

NB not finalized - e.g. some example numbers need checking

5

How to analyze clauses: more on MOOD and TRANSITIVITY

1 Preview of this chapter

While Chapter 3 covered the basic syntax of TRANSITIVITY fairly fully, the picture of MOOD that it gave was minimal. One of the main goals of this chapter is therefore to bring the coverage of the syntax and semantics of MOOD up to the same level as the coverage of TRANSITIVITY.

In addition, however, this chapter also introduces two important new aspects of TRANSITIVITY. In Chapter 3 we focussed on the questions of (a) how many Participant Roles there are likely to be in a clause (usually two, but sometimes one or three and very occasionally none), and (b) how to distinguish between a Complement and an Adjunct. But we made two simplifying assumptions that we must now put right. The first was that the Process was always expressed in the single element of the Main Verb, and the second was that the Participant Roles were always present in the text, i.e. that they would be **overt**. Two of the main tasks for this chapter, then, are to learn (a) how to recognize a 'phrasal verb' - and so the Clause element that we will call the **Main Verb Extension** (of which there are several types) and (b) how to recognize those cases when a clause contains one or more **covert** Participant Roles. Both of these phenomena are far more frequent and so far more central to understanding how English works than most other descriptions of English imply - and this is why they are introduced here, relatively early in this handbook. They are important phenomena in their own right and deserve this central place in our developing model of the functional syntax of English.

This chapter doesn't introduce many new elements. There are just three: the Main Verb Extension, the Let Element and the Ender, the last two of which present few problems. The main tasks are therefore to learn to recognize (a) a greater range of types of MOOD, (b) the various types of Main Verb Extension and the patterns in which they occur, and (c) the covert forms of two familiar elements, i.e. the Subject and the Complement.

The chapter ends with three[**XXX two?**] sections, each of which reviews, in its own way, what we have added to our picture of clause structure in this chapter. The first is *Guidelines 3*, and this is followed by a major analysis task to help you to revise and re-enforce the main points covered in this chapter. [**XXX consider cutting this, and check the effect on what is said in Chapter 3.**] Finally, as in Chapter 3, the chapter concludes by presenting and discussing two alternative ways of modelling what we have learnt so far - i.e. two different grammars, each with its own form of representation.

2 More on MOOD: four new types of 'information-processing' meaning

As we saw right at the start of Chapter 3, there are two major system networks that generate clause elements that are present in the structure of most clauses: TRANSITIVITY and MOOD. By the end of Chapter 3 we had developed a good picture of the basic concepts in the syntax of TRANSITIVITY - but also an awareness of the complexity of the question of what types of Participant Roles there are (which is covered in Chapter 2 of the *Functional Semantics Handbook*). Now it is time to bring our picture of MOOD up to a similar level, so that we have a good picture of the basic choices in this important area of the grammar. We will take the coverage of the syntax of MOOD to a more complete level in Chapter 14 - and then in Chapter 7 of the *Functional Semantics Handbook* we will look at the full range of choices in MOOD from the viewpoint of an integrated semantics.

2.1 The choices in MOOD so far

What is the picture of MOOD that we have so far? Chapter 3 introduced the fundamental contrast between an ‘information giver’ and an ‘information seeker’, and then, within ‘information seeker’, the most frequent sub-type which is the ‘polarity seeker’ - i.e. an ‘information seeker’ that seeks a reply of *Yes* or *No*. But we did not describe the other types of ‘information seeker’ - an omission that I will now make good.¹ We can therefore summarize the picture of the network for MOOD given so far in the grossly inadequate little system network in Figure 5.1. The percentages on the features show the overall probability of that feature being chosen.

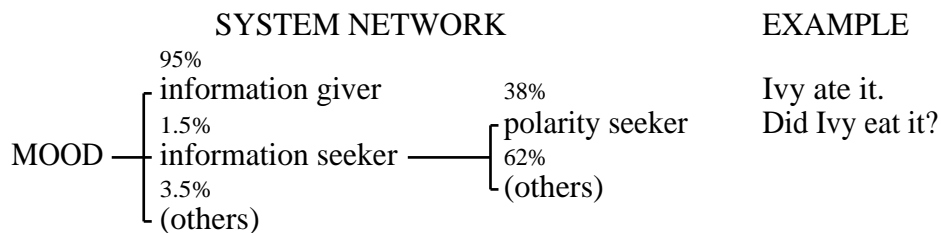


Figure 5.1: the system network for MOOD so far

Up to now our main use of the **polarity seeker** has been in testing for the Subject and the Operator - and I have said relatively little about its MEANING. This is partly because, once you know what ‘polarity’ is, the meaning of ‘polarity seeker’ is also pretty clear - and we have covered the meaning of ‘polarity’ in Section 3 of Chapter 4.

But there is a further important point to make about the relationship between the meanings and forms of the ‘polarity seeker’. It is one that directly affects the justification for recognizing it as a separate choice in MOOD from several other types of MOOD meaning, the first of which we will meet shortly (the ‘confirmation

1. In Section 3.9 of the last chapter we noted that *Yes*, *No*, *He did*, *he didn't* and so on are also ‘information givers’ - but because they do not enter the multifunctional system networks for the clause they are generated from a separate network.

with its main semantic feature.³ Each of these examples is a ‘new content seeker’ because in this case the Performer is presenting to the Addressee a proposition in which one ‘experiential’ element is unknown, and asks the Addressee to supply it. This is in clear contrast with a ‘polarity seeker’, in which all the experiential elements are known and what the Performer needs to be told is the polarity of the proposition.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (37) | Who <u>did you</u> see at the party? | - with O S [new content seeker] |
| (38) | When <u>did you</u> visit Moscow? | - with O S [new content seeker] |
| (39) | What sort of doctor <u>is she</u> ? | - with O S [new content seeker] |
| (40) | <u>Who will</u> work with her ? | - with S O [new content seeker] |
| (41) | <u>Who knows</u> her properly ? | - with S M [new content seeker] |

In putting a ‘new content seeker’ to someone, the Performer makes the assumption that the event to which she is referring is valid, and that all she needs to know in order to complete her understanding of it is the identification (or further specification) of one (and occasionally more) of its elements. In the following dialogue, therefore, the fact that the teenager doesn’t challenge the assumption made in the question is an indirect admission that he stole the car. In other words, the full form of the response would be *I stole the car at about eleven.*

- (42) Policeman: At what time did you steal the car?⁴
 Teenager: At about eleven.

The ‘new content’ that is sought may be (1) ALL or (2) PART of the specification of either (a) a Participant or (b) a Circumstance - i.e. of any **experiential** element of the clause. So Examples (37) and (39) to (41) all seek information about a whole Participant, and (38) seeks information about a whole Circumstance. But Example (39) seeks information about just one aspect of a Participant. In this case the inquirer already knows WHAT the referent is (i.e. that she is a doctor) and she now wants a fuller specification, such as *She’s a paediatrician.* Other examples of this type would include *What size of shoe do you take?*, *What colour of shirt was he wearing?*, *How many spoonfuls do you take?* and *How often do you meet?*

The ‘wh-words’ that signal a ‘new content seeker’ are: *what, when, where, which, who, whom, whose, why* and one that does not start with ‘wh’, i.e. *how*. But some of them occur as parts of larger elements, e.g. *how many, how much, how long, how often, what size (of), what colour (of)*, etc. In some cases the wh-word is not first, e.g. the formal-sounding inquiry in (43):

- (43) For how long will you be staying there?

(In Chapter 14 we will consider the casual equivalent, *How long will you be staying there for?*)

3. Here the semantic feature is the same in each case, whatever the element that is being ‘sought’, but in a more delicate semantic description we would identify the particular element that is sought.

4. This question is equivalent to the traditional one used by philosophers as a vivid example of the concept of presupposition, i.e. *When did you stop beating your wife?*

Notice that in all of the examples the **sought element** occurs first, as if it was thematized - whether it is a Subject, as in (40) and (41), a Complement (as in (37) and (39), or an Adjunct (as in (38)). However, this is not ‘thematization’ in the true sense of the concept, BECAUSE THE ELEMENT IS NOT IN THE INITIAL POSITION AS THE RESULT OF A CHOICE TO THEMATIZE IT. It is there because it must be, i.e. it is an integral part of the expression of the meaning of ‘new content seeker’ that it comes first. It is therefore NOT, as you might at first think, in close systemic contrast with the version of the clause in which it does NOT come first, e.g. *You saw WHO at the party?* .⁵

As you may have noticed from the set of examples above, there is a general syntactic pattern that we first met in the **polarity seeker** in Example (2) and that is continued in the **new content seekers** in Examples (37) to (39). This is that the meaning of ‘information seeker’ is expressed through the sequence of **O S** - whichever type it is.

However, there is a major exception to this otherwise insightful generalization - as so often in language. This is that, when the sought element is the **Subject**, the sequence of Subject and Operator (or Subject and Main Verb) is the same as it would be for an **information giver** - and Examples (40) and (41) illustrate this fact.^c

2.3 The ‘choice of alternative content seeker’

However, there is a third and rather less frequent type of ‘information seeker’. Like the ‘new content seeker’, this type asks about a piece of ‘content’ - but it does so by providing TWO OR MORE SPECIFICATIONS OF THE POSSIBLE ANSWER - i.e. two or more ‘alternative pieces of content’ - and it then asks the Addressee to say which one is right. This type of ‘information seeker’ is the **choice of alternative content seeker**, as in Example (44).⁶

- (44) Does she prefer beer or wine? - with O S [choice of alternative content seeker]

So here too we find the general pattern of OS that is associated with ‘information seekers’. Since this is the last type of information seeker, we can say that the only exception to the generalization that the meaning of ‘information seeker’ is signalled by **O S** occurs is when the Performer is seeking to find out about the entity that is the Subject, as in Examples (40) and (24).^d

5. See Chapter 14 for this type of MOOD, and also for that of the superficially similar type exemplified in *And then you did what?* For a full picture of the semantics of MOOD, see Chapter 7 of the *Functional Semantics Handbook*.

6. In traditional grammar this is called an ‘alternative question’. This is a fair description of it, but we expand it slightly here, in order to bring out its functional similarity to a **new content seeker**.

2.5 The addition of a ‘confirmation seeking tag’: a further choice dependent on ‘information giver’

To introduce the next choice in MOOD, let us start by noting that the typical pattern in conversation is that the Performer of an ‘information giver’ expects - and immediately receives - an acknowledgement of one sort or another from the Addressee - even if it is only a silent nod of the head. This acknowledgement expresses economically the vital message ‘I understand what you’re saying, so you can go on’. For example, an utterance by someone to a colleague at work such as *Amy’s doing a great job* might well be followed by a nod or *Mmm* or *Yes* or *she is* or *isn’t she*, or a or a combination of two or more of these (as we saw in Section 6.10 of the last chapter).

Now consider (46) and (47):

(46) *Amy’s doing a great job, isn’t she?*

(47) *Ivy stayed at home yesterday, didn’t she?*

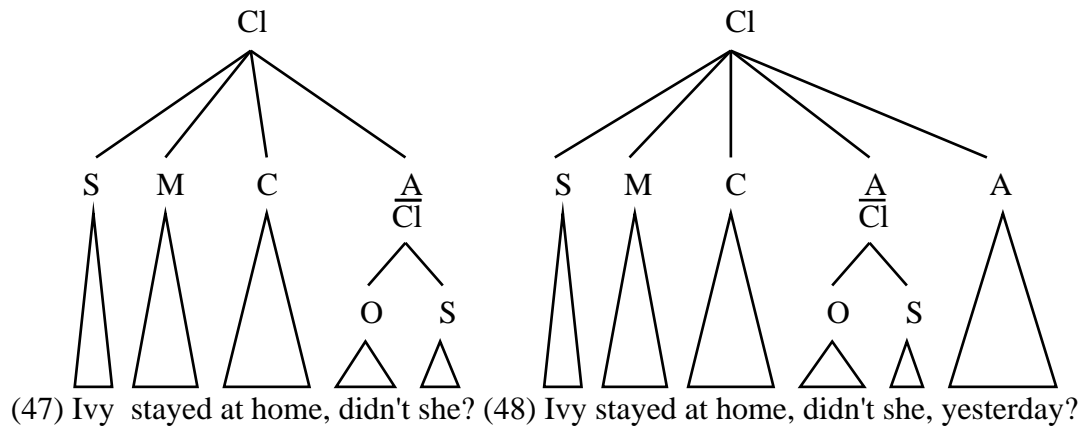
Are these essentially ‘information givers’, like *Amy’s doing a great job* (even though they go a little further and actively solicit an acknowledgement), or are they essentially like the ‘confirmation seeker’ that we met in the last section, such as *Isn’t Amy doing a great job?* The answer is that they are a combination of the two. Each of (46) and (47) begins with a simple ‘information giver’, but in each the Performer chooses to try to elicit a response that involves a rather greater commitment than a simple acknowledgement. It seeks explicitly to get the Addressee’s confirmation of the validity of the utterance’s experiential content - just as a ‘confirmation seeker’ does.⁸

In terms of the structure of discourse, then, the effect of using this choice in MOOD is to create a text-sentence whose meaning is fairly close to that of the ‘confirmation seeker’. It does this by (a) copying the Operator from the main clause, if there is one, as in (46), or, if there isn’t one as in (47), by supplying a form of the verb *do* - and then by (b) providing a pronoun Subject that corresponds to the semantics of the Subject of the main clause. And yet it remains true that, apart from the Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct itself, the text-sentence sets out is an ‘information giver’ - so that it is both an ‘information giver’ and a ‘confirmation-seeker’.

Notice that even though there may APPEAR to be some experiential meaning in the embedded clause - e.g. in *didn’t she* in (47) - there is in fact none at all. The meaning is entirely ‘interpersonal’. This is because the ‘time reference position’ of ‘past’ in *didn’t* and the meanings of ‘singular’ and ‘female’ in *she* are all fully derived from the semantic features of the equivalent elements of the main clause. So the ‘past’ of *didn’t* is directly derived from the ‘past’ of *stayed*, and the semantic features of *she* are directly derived from those of *Ivy* in the main clause. (The presence or absence of *n’t* in the tag is a more delicate aspect of its MOOD meaning, which we will come to in Chapter 14.)

Examples such as these take us into a new area of syntax which we will

8. The three further cases exemplified in (a) *Amy’s bright?*, (b) *Amy’s what?* and (c) *And then she did what?* are dealt with in Chapter 14.



otherwise leave until Chapter 11 - the **embedding** of clauses within clauses. In other words, the full analysis of this sentence requires us to recognize the presence of A SECOND CLAUSE WITHIN THE FIRST. This second clause is an example of what we will term a **truncated** clause, and it consists solely of an Operator and a Subject. But it is nonetheless a clause, and it is related to the main clause by filling an Adjunct in it. This type of Adjunct is termed a **Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct**. This **filling** relationship between the embedded clause and the element of the higher clause that it fills is illustrated in the analysis of (47) in Figure 5.2.

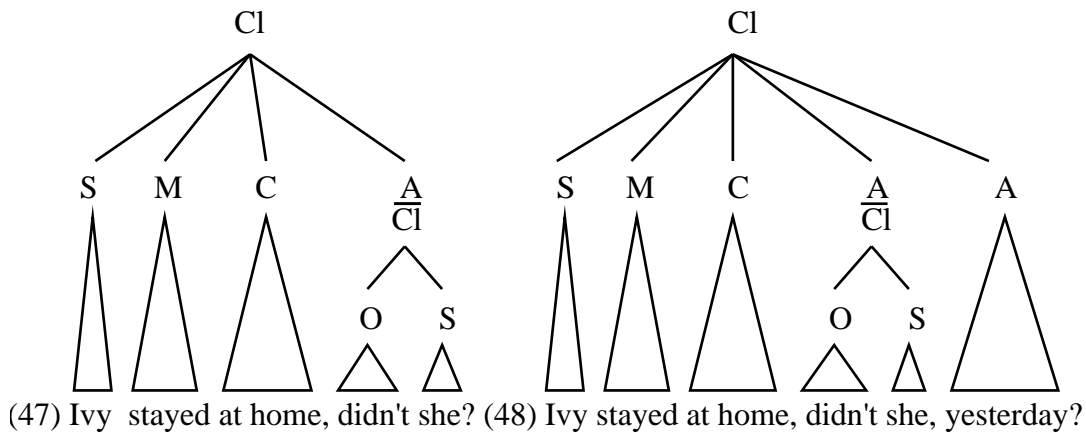


Figure 5.2:
Two truncated clauses embedded in 'Confirmation Seeking Tag' Adjuncts

It may at first seem attractive simply to tack the second clause onto the end of the first, in some type of 'co-ordination' relationship. But the analysis of (48) in Figure 5.2 shows the advantages of analyzing it as filling an Adjunct - an Adjunct which, like most other Adjuncts, can also occur at another place in the main clause, as (48) demonstrates. I should add that, while Example (48) sounds a little unnatural, longer versions of such clauses sound completely natural, e.g. (49a).⁹

(49a) But you would think, wouldn't you, that getting hit forty-five times

9. This is taken from p. 95 of J.K Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*. London: Bloomsbury, 1998.

in the neck with a blunt axe would qualify you to joint the Headless Hunt? [J.K. Rowling's question mark]

As we will see in Chapter 6, the ability to occur in different places in the clause in this way is a characteristic of Adjuncts.¹⁰

There is also a formal version of the Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct that has a different internal syntax. In the British General Election of 1997 a beautiful sunny dawn coincided with the news that Tony Blair had won a landslide victory for the Labour Party - and he uttered the words in (49b).

(49b) It is a new dawn, is it not. [spoken with a final falling Tone]

Here the structure of the embedded clause *is it not* is, of course, simply *is* [O] *it* [S] *not* [N]. Interestingly, the wish to introduce a rhetorical flourish to one's discourse to give it gravitas - as in this example - also occurs particularly frequently in the 'cross-questioning' type of radio or TV interview, and (49c) illustrates this - and also the fact noted earlier that such Adjuncts sometimes occur in a non-final position.¹¹

(49c) People will have to pay more, will they not, if they want to eat organic food? [spoken with a final rising Tone]

This new type of Adjunct is therefore one of several types of Adjunct that express an **interpersonal** meaning - rather as we will see in Section 3 of this chapter that the item *please* does.⁸

Finally, I should point out that there are other types of Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct in addition to the two types introduced here, and we will meet these in Chapter 14. And, as we will see there, they occur with a range of different rising and falling Tones, each of which realizes a different meaning.

2.6 Summary of the main 'information' choices

In the rich English system network for the meaning potential of MOOD, there are several other options in the part devoted to processing **information** besides the various sub-types of 'Confirmation Seeking Tag'. But we have now covered all of the most frequent types, and, as we turn in the next two sections to a new range of MOOD meanings, Figure 5.3 can stand as a summary of the main 'information' choices in MOOD. The next two sections expand the part of the network that provides for various types of **proposal for action**.

10. This is one of a small number of types of Adjunct that cannot occur in the initial ('thematized') position in the clause. The fact that it cannot occur initially is not a sufficient reason to decide that it cannot be an Adjunct. There is in fact a great deal of variation among the different types of Adjunct in the probability with which they occur in different positions, as we will see in Chapter 6 - though almost all can occur in two or more positions.

11. This example was spoken by BBC Newsnight interviewer Jeremy Vine to Margaret Beckett, the Minister for the Environment in the Labour Government at the time, on 29.01.02.

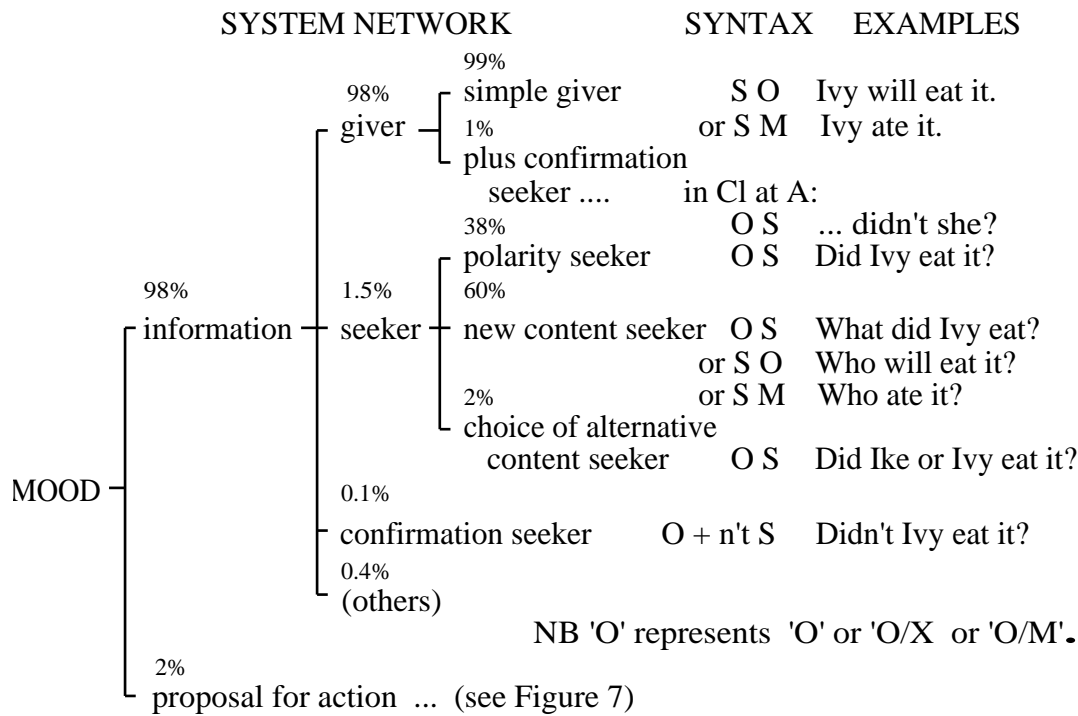


Figure 5.3:
A system network for some major 'information' options in the semantics of MOOD

3 More on MOOD: two basic types of 'proposal for action'

3.1 The special characteristics of 'proposals for action'

We will now add to the MOOD network a few of the most frequent MOOD meanings whose function is TO GET SOMEONE TO DO SOMETHING. These are types of what we will term a **proposal for action**, and a typical example is:

(46) Watch this space!

There are two ways in which 'proposals for action' are more limited than 'information givers' in their semantic possibilities. The first is suggested by the word 'action' in their name. Here I am using the word 'action' in a sense that is much broader than when the term 'action' is used as the name of a major class of Process types (as introduced briefly in Section 7.11 of Chapter 3). When 'action' is used as a part of the term 'proposal for action', it denotes ANY type of Process that we can ask someone to carry out. In practice, most 'proposals for action' have a Process that inherently involves an Agent - and as we saw in Section 7.11 of Chapter 3 many mental and relational processes also have Agents. Indeed, 'watching' in (46) is a mental Process (of 'perception') that has an Agent. And we even occasionally use a 'proposal for action' with a relational Process that has no Agent, as in *Be quiet!*. For these reasons, then, we cannot say that 'proposals for

action' always occur with 'action' Processes.¹²

Another way in which these choices in MOOD are very different from those that we have been considering so far is that they can only occur, by their very nature, in future time. The proposals that they express are necessarily proposals for FUTURE action.

Now let's look at the main options in this part of the MOOD network. The first type that I will introduce is doubly important, because it involves a second key concept that we will need at many points in this book.

3.2 The 'simple directive'

Consider this short sentence (as used on advertising billboards):

(46) Watch this space!

How is this to be analyzed? Clearly *watch* is the **M** and *this space* is a **C**. But there is no Subject and there is no Operator. This may at first seem odd, given the emphasis in Chapter 3 on the central role of **S** and **O** (or **S** and **M**) in identifying the MOOD of a clause. So how is the MOOD expressed in such cases?

The answer is that it is the ABSENCE of the Subject and Operator that signals the type of MOOD meaning in such clauses. In other words, when you find a free-standing clause with no Subject and no Operator, as in *Watch this space!* or *Put it here, please!*, it is almost certainly a **simple directive** - as it is in (46). And it should be analyzed as shown in (46) in Figure 5.4.

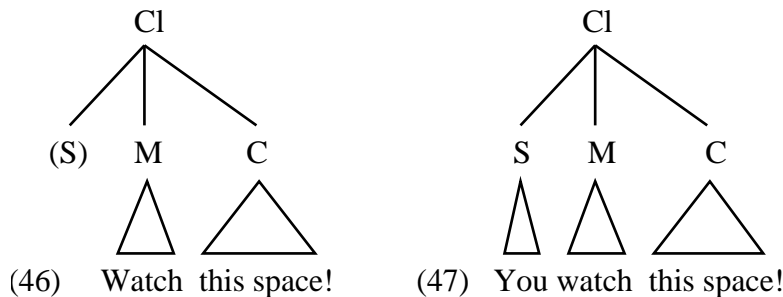


Figure 5.4: The analysis of two 'simple directives'

Notice that while the **Operator** is completely absent in this type of MOOD meaning, the **Subject** is not. In Example (46), both the Performer and the Addressee know very well that there is a second Participant Role in the Process of 'watching' - i.e. the 'watcher' - and they also both know that the intended 'watcher' is the Addressee. In other words, the missing Subject that would be present in a typical 'information giver' is always fully recoverable by the Addressee - and this is precisely the reason why it can be safely omitted at the level of form. In other words, we know that this PR is present, as the Subject, in the mental construct that

12. It would be rather odd - though just possible - to say to someone *Love Ike!* or *Be tall!* This is because 'loving someone' and 'being tall' are typically relatively fixed states that are not under our individual control. On the other hand, *Be quiet!* is possible because 'being quiet' is a temporary state and is under the individual's control. *Be quiet!* means, in effect 'Make yourself be quiet!', so that it could be said to be implicitly 'agentive'.

is in the mind of the Performer before uttering these words, and also in the mind of the Addressee after hearing them. So it is fully appropriate to show it in the representation of the functional syntax of the clause.

We show this in the analysis by (a) putting the Subject in the structure AT THE POINT WHERE IT WOULD COME IF IT HAD BEEN EXPRESSED, and (b) placing ROUND BRACKETS around it to show that it is not actually expressed as a word - exactly as shown in Example (46) in Figure 5.4. The key concept is that the Performer presents the identity of the unexpressed PR as **recoverable**.¹³

However, Example (47) in Figure 5.4 illustrates the fact that the Performer does occasionally decide to express the Subject overtly.¹⁴ When this is done the Subject is usually *you*, as in this case, and it is often used contrastively, e.g. as in B's reply in Example (48):

- (48) A: Wash the dishes, please.
 B: No - YOU wash them!

This is the choice between an 'unmarked' simple directive and one with the feature [addressee identified].

3.3 The 'simple directive' as one type of covert Participant Role

In analyzing the 'simple directive' in (46) in the way we have, we have met one of the three main ways in which a Participant Role may be **covert**. This is the phenomenon that occurs when a Main Verb such as *watch* leads us to expect that there will be TWO Participant Roles (a 'watcher' and a 'watched'), and when only ONE of them is actually present in the text. So:

Sometimes a PR that is 'expected' semantically by the Process is not expressed in words at the level of form.

When a PR is expressed in words at the level of form, we say that it is **overt** - and it is usually a straightforward task to identify it as a Subject or Complement. But when a PR is ABSENT from the clause at the level of form - i.e. when it is **covert** - it is sometimes surprisingly easy for the text analyst to overlook it. There are in fact several places in the overall system network for English that result in a covert PR - and we will meet a second one in Section 10 of this chapter, and others

13. I have also used round brackets to indicate 'optionality' in the little grammar in Section 10 of Chapter 3 - and we will do so again at the end of this chapter. But this will be for the last time, so there is no likelihood that the two uses of round brackets will cause confusion..

14. Sometimes such cases are ambiguous. For example, *You give her lunch* could be a straightforward 'information giver' (i.e. describing a regularly repeated event) or it could be a 'simple directive' that identifies the Addressee. If we add a few extra words to each version of the example this comes out clearly:

- (a) You give her lunch - most days - so I should think her mother will be very grateful to you.
 (b) You give her lunch - if you are prepared to, and I'll have her to supper.

There is also a clear difference at the level of form, when the examples are spoken aloud (unless you is spoken with a contrastive stress in Example (a)). The difference is that in (a) *you* is a weak syllable, while in (b) it is strong.

in later chapters.

The idea of having a Participant Role that is covert is, in some ways, an odd one. On the one hand a PR is, as we know from Chapter 3, a semantic role that is inherently expected by the Process - so that it is important that the Addressee identifies it as a central part of the message. In (46), for example, the process of 'watching' at **M** expects a 'watcher' at **S** - and yet the Performer of a 'simple directive' only rarely specified who the 'watcher' is to be. There is, of course, a good reason why this is so, and it is that the Addressee (A) already knows that he is to be the 'watcher'. But HOW does he know this? It is because, when he was learning English, he learnt that there is an agreement among the users of the language of the following sort:

When you hear or read a sentence consisting simply of a clause that starts with M (and so has no overt S and no O at all), you should normally interpret it as a 'simple directive' to the Addressee.

So, once again, it is **S** and **O** that help us to interpret what the MOOD meaning is. But here it is not the SEQUENCE of **S** and **O** that carries the message (as it is for the 'information giver' and the 'polarity seeker') but the ABSENCE OF **S** and **O** - or more accurately, in the light of Figure 5.4, the absence of **O** and the fact that there are no words to expound **S**.

3.4 Analysis task - and 'negative directives'

Now try analyzing (49) and (50).

(49) Open it now, please. (50) Don't lend Fred any of your money.

DO YOUR ANALYSIS NOW, BEFORE LOOKING AT FIGURE 5.5.

Solutions

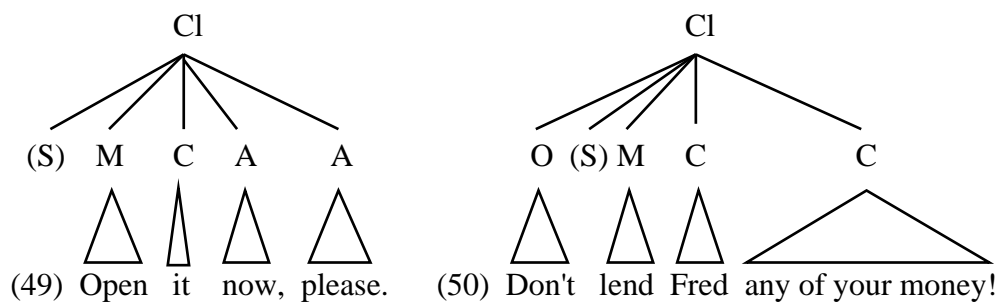


Figure 5.5: the analysis of two 'simple directives'

Comments on the analyses

- 1 The item *please* in (49) is yet another type of Adjunct. Like the Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct, it is part of the **interpersonal** strand of meaning, since it too represents a choice in MOOD. In the next section I will introduce some

other interpersonal Adjuncts that typically occur with ‘directives’.

- 2 As (50) shows, ‘simple directives’, like ‘information givers’, can be **negative**. We use exactly the same elements as we used for expressing the meaning of ‘negative’ with ‘information giver’ in Section 3 - i.e. a form of *do* is introduced as an Operator and, if it is an unmarked negative as in (50), the suffix *n’t* is attached to it. If it is a ‘strong negative’ the Negator *not* is used. The meaning of ‘negative’ is similar to its meaning when used with an ‘information giver’, i.e. the Performer will use a negative ‘directive’ when she thinks (a) that the addressee might be thinking of carrying out whatever event is referred to (here, lending Fred money) and (b) that this would be a mistake (see Section 6.2 of Chapter 4).
- 3 Notice the position of the **covert S** in (50). It is to be located AFTER the Operator, because if the Performer decided to identify the Addressee overtly the analysis would be (using the linear notation) as in (51):

(51) Don’t [O] you [S] lend [M] Fred [C] any of your money [C]!

- 4 If the ‘strong negative’ is chosen, the Negator stays in its fixed place, and so comes after the covert Subject - shown as **(S)** in (52). This example also illustrates the combination of a ‘directive’ with a strong negative.

(52) Do not ever use that word again in my hearing!

- (5) In (50), I have included a more complex type of Complement than usual - as a foretaste of the types of structure that we will meet in Chapter 7.

If you would like a little analysis practice, try drawing the diagram to represent this example. It will be easier to draw it in the form of a tree diagram, because then you only have one type of bracket to think about. When you have finished, check it by the following linear representation:

(52) Do [O] ([S]) not [N] ever [A] use [M] that word [C] again [A]
in my hearing [A]!¹⁵

Remember that the square brackets are used to show the elements in a linear diagram, and that the round brackets show the role that is covert.

3.5 Types of request

Up to this point, we have been looking at just one type of MOOD meaning: the **simple directive** (with the variation of optionally specifying the Addressee as the person who will carry out the action). But a ‘simple directive’ is just one of several types of **directive**, and a ‘directive’ is one of two types **proposal for action by the Addressee** (the other being the set of types of ‘suggestion’). Finally, a ‘proposal for action by addressee’ is just one of four types of **proposal for**

15. As it happens, the Subject *you* is not be expressed overtly with this formal type of ‘negative directive’. But we know where to the symbol **(S)** that shows its covert presence - i.e. after the Negator - because of the sequence of the elements when the Subject is overt, as in *Don’t you ever use that word again in my hearing!*

action.¹⁶ In this section and the next I will introduce some of the other main possibilities in the meaning potential available to users of English for getting people to do things.

I will begin with the **requests**. The term ‘request’ is often used in quite a general sense that could include many of the choices in this part of the meaning potential for MOOD, but here we will limit its meaning to the most frequent type. These are ‘requests’ that make an **appeal** to the Addressee’s **ability** or **willingness** to carry out the action.¹⁷ Examples of these are given in (53a) to (55) - where the context of situation is an optician testing a customer’s sight. Notice that the first two pairs also illustrate (a) the difference between the more ‘direct’ and the more ‘indirect’ type of each (*can* and *could*, and *will* and *would*) and also (b) various types of Adjunct that occur with ‘directives’. There is also the specialized use of *Won’t you ...*, as in (55), which carries a meaning of ‘solicitousness’.

(53a) Can you look to the left (for me)?

(53b) Could you (possibly) look to the left (please)?

(54a) Will you look to the left (please)?

(54b) Would you (perhaps) look to the left (for me) (please)?

(55) Won’t you sit down?

Clearly, the syntactic analysis of all these examples is exactly the same as that of a ‘polarity seeker’ (and so also, incidentally, of a ‘confirmation seeker’) as (53c) shows:

(53c) Can [O] you [S] look [C] [to the left [A] for me [A]? - with O S [request]

Does this mean that we should simply treat them all as ‘polarity seeker’s? It does not, because if we did this we would be ignoring the function that the clause is serving - i.e. its meaning. As this book presents more and more of the functional grammar of English, we should expect to find that increasing numbers of occasions on which forms are used to express more than one meaning. And the meaning of the ‘appeal’ requests that we are now considering is clearly quite different from that of a ‘polarity seeker’.

However, it is unlikely that the fact that they all use the structure **O S** will cause difficulties. This is because there are several other formal markers that enable users of the language to recognize a request when they hear one. These are:

- 1 the set of words that can function as the Operator is strictly limited in requests to *can*, *could*, *will*, *would* and *won’t*, whereas any of the many modal verbs considered in Chapter 4 can be the Operator in the case of a ‘polarity seeker’;

16. In this chapter we will ignore the fourth type, which is much less frequent than the others, i.e. [proposal ofr action by outsider]. An example would be when a primary school teacher says to her pupils *Right, you reas the next bit, Tracy - no, Sharon read it!*

17. One type of ‘request’ that we will not analyze at this point is the elaborated request, e.g. *Would you mind reading it?* and *I wonder if you would read it?* We will return to these in Chapter 13.

- 2 the Subject must be *you*; and
- 3 the range of intonation patterns and the probabilities with which they occur that are found in requests is very different from the range associated with ‘polarity seekers’, i.e. the range is essentially the same as the other ‘directives’ (though the probabilities are different).

In addition to these formal markers of requests, the Addressee always has the supporting evidence of the context of situation - so that in real life situations it is very rare that there is any doubt as to whether a request really is one. So, while *Can you look to the left?* is technically ambiguous between being a ‘polarity seeker’ and a ‘request’, it is only very rarely that it would be uttered in a context in which it was ambiguous for the Addressee.¹⁸

Before we end this section, I should point out that I have included a few Adjuncts in Examples (53a) to (54b). The purpose is to extend the steadily growing picture of the full range of types of Adjunct. Notice that the meanings of *possibly* and *perhaps* in (53b) and (54b) do not express the Performer’s level of confidence in the ‘validity’ of the proposition (e.g. in contrast with their use in examples such as *probably*, *definitely*, etc.) - because there is no proposition. Instead, *possibly* and *perhaps* function as ‘softeners’ that are intended to make the Addressee feel that the request is less of an imposition of the Performer’s will than it would have been without it. In other words, they are a type of ‘interpersonal meaning’, just as *please* is. We come finally to an interesting current change in the language: for many users of English over thirty or so *for me* probably still carries the experiential meaning that it has in *He opened the bottle for me*. For most speakers of English under thirty the Adjunct *for me*, when it is used in a ‘proposal for action’, has a similar function to that of *possibly*. In other words, an optician may say *Could you look to the left for me?* and a cashier in a supermarket, may say *Can you sign here for me?*, but in neither case does it carry its experiential meaning of ‘as a personal favour that will give me pleasure’. In such cases it has become a formulaic ‘softener’ and so carries interpersonal meaning.

4 More on MOOD - more types of ‘proposal for action’

We have now met **simple directives** and **requests**, both being types of **directive**. Together with **suggestions** (which we will return to in Chapter 13), ‘directives’ are the major type of **proposal for action by addressee**.¹⁹

However, a Performer may propose actions by PERSONS WHO ARE NOT THE ADDRESSEE, and this section introduces the most frequent types.

18. In Section 2.5 we saw that a simple ‘information giver’ such as *Ike likes Ivy* can have a confirmation seeking tag attached to it, as in *Ike likes Ivy, doesn’t he?*. In a fairly similar way, we can add ‘agreement seeking tags’ to many types of ‘proposal for action’, e.g. *Read it, could you?* and *Let’s eat it, shall we?* But these bring certain minor additional complexities, so we will leave them to Chapter 14.

19. The category of ‘suggestions’ include *Why don’t you read it? What about (you) reading it now?* and *You may as well read it now*, and many others.

4.1 The proposal for action by self

It is not surprising that ‘proposals for action by addressee’ are the most frequent type of ‘proposal for action’, since the situation in which we want to get someone else to do something normally arises more frequently than the situation that prompts the MOOD choice that we come to now.

Sometimes you may be in a situation where there is an action that you wish to carry out (either for your own benefit or for the benefit of someone else, possibly the Addressee) - but you don’t want to do it (or perhaps you are afraid to do it) without getting the support of the Addressee. So you want to consult them before acting - maybe out of consideration for the Addressee’s wishes, or because they are in a position of power over you, or a combination of the two. Whatever the reason, the semantic choice in the MOOD network that you need is **proposal for action by self**. These are most frequently expressed in the forms shown in (56) to (57a), though there are others.

Examples (56a) and (56b) express two frequent types of **offer**, and (57a) to (58b) are two types of **permission seeker** - with (58) and (58a) being increasingly regarded as over-formal versions. As with the requests, there is a ‘direct’ and an ‘indirect’ version of each. (There are other types, which we will omit here.)

- (56a) Shall I open the window (for you)?
- (56b) Should I open the window (for you)?
- (57a) Can I open the window?
- (57b) Could I open the window (for you)?
- (58a) May I open the window?
- (58b) Might I open the window (for you)?

As with the requests, the structure is the same as for a ‘polarity seeker’, i.e. **O S**. But once again the possibility that problems might be thought to arise from this similarity is dispelled when we bring into the picture the limited range of words that are available for both the Operator and the Subject. In other words, the Operator must be one of those shown above, and the Subject must be the word *I* - or occasionally *we*, in those cases the Performer and another person will be performing the action. So there is a complete formal ambiguity between this infrequent sense of *Shall we ...?* and the much more frequent meaning to which we come in the next section.

4.2 The proposal for action by self and addressee

The last type of ‘proposal for action’ that we will consider involves BOTH the Performer AND the Addressee. Examples (59) and (60a) illustrate the two most frequent structures.

- (59) Shall we go to Switzerland next Summer?
- (60a) Let’s go to New Zealand. (60b) Let us conduct ourselves bravely.
- (61a) Do let’s go to New Zealand. (61b) Do let us try to act wisely.
- (62a) Don’t let’s go there. (62b) Do not let us fail in our duty.

MORE ON MOOD AND TRANSITIVITY

‘new content seeker’ where the element about which information is sought is the Subject such as *Who has seen him?*) - or both (e.g. a ‘request’ such as *Could you speak more slowly, please?*). But in spoken discourse MOOD meanings are often also expressed in **intonation**, and in written discourse a smaller and partly different set of meanings are expressed in **punctuation**.

While the main coverage of intonation and punctuation comes in Chapter 19, Examples (65) to (70) illustrate some of the most frequent ways in which the semantic features that express MOOD meanings are realized in punctuation. As a comparison, I also give the Tone that would most typically be used if the text was spoken. (The words written in capitals are ‘contrastively new’, as described in Section 7 of Chapter 4.)

Example	semantic feature	Tone
(65a) Ivy likes icecream.	[information giver, dominant]	fall
(65b) She SAYS she likes it...	[information giver, with reservation]	fall-rise
(65c) Well, I LOVE it!	[information giver, very strongly dominant]	rise-fall
(66) Do you like toffee?	[polarity seeker]	rise
(67) Who wants an icecream?	[new content seeker]	fall
(68a) Watch this space!	[simple directive]	fall
(68b) Do have another one.	[simple directive, pressing]	rise
(69) Could you wait a tick?	[request]	rise
(70) Let’s have an icecream!	[proposal for action by self and addressee, very strongly dominant]	rise-fall

Notice that (65a) to (65c) illustrate three different intonation patterns, each of which can occur with an ‘information giver’, and each of which changes the meaning quite substantially. In particular, note that the fall-rise of (65b) carries the implication that the sentence might well have continued with *but in fact she doesn’t*. In contrast, the rise-fall of (65c) is even more forceful than (65a). In terms of punctuation, the contrast is between the full stop (or ‘period’ in American English) of the first two and the exclamation mark of (65c). And the typical rise in the type of ‘information seeker’ in (66) contrasts with the typical fall in the type in (67) - even though the final punctuation mark in both is a question mark. (However, a number of other Tones can occur with each of these, though with lower probabilities.) The two types of ‘simple directive’ in (68a) and (68b) illustrate two of the possible Tones that can occur with this MOOD meaning, and also that the punctuation can reflect this. Rather similarly, the rise of (69) and the rise-fall of (70) illustrate two other types of ‘proposal for action’ - and again the difference can be reflected in punctuation.

These examples illustrate the fact that both punctuation and intonation carry important meanings. Let us take punctuation first. A punctuation mark is not such a different type of phenomenon from a word as is often assumed: the grammar of words and their relationships to each other can be extended to handle punctuation marks. Each one is simply an **item** that expounds an **element** of a syntactic **unit** (here, the clause). It is right, therefore, that the full analysis of a text-sentence should recognize the contribution to its meaning that is made by punctuation, and also that it should show where punctuation items fit into the structure as a whole.

Later on, the identification of punctuation marks will become an important aspect of analyzing text-sentences, because they show us the boundaries of units. Here we are analyzing simple clauses, so that the analysis of the Ender seems a trivial matter. Let me assure you that, when we deal more fully with punctuation (as we will in Chapter 19), some aspects of punctuation analysis are likely to surprise you.

In the present cases, however, all we need to do is to recognize the presence in every text-sentence (but not in every clause) of a new element of clause structure, which we will call the **Ender**. The three punctuation items that we will introduce at this point are (a) a **full stop** (i.e. a **period** in American English), as in (65a) and (65b), (b) an **exclamation mark**, as in (65c), (68a) and (70), and (c) a **question mark**, as in (66) and (67).²¹

The set of examples show some of the Tones that TYPICALLY occur with a given MOOD meaning (i.e. with the semantic feature shown after the above examples), but almost all MOOD meanings have a variety of Tones that occur with them, with greatly different probabilities. In the full grammar, therefore each MOOD meaning has open to it a partially different system of semantic features that are expressed in Tones - in which each Tone realizes, in principle, a different meaning. This is quite different from the realizations in punctuation, in which the use of a particular punctuation mark for a particular MOOD meaning is virtually obligatory. In other words, intonation realizes a significantly richer set of meanings than does punctuation. We will meet a few more punctuation marks in later chapters, but the main treatment will be left to Chapter 19.

When we wish to show the Ender in the analysis of a clause, it is simply shown as the final element, as illustrated in Figure 5.6.

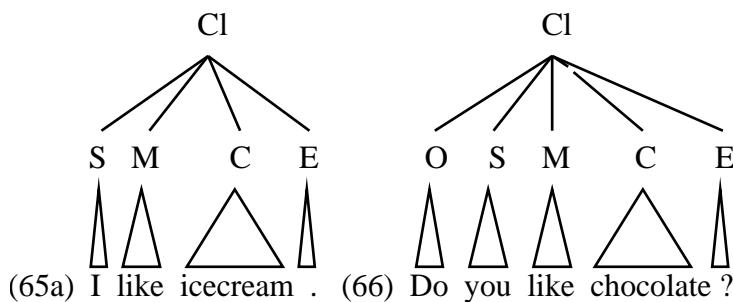


Figure 5.6: Examples of Enders

In this introductory treatment of punctuation, we have met only some of the types of MOOD meaning that are expressed in this part of the level of form - and we have not attempted to provide names for the particular meanings within each MOOD type that they express. A much fuller picture of the meanings and forms of punctuation will be given in Chapter 19 - including many types of meaning other than MOOD meanings - most importantly, those realized in the comma.

From the title of this book, you might easily assume that it would not furnish

21. We will leave the comma and the other types of Ender, which we can ignore for the moment, till Chapter 19.

you with a way of analyzing the meanings that are realized in the part of the level of form that we are here calling **intonation** - or indeed punctuation. But this would in fact be misleading, because it does both. Let me explain how this will be done.

While there are certainly a few complications about analyzing punctuation, as we will see in Chapter 19, it is nonetheless fairly easy to learn to analyze it in terms of the 'grammar of punctuation' introduced there. But to learn to analyze intonation adequately is a much more complex task, and to do this you need guidance from a specialist handbook for this area of language, such as Paul Tench's *The intonation systems of English* (1996).

However, there is a surprisingly efficient way to get many of the most essential aspects of intonation represented in an analysis of a spoken text, and it is one that you can start to apply straight away. The method is simply to borrow the punctuation conventions that are used by a novelist to represent speech, and to learn the relatively simple method for analyzing these as part of the structure of the text-sentence. Indeed, we have already made a small beginning on this task here, and we will complete it in Chapter 19. So, by using this rather obvious technique, you are probably already able to represent the main differences between the falling and rising Tones of the spoken versions of utterances such as *Open the door!* and *Could you open the door?*

6 Summary of MOOD so far

We have now covered most of the more frequent options in the meaning potential for MOOD in English. Two of the omissions are 'exclamations' and the types of 'simple directive' that have a Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct, e.g. *How clever she is!* and *Sit down, will you?* We will cover these and a range of further types of 'proposal for action' in Chapter 14, as well as small number of additional choices in the 'information' part of the MOOD network.

The most important innovation has been the recognition that utterances such as *Aren't they reporters?* *Could you open the window?* *Can I give you a hand?* and *Shall we go to New Zealand?* function in Modern English not 'polarity seekers' but as the direct realization of MOOD meanings. In other words, in a functional grammar it is not necessary that examples like these should FIRST be analyzed as 'polarity seekers', and THEN be subjected to some complex process of reasoning through which their 'true' meaning is worked out. A grammar that treats them all as 'polarity seekers' in this way reflects an approach to language that is oriented to **form** rather than to **meaning**. In a functional approach to understanding language the fact that several types of meaning share a common syntactic structure should not be regarded as a problem - especially when words and intonation work with the syntax to help to express the differences, as they do in these cases. For example, when you hear *Could you* as the beginning of an utterance, you normally begin interpreting it as a 'request' to do something rather than as a 'polarity seeker' about your ability at some time in the past to perform some action (such as *Could you read when you were only four?*) As we have seen at various points in this book, the fact that there is not a one-to-one relationship between some aspect of FORM (here, syntax) and the corresponding MEANING is simply one of the characteristics of a

natural language that we must expect to encounter from time to time.^k

Figure 5.7 provides a summary of the main choices in MOOD that we have now recognized. As with Figure 5.3, there is a column between the system network and the examples that shows the syntax that expresses (or ‘realizes’) each feature - i.e. the key elements of structure. Taken together, Figures 5.3 and 5.7 provide a usable summary guide to analyzing the MOOD syntax of most simple clauses in most natural texts. However, we will add to this picture of MOOD in Chapter 14, and we will meet a far more comprehensive network in Chapter 7 of the *Semantics Handbook* (Fawcett in preparation).

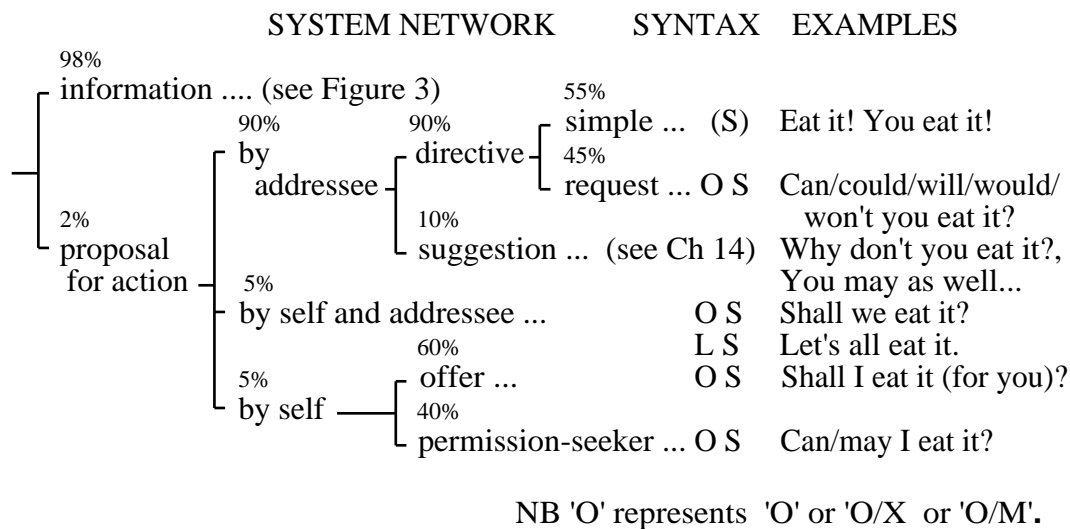


Figure 5.7: Summary of the main MOOD options in ‘proposal for action’

7 Analysis task 3

Shut up!

Shall we xxx What is its meaning?

Shall I xxx? What is its meaning?

Include Would you please pass me a clean knife? all three Enders . ! ?

Don't let's both be out tomorrow

XXX ADD IT! NB it will include Figure 5.8 for the Solutions.

XXX THEN CHANGE EXAMPLE NUMBERS FROM HERE ON.

8 Extending the Process: the Main Verb Extension (MEx)

8.1 Two problematical examples for the syntax analyst

In this section we will learn how to identify and the analyze the important new clause element of the Main Verb Extension. We will approach it by asking: ‘How should we analyze Examples (65a) and (66a)?’²²

(65a) Jane put on her coat. (66a) She went out to the shops.

Let’s begin with Example (65a). You might at first be tempted to treat the two words *put* and *on* as both being part of the Main Verb - since the Process is one of someone ‘putting on’ something. Similarly, in (66a) the words *went* and *out* together express the Process of someone ‘going out’ to somewhere. Up to a point, this is a good line of reasoning - but examples such as (65b) and (66b) quickly take us beyond that point, so that we are forced to think again.

(65b) Jane put her coat on. (66b) Out she went to the shops.

As you will see, the problem is that in each of (65b) and (66b) the words *on* and *out* are separated from their associated Main Verbs (*put* and *went*) by another element. A further complication is that the type of separation is different in the two cases - in (65b) *on* occurs at the end of the clause, and in (66b) *out* comes at the beginning. The problem for the syntax analyst is: ‘How should we analyze examples such as these?’²³

Before we go any further, I want to suggest a rewording of my last sentence. The fact is that (65b) and (66b) should NOT be regarded as ‘problems’ for a theory of language, but as two more illustrations of the characteristic of all natural languages mentioned in Section 6 - namely, the lack of a one-to-one relationship between the two levels of **meaning** and **form**. It is only artificial languages that have a one-to-one fit between meaning and form at every point, and this lack of one is a general phenomenon that we should expect to find reasonably frequently in any natural language - such as English, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Swahili, etc. A good theory of language should therefore be designed in such a way that it is capable of handling such ‘problems’ naturally. And the model of language

22. This example is taken from one of the earliest books in the ‘Peter and Jane’ series of reading books published by Ladybird. Many grammars of English treat phrasal verbs - and so the clause element of the Main Verb Extension - as relatively peripheral phenomena, and only introduce the reader to them at a relatively late stage. But phrasal verbs are present in the speech of very young children - and in fact in all types of text, to a greater or lesser degree. (They are not largely confined to casual speech, as is sometimes thought.) So, since they involve the use of two clause elements (as I will show here that they do), it is appropriate to introduce them relatively early in a description of the syntax of the English clause. The high frequency of the Main Verb Extension and its central role in English are the reasons why it is given the central place in this book that it has. Biber et al. (1999:408) report that phrasal verbs as defined by their criteria occur almost 2,000 times per million words. For them, the second element of a phrasal verb is necessarily a single item such as *up*, *down*, *on*, *off*, *in* or *out*, but in Chapter 14 we will see that it is useful to extend the definition of what may fill a MEx well beyond this. So Biber et al. almost certainly underestimate the frequency of phrasal verbs, as the se are defined here.

23. There is also the problem of how to analyze *Out to the shops she went*, but we will set that on one side for the present.

presented here can do this because of (a) its clear distinction between form and meaning and (b) the fact that its system networks of choices and its realization rules are designed to be able to handle precisely such discrepancies. Specifically, the grammar must in the present cases be able to handle the fact that a single **Process** at the level of **meaning** can be expressed by EITHER ONE OR TWO WORDS (AND SOMETIMES MORE THAN TWO) at the level of **form**, and both when they are ADJACENT, as in (65a) and (65b) and when they are NON-ADJACENT, in either of the patterns shown in (65b) and (66b).

8.2 Phrasal verbs as one of several types of ‘multi-word verb’

There are in fact several different ways in which English expresses a Process in two or more words, and this handbook will cover all of them in due course. Here we will deal with the type that is far the most frequent - the type that in traditional grammar is called a **phrasal verb**.¹

The implication of the term ‘phrasal verb’ is that the expression of the **Process**, which is typically expressed solely in the **Main Verb**, EXTENDS TO ANOTHER ELEMENT. This second element always expresses a meaning which is a PART OF THE MEANING OF THE PROCESS, and so we call it the **Main Verb Extension (MEx)**.^m A ‘phrasal verb’, then, consists of a Main Verb (M) and a Main Verb Extension (MEx). Since the focus in this handbook is on functional syntax (rather than on classes of items), we will find ourselves using the functional term ‘Main Verb Extension’ (or ‘MEx’ for short) far more than the term ‘phrasal verb’.²⁴

In Chapter 8 we will meet a second type of ‘multi-word verb’. In that type the Process is expressed as a Main Verb with a semantically related following **preposition**, and this second type of multi-word verb is called a **prepositional verb**.ⁿ In text analysis this type can sometimes be confused with a phrasal verb, unless you have clear criteria for distinguishing between them, and this is why I will provide a full set of tests for identifying a MEx in Section 8 of this chapter. However, in Chapter 8 we will also meet a third type of multi-word verb - one which combines a preposition with the present type. These are consequently called **phrasal-prepositional verbs**.^o

Here, however, we will focus on phrasal verbs. In a functional approach to

24. This is because the class of ‘phrasal verbs’ is defined in terms of their FORM rather than their FUNCTION, and in a functional explanation of language it is natural to prefer the functional term.

There is no agreed name in traditional grammar for the class of words that expound a MEx. Many grammars call them ‘adverbs’. But this is particularly unsatisfactory, since such grammars usually call several other classes of word ‘adverbs’, so that the category is something of a ragbag term. Another name that is quite often used for this class of words is ‘particle’. This term has two drawbacks: (a) the term is sometimes used in a sense that includes both the items that occur in phrasal verbs and the prepositions that occur in prepositional verbs. Here, when we need a name for the class of words that typically expound the MEx element of structure, we will simply use the same wording as the name of the element - BUT WITHOUT THE INITIAL CAPITAL LETTERS (since this expresses the concept of ‘element of clause structure’). We can express this more formally by saying that an item that is a **main verb extension** typically expounds the element **Main Verb Extension**. (This is the position at this stage, but certain types of example with syntactic units at MEx will force me to modify it in Chapter 14 - hence the use of the word ‘typically’.) In practice, however, we will normally refer to main verb extensions by the shorter name of ‘items at MEx’.

language, it is natural to ask: ‘Is there a general type of meaning that all phrasal verbs express?’ The answer is that there is not. Phrasal verbs are used to express practically every type of Process that is found in English. Sometimes the meaning of the **ME_x** simply extends the meaning of the **M**, as in *He ran off* and *He’s eaten up all his lunch*, but very often the combination of the two words forms a completely new meaning, as in *The pain has worn off now* and *The last question caught him out*.

Often - but not always - the language contains a ONE-WORD verb that is conceptually quite similar to the phrasal verb. So we might ask: ‘Is there a simple verb that corresponds to *put on* in Example (65a)?’ The only candidate, in fact, is the very old-fashioned word *don*, as in *She donned her coat*. But because this is no longer in use the result is that, for anyone using modern English, there isn’t a one-word equivalent to *put on*. The typical case, in fact, is that English has a more formal-sounding one-word verb which has a general semantic similarity to the phrasal verb, but which is not completely identical in meaning. For example, the difference between *throw out* and *reject* in the ‘psychological’ realm may at first seem to be simply one of register (compare *She threw out the new idea* with *She rejected the new idea*). But in the ‘physical’ realm we cannot replace *throw out* by *reject* (compare *They threw out the old papers* with *They rejected the old papers*, which can only be interpreted in the ‘psychological’ sense). And for some phrasal verbs there is not even a near-equivalent simple verb; consider examples such as *The sky clouded over* and *They are phasing out formal examinations*. Clearly, then, we cannot use the existence of a roughly equivalent one-word verb as a test for recognizing a phrasal verb.²⁵

To summarize: the only sensible position to take is to say that English employs, at the level of form, various different structures for expressing semantic Processes - and that some of these Processes are expressed in ONE word and some in TWO - and some in more than two, as we will see in Chapters 8 and 14. And the most important of these by far is the phrasal verb. We can summarize the main points made so far in Examples (67) and (68) and their analysis in Figure 5.9.

(67) Then she brought up the question of payment.

(68) Then she raised the question of payment.

In (67) the items *brought up* and *up* constitute a phrasal verb, while in (68) the one-word verb *raised* expresses a fairly similar meaning. We can represent the difference between these two Processes and their expressions at the level of form in (67) and (68) as in Figure 5.9.²⁶

25. On the other hand, if there is a fairly close one-word equivalent to a possible phrasal verb, this can be a helpful indication to the text analyst that the example is ONE OR OTHER of the various types of multi-word Process. However, it is not necessarily a phrasal verb, since it might also be a prepositional or phrasal-prepositional verb, (as we will see in Chapters 7 and 13).

26. We could ask: ‘Do the two lexical verbs *raise* and *bring up* have the same meaning?’ In (67) and (68) they appear to have the same **experiential** meaning, but they differ in **register** (*raise* being more formal and *bring up* more casual). But the two word forms certainly do not overlap in the full range of meanings that each has. This illustrates the general principle that **IF THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF FORM, WE SHOULD EXPECT THAT THERE WILL ALSO BE A DIFFERENCE OF**

express ‘movement’, such as (69). But these differences in the degree of idiomaticity make little difference to the work of the syntax analyst, because in almost all cases the syntax is the same.

8.4 The syntax of phrasal verbs

We will now consider the **syntax** of phrasal verbs. The structures of (65a) and (66a) are as shown in Figure 5.10.

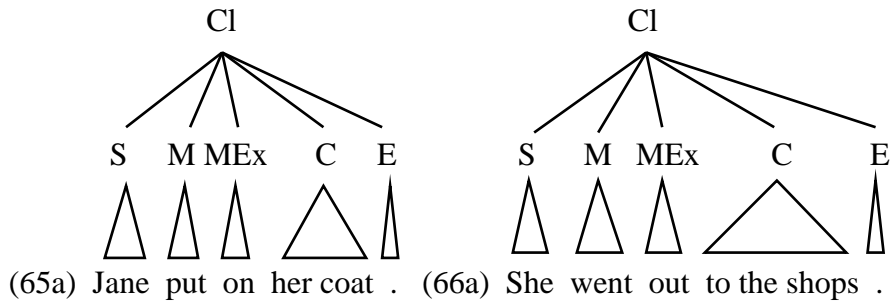


Figure 5.10: Two examples of Main Verb Extensions

These examples should make it easy for you to analyze (65b) and (66b) for yourself. Try this now.

(65b) Jane put her coat on. (66b) Out she went to the shops.

DO YOUR ANALYSIS NOW, BEFORE LOOKING AT FIGURE 5.11.

Solutions

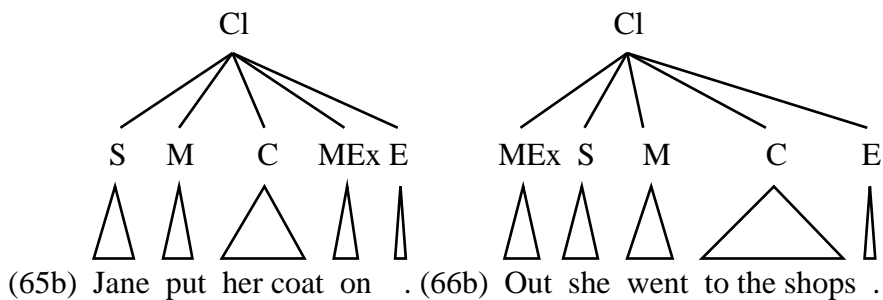


Figure 5.11: Two examples of Main Verb Extensions that are not adjacent to the Main Verb

We therefore have the following patterns to consider:

(65a) Jane put on her coat. (66a) She went out to the shops.
 (65b) Jane put her coat on. (66b) Out she went to the shops.

But matters are not quite as simple as the analyses make them appear. Figure

5.11 at first seems to suggest that in (65b) the MEx occurs at the end of the clause, and that in (66b) it occurs at the beginning. But in neither case, in fact, is the MEx necessarily at the extremity of the clause, because we could add *slowly* at the end of (65b) to make it *Jane put her coat on slowly*, and *so* at the beginning of (66b) to make it *So out she went to the shops*. In fact, as we will see when we consider three-role Processes such as *He gave the books out to the children*, we should think of the MEx in examples such as (65b) as coming AFTER THE FIRST COMPLEMENT. It is the fact that there is only one Complement and no Adjunct that causes the MEx to come at the end.²⁸

But in a functional description of English, we naturally want to ask: ‘What differences in meaning do these two pairs of structures express?’ The next two sections will provide a short introductory explanation.

If your only aim is to be able to analyze syntax and you are not interested in the functions that these two pairs of structures serve, you could skip Sections 8.5 and 8.6 and go straight to Section 8.7. But if you want to understand the meanings that these structures express you should read these sections.

8.5 The difference in meaning between the M MEx C and M C MEx structures

To provide an explanation of the difference between clauses with these two configurations of elements - **M MEx C** and **M C MEx** - it will help if we start with a different example - but we will return at the end of this section to (65a) and (65b), since (65b) nicely exemplifies the final point that needs to be made. Consider first the **M MEx C** structure in (73a):

(73a) I’ll look up the deputy director’s number.

Here the Complement is *the deputy director’s number*. It is syntactically complex (in a way that will be analyzed in Chapter 15) and, in terms of its phonological length, it has nine syllables. And expressions that are formally ‘long’, like this one, are practically always also semantically ‘heavy’. In other words, they convey a considerable amount of **new information** to the Addressee. So in (73a) the Complement is clearly ‘heavier’ in terms of its ‘experiential’ meaning than is the MEx *up* - and also ‘heavier’ than the sum of *look* and *up*, which combine to express the meaning of the single Process of ‘looking up’, so that the meaning of *up* cannot be considered separately from the meaning of *look*. And because it is ‘heavier’ in terms of its ‘experiential’ meaning, it carries more information that is ‘new’ - so that in terms of its ‘informational’ meaning too it is ‘heavier’. And it is this that makes it natural to place any such Complement - other things being equal - AFTER the MEx.

28. As you can perhaps guess, it is the differences between the analyses in Figures 5.14 and 5.15 that provide the basis of the tests to identify Main Verb Extensions given in Section 9.

The reason for this, as you will see if you read the sentence aloud, is that it is the last lexical item (here *number*) that typically receives the **Tonic**. As we saw in Section 7.3 of Chapter 4, each text-sentence is spoken with one or more **intonation units**, such that the Tonic is the **syllable** on which the major pitch movement (or **Tone**) begins.²⁹ And the significance of the Tonic is that it marks the item in which it occurs as being ‘new’. Indeed, the Tonic typically marks the **WHOLE OF THE CLAUSE ELEMENT** in which it occurs as ‘new information’. In (73a) this element is the Complement, i.e. *the deputy director’s number*. So, if we read the sentence aloud, the pronunciation is likely to be as in (73b), with the Tonic on the last lexical item of the Complement, shown below as underlined. (So boldface indicates the strong (stressed) syllables, and boldface plus underlining indicates the unmarked Tonic.)

(73b) I’ll **look** up the **deputy** director’s **num**ber. [falling Tone on **num**].

The broad generalization that this example illustrates is that, when there is a semantically ‘heavy’ Complement, it is natural to place it after the **MEx**, in order to put it in the position where it is likely to receive the unmarked Tonic - and the consequence is that the MEx occurs next to the element that expresses the main part of Process, i.e. the **M**, as in (73a) - so neatly expressing the Process in two adjacent elements.

Now consider the **M C MEx** structure in the second part of B’s utterance in (74a):

(74a) A: Do you know the deputy director’s number?
 B: No; I’ll look it up.

In this case the typical pronunciation of the last clause is as shown in (74b):

(74b) I’ll **look** it **up**. [falling Tone on **up**]

So now we must ask: ‘Why does (74b) have a **M C MEx** structure?’ To find out, we will apply the same principles as those that we applied in the case of (73b). The main difference is that in (74b) the Complement is formally much shorter and semantically much lighter. In terms of its formal length, the pronoun *it* is as short as a referring expression can be, and semantically it is correspondingly fairly ‘light’ - its meaning simply being ‘singular’, ‘non-human’ and, given this basic ‘experiential’ information, ‘recoverable by the Addressee’.³⁰

It is for this reason that the part of the Process realized in the MEx - which we will call the **Process Extension** - is typically considered by the performer, as he or she plans the structure of the clause, to ‘outweigh’ the semantic weight of the Complement. The result is that the Performer presents the MEx after the Complement, and so makes it likely to receive the unmarked Tonic and consequently be

29. In our example the Tone is likely to be falling, but this is irrelevant to the present point.

30. If we were to trace the pathway of semantic features selected in the system network for ‘thing’ in both cases (as can be done using the system networks given in the *Functional Semantics Handbook*) we would find that the number of features selected in generating an expression such as *the deputy director’s number* is many times greater than the number selected to generate the item *it*.

presented as **new information**. And the implication of presenting the MEx as ‘new information’ is that THE PROCESS AS A WHOLE IS PRESENTED AS NEW INFORMATION, SINCE THE PROCESS IS INCOMPLETE UNTIL THE MEX HAS BEEN EXPRESSED.

So the broad generalization that covers both the **M MEx C** structure and the **M C MEx** structure is that there is a strong probability that whichever of the MEx or the C comes last will contain the Tonic, and so be explicitly marked as ‘new information’.³¹ Indeed, whenever a Complement is expounded by a pronoun such as *it, him, her, them, his, hers* or *theirs*, the structure is almost always **M C MEx**, and it is hardly ever **M MEx C**.³²

To summarize so far: in (73b) the Complement *the deputy director’s number* contains a considerable amount of ‘new’ information, so it is appropriate for the Performer to place it after the MEx, where it is more likely to carry the unmarked Tonic. But in (74b) the Complement *it* contains ‘recoverable’ information, and the last clause element to contain ‘new’ information is the **MEx up**. It is of course true that the MEx only expresses PART of the Process of ‘looking up’, but this is sufficient to mark the Process as a whole as ‘new’ information.^P

But what happens if the Performer considers that the ‘newness’ of the Process expressed in the phrasal verb and the ‘newness’ of the ‘thing’ expressed in the Complement are roughly equal? The explanation given so far predicts that in such cases the two structures should occur with roughly equal frequency. And at first sight a reading of examples such as (65a) and (65b) may indeed seem to support this picture - BUT ONLY SO LONG AS YOU DO NOT READ THE WRITTEN EXAMPLES ALOUD. The rest of this section discusses the slightly more complex model with which we need to replace the over-simple picture set out above.

Let us begin by adapting (73a) and (74a) in the way shown below, as the first step to discovering what modifications and extensions to the model are needed. Consider (75a) to (75c) as three possible responses to *We need to speak to the deputy director right now*.

31. I have used the words ‘strong probability’ here, because there is no guarantee in either case that the element will actually be the last element in the clause. Placing MEX BEFORE the first Complement does not necessarily ensure that the Complement itself will be the last element in the clause, because in a few cases there will be a second Complement, and in rather more cases there will be a following Adjunct (though sometimes with a separate information unit). And the same set of possibilities ensure that when a MEx is placed AFTER the first Complement it is not necessarily the last element in the clause. Finally, there is the fact that, when an element is presented as ‘contrastively new’, this overrules the generalizations expressed here, because there is no unmarked Tonic in such cases. (See Section 7 of Chapter 4 for a brief introduction to ‘contrastive newness’, and the next footnote for an example with a phrasal verb.)

32. However, if the Performer decides to present a pronoun as being in contrast with another it is **contrastively new**. And since ‘contrastive newness’ is the strongest type of ‘newness’ it ‘outweighs’ the ‘newness’ of any other element, and so may occur with either structure. Consider the following example (in which we find another sense of *look up*), which illustrates the fact that a ‘contrastive’ pronoun can occur in either position.

P: Are you going to look up your brother and your sister when you’re in London?

A: I’ll **look HER** up, but I **won’t** have **time** to **look up HIM**.

See the brief discussion later in this section of local discourse factors, which may help to explain the reasons for the two different structures used in A’s reply.

- (75a) **O K** - I'll **look** up the **num**ber.
 (75b) ??**O K** - I'll **look** the **num**ber **up**.
 (75c) **O K** - I'll **look** the **num**ber up.

These examples present two problems for the explanation summarized above. The first is that it predicts that (75b) should occur and that (75c) should not, on the assumption that when a MEx is 'final' it expresses 'newness'. But in fact (75c) - which according to the prediction should not occur at all - sounds far more likely than (75b). And the second problem is that the explanation predicts that (75a) and (75b) should occur with roughly equal frequency - whereas (75a) in fact occurs very much more frequently than either (75b) or (75c).

But perhaps, you may think, there is some special factor at work here - such as the fact that *number* has two syllables rather than one? To test this possibility, we should consider a wider range of examples.⁹ We cannot do this on a large scale here, but we can at least consider a few further cases. Let us first return to the pair of examples with which we began (these being repeated below)

- (65a) Jane put on her coat.
 (65b) Jane put her coat on.

How would you pronounce (65b)? I predict that you will think the pronunciation shown in (65c) to be extremely unlikely, and that you would almost certainly pronounce it in the manner shown in (65d).³³

- (65c) ??**Jane put** her **coat on**.
 (65d) **Jane put** her **coat** on.

This is therefore another case of the failure of the prediction that, when the MEx occurs after the Complement, it receives the Tonic and is thus marked as 'new information'. Instead, (65d) presents *her coat* as the 'new' information. And there are very many similar pairs of examples, such as *He put the **light out*** and the unlikely sounding *He put the **light out***, and *He took his **shirt off*** and the rather odd *He took his **shirt off***. In other words, it is clear that (65d) and (75c) are examples of a fairly general pattern.

So would we wish to say that the Main Verb Extension NEVER carries a sufficient weight of 'newness' to warrant its placement after the Complement? We would not, because there are also plenty of examples in which this pattern DOES occur. So the key question is: 'What does it take for a MEx to have a sufficient weight of 'newness' to warrant its placement after the Complement'? The answer is that, in these cases where the Process and the Complement have roughly equal 'newness', the structures at the level of form are determined by more than one factor - as so often in modelling language. Here I will briefly introduce the most obvious, and then I will mention, even more briefly, some other factors that seem to be relevant in at least some cases.

Consider the relative likelihood of hearing (76b) and (76c) as alternatives to (76a):

33. Example (65c) is of course to be distinguished from the equivalent one in which *on* is 'contrastively new', i.e. *Jane put her coat ON* (as opposed to taking it OFF).

- (76a) I'll **throw away** the **key**.
 (76b) I'll **throw** the **key away**.
 (76c) *?I'll **throw** the **key** away.³⁴

The reason why (76c) is very unlikely (and perhaps only possible as a slip) is that *away* is typically pronounced, in all contexts, with a strong syllable - i.e. as *away* - so that it cannot be pronounced with a weak syllable, as is required in this third pattern. In other words, the Process of which *away* is a part is one that is typically expressed in a form that has TWO STRONG SYLLABLES, i.e. *throwing away*. So (76b) has the syntax and the intonation that it has because the Performer rates the Process of 'throwing away' as semantically 'newer' than the Complement of 'the key'. Thus I'll **throw** the **key away** (76b) has the **M C MEx** pattern of syntax and the Tonic on the MEx for exactly the same reasons as *I'll look it up* (74b) has this pattern.

However, the overwhelming majority of phrasal verbs are unlike *throw away*, in that they consist simply of (a) a high-frequency monosyllabic Main Verb such as *bring, take, get, put, come* or *go* and - unlike *throw away* - (b) a high-frequency monosyllabic MEx such as *up, down, in, out, on* or *off*. In such cases the meaning of the phrasal verb that they jointly express is treated as roughly equivalent to a Complement of the 'the + simple noun' type (or another of equivalent semantic complexity).³⁵ So phrasal verbs such as *throw away* are in fact exceptions to the norm.

So we now have to ask: 'When the Process and the Complement are roughly equivalent in 'newness', what other factors come into play?'

To get the flavour of the type of complexity involved, consider again - in the specific discourse context of *We need to speak to the deputy director right now* - the response that we rated as the least likely of the three we considered, i.e. **OK** - *I'll look the **number up*** (75b). We rated it 'unlikely' rather than 'impossible', so let us now ask what the reasons might be that would lead a Performer (P) to produce it. While the two more likely versions - (75a) and (75c) - both treat 'the number' as being relatively 'newer' than the Process of 'looking up', the Performer might also reason that the only element of the clause that is not directly predictable from the context is the Process of 'looking up'. Even 'the number' is presented as being 'inferable' (which is a weak type of 'recoverability'), as the item *the* shows.³⁵ So in this specific discourse context it is reasonable to present the Process of 'looking up' as the 'newest' element, and to signal this by placing the MEx after the Complement.

The fact that we can offer this explanation for why the improbable (75b) might nonetheless occur indicates the potential influence on the developing structure of a

34. As with (65c), Example (76c) is to be distinguished from *I'll throw the **KEY** away*, in which *the key* is 'contrastively new'.

35. Despite the fact that 'the number' has not been mentioned so far in the discourse, the Performer (P) feels able to present it to the Addressee (A) as 'recoverable' because P considers that the combination of the meaning of *number* and the beliefs about the use of telephones that the P and A share are sufficient to enable A to recover the referent, in this specific discourse context - which includes the discourse up to *OK; I'll look....*

text-sentence at every point of aspects of the Performer's belief system - and particularly those beliefs that concern what the Addressee knows (or, more accurately, what the Performer believes he or she knows).

A further possible explanation might be that such unlikely patterns are the result of a minor miscalculation in planning the text-sentence. The Performer might begin, perhaps from force of habit when using a pronoun at C with a particular phrasal verb (e.g. *it* with *look up*), to generate a **M C MEx** structure, but then finds, when generating a nominal group to fill the Complement, that the Addressee needs to be given more information than was originally planned, so generating a more complex nominal group (such as the deputy director's number, or even just the number). This then attracts the Tonic, so leaving the MEx stranded without a Tonic as in *I'll **look** the number up* (75c) - so generating the third of the three possible patterns. This seems to be a reasonable explanation for why examples such as (75c) may occur, when examples such as *I'll **look** up the number* convey the same information more elegantly.

A final possible factor to mention is the Performer's and the Addressee's common knowledge of the statistical probability that a given MEx may follow a given Main Verb.³⁶ In the case of (75b), for example, only a small set of items may follow *look*, and in this particular context of discourse the only serious possibility is *up*. (*We look out* old clothes for Oxfam sale, not telephone numbers.)

Let me conclude this section by summarizing the position that we have now reached. Firstly, we have to recognize that, once we bring intonation into the picture, we must consider three patterns rather than just two (even when we leave aside cases of 'contrastive newness'). These three patterns are (a) **M MEx C**, (bi) **M C MEx** where MEx carries the Tonic, and (bii) **M C MEx** where C carries the Tonic. And all three occur in both spoken and written texts.

The basic concepts of the original attempt at a generalization hold good, but it is now necessary to reword it more precisely. The generalization is that, whenever the Performer considers the weight of the 'newness' of the unit that fills the Complement to be greater than that of the 'newness' of the phrasal verb that expounds the Main Verb and its Extension, the Performer will place the Complement after the MEx, so that it is likely to receive the unmarked Tonic. But whenever the converse is true the MEx is placed after the Complement, and it is the MEx that receives the Tonic. These generalizations hold good both for cases when the 'newness' for the Addressee of the Process and the Complement are 'in balance' and for cases when it is not. However, whenever the two are roughly in balance a third possibility may occur (perhaps because of aspects of local discourse factors such as those described above in relation to the different structure in *I'll **look** the number up*) - so generating the third of the three possible patterns described above.

Since the vast majority of phrasal verb consist of (a) a monosyllabic Main Verb

36. For example, Biber et al. (1999:413) claim that *take* occurs with seven different 'particles' in 'common phrasal verbs' and that nine are listed in *LDOCE*, while *get* occurs with six in 'common phrasal verbs' but occurs with an impressive eighteen in *LDOCE*. Their section on phrasal verbs gives just a glimpse of the knowledge of probabilities which, I would argue, is part of the 'knowledge' that every language user has of their language. In this approach, 'grammaticality' is just the limiting case of 'probability'.

such as *bring, take, get, put, come* or *go* and (b) a monosyllabic Mex such as *up, down, in, out, on* or *off*, we can standardize what is meant by ‘roughly equal newness’ for most (though not all) phrasal verbs. Roughly speaking, it is a nominal group that consists of *the* + a simple noun, or its equivalent in semantic complexity, e.g. a predictable possessive such as *her* + a simple noun (as in *Jane put on her coat*) or a simple forename such as *Fred*. And in such cases we have seen that minor planning slips and/or local discourse factors and/or the habitual association of particular phrasal verbs with particular structures may come into play. Finally, we have seen that in what might at first appear to be a similar case the semantic weight of a MEx with an inherently strong syllable such as *away* means that the MEx cannot ever occur finally as recoverable information with such Complements (unlike the much higher frequency monosyllabic MExs),

Finally, let me point out the interesting fact that the variations in structure between **M MEx C** and **M C MEx** occur in written texts as well as in spoken texts - and that the same considerations are relevant in each case. This is just one of several pieces of evidence that the Performer expects the Addressee of a written text to ‘read in’ essentially the same information about what is ‘new’ as would be available to a listener of a spoken text. This suggests in turn that the ‘silent’ reading of a written text depends crucially upon a reconstruction of the intonation with which the equivalent spoken text would be uttered.^s

8.6 The meaning of the ‘initial MEx’ structure

Now we will turn briefly to the motivation for the difference between (66a) and (66b) - which are repeated below. The explanation of this difference is quite different, and it can be stated much more briefly.

(66a) She went out to the shops. (66b) Out she went to the shops.

In the last section we considered the role of the type of prominence termed ‘newness’. But now we need to bring into the picture the very different type of prominence that is termed ‘Theme’. In an example such as (66b) the MEx *out* is said to be ‘thematized’, in a way that has some similarities to the way that a Complement is thematized in a clause such as *That book I detested*. (Most of these ‘simple’ types of THEME are summarized in Section 7 of the next chapter.)

When this structure occurs - which is relatively infrequently - it is almost always with ‘movement’ Processes of this type that occur in the ‘physical’ world. The reason is that the ‘directionality’ expressed in the MEx has a meaning that can be interpreted independently of the word that functions as the Main Verb, in the sense that the ‘directionality’ of *out* can be separated from the ‘movement’ of *went*. While the MEx can also be thematized occasionally with certain other ‘physical world’ phrasal verbs, as in *Out the light went*, this construction becomes less and less likely as the idiomaticity of the phrasal verb increases. For example, we may find natural examples of *Off the boys went*, but *Off the milk went* is extremely

unlikely.³⁷

8.7 The most frequent words at MEx

The vast majority of phrasal verbs have as their Main Verb Extension one of a short list of words, as given in Table 1:

<p>Very frequent: <i>up, down; in, out; on, off; about, (a)round, away, along; over, through;</i> <i>and back</i> -which can occur with others (as also can <i>on</i>) and also, with 'movement' Processes, <i>inside, outside</i></p> <p>Less frequent: <i>across, apart, aside, ahead; forward, behind, in front; by, together, under</i></p>

Table 1: Frequent main verb extensions (items at MEx)

If the possible MEx is one of these, there is a probability of over 95% that it is a MEx - and this probability rises to 100% if it is *out, away* or *back* (from the 'very frequent' set) or *apart, aside, ahead, forward, in front* or *together* (from the 'less frequent' set).[†]

Examples of phrasal verbs that use a MEx from the 'less frequent' list are: *come across, pull apart, stand aside, go ahead; step forward, stay behind, go in front; stand by, stick together, and go under.*

But there are a few special cases which occur with just one or two items as Main Verb, e.g. *put* in *stay put, to* in *come to, push to* and *pull to, good* in *come good, asleep* in *fall asleep, low* in *lie low, better* in *be / do / get better* and *well* in *be / do / get well..*

What about clauses such as *It's sunny*? If we analyze *it* in *It's raining* as an 'empty Subject' - as most grammarians would - it seems logical to analyze *it* in a clause such as *It's sunny* in the same way. After all, the status of the four examples of *it* as Subject seems to be the same in the four clauses in the following telephone conversation:

A: It's raining here at the moment; what's it like where you are?

B: It was wet earlier, but now it's sunny.

The advantage of the analysis used here is that it expresses the similarity of all the 'environmental' Processes, and at the same time it solves the problem of what Process type *it's sunny* is, if you analyze *sunny* as an Attribute. An Attribute has to

37. Even though we regard the Process of 'going out' in an example such as *She went out to the shops* as a single Process, it is sometimes necessary to refer to the part of the Process that is expressed in the MEx in its own right, e.g. when saying what part of the meaning it is that is being 'thematized' in *Out she went to the shops*. This semantic element is referred to as a **Process Extension (PrEx)**, and it is therefore the semantic equivalent of the syntactic element of the **Main Verb Extension (MEx)**. However, in many types of Process that are realized in the two elements of **M** and **MEx** there is no choice about where to place the **MEx**, and so no need to refer to it separately.

be an Attribute of something, and if *it* is an 'empty Subject' there is no referent of which it can be an Attribute. We therefore include here such examples as *be / get / become cold(er) / sunnier*.³⁸ Note finally that Processes of this type aren't limited to the weather, as is sometimes suggested. They can be used for other aspects of the relevant environment, as in *It's dark in here* and *Baby, it's cold outside* - hence the name for this Process type that is used here: 'environmental Processes'.³⁹

8.8 The five different classes of MEx (and so phrasal verb)

It is useful to treat the clauses with a MEx that we have met so far (and so the phrasal verbs) as falling into two classes: (1) those expressing a Process of directional **movement**, such as *go out* and *go away*, and (2) those expressing **non-movement** Processes with two PRs such as *put on* and *bring up*. The term 'movement' is used here as a short form for 'directional movement', and it is a label for the set of phrasal verbs that realize the semantic class of 'directional' Processes - i.e. Processes in which there is typically PHYSICAL MOVEMENT TO, FROM OR VIA SOME SPECIFIED LOCATION (where there may be one, two or three PRs, as we will see shortly).⁴⁰

However, there is a second major dimension of variation that is equally important. This is THE NUMBER OF PRS that the Process has associated with it.

We will combine these two ways of classifying phrasal verbs to create a small number of CLASSES of phrasal verb, and we will then use these in a small set of tests. THESE TESTS WILL ENABLE US TO IDENTIFY, WITH REASONABLE CERTAINTY, ANY INSTANCE OF A MAIN VERB EXTENSION. The task of the next few sections is therefore to illustrate the five main classes of phrasal verb. We will begin with the THREE classes of 'non-movement' phrasal verbs (Classes A, B and C) and then we will consider the TWO classes of 'movement' phrasal verbs (Classes D and E) - each of which has TWO sub-classes (Classes D1 and D2, and E1 and E2).

As I stated at the start of Section 7, most grammars of English greatly underestimate the centrality of the Main Verb Extension - and so of phrasal verbs - in the structure of the English clause. Yet they occur with great frequency in both spoken and - contrary to what you may have thought - in written texts. It is perhaps the fact that they occur most frequently of all in casual spoken texts - which is the type of text for which corpora have only relatively recently become widely available - that grammarians have tended to undervalue this central phenomenon of English.

38. Note that this involves extending the notion of an MEx beyond a single item, e.g. as in *It's more sunny today than it was yesterday*, in ways that we will explore in Chapter 14.

39. In Chapter 14 we will meet more complex examples of the MEx, in which this element is filled by a unit consisting of two or more words. Some are 'expansions' of the present MEx items, as in *right inside* and *far away*, but others are nominal groups, as in the underlined portions of *Ivy had a sleep for an hour* and *Ivan gave the stew a stir*. Compare *Ivy slept for an hour* and *Ivan stirred the stew*. As we also will see in Chapter 14, other units occur here also - though much less frequently.

40. In fact, as we will see in Sections 8.14 and 8.15, the concept of 'movement' needs to be broadened to include Processes which express the opposite concept, i.e. 'lack of movement'.

As a visually impressive way of demonstrating the importance of the MEx in English, I give in the following sections fairly full lists of phrasal verbs. These include most of the more frequent phrasal verbs - also some taboo forms whose use in polite company would shock many users of English. These lists should, in themselves, convince you of the range and frequency of phrasal verbs - and so of the need to give a central place in the syntax of the English clause to the Main Verb Extension.

However, the lists economise on space in two ways, so that they are in reality many times longer than they appear. Firstly, I have not repeated the part of the phrasal verb that is the **M** when it occurs with a two or more different **MExs**. Secondly, this is a list of **forms** rather than **meanings**. And, as we saw in Examples (69) to (72), many phrasal verbs have several meanings - in many cases over ten. So these lists, most of which are already quite long, would in fact be six or more times as long if each phrasal verb was written out in full and if each meaning of each phrasal verb was represented by a separate entry - even without stating what that meaning is. Finally, In addition to the phrasal verbs listed in the following sections, there is the large class of phrasal-prepositional verbs, e.g. *come up with*, *go out with*, *get rid of*, etc. (We will meet the concept of phrasal-prepositional verbs in Chapter 8.)^u

8.9 Class A: one-role Processes (other than ‘movement’ Processes)

The following list that includes many of the more frequent one-role phrasal verbs - but even this list is far from exhaustive.

answer back, ask around, add up, back down, / off, be about / absent / ahead / along / apart / around / asleep / away / back / behind / better / down / forward / in / in front / missing / off / on / over / out / through / together / up / well, bend over, blow up / off, boil over, black out, branch out, break in / off / through, breathe in / out, buck up, build up, bustle about, butt in, burn away, down / out / up, balance out, bear up, bow out / down, call in / back, carry on, catch on, clear away / up, climb down, cloud over, come about / across / along / apart / by / down / forward / good / off / on / over / round / to / through / up, check in / out, cheer up, close down, crop up, camp out, catch on, chip in, club together, cry off, cuddle up, curl up, cut in / out, crowd around, cover up, die away / down / out, do better / well / without, drag on, draw back, dress up, drink up, drop off / back / by / out / round, dry out / up, double back, doze off, drift apart, do well, do without. draw on, ease up, fade away / out, fall asleep / away / back / behind / down / off / out / over / through, fight back, fizzle out, fool about / around, fuck up, flare up, finish off / up, get about / ahead / along / around / away / better / by / on / off / up / in / out / together / through / well, give in / out / up, go about / ahead / away / down / forward / in / in front / off / on / out / over / round / through / together / under / without / up, grow up, glaze over, gather round, hang about / around / out, heat up, help out, hold back / on / off / out, hurry up, hit out, join in / up, kick off, knock about / off, keep ahead / away / behind / down / in front / off / on / out / together / up / well, lag behind, let up, lie in low, line up, lounge about, lash out, live apart, look away / back / down / in / on / out / round / out /

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up, leave off, make out / up, melt away, mess about, miss out, mount up, move about / around / off / on / up, meet up, nod off, open up, opt out, own up, pass away / on / out / off, pay up / off, peel off, pick up, play about / around, pull through, pop up, press on, push ahead / on / past / through, ring off, rise up, rot away, rub off, run around / down / out / over, rear up, roll up, rally round, scrape through, seize up, sell up, set in / forth / off / out, settle down / in / up, shine through, shop around, show off / through, / up, shut up, sign off / on / up, simmer down, sink in, sit about / around / back / down, slip up, slow down / up, speak up, spill over, split up, spread out, stick around / out / up / together, spread out, spring up, stand aside / back / down / around, start off / out / up, stay about / ahead / apart / around / away / back / behind / down / in / in front / on / out / over / under / up / well, step aside / back / down / in, stock up, stop by / off over, sum up, splash out, steam up, stow away, strike out, string along, switch off, tag along, tail off, take off / over, taper off, thaw out, throw up, tick over, tidy up / away, trip over / up, turn around / away / back / in / out / over / round / up, touch down / base, trip over / up, tear off / tuck in, wait about / up, wake up, walk out, warm up, wash up, waste away, wear away / down / off / out / through, watch out, wind down, work out, wrap up.

As you can see, a fairly LARGE number of forms of lexical verbs at **M** are used with quite a SMALL number of words that function as MEXs (i.e. those listed in Table 1, but without *inside* and *outside*, since these are only used with ‘movement’ verbs). Some of the most frequent words at **M** in two-role Processes with a **MEX** are listed in Table 2.

<p><i>be, break, burn, come, drop, get, give, go, hang, hold, look, keep, stay, stick, touch, wear</i></p>

Table 2:

Some of the more frequent lexical verbs in one-role ‘non-movement’ Processes

Examples: *They hang about here all day, The room’s warming up nicely.*

8.10 Class B: two-role Processes (other than ‘movement’ Processes)

We turn now to the phrasal verbs that have TWO Participant Roles. The first point to notice is that there is a much larger number of these. Again, this is a consolidated list that avoids repeating the items that occur as Main Verbs, and again it is a list of **forms** rather than **meanings**, so that it would be very much longer still if it was a list of meanings.

There are many overlaps with the previous list, but we cannot economize on space by simply saying so. Each phrasal verb - i.e. each one considered in each of its different senses - has to be considered in its own right. For example, there are two-role Processes in which ‘someone adds something in’, ‘adds something on’, or ‘adds something up’, but the only one-role phrasal verb with *add* is when ‘something adds up’ (i.e. ‘makes sense’) - i.e. there is no one-role Process of

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‘adding on’ or ‘adding in’). Here is a representative list that includes most of the more frequent two-role Processes:

add in / on / up , answer back, ask back / in / out / over / up, beat up, block up, blot out, blow up / off, board up, book in, break off / up, breathe in / out, bring up / down / in / out / on / off / about / round / over / back / forward / along, break open / up, build up, buck up, burn down / up, buy out / up, bail out, buoy up, bend over, call back / in / off / over / round / together / up, carry along / away / off / on / out / over / through, cast off / out, catch out / up, check in / out, cheer up, clean out / up, close down, cross off / out, cast aside, chase up, chat up, clear away / up / out, conjure up, cook up, count in / out, cover up, cut back / down / off / up / out, chip off deal out, dig up, do down / in / up, drag in / out / up, draw back / in / off / open / out / up, drink down / up / in, dry out / up, dream up, drive out, drum up, draw out / up, do over, eat up / away, explain away, fight off / back, fill in / up / out, find out, fix up, follow up, frighten away / off, fuck up, filter out, finish off / up, gather up, get back / down / off / on / out / over / up / together, give away / back / off / up, hammer in / home, hand in / down / on / out / over / round, have on, hear out, heat up, help out, hire out, hurry up, hold down / up / off / out, hammer out, hang out / up, hold back / down / in / off / on / out / over / up, hunt down, hush up, invite back / in / out / over / up, join up keep back / away / down / in / on / up, kick out / off / around, knock about / down / out / over / up / off, lay down / on / out / off, leave behind / out / off, let down / in / off / out, lift up, line up, live down, lap up, look out / over / up, make out / over / up, melt away / down, mess about / around / up, mix in / up, move on, miss out, muck about, nail down, note down, open out / up, order about, pack off, pass down / over / round / on, patch up, pay back / out / off, peel off, phase in / out, pick off / out / up, piece together, pin down / up, play back / down / through, plug in, point out, print out, pull apart / back / down / in / open / past / through / to / up, push about / around / back / open / over, put around / about / across / away / down / forward / off / on / out / through / together / up / in, read aloud / out, reason out, reel off, rinse out, rip off / up, rub off / out / in, rule out, rush through, rope in / off, run up / down / over, scale down, seal off, see in / off / out, seek out, sell off, send up, set apart / aside / back / down / off / out / up, shake off / out / up, shoot back (at X) / down / off, shut away / down / in / off / out / up, sign up, size up, slow down / up, smooth over, snap up, soak up, sort out, sound out, spell out, spin out, spread out, stamp out, start off / up, step up, stick down / on / out / up / in, summon up, switch on / off, screen off, shrug off, show off / up / around, split up, stow away, string along, sum up, straighten out, take apart / away / back / down / in / on / up / off / out / over, talk over / round / through, tear apart / back / down / off / open / up, tell apart / off, think over / through / up, throw away / off / on / out / up / about, tidy away / up, tie down / up, tip off / up, tire out, thaw out, tone down, top up, track down, trade in, try on / out, tune in / up, turn back / down / in / off / on / over / out / away / round / up, thrash out, tuck in, toss about, trip up, use up, wake up, warm up, warn off, wash away / down / off / out / up, wear down / out , weed out, weigh out / up, whip up, win back / over, wipe away / out / up, wind up, work out, ward off.

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As with the one-role Processes, a very wide range of forms of lexical verbs at **M** are used with quite a small set of words that function as MExs. The most frequent words at MEx are the same as the items listed in the first set in Table 1 - excluding *inside* and *outside*. But the words at **M** are different, and some of the more frequent ones are listed in Table 3.

bring, buy, call, carry, cut, do, draw, fill, get, give, hand, hold, keep, lay, leave, make, pass, pull, push, put, set, shut, take, tear, throw, turn, wash

Table 3:

Some of the more frequent lexical verbs in two-role ‘non-movement’ Processes

8.11 Class C: three-role Processes (other than ‘movement’ Processes)

In contrast with the large sets of phrasal verbs that can occur with one or two PRs, there is only a small set of phrasal verbs that can occur with THREE roles. Typically they carry the meaning of ‘someone causing someone to have something’, but a few mean ‘someone causing someone not to have something’. Examples of both types are given in Table 4:

give in / out / away / back,
hire out, rent out,
sell off (something to someone).
take in, buy in (something from someone).

Table 4: Some lexical verbs in two- and three-role ‘non-movement’ Processes

These phrasal verbs behave just like the two-role ‘non-movement’ Processes, in that the three alternative constructions are as in (76a) and (77b):

(76a) Ike gave out the balloons to the children.

(77b) Ike gave the balloons out to the children.⁴¹

These examples illustrate clearly the fact that THE MEX COMES AFTER THE FIRST COMPLEMENT - and so not necessarily at the end of the clause, as is sometimes suggested. This is why some of the tests to be presented in the next section refer to ‘the First Complement’ rather than simply to ‘the Complement’.

However, like the three-role ‘movement’ Processes to which we will come shortly, these Processes can also occur with just two overt roles, as in (76c) and

41. *Ike gave the children out the balloons* sounds very improbable, and *Ike gave them out the balloons* sounds only a little less so. But the tests for *out* still work.

(76d):

(76c) Ike gave out the balloons.

(76d) Ike gave the balloons out.

In such cases the ‘recipient’ is not expressed, and the emphasis of the meaning is sometimes less on causing someone to possess something than on coming not to possess something, e.g. *He gave away all his small change* and *He sold off his shares in ICI*.

That concludes the presentation of the ‘non-movement’ phrasal verbs. We will now turn to the ‘movement’ phrasal verbs. This is a smaller set that is highly specialized in their semantic content - but many of them are used very frequently, and they present a particular set of problems to the text analyst. Again, there is an overlap between the forms of some of these and the forms of other classes, e.g. *bring up* (as noted in Section 8.3).

8.12 ‘Movement’ Processes with a MEx: four general notes

The following notes apply to the one-role, two-role and three-role ‘movement’ Processes.

1. While we will continue to use the term **phrasal verb**, it is not really suitable for most of the ‘movement’ Processes. This is because the majority of them belong to quite large semantic classes of lexical verb such as the class that contains *walk, run, trot, dash* etc (i.e. the words that expound the M), such that they typically co-occur with the same large set of main verb extensions (i.e. the words at MEx). In other words, the phenomena that we will be considering in the next few sections are not so much ‘phrasal verbs’ as **phrasal verb classes**. This fact enables me to produce the relatively short-looking lists given below (in contrast with the long lists given for the classes of phrasal verbs in previous sections). However, the patterns of syntax for each phrasal verb class are exactly the same as they would be if we treated each as a single phrasal verb - so, from the viewpoint of the syntax analyst, EACH MEMBER OF ANY THESE SEMANTIC CLASSES OF VERB BEHAVES EXACTLY AS IF IT WAS A SINGLE PHRASAL VERB.
2. We have assumed here that the MEx in a ‘movement’ Process is filled by a single word. This is by far the most frequent pattern, and that generalization is over 95% reliable for most texts. However, many MExs can in fact also be filled by A UNIT WITH MORE THAN ONE ELEMENT, and so by more than one word. One type that is frequent with ‘movement’ Processes is essentially an ‘expansion’ of one of the standard items, as in the underlined portions of *He climbed right inside*, *He drove straight in* and *He sailed far away to a distant land*.
3. As we will see in Section 8.16, the word *back* can be added to very many of the phrasal verbs listed above, giving A CLAUSE WITH TWO MEXs. Very occasionally you may find an example with three MEXs, e.g. *his way back out* in *He made his way back out into the forest*. (See Section 8.16 for more on *back* and the

similar use of *on* with ‘movement’ Processes, and Chapter 14 for words such as *running* as a MEx.)

4. Essentially, there are just TWO phrasal verb classes that express movement: those that occur with ONE OR TWO PRS - i.e with or without the ‘location’ from which or via which or to which the movement occurs - and those that occur with TWO OR THREE PRS - again, with or without a ‘location’.

8.13 The problem of analyzing a ‘movement’ Process with one overt PR: is it a ‘one-role Process’ or a ‘two-role Process with a covert PR’?

Before we consider the other important facts that will help in recognizing a MEx in a ‘movement’ Process, we should note an interesting fact about (66a) and (66b), which are repeated below for convenience:

(66a) She went out to the shops. (66b) Out she went to the shops.

This is the fact that examples like these - BUT WITHOUT A COMPLEMENT, as in (78a) and (78b) below - are more frequent than examples in which there is a Complement, such as (66a) and (66b).⁴²

(77a) She went out. (77b) Out she went.

The question is: ‘In (77a) and (77b), is there a covert second PR?’ Here we take the position that in most examples of this sort there is not. In examples such as these the emphasis is on the Process of ‘going out’ - perhaps to get some fresh air - rather than ‘going to or from somewhere’. In other words, THE WORD *out* GIVES A SLIGHT BUT SUFFICIENT INDICATION OF ‘DIRECTIONALITY’.^v As a further typical example, consider the second clause of B’s reply in the following exchange:

(78) A: Can I speak to Ivy, please?
 B: I’m afraid not - she’s gone away for the weekend.

Here, B is not presenting the answer to the question of where Ivy has gone as ‘recoverable’ - it is simply not part of B’s message at all. The word *away* gives the necessary indication of the ‘directionality’. Notice that some phrasal verbs of this type are particularly frequent with this construction, including *Go away!* and, in reply to a knock on the door, *Come in*. There is also a quartet of deliberately offensive high frequency alternatives to *Go away*, which use a taboo word as the Main Verb, i.e. *Bugger off!*, *Fuck off!*, *Piss off!* and *Sod off!*

In this handbook, therefore, we will treat all these types of examples as one-role Processes, rather than as two-role Processes with a covert location.

The practical implications for the text analyst of this decision is that it makes the task of analyzing the syntax much easier. This is because in almost all cases where a clause has (a) a ‘movement’ Process expressed in **M + MEx** and (b) no obvious Complement, it is simply a one-role Process.^w

42. If there is only one PR, the likelihood of having an Adjunct increases - just as we saw in Section 7 of Chapter 3. So clauses such as (78a) and (78b) are more likely to occur with an Adjunct than clauses such as (66a) and (66b), e.g. as *She went out for half an hour* and *Out she went for half an hour*.

8.14 Classes D1 and D2: one- and two-role ‘movement’ Processes (the *go off* type)

The most frequent class of ‘movement’ Processes that are realized in phrasal verbs is the class that can be used to express the meaning of MOVEMENT TO, FROM OR VIA A LOCATION. We will refer to these as the *go off* class, and they typically occur in clauses such as Example (79a) and, though a little less frequently, the type exemplified in (66a)

(79a) She went out. (66a) She went out to the shops.

In other words, while this type of phrasal verb CAN be used with an explicit location, they are used much more in clauses in which there is NO LOCATION - not even a **covert** one, as I argued in the last section. Most - but not all - of the phrasal verb forms listed below can be used in EITHER a one-role Process (**Class D1**) OR a two-role Process (**Class D2**). However, we will find that there are some that only occur as **Class D1**, such as *slow down /up* and in some usages the taboo expressions *fuck off and sod off* (but probably not *bugger off* or *piss off*).

In the previous tables listing the forms of phrasal verbs I was often able to ‘consolidate’ the lists by combining many **MExs** with one **M**. In the case of many types of ‘movement’ verb we can extend the principle - and so make very much more compact tables - BY COMBINING MANY **Ms** WITH MANY **MExs**. In this tables some of the items that expound the Main Verb have a minimal experiential meaning, e.g. *go, come, move* and *get*. But precisely the same set of main verb extensions also occur with a great many of the large set of lexical verb which incorporate a further specification of the ‘manner of movement’, as shown in Table 5. In these cases, then, we are not simply dealing with single **lexical verbs**, but with **lexical verb classes**.

<p><i>go / come / move / get / walk / run / drive / ride / sail / fly / climb / slide / roll / dash / sprint / gallop / canter / trot / wander / step / stroll / slip / pop / toddle / nip / crawl / turn / back (of a vehicle or horse, etc.) / reverse (of a vehicle), etc.</i></p> <p>+</p> <p><i>across / along / away / back / down / home / in / inside / off / on / out / outside / over / round / up</i></p> <p>and, less frequently, <i>aboard / abroad / ahead / alongside / apart / ashore / aside / backward(s) / behind / by / downward(s) / forward(s) / in front / overboard / past / sideways / together / upward(s)</i></p>

Table 5: Some lexical verbs in one- and two-role ‘movement’ Processes that occur freely with a Main Verb Extension

However, while most of the lexical verbs and main verb extensions listed above can, if only rarely, occur together as phrasal verbs, there is a considerable variation

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in the **probability** that they will occur together. For example *run outside*, as in *He ran outside*, is more likely to occur as a phrasal verb than *canter outside* - for the obvious reason that horses do not normally move at the speed of a canter into and out of buildings.^x

However, there are also quite a few lexical verbs expressing ‘movement’ that have severe limitations on what may occur at the MEx - e.g. the following which are limited to between one and four such items:

break in / out / away, bugger off, clear off, draw back / in, make off, piss off, press ahead / on, push ahead / on, run around / down / off / out, set forth / off / out, start off / out, take off, etc.

Table 6: Some lexical verbs in one- and two-role ‘movement’ Processes that are restricted as to their Main Verb Extension

The phrasal verbs that express ‘body movement’ - and so also in some cases ‘position as a result of body movement’ - have similar limitations. However, in the case of this sub-class of verbs the limitations follow naturally from the body position itself, as Table 7 shows. Most of these typically occur in a **Class D1** structure, but some also seem capable of accepting a ‘location’ and so occurring as a **Class D2** structure, as in *She sat down in the armchair*.

sit about / around / back / down / forward / up / still,
stand about / around / back / forward / up / still,
lie about / around / back / down / still,
lean back / down / forward / over,
bend down / forward / over,
kneel back / down / forward,
squat about / down,
crouch down.

look / glance / stare etc.
 +
about / (a)round / back / down / forward / in / over / out / up

Table 7: Some lexical verbs that express body and eye movement

Notice that the word *still* can occur as a MEx when its meaning is ‘lack of body movement’. As the list shows, it occurs quite frequently at MEx with *sit*, *stand* and *lie*, but it would be odd with the others.

There is a similar phrasal verb class that expresses ‘direction of eye movement’, as in *She looked round*, and Table 6 illustrates these too.

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As well as the many Processes which can be used with one or two roles, there are also **movement Processes** that occur EXCLUSIVELY OR PREDOMINANTLY WITH ONE ROLE. The following occur only rarely, if at all, with an PR that overtly specifies the direction:

break in / out / away,
fuck off, sod off (but not bugger off),
get about / ahead / along / in / on / out / up,
run around,
slow down / up, etc.

Table 8: Some lexical verbs that hardly ever occur with an overt PR of ‘direction’

Finally, there is a similar class of verbs where the meaning is not ‘movement’ but ‘lack of movement’, as Table 3 shows.⁴³ The most frequent verb of this type that expounds **M** is *stay*; two examples are *He stayed behind (in Britain)*, *He stayed out (on the streets)* and *The ball stayed put for a few seconds, then toppled off*.

stay + away / back / up / down / in / inside / out / outside and
stay put
stop + in / inside / off / out / outside
and, most importantly of all,
be + away / back / up / down / home / in / inside / out / outside.

Table 9:
Some one- and two-role Processes that express ‘lack of movement’

To summarize this section, we can say that:

Class D1 phrasal verbs are typically one-role ‘movement’ Processes (of the *go off* type)

e.g. *She drove off (in a cloud of dust)* and *She sat down*, and

Class D2 phrasal verbs are typically two-role ‘movement’ Processes of the *go off* type

e.g. *She drove off to Manchester* and *She sat down on the floor*.

But similar verbs expressing ‘lack of movement’ also occur.

43. While the ‘movement’ Processes that we have been considering so far all typically occur in clauses that are ‘directional’ in terms of their Participant Roles, the ‘lack of movement’ verbs that we are considering here occur in ‘locational’ clauses - precisely because they do not involve ‘directional movement’. They therefore have different PRs, as we will see in Chapter 2 of *The Functional Semantics Handbook*.

8.15 Classes E1 and E2: two- and three-role ‘movement’ Processes (the *send off* type)

The most frequent type of three-role ‘movement’ Process is a three-role equivalent of the two-role Processes of ‘movement’ found in the previous list. Here the meaning is CAUSING MOVEMENT TO, FROM OR VIA A LOCATION, and we will refer to them as the *send off* class. They typically occur in clauses such as Examples (80a) and (80b):

(80a) She sent him out. (80b) She sent him out to the shops.

Example (80a) exemplifies **Class E1**, and here we take the position that no location is specified in this clause - not even covertly. The reasons are precisely the same as those given earlier in justifying this approach to Class D1 (e.g. *She went out*). Example (80b) therefore illustrates **Class E2**, i.e. the equivalent of Class E1 but with three PRs (i.e. a Process in which someone causes someone or something to go somewhere).

We saw in the last section that most of the Class D1 verbs are also Class D2 verbs. In a similar way, the phrasal verbs listed below belong in both Class E1 and E2 (but in this case it is all, not most of them). Table 10 provides an illustrative list, and (81) and (82) give two examples.

send / bring / take / get / carry, etc.
walk / run / drive / ride / sail / fly / gallop / canter / trot / back (of a vehicle) / reverse (of a vehicle), etc. / pop / press / push / pull / roll / slide / slip / etc.
 +
across / along / away / back / down / home / in / inside / off / on / out / outside / over / round / up
 and, less frequently, *aboard / abroad / ahead / alongside / apart / aside / backward(s) / behind / by / downward(s) / forward(s) / in front / past / sideways / together / upward(s)*

Table 10: Some typical two- and three-role ‘movement’ Processes

- (81) He rode his new horse off into the sunset.
 (82) I’ll just pop it back in the oven for ten minutes.

However, there is also a similar set of Processes which express a more restricted type of movement - and which therefore occur with a more limited range of MExs, as exemplified in Table 11.

put / deposit / place / position / set / press / push / pull / sit / lay / lodge etc.
 +
 some or all of *across / along / away / off / back / down / out / over / up*

when the first of them is *back* or, very occasionally, *on*.⁴⁴

That concludes this survey of the various classes of phrasal verb - and of phrasal verb classes - that typically occur with a one-word **Main Verb Extension**. In the next section I will present a full battery of tests that should virtually always enable you to determine whether or not a one-word MEx actually is a MEx.

9 The tests for a Main Verb Extension (MEx)

TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF READER should use this section in two different ways.

If you have just read Section 8 for the first time, this section will show you how to apply the ideas introduced there in text analysis. You should now **go to Section 9.1**.

If you are consulting this section in the middle of analyzing a text - perhaps because the *Guidelines* from which you are working have directed you here - you should **read the rest of this note**.

The tests given in this section are primarily designed to enable you to deal with ambiguous words that appear in the one-word MExs listed below in the **MEx Word Form Test** (and also for units that expand them, such as *far away* and *right out*) - i.e. over 95% of MExs. But when the possible MEx is filled by a nominal group (or any other unit), it is virtually certain to be a MEx - so you don't need any tests beyond the Process and PR Test.

If you have been applying the *Guidelines*, you have probably already covered the tests introduced in the first three sections of what follows, so you can **now skip directly to Section 9.4**.

9.1 An overview of testing for a Main Verb Extension (MEx)

Note: a shortened version of this set of tests for MExs is included in Guidelines 3 in Section 11.

Since Main Verb Extensions occur very frequently in most types of text, it is important to have an effective set of tests to help us to identify this central element of English syntax. For **many TWO-ROLE Processes** there is quite a strong

44. Very occasionally indeed, there may be **THREE** MExs in a single clause, as in an example such as *He made his way back out into the yard*. We will meet examples such as *make his/her/their/one's way* in Chapter 14, along with other examples of MExs that are filled by another syntactic unit, often with two or more words.

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possibility that the item that you may at first think is a MEx is NOT a MEx at all, but part of a ‘prepositional verb’ or a ‘phrasal-prepositional verb’ - two other types of ‘multi-word verb’ that we will meet in Chapters 8 and 14.

The following tests will identify a one-word MEx in over 99% of cases. There are TWO STAGES:

First: establish whether there really are two (or more) words that express the Process. For this, use the slightly extended version of the **Process and PR Test** given below.

Next: establish whether or not one (or more) of the words expressing the Process is a MEx.⁴⁵ For this, use **MEx Test 1**.

These two stages will give you a decision with a probability of being correct of 90% or more. There are two further tests that will increase this probability to 99%. The type of MEx structure you think you have found will tell you which to use.

If you think the structure is **M MEx C** or **M C MEx** (Classes B, C and E, i.e. the *turn out*, *give out* and *sent off* types) use **MEx Test 2**.⁴⁶

If you think the structure is **M MEx** with a **movement** Process (and very occasionally **MEx ... M**) (Class D, the *go off* type) use **MEx Test 3**.⁴⁷

But if you think the structure is **M MEx** with a **non-movement** Process (Class A, the *die out* type) no further tests are possible and you must rely on the combination of the **Process and PR Test** and **MEx Test 1**.

There is also a final test, **MEx Test 4**, which can be used in cases of doubt where there are two or more PRs to confirm your decision.

The first step is therefore to apply a slightly extended version of the standard test for the Process and Participant Roles that we used in *Guidelines 1* and *2* in Chapters 3 and 4, as set out below.

Preparation

However, there is preparatory work to do - as always - before you can apply the tests. First, you must first express the clause as a **positive information-giver** (unless it is one already) - either in your mind or on a spare piece of paper. So, for example, you would change *Did Ivy turn out the light?* to *Ivy turned out the light*.

Second, any ‘passive’ clause must be re-expressed as an ‘active’ clause, e.g.

45. As we noted in Section 8.16, a Main Verb sometimes has two Main Verb Extensions - especially if the first is *back*. It may even have three in exceptional cases, as described in Chapter 14.

46. Interestingly, the two *send off* types of ‘movement’ Process (i.e. Types E1 and E2, with two or three PRs) are covered by MEx Test 2, so that the special test for ‘movement’ processes that MEx Test 3 provides is only needed for Classes D1 and D2, i.e. the two *go off* classes.

47. Remember that ‘movement’ phrasal verbs refer to ‘physical movement to, via or from a location’, such as ‘going off’ and ‘sending off’. So it is not the case that ANY Process that happens to involve physical movement, such as ‘hitting’ or ‘stroking’, is a ‘movement’ Process.

The light was turned out by Ivy must be re-expressed as *Ivy turned out the light*. (The terms ‘active’ and ‘passive’ are introduced and explained in Section 3 of the next chapter.)

9.2 The Process and PR Test (revised)

Assuming that **xxx** stands for **M**, **yy** for **MEx**, and that **someone/thing/where** stands for each possible PR, try saying:

**In this Process of xxx-ing (yy), we expect to find
someone or something
xxx-ing (yy)
(someone or something)
(to or from) someone or something or somewhere).**

If the result of the test makes sense, **xxx** is **M**,
and there is a STRONG POSSIBILITY that **yy** IS a **MEx**.

Example: to test *She went out to the shops* (66a),
try saying: ‘In this Process of going out, we expect to find
someone going out somewhere.’
This makes sense, so *out* is probably a MEx.

HOWEVER - *out* could still - in principle - be another element (or part of another element as in *She went out of the house*), so you may now want to confirm your decision by applying the specific MEx tests.⁴⁸

9.3 MEx Test 1: The MEx Word Form Test

This is an extremely simple test. Just ask:

Is the possible MEx in the following list of frequent MExs?

<p>Very frequent: <i>up, down; in, out; on, off; about, (a)round, away, along; over, through;</i> and <i>back</i> -which can occur with others (as also can <i>on</i>) and also, with ‘movement’ Processes, <i>inside, outside</i></p> <p>Less frequent: <i>across, apart, aside, ahead; forward, behind, in front; by, together, under</i></p>

Table 1: Frequent main verb extensions (items at MEx)

If **Yes**, there is a probability of over 95% that it is a **MEx**.

This probability rises to 100% if the word is

BOTH (a) *out, away* or *back* (from the ‘very frequent’ list) or *apart, aside, ahead, forward, in front* or *together* (from the ‘less frequent’ set),

48. In this case the words *out of* constitute a two-word preposition; see Chapter 8.

AND (b) NOT followed by *of, from* or *with*).

If **No**, it may still be a **MEx**, because there are many other items that also occur occasionally as a MEx - e.g. *stay put, come to, fall asleep*, and *be / do / get better / well, go ashore*.

For **one-role non-movement Processes**: **END OF TESTS.**

9.4 What to do next

The problem is that practically every one of items in Table 1 can also be used as a **preposition**. Most can function as a preposition on their own, as in the case of *up, down, in, on, off; about, (a)round, away, along, over, through, inside, outside, across, behind, by* and *under*. But they can all (except *back*) also occur as one of the words in a ‘multi-word’ preposition, by the addition of *of, from* or *with*, i.e. *out of, away from, apart from, aside from, ahead of, in front of, together with*.

At this stage of the book, however, we do not need to show where any such preposition belongs in the syntactic analysis - because a preposition is never an element of the clause.⁴⁹ So the tests for the MEx that follow will simply show that these words are NOT MExs.

9.5 MEx Test 2

The test begins with a ‘Structure Check’, and then, depending on the result and after a final step of ‘preparation’, you apply either MEx Test 2a or MEx Test 2b.

The Structure Check

If you think the structure of the clause is probably **M MEx C**,
go to **MEx Test 2a**.

If you think the structure of the clause is probably **M C MEx**,
go to **MEx Test 2b**.^z

Preparation (for both Test 2a and 2b)

For the tests to work, the **first Complement** must not be too ‘heavy’.

ASK: Does the first Complement have the form *the* + simple noun?
(e.g. *the boy*)⁵⁰

If **Yes**, the clause is ready for the test.

If **No**, change the clause so that it **DOES** have the form ***the* + simple noun**.

49. In Chapter 8 I will explain how to identify such words when they function as a preposition in a **prepositional group** - a unit that quite often fills an element of the clause (usually a Complement or Adjunct) but which also often occurs within other units. Having a reliable method of identifying these items when they function as MExs means that much of the work has already been done.

50. The reason why this question refers to ‘the first Complement’ is to enable the test to cover 3-role Processes (with two Complements) as well as the more frequent 2-role type.

Example:

Re-express *I will look up the deputy director's phone number*
as *I will look up the number.*

MEx Test 2a: for a possible M C MEx structure

Re-express the clause as the **M C MEx** type, e.g.

Re-express *She cut up the cloth* as *She cut the cloth up,*

Re-express *He gave away his copy to Ian* as *He gave his copy away to Ian.*

Does the result sound natural?

If **Yes**, the element is a **MEx**.

END OF TESTS.

If **No**, it is **part of the Complement**.

If you wish, you can use **MEx Test 4** to confirm this.

MEx Test 2b: for a possible M C MEx structure

Re-express the clause as the **M MEx C** type, e.g.

Re-express *She cut the cloth up* as *She cut up the cloth*

Re-express *His mother ran the curtains up* as *His mother ran up the curtains,*

Re-express *He gave his copy away to Ian* as *He gave away his copy to Ian.*

Does the result sound fairly natural?

If **Yes**, the element is a **MEx**.

END OF TESTS.

If **No**, it is **probably part of the 2nd C**.

If you wish, you can use **MEx Test 4** to confirm this.

HOWEVER, even if the answer is **No**, the word that you are testing may just possibly still be a MEx. This is because there is a set of about fifty phrasal verbs that show a very strong **preference for the M C MEx structure, even when the Complement is semantically 'heavy'**. Some of the more frequent ones include:

answer someone back, ask someone in, book someone in, bring someone round (in the sense of 'persuade'), catch someone out, count someone in, drag someone down, get something away, hear someone out, invite someone in / out / over / back, knock someone about, look something over, mess someone about, move something about, muck someone about, order someone about, play something through, pull something (e.g. the door) to, push someone about / around, push something (e.g. the door) to, send someone ahead / away / up / packing, shut someone up, sit someone down but not up), stand someone/thing up, string someone along, talk someone round, tear someone/thing apart, tell someone (e.g. two brothers) apart, tip someone off, turf someone/thing out.

When you apply MEx Test 2 to any of the above phrasal verbs, they may appear to fail it.

Example:

Re-express *He orders the children about* as *He orders about the children*.

Everyone would agree that the re-expressed version sounds very odd - but is it actually ungrammatical? I would not want to go that far. The reason is that, if we make the Complement sufficiently 'heavy', the **M MEx C** structure becomes very much more acceptable, as in:

He orders about everyone who comes into his orbit.

If you think that you may be dealing with an example of this type, you can test for the MEx by making the Complement 'heavy', as in the example above.

In practice, such examples are unlikely to cause problems, because it is usually completely clear that the two words form a phrasal verb. Firstly - and from the viewpoint of the tests - they pass both the general Process Test and MEx Test 1 (i.e. *about* is in the list of typical MEx items in Table 1). But even more significant is the fact that, since the possible MEx comes after the Complement, it cannot be part of it (i.e. a preposition) and must therefore be a MEx.

WARNING Do not confuse the above type with examples such as *He cried his eyes out* and *She laughed her head off*. In such cases *his eyes* and *her head* are also MExs, because the meanings are roughly equivalent to *He cried a lot* and *She laughed a lot* - so that these are one-role Processes **WITH TWO MEXS** (with the first being filled by a nominal group). Note that in these cases there is no question of *his eyes* and *her head* occurring after *out* and *off*; they are fixed idioms. See Chapter 14 for further examples in which a **group** fills a MEx.

9.6 Four Examples using MEx Tests 2a and 2b

- 1 Consider *I will look up the number*.

It probably has the structure **S O M MEx C**.

This includes **M MEx C**, so it must be tested by **MEx Test 2a**.

So we re-express it as *I will look the number up*, i.e. as **S O M C MEx**.

This sounds natural, so *up* is a MEx.

Notice that the clause would NOT have passed the test if it had been *I will look at the number*. (Why not try it?) As we will see in Chapter 7, the word *at* must be included in the Complement, **EVEN THOUGH IT EXPRESSES PART OF THE PROCESS**, because 'looking up' is a 'prepositional verb' - not a 'phrasal verb'.

- 2 Consider *We will set aside that particular problem for now*.

It probably has the structure **S O M MEx C A**.

This includes **M MEx C**, so it too must be tested by **MEx Test 2a**.

But first, because the first **C** is 'heavier' than **the + noun** (i.e. *that particular problem*) we must re-express it in that form, i.e. as *We will set aside the problem for now*.

Next, we use **MEx Test 2a** to re-express it as

We will set the problem aside for now.

This sounds natural, so *aside* is a MEx.

- 3 Consider *They threw the proposal out*.
It probably has the structure **S M C MEx**.
This includes **M C MEx**, so it must be tested by **MEx Test 2b**.
So we re-express it as *They threw out the proposal*, i.e. as **S M MEx C**.
This sounds natural, so *out* is a MEx.
- 4 Consider *He sent out the letter to us all*.
It probably has the structure **S M MEx C C**.
This includes **M MEx C**, so it must be tested by **MEx Test 2a**.
So we re-express it as *He sent the letter out to us all*, i.e. as **S M C MEx C**.
This sounds natural, so *out* is a MEx.^{aa}

9.7 MEx Test 3: the Test for *go off* 'movement' Processes (1-PR or 2-PR)

Note: the two *send off* types of 'movement' Process have already been covered by MEx Test 2.

- 1 **Replace the possible MEx by *away***.
(This is because it is the most 'thematisable' of the main verb extensions).
e.g. Re-express *She drove up (to Scotland) as She drove away (to Scotland)*.
- 2 **Re-express the clause** so that
 - (a) *away* is **thematized** (i.e. comes first) and
 - (b) the clause expresses a **simple 'past' event**.
- 3 **Does the result sound fairly natural?**
If **Yes**, the element is a **MEx**, e.g. *Away she drove (to Scotland)*.
If **No**, it is **part of the C**.
e.g. Re-express *The mouse ran up the curtains as The mouse ran the curtains up*. This sounds odd - unless the mouse can sew - so *up* is clearly part of the Complement.
If you wish, you can use **MEx Test 4** to confirm this.

9.8 MEx Test 4: the Thematized Complement Test

In cases when you now think a word is NOT a MEx - but when you first thought that it might be one - you can confirm your decision by using this test.

- 1 **Thematize the possible C** (i.e. place it first in the clause).
- 2 **Is the result a possible utterance?**
(Note that it can be 'a possible utterance' without being likely to occur.)
If **Yes**, the element being tested is **part of the C. END OF TESTS**.
e.g. *Up the curtains the mouse ran.*
Up the pole he ran the flag.
In the basket he placed the eggs.
If **No**, it is a **MEx**, despite you earlier decision that it was not,
e.g. **Up the curtains his mother ran.*

Note: If you have applied MEx Test 2 properly, you should never obtain the answer 'No' in MEx Test 4. **END OF TESTS.**

9.9 Three examples using MEx Tests 3 and 4

1. Using **MEx Test 3** for a probable one-role Process of the *go off* type:
re-express *He went off in a temper* as *He went away in a temper*,
and then as *Away he went in a temper*.
This sounds fairly natural, so *off* is a MEx.
2. Using **MEx Test 3** for a probable two-role Process of the *go off* type:
re-express *She drove down to the shops* as *She drove away to the shops*,
and then as *Away she drove to the shops*.
This sounds fairly natural, so *down* is a MEx (in a two-role Process of the *go off* type).
3. Using **MEx Test 3** for a suspected two-role Process of the *go off* type:
re-express *He drove out of the city* as *He drove away of the city*.
This is unacceptable. If you wish, you can now use **MEx Test 4** to find out whether all of *out of the city* is the Complement.
Re-express *He drove out of the city* as *Out of the city he drove*.
This sounds fairly natural, so *out of the city* is a Complement, and there is no MEx.

9.10 Problems to watch out for

1. Problems sometimes arise with apparently simple clauses such as *He walked in*. If *He walked into the room* is **S M C** (as it is), then you might ask: 'Isn't *He walked in* a clause with part of its Complement left unspecified?' Isn't the place to which he is going a covert role? It is often difficult to decide in such cases, if you depend simply on a guess as to what the Performer intended. Here I will suggest that it is both safer and simpler to treat all such examples as cases in which there is NOT a covert role - if only because it is impossible to tell whether the possible missing role is a Destination (the place where he is going) or a Source (the place that he is leaving). In other words, we do not know whether a fuller version of *He walked in* would have been *He walked into the room* or *He walked in from the street*. We will therefore say that, in *He walked in*, the Process of 'going in' sufficiently specifies the direction for the communicative purposes of the Performer. The structure is simply **S M MEx**.
2. A similar problem arises in cases such as the underlined clause in *He got on the train at Paddington and he got off at Reading*. The apparent parallelism between 'getting on the train at X' and 'getting off (the train) at Y' might suggest that we should consider treating the word *off* as part of the following Complement, with the words 'the train' left unexpressed. (If this was the correct analysis, it would be case of **ellipsis**, a phenomenon which is introduced in Chapter 19). But now consider how you would analyze the clause if it had been *He got into the train at Paddington and he got out at Reading*. One indication that the Performer may well NOT be expressing more than the general direction of 'out from the starting point' in saying *he got out at Reading* is that THE WORD *out* CANNOT FUNCTION AS A PREPOSITION. (If it is to do so, it must be supplemented by *of* to make *out of*.) In contrast, both *on* and *off* can be either a MEx or a preposition. Quite often it is such small details of form that suggest - as here - the larger patterns of meaning. When you are analyzing such examples in a text,

you will have to decide the difficult cases on the evidence of (a) the context and also (b) the paradigmatically related forms and meanings. In the present case, the guidance offered here is: If the item passes the MEx tests, analyze it as MEx - and so avoid ascribing elements to the clause that may not have been intended by the Performer. Finally, note that both *He got out at Reading* and *He got off at Reading* pass the relevant MEx test.^{bb}

9.11 What to do if your example fails its MEx Test

1. Does the clause contain a relatively ‘fixed-order’ idiomatic phrasal verb?

There is a set of about fifty phrasal verbs which NEARLY ALWAYS follow the pattern **S M C MEx** - but which can accept the **S M MEx C** pattern WHEN THE COMPLEMENT IS SUFFICIENTLY SEMANTICALLY WEIGHTY (and so long). These therefore fail MEx Test 2b (in Section 9.5), so presenting a problem. An example is the extreme oddness of (1b), in comparison with the naturalness of (1c).

- (1a) Ivy invited Fred over.
- (1b) ???Ivy invited over Fred.
- (1c) Ivy invited over all of the people who were at Fiona’s party.

The problem of such exceptions is in fact dealt with at the end of MEx Test 2b, where the more frequent phrasal verbs of this type are listed. In practice, however, this type of example doesn’t usually present a problem, for the reasons given in that section.

2. Is the clause one with a nominal group at MEx?

We have met the examples *He cried his eyes out* and *She laughed her head off* in Section 9.5, and we will meet others such as *a bath* in *He had a bath* in Chapter 14.

3. Are you simply mistaken in thinking the clause has an MEx?

Consider Example (2):

- (2) Ivy looked at the photos.

We can certainly say of (2): ‘This clause expresses a Process of someone looking at something’. This establishes that the Process is expressed in *looking at* - but IT DOES NOT ESTABLISH THAT THE WORD *at* IS A MEX. Why not? There are two reasons:

1. It is not on the list of frequent MEx items, as given in MEx Test 1 (the MEx Word Form Test).
2. If it was a MEx we would be able to re-express the clause as *Ivy looked the photos at* (using MEx Test 2a) - but we can’t.

So in (2) the item *at* must be analyzed as a part of the Complement, and MEx Test 4 demonstrates this fact. *At the photos Ivy looked* is odd, but not

impossible. In Chapter 7 we will come to the question of just what part of the Complement the item is.

Lesson to learn Trust a judgement based on the results of the combination of the Process Test and MEx Tests 1 and 2.

4. Is it a one-role Processes (but not a ‘movement’ Process)?

If so, it is like (3), and such examples should have been identified by the main **Process Test** (‘This clause expresses a Process of giving up.’) and corroborated by **MEx Test 1** (the **MEx Word Form Test**).

(3) Ivy never gives up.

Lesson to learn This example should never have reached the stage of being submitted to any MEx tests after MEx Test 1. With one-role ‘non-movement’ Processes you must simply trust the combination of the Process Test and MEx Test 1 (the MEx Word Form Test). Since the possible MEx is in the ‘frequent MEx’ list, it is over 95% certain to be a MEx. This is good enough - especially since there is nothing else that *up* could be in this example.

9 Analysis task 4

Analyze the following examples, which give practice in identifying MExs. When doing syntax analyses such as these, always draw tree diagrams rather than using the linear notation, because this avoids the use of brackets and gives a better visual representation of the structure. XXX ADD NOT TO ANALYSE ENDERS AND MODIFY SOLUTIONS

You are advised to apply the tests given above systematically, even if you think you know the answer to a particular question, in order to gain practice in using them.

1. Put your tongue out, please.
2. Ike plugged in the television.
3. He switched it on.
4. He fell asleep at about nine.
5. He fell for the leading lady.
6. He put the car away in the garage.
7. Bring back the birch!
8. He’s out.
9. Go back in.

DO YOUR ANALYSIS NOW, BEFORE LOOKING AT FIGURE 5.12.

Solutions

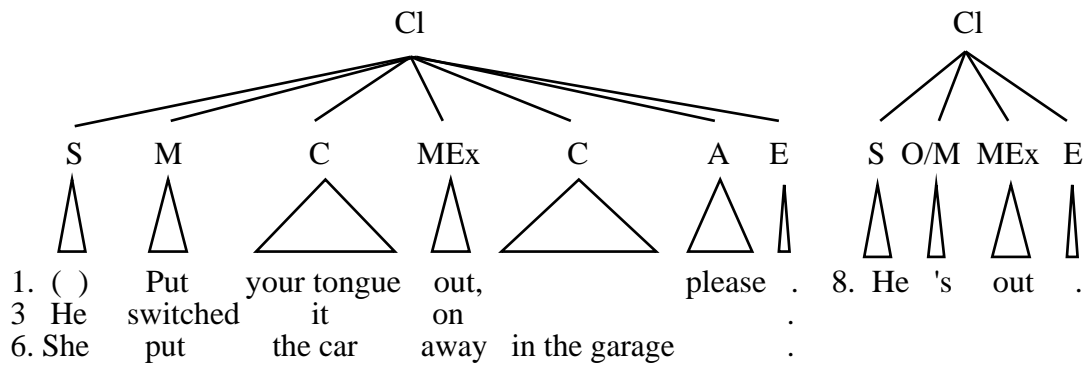


Figure 5.12: The analysis of examples with a Main Verb Extension

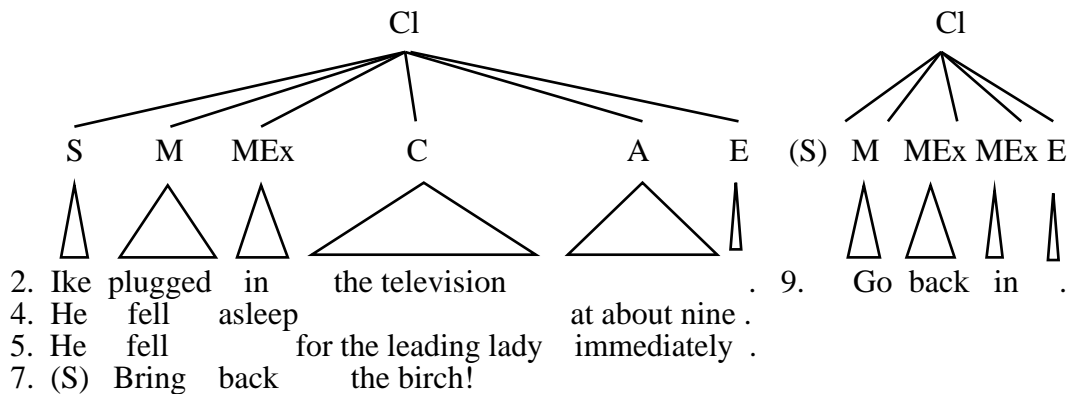


Figure 5.13: The analysis of examples with a Main Verb Extension

Comments

In (5), note that while there certainly is a Process of ‘falling for someone’, the word *for* is not a MEx, because we can’t say *He fell her for*. So the word *for* is part of the Complement (a preposition, as we will see in Chapter 7). In (9), note the two MExs of *back*. and *in*. Otherwise the analyses should have been straightforward. (If you need to, consult the tests again.) These examples included practice with covert Subjects as well as MExs, and the Subjects of (1) and (7) should be shown as **(S)**.

11 Covert Participant Roles as covert Complements

11.1 Covert Participant Roles so far

We have already met one major type of covert PR - the covert Subject that occurs in a ‘simple directive’. This was introduced in Section 2.1 of this chapter, and we have been reminded of it by Examples (1) and (7) in the analysis task in the last section. In these examples the covert PR is always **recoverable** since it is always the Addressee and, in the rare cases when it is expressed, it is realized as *you*. But I have also already mentioned, in a footnote in Section 6.9 of Chapter 4, the type to be introduced and explored here. This was the case of *I don’t know*, which occurs naturally in contexts such as that in (86) below. Notice that, with this type of covert PR, the PR is not a Subject but a Complement.

- (86) Fred: Does Adam like icecream?
 Fiona: I don’t know.

But how common are cases like this? You might think that it would be quite rare for a Complement to be left unstated in this way, on the grounds that since the missing element is a Participant Role it would be necessary for the Addressee to know what it is, with the result that the Performer would almost always express it overtly. Moreover, recovering the missing PR in a covert Complement is a much more complex task than recovering the missing PR in a ‘simple directive’ such as *Put your tongue out, please*, because it is not the case that it is always the same type of ‘thing’, i.e. the Addressee, realized as *you*. But in fact covert Complements are not particularly rare. There is quite a wide range of situations in which it is natural to leave a Complement unexpressed, and we will meet several of these here. And we will meet another important type in Section 3 of the next chapter.

11.2 Covert PRs in the ‘bodily preparation’ Processes

The first type occurs with what we will term the ‘bodily preparation’ Processes.^{cc} Consider these three examples:

- (87a) The barber shaved Fred in just five minutes.
 (87b) He shaved himself in just five minutes.
 (87c) He shaved in just five minutes.

The ‘bodily preparation’ Processes are expressed in the following lexical verbs: *bath, bathe, dress, floss, shave, shower, undress* and *wash*. (Notice that the list includes ‘washing’ but not ‘drying’ - a fact which I will comment on in Section 11.4.)

There is an interesting fact about the ‘bodily preparation’ Processes. By their vary nature, you can perform such a Process either on yourself or on someone else (though naturally with varying probabilities for each Process) - but, IF YOU MAKE THE COMPLEMENT **covert**, the MEANING MUST BE THAT THE PROCESS IS PERFORMED ON YOURSELF - i.e. it is said to be a **reflexive** Process. In other words, ‘bodily preparation’ Processes can all occur - in principle - in the three patterns exemplified in (87a), (87b) and (87c). Moreover, (87b) is rare in comparison with (87c). (The

most likely situation in which (87b) would occur would be when *himself* is being used contrastively, as in *The barber took ten minutes to shave Fred, but he shaved himself in just five minutes.*⁵¹ The analysis of (87c) would therefore be as in (87d):

(87d) He [S] shaved [M] [(C)] in just five minutes [A].

11.3 Covert PRs in some other two- and three-role Processes

Now consider the rather different type of recoverability in the following examples with **two Participant Roles**:

- (88a) Shall we eat at about seven?
- (88b) Shall we eat supper at about seven?
- (89a) Lions rarely kill in broad daylight.
- (89b) Lions rarely kill their prey in broad daylight.
- (90a) The champion hits quite hard.
- (90b) The champion hits his opponents quite hard.
- (91a) I don't understand.
- (91b) I don't understand what you are saying.
- (92a) I'll change before the party.
- (92b) I'll change my clothes before the party.

These two-role Processes are unlike the 'bodily preparation' Processes, in that the missing PR in the first of each pair of examples does NOT have the same referent as the Subject. The covert PR is recoverable only because the lexical verb is being used in a clear and specific context of situation. And - again in contrast with the 'bodily preparation' Processes - the Complement is far more frequently overtly present in the clause than it is covert. The analysis of (88a), then, is as shown in (88b):

(88b) Shall [O] we [S] eat [M] [(C)] at about seven [A]?

The probability that the Complement will be covert varies both from one Process to another and from one situation to another. So, even though there is nothing odd about (90a) in the context of a conversation about boxing, the vast majority of examples of *hit* as a Main Verb would be followed by a Complement. On the other hand, (88a) is much more frequent than (88b).⁵² Rather similarly, we normally expect to find a Complement after Processes of 'knowing' and 'understanding' but Examples (86) and (91a) show that such Complements can frequently be covert.⁵³

51. Bodily preparation events are also - and in many cases more frequently - expressed in other forms, such as *have a bath/shower/shave*, *take a bath/shower* and *get dressed/undressed*.

52. However, *Shall we have supper at about seven?* is more frequent than either. (The analysis would be *Shall [O] we [S] have [M] supper [MEx] at about seven [A]?* as Chapter 14 shows.)

53. One might think that an example such as the reply in (86) is functioning as a Formula, but the fact that it can be adapted when required shows that it is not (e.g. a third person may interrupt before Fiona can reply and say *She just doesn't know yet!*)

One type of text in which the Complement is omitted with a particularly high frequency is the standard style used for writing recipes. Example (93) is taken from Rose Elliot's *Supreme Vegetarian Cookbook* (1990). If you examine the clauses in this recipe for stuffed vine leaves with yoghurt dip, you will find that, out of a total of seven clauses, six have covert Complements:

- (93) Trim the stems off the leaves, then put into the boiling water, cover and simmer for two minutes. Drain and refresh under the cold tap and drain again.

Notice that this example includes a clause that challenges the widely held assumption that it is obligatory to express overtly the last two of the three PRs associated with the Process of 'putting'.

Finally, here is an example of a covert Complement in a **three-role Process**. It is the Process in which someone is 'returning' something to someone, and it dates from the time when milk was delivered in bottles to most homes in Britain. In an early example of the excellent principle of recycling, such milk bottles were usually inscribed with the following text (which is interestingly ambiguous, in the context of the comedy culture of the time, in which all milkmen were assumed to have amorous intentions towards lonely housewives): *Return to your milkman*.

11.4 Two tricky cases

Let's look more closely at Example (92a). Here, the verb *change* might at first be thought to be like the 'bodily preparation' Process, *dress* - perhaps on the grounds that both Processes involve putting on clothes. But does it function semantically like the 'bodily preparation' Processes? It does not. While the meaning of *I'll dress straight away* means 'I'll dress myself straight away', the meaning of *I'll change straight away* is 'I'll change my clothes straight away' (and not 'I'll change myself straight away'). In other words, the meaning of *change* that is equivalent to 'take off one set of clothes and put on another set' is simply an ordinary two-role Process with a covert Complement that is NOT REFLEXIVE. It is in fact like the type that we have been considering in the last section.

Suppose, however, that you meet an old acquaintance after a gap of fifteen ten years. Then you might say (94a), or possibly (94b):

- (94a) You haven't changed a bit!
 (94b) Time hasn't changed you a bit!

In (94a) we have a Process of 'changing' that is essentially the same as (95a) below, i.e. each is a ONE-ROLE Process of changing. But the interesting point about (94a) and (95a) is that they also have TWO-ROLE equivalents, as in (94b) above and (95b) below.

- (95a) The climate has changed.
 (95b) Global warming has changed the climate.

In other words, this sense of 'changing' - unlike the last - can function with EITHER ONE OR TWO PRs. It is therefore like those Processes that we met in Section 7.10 of Chapter 3, such as 'opening' as in *The door opened* and *Ivy opened the door*. So

in both (94a) and (94b) it is ‘you’ that has changed, and in both (95a) and (95b) it is ‘the climate’ that has changed - unlike the meaning of *change* in Examples (92a) and (92b) in the last section. The consequence is that, when we find a clause with *change* as the Main verb and with NO OVERT COMPLEMENT, we must check carefully to see whether it has a **covert Complement**, like (92a), or whether it is a **one-role Process**, like (94a) and (95a).

The second tricky case is the verb *dry*. In (96a) it is a one-role Process, while in (96b) it is a two-role Process, exactly as with the last two pairs of examples.

- (96a) Her hair dried quickly.
 (96b) She dried her hair quickly.

But now consider the second clause of (96c), which is spoken when facing a large pile of dishes that need to be washed up after a party:

- (96c) I’ll wash and you can dry.

Is the Process of ‘drying’ in (96c) like (96a) or like (96b)? The answer is that it is like (96b). This is because they are both two-role Processes - the difference being that (96c) has a covert Complement.

There is an old riddle that crops up regularly in Christmas crackers, which is: *What gets wetter the more it dries?* Can you (a) answer the riddle, (b) explain it, and (c) provide the two analyses of the clause ... *the more it dries?* (NB the words *the more* can be treated as an Adjunct in both cases.)⁵⁴

11.5 Analysis: the maximum number of covert Participant Roles

What is the largest numbers of PRs that can be covert in a clause? Consider (97), and then analyze it to discover the answer. The context is an advertisement in a newspaper which shows a village that has just been struck by an earthquake, and it names at the bottom of the advertisement a well-known aid charity, such as ‘Oxfam’ or ‘Christian Aid’. Tip: the words *as generously as you can* are a quality group (see Chapter 9) and constitute one element of the clause.

- (97) Please give as generously as you can!

DO YOUR ANALYSIS NOW, BEFORE LOOKING AT FIGURE 5.14.

54. (a) The answer is ‘A towel.’ (b) Our first interpretation of *dries* is likely to be one that is conceptually close to *gets wetter*, so that we first interpret *dries* as a one-role Process of ‘drying’, i.e. as meaning ‘getting dry’. But since this is incompatible with a Process of ‘getting wetter’ we have to look for another meaning. It so happens that towels as well as people can dry things (i.e. ‘make them dry’), so that there is an alternative interpretation of *dries* in which the towel is the Subject and there is a covert Complement. (c) The analysis of the first interpretation is therefore: *the more* [A] *it* [S] *dries* [M], but the analysis of the second meaning is: *the more* [A] *it* [S] *dries* [M] (*things* [M]). (It would also be possible to interpret this second meaning as *the more (things)* [C] *it* [S] *dries* [M].)

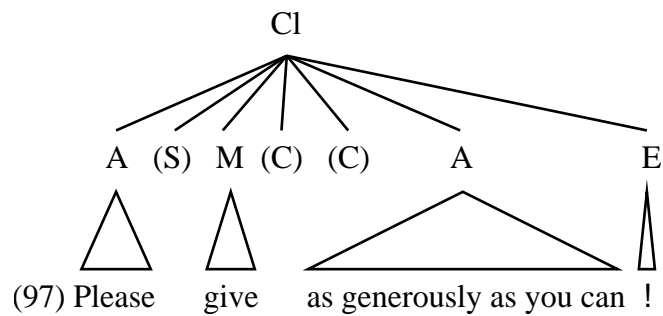


Figure 5.14: A clause with three covert Participant Roles

Comments

- 1 In this example all three of the PRs associated with the Process of ‘giving’ are covert. This has happened because the Performer has decided that all three are sufficiently recoverable from the context of situation. In other words: (1) the Subject is the Addressee (as in all such ‘simple directives’); (2) what is to be given is clearly money (and the ways in which this is to be done are specified elsewhere in the advertisement), and (3) the ‘recipient of the money is equally clearly the charity who will then channel the aid to the stricken area.
- 2 The Performer has used two Adjuncts in the clause, i.e. one expressing ‘politeness’ and one to specify the desired Manner of giving, i.e. *as generously as you can*. This can be done without making the sentence excessively long precisely because there are no overt PRs.
- 3 Notice that these Adjuncts, like all Adjuncts, cannot be covert. It is only PRs that can be covert, because it is only they that are inherently associated with the Process, and consequently recoverable.

11.6 Summary

- 1 If we find a ‘bodily preparation’ Process without a Complement, such as *She showered quickly*, its meaning is typically ‘reflexive’, i.e. the **covert Complement** has THE SAME REFERENT AS THE SUBJECT.
- 2 But if we find any other type of Process that is inherently a two-role Process and which nonetheless has no Complement, we need to consider carefully whether it is:
 - (a) one of the Processes that can occur with EITHER ONE OR TWO PRs, like those that we met in Sections 7.10 of Chapter 3, such as *change, melt, open, boil, bake, simmer, break, tear* and *crack*, or
 - (b) a Process that inherently has two roles, but which in the present case has a **covert Complement**, such as those in (88a) to (92b) - noting that *change* can occur as either Type 2(a) or Type 2(b), as we saw in Section 11.4.
- 3 Three-role Processes can sometimes be like Type 2(b), with one or even two

covert Complements, as we saw in Example (97).

11 Guidelines 3

What do we need to add to *Guidelines 2*? First, there are three new elements, two of which are quite frequent: the Ender and the Main Verb Extension (Mex). The third, the Let element (L), occurs much less often. Second, we must now start allowing for the possibility that a Complement or Adjunct may come first (in the ‘test clause’), if it is the ‘new content’ in a ‘new content seeker’. Third, we must watch out for covert roles of two types - **S** in directives and **C** in all MOOD types. (The existing tests for the Operator and Subject are already able to handle the many new MOOD meanings realized by these two elements that we have met in this chapter.)

Remember the **three tips for drawing syntax diagrams**:

- 1 When you write down the clauses to be analyzed, you should LEAVE FOUR OR FIVE LINES OF SPACE ABOVE THE TEXT itself, for the analysis diagram. (We will need more for the full analysis of sentences, later in this book.)
- 2 You can save space by writing two or more sentences side by side.
- 3 **Work in pencil**, with an **eraser** ready in case you need to change your analysis.

Guidelines 3 - brief version

- 1 Preparation: make the clause an ‘information giver’
and replace *wh*-items by *someone*, etc.
- 2 Find the Process, and so the Main Verb M
or the Main Verb and Main Verb Extension. M + MEx
- 3 Working leftwards, find any Auxiliary Verbs. X, X
- 4 Working leftwards, find the Infinitive Element, if there is one. I
- 5 Working leftwards, find the Negator, if there is one. N
- 6 Find the Operator - if there is one. (It helps to show the MOOD). O
- 7 Find the Subject (which also helps to show the MOOD). S
S may be a *wh*-item.
If **S** is covert, place it in brackets. (S)
- 8 Find the Let element, if there is one. L
- 9 **S** is probably a PR. Confirm any Complements (0, 1 or 2). C, C
If a **C** is a *wh*-item, it comes early in the clause.
If a **C** is covert, put it in brackets. (C)
- 10 Find any Adjuncts. If an **A** is a *wh*-item it comes early in the clause. A, A ...
- 11 Find the Ender. E

Guidelines 3 - full version

- 1 **Preparation** Most clauses are **positive information-givers**. If the clause to be analyzed does NOT have this structure, you should first re-express

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it so that it has, either in your mind or on a spare piece of paper. This is the **simplest clause-type**. Most of the tests used below depend on your having first 'translated' your original clause in this way. To do this:

- (a) Give the clause the MOOD structure of **S O**, **S O/X**, **S O/M** or **S M**.
- (b) Make a 'proposal for action' into an 'information giver' that refers to future time, using *you/we/I will*.
- (c) Replace any elements containing **wh-items** by *something*, *someone*, *somewhere*, etc. and place it in its typical position.
- (d) Remove **not** or **n't**.

Examples:

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) and (b) | Re-express <i>Sit down</i> | as <i>You will sit down</i> . |
| (a) and (c) | Re-express <i>What will she do?</i> | as <i>She will do something</i> . |
| (d) | Re-express <i>She isn't happy</i> | as <i>She is happy</i> |

Worked example

Imagine a situation where a student, Fiona, is spring-cleaning her room in the flat she shares with two friends. She is well-known as a hoarder of magazines, clothes, material, etc, but two days ago she put two whole drawers of old magazines out for collection for recycling, and yesterday she took a pile of second hand clothes to the local Oxfam shop. Amazed at this sudden burst of activity, one of Fiona's flatmates says to another: *What will Fiona throw out today?*

We must first re-express *What will Fiona throw out today?*
as *Fiona will throw out something today*.

- 2 Find the word (or words) that express the Process**, and at the same time have a first guess (to be confirmed later) at the **Participant Roles that it 'expects'**. (The term 'Process' includes 'states' such as 'being' and 'liking'.) The Process is expressed in:

- (a) a **lexical verb** at **M** (around 70-95%, varying with different types of text);
OR
- (b) a **lexical verb** at **M** and one (or occasionally two) **Main Verb Extensions (MEx)** (i.e. a 'phrasal verb'), as in *He put the light out*, *she went away*, and (with two MExs) *He came back in* and *He put the key (back) in*.

So the main task is to find **M**, which is OBLIGATORY (99.9% reliable) and any **MEx** (there could be two if one is *back* or *on*).

2.1 The Process and PR test (99% reliable)

Assuming that **xxx** stands for the Main Verb and **yy** for the possible Main Verb Extension, and that **someone/thing/where** stands for a possible PR, try saying:

In this Process of xxx-ing (yy), we expect to find someone or something xxx-ing (yy) (someone or something) ((to or from) someone or something or somewhere).

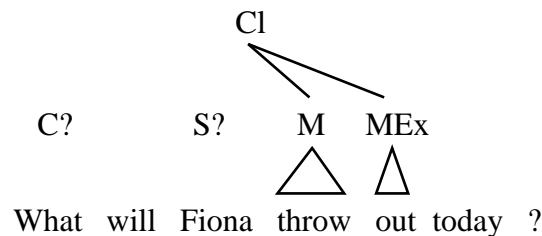
(The last line says that the possible second or third PR is sometimes preceded by *to* or *from*.)

Each of **someone** or **something** or **somewhere** is likely to be a PR. Remember that it is the **Process** of **xxx-ing (yy) (zz)** that expects the PRs - NOT the situation as a whole.

If the result of the test corresponds to the 'test' clause (even though some PRs may not be overtly expressed in it the 'test' clause) the item corresponding to **xxx** is **M**, and there is a STRONG POSSIBILITY that the item corresponding to **yy** (if there is one) is a **MEx**. So you can now lightly pencil in all of the following:

- 1 **M** above **xxx**,
- 2 **MEx** above **yy**,
- 3 **CI** above the **M**, and so the line to link **CI** with **M**,
- 4 **S?** and **C?** above the elements that you think are PRs in the Process.

Worked example: Try saying: 'In this Process of 'throwing out', we expect to find someone throwing out something'. This makes sense. So *throw* is the **M** and *out* is probably a **MEx**. The analysis at this point is:



If in doubt, go to 2.2.

2.2 A supplementary check

As a check on your analysis, consider the following examples, and find the one most like the clause you are analyzing. Then try re-expressing it on the model of the test beneath each. If the result of the test makes sense, the item corresponding to **xxx** in 2.1 is **M**, and there is a STRONG POSSIBILITY that the item corresponding to **yy** (if there is one) is a **MEx**.

Examples with M only

Ivy sneezed -

This clause is about someone sneezing.’ (1 PR)

She is a doctor / happy -

‘This clause is about someone being something.’ (2 PRs)

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She gave Fred the book -

'This clause is about someone giving someone something.' (3 PRs)

He took the snake out of the box -

'This clause is about someone taking something from somewhere.' (3 PRs)

Examples with M and MEx:

The milk has gone off -

'This clause is about something going off.' (1 PR)

She's gone shopping -

'This clause is about someone going shopping.' (1 PR)

I've worked the answer out -

'This clause is about someone working out something.' (2 PRs)

But note that you will need to confirm which of the two PRs is 'S' and which is 'C' in later tests - and that occasionally NONE of the PRs is 'S'.

2.3 Problems to watch out for

- 1 Do not make the mistake of assuming that if an element is 'important in the message' it is a PR. All elements are potentially important. A PR is an element that is EXPECTED by the Process, i.e. by M.
- 2 Some verb forms may co-occur with TWO OR MORE patterns of PRs, e.g. (a) *open* in *he opened the door* (2 PRs) and *the door opened* (1 PR); and (b) *make* in *he made a sand castle* (2 PRs) and *Racial prejudice makes him angry* (3 PRs). Figure 3.16 in Section 7.7 illustrates many of the main patterns.
- 3 When the item *it* occurs at S, it may be EITHER an 'empty Subject' expounded directly by *it*, OR it may be a normal referring expression. To test which it is, try re-expressing the clause, replacing *it* by *what*. Does it still make sense? If so, it is a PR. Example: *It's here* can be re-expressed as *What's here?*, but *It's raining* cannot be re-expressed as *What's raining?* And by extension we also analyze *it* in *It's sunny* as an 'empty Subject'.
- 4 In *It's sunny*, the Process is 'being sunny', and the word *sunny* is treated as a MEx.
- 5 As we have seen, *somewhere* is used in the test for a PR. But occasionally *some time* is needed instead, e.g. in testing *That war was in the 1960s*. But note that *somewhere* and *some time* can also replace Adjuncts (expressing 'Place' and 'Time Position'), so you should apply the C or A test in such cases.

If you have a possible Main Verb Extension (MEx), go to Step 3. Otherwise go to Step 4.

3 Check whether the possible MEx really is one.

The following simple **MEx Word Form Test** works for most MExs, i.e. for the ONE-WORD MExs listed below.

Ask: **Is the possible MEx in the following list of frequent MExs?**

Very frequent:

up, down; in, out; on, off; about, (a)round, away, along; over, through; and back -which can occur with others (as also can on) and also, with 'movement' Processes, inside, outside

Less frequent:

across, apart, aside, ahead; forward, behind, in front; by, together, under

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If **Yes**, there is a probability of over 95% that it is a MEx.

This rises to 99.9% if the word is *out*, *away* or *back* (from the 'very frequent' list) or *apart*, *aside*, *ahead*, *forward*, *in front* or *together* (from the 'less frequent' list).

If **No**, it may still be a MEx, because other items also occasionally occur as a MEx, e.g. *stay put*, *come to*, *fall asleep*, *be / do / get better / well*, and *be / get sunny / windy*.

Worked example: The probable MEx is expounded by *out*, which has a 100% probability of being a MEx, so the analysis in 2.1 is confirmed.

If you have problems in deciding about a possible MEx, consult Section 9. There you will find a much fuller set of tests, and many worked examples.

- 4 Look to the left of M for any Auxiliary Verbs (X).** These are OPTIONAL. They are ALMOST ALWAYS expounded by:

- (a) forms of *be*: *am, is, are, was, were, being, or been* OR
- (b) forms of *have*: *have, has, had, or having* (99% reliable)

Worked example:

There are no forms of *be* or *have* to the left of M in *Fiona will throw out something today*, so there is no change to the diagram.

- 5 Look to the left of any X or M for the Infinitive Element (I)** - if there is one. It is always the word *to*, and it is predicted by a 'modal' meaning at O, expressed as EITHER:

- (i) *ought* OR
- (ii) *am, is, are, was, or were*. (We will meet other types of I later.)

Problem to watch out for: Sometimes a N or A will intervene between the O and the I, e.g. the A in *Fiona ought perhaps to reconsider throwing that out*.

Worked example: In *Fiona will throw out something today* there is no I. But there would be if it was *Fiona is to throw something out today*.

- 6 Find the Negator (N)** - if there is one (under 5% probability). It is always the word *not*.

Reminder: *n't* is part of O, because it would precede S in a 'polarity seeker'.

Extra example: in *Fiona will not throw that out* the word *not* is N.

Problem to watch out for: Despite the fact that the word *never* usually occurs in a position close to the Negator, *never* is an Adjunct, because it tells us 'how usual' the situation is, along with *always*, *sometimes*, and *occasionally*, etc., and it can be thematized.

Worked example: In *What will Fiona throw out today?* there is no N. (Note that to test for N we need to use the original example.)

- 7 Find the Operator (O) - if there is one.** It is:

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EITHER (a) a 'modal verb', i.e.

(i) *can, could, will, would, shall, should, may, might, must, ought*

or (ii) *am, is, are, was, or were* (typically + *to*) - when it is **O**;

OR (b) *am, is, are, was or were* as a Process of 'being' - when it is **O/M**;

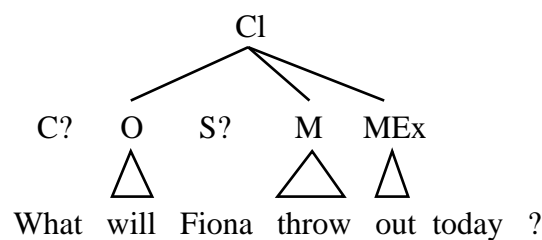
OR (c) *am, is, are, was or were* as an Auxiliary - when it is **O/X**;

OR (d) *have, has or had* as an Auxiliary - when it is **O/X**;

OR (e) *do, does or did* - when it is **O**.

Note that any word at O may have *n't* added to it (except *am*, which requires the Negator *not* in *I am not ...* and is replaced by *are* in *aren't I*).

Worked example: *will* is the Operator, so the analysis is:



The test for the Subject in 8 below should corroborate this decision.

Further examples:

(a) In *Ivy will / may arrive soon*, the word *will or may* is **O**.

In *She is to tell the truth*, the word *is* is **O** and *to* is **I**.

(b) In *She was here*, the word *was* expresses a Process of 'being',
so it is **M** as well as **O** - and so is **O/M**.

(c) In *She is eating an eel* the word *is* is **X** as well as **O** - and so is **O/X**.

(d) In *She has eaten an eel* the word *has* is **X** as well as **O** - and so is **O/X**.

(e) In *Did she enjoy it?* the word *did* is **O**.

Problems to watch out for:

- 1 Forms of the verb *be* occur as several different elements:
 - (a) very frequently as **M** or **O/M**,
 - (b) very frequently as **X** (and so also as **O/X**),
 - (c) occasionally as **O** (as in *He is to leave now*).
- 2 Forms of the verb *have* occur as several different elements:
 - (a) very frequently as **M** (but not **O/M** in modern English), and
 - (b) very frequently as **X** (and so also as **O/X**),
- 3 Forms of the verb *do* occur as two different elements:
 - (a) frequently as **O** (e.g. *Did* in *Did he do it?*),
 - (b) occasionally as **M** (e.g. *do* in *Did he do it?*).
- 4 Very occasionally, in an old-fashioned style, **O** may sometimes be:
 - (a) *need or dare* (sometimes + *to*) or
 - (b) *have, has, or had* (typically + *to*).

8 Find the Subject (S). To do this:

- (a) If the clause has no Operator, supply the test version of the clause with *do, does or did* to function as **O**. Then re-express the clause as a **polarity**

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seeker (seeking the answer *Yes* or *No*).

- (b) The Subject is the word or words which, by occurring before or after the Operator, shows whether the clause is an **information giver** or a **polarity seeker**. In other words:

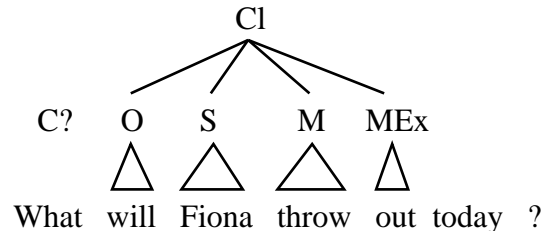
S O or S O/X or S O/M or S M means '**information giver**'
(95% reliable) and
O S or O/X S or O/M S means '**polarity seeker**'
(95% reliable).

- (c) In **directives** such as *Sit down* the **S** is **covert**, and it should be shown in rounded brackets as (**S**).

Problems to watch out for:

- 1 In most **information seekers** the order is **S O**. But with **new content seekers where the S is 'sought'** we already have **S O** (or **S O/M** or **S O/X** or **S M**). So no change is needed.
- 2 'Environmental Processes', such as *It's raining* and *It's sunny*, have no PRs. The S is NOT a PR, but an 'empty Subject'.

Worked example: Re-express *Fiona will throw something out today* as *Will Fiona throw something out today?* The change of sequence of the words *Fiona* and *will*, and so of **S** and **O**, shows the change of MOOD. So *Fiona* is **S**. So the analysis is:



- 9 Look to the left of S to find the Let Element (L)** - if there is one. It is always the word *let*, as in *Let [L]'s all [S] read [M] it [C]*.

- 10 Find the full configuration of Participant Roles (PRs)**, i.e. those elements that are EXPECTED by the Process at **M** (or **M** and **MEx**) - INCLUDING ANY THAT ARE COVERT.

Since **S** is typically a PR, you have probably already located one of them (99% reliable). Remember that it may be either **covert**, as in *Read this* or an 'empty' Subject, as in *It's raining*.

Any PR that is not **S** is a **Complement (C)**. Most Processes have two associated PRs (around 80%). But some expect one PR and some expect three (and some environmental Processes expect none), so look for 0, 1 or 2 **Cs**.

If a PR contains a **wh-item** (*who, what, which, when, where, how*, etc.) it usually precedes **O**, so being AWAY FROM ITS TYPICAL POSITION. (But in preparing the clause for the tests you should have already replaced it by *something, someone, somewhere*, etc., so this shouldn't be a problem.)

10.1 A PR may be a **covert PR**. As well as the **covert S** in directives such as *Sit down*, about 80% of 'passive' clauses have a **covert C**, e.g. *He has been caught*, where the 'catcher' is covert. Occasionally a **C** is covert in a non-passive clause, e.g. *Don't touch!* If you are in any doubt about a possible **covert PR**, re-run the **Process and PR test** from Step 2.

10.2 If you are in any doubt about whether a word or words is a **Complement or Adjunct**, apply the following test:

The C or A test (99% reliable)

- 1 **Thematize the element to be tested** (i.e. put it first in the clause),
- 2 **Treat it a separate 'information unit'** (i.e. separate it by a comma).

If the clause sounds natural with the element first, it is almost certainly an Adjunct. But if it sounds odd it is almost certainly a Complement.

Worked example:

To test *what*, re-express *Fiona will throw something out today*
as *Something, Fiona will throw out today*.

This sounds very odd, so *something* is almost certainly a Complement.

To test *today*, re-express *Fiona will throw something out today*
as *Today, Fiona will throw something out*.

This sounds natural, so *today* is almost certainly an Adjunct.

Two further examples:

Consider the element *in Paris* in *Ike lives in Paris*.

In Paris, Ike lives sounds odd, so *in Paris* is almost certainly a Complement.

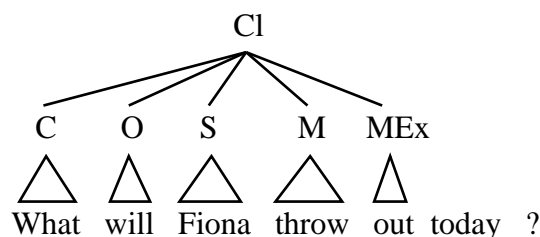
Now consider the element *in Paris* in *I saw Ike in Paris*.

In Paris, I saw Ike sounds natural, so *in Paris* is almost certainly an Adjunct.

For further examples using this test, see Section 7.3 of Chapter 3.

You can also re-run the **Process and PR test** from Step 2.1.

Worked example: As we saw in Step 2, it makes sense to say 'In this Process of 'throwing out' we expect to find someone throwing out something'. The C and A Test confirms that *something* in the test version - and so *what* in the original sentence - are Complements, so that *Fiona* and *what* are both PRs. And since *Fiona* has just been confirmed as **S**, *what* can now be confirmed as a **C**. So the analysis is:

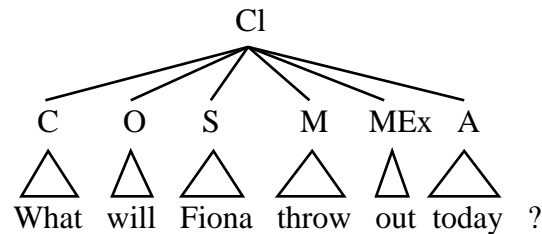


11 Find any Adjuncts (A). So far, we have met Adjuncts that express the

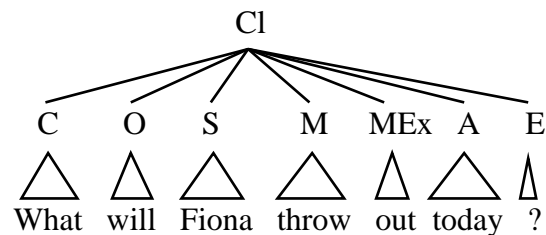
‘Manner’, the ‘Time Position’ or the ‘Validity’ of the event, and we will meet many other types in later chapters. Use the **C or A test** from Step 2 to distinguish Adjuncts that express an ‘experiential’ meaning from Complements. There are over 60 functionally distinct types of Adjunct in English, but it is rare to find more than two or three in any one clause.

Are you unsure about whether a string of words is **one A or two As**? If so, test them by re-expressing the clause (i.e. its test version as a ‘positive information-giver’) version) as follows. Place each possible **A** in turn in a position that separates it from the other possible **A**. Usually you can do this by thematizing one of them. Most **As** can occur in several different places (99% reliable).

Worked example: In *Fiona will throw out something today*, *today* does not express one of the two PRs expected by the Process of ‘someone throwing something out’. So *today* must be an **A**. The analysis of our worked example is therefore now as follows:



12 Find the Ender (E). So far, this is always at the end of the clause, and either a full stop or ‘period’ in American English(.), an exclamation mark (!), or a question mark (?).⁵⁵ The full analysis of our worked example is therefore:



Summary so far: we may find, in their most typical sequence:

- (a) ONE of each of **L, S, O, N, I, M** and **E** (with the possibility of **O/M** for forms of *be* and **O/X** for forms of *be* or *have*),
- (b) UP TO TWO **Xs** (the first of which typically gets conflated with **O** as **O/X**),
- (c) ONE OR OCCASIONALLY TWO or even three **MExs**,
- (d) UP TO TWO **Cs** (either or both of which can be **covert**),
- (e) MANY **As**, expressing many types of meaning, in many different positions.
- (f) either **S O** or **S M** for most information givers - or, for most information

55. In later *Guidelines* when we are dealing with co-ordinated and dependent clauses, we will analyze the Enders much earlier in the whole procedure, because they are often a useful guide to clause boundaries.

- seekers, **O S** (where **O** includes **O/X** and **O/M**),
(g) if the clause is a new content seeker where either **C** or **A** is sought, **C** or **A** before **O**,
(h) **S** in a simple directive is typically **covert**.

There will be an increasingly complete *Guidelines* at the end of each of the next two chapters, and other partial *Guidelines* in later chapters. Chapter 21 provides the nearest possible thing to a full, definitive set of *Guidelines*.

13 Analysis Task 5

13.1 The task

Here are twelve one-clause sentences for you to analyze. They will give you practice in most of the main points covered in this chapter.

1. That child eats very messily.
2. Shall I fetch a cloth for you?
3. Don't worry about a thing.
4. Ike puts on a few pounds every Christmas.
5. How does he work them off?
6. Ivy's hamster passed quietly away at midnight.
7. What brought on its illness?
8. Ivy wiped away her tears with a kleenex.
9. Could you possibly give me back my pencil?
10. Let's all go round to Fiona's!
11. The kids went back out into the woods after lunch.
12. Do not send in your application before 31st December.

**DO YOUR ANALYSIS NOW, BEFORE LOOKING AT FIGURES
16a AND 16b.**

13.2 Solutions

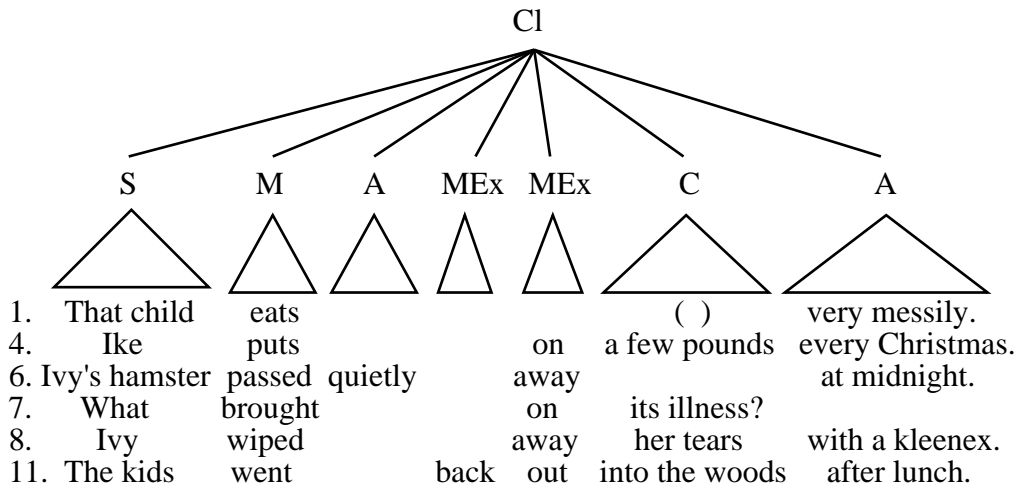


Figure 5.16a: The analyses of six of the twelve clauses

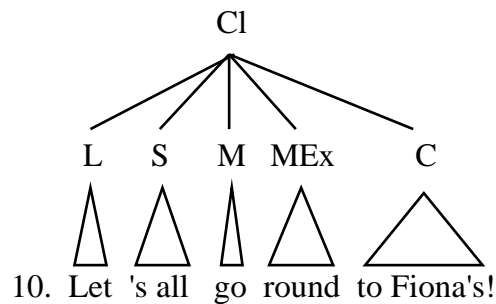
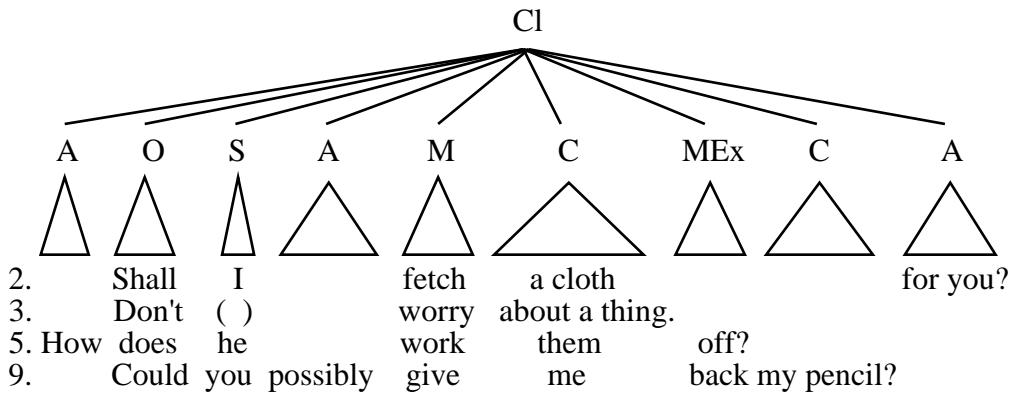


Figure 5.16a: The analyses of eleven clauses

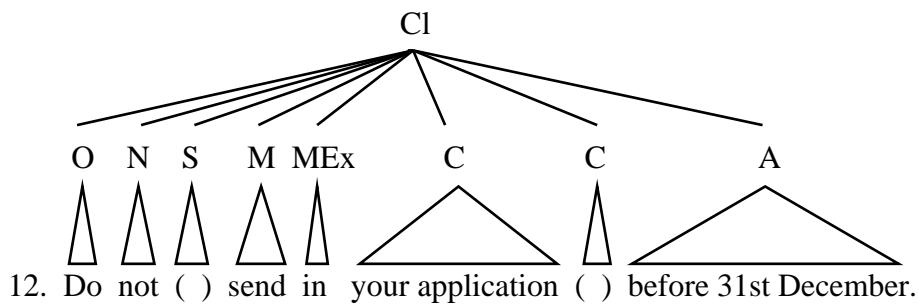


Figure 5.16b: The analyses of another six clauses

13.3 Comments

1. Nine of these twelve sentences have been designed to give you more practice in identifying **MExs**, since this is the hardest syntax analysis problem introduced in this chapter. And Sentence 3 is an example of one where, if you don't apply sufficiently carefully the tests in Section 12 (to which the *Guidelines* refer you), you may mistakenly treat the word *about* as a **MEx**. But the tests show that it isn't one, and that it must therefore be part of the following **C**. Example 6 has the simple **M MEx** structure, though the task of recognizing this is made a little harder by the intervening Adjunct *quietly*. Examples 4, 7 and 8 all have the **M MEx C** structure associated with two-role 'non-movement' Processes, and Example 5 has the equivalent **M C MEx** structure. Each could be re-expressed as the other (if given a **C** consisting of *the* + noun) as in the tests in Section 12. Example 10 is a typical two-role 'movement' Processes, so that it passes the test in Section 12 of being re-expressible as *Round we all went to Fiona's* - and 11 would be the same if it didn't have two MExs. But if it had only one it would pass the same test, i.e. it could be re-expressed as *Back the kids went into the woods* or *Out the kids went into the woods* - demonstrating again the value of the tests. However, 12 has a three-role 'movement' Process, so that its **M MEx C** pattern is tested in the same way as 4, 7 and 8, i.e. it is re-expressible as *They sent their applications in before 31st December*.
2. Recognizing covert Participant Roles is also hard at times. Examples 3 and 12 give you practice in finding covert PRs at **S**, and Examples 1 and 12 have covert PRs at **C**. Perhaps the hardest bit of the analysis is to spot that there is a covert PR in Example 12 - i.e. the Process of 'sending in' has three PRs, just as 'sending' does.
3. The sentences also illustrate a wide variety of types of MOOD. Examples 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 12 all illustrate choices in MOOD that are different from the most frequent type, the 'information giver'. Examples 5 and 7 show 'new content seekers', with their 'sought' elements occurring early in the clause - though in 7 it is no earlier than it would have been if it had been an information seeker, because here it is the Subject that is sought. If there had been an example of a 'sought' Complement, the **C** would have come first (e.g. *What did you say?*) - just as the 'sought' Adjunct of 5 does. And Example 10 illustrates the need to separate *let* from *'s* in *let's*, i.e. the *'s* is needed to complete the unit *us all*

(abbreviated to 's all).

4. Finally, 3 and 12 show two different types of negation. In Example 3 it is easy to identify where the covert Subject should be placed, because we can say *Don't you worry about a thing*, but it is more difficult to decide where it should be placed in the case of Example 12. This is because an overt Subject cannot occur in a clause of this type, i.e. one with its negation expressed in a separate Negator. We therefore simply use the less formal equivalent in 3 as a guide, placing **(S)** after *do not* just as we place it after *don't* in 3.

The one new element that these examples do not give practice in is the use of the Infinitive element **(I)** - but this is rarely a problem for the analyst. You could probably analyze *You ought to go out to Australia right away* without too much difficulty (even though the word *to* occurs twice). It is as in (98):

(98) You [S] ought [O] to [I] go [M] out [MEx] to Australia [C] right away [A].

14 Summary of the Grammar so far (2)

At the end of Chapter 3, I presented a pair of summaries of 'the grammar so far' - and here I present a second pair of such attempts at summaries. The question is: Which of these provides the most insightful summary of what we have covered in the last three chapters?

As in Chapter 3, we will first consider a representation in the form of a potential structure, i.e. as syntax alone, and then one which is built around the system networks of choices in meaning.

14.1 The grammar so far as a set of potential structures

Consider Figure 5.17. As with Figure 3.18 in Chapter 3, it has to be organized around the differences between clauses when the **M** is and is not a form of *be*, because this affects the sequence of other elements so drastically. And, as before, this leads to dividing the little grammar into Parts A and B. But the introduction of the 'new content seeker' type of meaning has an equally devastating effect on the attempt to generalize about the sequence of the elements, and we find ourselves having to state the different sequences that are needed within each, depending on whether the 'sought' element is the Subject, a Complement or an Adjunct.

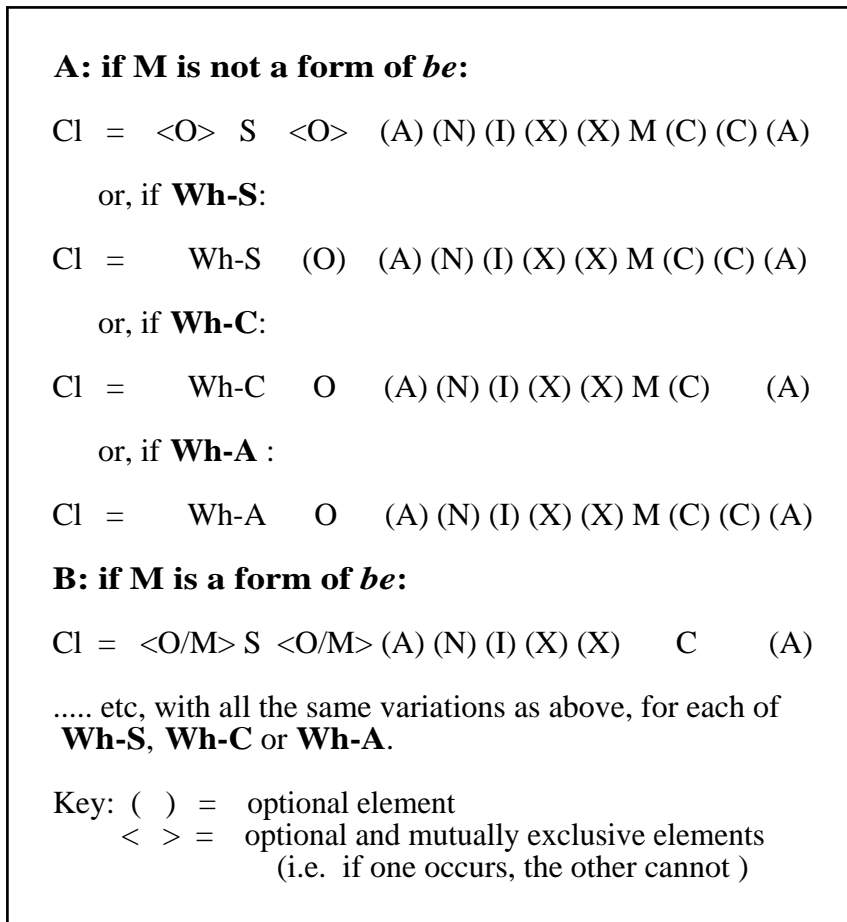


Figure 5.17: Syntax as potential structures (Version 2)

Clearly, the enormous amount of repetition in Part B (of which I have only given the first line) of virtually the same rules as in the first half indicates a serious problem with this approach to the question of how best to capture generalisations about language structure. The difficulty is that, in this rigidly LINEAR type of model, we cannot show economically the two following facts: (a) the structures that realize TRANSITIVITY and MOOD are significantly DIFFERENT, depending on whether a clause has a form of *be* as its Main Verb or some other verb as its Main Verb, and (b) the GENERALIZATIONS about POLARITY cut across the differences between the two. Nor can this type of model show economically the variations in the structure that are required for the various types of ‘new content seeker’ question, either within or between the two types. One problem is that, even if we put some such symbol as <Wh-S/C/A> in first position (where the slash ‘/’ indicates ‘or’), we have no way of showing which later element (corresponding to just ONE of the alternative elements in the ‘Wh-slot’) would not occur, if one of those in the ‘Wh-slot’ did.

A further serious limitation is that this little grammar only allows for one Adjunct, and moreover it specifies that it must come at the end of the clause. But clauses frequently have two or even more Adjuncts, and most of them can occur in many different positions. (The examples used so far have introduced some of these

informally, and a fuller picture will be given in the next chapter.) Clearly, we need a way of specifying this third major type of variation that is independent of the other types. And the fact is that variations in the sequence of elements cannot be handled neatly when the only mechanism for capturing generalizations is a linear representation. Grammars based on a fixed structural sequence such as this have no way of accommodating naturally this type of structural variation.⁵⁶

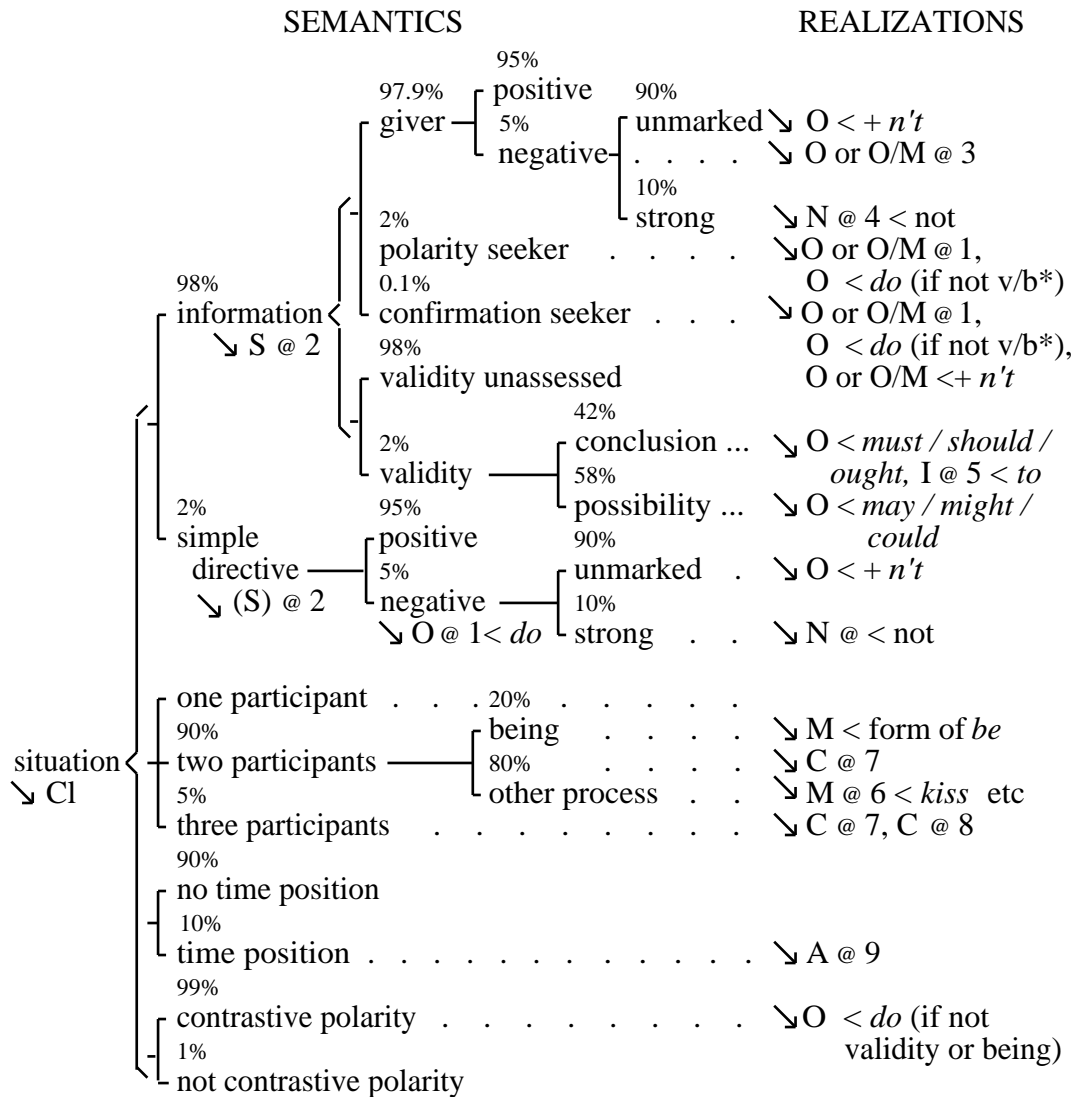
It is now time to abandon this way of summarising grammar. ‘Potential structures’, in the sense of a sequenced string of elements, are used in a generative systemic functional grammar for **groups** - but not for the **clause**, with its great variation in the sequence of elements. All there is for the clause is a sequence of numbered **Places** at which elements can be located. Even if we were to decide to accept a grammar that contained the amount of repetition shown in Figure 5.17, this method of representing syntax would spiral out of control as soon as we introduced the variations in the sequence of Adjuncts that we will find in the next chapter.

14.2 The grammar so far as a system network and realization rules

Please consider Figure 5.18.

56. Adding further branching within the structure, as is done in ‘phrase-structure grammars’, doesn’t help much. It was the types of problem mentioned here that led Chomsky to introduce the concept of the syntactic transformation, back in the 1950s, but functional grammarians - and now many formal grammarians - do not find that concept insightful.

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* v/b = validity or being

- Key:
- { = enter all systems to the right
 - [= choose between the features to the right
 - ↘ = is realized by
 - < = is expounded by
 - @ = locate this element at Place X

Potential structure: Places: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8.

Figure 5.18:
An informal systemic functional grammar for much of the syntax so far

Figure 5.18 presents a small systemic functional grammar which covers much of the same ground as that in Figure 5.17 (though not the Auxiliaries, for reasons of space). But it additionally shows (a) some of the main choices in **meaning**, and

(b) how these specify the syntactic **form** through the **realization rules** that are attached to the features. This approach makes it possible to separate the different areas of meaning into small system networks, with one for each area of meaning (though with the POLARITY systems being repeated). We can then state the realization rules for each area of meaning INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY OTHER, and so to capture the relevant generalizations about TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and so on in their own right. The result is that the little grammar specifies the correct sequences of elements in the clause, but without the great amount of repetition that was needed in Figure 5.17. (The small amount of repetition that there is - i.e. the little network for POLARITY - is there to make the grammar easier to read; in the full grammar this repetition doesn't.)

The first point about Figure 5.18 is that, for reasons of space, I have included only a simplified version of the network for MOOD. But you can in fact easily slot the networks from Figures 5.3 and 5.7 in as a replacement, and this would provide a rather more complete model. The other advances on the little grammar at the end of Chapter 3 are in the inclusion of VALIDITY, POLARITY and CONTRASTIVE NEWNESS. To save space, the names for these systems are left out in Figure 5.18 - but it should be easy to recognize the system networks for each. (Note, however, that the POLARITY network should be entered from 'new content seeker' as well as 'giver'.) The TRANSITIVITY and CIRCUMSTANCES networks are exactly as they were, and, since it does not add new elements, I have omitted the network for primary TIME REFERENCE POSITION. But lack of space has forced me to leave out the systems from which the modal verbs that express 'control' and 'disposition' are generated, and also those that generate the Auxiliary Verbs (X) that express the meanings of 'retrospective' and 'period-marked'.

Another inadequacy in the grammar is the poor provision for Adjuncts (though this is perhaps excusable, since they have only been introduced in formally so far). Thus the grammar doesn't provide for the fact that two (or indeed more) Adjuncts can occur in the same clause, or for the positions in which they can occur. All these matters are provided for in the large computer implementation of a Systemic Functional Grammar from which this mini-grammar is taken - as are very many other aspects of language. We will find a fuller treatment of the Adjuncts in Sections 8 and 9 of the next chapter.

Nonetheless, this grammar has a significantly larger coverage than the one in Chapter 3, and it also has more detail in the realization rules. There is a new symbol (<), which specifies the **item** (e.g. *not* and *must*, etc) which occurs at that element. More precisely, we should say that the symbol '<' specifies the item which **expounds** the element. Finally, notice that some of the realization rules specify that the item *n't* is to be added to **O** (or **O/M**), and the addition of this 'suffix' is shown by '+'.

This little grammar summarises the main characteristics of English that are realized in syntax encountered so far, and I hope it gives you a sense of how it could be scaled up to the very full, computer implemented grammar of English from which it is derived. It is, however, the last of the systemic 'mini-grammars' that I will present in this book. This is because our task here is TO BUILD UP generative ANALYTICAL SKILLS - rather than to learn what a systemic functional

grammar is like. For a picture of a fully generative grammar of this type, see Fawcett, Tucker and Lin (1993), and the many further references given in it.

Endnotes

These endnotes, like those in earlier chapters, provide ‘follow-up’ comments, comparisons and references for readers with prior knowledge and experience of linguistics.

a. Quirk et al (1985:808) reflect a form-centred approach in entitling the relevant section ‘Positive *yes-no* questions’, but on the matter of the meaning of this type of ‘question’ they take a very similar position to that described here, describing such questions as having ‘neutral polarity’. They also point out that some ‘polarity seekers’ can be biased to show an expectation of a positive response by the use of what they term ‘assertive’ forms, as in *Did someone call last night?* (in contrast with *Did anyone call last night?*) However, the ability to obtain this ‘conducive’ effect depends on the type of meanings being used in the nominal group that fills the Complement (in the present example), and no equivalent option is open in the case of examples such as *Are they reporters?* So here both examples would simply be analyzed as ‘polarity seekers’. On the other hand, the use of *really*, as in *Are they really reporters?* systematically turns any ‘polarity seeker’ in which it appears into what we might term a ‘disconfirmation seeker’. (For the ‘confirmation seeker’, see Section 2.4 of this chapter.)

b. It will be clear that the system network for MOOD presented here is, like the rest of the system networks in this book, a system network of choices in meaning, and it is therefore at the level of semantics. This explains - at least in part - why it is different from Halliday’s network for MOOD, as found in many works (e.g. Halliday 1984 and, in a verbal description, Halliday 1994). His network for MOOD remains essentially as it was in the early 1960s, i.e. before his fundamental proposal that system networks should be regarded as choices in meaning. It is not clear why Halliday did not semanticize his MOOD network in the way that he semanticized his network for TRANSITIVITY, but the fact is that he did not. See Chapter 4 of Fawcett (2000) for a discussion of Halliday’s two positions on ‘meaning’ as a level (or levels) of language.

c. Interestingly, if we express the generalization as ‘Put the Operator first, then put the Subject in front of it’, then Example (40), i.e. *Who will work with her?*, conforms to it. But if it was applied to a clause in which there is not an Operator such as (41), i.e. *Who knows her properly?*, the result would be *Who does know her properly?* And this is not acceptable in Standard English - though it is in many Welsh dialects of English. (This is not to be confused with *Who DOES know her properly?* - which is yet another type of MOOD, which will be introduced in Chapter 14.)

d. For reasons that are not clear, there is nothing corresponding to this option in most of the MOOD networks presented by Halliday and those who work in his framework - e.g. in his definitive treatment of lexicogrammar in *IFG* (Halliday 1994:68f.), and in the derived networks such as Matthiessen (1995:412). The reason may be that this type of meaning was originally seen as a variant of a ‘polarity seeker’, on the formal grounds that were still dominant at the time (e.g. Halliday’s 1864 network for MOOD, published later in Halliday 1976:106). But it seems that even now those working in the framework of the Sydney Grammar have still not re-examined the MOOD network critically (e.g. in Matthiessen (1995:414-5) it is still only mentioned in a minor note in a section on what he terms the ‘yes-no’ type of ‘interrogative’, and it does not appear in the network for MOOD). But this position clearly reflects a formal and syntactic view of MOOD rather than the semantic view that one expects to find in a functional grammar. The meaning of an ‘alternative content seeker’ is clearly different from that of the ‘polarity seeker’, as the main text shows. Indeed, the ‘choice of alternative content seeker’ seems to be more like that of a ‘new content seeker’ than it is like a ‘polarity seeker’ - and this position is supported by the fact that the former two are typically spoken with a falling Tone, while a ‘polarity seeker’ is typically spoken with a rising Tone.

e. These ‘typical conditions’ are therefore akin to the concept of a ‘felicity condition’ in ‘speech act theory’ (e.g. as expounded in Searle 1969), but they are not necessary for the felicitous

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performance of a 'confirmation seeker'.

f. Quirk et al (1995:808-9) discuss this type of meaning under the form-centred heading of 'Negative *yes-no* questions', and they state that 'negative questions are always conducive'. They write of the speaker's 'old expectation (positive) and new expectation (negative)', so that their position on the meaning of a 'confirmation seeker' is very like that taken here. But they go a little too far in saying that 'the implication is that the speaker had originally HOPEd for a positive response' [my emphasis]. This is because it is the Performer's past and current beliefs (or 'expectations') that are the essential concept, and not his or her hopes.

g. See Fawcett (1999:244-5) for a brief discussion of the reasons for treating Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjuncts as being filled by embedded clauses, rather than as being co-ordinated asyndetically with it. The diagrams in Halliday (1994:72-3) suggest that he regards the relationship as being some kind of apposition or co-ordination that does not involve embedding, but he does not state in words what he considers the nature of the relationship to be. Nor does he explain how he would handle cases in which the Confirmation Seeking Tag Adjunct occurs in the middle of the main clause, such as (48).

h. Surprisingly, this is what Halliday suggests (1994:87). He discusses various alternatives, but does not deal with the question of *all* in *Let's all go in the same car*.

i. *In a functional approach to grammar, we should not allow the fact that the word us has the 'accusative' form (to use the traditional term), to prevent us from treating it as a Subject, if this is its function. There are in fact many other cases in which the word us occurs as a Subject, e.g. Some of us prefer tea, and the Subjects in the two underlined embedded clauses in They consider us to be mistaken, and They want us to leave now.*

j. The term 'dominant' is taken over from the description of intonation in English by Tench (1996:91f.), whose work is the basis of the approach to intonation in the Cardiff Grammar. Tench contrasts 'dominance' with 'deference', writing 'A fall indicates a speaker's dominance (knowledge) and a rise their deference to the presumed superior knowledge of the addressee.' Perhaps the term 'confident' expresses the meaning more closely, in everyday terms.

k. Halliday says in the Introduction to *IFG* (p. xix) that 'a functional grammar is one that is pushed in the direction of semantics,' and he describes the one set out in *IFG* as having been 'pushed fairly far'. However, while he has pushed the area of the grammar of English covered by TRANSITIVITY 'fairly far' towards semantics (or, some would say, all the way), his system networks for MOOD have not undergone the equivalent changes. This is why he finds himself having to supplement the system network for MOOD that is implied in the description in *IFG* (i.e. 'declarative', 'imperative', 'interrogative' etc) needs to be supplemented by a 'higher' system network, as is implied in the diagrams on p. 69), that expresses the choices between meanings that the choices in MOOD express. See Halliday 1984 for his clearest exposition of this position.

l. We can safely adopt the term 'phrasal verb' for use in this sense in the present description of English, because we do not use the term 'phrase' in any other sense. However, in most models of syntax other than those found in Systemic Functional Grammars, the primary units found inside clauses are termed 'phrases'. (In grammars influenced by the work of Chomsky the term 'verb phrase' is typically used for a unit that is considerably larger than the 'phrasal verb', including what are here treated as Complements. Like Quirk *et al* (1985:79), systemic functional grammarians find little value in the concept of the 'verb phrase', and the few phenomena that can be cited in its support are analyzed in other terms.) In SFG the term used for the unit that typically fills the Subject, Complement, etc. is normally the **group**. (The exception is Halliday's use of 'phrase' in his term 'prepositional phrase', which is here treated as a 'prepositional group'; see Halliday (1984:212) for his reason for adding this terminological complication and see Fawcett (2000a:205-6) for an explanation of why I do not find his reasons convincing.) Here, then, we will use the term 'phrasal' in the expression 'phrasal verb' to denote one type of 'multi-word verb'.

m. In the representation at the level of meaning, there is an equivalent element known as the **Process Extension (PrEx)**. We need to recognize it as a separate element in order to be able to talk about the possibility of thematizing it, as in examples such as *Out she went to the shops*, which we will meet shortly.

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n. Biber et al. (1999:415) claim that prepositional verbs are ‘three to four times more common than phrasal verbs’. But they include as ‘prepositional verbs’ many combinations of words that would here be treated as a one-word verb followed by a preposition that would be generated independently within Complement, e.g. *say to* (which is second in frequency only to *look at* in their findings). They also treat as prepositional verbs many uses of *go to*, *send (something) to*, *come from*, *give (something) to*, etc., most of which would not be analyzed here in that way. Furthermore they include as ‘prepositional verbs’ *be used in*, *be made of* and others which, while being derived historically from prepositional verbs, surely require another explanation in a functional grammar of Modern English. (See Chapter 14 for this.) By the criteria used here for recognizing a prepositional verb, the frequency of prepositional verbs would, I believe, be very much lower, and probably well below that of phrasal verbs.

o. In Chapter 14 we will provide for cases in which the Main Verb Extension (the element being introduced here) consists not of a single word, but of one of various kinds of **group**. (Chapters 7 to 10 introduce the four main types of group.)

p. This is essentially the explanation proposed by Halliday in Halliday (1994:208-9), where the discussion refers to the uncontextualized examples of *They called off the meeting* and *They called the meeting off*. But, helpful as it is, this is not a complete explanation, as the discussion in the main text shows.

q. The proper response to such a challenge is to make a thoroughgoing corpus study of the phenomenon, and to conduct informant testing where the corpus does not supply the required data. The corpus studies reported in Biber et al. (1999:407-13) do not address these questions, as they are limited to written representations of data. See Gries (2002) for the major corpus-based study of this area of the grammar - though he too is inevitably limited by the lack of intonational data in his corpora..

r. In the computer version of the Cardiff Grammar, the probabilities for placing the MEx in the clause are currently set on the assumption that the phrasal verb is a monosyllabic Main Verb such as *bring*, *take*, *get*, *put*, *come* or *go* occurs with a monosyllabic Mex such as *up*, *down*, *in*, *out*, *on* or *off*. On this basis the probabilities in the system network for ‘thing’ are set so that the type of nominal group that will be generated to fill the Complement will be of roughly equivalent ‘newness’ - i.e. semantic features will be preselected in order to generate a nominal group that conforms to one of the following types (each of which typically has one strong syllable): (1) *someone*, etc, (2) *this*, etc, (3) *mine*, etc, (4) *who*, etc, (5) one-word names such as *Fred* and, most frequently of all, (6) *the boy*, etc - but NOT *this boy*, *the tall boy*, *the boy we saw yesterday*, *some of the boys*, *the boys and their friends*, etc. In the current version of the grammar these nominal groups with a ‘light’ semantic specification are allowed a 20% chance of occurring before the Mex. Those that have a ‘minimal’ semantic specification such as the personal pronouns are given a 99.9% chance of occurring before the MEx, while those with a ‘heavy’ semantic specification are given a 99.9% probability of occurring after it. In this way the generator generates natural sounding clauses when the Process is realized by a phrasal verb.

s. As we have seen earlier at various points, the ‘lightness’ or ‘heaviness’ of an element is regarded in a functional approach to language to be a matter of the complexity of its meanings and so its ‘newness’ to the Addressee. One factor that contributes significantly to semantic complexity is embedding in syntax. The greater the depth of any embedded units that an element contains, the more semantically complex the meanings it expresses. From this viewpoint, then, we would expect a nominal group that contains an embedded clause to be perceived as more complex than one that does not, since the potential complexity of the syntax and semantics of the clause is greater than that of any other unit in English. The interesting by-product of this is that sometimes a Complement that contains a brief embedded clause gets treated by the Performer as more complex than a longer nominal group that contains less depth of embedding. Fraser (1966:9 fn.), for example, has suggested that, while *The student worked more than seven of the difficult examples out* has a Complement with seven words and is, in the Chomskyan terminology of the time ‘grammatical’, *The student worked the example which he recognized out* is more likely to be judged ‘ungrammatical’ - even though its Complement consists of only five words. In a functional grammar that gives a central place to probability such as the present one, we will prefer to say that the first example is unusual but not unacceptable, while the second one is very unlikely indeed.

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And in a functional approach we will also interpret any such ‘syntactic complexity’ as reflecting ‘semantic complexity’. In a systemic functional grammar this is to be measured in terms of the number of choices in the system networks that have had to be made to generate it. On the other hand, complexity can be measured at the level of form in a crude but reasonably efficient manner by counting the number of words in the element (and for greater sophistication the number of morphemes or syllables). A simplified version of the set of semantic criteria for calculating the complexity of such Complements in terms of their semantic features has been implemented in the computer model of the Cardiff Grammar. An extremely thorough study of the variables that may affect the processing of this structure is given in Gries (2002), to whom I am indebted for the reference to the work by Fraser cited above.

t. However, there is an occasional informal spoken British English usage in which *out* is a preposition, as in *He looked out the window*. And in American English the preposition *in back of* functions as the converse of *in front of* (so corresponding to the British English *behind*). But the word *back* on its own is never a preposition.

u. However, those involved in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language have always realized the central position of phrasal verbs, and there are currently in print a dozen or so works that are solely devoted to listing and describing them and their meanings - often with the descriptions of prepositional and phrasal-prepositional verbs included in the same work, and sometimes with the structural differences between them seriously under-represented. One particularly valuable source is the *COBUILD English Grammar* (Sinclair *et al.* 1990) and its related work on ‘phrasal verbs’ (Sinclair *et al.* 1989).

Surprisingly, in view of the general high standards of coverage and the functional principles on which these works are constructed, the important set of phrasal verbs that have a form of *be* at M is omitted from the COBUILD grammars - as indeed from some other studies.

Finally, I should perhaps point out that, despite the broad similarities between our approach to grammar and that of the COBUILD researchers, there are important differences between the two descriptions. Firstly, the COBUILD team do not give the prominence to the distinction between phrasal, prepositional and prepositional verbs made here and in works such as Quirk *et al.* (1985) - treating them all as ‘phrasal verbs’. Secondly, their sub-classes of ‘phrasal verb’ and not the same as the sub-classes recognized here. The main evidence for the value of the categories of phrasal verb recognized here is that they enable us to provide tests for identifying the element MEx.

v. It would be possible to argue that in examples such as *She went out (for half an hour)* (77a) there is a **covert** destination to which ‘she’ is going. But notice that, if you adopt the view that there is a covert Complement in (77a), it is very much less easily recoverable than the one type of covert PR that we have met so far (i.e. the covert Subject in a ‘directive’ such as *Eat up your lunch*, which we met in Section 7). And it is very much less recoverable than the Complement is in a clause such as *Eat up!* or *Did you shave this morning?* - two types of covert Complement that we will meet in Section 10).

In fact there doesn’t seem to be any very convincing reason to take the position that there is a ‘destination’ in such cases. Indeed, if you think that something is missing it might equally well be the place that ‘she’ is leaving - so that (77a) could be seen as a shorter version of *She went out from her claustrophobic little apartment for half an hour*. Alternatively - and I think more accurately - we may take the position that in most examples of this sort there is no recoverable location at all. The emphasis is on ‘going out’ - perhaps to get some fresh air - rather than ‘going to or from somewhere’. In other words, THE WORD *out* GIVES A SLIGHT BUT SUFFICIENT INDICATION OF ‘DIRECTIONALITY’.

w. This does not rule out the possibility of finding occasional examples in which the same phrasal verb is used in a two consecutive two-role Process, such that the second role is **ellipted** in the second clause - e.g. as in:

Fred: *Where’s Ivy? Has she gone out to the shops with Ike?*
Fiona: *Yes, she has gone out.*

Here we might interpret Fiona’s utterance as an ellipted version of Fred’s (especially if it had the Tonic on *has*, as in *Yes, she HAS gone out*). However, the reply *Yes, she has* would be more natural. It seems as if *Yes, she has gone out* carries the implication that Fiona is not committing herself to the idea that Ike and Ivy’s destination was the shops. This is further evidence for the

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approach taken here.

x. Interestingly, the item *back* does not occur as a **MEx** when *back* is used as a **M**, as in *He backed the car into the garage*. Notice that the reason for this is not, as one might at first think, that this is simply a case of redundancy, because the Process of 'backing' a car refers to the direction in relation to the front and back of the car, while the word *back* as an **MEx** refers to returning something to its original position. The reason is more likely to be the general dislike of using TWO IDENTICAL FORMS OF LANGUAGE CLOSE TOGETHER, and so of possibly causing semantic confusion. This is why one could probably say, in an appropriate context, *He reversed the car back into the garage*.

y. Some grammarians might want to use this fact to support the argument that what we are here treating as the third Participant Role in such Processes - and so as a Complement - should not be treated as a Complement but as an Adjunct. However, while agreeing that Complements which are 'locations' are a little more 'Adjunct-like' than those that are the more usual type of 'object', I suggest that the many advantages of considering them as Complements greatly outweigh this relatively peripheral fact. (See Section 3.7 of Chapter 3 for an introductory account of some of the reasons for treating such 'locations' as Participant Roles, and so as Complements.)

z. Interestingly, when the MEx is *back*, it can come **AFTER THE SECOND COMPLEMENT** - so long as the Complement is not filled by a prepositional group (for which see Chapter 8). Compare the possible (if unusual) example of *He gave the boys their books back* with the impossible **He gave their books to the boys back*. Clearly, the preferred structure is normally neither of these, but either *He gave the boys back their books* or *He gave the books back to the boys*. The criteria set out in the main text cover the analysis of all these cases.

aa. We cannot change *He sent out the circular to everyone* to **He sent the circular to everyone out*, which reflects the fact that if the **MEx** is separated from its **M** it normally comes after the first Complement, rather than at the end of the clause. However, as we have already noted, a MEx that is expounded by *back* can come **AFTER THE SECOND COMPLEMENT** - so long as the Complement is not filled by a prepositional group (for which see Chapter 8). Compare the possible (if unusual) example of *He gave the boys their books back* with the impossible **He gave their books to the boys back*. Clearly, the preferred structure is normally neither of these, but either *He gave the boys back their books* or *He gave the books back to the boys*. The criteria set out in the main text cover the analysis of all these cases.

bb. Note that we cannot simply rely on the differences in form between main verb extensions and prepositions to make the distinction for us. This is because, while there is a difference between the MExs *in*, *out* and *on* and the directional prepositions *into*, *out of* and *onto*, there is no difference in other cases, such as *off*, *up* and *down* - or indeed with some uses of *in* and *on*.

cc. The term 'bodily preparation' is taken from Neale (2002) and it is preferable to alternative terms that have been suggested for a partly similar set of verbs, such as 'grooming' (Levin 1993). This because some high frequency members of this class of verbs, such as *dress* and *undress*, can hardly be considered types of 'grooming'.