 'I'. Here, Robert's choice of Tone 4 suggests contrast, that is, just because Jane is not going to have a cigarette because she has given up, this is not going to stop him having one. There also appears to be a sense of defensiveness about his smoking that is conveyed by the use of Tone 4 in this instance. Robert appears to feel confronted by the fact that Jane has given up and Jane, who so very forcefully stated that she has given up smoking (through the use of a Tone 5 at turn 2) has placed Robert on the defensive.

· Step Six

This section provides a summary of the dialogue and interpretation of the intonation patterns. The text is divided into five segments, based loosely on the sub-topics in the conversation.

Segment 1 (Turns 1 - 6 'Would you like a cigarette?')

The first segment is about Jane being offered a cigarette and her then informing Robert that she has given up. Robert then enquires if he can smoke and Jane complies. This small exchange is segmented into nine tone groups. The first two tone groups, are neutral. The following exclamation by Jane that she has given up smoking is met by Robert's use of a narrow Tone 5 'oh', which according to Halliday (1970: 32) could be interpreted as sarcastic. This attitude appears to be borne out in his request to Jane that he would like to smoke. The use of a Tone 4 on this occasion with marked TONICITY on 'I' indicates that he does not share her enthusiasm for giving up smoking and although he is requesting to smoke, the request does not expect a negative reply (see discussion of this turn in Step 5 above). Jane's reply, in using Tone 3 followed by another Tone 3 indicates that although she is conceding to his request, she is not particularly happy about it. It could be interpreted as a grudging acceptance, which, according to Halliday is a typical use of a narrow Tone 3 (Halliday, 1970: 39).

Segment 2 (Turns 7 - 10 'The Terrible Cough')

Segment 2 begins with Robert coughing after he has lit up his cigarette. This acts as a cue to Jane to comment on his cough and to extend this comment to his physical fitness. Her use of Tone 5 and Tone 4, on 'that's a terrible cough' is a fine example of the speaker intruding into the situation. The use of these tones gives her comment on Robert's cough the appearance of a strength of conviction or perhaps alarm, or perhaps a sense of being on higher moral ground. Jane has given up smoking and Robert's cough is a very good reason why he should join her. Robert goes immediately on the defensive with his answer 'no' which uses Tone 1, indicating certainty. He then confirms this by saying 'no it's not'. However, this utterance is said using a Tone 3. The use of Tone 3 in this instance could be a way of suggesting that his cough is nothing to worry about. This would accord with Halliday's assertion that Tone 3 can be used to express the speaker's view that the information is unimportant and to express an impression of casualness and unconcern (Halliday, 1970: 34). Robert now appears to be searching for a way of diverting attention away from his cough by stating with certainty, indicated through the use of a Tone 1 that the cough only occurs 'in the morning'. However, Jane is not to be thwarted in her quest for helping Robert quit smoking. Her reply is broken into two information units. First there is a Tone 1 on 'that's going to make you' and the remainder of the utterance is spoken with a Tone 13, 'very unfit you know'. The pitch falls on

'unfit' and appears to indicate Jane's certainty that he will be unfit if he continues to smoke. The rise in pitch on the minor piece of information in this tone group occurs on 'you know'. This suggests that she thinks he really should know this, but she is telling him in a polite and conciliatory way. Robert replies using a Tone 3 on 'it's alright'. This choice of Tone here appears to indicate that Robert is attempting to be casually unconcerned about his cough. The final turn in this segment is Robert's attempt to try to terminate the topic and the focus on his physical condition by stating that his cough will go away 'in a minute'. His use of Tone 13 on this utterance indicates that he is certain that his cough will go away, although he's not so certain about exactly when it will go away. Thus, the rise falls on the minor piece of information which is 'minute' — that is, it will go away in a minute, or at least very soon. The final tone group is a Tone 1 on Robert's sigh, 'ah'. We can infer from this that as far as Robert is concerned the matter of his giving up smoking is over.

Segment 3 (Turns 11 - 20 'Just Cut Down')

Jane now appears to show real concern for Robert and asks him using the neutral tone for whquestions, a Tone 1, why he doesn't just give up smoking. The tonic is placed on 'don't' which is an example of marked tonicity. Jane appears to want to make this the new information. The remainder of the information, 'try give up', is Given information and this makes sense as she has already implied that Robert should give up smoking in her previous comments about Robert being unfit and his terrible cough. Again, Robert replies with a series of Tone 1 statements indicating his certainty that he doesn't want to give up smoking and, indeed, he can't. He then gives a reason, in the form of a statement, using a Tone 13 that it relaxes him. The displacement of the subject, 'smoking' (the minor piece of information indicated by the slight rise in this compound tone group) is perhaps a further means of reinforcing the point. It is smoking that 'relaxes' him. By adding this minor piece of information on to the end of his turn in the exchange by the use of a rise in pitch, he is perhaps attempting to relax the atmosphere. However, Jane is not convinced that Robert will fare better if he continues to smoke and questions him with, 'really' using the neutral Tone 2. Robert replies using a Tone 4 on 'mmm' which could be worded as 'well as a matter of fact', or 'yes, actually' or 'frankly'. Whatever the wording may be, the tone choice indicates that Robert is declaring his personal evaluation of his claim that smoking relaxes him and that he does not want to have an argument about it. This is confirmed with his next statement using a Tone 1, 'it does'.

Jane's next suggestion is worded as a polar interrogative but is broken into two tone groups, a Tone 3 followed by a Tone 1 (see discussion in step 5 above). Here she is suggesting that Robert could cut down on his smoking. When Robert replies with a 'no' and the reason that he 'depends' on it, Jane then offers her advice using a Tone 4 suggesting that he could cut down 'gradually'. Using a Tone 4 on 'gradually', places this suggestion in contrast to, perhaps, 'immediately' which would be in the circumstances, rather a lot to expect of Robert. Jane therefore, appears to be suggesting to Robert that he has some alternative to stopping immediately. They appear to be negotiating the idea with both speakers relying on Tone 4 (Jane on 'gradually' and Robert on 'good idea') which in this case suggests that they are hedging in their forcefulness, perhaps trying to be polite while still stating their opinions. This can also be inferred from Jane's use of Tone 3s preceding her suggestion of giving up 'one every day'. Robert, however, once more attempts to bring the conversation about smoking to a close by stating with certainty through the use of Tone 1 that the reason he can't cut down is that he'd 'lose count' of the number of cigarettes he'd have.

Segment 4 (Turns 21 - 28 'Fat or Unhealthy?')

Instead of closing the conversation however, Jane takes this as an opportunity to offer more suggestions about how Robert can give up smoking. Her use of a Tone 1 on the word 'sweets' suggests that she feels quite sure that this is a good idea. They then start a discussion about the pros and cons of being 'fat' and 'healthy' or 'thin' and smoking and presumably unhealthy. This segment ends with the use of conversation fillers all spoken on Tone 1. Because of the meaning of certainty that Tone 1 conveys, this suggests a finality to the argument.

Segment 5 (Turns 29 - 34 'I like smoking')

This segment begins with a wide Tone 1 and a Tone 5. Jane's use of the Tone 5, in particular, suggests excitement, enthusiasm and the sense that a brilliant plan has just come to her for Robert to give up smoking (this is in stark contrast to the closing of the previous segment where it seems that the conversation had ended). Robert reluctantly enquires what the idea is using Tone 1, the neutral tone for a wh-question, and Jane using Tone 1s (in this case wide Tone 1s) suggests that he go to a 'hypnotist' to cure him of his smoking. By this stage in the conversation Robert has had enough of Jane and her suggestions. He seeks her attention with a Tone 1 on the word, 'look'. This is the neutral tone for a command. He then states that she doesn't seem to 'realize' with the use of a Tone 4. This use of Tone 4 has both the function of indicating that this utterance is grammatically dependent on the next and that he is rather forcefully putting forward his opinion. This is followed by a very strictly rhythmic utterance 'I like smoking' with the Tonic (a Tone 1) falling on 'like' and each word in the utterance falling in salient position and taking a complete foot. The use of a clear and strong Tone 1 helps Robert to express certainty about this point. He is no longer going to beat around the bush. His next two information groups are very narrow Tone 4s which provide the conditions upon which he bases his opinion. His final statement spoken on a Tone 1 expresses certainty about the consequence of his giving up smoking. Nevertheless, Jane is still not convinced, and we know this by her use of Tone 5 on 'of course you wouldn't'. This, however, is not the same as the enthusiastic Tone 5. It is a narrower Tone 5 suggesting her acceptance of the situation along with her opinion of him as perhaps a hopeless case. The conversation ends with laughter. They have agreed to disagree on the matter.

Some Final Remarks on Analyzing Intonation

The analysis and interpretation presented in this workshop report are should not be considered final or the only ones that could be derived. The workshop, being an introductory workshop, was simply an attempt to introduce the system of intonation within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistic theory and to introduce how one could proceed in analyzing intonation in context. As already noted there was not enough time to include an in-depth study of secondary tones and pretonics which would have provided more skills in discussing the relationship between intonation choices and the subtler shades of meanings and attitudes of the speakers. During the workshop there were lively discussions and often differing points of view over which tone group was used and where to draw the line in terms of TONALITY and TONICITY. Even during the writing of this paper and the final analysis and interpretation of this text, Lawrence and I disagreed to some extent. One thing that became very clear throughout this whole process however, was that analyzing intonation simply on the basis of sound would not provide such a rich insight into the meaning-making role that intonation plays. Intonation patterns have meaning and approaching the analysis of a spoken text is enriched by considering the meanings a speaker is trying to convey through choices in the intonation system. An analysis which requires one to consider both meaning and sound requires the analyzer to engage in a type of dialogue which is perhaps analogous to what goes on in a language event itself. Language is never produced in a vacuum. Any linguistic choices that a speaker makes are being motivated by a specific context. The dialectic between context and the system of language is an ongoing dialectic and so it is not surprising that an analysis of intonation requires the analyzer to be keep in mind the relevant context as well as what the speaker is saying and how this might be realized through choices in TONICITY, TONALITY and TONE. Although analyzing intonation is challenging its rewards include a greater appreciation of the intricacies of the language system and insights into an important dimension of how language responds to the contexts in which it is used.

Evaluation of the Workshop and Concluding Comments

After the workshop, the participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire evaluating the workshop. Part of the aim of this questionnaire was to ascertain whether this kind of workshop was useful, and whether other workshops should be held in the future. There was general agreement that the participants gained an introductory knowledge of Halliday's intonation system from the workshop and that future workshops would be welcomed. There was, however, general agreement, that the time constraints of the workshop did not allow for a thorough analysis and discussion of the text. This was also evident by the fact that much of

the analysis and discussion of the dialogue had to be completed after the workshop. It is hoped that a follow-up workshop can be conducted so that participants can engage in more detailed analyses and discussions of texts using the Systemic Functional model of intonation.

This paper set out to be a workshop report, but more than that, it is hoped that it has provided a sense of direction to anyone who may be interested in taking up the challenge of analyzing intonation. Readers who have access to the tape of the conversation used in the analysis in this workshop report and who disagree with the analysis and even the interpretation are more than welcome to offer their comments and insights.

*I wish to thank Professor William Greaves of Glendon College, York University, Toronto, for making it possible for me to attend his course on Phonetics and Halliday's Intonation as a research associate during the winter term, 1995, and Lawrence Pikus of Yokkaichi University for his helpful comments and suggestions on the analysis and interpretation of the workshop text during the preparation of this paper. My thanks are also extended to all the workshop participants for their insights and views.

Workshop Participants

Kiyoshi Shioiri, Matsuyama Shinonome College; Shinichiro Kodani, Ryukoku University, Kyoto; Terry Royce, Teachers College, Columbia University, Tokyo; Barbara Valentine Dunkley, Nanzan Junior College; Daniel Dunkley, Aichi Gakuin University; Kazuro Harimochi, Hiroshima Shudo University; Lawrence Pikus, Yokkaichi University; Maki Hanei, Hiroshima Shudo University; Naoko Hoshino, (graduate student) International Christian University; Shiho Tsunoi, (student) Tokyo Gakugei University; Miwako Inotani, (student) Tokyo Gakugei University; Wendy Bowcher (workshop co-ordinator) Tokyo Gakugei University.

Notes

1. **Pretonic** as the word implies is that which comes before the tonic syllable of an utterance. A pretonic exists where there is at least one complete foot before the Tonic syllable. Depending on the type of pretonic, i.e. whether it is rising, falling, uneven, there will be a change in the nature of the Tonic syllable and this indicates a change in the meaning or in the attitude of the speaker. For example, a rising pretonic can be found prior to the wide Tone 1 (1+) at turn 21 of the workshop text. **Secondary Tones** 'represent more subtle distinctions within the primary tones' (Halliday, 1970: 9). The wide Tone 1 (1+) at turn 21 is an example of a secondary tone (see the interpretation of the text for a discussion of this).

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The text used for the workshop analysis is taken from Chapter 11 of Leo Jones, (1977/81) Functions of English: A Course for Upper-intermediate and More Advanced Students. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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日本語の「主語」に関する一考察

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1. はじめに

M.A.K.ハリデー(Halliday: 1994) は、英語の選択体系機能文法における構造(structure)の部分の枠組みを完成させたと言えると思う。われわれの母語である日本語については、ようやくその枠組みが設定され始められようとしているところである。異なる学派の言語学者に対しても、説明力を有する選択体系機能言語学の日本語文法を作り上げる必要があると思われる。

R.ハッサンとP.H.フリーズ(Hasan and Fries: 1995: xxi)は、英語の主語を決定する典型的な特徴として、次の5つを挙げている。

- (1) a. The English Subject is a nominal group or nominalisation;
 - it is anaphorically presupposed by the pronoun in the Mood-Tag; if the latter occurs, its pronoun will be co-referential with Subject;
 - Subject occurs in close contiguity with the element Finite; if an intervening element occurs
 at all, it will prototypically be a Modal Adjunct eg., usually, normally, surely...;
 - d. when Subject is instantiated by a pronoun, in some cases the pronoun will be marked for case (nominative); and
 - e. under certain conditions, the Subject nominal will display person and number concord with the primary tense, ie., with the Finite element.

上の5つの特徴の中で、日本語の主語の定義とかかわり合いそうなのは、(1a)と(1d)だけである。(1d)で格マーカーについて述べられているが、主格を表す助詞「が」が存在するので、これを出発点にして主語を設定していきたい。したがって、はじめに日本語の主語を(2)のように定義する。

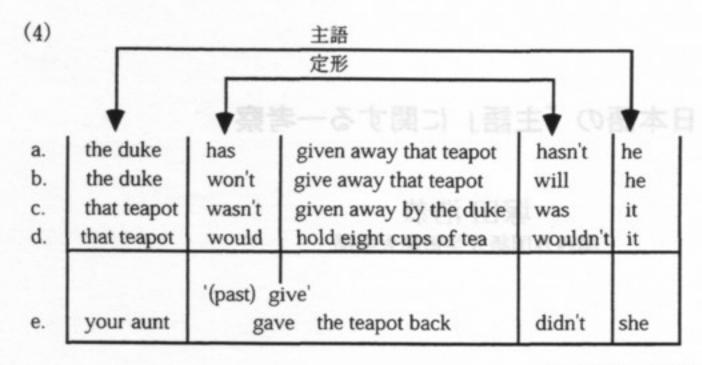
(2) 主格を表す助詞「が」の付いた名詞群あるいは名詞化された要素である。

2. 日英語の主語

最も基本であり、また重要である日本語の「主語」を定義していきたい。ハリデーは、英語の 主語をいわゆる付加疑問文を作ることによって検証している。(3)の例を挙げている。

- (3) a. The duke has given away that teapot.
 - b. The duke won't give away that teapot.
 - c. That teapot wasn't given away by the duke.
 - d. That teapot would hold eight cups of tea.
 - e. Your aunt gave the teapot back.

上の節を(4)のように図示して、主語を示している。



(ハリデー 1994: 73)

英語の場合、実にあざやかに節の「主語」が示されている。節末に現れる代名詞が指示しているものが、その節の主語になるのである。これに対し、日本語では、英語の付加疑問を作るテストに相当する終助詞「ね」を付加しても、英語のように主語を指示する代名詞は現れない。

次の(3)の付加疑問形の日本語訳をみてみる。

- (5) a. 公爵はあのティーポットをあげてしまったね。
 - b. 公爵はあのティーポットをあげないでしょうね。
 - c. あのティーポットは公爵にあげられなかったね。
 - d. あのティーポットには8杯分の紅茶が入るだろうね。
 - e. あなたの叔母はそのティーポットを戻しましたね。

日本語訳の(5)からは、主語を明示することはできない。したがって、選択体系機能文法において、日本語の主語はどのように定義づければよいのだろうか。

3. 日本語の他動性と能格性

3.1 池上 (1981)

日本語と英語は、池上(1981)で、全体中心的な「ナル」的言語と個体中心的な「スル」的言語という表現により区別されている。同時に、池上は「能格型」(ergative type)言語と「対格型」(accusative type)言語および「ナル」的言語と「スル」的言語とのかかわり合いを議論している。

能格型言語と対格型言語の格による文構造は、言語類型論的にそれぞれ (6a,b) になるとしている。

(6) a. 能格型:

- (i) A (能格) +動詞+B (主格)
- (ii) B (主格) +動詞
- b. 対格型:
 - (i) A (主格) +動詞+B (対格)
 - (ii) B (主格) +動詞

(池上 1981: 227)

(6) では、能格型と対格型の(ii)の構造のいずれもが、同じ格関係によって表されていることがわかる。しかし、(i) をみると、能格型では「主格」が動詞の後にきているが、対格型で

は「主格」が動詞の前に位置している。

まず(6b)の印欧語に代表される対格型の方から考えてみる。主格を有するAは、主語として文の中心的役割を担っているとしている。これに対し、(6a)の能格型を有するAは、例えば「Bが動く」ということを誘因する任意的な項であるとしている。つまり、対格型言語では、重要な働きをもつAが、対格型言語では、ある出来事を引き起こす付随的な部分に過ぎなくなってしまう。対格型言語は、「スル」的な傾向が顕著であり、一方能格型言語は、「ナル」的な傾向がある、と結論づけている。

英語は、きわめて対格的な言語であると考えられる。だが、日本語は、能格的な性格も比較的強く、3.3で検討する可能文でそれが現われ、総主構文でもそのような形式が具現されていると考えることができる。

ハリデーは、このような考えを、観念構成機能すなわち「過程構成」(transitivity)に取り入れている。英語を対格型的すなわち他動的(transitive)な側面からの考慮をしながらも、また同時に能格型的すなわち能格的(ergative)な側面からの考察も試みていると考えられる。

3.2 ハリデー (1994)

ハリデーは、(7)のように文法において、ある過程のタイプと別の過程のタイプが区別されることを「過程構成」により示している。そして、同時により抽象的な意味において、あらゆる過程の節は、最も中核的な参与要素である「媒体」(Medium)をもつという点で、同じような構造によって具現されるとしている。

(7) a. 物質過程:行為者(中間)、対象(効力)

b. 行動過程:行動者 c. 精神過程:感覚者

d. 言動過程: 言動者 (中間)、言対象 (効力)

e. 関係過程 i) 属性: 体現者

ii) 同定:被同定者

f. 存在過程:存在者 (ハリデー 1994: 165)

これは、「能格性」により分析される。過程が生じる媒体を通した実体なので、そう名付けられたとしている。各過程の媒体は、一般に(7)の参与要素のようになる。「媒体」の他に能格的解釈における主要な参与要素として、(8a)~(8d)を挙げている。(8)は、過程との関係が強い順序に従い挙げられている。

(8) a. 媒体

- b. 代理者 (Agent)
- c. 受益者 (Beneficiary)
- d. 領域(Range)

続いて、物質過程における他動的解釈と能格的解釈を表すと、(9a,b)になる。左側が中間 (middle) 構文で右側が効力 (effective) 構文に相当する。

(9) a. 他動的解釈

中間構文

1 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	
the boat	saild
the cloth	tore
Tom's eyes	closed
the rice	cooked
my resolve	weakened
行為者	過程

かカ構立

别刀幣入		
Mary	sailed	the boat
the nail	tore	the cloth
Tom	closed	his eyes
Pat	cooked	rice
the news	weakend	my resolve
行為者	過程	対象

b. 能格的解釈 中間構文

the boat saild the cloth tore
Tom's eyes closed cooked my resolve weakened 媒体 過程

効力構文

Mary	sailed	the boat	
the nail	tore	the cloth	
Tom	closed	his eyes	
Pat	cooked	rice	
the news	weakend	my resolve	
代理者	過程	媒体	

(Halliday 1994: 164)

(9) では、媒体が the boat, the cloth, Tom's eyes, the rice, my resolve である。物質過程の中間構文では、「行為者」が「媒体」に相当し、一方効力構文では、「対象」が「媒体」に対応する。

ここでは、能格構造に関する詳細には触れないことにする。他動的および能格的機能の対応 関係は、ハリデー(1994: 166)の表にみることができる。

3.3 小泉 (1993)

3.3.1 他動構文と能格的構文

小泉も他動構文と能格構文について述べている。グルジア語では、テンスが現在か過去かの違いにより、他動もしくは能格構造が異なって具現されるとしている。(10a)が他動的で、(10b)が能格的なものである。

(10) a. [現在] student-i cers ceril-s. 学生が手紙を書く。 [他動構文]

b. [過去] student-ma dancera ceril-i. 学生が手紙を書いた。

[能格構文] (小泉 1993: 199)

(10a) の語尾 -i が主格を表し、-s が対格語尾にな る。一方(10b)では、-ma が能格語尾であり、-i が主格語尾にあたる。これは、池上の(6)の区別に合致する。

このような関係をまとめると、(11) になるとしている。(10a,b) のいずれもが選択体系的には、物質過程である。

[行為者] [動詞] [対象]

- (11) a. 主格名詞+動詞+対格名詞
 - b. 能格名詞+動詞+主格名詞

小泉は、日本語の能格構文の例に、(12)の希望文、可能文、処置文を挙げている。

- (12) a. 私はメロンが食べたい。(希望文)
 - b. 夏子<u>は</u>バイオリン<u>が</u>ひける。 (可能文)
 - c. 窓が開けてある。(処置文)

(小泉 1993: 200)

(12a,b) の「私は」と「夏子は」は、能格形に近く「メロンが」と「バイオリンが」には、主格を示す助詞「が」が付加されている。そして(12c)では、「窓が」が主格を備えているが、能格を付与するものが不明であるとしている。留意すべきこととして、日本語には、能格を表す格助詞がないために、能格構文でなく能格「的」構文と呼ばなければならないとしていることである。

小泉は、述語動詞の意味に従って、(13a,b)のように日本語で、2項をもつ節は、他動構文と能格構文の大きく2つに分類されるとしている。

(13) a. 他動構文:「~が~を行為述語」 b. 能格的構文:「~は~が状態述語」

また小泉は、広い意味での能格的構文には「総主構文」と「所有構文」があるとしている。 これまで、助詞「が」は、主語を示すマーカーとして扱ってきた。能格的構文である希望文、 可能文、処置文および総主構文、所有構文においてもやはり、「が」が主語を表すマーカーで あるとしている。

3.3.2. 可能文

では、格文法を用いて小泉が行った能格的構文の分析をみていく。まず可能文についてみていく。(14a,b) の深層構造がそれぞれ(15a,b) になるとしている。

(14) a. 春子がフランス語を話す。 [他動構文] b. 春子はフランス語が話せる。 [能格的構文]

(小泉 1993: 209)

b. S 対象 述語 本子 に フランス語 を hanas-er-u

可能を示す語尾 er が述語に付加されると、(15a)で動作主格だった「春子が」が(15b)の経験者格「春子に」にかわり、さらに主題化されている。そして、対象格「フランス語を」が主語化され「フランス語が」になるとしている。この説明によると、(15b)の「フランス語が」には、主語化がなされているので、「主語」ということになる。「フランス語が」がその節の主語であるのか、あるいはあくまでもいわゆる目的語に相当するのか、吟味する必要があると思われる。

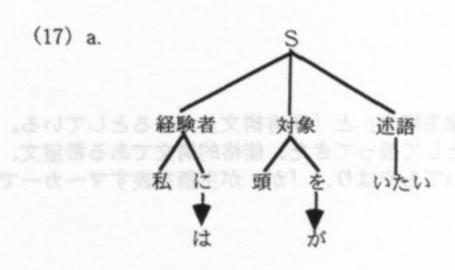
3.3.3. 総主構文

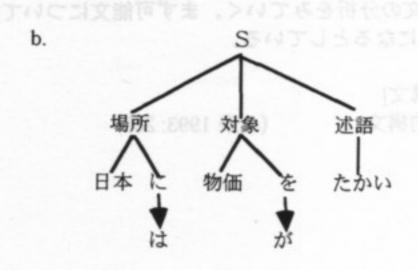
次に総主構文について考察していく。(16a,b)の深層構造がそれぞれ(17a,b)になる。

(16) a. 私は頭がいたい。

b. 日本は物価が高い。

(小泉 1993: 210)





(17a,b) から明らかなように、経験者格「私に」と場所格「日本に」が主題化され、それぞれ「私は」と「日本は」となって具現される。そして、対象を表す「頭を」と「物価を」が共に主語化され「頭が」と「物価が」になるとしている。総主構文でも、可能文と同様に主語化された「頭が」および「物価が」が、その節の主語になると考えられるのだろうか。

さらに(18)を考えてみよう。

- (18) a. 私<u>が</u>頭<u>が</u>いたい。 b. 日本<u>が</u>物価<u>が</u>高い。
- (18)では、助詞「が」の付加により「私に」「頭を」「日本に」「物価を」のすべてが主語化され、各節に2つの主語が具現されたことになってしまう。選択体系機能文法の英語の枠組みでは、主語は1つの節に1つの主語しか具現されないので、ここでは日本語の主語も、1つの節に1つの主語という前提に基づいて考察していく。

3.3.4. 可能文と総主構文の機能的分析

さて、このような小泉による格文法の能格的構文は、機能言語学を使って考察すると、どのように分析されるのかをみていく。図の上1段は、対人関係機能の法構造であり、下の2段は、 観念構成機能の他動性と能格性を示している。

(19) a. 春子がフランス語を話す。

= (14) b. 春子<u>は</u>フランス語<u>が</u>話せる。

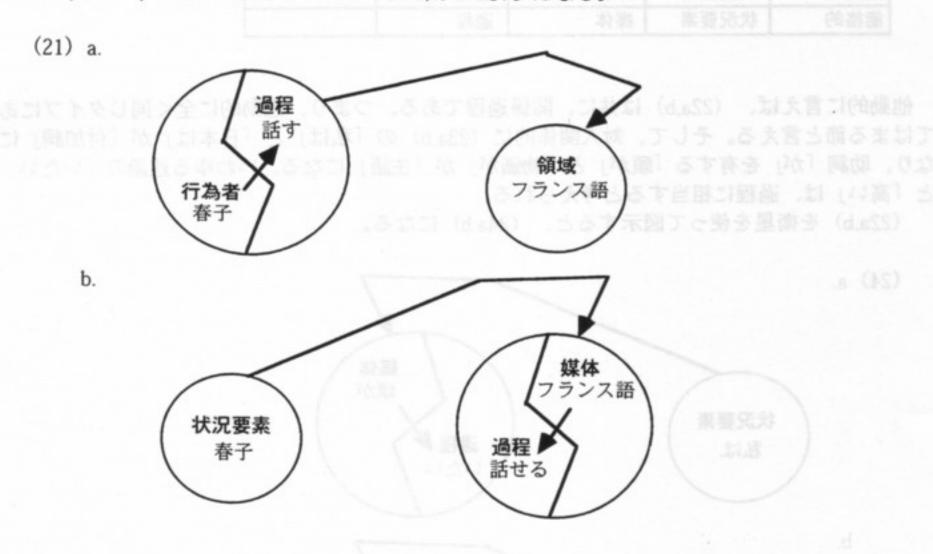
(20) a.

	春子が	フランス語を	話	す
対人関係的	主語	補部	述詞	定形
他動的	行為者	領域	過程	
能格的	媒体	領域	過程	

b.

	春子は	フランス語が	話	せる	11.8
対人関係的	付加詞	補部	述詞	定形	制操的 付加周
他動的	行為者	領域	過程	世界本	計算分分 剪
能格的	状況要素	領域	過程	35.38	非要反对 0

小泉は、(19a,b) の構造的相違を動詞の意味、すなわち「行為」述語と「状態」述語の点から説明した。選択体系的には、他動構文では全く同じ機能を有していると言える。しかし、能格構文では、(20a) の「春子が」が「媒体」であり、中心的役割を担っている。一方(20b) の「春子は」は「状況要素」であり、媒体「フランス語が」よりも周辺的役割を果たしている。衛星(satellite)を使って図示すると、(21a,b) のようになる。



(21a) では、「春子が話す」が 1 つの衛星をつくり、「フランス語を」に働きかけている。これに対し、(21b) では、「フランス語が話せる」が 1 つの衛星をつくり、「春子は」がその衛星に働きかけている。

(19a) でよりも (19b) の方で、よく「春子」が省略されうるのは、 (19b) の状況要素「春子は」の重要性が (19a) の媒体「春子が」よりも低いからとも言うことができる。しかも、このことは、池上の能格型言語の説明と合致している。

整理すると、(19a,b)の格助詞の現われ方の違いは、日本語では(20a,b)からわかるように、たとえ他動構造が同じであっても、能格構造が異なり、それが格助詞の具現の仕方に影響すると考えられる。

つまり、(19a)では、(21a)で明らかなように、他動構文をひきずり「行為者+過程」が核になり具現されるのに対し、(19b)では、(21b)のように、能格的構文が格関係に影響を及ぼし「媒体+過程」が核になる。これが、1つの衛星をつくるので、主格の助詞「が」が「フランス語」に付加される。

続けて「総主構文」を選択体系的に分析していく。

- (22) a. 私<u>は</u>頭<u>が</u>いたい。
- = (16) b. 日本は物価が高い。

(23) a.

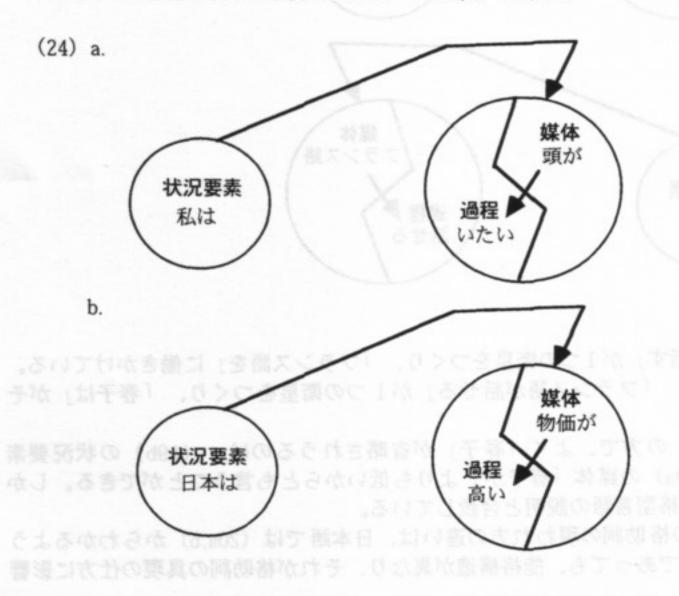
	私は	頭が	いた	\$7
対人関係的	付加詞	主語	述詞	定形
他動的	状況要素	体現者	過程	無果
能格的	状況要素	媒体	過程	外版

でなわら「行為」が発と「伏熊」。d水脈の点か

	日本は	物価が	高	\$7
対人関係的	付加詞	補部	述詞	定形
他動的	状況要素	体現者	過程	(S) ,367 #
能格的	状況要素	媒体	過程	

他動的に言えば、(22a,b) は共に、関係過程である。つまり、他動的に全く同じタイプにあてはまる節と言える。そして、対人関係的に(23a,b)の「私は」と「日本は」が「付加詞」になり、助詞「が」を有する「頭が」と「物価が」が「主語」になる。いわゆる述語の「いたい」と「高い」は、過程に相当すると考えられる。

(22a,b) を衛星を使って図示すると、(24a,b) になる。



4. 結語

以上のことから、日本語は、英語と比べて過程構成における能格性が、いかに具現される形に強く影響を及ぼしているか、鑑みられたと思う。ホリ(1995)では、日本語には「主語」がないとされているが、例えば「山が高い」や「太郎は学校に行きます」の「山が」と「太郎は」には、どのような機能ラベルが与えられるのかはっきりと言及されていない」。

また、尾上と西村 (1997) では、「一つの事態認識の中核項目がガ格の体言によって示される。これが日本語の主語である」とされている。可能文や総主構文では、例えば (19b) の「春子はフランス語が話せる」や (22b) の「日本は物価が高い」における「春子は」と「日

本は」は「場としての主語」とされている。しかし、選択体系機能的には「春子は」と「日本は」の両方が「付加詞」あるいは「状況要素」と捉え、ここでは「主語」とは認定しなかった。 結論として、日本語の主語を(25)のように定義する。

(25) 日本語の主語は、助詞「が」の付いた参与要素である。ただし、「〜が」の要素がない場合、「〜は」が主語の機能を果たしている。

勿論、「~が」の要素がみられないときは、「は」と「が」の交替テストや格助詞復元テストなどにより、「主語」を確定するのである。

[付記] 本稿は、関西言語学会第21回大会のワークショップと日本機能言語学会97年度秋期大会で口頭発表した原稿に加筆・修正を施したものである。その発表の際、有益なコメントをくださった方々に感謝致します。

(1) Subject in Japanese is a participant with the particle 'ga'. However, if the element '- ga' does : 主

1 堀素子氏(個人談話)は現在、ハリデーの言うところの対人関係的な主語は認定できないと考えているが、行為者もしくは感覚者として明示する必要がある場合は、主語が現れると指摘している。つまり、英語の主語のような名詞群が具現することもあるが、日本語の主語とは性質が異なる機能を有しているのではないか、と述べている。

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On the Definition of "Subject" in Japanese

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The aim of this paper is to define the term "Subject" in Japanese from the Systemic Functional perspective. M.A.K.Halliday(1994) tells us that Subject in English is shown by the tag question test. English Subject is elegantly illustrated in his theory, whereas Japanese Subject is not indicated by the addition of the sentence-final particle 'ne', which corresponds to the tag question test in English. Therefore, we must discover the way of recognizing the element Subject.

We began by defining Japanese Subject as the constituent with 'ga' and then examined the ergative-like constructions by Koizumi(1993), such as 'Kanoo' and 'Sooshu' constructions. As a result of the examination, we must first notice whether the element is a participant or circumstance and then can show that Japanese Subject is the constituent 'a participant + ga' but not 'a circumstance + ga', which is regarded as Adjunct.

(1) Subject in Japanese is a participant with the particle 'ga'. However, if the element '~ ga' does not appear, '~ wa' will function as Subject.

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イデオロギー仮説の落し穴

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0. 要旨

本稿ではMartinのイデオロギー仮説が決定論的理論に陥る危険性があることを指摘し、この 危険性を回避するためには、(1) イデオロギーは話し手個人の信条システムに組み込まれる べきであること、(2) 状況の脈絡・レジスターは言語活動が行われる環境として信条システ ムの外にあるものと見なされるべきであることを論じる。

1. イデオロギー仮説と問題点

Martin (1992) によれば、言語活動を突き動かしているものはイデオロギーである。Martin のイデオロギーは二つの顔をもつ。第一の顔は権力と意味の分配の顔である。この解釈によると、イデオロギーとはマルクス主義に見られるような権力維持または権力闘争のためのメカニズムであり、意味にアクセスする権利を支配する力である。もう一つの顔は外界を理解し認識させる理論の集合体である。これは第一の顔の「意味にアクセスする権利を支配する力」と軌を一にするこのである。そして、一切の言語活動および言語活動が行われる環境はイデオロギーの具現であるというのが Martinの立場である。これを本稿ではイデオロギー仮説と呼ぶことにする。

このイデオロギー仮説においては、外界とは言語記号論的に創り出されたものに過ぎない。 よって外界と言語記号論的システムが相互に影響しあうこともありえない。なぜなら、存在するのは言語記号論的システムだけであって、外界はその中に存在することになるからである。 更に、Martinはイデオロギーは話し手個人の意図(intention)とは何ら関係がないと仮説をたている。この路線で行くと、話し手の意図を超越したイデオロギーを離れて外界は存在し得なくなる。これは明らかに決定論的である。なぜなら、言語環境は超越的イデオロギーによって創られた社会的幻想に過ぎず、個人としての話し手はその幻想の中の傀儡に過ぎなくなるからである。

このような決定論的帰結を回避するには、イデオロギーの所在を確かめ定義を与えたうえで、 少なくとも下記のような理論的修正が必要だと考える。すなわち、集団的イデオロギーと個人 的意図は不可分の関係にあり、話し手の信条システムの中に存在する。そして、この信条シス テムの外に言語環境である外界は存在する、という修正である。

以下、Martinの言語記号モデルの構造を見た後、上記の主張を詳しく説明することにする。

2. Martinの言語記号論モデル

Martinの言語記号 (linguistic semiotic) モデル ²以下LSモデルと略す) はジャーナリズムが創り出すテキストを分析するための道具として発展してきた。ジャーナリズムの世界ではイデオロギーがとかく問題となる (Masterman 1986: 第6章; Inglis 1990: 第4章)。このような背景でイデオロギーが中心的役割を担うLSモデルが出てきても不思議はない。結果的にはイデオロギー

が文字化、または、音声化されて言語となるのだが、MartinのLSモデルには、イデオロギーと言語の間に二つのレベル存在する。図で示せば図1のようになる³(Martin 1986: 227)。言語を維持し変化させていく力はイデオロギーであり、これがまずジャンル(下記に説明)として具現される。これにより文化が形成されると考える。ジャンルはレジスターとして具現される。レジスターは3つの構成要素から成り立っている。その3つの構成要素はフィールド、テナー、モード(下記に説明)である。これら3つの構成要素は最終的に言語として具現される。これがMartinのLSモデルのあらましである。

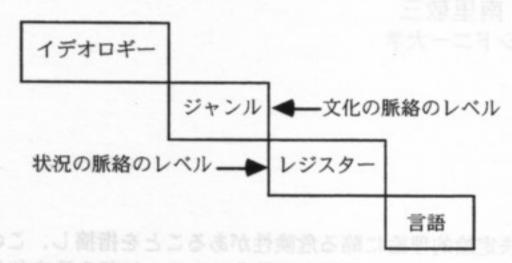


図1 MartinのLSモデル

ではこのモデルを少し詳しく見ていくことにする。

2.1 イデオロギーの定義

MartinのLSモデルで一番上のレベルに位置するイデオロギーを定義の面から見ていく。先にも述べたようにMartinのイデオロギーは二つの顔を持つ。一つは分配に関わるもので、もう一つは信条に関わるものである。分配されるものは社会的権力と意味である。Martin(1985:35)ではこう語っている。(濃い字体の強調は筆者)

Finally we need to take into account the question of power. Ideology has to do with the **distribution of power** in a culture; ... when ideology is challenged, the way in which power is shared in a society is questioned.

Martin (1992: 575) ではこう語っている。 (濃い字体の強調は筆者)

In their interpretation of language, register and genre as semiotic system, systemicisits have generally attempted to model cultures as a whole--to generalise meaning potential across all imaginable texts...The problems with this are: 1. [...] this meaning potential is not evenly distributed across participants in a culture;...

社会的権力は社会の成員に平等に分配されてはいない。この権力分配における不均衡が言語の用い方にも'meaning potential'の不均衡な分配となって現れている。これら不均衡な分配はイデオロギーのなせる業だとMartinは考えているわけである。

さて権力意味の不均衡をもたらすものは何であろうか。それは先にあげた2番目の顔、信条である。Martin (1985: 50) はこう語っている (濃い字体の強調は筆者)

In a sense we will be turning from ideology in crisis...to latent ideology--the system of beliefs that determines people's shares in power without their realising it. Control of written genres is very much tied up with the distribution of power in all literate cultures.

さて、この信条システム('the system of beliefs') だが、それは社会の成員の個人的な意図のシステムではなく、その成員が属している集団の信条システムである。Martin (1992: 507) は

下記のように説明している。(濃い字体の強調は筆者)

Viewed synoptically, ideology is the system of coding orientations constituting a culture. As suggested by Bernstein...coding orientations are realised through contextually specific semantic styles associated with groups of speakers of differing generation, gender, ethnicity and class.

まとめると、Martinのイデオロギーは(1)権力意味を分配する行為メカニズムであり、(2)その分配を支えている特定の団体の集団的意識、と言い換えることができるだろう。このイデオロギーがジャンル、レジスター、言語と順次具現されているのである。

2.2 ジャンル

イデオロギーは、まず、ジャンルとして具現される。イデオロギーのコントロールの下に言語活動が行われるわけだが、それはイデオロギーの指令(目的'telos')に基づいて行われるとMartinは考え、このような言語活動が起こった証としてジャンルが存在していると考えている。ではジャンルの正体とは何なのだろうか。Martin & Eggins (1997: 236)ではこう説明している。

Linguistic definitions of genre draw on Russian literary theorist Bakhtin's (1986) identification of speech genres as 'relatively stable types' of interactive utterances. This broadens genre to include everyday as well as literary genres, in both written and spoken modes.

つまり、言語で何かを達成しようとするとき、その達成の過程で比較的安定したパターンが 見出せる、と主張している。この比較的安定したパターンだが、例えば、市場での売り手と買 い手の交渉を考えてみるといいだろう(Martin 1992: 504)。そこで買い手は次のようは一連の ステージを踏んで「市場でものを買う」という目的を果たそうとするだろう。

挨拶→ 特定の品についての問い合わせ→ 目的の品の吟味 → 値段の交渉 → 会話の結び

まず、挨拶を交し、ある特定の品があるかどうかを聞き、(もしあれば)その品を確かめて、それから値段の交渉に入り、売り手との会話を終える。もちろん、この一連のステージとそっくりそのままがいつも用いられることはないだろうが、市場ので交渉のパターンは上記の一般化でかなり説明ができると期待される。そこで、もしそのような一般化ができるのなら、そこで用いられる言語表現もかなり予測できるのではないか。ということは次のようなことが言えることになる。つまり、ある目的を遂行するために我々はいくつかの意味のステージを設定し、それに沿って言語活動を行っている、と。そして、その一連のステージが一つのジャンルを構成し、一まとまりとなって、一つのテキスト構造(text structure)を形成している、と。Martin (1992: 505)では次のようにまとめている。(濃い字体の強調はMartin、下線の強調は筆者)

Martin's alternative proposal is that text sturctue be generated at the level of genre. Text structure is referred to as schematic structure in Martin's mode, with genre defined as a staged, goal-oriented social process realised through register.

2.3 レジスターと言語

イデオロギーからの要請を受けて目的にそってテキストの構造がジャンルのレベルで作り上げられていく。そして、このジャンルが今度はレジスターとして具現されることになる。

イデオロギー仮説においてレジスターとは、状況の脈絡(context of situation)で実際に作り出されたテキストに見出される高い次元の意味(メタ機能)のことである。このメタ機能はジャンルを具現したもので、三つの種類がある。それらは先述の通り、フィールド、テナー、モードと呼ばれている。フィールドとは何が起こっているかを(テキストの中に)具現するメタ機能、テナーとは誰がどのような形で言語活動に参加しているのかを具現するメタ機能(例えば、

話し手と聞き手の間に社会的地位の差があるかどうか、また、両者の心理的距離が遠いものなのか近いものなのかなどを具現する機能)、モードはテキストそのものがどのような象徴的機能を担っているか(例えば、説明的であるとか、説教調であるとか)を具現するメタ機能 4のことである。

これら三つのメタ機能が最終的に言語のレベルで言語の三つの機能(概念形成機能、対人関係機能、テキスト形成機能)として具現されるわけである。

3. イデオロギーの所在

MartinのLSモデルは、各レベル(イデオロギー、ジャンル、レジスター、言語)が論理的につながりを持ち緻密に構成されているが、このモデルではイデオロギーの所在が明らかにされていない。このLSモデルは一体どこに存在しているのだろうか。これが筆者の疑問の出発点である。Martin(1992: 502-503)はこう語っている。(濃い字体の強調は筆者)

The register variables field, tenor and mode can then be interpreted as working together to achieve text's goals, where goals are defined of system of social process at the level of genre. It should be stressed that bringing telos into contextual theory by this point in no way implies that text is being interpreted as realisation of speakers' intentions; genres are social processes, and their purpose is being interpreted here in social, not psychological terms.

ある特定の社会集団のイデオロギーを具現するためにジャンルをレベルに与えられたテキストの構造化のための目的('telos')は話し手の意図ではなく、また、話し手個人の心理学的ダイナミズムにかかわるものでもないとMartinは主張している。もしこれが正しいなら、次のようなことが帰結される。すなわち、言語活動とは集団的(または、没個人的)目的(あるいはイデオロギーからの要請)を達成する活動のことであり、そこには話し手の意図は介在しない、と。この帰結は全くの誤りであるとは言えないだろう。しかし、話し手の意図および心理学的考察をぬきにしては言語活動は語れない。なぜなら、集団的な目的(あるいはイデオロギー)がどんなものであれ、それらは話し手個人の意識の中に埋め込まれているはずだからである。そうでなければイデオロギーは具現の場所を持ちえないであろう。話し手個人の意識の中にある以上、その話し手の心理的ダイナミズムあるいは意図が言語活動に関与してくることは当然のことであろう。実際、Martin(1985:33-50;1986)のテキスト分析はイデオロギー分析ではなく、テキストを書いた者の性格(personality)から来る意図の分析(すなわち心理学的分析)である可能性は極めて高い⁵。また、意図とイデオロギーを判然と弁別するのは不可能なのではないだろうか。なぜなら、イデオロギーは話し手の意識の中で意図と渾然一体となっていると考える方が妥当のように思われるからである。

これらの考察から、MartinのLSモデルは話し手個人の意識の中に存在すると帰結されよう。 しかし、そうなると新たな問題が出てくる。もし、イデオロギーが個人的意識の中に組み込まれているとするなら、レジスターのレベルのフィールド、テナー、モード、これらすべてが話し手個人の意図・イデオロギーによる創造物になってしまう。これもあり得る仮説ではあるが、従うにはあまりにも強すぎる仮説である。少なくともレジスターは言語活動が行われる環境として見なされるべきであり、意図・イデオロギーシステムの外にあると考えられるべきであろう。

以下、意図・イデオロギーシステムからのレジスターの独立を新聞の記事で用いられている逆ピラミッド構造の歴史と新聞の発達史を例にとって論じることにする。

4. レジスターレベルからの検証

まず最初に逆ピラミッド構造がどのようなものであるかの説明をして、この構造の歴史的形 成過程を眺めながら、イデオロギー仮説を検証する。

4.1 逆ピラミッド構造

逆ピラミッド構造とは英語のinverted pyramid structureの直訳である。普通のピラミッドとは底辺が長く上昇するにつれて幅が狭くなり頂点(先頭)に達する。この形を逆さにしたのが逆ピラミッドで、これと同じような形を取ったテキスト構造が新聞記事の報道に用いられており、逆ピラミッド構造と呼ばれている。このテキスト構造においてはピラミッドの幅は情報の重要度を意味する。つまり、テキストの先頭が最も幅が広く、言い換えれば、テキストの先頭で最も重要な情報が導入され、読み進んでいくうちにだんだんと重要度が低い情報に出会うという構造をとるものである(Berry 1976: 42)。この逆ピラミッド構造はアクション系の事件報道に顕著な形で用いられている(Nanri 1993: 第2章)。アクション系の記事とは、誰かの考え・言動を報道する記事と対立する記事のことで、暗殺、地震、火災などの物理的事件の報道を行う記事のことである(Evans 1972: 113)。

さて、本稿で見る逆ピラミッド構造は政治家の殺害または殺害未遂の報道に用いられたもの に限らせていただく。また、紙面の都合上テキスト分析はできない。興味がおありの読者は Nanri (1993) を見ていただきたい。

殺害(未遂)の逆ピラミッド構造だが、典型例をNanri (1993)から出しておこう。下記は1981年に起こった当時の米国大統領ロナルド・レーガン氏の暗殺未遂のロンドンタイムズによる第一報の冒頭の部分である。

President Reagan was shot and wounded outside a Washington hotel this afternoon. A .22 bullet, which lodged in his lung, was removed during an operation which lasted three hours. An unnamed doctor later said that the bullet had missed the 70-year-old President's hear by "an inch".

The President's condition was described at 7:30 tonight as "stable". He was awake and in the hospital recovery room. The prognosis for a speedy recovery was excellent. He ought to be able to start talking [sic] decisions again tomorrow, a hospital spokesman said.

最初の二つの段落で事件の要点がまとめられ、その後詳しい事件の記述が続く。Nanri (1993: 42) によると、政治家殺害(未遂)の第一報の記事は、普通、最初に事件の被害者が今どんな健康状態にあるのかの記述から始まり、そのすぐ後時間の経過を追って何が起こったのかを簡単に説明。それが終わってもう一度詳しく事件の経緯を説明するという形を取っている。

4.2 逆ピラミッド構造をめぐる問題点

さて、前節で紹介した逆ピラミッド構造をイデオロギー仮説に基づいて説明するとどういうことになるだろうか。論点を明確にするためにフィールド、テナー、モードの観点から現代における殺害(未遂)記事の状況の脈絡を記述してみよう。Nanri(1993)を参考にすると下記のような記述が与えられる。

フィールド:一般読者7に対する日常のニュースの定期的供給8

: 政治家の殺害または殺害未遂に関する情報の定期的供給9

テナー : 売り手であるニュース供給者と買い手であるニュース消費者の関係

: (現代社会では) ニュース供給者は資本主義的組織であり、ニュース消費者は賃

金労働者を中心とする都市型消費者

モード:印刷された書き言葉、情報の迅速な供給を目的とする記述的テキスト

先述の通り、イデオロギー仮説ではこれらの状況の脈絡の要素はメタ機能であり、話し手の意識の外に存在するものではないということになり、これら3つの要素は意図・イデオロギーの創造物ということになる。果たしてそうだろうか。ここで時代を330年ほど溯ってみよう。そうすると、ピューリタン革命で処刑されたチャールズ1世の処刑の記事にぶつかる。この記事の書き出しはこうなっている(Cochrance et al. 1987: 424-428より)。

About ten in the morning the King was brought form St. James's, walking on foot through the park, with a regiment of foot, part before and part behind, with colours flying, drums beating, his private guard of partizans with some of his gentlemen before and some behind bareheaded, Dr. Juxon next behind him and Col. Thomlinson (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bareheaded, from the Park up the stairs into the gallery and so into the cabinet chamber where he used to live.

英語で書かれた最初の新聞が誕生して約30年後に書かれたこの記事は逆ピラミッド構造を用いてはいない。いわゆるナラティブな形をとり、国王処刑の日の朝10時から記述が始まり、こまごまとした事実が時間の推移とともに書かれている。そして、国王処刑の記述は記事(268節で構成されている)の先頭から実に263番目の節(クローズ)で始めて現れる¹⁰。 330年の歴史の中で一体何がテキスト構造の変化をもたらしたのだろうか。そこで、Nanri(1993:第4.1節)を参考にこの国王処刑の記事が書かれた時の状況の脈絡を記述すると下記のようになる。

フィールド:一般読者に対する日常のニュースの定期的供給

: 政治家の殺害または殺害未遂に関する情報の定期的供給

テナー : 売り手であるニュース供給者と買い手であるニュース消費者の関係

: ニュース供給者もニュース消費者も封建色を残した裕福な新興商人階級出身者

モード: 印刷された書き言葉、情報の迅速な供給を目的とする記述的テキスト11

国王処刑の記事の状況の脈絡の記述で前のレーガン暗殺未遂の時の記述と異なる点はテナーである。国王処刑当時において資本主義への道を切り開いた当時の新興商人階級が大きなテナー要素であったものが、現代では資本主義と都市型消費者が大きなテナー要素となっているわけである。

となれば、ナラティブ構造から逆ピラミッド構造への移行は新興商人階級出身者の意図・イデオロギーの表出への移行を意味するはずである¹²。 しかし、イデオロギー仮説ではそうはならない。逆ピラミッド構造を支持した意図・イデオロギーは新興商人階級出身者の意図・イデオロギーになってしまうのである。つまり、もし意図・イデオロギーがレジスターを創造しているとするなら、国王処刑の記事の状況の脈絡は記事を書いた者(新興商人階級出身者)の意図・イデオロギーによる創造ということになる。イデオロギー仮説では状況の脈絡(レジスター)は意図・イデオロギーの要請によって起こるものでしかありえないから、新興商人の意図・イデオロギーが後の資本主義者・都市型消費者による新聞報道の状況の脈絡参入を予見していたことになってしまうのである。チャールズ1世処刑当時には大量生産を行う資本主義的生産様式も、また、大量消費の担い手である賃金労働者を中心とする都市型消費者も存在してはいない。イデオロギー仮説は決定論的であると言わざるをいない。

問題はテナーだけではない。フィールドもモードに関しても同様な結果が弾き出されてしまう。例えば、フィールドに関して言えば、下記のような現象を挙げることができよう。

「一般読者に対する日常のニュースの定期的供給」という社会的活動はStephens (1988: 152-158) によればベネチアで16世紀半ば頃には始まっていたという。但し、これは印刷されたものではなく手書きであった。この手書きのニュース供給のやり方がアルプスを超えドイツを経由してアムステルダムに入る。ここで活版印刷術と合流して最初の英語の新聞が1620年に印刷されることとなる。

新聞の歴史はベネチア以前の情報伝達の歴史とつながる。ベネチアで出回った手書きのニュース記事だが、これは当時存在していた私的なニュースレターと書き方が同じであった (Frank、1961: 2)。私的ニュースレターとは銀行家や富裕な商人などの政治経済的有力者に世界各地の最新情報を伝えるために書かれた私的な通信文で、この歴史を溯れば更に14世紀まで溯れそうである(Waley 1985: 81)。

そこでイデオロギー仮説に立ち返ると、フィールドが意図・イデオロギーの創造物であるとすれば、17世紀以前の私的ニュースレターの状況の脈絡のテナー要素(それが、どんな社会階級の出身であったにせよ)の意図・イデオロギーによって17世紀以前の私的ニュースレターの

状況の脈絡のテナー要素(それがどんな社会階級の出身であったにせよ)の意図・イデオロギーによって17世紀以後の新聞の登場が予測されていたと結論付けなければならなくなる。

5. 決定論的理論を回避する方法

前節で見た決定論的結論はどうして生じるのだろうか。そこでMartinのイデオロギー分析に 影響を与えた(Martin 1992:582)Trewのイデオロギーに対する考察を見てみよう。Trew (1979: 95)ではこう述べている。 (濃い字体の強調は筆者)

To the extent that the concepts in a discourse are related as a system, they are part of a theory or ideology, that is, a system of concepts and images which are a way of seeing and grasping things, and of interpreting what is seen or heard or read.

All perception involves theory or ideology and there are no 'raw', uninterpreted, theory-free facts.

Trewによれば、感覚知覚されるものはすべてイデオロギーの洗礼を受けており、誰から見ても同一なる事実は存在しないということになる。しかし、この結論からは「事実」としての現象が外界に存在しないという結論は引き出せないし、イデオロギーを離れては外界は存在しないという結論も引き出せない。もし、Trewの主張する通りに外界に「事実」なるものが存在し得ないとしたら、どうしてTrew(1979)だけが「同じ」出来事を報道した新聞記事を集めて比較することができたのだろうか。Trew(1979)ではこう書き始めている。

On Monday 2 June 1975 the front pages of newspapers all over the world carried reports of events in Harare, Salisbury, the previous day. At about 4.15 pm police fired directly for about 40 seconds into a crowd of unarmed people and killed five of them. In the hours of angry reaction that followed police killed another six people in surrounding neighbourhood.

Trewが比較した新聞記事は上記の事件を報道したものである。もし、Trewの言う"raw", uninterpreted, theory-free facts'が存在しないならTrewが比較した新聞記事が「同じ」事件を報道しているという前提自体が崩れ、彼の記事内容の比較は無効になるはずである。もし、Trewのイデオロギー分析が正しいとするなら、外界に"raw", uninterpreted, theory-free facts'の存在を認めなければならない。存在するが中立的記述ができない事実の存在を外界に想定するわけである 13 。これは無理な相談ではない。哲学の世界では可能である。Dennet(1996: 3)ではこう語っている。

Philosophers often warn against confusing ontological questions with epistimological questions. What exists is one thing, they say, and what we can know about it is something else.

言語環境としての外界は、いつも意図・イデオロギーに観察されるために存在しているとは 限らないと筆者は考える¹⁴。

となれば、MartinのLSモデルに対する修正として次のような仮説を立てる必要がある。

仮説1:言語環境であるレジスターはLSモデルの中にあるメタ機能ではなく、その外に存在する。

つまり、レジスターは意図・イデオロギーに対してテキスト生成のための素材を提供する存在 であって、意図・イデオロギーの創造物ではないということである。

さてここで、第3節で得られた仮説を仮説2として確認しておこう。

仮説2:イデオロギーは話し手個人の意識の中にあり、その話し手の意図と渾然一体となっている。

この仮説に従いイデオロギーは話し手の意図と切り離せないと考え、両者を一まとめとして話し手の「信条システム」に含まれるものとする¹⁵。そこで、仮説1をもう一度考えてみよう。前に筆者はイデオロギー仮説を完全に否定しているわけでなないと述べた。イデオロギーによるコントロールは存在する。しかし、これがレジスターのメタ機能論につながるとは考えるべきではない。言語環境がイデオロギーによってコントロールされるかどうかと、言語環境がイデオロギーを離れた存在し得るかどうかは全く別の次元の問題であると考えられるからである。よって仮説1は仮説3のように修正される。

仮説3:レジスターは信条システム中のイデオロギーとみなすことができるものによって変容を加えられることがある。しかし、これはレジスターがイデオロギーの具現であることを意味しない。レジスターは信条システムの外に存在し、メタ機能ではない¹⁶。

6. むすびとこれからの課題

本稿ではMartinのイデオロギー仮説が決定論的帰結を生み出してしまうことを指摘し、信条システムの想定とレジスターの信条システムからの独立をもって決定論的帰結から逃れられることを論じたが、Martinのイデオロギー仮説が決定論的性格を持つに至った論理的背景として、次のような点が指摘されよう。イデオロギー発揮の担い手に関しての心理学的考察を避けた結果、イデオロギーの所在に対する考察が欠落し、その結果、社会における集団的意識のみに焦点が当てられ、個人レベルでの思考のダイナミズムが無視されたという点である。しかし、これはMartinの言語理論だけが抱える問題ではなく、システミック理論の主流派全体が抱えている問題かもしれない。すなわち、Martinの言語理論はHalliday(1978: 第1章)に繰り広げられている'intra-organism-psychological'と'inter-organism-social'の対立の図式を忠実に守っているに過ぎないと考えられるからである 17 。しかし、この「intra-organismイコールpsychological」という図式は短絡と言うべきかもしれない。なぜなら、心理学の中にもinter-organismの観点から心のダイナミズムを探ろうという動きがあるからである(例えば、長谷川1991)。

突き詰めて考えると言語活動とは人間の意識がどのようなこう増になっているかを考えずには説明はつかない。しかし、我々は我々の意識についてどれくらいのことを知っているのだろうか。認知科学では意識(あるいはmind)がどこにあるか、またそれがどのようなものであるかに関して統一した見解はまだ見出されてはいないようだ¹⁸。認知科学に追従する必要はないだろう。しかし、どのようなLSモデルを立てるにせよ、人間の(無意識の世界を含めた)意識の世界のメカニズムをも明確にしたLSモデルの構築が、イデオロギー仮説またはそれに類似するシステミック流言語仮説全般に求められているのではないだろうか。

注

- 1 ここで筆者が主張したいことは、社会的幻想が存在しないという点にあるのではなく、イデオロギー仮説に従う限り外界(の認識)がすべて社会的幻想以外の何ものでもなくなる点にある。
- 2 言語記号モデルとはテキストがどのような過程で生み出されるのかを説明している仮説のことである。
- 3 最近では同心円型の表記が用いられているが(例えば、Martin 1992: 496)、イデオロギー仮説その ものが変わったわけではない。
- 4 これには、媒介としての言語の性質、例えば、話し言葉であるか書き言葉であるかの違いも含まれる。
- 5 Martin (1985: 33-50; 1986) のイデオロギー分析では'hortatory exposition'と'analytical exposition'と命名された二種類のテキストをとりあげて、前者を'left protagonist'の、そして、後者を'right protagonist'のイデオロギーを具現するものとしているが、Martinのこの二種類のテキストに関する記述(例えば、Martin、1985: 38)はユング心理学の性格分析の記述とほとんど同一である。Quenk & Quenk (1982) を参照されたし。
- 6 ここでは都市型大新聞のみを考慮に入れており、小規模なコミュニティー新聞等は考慮に入れられて

はいない。

- 7 「一般読者」とは通貨をもって新聞を購入することができる読者を意味する。
- 8 「定期的」とは週に最低一回を基準にしている。
- 9 コロンの前の記述はfirst orderの記述であり、コロンの後の記述はsecond orderの記述である。
- 10 この記事のタイトルからすると('King Charles, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold at Whitehall-Gate Immediately Before His Execution (30 January 1648')、この記事で最も重要な情報は国王の最後のスピーチになる。国王のスピーチはテキストの先頭から61番目の節に始まり、191番目の節に終わるが、現代の新聞のようにスピーチの重要な部分だけを取り出して要約するということは行われていない。国王のスピーチ全文が掲載されている。つまり、物理的事実のみならず人の意見さえも時間の推移にそって記述されているわけである。このような記述法はNanri(1993)によると少なくとも1880年代まで用いられていたよう

である。

- 11 現代の視点からすれば上記の新聞記事で用いられている記述法は「情報の迅速な供給」とは呼べないかもしれない。そう考えればモードの記述を変えるべきだろう。しかし、当時の報道家の観点からすれば、上記のような記述法が考えられうるもっとも迅速な報道形態であったのではないだろうか。よってモードの記述は変更を加えなかった。但し、これは暫定的な判断によるものである。
- 12 Nanri(1993: 第4.3節)では次のような過程で逆ピラミッド構造が形成されたと論じている。まず、資本主義的であるニュース供給者は短い表現を好み、また、長いナラティブ構造を短い段落をいくつもつなげたテキストに切り替えた。短い表現を好んだのはコスト削減のためであり、テキスト構造を短い段落をつなげた形にしたのは分業と協業からなる生産様式に合致していたからである。ここに大量の賃金労働者が発生し、ニュースの大量消費者として機能することになる。賃金労働者を中心とする都市型消費者は要点がはっきりとしたき時の書き方を要求した。これにより新聞の誕生以来用いられてきたナラティブな構造(クロノロジカルな構造)は捨て去られ、重要な情報がテキスト先頭部に繰り上げられ逆ピラミッド構造が成立した。
- 13 Hasan (1996a) の言葉を借りれば'material situational setting'を想定することになる。
- 14 ちなみに、ギブソン心理学では「感覚するということと知覚するということは別のことである」 (佐々木1992)という発想の下、外界の積極的な存在を認め「空間の三つの座標軸は任意であるが、環境においては空と地面の関係や、重力、太陽からの放射光などによる絶対的な上下の関係軸が存在する。 同様に環境からのあらゆる構成物は、環境の中で特定の「意味 (meaning)」や「価値 (value)」を持ち、あるものは変化し、あるものは持続するが、それらは任意ではない」(三嶋1992)と論じている。
- 15 意図・イデオロギーが覚醒した意識に現れうることを考えると、意図・イデオロギーは意識の浅い部分にある可能性がある。このことは意図・イデオロギーが無意識のダイナミズムにつき動かされている可能性を残すものである。ここで使用した「信条システム」はこの無意識のダイナミズムを含むものとして用いたいと筆者は考える。よって、筆者が提唱する信条システムはMartinの'the system of beliefs'とかなり異なっているかもしれない。
- 16 もちろん、外界が何であるかを認識するには外界に対する知識が必要である。しかし、その知識は外界そのものと同じであるとは考えない。Hasanも同様な立場を取っているようであるが、筆者とは解釈の違いがある。Hasan(1996a、1996b)では'context of situation'(状況の脈絡)は'material situational setting' に対して付与された社会慣習的知識であるとしているようであるが、筆者は'material situational setting'を状況の脈絡とし、社会慣習的知識は「信条システム」の中に組み込みたいと思う。但し、仮説3における「レジスター」はMartinの言語モデルにおける「フィールド」「テナー」「モード」の総称としてのレジスターであり、「状況の脈絡」と等価である。Halliday(1978: 1-35)が説明する「レジスター」(状況の脈絡を反映した言語の使用法)は社会慣習的知識と見なし、本稿で主張している「信条システム」の中に組み込まれるものとする。
- 17 但し、Hasan (1996a) では、状況の脈絡は単に社会規範に基づく集合的現実という観点からのみならず、話し手一個人が持つ状況の脈絡に関する知識という観点からも議論されている。また、Butt (1990) は話し手一個人の性格 (personality) の議論から出発して文体論を論じた後、統計的に確かめうる文体的規則性が話し手と聞き手のと間 (の状況の脈絡) における交渉の結果だと捉え、その規則性の中に社会的性格を見出せると論じている。
- 18 認知科学ではまず意識の主座agentがあるかどうかで意見が分かれているようだ。Edelman (1992) では意識は脳内の神経機関の間での拮抗関係によって生み出されていると論じており、意識の主座は存

在しない。その一方でDennet (1991; 1996) は意識の主座は'intentional system'に見出されるとする。 Edelmand (1992) ではmindとbrainは同一であるが、Dennet (1991; 1996) では同一ではない。

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A Theoretical Pitfall in the Ideology Hypothesis

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Marin's (1992) claims that everything linguistic, including the context of situation, is the realization of ideology. This hypothesis is too strong to follow, because if this hypothesis is correct, the environment in which we live has to be regarded as an ideological creation; this hypothesis would lead us to the deterministic theory that any change which takes place within the linguistics semiotic system has been expected to take place by the ideology. The purpose of this paper is to suggest how to avoid this deterministic theory. In specific terms, I argue that (1) ideology has to be incorporated into the belief systems of individual speakers, and (2) the context of situation should be regarded as constraints existing outside the belief system.

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談話の展開における「観念構成的結束性」と 書記テクストの分類*

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1. 序論

一般に、談話の中のある構成要素が、先行談話と、場面(situation)および文化的コンテクストを前提にして成立しているというのは異論のないところだろう。例えばHalliday (1985/1994) は次のように言う:

(i) At any point of the discourse process, there will have been built up a rich verbal and non-verbal environment for whatever is to follow; the speaker 's choices are made against the background of what has been said and what has happened before. (1985, p. 278; 1994, pp. 299-300)

これを特に指示(reference)の問題にからめてさらに追求したのがBrown & Yule (1983) である。彼らの主張では、聞き手は自分の心的表示の中に指示対象をつくり、後続の指示関係はその心的対象に対してなされるのであって、テクストの言語表現に対してではない:

(ii) We shall suggest that it seems more likely that the processor establishes a referent in his mental representation of the discourse and relates subsequent references to that referent back to his mental representation, rather than to the original verbal expression in the text. (pp. 200-201)

具体的には例えば、彼らはHalliday & Hasan (1976: 2) の挙げた例を再検討し、

(iii) Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish.

このthemが単に six cooking applesを溯って指示する(refer back)とは言えず、状態の変化を被っていることを認識することが重要であると指摘している(p.201)。

さらにMcCarthy(1994)も同様に、指示項目は談話の世界に存在するものをこそ指示する、 と言っている:

(iv) Co-reference implies no distinction between anaphoric ('backward') and exophoric ('outward') reference, but sees reference items instead as referring to entities in the discourse world, which noun phrases have originally created in that world... Entities may be *retrievable* as noun phrases in the text, but reference, as such, is to those entities in discourse and not to the linguistic forms that encode them. (p. 268)

本論では、これら先行研究の基本的考え方を踏まえたうえで、談話の展開のパタンと書記テクストの類型との関連を探っていこうと思う。具体的には、第2節で、テクストの展開に伴って先行節の情報がどのように後続節で集約されるのか吟味する。表面上同一指示の名詞句が後続文脈で概念上のずれを生じることから、特に、テクストの結束性(cohesion)が観念構成(ideation)

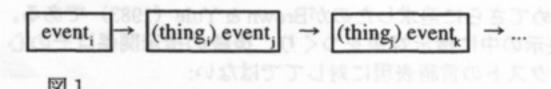
の意味表示を考慮してはじめて十分に機能することを述べる。さらに第3節では、テクストの展開に伴うテクスト外部の「指示対象」の可変性/不変性、および同一指示対象に対するテクスト表現上の多様性/斉一性という2つの問題を提起したうえで、2つの特性、すなわち「継時性(successiveness)」と「述定性(constativeness)」を設定することによって、古くから言われている書記言語の4つのテクスト類型を改めて分類できることを示そうと思う。

2. テクストの展開と先行情報の集約

一般に、談話の中で既知情報になった内部照応の名詞句は、先行テクストの情報を前提にして成立しているが、単にそれだけでなく、先行談話を概念的に集約していると考えられる。例 えば、

(i) Tom died suddenly_i. (ii) His death_i affected Mary very much_j. (iii) The shock_j was hard for her to get over_k.

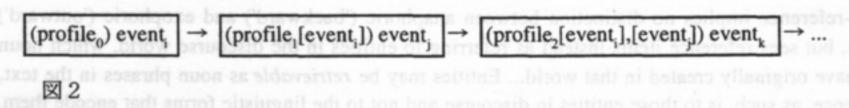
という談話で、第2節(clause)の主題(Theme)となる参与要素¹(participant) $His\ death\$ は、 $His\$ が第1節の参与要素Tomと「指示(reference)」によって、また deathが過程中核部(Process)dieと語彙項目の反復(repetition)による「語彙的結束性(lexical cohesion)」によって、強く結束しており、同様に第3節も先行節と強い結束関係をもっている。しかしより深く意味内容に踏み込んでみると、第2節の主題は第1節の過程全体を名詞群に集約したものであると言え、同じく、第3節の主題は第2節の過程の集約であると言える。このことをLangackerらの認知論的観点²から眺めると、「事態(event)」として提示された情報は次の段階で「モノ(thing)」としてまとめられ、このモノが新たな事態の「図(Figure)」ないし「プロファイル」となって談話が展開するのである。これを概念的な図式で表すと次のようになるだろう³:



さて、もちろん節同士のつながりは、いつも例(1)のように後続節の主題が先行節の内容の要約になるわけではなく、よくある場合では、先行節の主題を繰り返す「同一指示」によっても形成される:

(2) (i) Tom₀ died suddenly_i. (ii) He₁ left his daughter a large fortune_j. (iii) But he₂ hadn't told her anything about it_k.

ここで、 he_2 は He_1 をとおして Tom_0 を指示しており、「彼」とはTomのことであると言ってテクストの表面上は何ら差し支えない。一方、聞き手の頭の中では談話の展開に従ってTomについての情報が累積され、第3節に至るまでにTomの『記述』は、談話開始以前に比べて明らかに改訂されている。これをやはり試みに認知的な図式にすると次のようになるだろう:



例(2)の第2節では、第1節で主題として提示された語彙項目Tomが代名詞の形で再び主題になっており、この節で際立ちを与えられプロファイルになるが、大事なことは、単に同じ主題が繰り返されているのではなく、後続の主題は先行節の情報によってその記述が書き加えられたり書き換えられたりしているという点である⁴。

したがって、こうした指示による結束関係の場合も、先行する談話情報の概念的集約が行われており、その限りで(1)の場合と同じと考えられる。

先行談話情報の集約のしかたを形式の面から整理すると次の(a)(b)のようになるだろう。 ここで、that-節や関係節を伴う表現はもっとも「モノ化」の度合いが小さく、代名詞はモノ化の 度合いが大きいと考えられる。(3)の(a)(b)および(4)はその例である:

- (a) 事態全体をモノに還元する: that-節、動名詞、(行為を示す) 同義語・上位語、 指示代名詞
- (b) 事態をプロファイルになる参与要素に還元する:先行詞+関係節、過去分詞/現在分詞+ 主要語、(行為者を示す) 同義語、人称代名詞
- (3)(a) John Smith killed his fiancée. That he killed her/His killing her/The killing/The murder/The act/That astonished his friends.
 - (b) Somebody killed John's fiancée. The man who killed her/The killer/The murderer has not been arrested yet.
- (4) In the other narrow bed (i)his brother Eugene went on sleeping,... Arnold, watching (ii)his brother sleeping, felt a peculiar dismay;... To dispel emphatically his uneasy advantage over (iii)his sleeping brother,...

(Gina Berriault, The Stone Boy)

例(4)では、(i)大節(major clause)として提示されて過程が、(ii)知覚動詞の目的語+現在分詞という中間的表現を経て(iii)現在分詞+主要語という名詞群へとモノ化されていることが見てとれる。

さて、これまでの具体例を見るかぎり、「概念化(conceptualization)」(Langacker 1987) の問題に敢えて踏み込まなくてもテクストの結束性を十分に捉えることができるように思える。 しかし、テクスト上の結束関係に不整合がある場合はどうだろうか。例(5)を考えてみよう。

- (5)(a) Her necklace suddenly snapped and fell on the floor into pieces. They were all diamonds.
 - (b) Her necklace suddenly snapped and fell apart on the floor. They were all diamonds.

これら 2 例は、わずかな表現上の違いだけでともに同じ表示内容をもつ。(5a)では、Theyは前方照応の複数形代名詞として先行節のpiecesを指示しており、これと直接的な結束関係がある。一方で(5b)のような表現もありえる。ここで話し手は、聞き手が第 1 節の意味内容を理解した際生じた観念---ばらばらになったパーツ---を前提にして第 2 節を Theyで始めたのだろうが、テクストの表面にはこの複数形の代名詞が直接指示できる表現がなく、「参与要素の連鎖(participant chains)」(Halliday 1985/1994)あるいは「指示の連鎖(reference chains)」(Martin 1992)を形成できない。Theyは、第 1 節の過程の結果生じた状態を指示していると考えないかぎり、指示対象をもてないことになる。

例(5)を、テクストの空間的な概念化にかかわる問題とすれば、次の(6)はテクストの時間的な概念化の問題とみることができる。すなわち、テクストの順序に従った情報処理は言語外現実における事態の生起の順序に拘束されない:

(6) John Smith killed his fiancée. The murderer had told her he loved her just before the act.

現実世界では殺人行為以前は「人殺し」でないにもかかわらず、先行節の解釈の結果、The murdererという表現が可能なのである。

結束性が「テクスト性(texture)を達成する言語的手段」(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 293) であり続けるならば、(5) や(6) の例からして、テクスト解釈のレベルの結束性---「観念構成的結束性(ideational cohesion)」---と言うべきものを考える必要が出て来るのである。

3. 観念構成的結束性と談話の型

ところで、上述した問題をさらに追及するために、2つの疑問を提起したいと思う。まず1つめとして、テクストは言語の線形性(linearity)によって継時的に展開し、これに従ってテクストの聞き手/読み手は、ほぼ節を単位として累積的に観念構成を行うが、テクストが表示する言語外現実は、観念構成とともに変化するのだろうか、それとも変化しないのだろうか。例えば、次の調理法の例のような、手続きを示す談話を考えてみよう。

(7) Peel the potato₀, slice it₁, and fry it₂.

読み手は、 it_1 を、用意したままのポテトではなく皮をむいた後のポテトだと解釈するが、こうした観念構成に従って、現実世界にこれを実現したとすれば、 it_1 の指すものは $potato_0$ とは形の違ったものになるだろうし、同様に it_2 の指すものはさらに変化したもの、すなわち「皮をむいてスライスした後のポテト」になるのだろう。

他方、あるものや人物の特徴を記述・説明する談話はどうか。

(8) John Smith, is a college student. He, speaks Japanese. He, is handsome.

読み進むうちに、 He_1 はただのJohn Smith ではなく、大学生だという特徴が加わり、 He_2 ではさらに日本語を話すという説明が追加される。このようにJohn Smith の記述は徐々に精緻になるが、しかし、言語外現実の人物そのものは元から「日本語を話すハンサムな大学生」であって何の変化もないように思われる。これら(7)と(8)が示すテクスト外部の指示対象の性質の違いは、テクストの種類と何らかの関係があるのだろうか。

2番目の疑問として、少し別の側面から考えたいのは、英文のテクストについてしばしば指摘されることだが、同じ指示対象を指すのに同じ表現を繰り返すよりも別の表現で言い換える方が普通であり自然であると言われる。たとえばHalliday (1994) も、同じ人物について「毎回Peterと呼び続けると(固有名詞は溯って検索する必要がないので)果たして同じ人物について話しているのか疑問に思い始めるだろう」(p.312)、と言っている。確かに、雑誌記事や小説の談話において同一の指示対象に対する表現上の多様性が見られる:

(9) PRINCE WILLIAM ... the fledgling Etonian ... Wills ... young master Windsor ... he ... (Time, Sept.18, 1995)

(10) She ... the dear lady ... a poor thing ... the poor child's fate ...

Mrs. Amyot ...

(Edith Wharton, The Pelican)

しかしその一方で、次の調理法や法律の談話の例では、こうした多様性をあえて避けているように見える:

(11) sift the flour ... make a well in the centre of the flour ... beat the eggs and add to the well in the flour ... mix in the flour ...

(Anne Willan, Look & Cook: Italian Country Cooking)

- (12) (Article I) All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States,... after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States ... but the Congress may ... The Congress shall assemble (The Constitution of The United States of America)
- (11) と(12)のどちらのテクストも、the flourをthe powderと言ったり、the Congressを the councilやthe legislative bodyとしたりという言い換えをしない。法律文書の場合は、曖昧さをなくし無用の混乱を避けるためと一般に言われるが、果たしてそれだけだろうか。またレシピのテクストの場合はどうしてなのか。

以下では、今述べた2つの疑問を、テクストの種類⁵を理念的な形で整理しながら検討しようと思う。

まず、Hatch(1992:ch.5)によれば、古くから文献に現れている談話の種類には、(A)物語談話(narrative discourse)、(B)記述的談話(descriptive discourse)、(C)手続き的談話 (procedural discourse)、そして(D)議論・説得の談話(suasive/argumentative discourse)の4つが認められる。これらは具体的にさまざまなテクストを分析して帰納的に抽出した談話の「典型」であると考えられる。本節で考えたいのは、これら談話の典型は、お互いが全く独立した独自のタイプであるのか、それとも相互に部分的に、あるいは特定の側面で共通の特徴をもち、その限りで関連しあうものなのか、という点である。結論的には、以下に提示する2つの「弁別特徴」と呼ぶべき判断基準によって、相互に関連しつつそれぞれのタイプを形成しており、理念的に見て改めて4類型に分類することができる。このことを詳しく論じていこうと思うが、1つ留意したい点は、ここでは池上(1975:8章)の言う「微視的はアプローチ」、すなわち文と文との情報上のつながりの観点からテクストを眺め、「巨視的なアプローチ」、すなわちテクスト全体の生成をひとまず問題にしないということである。したがって特定のテクスト類型の構造論からはずれを生じるが、これについては適宜指摘することにする。

(A) 物語談話はすでに広く研究され、OrientationとGoal、ProblemとResolutionといったテンプレートが比較的はっきりと決まっている談話の類型として知られている。が、そうしたマクロ的な視点を離れてミクロ的な視点から物語談話の特徴を考えてみると、その中核は「事態の時間的展開の叙述」であると言えるだろう。ある人物が場面に登場し、さまざまな経験をしたり行動したりすることによってある結果に至る、その過程の叙述が物語の基本的な枠組みだとすれば、「継時性(successiveness)」、すなわち時間的な連続性が物語談話の1つの大きな特徴と言えよう。もう1つの特徴は、私たちは物語を実際の出来事として聞くということである。その証拠に、私たちはたとえ作り話と知っていても、登場人物の心理や行動、話の展開に合理性や首尾一貫性を求め、さらには架空の存在である彼らが活動した場所や関係した事物を探し求めさえする。(シャーロック・ホームズの『愛用品』が実際に存在することを思い起こされたい。)こうしたことは現実に起こった事件とその説明に対して示す態度と同じものである。ここで「述定性(constativeness)」 なわち事実確認できるかどうかを問うことができ、物語談話は今述べたかぎりで述定的だと言えるのである。

実際、これらのことは述語動詞の現れ方を見ることによって確かめることができる。すなわち、提示部は別として⁸、物語が展開する中心部分では、いわゆる動態動詞、つまり「物質過程 (material process)」が連続的に現れるが、これは関係する参与要素の活動や変化、つまり、主語となる「行為者(actor)」の一連の作為や行動、および目的語となる「対象(goal)」の状態変化を示し、この談話の継時的特徴を明らかにしていると言える。そして、一連の述語動詞はふつう過去時制で現れるが、それはこの談話が述定的であることを示すものである。以下に簡単な例を挙げる:

(13) Tom, Tom, the piper's son, Stole a pig and away he run;
The pig was eat, and Tom was beat, And Tom went howling down the street.

(nursery rhyme)

- (14) I came, I saw, I conquered.
- (15)(a) $John Smith_0$ went to the park. He_1 killed his fiancée. And then he_2 went to the party.
 - (b) John Smith, went to the party. He, killed his fiancée. And then he, went to the park. (≠(a))

例(13)では、冒頭でTomの簡単な記述(the piper's son)が与えられたあと、豚を盗んで逃げ、その豚を食べて懲らしめられ、泣きわめいたという出来事の展開が語られるが、物質過程が連続して過去時制で提示されていることに注目したい。このように物語談話は継時的に展開するので、(14)のように同じような節の反復に見えても勝手に順序を変えることはできない。節の順序を入れ替えれば事態の生起の順序を変えることになり、前後関係を明示する(before、after等の)接続表現がないかぎり、別の出来事になってしまうのである。(15a)では He_1 は公園におり、そこで婚約者を殺すのだが、(15b)では He_1 はパーティー会場にいて、そこで犯行に及ぶことになる。

- (B) 記述的談話は、しばしば学習者の言語能力を高める手立てとして教育の場で用いられる談話の型であり、ふつう対象となるものを部分に分け、その機能や外見を記述する形をとる。物語談話ほどテンプレートがはっきりしない一方、話し手は聞き手と共有するスキーマを記述の補助に利用する。この談話を先程の分類基準に照らしてみると、話し手が知っている、存在する事物・人物について述べるのが普通であるから、その事実性を確かめることができる述定的な談話と言える。一方、継時性に関しては、ある人間の全体像を語るのに、顔立ちから始めようが性格や癖から始めようが、特に支障はないだろう。そもそも対象自体のもつ恒常的性質・状態を問題にするのであるから、この特徴はマイナスと考えられる。典型的な述語動詞がコプラ動詞、つまり「関係過程(relational process)」であることからも、時間的順序という特徴が基本的に問題にならないことが分かる。
- (16) (i) Situated on the banks of the Arno river and set among low hills covered with olive groves and vineyards, Firenze is immediately captivating.
 - (ii) Cradle of the Renaissance and home of Michelangelo and the Medici, the cit y is almost overwhelming in its wealth of art, culture and history.
 - (iii) Despite the traffic and the unrelenting summer heat, Firenze still attracts millions of tourists ...

 (Helen Gillman, et al. Italy (abbreviated))
- (17) (a) John Smith, is a college student. He, speaks Japanese. He, is handsome. (=(8))
 - (b) John Smith is handsome. He speaks Japanese. He is a college student. (=(a))

例(16)は、Firenzeの地勢や歴史、現況をそれぞれの角度から述べているが、これら3つの節は(文体的にはこの順序が最適かもしれないが)、どのように入れ替えようとも Firenzeの街の様相が変わってしまうことなどない。同様に(17)の場合も、(a)でも(b)でもJohn Smithという人物に変わりはない。ここで(17)を例にとって、先程から問題にしている、言語表現に対応する観念構成と現実の指示物の相互関係を、かつてのOgden & Richards(1923)の意味の三角形に基づいて整理してみよう。

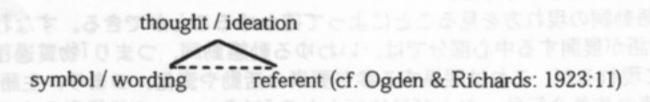
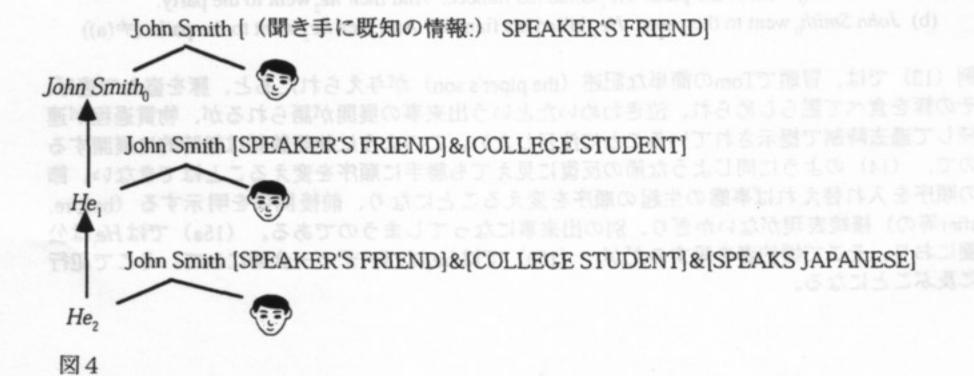


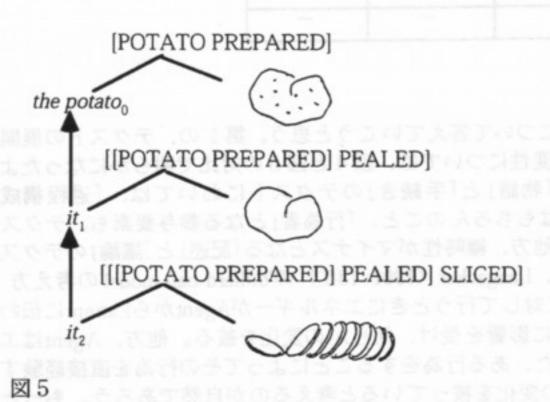
図3

彼らの元の図は、単語の「形」と「意味」と「指示物」の関係を整理したものだが、これを談話のレベルに応用して、テクスト上の「表現」とそれがもつ「観念」、およびテクストの外部にあって(あると想定されて)これらに対応する「指示対象」⁹という三者の関係が図3のように示されよう。この図に倣って(17a)を図式化すると、次のようになる。テクストが展開するにつれて John Smith についての記述が増加し、それが観念構成のレベルで蓄積されていくが、外部に存在する問題の人物そのものは何ら変化しないという論点が明確になろう¹⁰:



- (C) 手続き的談話は、何らかの目標に到達するためのハウツーの談話と言える。これは、聞き手に順序よくステップを踏むように指図しながら目標に達することを教える談話なので、継時性という特徴について当然プラスである。述語動詞の現れ方も、動態動詞の連続というパタンになる。動態動詞の目的語、つまり「物質過程」の「対象」は一連の動詞の生じた順に従った変化を被ると考えられる。一方、述定性に関しては、命令文の連続なのでマイナスであり、言い換えれば、談話全体がいわゆる遂行的(performative)な特徴をもつと考えられる。(18)と(19)はこのタイプの談話だが、継時的特徴をもつので、節の順序を入れ換えると、思っていた料理とは違うものが出来上がり、目的地とは別の場所に着いてしまう:
- (18)(a) Peel the potato₀, slice it_1 , and fry it_2 . (=(7))
 - (b) Fry the potato₀, slice it_1 , and peel it_2 . (\neq (a))
- (19) (a) Walk two more blocks, turn left, and cross the bridge.
 - (b) Cross the bridge, turn left, and walk two more blocks. (≠(a))

例(18a)を図式化してみよう。テクスト情報の累積に伴い、観念構成のレベルで対象についての概念上の変化が生じ、(聞き手が、命じられた行為を誠実に行ったと想定すると)さらに対応するテクスト外部の対象も変化する:



- (D) 議論の談話は、ある主張を展開するための談話であり、この談話を構成する要素として(i) 導入、(ii) 問題の説明、(iii) 主張の概要、(iv) 証拠、(v) 反論(反証)、(vi) 結論の6つが古くから言われているが、実際の現れは多様な形態をとる。こうしたテクスト構造の問題はわきへおいて、文同士のつながりの観点から先の2つの分類基準に照らして考えてみると、まず継時性については(論理的順序ではなくて時間的順序の問題であるから)、ちょうど(B) について人物を記述する陳述に決まった順序がないのと同様、主張を論証するための陳述をどう並べるかに一義的な順序がないのであれば---端的に言って、「主張の中核」と「主張の根拠」はどちらを先に述べても全体的には同じことになる---、議論の談話はマイナス継時的である。もう1つの述定性は、主張の談話である以上明らかにマイナス述定的である。これはmust, shall等の法助動詞の使用によって確かめられる。(21) はこのタイプの談話に分類されるeditorialの例である:
- (20)(a) It looks like rain. You must take an umbrella with you, even though you may not think it's necessary.
 - (b) Even though you may not think it's necessary, you must take an umbrella with you. It looks like rain. (=(a))
- (21) [Headline:] Socialists in Glass Houses

(i)In a front-page article in Vietnam News, the official English-language daily, the paper reported on a management workshop in Hanoi where Vietnamese officials blasted foreign investors for violations of local labor laws. (ii)But before pointing the finger at foreign investors, it is at least worth asking why, with all these abuses, there is no shortage of workers lined up outside the gates of foreign enterprises hoping for a job. (iii)One key indicator may be the average annual per capita income, about \$200. (iv)The desperation that results should be placed squarely where it belongs: (v) on a Communist Party whose decades-long experiment with socialism took what should be one of the wealthiest countries in Southeast Asia and made it one of the poorest.

Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong).

(Reproduced by Herald Tribune International, July 14, 1997)

例(20a)では「根拠」-「主張の中核」-「反論」、(20b)では「反論」-「主張の中核」-「根拠」の順に並ぶが、主張全体に差はない。より複雑な(21)の場合も、(接続表現や照応表現等を変える必要はあるのだが)主張の中心の(v)から始めて、その根拠としての(iii)、さらにそれに起因する実例の(ii)という順に並べて換えても、全体的には同じ主張がなされよう。以上4つの談話の類型を2つの分類基準によって整理すると次のようになるだろう:

き」(さるです	narrative	description	procedure	argument
successiveness	+	_	+	V 3132-19
constativeness	+	+		_

図6

ところで、先に提起した2つの疑問について答えていこうと思う。第1の、テクストの展開に伴うテクスト外部の「指示対象」の可変性については、図4と図5の対比で明らかになったように、継時性がプラスの特徴をもつ「物語」と「手続き」のテクストにおいては、「過程構成(transitivity)」で「対象」となる参与要素はもちろんのこと、「行為者」となる参与要素も、テクストの進展に伴って様態の変化を被り、他方、継時性がマイナスとなる「記述」と「議論」のテクストではそうならないということである。Langacker (1991: 13ff.)の"billiard-ball model"の考え方で言えば、Agentがある行為をPatientに対して行うときにエネルギーがAgentからPatientに伝わる中で、言うまでもなくPatientは直接に影響を受け、何らかの変化を被る。他方、Agentはエネルギーを消費することになるし、また、ある行為をすることによってその行為を直接経験するのであるから、Agent自体も何らかの変化を被っていると考えるのが自然であろう。もっと端的に言えば、(物語談話でActor/Agentとなる主人公の)「浦島太郎」は言うに及ばず、「桃太郎」も「花咲爺」も物語の初めと終わりで同じ状態だとは、だれも主張できないだろう。

第2の疑問、すなわち同一指示対象に対する表現上の多様性について、例(9)は記述的談話、(10)は物語談話でともに述定性がプラスであり、例(11)は手続き、(12)は議論の談話でともに述定性がマイナスである。手続きの談話の場合、参与要素の表現上のバリエーションが見られないのは、テクストに従って、その内容を実現することによって現実世界を整理したり、改変したり、新たな状況を作り出したりする種類のテクスト---「遂行的」テクストだからであると考えられる。つまり、それ以前とは違った、あるいはなかった新しい状況をテクストは読み手に生み出させることになるので、『同一の事柄』についてそもそも多様な表現を与えることが出来ないものと思われる¹¹。あるいはHallidayの言葉遣いで言えば、作られるべき状況に対して'congruent'な表現のみが妥当するのであり、前提とすべき状況が確定しないために 'metaphorical'に言い表し難いのである¹²。

これに対して、物語ないし記述的談話の場合、仮想現実を含めた外界にある指示対象はテクストに先立って存在する。一見、新聞・雑誌記事という事実を報告・説明するテクストと、小説などの虚構を描写するテクストを同じ範疇に入れることが奇異に見えるかもしれないが、先にも述べたように実は、これらはともに、読み手にテクストの表示する世界を彼(女)の解釈作業以前に存在するものと想定させる点で、同じ種類のテクストと言えるのである。これは、真理値をもつ「述定的」テクストと言うべきものである。参与要素の(テクスト外部の)指示対

象は談話以前に存在する、ないし想定されているので、それに対していろいろな角度から多様な記述が可能であるし、また、例(10)のように、いきなり代名詞で談話を始めることもできる。(10)のような物語の場合には、読み手を引き込もうとする技巧があるのだが、読み手の側からすると、書き手がすでに作り上げた世界を徐々に共有していこうとする心構えがあるので、既知情報を示す人称代名詞で談話が始まっていても、一体だれのことかと戸惑うことはないのである。

4. 結論

以上論じてきたことを改めて要約しようと思う。

- (1) 談話を節のつながりというミクロ的視点から眺めたとき、後続節の参与要素は先行節 の過程の情報を累積・集約しており、テクスト上で同一指示の名詞類も、談話の展開に従って その観念構成を変化させていく。
- (2) (1) は基本的にどの談話のセグメントにも言えることだが、テクスト外部の指示対象 のありようは、談話の特性によって変異する。すなわち、継時的性質をもつ物語と手続きの談 話では、参与要素の観念構成の変化とともにその指示対象の様態は徐々に変化するのに対して、 非時間的な性質をもつ記述と議論の談話では、対象自体は変化しない。
- (3) また、テクストに先立って事物が存在すると見なすかどうかについて、述定的特性をもつ物語と記述的談話はそのように見なすので、記述の対象についてさまざまな角度から多様な表現が可能である。他方、遂行的特性をもつ手続きと議論の談話では事物はテクストを通して外部に実現するものであり、この対象についてあらかじめ多様な表現を与えることは指示の混乱や一貫性のなさを恐れて行われない。

以上のようにまとめられる。ただし、先述したように、ここでの類型上の区別は多分に理念的なものであり、今後、この分類と分類基準をより多くの実際の資料によって裏付けていく必要があることを付け加えておく。

注

- *本稿は、1997年10月26日、実践女子大学で開かれた日本機能言語学会(JASFL)秋季大会での口頭発表に加筆・修正したものである。
- 1 選択体系機能言語学(systemic functional linguistics)の術語の訳語のうち、'transitivity'に関するものは龍城 (1997) による。
- 2 Langacker (1987:145) は、(参与者間の関係が表された)状態の連続の2つの捉え方として、時間の経過に沿って捉える「連続走査(sequential scanning)」と、全体を単一的・静的に捉える「累積走査(summary scanning)」とを対比している。(訳語は河上(1996)による。)これは事態の2種類の捉え方であるが、談話における事態の1次的把握と2次的把握として捉え直せると思う。
- 3 Halliday(1985/1994)の枠組みで、談話の結束性の問題としては論じていないものの大変示唆的なのは、第10章で文法的隠喩(grammatical metaphor)の最も強力な手段として名詞化(nominalization)を挙げ、節の形で表れた過程や属性が名詞群のモノ(Thing)として言い直される方策を例示していることである(1994: 352-353)。なお、名詞化についてはLangacker(1991: 22ff.)も理論的枠組みは異なるが内容的に類似した、かつ詳細な議論を展開している。
- 4 Heim (1983) は、談話を構成する各文の終わりで聞き手はそれまでに与えられた情報をファイルカードに書き留めるという、'file-keeping' metaphorという考えを導入しているが、これは本論にきわめて類似している。
- 5 ここでは、伝統的な観点から見たテクストの種類・類型を整理しようというのであって、「言語使用域 (register)」の考え方に基づいてなされた様々の研究には立ち入らない。
- 6 Hatch (1992: ch.5) は伝統的なテクストの類型について簡明にまとめており、以下の各タイプについての説明もこれに基づく。
- 7 'constative'という用語は Austin (1962) のもので、本稿でも、真偽値を有する、つまり命題が真か偽かを問うことができる、という意味をそのまま引き継いでいる。
- 8 実際の物語テクストでは、ふつう提示部で、場面や登場人物を描写する談話が生じるが、これは次に

述べる記述的談話の特徴である。しかし、「微視的な観点」からの議論ではこれを問題にしない。

- 9 選択体系機能言語学の用語法では、'referent'は (後続の照応表現によって指示される元の表現という) テクスト上のものだが、ここでは伝統的な意味論の術語として用いている。
- 10 累積された情報の各片がそれぞれ同じ比重、同じ重要度で聞き手に認識されるとは思われない。情報の重要度は、聞き手の関心のありか、注意の向け方に左右されるとすればテクスト上では測れないが、ある断片がテクストの流れの中で再び取り上げられたり、談話の話題(topic)になったりした場合には確認することができるかもしれない。この問題は別の機会に詳しく論じたい。
- 11 レシピの談話でしばしば、Mix the milk and sugar ... Heat the mixture ... といった例が見られる。この the mixture は一見the milk and sugarに対する表現上のバリエーションとも思えるが、すでに類例で論じたように、これは様態の変化を被っていて変化した対象に対するむしろ'congruent'な表現であって、例 (9)、(10) とは質的に異なるのである。
- 12 議論の談話の場合、Bill Gates ... the president of Microsoft ... the richest person in America といったパリエーションがありえようが、これはBill Gates とい う人物の存在自体が前提とされていればむしろ当然だろう。議論の問題点、あるいは主張の中心を表現する部分が多様な言い換えを許さないのではないか--なぜなら、主張が一貫していないと受け取られる恐れがある---ということなのだが、これらを表現上特定することは容易でない。

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Sato: 'Ideational Cohesion

'Ideational Cohesion' in Discourse Development and in the Classification of Written Text

101

Katsuyuki SATO Mukogawa Women's University

This paper examines the relationship between the recurrent fugue-like pattern of textual development and major types of written monologue texts.

I examine how initially presented information is collected, condensed and capsulized in following clauses. This compaction is expressed by co-referential nominals. Identical nominals develop different semantic configurations as a text develops. Consequently, I argue that textual cohesion cannot be adequately discussed without considering ideational representation, specifically for 'successiveness' and 'constativeness'. Successiveness concerns the degree of change or changelessness of the putative 'referent' in the extratextual world. Constativeness concerns the variety or uniformity of expression of co-referential items in a text. These linguistic patterns produce the four major types of written text: narrative, description, procedure, and argument.

'Identional Cohesion' in Discourse Development and in the Classification of Written Text

Katsuyaid SATO Mukopawa Women's University

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英語における節の主題 一選択体系機能理論におけるメタ機能の視点からの再検討ー

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1. はじめに

ハリデー(M.A.K. Halliday)の主唱する選択体系機能理論 Systemic Functional Theory では、談話を構成するテクストは、観念構成的 ideational 機能、対人的 interpersonal 機能、テクスト形成的 textual機能の3つのメタ機能 metafunction に基づいて組織されている言語システム(多数の選択体系網 system network からなる)における意味層、語彙・文法層、音韻音声層/書記層の選択体系網から、コンテクストの要因によって、さまざまな言語要素が選択される対人的相互作用の意味過程ないしその産物であるされている。観念構成的機能とは経験事態のいわゆる認知的意味をとらえる機能であり、対人的機能とは相互作用者の対人的関係(叙法、モダリティー、待遇、情緒等)をとらえる機能であり、テクスト形成的機能とは談話のテクストを構成する節群に結束性と首尾一貫性を与え、テクストをテクストたらしめる機能である。本稿でとりあげる節の主題 themeは、テクスト形成的機能に属するものである¹。

選択体系機能理論において英語の節の主題についての研究が、言語システムの重要な構成部分として本格的に始められたのは、Halliday (1967a, 1967b, 1968) においてである。ハリデーによる節の主題についての研究のもとになったのは、マテジウス(V. Mathesius)を中心とするプラーグ言語学派によって展開されてきた機能的構文観 Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) における主題一題述 theme-rheme 論である ²。しかしながら、節の主題のとらえかたについてはマテジウスとハリデーの間に重要な違いが見られる。マテジウスは、節の主題を「(すでに)知られているか少なくともその特定の状況において明らかなもので、そこから話し手が出立するもの」 ³と定義するのに対し、ハリデーは、この定義の前半と後半とを機能的に区別し、前者は新旧情報という情報の配分にかかわるものとし、後者がいわゆる節のメッセージの起点としての主題であるとした。そして、英語ではこの二種類の機能は、それらが具現される構造的形式においても違いがあることを示した。すなわち、新旧情報の配分は、節という統語的単位ではなく、新情報焦点の機能を担う主音調 tonic が生じる音調域 tone groupという音韻的単位でなされるのに対して、主題一題述はその作用領域を節として、主題の機能は節の構成要素が節頭に配置されることで具現されるというのである。選択体系機能理論研究者達は、英語の節の主題について、このハリデーの立場を支持している⁴。

選択体系機能理論に基づくさまざまな理論的応用的研究のなかで、テクスト形成的機能において重要な位置づけをもつこの主題という概念は、主要な関心事の1つとなってきている。にもかかわらず、研究者の間でも主題についての統一的な理解がまだなされていない。その原因の1つは、じつは、ハリデー自身がおこなっている主題についての記述と説明。につきまとっているあいまいさと論理的整合性の欠如にあるように思われる。

以下、2節では、ハリデーによる節の主題につての考え方とその問題点を示す。3節では、 観念構成的主題と対人的主題の峻別を骨子とするその問題点の解決案を提案する。4節では、 その解決案に基づき観念構成的主題の有標性の意味を再検討する。5節では、節頭のテクスト 形成的主題領域、対人的主題領域、観念構成的主題領域における相互の記号的拒否性について 検討し、また節頭の主題領域と有機的な関係にある節末の役割についても若干の考察をする。 全体としては、節のメッセージの起点としての主題の本質をとらえるためには、3つのメタ機能の峻別が不可欠であることを論じる。そして願わくば、間接的には、言語システムとテクストの基本的構成原理として観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能という3つのメタ機能が存在するという選択体系機能理論の主張の妥当性を示すことにしたい。

2. ハリデーによる主題の記述と説明にかかわる問題点

ハリデー(Halliday1994:42-48)によれば、英語の節において主題の機能を担う⁷ものとして 典型的に選択される要素は、節の叙法の選択によって異なるとされる。ハリデーは、節の特定 の叙法に対して典型的に選択されるつまり無標の主題 unmarked theme 要素をつぎのようにま とめている。(1)節の叙法が叙述法の場合、典型的に選択されるのは、主語として機能する 名詞句。(2)yes/no疑問法の場合、動詞句⁸の最初の語(定性の操作子)+主語として機能する 名詞句。(3)wh疑問法の場合、wh疑問要素として機能する名詞句か副詞句か前置詞句。 (4)you命令法の場合、述部として機能する動詞句か、否定の場合は don't+動詞句。(5) you&me命令法の場合、let's か、否定の場合は don't+let's。(6)感嘆法の場合、感嘆要素とし て機能する名詞句か副詞句。ということである。それぞれを具体例で示す(主題の機能を担っ ているとされる要素は太字部分)。

- (1) The hunter shot the bear.
 - (2) Did the hunter shoot the bear?
 - (3) Who shot the bear?-What did the hunter shoot?
- -When/Where/How/With which gun did the hunter shoot the bear?
- (4) Shoot the bear.-Don't shoot the bear.
 - (5) Let's shoot the bear.-Don't let's shoot the bear.
- (6) How brutally he shot the bear!

ハリデーによれば、「主題とは、メッセージの起点となる要素であり、節がそこから出立する地点である」。主題の機能がどのように具現されるかは、言語によって異なる場合があるが、英語では、節頭に配置される要素が主題の機能を担う。そして、主題の最も基本的な意味は、ハリデーによれば、'I'll tell you about...'つまり「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」である。したがって、Mt. Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan. と The highest mountain in Japan is Mt. Fuji. という2つの節は、異なるメッセージの起点すなわち主題をもっていることになる。つまり、前者の主題は「これから私はあなたに富士山について述べます」、後者の主題は「これから私はあなたに日本で一番高い山について述べます」という意味になる。ハリデーは、主題の意味のこのようなとらえかたを最も基本的なものであるとしたうえで、有標の主題marked theme 要素や、上述のような叙法の選択による主題の機能を担う要素との関係を論じている。

叙述法の節では、上述のとおり、典型的に選択されるつまり無標の主題要素は、主語として機能する名詞句であるとされる。この場合、対人的機能に属する叙法を定性とともに具現する主語要素(名詞句)が、同時に、テクスト形成的機能に属する主題の機能をも担っていることになる。このように、対人的機能である「叙述」にかかわる主語と、テクスト形成的機能の意味であるとされる「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」にかかわる主題の両方の機能を、節の同一の構成要素が担うというのは、ハリデーの言うとおり、自然なことであるかに見える。それゆえに、このような意味の主題と主語の機能が結びつくことが無標であるとするのは、なるほど理にかなっていると思えるかもしれない。

しかしながら、主題が主語以外の機能を担う要素と結びつくと、「これから私はあなたに~ について述べます」という主題のこの基本的な意味とされるものとのかかわりがうすれていく ことが分かる。例えば、次の例文を見てみよう。

- (7) Brutally the hunter shot the bear.
- (8) The bear the hunter shot.
- (9) The gun the hunter shot the bear with.
- (10) **Him** the hunter shot.
- (11) Shoot the bear the hunter did.

ハリデーによれば、これらの節で主題の機能を担っているのは、(7)では付加詞 adjunct の機能を担う要素、(8)では補語 complement の機能を担う要素、(9)では前置詞句の前置詞の補語の機能を担う要素、(10)では補語で前方照応の機能を担う要素、(11)では述語+補語の機能を担う要素である¹⁰。また、ハリデーはこの順序で有標性の度合いが増すと言う(1994: 44-47)。

(8) \sim (10) では、名詞句が主題の機能を担っているので、「これから私はあなたに \sim について述べます」という主題の基本的な意味はまだなりたちうる。しかし、名詞句以外の要素が主題の機能を担うとされる(7)の brutally や(11)の shoot the bear に、「これから私はあなたに \sim について述べます」という意味をあてはめるのはかなりの違和感がある。とりわけ、叙述法の下位範疇である感嘆法、例えば(6)や What tremendously easy questions you ask!、などにおける主題要素の場合には、この基本的とされる主題の意味をあてはめることはもはや不可能であろう。

さらに、(2) ~ (5) のような叙述法以外の叙法の節になると、この違和感がにわかに顕著になる。これらの節の主題が「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」であるとするのは、どのように理屈をつけても、まったく不可能である。そのためか、ハリデーは、主題の解釈の出発点で、「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」を主題の基本的な意味であるとして提示しておきながら、奇妙なことに、疑問法と命令法の節の主題の意味については、叙述法の節の主題の意味とは異なるものを提示している。

ハリデーによれば、疑問法の節での主題の基本的意味は、おしなべて言えば、'I want to know' つまり「私は~を知りたい」である。人は、さまざまな状況においてさまざまな理由で質問をするけれども、基本的には、自分にある特定のことをおしえて欲しいということを相手に伝えているのである。より詳しく言えば、おしえて欲しいことには2つの異なった事象がある。yes/no疑問法の節では、'I want you to tell me whether or not 'つまり「私はあなたに~かどうかおしえて欲しい」であり、wh疑問法の節では、'I want you to tell me the person, thing, time, place, reason, manner, etc. 'つまり「私はあなたにそれが、だれ/なに/いつ/どこ/なぜ/どのように、なのかおしえて欲しい」である。英語では、どちらの種類の質問でも、話者が知りたいと思っていることに関係する要素がかならず節頭にくる。yes/no疑問法の節では、(2)のように、叙法の構成要素である定性操作子であり、wh疑問法の節では、(3)のように、主語、補語、付加詞などの機能を担うwh要素である。ハリデーは、英語における疑問節のこのような構造的特徴についてつぎのように述べている(1994: 46)。

それゆえに、疑問節は、その構造的仕組みにおいて主題構成の原理を具現しているのである。ある特定の要素が節頭にくるというのが、英語の疑問節の特徴である。なぜこうなるかと言えば、まさに質問が質問であるがゆえに、節頭にくる要素が主題の資格をもつからである。話者は、質問を発するたびごとに、主題にしたい要素を節頭に置くという選択をするわけではない。特定の要素が節頭に生じるのが、疑問法が表現される規則的なパターンなのである。このパターンは、英語の仕組みの一部になっており、なぜこのようになっているかというと、英語の節の最初の位置に主題構成上の重要性が付与されているからである。疑問節は質問を表わす。したがって、質問の自然な主題は「私はある特定のことをおしえて欲しい」である。求められている答えは、ある特定の情報か、肯否の指定である。そのために、疑問法の具現には、どのような答えが求められているのかを示すような要素を選択し、その要素を節頭に配置することが必要なのである¹¹。

すなわち、疑問節において定性操作子かwh要素が節頭にくるのは、節のメッセージを伝えるための主題構成の原理からいって機能的に十分な根拠があると言うのである。そして、ハリデーは、疑問節では、After tea, will you tell me a story?、The play has John see?、In your house, who does the cooking?、The play where did you see? などにおけるように、別の要素が有標の主題としてその前に配置されることが時としてあるにせよ、定性操作子とwh要素という機能的

に十分な根拠をもつ無標の主題要素が節頭を占める強い傾向があると述べている (1967b: 214、1994: 46-47)。

ハリデーの、疑問節の主題についてのこのような主張で問題になるのは、叙法形成にかか わる定性操作子と主語要素のうち、主語要素の選択である。英語では、yes/no疑問節でもwh 疑問節でも、疑問法の機能が具現されるためには節の構成要素のどれかが主語の機能を担わな ければならない。例えば、The hunter shot the bear. とThe bear was shot by the hunter. の2つの叙 述節において、主語の機能は、前者では the hunter、後者では the bear が担っている。この2つ の節は、観念構成的機能に属する過程構成 transitivity の点では同じ意味である。すなわち、い ずれも物質過程 material process で、過程中核部 process (shoot)と参与要素 participant である 行為者 actor (the hunter) と対象 goal (the bear) からなる。しかし、行為者と対象のどちらが 対人的機能に属する主語の機能を担うかは、まずそのどちらが節のメッセージの起点として節 頭に配置されるためにテクスト形成的機能に属する主題の機能を担うべく選択されるかによる。 なぜなら、選択体系機能理論の思考法では、節の特定の構成要素が節頭に配置されるためには、 主題の機能を付与されなければならないのであって、主語の機能を付与されても、節頭に配置 される保証にはならないからである。しかし、まず節頭への配置が保証されなければ、主語の 機能を担うことはできない。つまり、主語の機能が付与されるためには、主題の機能を担う要 素の選択が前提となっているのである。とすれば、Did the hunter shoot the bear? と Was the bear shot by the hunter? の主題の機能が、それぞれの節の定性操作子の did と was によって担われ、 その主題の意味が「私はあなたに~かどうかおしえて欲しい」であるというのは、奇妙な主張 となる。節の主語が主題の機能を担う要素の存在を前提としているのならば、叙法の選択とか かわりなくかならず主題を担う要素が選択されているはずあって、すでに選択された主題要素 を反古にして、別の主題要素とそれにかかわる意味の存在を主張するのは、論理的に矛盾して いるように思われる。

このような論理的矛盾は、すでに叙述法の節の場合にも見られる。主題が主語以外の機能を担う要素と結びつく例として示した(7)~(11)でも、the hunter が主語の機能を担っているが、主語要素として選択されたのは、まずもってそれが主題の機能を担う要素として選択されたからにほかならない。この場合も、すでに選択された主題要素 the hunter を反古にして、それぞれ別の主題要素の存在を主張するのは、論理的に矛盾しているのである。

ハリデーの主題の説明におけるこのような問題点の存在は、彼の主題研究の初期におけるあまり適切であるとは思えない主題の定義づけの影響が、いまだに尾をひいているからでわないかと考えられる。ハリデーは、選択体系機能理論における英語の節の過程構成と主題についての萌芽的研究である Halliday (1967a, 1967b, 1968) において、主題の同定と意味について、その後の主題研究においてよかれあしかれ基本的なよりどころとなる陳述をしている(1967b: 211-215)。まず、主題の同定については、the theme is what comes first in the clause と述べている。この同定は現在でもそのまま有効である。つまり、英語では、節の構成要素は節頭に配置されることによって、主題の機能を具現するという内容をもつ基本的な陳述である。主題の意味については、(1)'theme' means 'what I am talking about' (or 'what I am talking about now)'(2) the theme is what is being talked about, the point of departure as a message、(3)... 'what the clause is about'、という三種類の表現で述べられている。これらには、問題となる前置詞 about(~について)という共通の項目が含まれている。(2)の後半部 the point of departure as a message は、現在でも主題の定義¹²にはかならず登場する表現である¹³。

ハリデーの主題論では、このころから、主題の定義には常に「〜について(述べる)」と「節のメッセージの起点」という2つの部分が組み合されて提示されてきた。しかも、あたかも同じ意味内容の言い換えであるかのように用いられてきた。例えば、Halliday (1967b: 212, 213) におけるつぎの例である(議論の都合上、英文のまま示す)。

- (a) In a non-polar interrogative, for example, the wh-item is by virtue of its being a wh-item the point of departure for the message; it is precisely what is being talked about. (下線筆者)
- (b) We can therefore generalize the concept of unmarked theme as the element which the speech function would determine as the point of departure for the clause. In non-polar interrogative this is the whitem; in polar interrogative and declarative it is the modal constituent, that containing the subject,

and more specifically, within this, the subject in the declarative and the finite verbal element in polar interrogative. These represent, in the unmarked case, 'what the clause is about'; . . . (下線筆者)

しかしながら、「~について(述べる)」と「節のメッセージの起点」は、Downing (1991: 122) が言うように、けっして同じことを意味しているのではない。事実、ハリデーは、「~について(述べる)」の意味が不都合と思われる説明の部分では「節のメッセージの起点」のみを用いるという、主題の定義の2つの部分にかかわる揺れを見せている。例えば、Halliday (1967: 10) におけるつぎの例である。

(c) Thus the theme is closely related to sentence function; and the meaning of theme as point of departure for the clause as message is further reflected by the fact that it is very much rarer to introduce a marked theme (complement or adjunct) in an interrogative clause, where the question point is itself the point of departure, than in a declarative, where the subject is merely a way of getting off the ground. (下 線筆者)

さらに、「節のメッセージの起点」とともに提示される「~について(述べる)」の部分自体でも、ハリデーは主題の定義における揺れを見せている。上の引用(a)(b)に現れている what is being talked about と what the clause is about はお互いに、そしてその2つともがwhat I am talking about (now) とは明らかに意味あいが異なる。(c)と同じ主旨のことを述べている(b)においてせいぜい用いられるは、「~について(述べる)」という意味からかぎりなく遠い what the clause is about 程度であって、I am talking about (now) や what is being talked about などを用いるわけにはいかないのである。

ハリデーの主題の定義における「~について(述べる)」と「節のメッセージの起点」と いう2つの部分の結びつきの揺れは、Halliday (1967b) とHalliday (1985) との間、そして後者の 改訂版である Halliday (1994) との間に見られる主題の定義の変化にはっきりと現れている。 Halliday (1985) と Halliday (1994) を比較すると、 (1) the Theme is what the message is concerned with: the point of depature for what the speaker is going to say. (36) n, the Theme is the point of departure for the message. It is the element the speaker selects for 'grounding' what he is going to say. (34) に変えられている。 (2) The theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. (38) (37) は変更なし。 (3) the Theme is the starting-point for the message; it is what the clause is going to be about. (39) the Theme is the starting-point for the message; it is the ground from which the clause is taking off. (38) に変えられ ている。Halliday (1967b) における主題の定義と比較すると、Halliday (1985) では、「~につい て (述べる) 」の部分が弱められ、さらに Halliday (1994) では、それがさらに弱められて「節 のメッセージの起点」へと傾斜し、とりわけ(3)では、「~について(述べる)」の意味が 消され、定義の2つの部分が両方とも「節のメッセージの起点」に収斂している。さらに、 Halliday (1985: 158, 315) と (1994: 179, 336) では、「節のメッセージの起点」とのみ密接な関係 のある主題の役割について、「主題構造は、メッセージの組織立て、すなわち、特定の節がそ れをとりまく談話や、それがつくりだされている状況のコンテクストと、どのように関係して いるかを示しており14」、「主題の選択は、節ごとにおこなわれ、テクスト全体の展開を促進 するのである15」と、どちらにおいても同じ表現で述べられている。このように、節の主題の 意味の重点は、もっぱらテクスト全体の展開にかかわる「節のメッセージの起点」に移ってき ていることが分かる。いわゆる、テクストの「展開の技法 method of development 16」への傾斜 である。

主題の位置づけがこのような変化をとげているにもかかわらず、すでに見たように、主題の実際の記述説明になると、ハリデーは再び「~について(述べる)」の部分を前面に押し出してしまっているように思われる。実際のところ、Halliday (1994: 38ff) では、せっかく主題の定義が「主題とは、メッセージの起点となる要素であり、節がそこから出立する地点である」とうように「節のメッセージの起点」よりに大きく変更されたのにもかかわらず、そのあとの説明では、すでに述べたように、実質的な改善がなされないままに、旧版あるいはそれ以前の主題の定義に基づく内容がそのまま踏襲されているのである。

3. 論理的矛盾の解決案

それでは、さきに示したようなハリデーによる節の主題の記述と説明にかかわる論理的矛盾をどのように解決すれば、主題のより妥当なとりあつかいができるであろうか。まず、問題の元凶となっている叙述節から検討することにする。The hunter shot the bear. とThe bear was shot by the hunter. の 2 つの節の過程構成は、すでに見たように、いずれも過程中核部と参与要素の行為者と対象からなる物質過程である。これらの要素を線形構造のどこに配置するかあるいは節構造の明示的な一部にするかどうか(つまり、実際の表現形式として現れるようにするかどうか)を規定するのは、ほとんどの場合、観念構成的機能の役割ではない。過程構成の要素間の関係は、線形構造をなすような関係ではなくて、むしろ過程中核部を中心として参与要素と状況要素がその中核部に結びつくいわば分子構造のような関係にあるのである。このような過程構成の要素を節の線形構造に配置する役割をするのは、主として対人的機能とテクスト形成的機能である。英語では、対人的機能に属する叙法の選択によって、節が主語と定性の機能をもつかもたないか、もつ場合には、主語と定性の機能を担う要素をもたない。叙述法(感嘆法も)と疑問法の場合には、主語と定性の機能を担う要素をもち、前者の場合「主語+定性操作子」、後者の場合「定性操作子+主語」という線形順序に具現される¹⁷。

しかし、参与要素のうちのどれが主語の機能を担うかを規定するのは、観念構成的機能の 役割でも対人的機能の役割でもない。上の例のように、過程構成の参与者は、行為者(the hunter) でも対象 (the bear) でも、主語の機能を担うことができる潜在的可能性をもっている。 しかし、実際に主語の機能を担えるのは、主題の機能を担うために節頭に配置される要素だけ である。そこでまず、過程構成の参与要素のどれかに主題の機能を担わせなければならない。 例えば、物質過程では行為者か対象、行動過程では行動者(The hunter grumbled.)、心理過 程 mental process では感覚者 senser か現象 phenomenon (The hunter hated the bear. / The bear was hated by the hunter.)、発言過程 verbal process では発言者 sayer か受信者 receiver か言内容 verbiage (The hunter told the villagers the story. / The villagers were told the story by the hunter. / The story was told to the villagers by the hunter.) 、関係過程 relational process では同定者 identifier か被同定者 identified (The hunter was the murderer. / The murderer was the hunter.) あ るいは体現者 carrier (The hunter was brutal.)、存在過程 existential process では存在者 existent (Three bears were in a forest.) である。また、(9) のように、小過程minor process (mini-verb) としての前置詞の補語も、主題の機能を担うことができる場合 (Someone must have slept in this bed. / This bed must have been slept in.) がある。このように、まず観念構成的機能の意味空間 に属する過程構成の参与要素の1つが、節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたすための主題とし て選択されなければならないのである。

ただし、英語では、話者が置かれたさまざまな時空間の状態(天候、時間、明暗、事象の発生の難易や可能性などにかかわる心理的物理的傾向)を表す過程構成では、過程中核部のみで参与要素が存在しないものや、参与要素として体現者と属性を含むタイプの関係過程においては体現者が存在しないものがあり、このような過程構成では、主題の機能を担いうる要素がない。この場合、節の叙法を具現するための要素の片割れである主語の機能は、観念構成的機能の意味空間に属する要素とはまったく関係のない、つまり観念構成的な意味内容をもたず対人的機能にのみかかわる要素によって担われることになる。例えば、It is raining. - Did it rain yesterday? - No, it didn't., It is cold here. - Is it cold in your room? - Yes, it is. 、What time is it? - It is eleven thirty. - It is very late. 、Will it be safer there? - Yes, it will. あるいは、It seems that Jim is not around. It is difficult to locate him. などに含まれる it である。このいわゆる非人称の it や予備の it と呼ばれる要素は、このように叙法の具現のためだけに必要な対人的機能の意味空間に属する要素であり、主語の機能を担うだけの役割しかもたないものである。これらの it は、観念構成的機能に属する参与要素としての支えがないために、主題の機能を担うことができないのである¹⁸。

このように、対人的機能に属する主語とテクスト形成的機能に属する主題は互いに密接にかかわっているが、その2つが結びつく前提として、観念構成的機能に属する参与要素の支え

が不可欠なのである。しかし、非人称の it や予備の it と呼ばれる要素の場合には、過程構成 の参与要素ではない。したがって、観念構成的機能の意味空間では、主題の機能を担う要素と して選択されることはない。それでは、It is raining. - Did it rain yesterday? のような節には、メッ セージの起点としての主題がまったくないのであろうか。答えは、ある、である。英語では叙 法を具現する要素が節頭に配置されるがゆえに、叙法の意味そのものも節のメッセージの起点 としての役割をはたしていると言える。このような叙法が担う主題は、上述の観念構成的機能 に属する参与要素の支えを前提とする主語要素が担う主題とは、明らかに性質の異なるもので ある。端的に言えば、この二種類の主題は、観念構成的機能と対人的機能という別々の意味空 間にかかわる別個の主題(以下、観念構成的主題、対人的主題と短縮形を用いる場合もある) であり、それぞれのメタ機能的意味空間において、節のメッセージの起点として独自の役割を はたしていると考えられる。例えば、It is raining. のような節の主題は、叙法にかかわる対人 的主題だけであり、叙述法の「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」という意味のみが 節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたしている。Did it rain yesterday? でも、主題は叙法にかかわ る対人的主題だけであり、yes/no疑問法の「私はあなたに~かどうかおしえて欲しい」とい う意味のみが節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたしている。それに対して、The hunter shot the bear. や Did the hunter shoot the bear? の場合は、それぞれ「これから私はあなたに~について述 べます」と「私はあなたに~かどうかおしえて欲しい」という意味が対人的主題として、節の メッセージの起点の役割をはたしているのであるが、ここではさらに、主語要素 the hunter が 観念構成的主題として節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたしている。一方、The hunter shot the bear. と The bear was shot by the hunter. の場合には、対人的主題は、どちらも「これから私はあ なたに~について述べます」であるけれども、観念構成的主題の機能は、前者が the hunter、 後者が the bear という主語要素によって担われているのである。

主題を、このように別々の異なるメタ機能的意味空間にふりわけられる唯一的でない機能であるとすれば、ハリデーの主題にかんする上述の論理的矛盾は、ほぼ解消されることになる。すなわち、「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」という意味は、叙述節のメッセージの起点としての対人的主題にのみ限定されることになるので、この意味を(2)~(6)と(7)~(11)における主題要素と関係づける必要がなくなる。そして、主題の定義において議論した、ゆゆしい問題を含む「~について(述べる)」の部分は、これでその存在理由を失うのである。

また、この立場にたてば、ハリデーの主張する命令法の節の主題の機能にかかわる同様の奇妙さも解消されることになる。ハリデーは、 Shoot the bear. と Let's shoot the bear. のような命令節の基本的な意味は、それぞれ'I want you to do something' つまり「私はあなたにある特定のことをして欲しい」と'I want us (you and me) to do something'つまり「私は私達(私とあなた)にある特定のことをして欲しい」であり、この主題の機能を担う要素は、前者では(主語+定性が省略された)述語それ自体であり、後者では let's であるとする。また否定を含む命令節の主題の機能を担うのは、それぞれのタイプで、don't+述語と don't+let's であるとする。これらは無標の主題の機能を担うものであって、Don't you shoot the bear. や Do shoot the bear. のように有標の主題の機能を担うものもあるとする。これらの有標の主題は、上述の命令節の基本的な意味に加えて、命令対象を明示したり、Don't shoot the bear. と対照的に肯否極性のうちの肯定を際立たせる意味が含まれるとされる(47)。しかし、ハリデーの命令節の主題についてのこのような主張にも、なぜある要素が主語の機能を担うべく選択されているのかという、特定の主語の存在にかかわる問題が内在しているのである。

どの叙法を選択しようが、節の観念構成的機能の意味空間においては、過程構成がなりたつための参与要素が存在しなければならない。メッセージとしての節の構成のためには、その参与要素が主題の機能を担う要素として選択され、そしてそれゆえにその要素は主語の機能の役割をも担うのである。英語における叙法は、まさにこの主語という機能をその存立の根幹に置いている。叙述法が「主語+定性」、疑問法が「定性+主語」、そして命令法はその省略(「省略されるためには、主語-定性」が存在することが前提になっているはずである)を選択することによって具現されることはすでに述べた。主語が存在しなければ、叙法の形成はなりたたない。したがって、命令法がなりたつためには、観念構成的機能の意味空間で物質過程にかかわる特定の行為者(上述の例では'shooter'、ただし、対人的機能の意味空間では相互作

用者としての you として選択される 19) を選択し、その要素に主題の機能を担わせ、そしてそ の主題要素に主語の機能を担わせなければならないのである。

このように見てくると、非人称の it や予備の it が含まれる節を除けば、どの叙法を選択し ようと、観念構成的機能に属する参与要素に依拠する主題と対人的機能に属する叙法に依拠す る主題という2つの意味の次元に属する主題が存在することが分かる。(1)~(6)の例に戻っ て、この2つの種類の主題を見てみると、どの節においても、観念構成的主題は、物質過程の 行為者 ((1) (2) the hunter、(3) who、the hunter、(4) (5) you、 (6) he) である。そ れに対して、対人的主題は、(1)(6)では「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」、 (2) では「私はあなたに~かどうかおしえて欲しい」、(3) では「私はあなたにそれが、だ れ/なに/いつ/どこ/なぜ/どのように、なのかおしえて欲しい」、(4)では「私はあな たにある特定のことをして(しないで)欲しい」、(5)では「私は私達(私とあなた)にあ る特定のことをして(しないで)欲しい」である。それに対して、非人称のitや予備のitが 含まれる節の場合には、すでに述べたように、当然のことながら観念構成的主題は存在しない ことになる。また、非人称のit や予備のit が含まれる節では、物質過程の参与要素である行 為者(あるいはそれに準じる参与要素、例えば Be silent. や Be a good boy. に見られるように、 関係過程の体現者など)の選択ができないので、行為者や体現者の機能を前提とする命令法は、 そもそもなりたちえないことが分かる。

過程構成に基づく観念構成的主題と叙法に基づく対人的主題を峻別することで、節のメッ セージの起点としての主題が談話の首尾一貫した展開のために、それぞれ異なる貢献をするこ とがより明らかになる。具体的なテクストで見てみよう。

[テクスト1] 20

But sometimes he was happy, because of his long walk through the dewy fields in the first daybreak.

> He loved the open morning, the crystal and the space, after a night down pit.

He watched every bird, every stir in the trembling grass,

(he) answered the whinneying of the pee-wits

and (he) tweeted to wrens.

If he could 21 he also would have whinnied

and (he) tweeted

and (he)whistled in a native language that was not human. He like (sic) non-human things best.

テクスト2

"Where did you get it, father?" [daughter]

"I picked it up." (father)

"Where 22 (did you pick it up)?" [daughter]

"Is it a wild one?" [mother]

"Yes , it is." [father]

"Why did you bring it?" [mother]

"He must bring it.

It's not big enough to live by itself.

It would die." [daughter]

"Yes , (it will),

and it will now." [mother]

"It won't die, father, will it?

Why will it?

It won't." [daughter]

I should think (it will) not. [father]

"(you) Take it

and (you) put it down in the field." [mother]

[テクスト3] 23

(you) Bring water and stock to the boil in a small saucepan.

(you) Add the escargots and simmer for 5 minutes or until tender.

(you) Drain well.

(you) Place each escargot in an empty shell.

(you) Arrange in a dish or shallow baking tray, shell opening facing up.

(you) Cream butter with garlic, parsely, chives and season to taste.

(you) Spoon a small amount into each shell.

(you) Bake in a hot oven (200°C) for 5 minutes or until butter has melted.

(you) Serve immediately with toasted French bread.

(観念構成的主題は太字で示すが、命令節の観念構成的主題の機能を担っている主語要素は音声列や文字列で具現されることはないので、括弧にいれておく。斜字体で示した要素のうちyes²⁴は先行するyes/no疑問節に応えるための対人的主題であり、but、and、if は、あとで示すように観念構成的機能にも対人的機能にもかかわらないテクスト形成的機能の意味空間にのみ生じる要素である。テクスト1の sometimes とテクスト2のI should think は、観念構成的機能とはかかわらない²⁵モダリティーを示すもので、対人的機能の意味空間に属する主題の機能を担う。叙法にかかわる対人的主題の要素は下線で示す。命令法を具現するために省略される要素のうち定性は、ここには示さない。)

テクスト1と2は、D.H. Lawrenceの短編 Adolf からのものである。Adolf は、鉱山労働者である父親が、夜勤明けのある朝、帰宅途中に拾ってきた生まれて間もない小さな子ウサギ(母ウサギと兄弟姉妹ウサギがなにかの理由でみな死んでひとり取り残されいた)をめぐる、ある家族の物語である。テクスト1は、物語の導入部における父親についての描写であり、テクスト2は、拾われてきた子ウサギについて、それを大喜びする娘(子供)とこれまでの同じような経験からそれをいやがる母親、そして娘から子ウサギのための援護を求められる気だてはよいが無頓着な父親との間の対話である。

テクスト 1 におけるそれぞれの観念構成的主題としての節のメッセージの起点の役割はすべて、he という同一の要素の連続によって担われている。これらは、過程構成の参与要素として見ると、「物質過程の体現者一心理過程の感覚者一行動過程の行動者一発言過程の発言者一行動過程の行動者一行動過程の行動者一心理過程の感覚者」であり、すべて先行文脈におけるmy father を前方照応要素(結束性 26の確保のため)とする「父親」をさしている。対人的主題としてのメッセージの起点は、叙法が叙述法であるので、すべて「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」である。

テクスト 2 における観念構成的主題としてのメッセージの起点の役割を担うのは、最初の3つの節が (1) you-I-you、次の2つの節が (2) it-it、その次の2つの節が (3) you-he、最後8つの節が (4) it-it-it-it-it-it、最後の2つのの節が (5) you-youであって、5つのブロックをなしている 27 。これらは、過程構成の参与要素として見ると、 (1) では「物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者である。

(2) では「関係過程の体現者一関係過程の体現者」で、どちらも「子ウサギ」が関係過程の体現者である。(3)では「物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者」で、いずれも「父親」が物質過程の行為者である。(4)では「関係過程の体現者一物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者を物質過程の行為者である。(5)では「物質過程の行為者一物質過程の行為者」で、どちらも「父親(と娘)」が物質過程の行為者である。これらの観念構成的主題が、このテクストの5つのブロックにおけるそれぞれの主題の中心軸をなしているのである。

それに対して、対人的主題としてのメッセージの起点は、「私(娘)はあなた(父親)にそれが、どこなのかおしえて欲しい」(Where did you get it, father?)-「これから私(父親)はあなた(娘)に-について述べます」(I picked it up.)-「私(娘)はあなた(父親)にそ

れが、どこなのかおしえて欲しい」(Where (did you pick it up)?)、「私(母親) はあなた(父 親)に~かどうかおしえて欲しい」 (Is it a wild one?) - 「これから私 (父親) はあなた (母 親) に~について述べます」 (it is) 、「私 (母親) はあなた (父親) にそれが、なぜなのか おしえて欲しい」(Why did you bring it?) —「これから私(娘)はあなた(母親)に~につい て述べます」(He must bring it.)、「これから私(娘)はあなた(母親)に~について述べま す」(It's not big enough to live by itself.) —「これから私(娘)はあなた(母親)に~について 述べます」 (It would die.) - 「これから私 (母親) はあなた (娘) に~について述べます」 ((it will)) - 「これから私 (母親) はあなた (娘) に~について述べます」 (it will now.) -「これから私(娘) はあなた(父親) に~について述べます」(It won't die, father, will it?)ー 「私(娘) はあなた(母親と父親) にそれが、なぜなのかおしえて欲しい」(Why will it?)ー 「これから私(娘) はあなた(母親) に~について述べます」(It won't.) - 「これから私 (父親) はあなた (娘と母親) に~について述べます」 ((it will) not) 、「私 (母親) はあな た (父親 (と娘)) にある特定のことをして欲しい」 (Take it) - 「私 (母親) はあなた (父 親と娘)にある特定のことをして欲しい」 (put it down in the field.) である。ここでは、対人 的主題の機能を担う叙法が次々と変化しながら、対話者間の議論を展開させている。注意すべ きは、議論の展開を支えているのは、ほとんどの場合、叙法要素の主語と定性操作子だけであ ることである。節のメッセージの起点である叙法要素こそが、まさ議論の展開を可能にしてい るのである²⁸。

テクスト1の観念構成的機能の意味空間では、「父親」がすべての節のメッセージの起点である。対人的機能の意味空間では、「これから私(娘)はあなた(読者)に~について述べます」がすべての節のメッセージの起点であり、叙述法の選択によって付与される対人的相互作用における役割は、「情報を与える人」(娘)と「情報を受ける人」(読者)である。テクスト1の談話では、この物語の語り手である娘の視点をとうして、採掘坑での夜勤明けの帰り道における父親の様子が次々と読者に語られている。つまり、観念構成的主題と対人的主題そして対人的相互作用の役割が特定の種類に固定され、背景化されることによって、父親(の夜勤明けの帰り道の様子)についての観念構成的意味の潤沢な選択が前景化されているのである。

それに対して、テクスト 2 では、観念構成的主題が、「父親」ー「子ウサギ」ー「父親」ー「子ウサギ」ー「父親(と娘)」と変化し、それぞれの主題をメッセージの起点とする対話のブロックを形成する。それぞれのブロック(命令法の対からなる最後のブロックは別として)ごとに、対人的主題(特にこれにかかわる対人的相互作用の役割の付与)の選択が変動し前景化されることによって、そのブロック内部の観念構成的意味の選択は、最小限におさえられ背景化されている。最初のブロックで選択されている観念構成的意味は、get it(pick it はほぼ同義)、二番目のブロックでは、be a wild one ある。三番目の" It's not big enough to live by itself. It would die."- "Yes, (it will), and it will now." - "It won't die, father, will it? Why will it? It won't." - "I should think (it will) not." の対話の流れのブロックにおいては、観念構成的意味として選択されているのは、8つの節のなかに、not big enough to live by itself、die、not、now の4つだけである(ただし not big enough to live by itself、die、not、now の4つだけである(ただし not big enough to live by itself、の観念構成的意味は die とほぼ同じである。またこのブロックのほとんどの節において、die は結束性の確保のために省略されている)。

テクスト 3 は料理のレシピのジャンルに属する談話の料理手順にあたる部分である。英語では、料理手順はすべて命令法の節で示される。このテクストの観念構成的主題としてのメッセージの起点の役割は、すべて you によって担われている。これらは、手順を指示するという料理のレシピの性格上、すべて物質過程の行為者である。この談話でも、テクスト1の場合と同じように、対人的機能の意味空間では、「私 (レシピの提供者) はあなた (レシピの利用者) にある特定のことをして欲しい」という同じ1つの意味がすべての対人的主題としての節のメッセージの起点であり、命令法の選択によって付与される対人的相互作用における役割は、「行為を求める人」 (レシピの提供者) と「行為を与える人」 (レシピの利用者) である。観念構成的主題と対人的主題そして対人的相互作用の役割が特定の種類に固定され、背景化されることによって、レシピの利用者 (が順次おこなうべきこと) についての観念構成的意味の潤沢な選択が前景化されているのである。

このように、観念構成的主題と対人的主題を峻別することで、この二種類の異なるメタ機

能の意味空間に属する主題がテクスト形成上それぞれ別個の貢献をし、互いに協力し合いなが ら、いかに連続する節のメッセージを特定方向に展開していくかが分かる。ハリデーは、テク スト1の一連の節のように叙法が叙述法の場合にのみ、主語として機能する名詞句が無標の主 題の機能を担い、その主題の基本的意味が「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」であ ると主張しているのであるが、テクスト2の例で見たように、主語の機能を担った特定の要素 が、叙法の変化とかかわりなく、一貫して節のメッセージの起点すなわち観念構成的主題の機 能を担っていることが分かる。そして、この観念構成的主題のそれぞれの連続が、談話全体の 局所的な主題の中心軸をなしている。つまり、テクスト2でいえば、まず「父親」、そして 「子ウサギ」、それからまた「父親」、そして再び「子ウサギ」へと主題の中心軸が移動しな がらテクストが展開されているのである。テクスト3では、命令法という叙法の選択ゆえに、 一連の節の主題の機能を担うべき主語要素は、音声列や文字列という表現のレベルには現れて いないが、命令法がなりたつためには、意味のレベルにはこの主語要素が厳然と存在していな ければならないのである。つまりそれは、観念構成的な意味空間における物質過程の参与要素 としての行為者(「レシピの利用者」)である。この要素が主題の機能を担うべく選択され、 それによって同時に主語の機能をも担い、そしてそれゆえに叙法形成に関与することが可能に なる。この主語の機能を担った行為者が、このテクストの一連の節において、観念構成的主題 としてのメッセージの起点として働き、談話の流れを一定方向へと展開させている。このよう に、どの叙法を選択しようと、つまりどの対人的主題を選択しようと、談話の一貫した展開を 支えるもう1つの主題、すなわち、観念構成的主題が存在しているのである29。

4. 主題の無標性と有標性の再検討

2節で、ハリデーが主張する主題の基本的意味「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」を(7)Brutally the hunter shot the bear. や(11)Shoot the bear the hunter did. のような有標の主題を担う要素にあてはめるのは違和感があるし、(6) How brutally he shot the bear! のような(叙述法としては有標であるが感嘆法としては)無標の主題を担うとされる感嘆節の節頭要素にあてはめるのは不可能であることを述べた。しかし、3節の議論で、過程構成の参与要素に依拠する観念構成的主題と叙法に依拠する対人的主題を区別することの妥当性を示したが、これによって、ハリデーが主題の基本的な意味としている「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」は、叙述法を担う「主語+定性操作子」によってのみ具現される(担われる)ものであるととらえられるべきことが明らかになった。そして、どの叙法を選択しようが、節にはかならず主語の機能と有機的に結びついた観念構成的主題の機能を担う要素が存在することも明らかになった。とすれば、2節で問題にした主題の有標性とはなにか、そしてそもそも主題の無標性とはなにかを再検討することが必要になる。

ハリデーは、多重主題 multiple theme の説明のなかで、節の構成には、主題の機能を担う観念構成的(とりわけその下位機能である経験構成的 experiential) ³⁰な意味空間に属する過程構成にかかわる要素がかならず存在する趣旨のことを、つぎのように述べている(1994: 52-53)。

表示という役割において、節は、我々をとりまく世界と我々の心のなかの世界で生じる諸過程について、人間の経験のモデルを設定する。かくして、諸過程は、文法によって3つの構成要素からなるものとして解釈構築される。すなわち、過程中核部そのもの、(筆者一部略)行為者や対象といったその過程にかかわる参与要素、そして、時間とか場所などのような状況要素である。主題構造にかかわる原理は、主題にはかならずこれらの経験構成的な要素が1つ、しかも1つだけ含まれているということである。これは、節の主題は、参与要素が状況要素か過程中核部のいずれかである構成要素で終わる、ということを意味する。主題機能を担った参与要素は、話題一評言分析におけるいわゆる「話題」にほぼ相当するので、主題における経験構成的要素を話題的主題と呼ぶことにする。

(筆者中略)接続要素やモーダル要素は、節の経験構成的構造の外にあって、参与要素や状況要素や 過程中核部としての資格がない。後者のような要素の1つが現れないうちは、節は経験の世界との結び つきがもてないままなのである³¹。

この引用部で、ハリデーは、節の主題にはかならず経験構成的 (観念構成的) な要素が含ま

れ、それがいわゆる節のトピックとしての話題的主題 topical theme の機能を担うとする。しかし、ハリデーは、この機能の適用範囲を不適切に拡張している。つまり、「主題機能を担った参与要素は、話題一評言分析におけるいわゆる「話題」にほぼ相当するので、主題における経験構成的要素を話題的主題と呼ぶことにする」という論理展開によって、参与要素のみに関係づけられるべき話題的主題が、状況要素と過程中核部を含む経験構成的要素すべてに関係づけられてしまっている。しかもこれによって、節の主題にはかならず経験構成的な要素が1つ含まれるだけでなく、1つしか含まれないことになってしまっているのである。

- (1) と (7) から (11) の例を、議論の便宜上ここに再び示して、このハリデーの主張の 不適切さを検討し、さらに主題の無標性と有標性とはどのようにとらえるべきかを考えること にする。
 - (1) The hunter shot the bear.
 - (7) Brutally the hunter shot the bear.
 - (8) The bear the hunter shot.
 - (9) The gun the hunter shoot the bear with.
 - (10) **Him** the hunter shot.
 - (11) Shoot the bear the hunter did.

これらの節の主題要素(太字部分)はすべて、経験構成的(観念構成的)な要素である。そのうち、(7)の brutally (容態 manner を示す状況要素)と(9)の the bear(前置詞の補語=小過程とその参与要素)(11)の shoot the bear(過程中核部と参与要素)以外は、通常の参与要素である。ハリデーによれば、(1)以外はみな程度の違いはあれ有標の主題を含むことになる。そして、上掲の主題についてのハリデーの主張によれば、これらの主題要素は、話題的主題の機能を担うことになる。この話題的主題というのは、まさにハリデーの言う「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」という主題の基本的な意味を表すものであろう。しかし前節の議論で、この主題の意味は、叙述法にのみかかわる対人的機能に属するものであることが明らかになった。すでに検討したように、これらの節に主語要素が存在するのは、それが主語の機能を担うために、観念構成的機能の意味空間において構築される過程構成の参与要素の1つが主題の機能を担うべく選択された結果である。とすれば、これらの節には、他の要素が節頭に配置される以前にすでに33、主題要素が存在することになる。つまりそれが、主語要素なのである。

このように考えると、「主題にはかならずこれらの経験構成的な要素が1つ、しかも1つ だけ含まれている」というハリデーの主張する主題構造にかかわる原理は、節の主題について の本質を見逃していると言わざるをえない。この主題構造の原理は、すでに検討してきたよう に、本当は節の主語要素の摘出にかかわる無標の主題にのみあてはまるものであって、有標の 主題の選択の前提となるべきものなのである。たしかに主語要素と結びつく無標の主題はかな らず1つ、しかも1つだけ存在しなければならない。しかし、この無標の主題要素に加えて、 さらに別の要素が節頭に配置される場合には、それは有標の主題としてのみ存在しうるのであ る。主題構造の原理の位置づけをこのように修正することによって、節の主題の無標性と有標 性がどのような要素の選択によって生じるのかが明確になる。つまり、英語における無標の主 題とは、節が成立するために必要不可欠な、主語要素の選択に必然的にともなう主題要素とし て選択される、参与要素が担う機能のことなのである。有標の主題とは、このような無標の主 題に加えて、さらなる観念構成的主題としての節のメッセージの起点として、節頭に配置され る別の参与要素や状況要素あるいは過程中核部などが担うことになる機能なのである。 (7) ~ (11) の例においては、節頭に存在する要素はすべてこのような意味で付加的なものであり、 それゆえにそれらが担う主題の機能は有標になるのである。さらに、このような無標の主題と の相対的な関係での有標性とは別に、これらの節頭要素の有標性には、あとで詳しく述べるメ 夕機能間における主題の占有領域の要因がからんでいる。すなわち、どの叙法を選択しようと、 節頭には必ず対人的機能に属する叙法要素がすでに存在することになり、観念構成的な過程構 成にかかわる要素がそれより前に配置されるというのは、対人的メタ機能領域に侵入すること にほかならない34。それゆえに、(7)から(11)の節に生じている主題の有標性は、どれに

も共通する観念構成的機能の意味空間内部の有標性とメタ機能間の有標性の複合的な特性なのである。

ところで、主題の有標性には程度の差があるのであろうか。ハリデーによれば、2節ですでに述べたように、(7)~(11)では、その順序で有標性の程度が高くなるということである。節の構成要素は、観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能の意味空間においては、それぞれ「過程中核部一参与要素一状況要素」、「主語一定性一述語一補語一付加詞」、「主題一題述:旧情報一新情報」からなるとされるが、とりわけ主題の無標性と有標性(そしてその程度)を左右するのは対人的機能から見た節の構成要素である。(1)の節では、参与要素の行為者 the hunter が主題の機能を与えられ、そして同時に主語の機能を与えられている。主語の機能を担った要素が主題である場合、この主題は無標である。主題の機能を与えられないために主語の機能を担えなかった参与要素の対象 the bear は補語の機能を担わざるをえない。しかし、参与要素はどれでも、その過程構成上の機能がなんであれ、まず主題として選択されれば主語の機能を担うことができる。例えば、The bear was shot by the hunter. におけるように、参与要素の対象 the bear を主語とすることができる。この場合、the bear は無標の主題となる。これに対して、(8)の節では、the bear は、補語であって主語の機能は担っておらず、無標の主題の機能は主語である the hunter が担っているので、節頭に配置された場合には、有標の主題の機能を担うしかないのである。

これとほぼ同じ条件下にある(9)と(10)が、(8)よりも有標性の程度が高くなっているのは、別の要因がからんでいるからである。(9)では、節の構成要素である前置詞句(全体としては付加詞の機能を担っている)の内部の要素、つまり節の直接構成素である句より下位のランクの構成要素が主題の機能を担わせられているためである。このような構造をもつ付加詞は、With the gun the hunter shot the bear. のように、それ全体が節頭に主題として配置されるほうが有標性は低くなる。(10)の節の主題の有標性が高いのは、テクスト形成的機能に属する新旧の情報構造の配置と関係がある。主語要素以外の要素が節頭に配置されると、それは必然的に1つの音調域 tone group 形成し、主音調 tonic が生じる情報焦点 information focus となる35。しかし、代名詞のような先行文脈や場面からの意味の補填の必要な(それゆえに結束性に関与する)要素は、対照というような特別な理由がないかぎり情報焦点とはなりえない。これらの要因がそれぞれ、(9)と(10)の主題の有標性を高めていると考えられる。

- (7) の節に見られるような、状況要素の役割をはたす状況付加詞 circumstantial adjunct (副 詞、副詞句、前置詞句などで具現される)が、補語要素よりも節頭に配置しやすい、つまり有 標性の程度が低いのは、もともと主語の機能を担いうる要素が補語の機能を担っているのとは 対照的に、付加詞の機能を担う要素にはその可能性がないので、主語要素とは競合しないから である。もともと主語要素との競合関係にある補語要素が、さらなる節のメッセージの起点と して節頭に配置される場合は、無標の主題の機能を担う主語要素を凌駕することになる。それ に対して、付加詞の機能を担う要素は、談話の展開において、いわば節のメッセージの起点と しての主たる役割を主語要素から奪うことのない脇役的な主題としてのみ機能するのである。 観念構成的機能の意味空間における付加詞要素の主題機能としてのこのような脇役的性質は、 あとで述べる対人的機能とテクスト形成的機能の意味空間で作用する主題要素である接続付加 詞 conjunctive adjunct とモーダル付加詞 modal adjunct とに密接なかかわりがあると思われる。 in other words、alternatively、as a result のような接続付加詞やprobably、fortunately、on the whole のようなモーダル付加詞は、節の経験構成的(観念構成的)構造の外にあって、これら が主題として節頭に現れても観念構成的主題とはまったく競合しないのであるが、状況付加詞 も、同じ付加詞であるがゆえに、節頭の主題領域に配置されると他のメタ機能に属する付加詞 と同じような主題機能をはたすのかもしれない。3つのメタ機能に属するこれらの付加詞が、 節頭に配置される具体例を5節の最後に示す。
- (11) の節の構造は、いわゆる主題題述等価構造 thematic equative (=疑似分裂構造) と密接な関係がある。The hunter shot the bear. という節構造に対して、What the hunter shot was the bear.、The one who shot the bear was the hunter. のように、その構成要素をいくつかとりまとめて主題の機能を担わせるためのテクスト形成的な装置として、この主題題述等価構造がある。これはまさに、主題=題述という等価関係をつくりだす構造である。この構造は、 It was the hunter that shot the bear、 It was the bear that the hunter shot. のような叙述主題 predicated theme を

もつ構造(=分裂構造)とともに、主題一題述という節のメッセージ構造と旧情報-新情報と いう情報構造の組み合わせを、節の構成要素に特異的に配置するためのものとして、テクスト 形成的機能の意味空間に発達してきたものである。What the hunter shot was the bear. において は、主題と 旧情報の機能は what the hunter shot の部分が担っており、 題述の一部と新情報の 機能は the bear が担っている。ちなみに、 It was the hunter that shot the bear においては、the hunter がより大きな節内に局所的に構築された it was the hunter という節の末尾に配置されるこ とによって新情報の機能を担う。(11)の節に関連する構造は、What the hunter did was shoot the bear. である。ここでは、太字部分が主題かつ旧情報であり、斜字部分が題述の一部と新情 報を担う要素である。この構造の場合、発信者は「猟師がなにかをおこなった」ということを 節のメッセージの起点とし、同時にその情報を受信者にとって既知のものとして提示している。 さらに発信者は「その熊を撃つ」ということをメッセージの本体とし、同時にそれを受信者に とっては未知のものとして提示している。この構造は順序を逆転させて、Shoot the bear was what the hunter did. のように言うこともできる。これは What the hunter shot was the bear. と The bear was what the hunter shot. の関係と同じである。 (11) の節では、主題一題述と旧情報ー 新情報の配分がさらに複雑である。Shoot the bear the hunter did. の shoot the bear は主題と同時 に再び新情報の機能を担っており、the hunter did は題述と同時に新情報の機能を担っている。 したがって、この節が最も有標性が高いとすれば、このような複雑な主題一題述と旧情報一新 情報の配分がからんでいるためと考えられる。

節頭の位置に一見あいまいな形で共存する過程構成の参与要素に依拠する観念構成的主題と叙法に依拠する対人的主題を峻別することによって、どの叙法が選択されようが、節の無標の主題は主語要素によって担われることが明らかになり、それによって、これまで検討してきたように、観念構成主題の有標性がどのように発生するかが理解できた。しかし、節頭の位置は、過程構成の要素によって担われる観念構成的主題と叙法要素によって担われる対人的主題だけでなく、対人的機能に属するさらに別の種類の要素からなる主題や純粋にテクスト形成的機能にのみ属する要素からなる主題が存在する。そこで次節では、メタ機能間の主題の節頭における占有領域と、その相互の不可侵性およびそれに関連する事象を検討する。

5. メタ機能と多重主題

英語では節頭の位置には、主題というテクスト形成上きわめて重要な機能を担うことを求める強い意味の圧力がかかっている。節頭は、観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能の3つのメタ機能に属するさまざまな要素が、テクスト形成のための独自の貢献をするために記号的に競い合い協力し合いながら、いわばメタ機能的住み分けをする領域なのである。そこでここでは、それぞれのメタ機能に属するどのような要素が、この節頭の位置にどのような順序で配置され、またそれらがどのように相互の住み分けをおこなっているのかを見ることによって、これまで検討してきたような、主題要素をメタ機能によって峻別すべきであるという主張の妥当性を、検討範囲を純粋にテクスト形成的機能に属する要素にまで拡張して、さらに補強することにする。

観念構成的機能に属する要素で節頭の位置を占めうるのは、すでに見たように、過程構成の構成要素のなかで、節の主語の機能を担う要素とそれ以外の機能を担う要素である。前者は、節頭の位置を占めると、無標の主題になり、後者は有標の主題となる。また、観念構成的機能の下位機能である論理構成機能にかかわっては、節複合 clause complex における、従属節の節頭への配置がある。節頭に配置される従属節は、全体として状況要素の機能を担う付加詞(状況付加詞)のように機能して有標の主題となる。対人的機能に属する要素で節頭の位置を占めうるのは、すでに見た叙法要素、モーダル付加詞、名前などの呼称詞、感嘆詞(間投詞)である。テクスト形成的機能に属する要素で節頭の位置を占めうるのは、節の連続を首尾一貫したものとして展開するための接続要素としての接続付加詞、接続詞、関係詞である36。これらの要素のなかの複数の要素が集まって、節頭で多重主題を構成するのである37。

どのメタ機能においても、節頭の位置を占める要素について重要なことは、その位置を占めるか占めないかの選択の可能性である。意味は常に選択によってつくりだされるのであるから、選択の可能性の有無は、節頭に配置される要素にとっても重要である。英語の関係詞、等

位接続詞と従属接続詞、あるいは叙法要素のように、その配置が節頭に固定されているものに ついては、もともと言語進化の過程でその位置が機能的理由からメッセージの起点として選択 されたものと思われるが、現在ではもはや占めるべき位置の選択の余地がないので、主題とし ての役割はきわめて小さい³⁸。

観念構成的機能に属する要素は、すべて選択によってしか節頭の位置を占めることができないゆえに、談話の展開にとって選択される要素が担う主題の役割は大きい。談話の話題の中心部分は、テクスト1と2で見たように、節の主語と結びつく観念構成的主題によって支えられている。そして、この無標の主題に加えて、さらに別の要素を節頭に有標の主題として配置しうる。したがって、過程構成のどの要素を節のメッセージの起点とするかは、話題の方向の決定にとって重要である。

対人的機能に属する要素のうち、叙法要素については、叙法の種類の選択の可能性はあるがそれが占める節頭の位置は、もともとは英語の進化において節の対人的機能におけるメッセージの起点として選択されたものであると思われるけれども、現在の英語における叙法要素の占める節頭の位置は選択不可能な固定したものである。それゆえに、叙法のメッセージの起点としての役割は、談話の広域的な展開のためではなく、対人的相互作用の相手に対して、発信者がメッセージ(陳述 statement、質問 question、命令 commmand、提供 offer)を発するたびに、そのメッセージに対応する対人的役割を用意させるためのてがかり(起点)を提供するという局所的な展開のためものである。

モーダル付加詞は2つの下位クラスに分かれ、unfortunately やsurprisingly のようコメント付 加詞 comment adjunct と probably やsurely のようなムード付加詞 mood adjunct がある。これら のモーダル付加詞は、Unfortunately/Probably, the bear was shot by the hunter/ The bear, unfortunately/probably, was shot by the hunter./ The bear was, unfortunately/probably, shot by the hunter./ The bear was shot by the hunter, unfortunately/probably. のように、その節のなかで占め る位置を選択することが可能である。しかし、モーダル付加詞は、その機能ゆえに、対人的機 能の中心部分である叙法要素としての「主語一定性操作子」の内部かその直後に配置されるの が最も自然 (無標) である。節頭に配置される unfortunately やprobably は、対人的主題の機能 を担い、発信者がこれから伝えることについての心的姿勢をメッセージの起点として提示する。 また、unfortunately やprobably が、節末に配置される場合には、後思考 afterthought を意味する 新情報として提示される。呼称詞の場合も、George, will you be back in Sydney? / Will you be, George, back in Sydney? / Will you be back in Sydney, George? のように、節のなかでその占める 位置の選択が可能である。呼称詞が節頭に配置される場合、発信者が発しようとするメッセー ジが George に向けられるものであることを示す。また、Shit, that bloke's gone. や Heavens, you look like a flower. におけるshit や heavens のような感嘆詞(間投詞)は、通常は節頭に配置され、 発信者が発するメッセージについての情緒的姿勢を示す。これらの対人的主題はいずれも、発 話者が、相互作用の相手に対して、自分が伝えようとするメッセージを特定の姿勢で受けとめ させるための手がかり(起点)を提供しているのである。

テクスト形成的機能に属する要素の場合、接続詞については、等位接続詞も従属接続詞も、それらが占める位置を選択することはできない。どちらの接続詞も、The bear did something harmful, so it was shot by the hunter と The bear was shot by the hunter, because it did something harmful. のように、連続する節のうちのうしろにくる節の始めの位置を占めるようになっている。これも、叙法要素と同じように英語の進化においてテクスト形成のための自然な位置として選択されたものであると思われるが、現在ではその位置は固定したものであり、ほとんどの場合、選択の余地はない。占めるべき位置の選択がされないので、接続詞のメッセージの起点としての役割も、談話全体あるいはその広い範囲の展開のためのものというよりはむしろ、より局所的な節間の論理的修辞的な展開を支えるものである。

主として談話のより広い範囲におよぶ節群の論理的修辞的な展開を支えるものに、in other words、to be precise、in conclusion、likewise、however、conversely、therefore、nevertheless、in this respect などのような接続付加詞がある。接続付加詞は、接続詞と違ってその占めるべき位置の選択が可能である。例えば、The bear did something dangerous, so it was shot by the hunter に対して、The bear did something dangerous. It destroyed the cornfields. It almost killed a farmer. Therefore, it was shot by the hunter. / It was, therefore, shot by the hunter. / It was shot by the hunter,

therefore. のように、接続付加詞の多くは節頭以外の位置に配置されうる。この場合、節頭以外の位置にも配置しうる therefore が節頭に配置されると、このメッセージの受け手に、他の位置に配置された場合よりも強く、これから出来事の因果関係の結果についてのメッセージが発せられるという準備をさせることになる。

関係詞のうち、テクスト形成的機能に属する接続要素として機能するのは、非制限的関係節の始めにくる関係詞と非限定関係詞 indefinite relative のうち過程構成での状況要素と同等の機能を担うような節の始めにくる関係詞(従属接続詞の下位クラスとみることもできる)である。例えば、前者の例としては、The hunter shot the bear, which was deplorable. や The hunter shot the bear, whose babies he also shot.、後者の例としては、The hunter caused unhappiness wherever he went. などがある。これらの要素は、過程構成の参与要素や状況要素のような観念構成的機能に属する機能を担うものが節間の接続の働きもしているのであって、あらたなメッセージが始まるというより、先行する節のメッセージに注釈を加えるという意味あいが強い。特に非制限的関係詞の場合はその傾向が強い。接続要素として機能するこのような関係詞(あるいはそれを含む句)は、その占めるべき位置が固定されていて選択の余地がない。この種の接続要素がはたす節のメッセージの起点としての役割は、発信者が自分の発した先行メッセージに注釈的な補足をするむねを受信者に知らせることである。

ちなみに、テクスト形成的機能に属する接続要素のうち、従属接続詞(非限定関係詞も含む)に導かれる節は、それ自体が過程構成の状況要素と同等の機能を担っているために、それ全体を主節の始めに配置することが可能である。その場合、Because it did something harmful, the bear was shot by the hunter. 3節のテクスト1のなかの If he could he also would have whinnied and tweeted and whistled in a native language that was not human. Whenever he went the hunter caused unhappiness. などにおけるように、節頭に配置された従属節は、それ全体が主題として、(主)節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたすことになる。ただし、この場合の主題は、テクス

(主)節のメッセージの起点の役割をはたすことになる。ただし、この場合の主題は、テクスト形成的機能の意味空間における主題ではなく、観念構成的主題であり、しかも有標の主題となる。

このように、英語の節の始めの位置には、談話を構成する一連の節が3つの異なるメタ機能に属する意味空間において適切なメッセージの起点を提示するための、さまざまな要素が配置されうる。しかし、この3つのメタ機能に属する要素は、無秩序に配置されるのではなく、メタ機能ごとにある種の住み分けがなされているのである。ハリデーは、(12)の例をあげて、多重主題要素がメタ機能別に配置されることを図1のように示している39。

(12) Well but then Ann surely	wouldn't the best	idea be to	join the group?
,			learn Great.

Well	but	then	Ann	surely		the best idea	be to join the group?
継続的	構造的	接続的	呼称詞	モーダル 付加詞	定性操作子 モダリティー	話題的主題	が、他がに対の関する
テクスト形成的		対人的		観念構成的	クスト形成的機能に		
grimian	tos nun	主	題	all and and	Day of the second	T descend ada	題 述

[図1] 多重主題要素のメタ機能による配置

この図からも分かるように、節頭の位置では、節頭の最も外側にテクスト形成的機能に属する接続要素が継続的continuative機能、構造的 structural 機能、接続的 conjunctive 機能の順に配置される⁴⁰。節頭の中間位置には、対人的機能に属する要素が呼称詞、モーダル付加詞、定性操作子(would はモダリティーの機能も担う)の順に配置される。節頭の最も内側には観念構成的機能に属する話題的主題が配置される。これがハリデーの主張であるが、すでに検討したように、叙法要素(主語一定性操作子)は叙法の種類に関係なく対人的機能に属する主題であるので、非人称の it や予備の it 以外の主語の場合、対人的主題の機能を担う要素と観念構成的主題の機能を担う要素は、部分的に重複する。しかしいずれにせよ、節頭の位置を占める要素は、メタ機能ごとにかなり截然とした住み分けがなされていることが分かる。

そこで、3つのメタ機能に属する要素の住み分けをより明確にするために、いままで自明

のこととしてきた節頭の位置とはどのようなものであるかを、筆者による主題のとらえかたに 基づいて再概念化することにする。この再概念化によって、これまで検討してきた主題にかか わる言語事象の位置づけがより分かりやすくなるはずである。

テクスト形成的機能、対人的機能、観念構成的機能のそれぞれのメタ機能の意味空間は、いわば縄張りのような相互不可侵に近い領域を形成している。3つのメタ機能が占有する領域を概念図で示すと図2のようになると思われる。

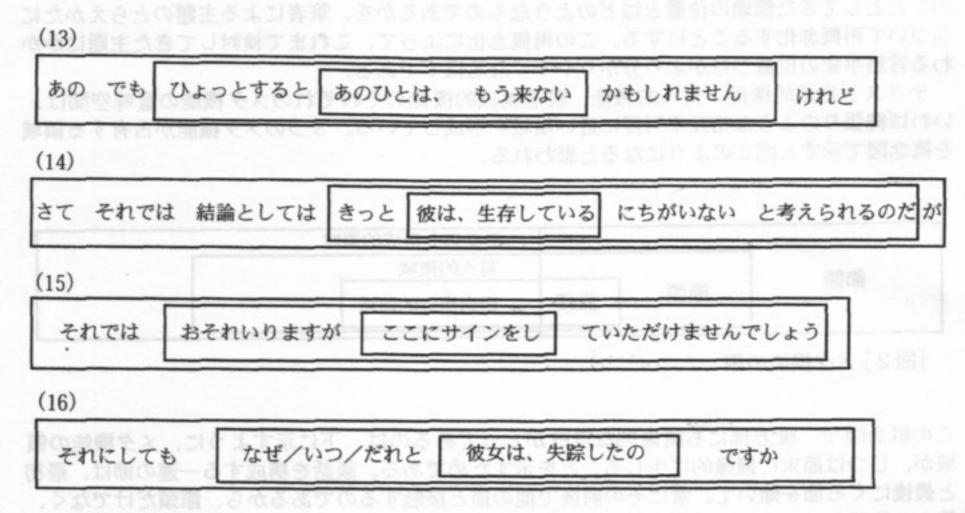
			テクスト形成的領域	
節頭			対人的領域	7
	節頭	節頭	観念構成的領域	-

「図2]メタ機能の領

この概念図で、後方部にも鏡像的な空白がとってあるのは、下に示すように、メタ機能の領域が、じつは節末に鏡像的に生じることを示すためである。談話を構成する一連の節は、最初と最後にくる節を除いて、常にその前後で他の節と接触するのであるから、節頭だけでなく、節末の位置もテクスト形成的機能の作用領域となるのはきわめて自然なことである。日本語などでは、節末が3つのメタ機能がさまざまな意味をつくる領域として、強い意味生成の圧力をうけている。

節頭というと、単一の空間における位置として理解するのが自然であるように思われるかもしれないけれども、3つの異なるメタ機能の意味空間を問題にする場合、節頭という位置づけを、これら3つの意味空間のそれぞれで別個におこなう必要がある。すなわち、観念構成的機能に属する要素にとっての節頭とは、図2でいえば、観念構成的領域での節頭であり、テクスト形成的機能に属する要素にとっての節頭とは対人的領域での節頭であり、テクスト形成的機能に属する要素にとっての節頭とはテクスト形成的領域での節頭である。この場合、3つのメタ機能の節頭は、言語機能の性質上、テクスト形成的機能、対人的機能、観念構成的機能の順となる。そして、対人的領域の節頭と観念構成的領域の節頭は、ことの性質上、いずれもテクスト形成的領域の節頭の領域に含まれることになり、この領域に配置される要素はすべて、本来のメタ機能における意味機能に加えて節のメッセージの起点の役割すなわち主題の機能を担うことになるのである。

英語では、談話の展開のために節頭の主題要素がメッセージの起点としてはたす役割が大きいが、日本語などでは節頭要素に劣らないくらい節末要素が談話の展開に貢献する。そして多くの場合、同一のメタ機能に属する節頭要素と節末要素の間には鏡像関係が存在するのである。例えば、図3の日本語の例は、このことをよく示している。



[図3] 日本語の節におけるメタ機能の領域のの鏡像関係

(13) では、テクスト形成的機能に属する接続要素「でも」と「けれど」、対人的機能に属するモダリティーを示す「ひょっとすると」と「かもしれません」、(14) の節でも、モダリティーを示す「きっと」と「にちがいない」、(15) では、対人的機能に属する要素である相互作用の相手に対する敬意を示す待遇要素「おそれいりますが」と「ていただけませんでしょうか」、(16) では、「なぜ/いつ/だれと」と「(です)か」がみな、同じ機能を担う要素どうしの鏡像関係をなしている。日本語では、このように鏡像関係をなす要素も含めて、談話の展開のために節のメッセージの起点として節要素が節頭に配置されるだけでなく、節末に配置される要素もまた、談話の展開のために重要な役割をはたすのである。

英語の節においては、日本語の節におけるように節頭要素と節末要素が鏡像関係をなすことはほとんどないが⁴¹、図2で示ように、節末をも含む3つのメタ機能が占有する領域⁴²は厳然と存在し、それぞれの節頭の主題領域では、他のメタ機能に属する主題要素に対する強い排除力がある。したがって、Well but then Ann surely wouldn't the best idea be to be join the group? を、But then Ann surely well woudn't the best idea be to join the group? とか Well but Ann then surely wouldn't the best idea be to be join the group? のように、特定の機能の主題領域の要素を他の機能の主題領域に移すことはできない。しかしながら、一部の要素については、節頭の主題領域と鏡像関係にある同一のメタ機能の領域に移動することが可能である。例えば、Ann、you are lovely. を You are lovely, Ann. とか It's begun raining very heavily, but / though we have to go for a doctor. を It's begun raining very heavily, we have to go for a doctor, though. ⁴³のように、要素を節頭の主題領域から節末に移動することができる。ただしこの場合、もちろん、それらの要素のメッセージの起点としての機能は失われるが、主題領域と鏡像関係にある位置に配置されているので、いわば準主題的機能を維持していると言ってもよいかもしれない。

Therefore/Then, the beast was shot by the hunter. / The beast, therefore/then, was shot by the hunter. / The beast was, therefore/then, shot by the hunter. における接続付加詞のように、節の主題領域から離脱して、非主題領域に移しうる要素は、主題領域から移動されると、本来担うべき主題の機能を失うだけでなく、それらが入り込む対人的領域や観念構成的領域の意味の流れを切断するという点でメタ機能上の異物として際立った存在になる。しかしこれとは逆に、

Unfortunately/Probably, the bear is dead now. / The bear, unfortunately/probably, is dead now. / The bear is dead now, unfortunately/probably. における probably や unfortunately のような場合は、対人的機能に属するモーダル付加詞であるので、それらが占めるべき自然な位置は、すでに見たように、叙法要素の内部か直後である。したがって、節頭は、このような対人的要素にとっては有標位置であり、有標位置であるがゆえに、本来の機能以外の機能、この場合は対人的主題

の機能が付与されるのである。

このように、3つのメタ機能には占有する作用領域があり、それぞれのメタ機能の領域は他のメタ機能に属する要素に対して記号的拒否力をもっている。このメタ機能間の強い拒否力が、各々のメタ機能領域に侵入してくる他のメタ機能に属する要素を記号的に拒否することによって、その要素の際立ちつまり意味的な前景化(ある種の有標性)をひきおこす機能をはたしているのである 4 。また、同一メタ機能に属する要素でも、その機能領域でその要素が占めるべき自然な位置から離脱して他の位置に移動した場合には、別の意味の際立ちが生じることになる。これが、観念構成的領域では、 $(7) \sim (11)$ に見られるようなような有標の主題であり、対人的領域では、Unfortunately/Probably, the bear is dead now. に見られるような対人的主題である。

これまで見てきたように、節頭というかぎられた意味空間では、3つのメタ機能に属するさまざまな主題要素が占有を競い合っている。しかし、それらが共存できるのは、逆説的ではあるがまさに、それぞれの主題領域がメタ機能別に区分けされており、相互の記号的拒否力がきわめて強いからにほかならない。観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能は、それぞれ独自の意味空間を形成し、それぞれの意味空間に属するさまざまな要素が相互作用することによって、節全体の構成、そして談話全体の展開に寄与しているのであるが、節頭での主題形成においては、この3つのメタ機能間の役割分担がきわめて顕著なのである。

最後に、前節で予告したように、観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能のそれぞれの主題領域が、「時」という同じ物理的な特性を、いかに異なった意味のしかたに利用しているかを見ることで、3つのメタ機能の区別の重要性を確認する。テクスト4⁴⁵を見てみよう。

[テクスト4]

(To remain healthy, I do three things.)

First, sometimes, in the morning I do no work.

Next, usually, in the afternoon I do no work.

Finally, always, in the evening I do no work.

この談話のテクストの話題の中心軸は、これら3つの節の主語であり観念構成的領域におけ る無標の主題の機能を担う I-I-Iであり、すべて物質過程の参与要素としての行為者である。 この無標の主題の前に、in the morning - in the afternoon - in the evening という物質過程の時を示 す状況要素としての状況付加詞が有標の観念構成的主題として配置されている。ここまでは、 観念構成的な主題領域である。その前には、sometimes - usually - always という対人的機能に属 するモーダル付加詞が、対人的主題として配置されている。さらにその前には、first - next finally というテクスト形成的機能に属する接続付加詞がテクスト形成的主題として配置されて いる。それぞれの節の最初の3つの主題は、すべてなんらかの「時」を示しているが、その役 割はまったく違う。in the morning - in the afternoon - in the evening では、I do no work. という事 象が生じる状況としての時が節のメッセージの起点として提示されている。sometimes - usually - always では、発話者が I do no work. という事象がどの程度の可能性で生じるとみなすかが節 のメッセージの起点として提示されている。それに対して、first - next - finally では、3つのメッ セージの提示の順序そのものがまさに節のメッセージの起点として提示されているのである。 したがって、first - next - finally のうしろにくるこの3つの節は、容易に順序を交換することが 可能である。このように、「時」という同じ物理的な特性を、3つの異なるメタ機能の意味空 間が、互いにまったく異なる意味のしかたに仕立て上げているのである。ちなみに、first や next のような副詞は、John arrived first, and Bill came next. におけるように、観念構成的領域に 配置されれば、観念構成的機能に属する時を示す状況要素の機能を担うことが可能である。つ まり、first やnext のような付加詞が、状況付加詞として機能するか、接続付加詞として機能す るかは、それら自体の観念構成的な意味に加えて、どのメタ機能領域に配置されるかによって 決まるのである。

6. おわりに

これまで、まず、ハリデーが主張する「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」という主題の基本的意味を、有標の主題が含まれるとされる(7)~(11)の節の一部や、それぞれの叙法において無標の主題が含まれるとされる(2)~(6)にはあてはめることができないことを示した。さらに、ハリデーの主題についての記述説明における奇妙な矛盾は、ハリデーによって主題論が開始された早い時期からすでに、主題の定義のなかに懐胎されていおり、それが現在まで残ったままになっていることを検証した。そして、叙法の選択とかかわりなく、どの節にもかならず主語と結びつく観念構成的主題が存在することを確認し、それによって、「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」は、じつは叙法に依拠する対人的主題の1つであることを論証した。これによって、どの節にも、観念構成的主題と対人的主題がそのメッセージの起点として作用していることが明らかになった。この2つのメタ機能の峻別を導入することによって、節頭(時として節末も)は、テクスト形成的機能の意味領域を基礎にして、3つのメタ機能に属するさまざまな要素が、談話をテクストとして展開させるために、競い合い協力し合う主題領域という記号的空間であることを見た。

本論におけるハリデーの主題論に対する筆者のこれまでの批判的検討の焦点は、英語のおける節の主題と叙法のかかわりが定式化されるためには、叙法の必須要素である主語の機能自体が、そもそもどの段階でどのように、過程構成の参与要素に付加されるのかが明確にされなければならないということにあった。おそらくこの点が、選択体系機能理論における主題の意味づけとそれにかかわる記述説明をより首尾一貫したものにするためには、避けられない課題であると考えられる。

選択体系機能理論では、すでに述べたように、節と談話のテクストは、観念構成的機能 (経験構成的機能と論理構成的機能)、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能の3つのメタ機能の 意味空間に属するさまざまな要素が相互作用することによって構成されるととらえている。こ の理論の土台をなしているのは、選択が意味をつくるということである。そして、意味機能の 選択の仕組みがどのようになっており、さまざまな意味機能の選択がどのように実際の構造に 具現されるかを明示的にモデル化することが、この理論の重要な目標の1つである。しかるに、 奇妙なことに、この意味機能の構造への具現の仕組みを初めて明確に示そうとした Halliday (1981) にも、これまで発表された文献のなかで最も網羅的かつ精密に、意味機能の選択体系網 と、選択される意味の構造への具現の仕組みを提示している Matthiessen (1995) にも、どのよ うに過程構成の参与要素の1つが主語の機能を担うべく選択されるのかという、まさにこの重 要な部分についての明確な手順が示されていない。いわば、あたかも参与要素のどれかがあら かじめ主語の機能を担っているかのような前提で、議論が展開されてしまっているように思わ れる46。ましてや、明示的な具現の手順の提示を当面の課題としないようなテーマを対象とす る研究では、節の主題にかかわるこの参与要素と主語の結びつきの重要性は、考慮の対象から はずれてしまう恐れがある。選択体系機能理論の枠組みのなかで、節の主題の研究は、談話の 仕組みの解明とのかかわりもあり、質量ともに拡大してきている⁴⁷。しかしながら、研究の発 展とともに、節の主題の複雑さが明らかになるにつれて、その設定基準や意味がますます分か りにくくなってきてもいる48。もしその分かりにくさの原因の1つが、本稿で検討してきたよ うな問題にあるとすれば、どのみちその問題の解決に直面しなければならないのではなかろう か49。本稿が、その解決のための糸口の1つになればと思っている。

注

- 1 言語システムとテクストにおけるメタ機能相互の関係については、Halliday (1978: 128ffpassim) 参照。 これはまた、ハリデーの言語観を理解するためには必読の文献である。テクストの構成におけるメタ機 能間の相互補完性については Matthiessen (1991) が詳しい。
- 2 選択体系機能理論と機能的構文観の関係については Halliday (1974) 参照。
- 3 'that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds' Fries (1983: 116, 1995: 1) に引用されている。
- 4 主題の定義におけるマテジウスとハリデーの違いについての議論は、Fries (1983, 1995) に詳しい。フ

リーズは、主題についてのマテジウスのようなとらえかたを「混合的アプローチ combining approach」、ハリデーのようなとらえかたを「分離的アプローチ separating/splitting approach」と呼んで区別している。前者の立場は、いわゆる「話題 topic と評言 comment」という節の見方につながっている。

- 5 Fries (1995)、Hasan & Fries (1995)、Berry (1996) を参照。
- 6 最も組織だった形でおこなわれた最近の主題についての記述と説明は、Halliday (1985) とその改訂版である Halliday (1994) であり、本稿での議論は改訂版をもとにしておこなう。ちなみに、これらはいずれも、選択体系機能理論のとりわけ機能的な側面を概観するのに最適である。機能的側面に加えて選択体系網やコンテクストについての詳細は、Martin (1992) や Matthiessen (1995) などが参考になる。この二つは、Halliday (1985/1994) と内容的に相互補完的な関係にある。
- 7 本稿ではしばしば、「~の機能を担う要素が~の機能を担う」、「~が~の役割をはたす」、「~が~に配置される」というような表現を用いるが、これは理論的には厳密な表現ではない。選択体系機能理論では、選択体系網から意味機能素性が選択され、一つの素性が選択されるごとに組織だった機械的手順で「~を挿入 insert せよ」「~と~を合体 conflate せよ」「~を~の前に/後ろに配置 concatenate せよ」というような機能構造の明示的な規定がなされ、最終的には実際の物理的な線形順序に言語要素が配置されるようになっている。Halliday (1969/1981)、Hudson (1971) 参照。さらに、自然言語処理におけるテクスト産出というようなより機械的な処理を必要とする場合には、さらに細かい段階を追った手順が規定されることになる。Patten (1988)、Mathiessen & Bateman (1991) 参照。いずれにせよ「主語」

「主題」「行為者」「参与要素」「付加詞」などはみな特定の意味機能であって、名詞句、副詞句/前置詞句のような構造的な構成要素の、節内での存在や位置関係によって具現されるものである。したがって、The hunter shot the bear in the field における the hunter のように、行為者(観念構成的機能)と主語(対人的機能)と主題(テクスト形成的機能)の三つの機能が一つの名詞句によって具現されることも、In the field the bear was shot by the hunter. における行為者 by the hunter、主語 the bear、主題 in the field のように、三つの機能が別々の句によって具現されることも可能である。

- 8 選択体系機能理論では、phrase ではなく group という術語を用いるが、便宜上 group を「句」と訳しておく。ただし、この理論で動詞句という場合、例えば The hunter has been searching the bear. では、太字部分のみをさし、目的語の名詞句は含まない。
- 9 Halliday (1994: 38) 'the Theme is the starting-point for the message; it is the ground from which the clause is taking off.'
- 10 選択体系機能理論においては、節の機能構造 functional structure は、観念構成的機能の視点から見ると、過程中核部一参与要素"一状況要素"からなるが、対人的機能の視点から見ると、主語一定性一述語一補語"一付加詞"からなるとされる。ちなみに、本稿で問題としている主題一題述はテクスト形成的機能の視点から見た節の機能構造である。これらの機能的要素と、これらの機能構造の具現にかかわる名詞句一動詞句一前置詞句(副詞句)のような形式構造 formal structure の形式的要素とは、まったく異なる次元に属する文法範疇である。節はすべて、三つのメタ機能の領域において、三種類の機能構造が付与される。以下の議論においては、この三種類の機能構造にかかわる構成要素と、形式構造にかかわる構成要素をさまざまなしかたで用いるが、あくまでもここで述べた区別を前提にしている。
- Interrogative clauses, therefore, embody the thematic principle in their structural make-up. It is characteristic of an interrogative clause in English that one particular element comes first; and the reason for this is that that element, owing to the very nature of a question, has the status of a Theme. The speaker does not choose each time to put the element first; its occurrence in first position is the regular pattern by which the interrogative is expressed. It has become part of the system of the language, and the explanation for this lies in the thematic significance that is attached to first position in the English clause. Interrogatives express questions; the natural theme of a question is I want to be told something'; the answer required is either a piece of information or an indication of polarity. So the realization of interrogative mood involves selecting an element that indicates the kind of answer required, and putting it at the beginning of the clause.'
- 12 ハリデー自身は、言語の記述のために導入される概念や範疇は、それ自体が言語について語るための言語つまりメタ言語であるので、そのメタ言語をさらに言語で語るつまり定義するのは事実上不可能であると言っているので、これを定義と呼ぶことはハリデーの意図に反すると思われるが、議論の便宜上、あえて定義という言葉を用いる。言語の研究が他の事象の研究と決定的に異なるのは、それ自体をそれ自体によって語らなければならいところにあるが、ちなみに、この宿命的な難点については、ハリデーの師であるファースのつぎの言葉が正鵠をえている。... linguistics is reflexive and introvert. That is to

- say, in linguistics language is turned back upon itself. We have to use language about language, words about words, letters about letters. 'Firth (1957: 121) また、文法範疇の定義不可能については Halliday (1984/1988) 参照。
 13 the point of departure for the message / the point of departure of the message / the starting-point for the
- message'など多少違う言いまわしのものも用いられるが、現在における主題の定義において重要なものである。
- 14 'Theme structures express the organization of the message: how the clause relates to the surrounding discourse, and to the context of situation in which it is being produced.'
- 15 'The choice of Theme, clause by clause, is what carries forward the development of the text as a whole.'
- 16 テクストの展開の技法については、Fries (1983) 参照。
- 17 節の構成において、観念構成的機能、対人的機能、テクスト形成的機能がそれぞれどのような構造構築の役割をはたすかについては、Halliday (1979) が最も参考になる。
- 18 ハリデーは、主題の議論において、非人称のit についてはまったく触れていないので、どのようにとらえているか分からないが、予備の it にかかわっては奇妙な主張をしている。ハリデーは、It is helpful to be able to speak a foreign language. や It was a mistake that the school was closed down. のような節の場合には、主題の機能を担うのは、節頭の要素 it であるとする。しかし、 It was the hunter who shot the bear. のようないわゆる叙述主題 predicated theme (分裂構造) の節では、この節を一つの節とみることと、二つの節の結合とみることの両方が可能で、そのために主題-題述の配置は二重になっているとして、主題の機能を担う要素は、太字で示すとIt was the hunter / who shot.the bear. と It was the hunter who shot.the bear. の二種類であるとする。詳しくはHalliday (1994: 58-61) 参照。
- 19 The hunter shot the bear. He shot the bear. You shot the bear. の三つは、観念構成的機能の意味空間では、すべて同じ過程構成で、過程中核部 shoot と参与要素(行為者 the hunter / he / you と対象 the bear)からなる物質過程である。二番目の節の he は、テクスト形成的機能の意味空間における結束性にかかわるもので前方照応の機能を担わせるために選択されたものである。三番目の節の you は、対人的機能の意味空間における対人的相互作用の相手の機能を担わせるために選択されたものである。このように三つのメタ機能における選択は、相互作用することによって、それぞれ異なる意味をつくりだす。
- 20 テクスト1と2は、D. H. Lawrence, 'Adolf' in *England, My England and Other Stories*, Penguin Books (201-208) のそれぞれ p.201 と p.202 よりの抜粋。テクスト2は、原文のテクストのうち、便宜上、引用符の中の表現のみを利用したもので、叙法部で省略されている部分は括弧にいれて補ってある。
- 21 節頭に配置された従属節は、あとでも述べるが、それ自体の主題要素をもつと同時に、それ全体が主節の有標の主題の機能を担う。この種の従属節は、英語では特に理由がないかぎり、主節のあとに続くので、主節の前に置かれるのはテクスト形成的に理由のある選択、つまり主題の機能を担わせるための選択である。詳しくは Halliday (1994: 54-58) 参照。
- 22 ハリデーは、省略節を二種類に分け、先行する節の一部を構成要素の省略の前提とするものを前方照応省略 anaphoric ellipsis、対人的相互作用の場面の一部を省略の前提とするものを外部照応省略 exophoric ellipsisとしているが、これらの省略と主題の関係のあつかいもやや奇妙である。Where (did you pick it)?、Yes, (it will). のような節では主題のみで題述が存在せず、(Are your) Thirsty?、(I have) No idea、(Are you) Feeling better? のような節では、題述のみで主題が存在しないと言うのである。詳しくは Halliday (1994: 63) 参照。
- 23 Margaret Gore (ed.), Easy International Cooking, The Custom Book Company, p.8 の 'Escargots (Snails) with Garlic'の一部を抜粋したもの。
- 24 この例のように先行するyes/no疑問節の求める肯否極性 polarity を特定する(節のメッセージの起点としての対人的主題の機能を担う)yes や no とは別に、先行する節がもつ肯否極性をそのまま受け継ぐためのテクスト形成的主題の機能を担うyes や no がある。例えば、I am very tired. Yes, I am completely exhausted. や You are not coming. No, you are surely not. など。詳しくは、Halliday (1994: 92) 参照。
- 25 I should think の I think は、観念構成的機能の意味空間では、心理過程に属するが、メタ機能間の 文法的比喩で、対人的機能の意味空間に移されている。文法的比喩については Halliday (1994: 340-367) 参照。
- 26 結束性については Halliday (1994: 308-339) 参照。さらに詳しくは Halliday & Hasan (1976, 1985) 参照
- 27 テクスト2の Where did you get it, father?- I picked it up. と Is it a wild one?-Yes, it is. における you I と it (=the rabit)- it の間には機能上の違いがある。どちらも、過程構成上の参与要素の役割は行為者であ

- り、叙法形成上の役割は主語である。しかしながら、you-Iのほうは対人的相互作用の当事者をも意味する。このことは、テクスト3のyouにもあてはまる。このように対人的相互作用の当事者が過程構成の参与要素(主題と主語の機能を担う)になる場合は、「相互作用的参与要素 interactive participant」と呼び、それ以外のものを「提示された参与要素 represented participant」と呼んで区別するとよい。参与要素のこのような区別については Kress & van Leeuwen (1996: 46) 参照。
- 28 英語おける対話において、議論の展開のために叙法要素(主語一定性操作子)がはたす役割については、Halliday (1994: 68-78) 参照。
- 29 筆者のこの見解は、マティエッセンの節の主題のとらえかたとほぼ一致する。マティエッセンも、 主題の機能は、対人的意味空間と観念構成的意味空間の両方において利用されると考えられており、そ れぞれの意味空間においてはたされる主題の役割がつぎのように要約している。'The speaker contextualizes the clause by setting up part of the clause as its own local context or the Theme. (筆者中略) The local contxt is the point at which the clause departs from its own history and moves forward, semantically speaking. The local context set up for the clause, its Theme, is oriented towards the preceding discourse - towards what the speaker has already said; and it constitutes the point of departure for the next step in the development of the discourse. The orientation towards the preceding discourse embodied in the Theme can be achieved interpersonally as well as experientially: (i) The Theme may relate to the exchange environment of the clause by specifying the clause's contribution to the evolving exchange in a dialogue - by specifying by what kind of interaction the dialogue is being moved forward; and (ii) the Theme may relate to the representational environment of the clause by identifying the participant or circumstance (occasionally process) that relates most closely to the organization of the evolving representation of experience. Both of these aspects of the clause's environment may also be presented through textual resources of CONJUNCTION.' Matthiessen (1995: 514-515) しかし、マティエッセンもハリ デーと同様に、下線(筆者)部分にもうかがわれるように、主語の設定には、まず過程構成の参与要素 が主題の機能を担わなければならないことと、このようにして設定された主語要素が叙法の選択に関係 なく無標の主題の機能を担っているということは、考慮していない。詳しくは Matthiessen (1995: 513-617) 参照。
- 30 選択体系機能理論では、観念構成的機能の下位区分として、経験構成的機能と論理構成的 logical 機能が存在するとしている。経験構成的機能は、ほぼこれまで観念構成的機能として言及してきたもので、節の過程構成にかかわるものである。論理構成的機能というのは、単一の節ではなく、節複合 clause complex にかかわるもので、節と節の間の論理的修辞的な結びつきを意味的観点からとらえる機能である。本稿での議論であつかうテクストの論理的修辞的な展開を支える接続要素などが、節の観念構成的意味を問題にせず、節と節の接触面の要素のみを対象とするのに対し、論理構成的機能は、結びつく節相互の意味的関係をとらえる役割をはたす。詳しくは、Halliday (1994: 215-273) 参照。
- '...in its role as a representation, the clause sets up a model of human experience, in terms of processes that take place around us and inside us. Now, processes are construed by the grammar in terms of three components: the process itself; the participants in that process, like the Actor and Goal (...); and any circumstanctial factors such as time or place. The principle relevant to the thematic structure is this: the Theme always contains one, and only one, of these experiential elements. This means that the Theme of a clause ends with the first constituent that is either participant, circumstance, or process. Since a participant in thematic function corresponds fairly closely to what is called the 'topic' in a topic-comment analysis, we refer to the experiential element in the Theme as the TOPICAL THEME. (...) Conjunctive and modal elements are outside of the experiential structure of the clause; they have no status as participant, circumstance or process. Until one of these latter appears, the clause still lacks an anchorage in the realm of experience.'
- 32 主題の定義の片割れとして検討した「について(述べる)」も主題の基本的な意味とされた「これから私はあなたに~について述べます」も、この話題的主題の存在に深くかかわっているように思われる。
- 33 「以前にすでに」という表現は、時間的な前後関係を意味するのではなく、論理的関係ととらえられる必要がある。この論文でしばしば時間的な前後関係を示唆する表現があるとしても、これらは議論を分かりやすくするためであって、あくまでも論理的関係ととらえて欲しい。概して、メタ機能間の相互作用は、時間的関係ではなく論理的関係としてとらえなければならない。ただし、選択体系機能理論を自然言語処理に応用するような場合には、要素間の関係は時間的因果関係に解釈しなおさなければならない。

- 34 wh疑問節の場合、主語(つまり無標の主題)の機能を担っている要素以外の過程構成の要素が、What did the hunter shot? や Where did the hunter shoot the bear? のように whを付加されると、節頭に配置されることになるが、これらは有標の主題とはならない。この場合は、what と where はそれぞれ過程構成の参与要素「対象」と状況要素「場所」という観念構成的要素であると同時に、wh という対人的機能に属する要素でもあるので、対人的主題領域に配置されても有標の主題とはならない。
- 35 新旧情報の配置については Halliday (1994: .292-307) を参照。
- 36 それぞれのメタ機能に属する要素の詳細については、Halliday (1994: 48-54) を参照。接続付加詞に ついてさらに詳しくは、Halliday (1994: 323-330) 参照。
- 37 テクスト形成的機能に属する接続要素は、接続詞のようにその占めるべき位置が系統発生的に固定しているがゆえに、必然的に主題の機能を担うものもあるが、節頭の位置に配置されるかどうかは、あくまでもその要素に主題の機能を担わせることを選択するかどうかによるのであって、同じテクスト形成的メタ機能に属する接続要素であることと、主題の機能を担うということはまったく別の事象なのである。
- 38 節頭に固定された要素の主題性の減少については、Halliday (1994: 52, 61) 参照。
- 39 Halliday (1994: 55) 参照。
- 40 同一機能の要素を重ねることが可能な場合もある。例えば、継続的接続要素の場合、well yes とか OK now のように重ねることができる。Downing (1991: 127) 参照。
- 41 英語の節でも、節頭の位置を占める叙法要素やモーダル付加詞と節末の音調(上昇や下降、あるいはそれらの組み合わせの変種)との対応関係は存在する。John won't come, will he?のような、付加疑問もある種の虚像関係とみることができる。叙法要素と付加疑問要素との鏡像関係については、Halliday (1994: 73)参照。
- 42 ここで述べている三つのメタ機能の占有領域というのは、あくまでも節の主題領域にかかわるものであって、それ以外の場合にはこの領域区分はあてはまらないことがある。例えば、日本語で「いつくるの」と「いつごろいらっしゃますか」や「あしたいくよ」と「みょうにちまいります」と言う場合、観念構成的には同じ意味であるが、対人的には意味が異なる。過程構成はいずれも物質過程で、過程中核部は前者では「くる/いらっしゃる」、後者では「いく/まいる」であり、状況要素は前者では「いつ/いつごろ」、後者では「あした/みょうにち」である。観念構成的機能の意味空間では同じ移動を表す過程に、対人的機能の意味空間では相互作用の相手をどのように待遇するかによって異なる意味を担わせているが、これらの異なるメタ機能に属する意味は、いわば一つの単語にたたみこまれいるのである。英語でも That man didn't even try to help me. とThat fucking bastard didn't even fucking help me. では、観念構成的機能の意味空間では同じ意味であるが、対人的的機能の意味空間では発話者の心的姿勢が異なる。
- 43 シドニー地域のある社会方言では、We have to go for a doctor, **but**. のように though ではなく but がそのまま後置されるそうである。この場合、We have to go for a doctor, **however**. のように接続付加詞に置き換えることも可能である。
- 44 Berry (1996: 56-58) は、構成要素が節のなかで本来おさまるべき位置から離脱する場合、つまり通常でない位置 unusual position に移動させられると、意味の流れのなかである種の際立ちをみせると述べている。
- 45 この談話は、To remain healthy, I do three things. First, sometimes I do no work in the morning. Next, usually I do no work in the afternoon. Finally, always I do no work in the evening. のように、状況付加詞を節頭に配置しないほうがより自然である。
- 46 Halliday (1969: 86/1981: 142) では、叙述節における主題と主語と行為者の機能を順々に合体 conflate させる手順が示されているが、疑問節や命令節ではどうするのかが不明である。Matthiessen (1995: 540) では、主題と主語の合体の手順が示されているが、参与要素とのかかわりはまったく示されていない。
- 47 Hasan & Fries (1995) や Ghadessy (1996) などでは、主題の問題を集中的にとりあげてる。
- 48 Fries (1995) 参照。
- 49 Downing (1991) も筆者と同じような問題提起をし、解決案を提案しているが、やはりそもそも過程 構成の参与要素と主語の結びつきがどのようになされるかについての検討がおこなわれていない。その ために、命令法の主題のあつかいの問題などが解決されていない。

With St.

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Theme of a Clause in English:

A Reconsideration from the Metafunctional Perspective in Systemic Functional Theory

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The present paper is a preliminary attempt to reconsider the meaning and function of the Textual category of Theme in English from the metafunctional point of view in the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. In An Introduction to Functional Grammar (IFG, 1994), one of the most important and stimulating (and perhaps sometimes irritating) writings both within and without the systemic functional linguistic circle, Halliday identifies Theme as 'that element which comes in first position in the clause', defines it as (functioning as) 'the starting-point for the message; it is the ground from which the clause is taking off', and glosses it as (meaning as) 'I'll tell you about...'.

Halliday's definition and glossing of Theme do not seem to cause any problem and may go hand in hand with each other, when they are applied only to the declarative clause. For example, you could safely say that 'the hunter shot the bear' tells you about 'the hunter' and 'the bear was shot by the hunter' tells you about 'the bear'. But if we move away from the declarative clause with unmarked theme toward the one with marked theme and the clause of other moods, interrogative and imperative, the coupling of the definition and glossing tend to become ever more problematic. For example, you can not comfortably say that '(how) brutally the hunter shot the bear(!)', or 'shoot the bear the hunter did' tells you about '(how) brutally', or 'shoot the bear'. Nor can you say that 'Did the hunter shoot the bear?' or 'where/when/how?' tells you about 'did' or 'where/when/how'. But this is actually what Halliday seems to be proclaiming or at least suggesting, which really causes a serious problem to be solved.

Halliday's misinterpretation of Theme as meaning 'I'll tell you about. . .' has its origin in his earlier study of this category: 'Notes on transitivity and theme in English' (1967a,b and 1968), where He defined Theme as (functioning as) 'what I am talking about/what is being talked about, the point of departure as a message'. At this early stage, Theme was equated to the 'topic' which could be talked about in the clause. Although the definition of Theme consists of two parts: 'what I am talking about/what is being talked about' and 'the point of departure as a message', the latter was simply elaborating on the former, not extending it. In other words, they mean the same thing. By contrast, in Halliday's most recent definition of Theme in *IFG*, the two parts do not elaborate on each other, but extend each other, meaning different things. This has been, to be sure, a great theoretical improvement upon the handling of the concept of Theme in the right direction. Halliday has decoupled or dissociated the two parts and retain only the latter part for the definition in *SFG*. Halliday has rightly acknowledged that Theme is not so much 'what I am talking about/what is being talked about' as 'the point of departure as a message'. But strangely, Halliday's actual description and explanation of the category seems to have undergone less substantial amelioration so far, to my knowledge.

The main reason for this defect is that Halliday has failed to recognise the role of Theme when a Participant in a Process is to be picked as the element carrying the function of Subject. A Participant has to be put at the clause initial position before it can carry the function of Subject. But no Participant can

be put clause-initially, unless it is given the function of Theme. Therefore, it has to picked as an element which can carry the function of Theme, in the first place. If this reasoning is on the right track, - I am sure it is when it comes to the structure building by systemic feature selection - every mood carrying (declarative, interrogative or imperative) clause has an element which carries the function of Subject, and which, inevitably, carries the function of Theme. And the very Theme which is conflated with Subject is unmarked, while otherwise the Theme is marked.

By this recognition of the Subject-conflated Theme, which belongs to Ideational metafunction, it becomes possible to re-allocate 'I'll tell you about. . . ', along with 'I want you to tell me whether or not' and 'I want yo to do something' etc. to the Interpersonal metafunction. And by recognising these two different metafunctional Themes, it also becomes possible to demarcate those tri-metafunctional thematic territories of a clause which contribute semiotically to the coherent and cohesive development of text of the discourse.

