

## Approaching the French Clause as a Move in Dialogue: Interpersonal Organisation\*

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### I. Introduction

From the point of view of systemic functional theory, a clause in any language is multifunctional. It is a simultaneous representation of different types of meaning: textual, experiential and interpersonal (Halliday 1985), organised at once as a message (textual), as a process configuration (experiential), and as an interactive move in speech exchange (interpersonal). It follows that the grammar of any language may be approached from any or all three of these metafunctional view points. In this paper, I will focus on the French clause primarily from the point of view of the interpersonal metafunction. More specifically, I will be concerned with an examination of the clause as the realisation of an interactive move in dialogue.

The descriptive orientation of the paper will be guided by a number of assumptions based both on insights into the nature of language in general and into the particularities of a specific language under examination – here French. Interpersonally, every language constructs dialogue for exchanging meaning, for at the most abstract level the exchange of meaning consists precisely in giving or demanding information [propositions] or goods & services [proposals] (Halliday 1984; 1985). The interaction of the primary speech roles – those of giving or demanding – with the commodities to be exchanged – namely, information or goods & services – makes up the four primary speech functions of statement, question, offer and command. If the

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lexicogrammatical systems which realise the semantics of exchange, or speech functional semantics in the languages of the world, are referred to as MOOD systems, then it will be true by definition that the grammar of all languages will have MOOD systems. But we can go beyond the trivial issue of similarity by nomenclature, and point to more specific similarities which are functional in nature: because of the universality of the primary speech functions that are essential to the process of dialogue, we can assume that the primary MOOD options will be similar across languages (see Matthiessen 1992 for a typological outlook on MOOD across languages). In keeping with this claim, it will be found that the grammar of MOOD in French resembles that of English and other languages in terms of its primary MOOD options, differentiating between indicative and imperative as well as between the indicative subtypes, declarative and interrogative.

It, however, does not necessarily follow from this claim that there exists a complete identity of MOOD systems across languages; far from this, as our description of the interpersonal grammar of the French clause becomes more delicate, the MOOD options in the systems will be found to be more specific to French. Further, the similarity of primary systemic choices does not entail that the structural realisation of these primary features will be the same in French as it is in English, displaying a Mood-Residue structure (Halliday 1985). Rather than implying a similarity of structural elements and/or their configuration, what the theory predicts is that the mode of expression for MOOD choices will be prosodic rather than segmental in all languages (Halliday 1979; Matthiessen 1990). So the interpersonal organisation of the French clause presented here begins with phenomena that are assumed to be congruent across languages, such as the primary categories of speech functional semantics, MOOD systems and the mode of expression or structure type, to arrive at a particular description which, in terms of both systemic options and their structural realisation, will on the whole, be specific to the French clause as interaction, respecting the particularities of the French language.

With this goal in mind, in section 2 I will examine how the French clause is organised structurally as an interactive move<sup>1</sup> in an exchange, how

1. Following Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), move is the rank below that of the exchange. These are seen as belonging within the discourse semantics stratum (Martin 1992). The SPEECH FUNCTION system is located at move rank. A move is realised in the grammar by a clause selecting independently for MOOD.

exchanges are initiated and responded to, which part of the clause is typically replayed, and how propositions and proposals are realised lexicogrammatically at the primary degree of delicacy. Section 3 will be concerned with the MOOD structure of French. Here I will account for the various structural patterns, characterising the most important structural features of the interpersonal organisation of the French clause. This will pave the way for an examination of the MOOD system in section 4, where the syntagmatic phenomena already outlined in section 3 will be examined from a systemic or paradigmatic perspective. Attention will be drawn in section 5 of the paper, to certain aspects of the textual organisation of the French clause in a dialogic context. This will allow us to indicate the typical pattern of conflation for the textual and interpersonal elements in the French clause. Hopefully these discussions will have provided sufficient details of the French clause as interaction to permit in section 6, a general comparison of the modal structure of the French and English clause. As according to the systemic functional descriptions, Subject plays an important function in this structure, at this point we will also compare the role of Subject in French and in English. The paper will close with some general remarks.

## 2. The French clause as a move in an exchange

Let us begin by asking how statements, questions, offers and commands are initiated and responded to in French dialogic texts since an understanding of this will enable us to determine which part of the clause is crucially involved in the process of exchange and how interpersonal choices are lexicogrammatically realised in French.

### 2.1 A preliminary exploration of French exchanges

Consider the text in (1), taken from Simone de Beauvoir's *Les Bouches Inutiles* (1945). In text 1, each individual clause is numbered in lower case Roman numerals; the first line of each clause provides the French wording; the second gives an inter-linear gloss, while the third represents an idiomatic translation in English:

**Text 1:**

[*Une femme à une autre* = a woman to another woman]

- (i) *Hâte-toi!*      (ii) *Les cloches sonnent.*  
 Hurry-you            the bells    ring  
 Hurry up!            The bells are ringing.

[*Une autre femme* = Another woman]

- (iii) *Est- ce commencé?*  
 Is    it    started  
 Has it started?

[*Un vieillard* = An old man]

- (iv) *C' est commencé ?*  
 It is    started  
 Has it?

[*Un homme* = A man]

- (v) *C' est commencé.*  
 It is    started  
 It has.

[*Voix* = Voices]

- (vi) *C' est commencé! C' est commencé!*  
 It is started      It is started  
 It has!

- (vii) [*Ils sortent en courant..*]  
 [They go out running]  
 [They run outside.]

Semantically this short exchange may be characterised as a macro-proposal, which starts with a command in (i) followed by a justifying statement in (ii) and ends with a non-verbal response described in (vii) to the initial command issued in (i). The resolution of the exchange is interrupted by four dynamic moves (Martin 1992). Move (iii) demands clarification by means of a question as to why 'they should hurry up'. Move (iv) echoes this preceding question, while move (v) is a statement in response to the clarification question and move (vi) is an exclamation. Because the text is congruently realised, with MOOD options harmonising with the SPEECH FUNCTION ones, we note that command is realised by an imperative, the justifying statement and response statement by a declarative, the clarification question and echo question by an interrogative and the exclamation by the exclamation.

ive. But how is this negotiation carried forward? How are the mood options such as interrogative, declarative etc. realised?

As pointed out above, the resolution of the exchange in (1) is prolonged by four moves (iii-vi) which play an important role in negotiating the exchange. An analysis of their modal structure is presented in (2) where these moves are freshly re-numbered as individual clauses (i-iv). In the analysis presented here, function labels have initial capital letter e.g. Subject, Finite etc., while names of systems are capitalised throughout. Thus Mood is the name of a function in a structure, while MOOD is the name of a system of options. The key to function labels is located at the end of the paper:

- (2) i *Est- ce commencé?*  
       Fin   Subj   Pred  
       ii *C' est commencé?*  
           Subj   Fin   Pred  
       iii *C' est commencé.*  
           Subj   Fin   Pred  
       iv *C' est commencé!*  
           Subj   Fin   Pred

The modal structure and the speech functions of (2i-iv) in this dialogue show that negotiating the resolution of the exchange involves the replaying of the interpersonal functions of Subject (Subj), Finite (Fin) and Predicator (Pred). It is suggested here that these three functions are, as a general rule, crucial both to the negotiation process in French and to the realisation of MOOD options. In view of this, I will refer to that part of the clause as **Negotiator** which is comprised of these three crucial functions. The Negotiator is the most salient part of the interpersonal structure of the French clause, thus implying the same status to the three functions which comprise it. Ignoring the difference in the ordering of Subject and Finite between 2i and 2ii, as irrelevant to the present discussion, Figure 1 summarises graphically the structural relation between the Negotiator and the three crucial MOOD functions which comprise it in (2i-iv).

Note further that the realisation of the MOOD options instantiated in the clauses of (1-2) employs the prosodic mode of expression. Intonation is quite obviously the prototypical means for prosodic expression; and it is notable that this may be the only resource used to indicate the systemic MOOD contrasts in French, as is obvious from a consideration of (2i-iv). The

C'	est	commencé
Subject	Finite	Predicator
Negotiator →		

Figure 1: The 'Minimal' Negotiator

different tones associated with these clauses are indicated by the conventional punctuation marks (please see section 2 on the different tones in French). In clause (2ii) the sole realisation of a yes-no interrogative is by intonation, while (2i) shows that in addition to tone, this MOOD option can also be realised by ordering Finite before Subject (F^S). This latter type of realisation is called grammatical prosody (Matthiessen 1992: 398). It is prosodic in the sense that the systemic option interrogative is realised by the ordering of the two functions, so that the realisation spreads over more than one constituent of the clause. From this point of view, the concatenations S^F and F^S indicate a contrast analogous to falling versus rising tone.

The structure of the Negotiator as outlined here pertained to the indicative mood types. How does this compare with the analysis of the imperative clause? There are some differences as the analysis in (3) shows:

- (3) *Hâte toi*  
Pred C-clitic

So far as the modal structure of the imperative is concerned, it appears to consist simply of Predicator followed by a Complement-clitic (C-clitic). The clitic in (3) is coreferential with the Subject; and the function Subject is always implicit in the French imperative mood. (For greater detail, see sub-section 3.2). The verb *se hâter* (to hurry up), like many other such verbs in French, is constructed with a pronominal clitic and therefore the *toi* in *hâte-toi* must be treated as an obligatory element. With the analysis of this imperative clause as an exemplar, we can postulate that the Negotiator in imperative clauses consists of an obligatory function, Predicator; and in addition, a C-clitic must occur if the verb in the Predicator is 'reflexive', as in (3). Though these represent some of the most crucial functions in the Negotiator, there is more to this element than is pointed out here; later I shall identify certain optional functions such as polarity and modal Adjuncts, in

addition to functions, which, depending on their textual status, might either occur inside or outside the Negotiator.

### 3. Modal Structure in French: the Negotiator and Remainder

Hopefully, my account of clauses from dialogue (1) has highlighted two important facts about the French clause as interaction. First, the replay of Subject, Finite and Predicator is one means of resolving an exchange in French. Secondly, the MOOD options have a prosodic mode of expression, which either solely employs the phonological means or a combination of both phonological and grammatical ones. I will now probe the interpersonal structure of the French clause further in delicacy by focussing on a range of exchanges which highlight the recurrent linguistic patterns central to negotiation. Sub-section 3.1 examines a series of adjacency pairs concerned with giving and demanding information. This will be followed in 3.2 by an account of adjacency pairs concerned with giving and demanding goods and services. A word should be added here about the conventions used in the presentation and analysis of these examples. As in (1) and (2) each clause in the adjacency pair is numbered individually. The second line presents an interlinear translation for every newly introduced French example; the third line provides the linguistic analysis, where those functions are shown in bold which are relevant to the structure of the Negotiator. The idiomatic translation of the entire adjacency pair is given only after both members of the pair have been analysed. The analysis of the adjacency pair is followed by comments on the lexicogrammatical means used to realise the speech functional semantics of exchange. A summary of this discussion is then tabulated (see for example Figure 2 in 3.1.1).

#### 3.1 The clause as exchange of information: the structure of French propositions

This section is concerned with the description of the structure of clauses functioning in question-response adjacency pairs. Questions can be further classified as **confirmation question** or **information question**. The realisation of these speech functions is distinct; the former are realised by a polar interrogative, the latter by a non-polar interrogative. Further, the element picked up in the response varies depending on whether the initiating question

is a confirmation one or an information one. Typically it is the Negotiator that is replayed in a response to confirmation question, and the Remainder in response to the information question. I will begin by examining the type of adjacency pair which is initiated by a confirmation question as exemplified in the initiating move of (4) to (12). These questions and their responses are discussed in 3.1.1, while subsection 3.1.2 is concerned with those adjacency pairs which are initiated by an information question as in examples (13) to (17).

### 3.1.1 Confirmation questions and their responses

In section 2.1 we noted two means of realising polar interrogatives, intonation and the ordering of Finite^Subject (cf examples 2i-ii). A third means of realising polar interrogatives is exemplified in the initiating move of (4):

- (4) i *Est-ce que tu vois la lune?*  
 is it that you see the moon  
 M-int **Subj Fin/Pred** Comp  
 —Negotiator— Remainder
- ii *Oui je la vois*  
 Yes I it see  
 P-mrkr **Subj C-clitic Fin/pred**  
 —Negotiator—
- (i) Do you see the moon? (ii) Yes, I do.

The feature polar interrogative in the initiating move of example (4) is realised by the Mood interrogator *est-ce que*. Matthiessen (1992: 398) refers to this type of grammatical prosody as juncture prosody, since the element Mood-interrogator (M-int) can only occur at the boundary of the clause. Although clearly a part of the interpersonal organisation of the clause, this element falls outside the negotiatory structure: certainly, M-interrogator is associated with the presence of the option polar interrogative; however, it is by no means crucial to the realisation of that option, since the rising tone is by itself sufficient for the purpose. M-interrogator has the status of Theme, pointing to the interpersonal role of the clause as a yes/no question; unlike other interpersonal functions such as Subject or Complement, it does not conflate with any experiential function. The nominal group *la lune* in example (4i) realising the element Complement (Comp), forms the **Remain-**

**der** of the clause. I am thus identifying three categories of interpersonal functions: (i) those which enter into the Negotiator, e.g., Subject, Finite, Predicator, and the various clitics; (ii) those which enter into the Remainder, namely, Complement(s) and/or Adjuncts; and (iii) functions that remain peripheral to both the Negotiator and the Remainder. So far as the French clause as an interactive move is concerned, it is the first two categories of interpersonal functions – those which enter into the Negotiator and the Remainder – that are of special interest to us. The Negotiator and the Remainder together form a structure, which should, in fact, be viewed as the modal structure of the French clause in the sense that it is the immediate components of this modal structure that are relevant to negotiation in speech exchange. For this reason it seems appropriate to refer to it as the **negotiatory structure** of the French clause. By implication, then, I am suggesting four layers of interpersonal structure as shown in Figure 2.

Est-ce que	tu	vois	la lune
M-marker	Subject	Fin/Pred	Complement
	<b>Negotiator</b> →		Remainder
	negotiatory structure →		
interpersonal structure →			

Figure 2: The Interpersonal structure

I claimed earlier (see section 2.1) that the resolution of an exchange in French often revolves around the replay of the Negotiator. This claim is further supported by the responding move in (4ii). The response statement here is expressed by means of the Polarity-marker (P-mrkr) *oui* followed by the replay of all the interpersonal functions of the initiating move; only the latter – *je la vois* – enters into the negotiatory structure. Note that in this replay cohesive relations become central; thus the complement of (4i), *la lune*, reappears in (4ii) simply as *la* acting as a Complement-clitic. As a cohesive device (Halliday and Hasan 1985), *la* is given and recoverable. What can be recovered by both interactants from context and stays a constant in the exchange is realised by a pronominal in the form of a clitic, which in the indicative is prefixed to the verbal group functioning as Fin/Pred, as it

is in (4ii). However, given and recoverable entities may be indicated in other ways. So, in (5ii), it is full clausal ellipsis that marks this shared aspect of the dialogue. The textual resources of both REFERENCE and ELLIPSIS are quite commonly employed in the type of exchange, where the initial move is realised by a polar interrogative, and the following response by a declarative (see also 18 and 19 in section 3.1.3).

- (5) i *Pierre vois tu la lune?*  
 Pierre see you the moon  
 Fin/Pred S-clitic Comp  
 —Negotiator— Remainder
- ii *Non*  
 no  
 P-mrkr  
 (i) Pierre, do you see the moon? (ii) No.

Example (5i) resembles (2i); both realise the polar interrogative by ordering the Finite before Subject (F<sup>^</sup>S), and in addition, the Subject in both is realised by a pronominal clitic. In (5i), the Subject-clitic (S-clitic) is coreferential with the nominal *Pierre*, which occurs in a thematic position. This nominal segment is separate from the rest of the clause as an interactive move and plays no role in its transitivity structure. It performs only a textual function. Such themes, which neither enter in the interpersonal nor the experiential structure of the clause, are referred to as **absolute Theme** (Th-abs). Nominals, such as *Pierre* here, are not limited to having just this function; for example, *Pierre* could also have been assigned the function of New, realised phonologically. In that case, it would have had a contrastive meaning (*Pierre* and not the others). Rothemberg (1989: 153) points out that "orally the organisation of the clause as message is not dependent on word order alone. Intonation can assign the role of rheme<sup>2</sup> even to a term which is not in final position" (translation mine, AC). She goes on to say that "graphically, to convey the information that the one at whom the question is directed is Paul, not others, the solution is to add a tonic pronominal following the absolute Theme, as in *Paul, lui, je l'ai vu*" (translation mine, AC), where she would interpret *Paul* as Theme and *lui* as Rheme. However, following Halliday's

distinction between Theme-Rheme and Given-New structures, I interpret both *Paul* and *lui* as absolute Theme in Rothemberg's examples, treating *Paul* as Given and *lui* as New. (For further discussion of some aspects of the textual organisation of the French clause specifically from a dialogic point of view, see section 5).

Example (5) also shows that, unlike English, the Finite is not always discretely realised in an interrogative clause, but can be fused in the Predicator depending on tense selection, in which case the Subject is ordered in relation to that Predicator with which the Finite is fused. Thus the generalisation holds true that Subject is always ordered in relation to the verbal constituent which specifies direct temporal reference to the speech event, that is, the Finite. This constituent is discrete when the realisation of temporal relations is complex, and fused when the tense is simple, i.e., when the tense selection is either simple past, imperfect past or present. From this it follows that whenever Finite is discretely expressed, and the interrogative mood is partly/wholly realised by ordering Finite before Subject, the latter would intervene between Finite and Predicator in the Negotiator of the clause; otherwise, it follows the Predicator.

Exchange (6) is a follow up to exchange (5). This time the interrogative is realised by intonation alone rather than by the juncture particle *est-ce que* as in (4i) or by ordering Finite before Subject-clitic as in (5i).

- (6) i *Tu la vois Paul?*  
 you it see Paul  
 S-clitic C-clitic Fin/Pred
- ii *Oui*  
 yes  
 P-mrkr  
 (i) Do you see it, Paul? (ii) Yes.

Here the shift in Subjecthood is emphasised by the nominal *Paul*, which in this example follows the Negotiator. Like the nominal *Pierre* in (5i), *Paul* too is **absolute Theme**, having simply a textual function and not conflating with any interpersonal or experiential function in the clause. Such a Theme, when clause final, is referred to as **reprise Theme**. In example (6), the reprise Theme conflates with the function Given, in the sense that it is not contrastive. If instead of *Paul*, we had the tonic pronominal *toi* as in *tu la vois, toi* (which would contrast the addressee of this move with *Pierre*), then

2. What Rothemberg calls 'Rheme' is very much like Halliday's notion of 'New' in the sense that it is listener-oriented rather than speaker-oriented (see Halliday, 1985).

*toi* would be analysed as both reprise Theme (Th-rep) and New (see section 5 for more detailed discussion on absolute Themes). The important role played by absolute Themes in spoken discourse is further exemplified by (7):

- (7) i *L' as tu vu?*  
 it have you seen  
 C-clitic Fin Subj Pred  
 ii *Moi, oui*  
 I yes  
 Th-abs P-mrkr  
 (i) Have you seen her? (ii) Yes, **I have**.

The resolution of an exchange may revolve around the two textual functions of absolute Theme and Polarity-marker as in (7). When the absolute Theme is coreferential with the Subject it serves to emphasise 'modal responsibility'<sup>3</sup>. The addressee may decide to validate the speaker's information (as in example 7) or may assign modal responsibility to someone else. When the absolute Theme is coreferential with a Complement as in *elle, je l'ai vu* (*I saw her*), it gives the interactant an opening to challenge the information given by the preceding speaker. A possible follow up to move (i) of example (7) would be *elle, non; une autre* (*her, no, someone else*).

If, as proposed here, the Negotiator realises MOOD selections, then clearly this realisation is prosodic. According to Halliday (1979) the prosodic mode of expression is not restricted to MOOD selections alone; it extends to all the interpersonal resources, as can be seen from the patterns exemplified in (8). Here negative polarity is realised as a prosody *ne...pas*, the items occurring in different places in the clause. Negation occurs first following *tu* as a negative clitic Adjunct (A-neg-clitic), *ne*, then it occurs after the Finite as a negative non-clitic Adjunct (A-neg) *pas*. *Pas* may be replaced by other negative Adjuncts e.g., *plus* (any more), *jamais* (never), or by a negated Complement or one that is itself negative e.g., *personne* (nobody). With negative Subject, *pas* is not present as in *personne n'ai venu* (nobody came). (See Battye and Hintze 1992: 268). Note in passing that the polarity marker

in (8ii) also shows that a polarity positive response to a negative question is *si* rather than *oui*.

- (8) i *Tu ne l' as pas vu?*  
 you not it have not seen  
 Subj A-neg-clitic C-clitic Fin A-neg Pred  
 ii *Si*  
 yes  
 P-mrkr  
 (i) Didn't you see it? (ii) Yes, I did.

The lexicogrammatical realisation of negative polarity may vary depending on tenor and mode. Battye and Hintze (1992: 268) note that in "less formal styles of spoken French, it is common for the first element *ne* not to appear..", citing the following examples in support of their claim:

- (9) *Je vois pas Marie*  
 I see not Marie  
 I don't see Marie.  
 (10) *Je vois plus Marie*  
 I see any more Marie  
 I can't see Marie any more.  
 (11) *J' ai mangé aucune tarte*  
 I have eaten no pie  
 I didn't eat any pie.

On the other hand, "in written French there is a small class of verbs which permit negative structures to be formed by the use of *ne* alone. These are *pouvoir* [be able to], *savoir* [to know], *cesser* [to stop] and *oser* [to dare]" (Battye & Hintze 1992).

It is obvious from these examples that, in addition to Subject, Finite and Predicator, the Negotiator may have a Complement clitic and/or negative clitic and/or non-clitic Adjuncts. The responding move in Example (12) below illustrates that more than one Complement clitic may be attached to the Finite:

- (12) i *As- tu donné le livre à Paul?*  
 have you given the book to Paul  
**Fin Subj Pred** Comp Comp  
 —Negotiator— —Remainder—

3. Halliday (1985) defines the Subject as the one modally responsible. In a proposal, the modally responsible participant is the one 'responsible for carrying out the offer or command. In a proposition this means the one on which the validity of the information is made to rest.'

- ii *Oui je le lui ai donné.*  
 yes I it to him have given  
**S-clitic C-clitic C-clitic Fin Pred**  
 —Negotiator—

(i) Did you give the book to Paul? (ii) Yes, I did.

The relative ordering of Complement clitics is governed by a number of semantic variables, which cannot be discussed within the scope of this paper. Interpersonally the Complement clitics with interactant roles e.g., *me*, *te* precede non-interactant Complement clitics e.g., *le*, *la*. If there are two third person non-interactant clitics as in (12), then the accusative pronominals e.g., *le* always precede dative pronominals e.g., *lui*, whatever the MOOD choice. Thus they follow the ordering of the nominals they cohere with. This is in contrast with the clitics referring to the interactant roles: here the accusative pronominal clitic does not necessarily have to precede the dative one, as can be seen from *Paul me le donne* (Paul gives it to me), where the dative *me* precedes the accusative *le*.

### 3.1.2 Information questions and their responses

Turning to adjacency pairs where the initiating move constitutes a demand for information rather than for confirmation, such questions are congruently realised by nonpolar interrogatives. In (13i) the focus is not on polarity, but on a missing element of information; this is what the Q-element stands for.

- (13) i *Quand est-ce-que tu arrives?*  
 when is it that you arrive  
**Q-Adj M-int S-clitic Fin/Pred**  
 Remainder —Negotiator—
- ii *Demain.*  
 tomorrow  
 Adj  
 Remainder
- (i) When are you arriving? (ii) Tomorrow.

The Q-element may conflate with the interpersonal functions Subject, Complement or Adjunct. In (13i) it is conflated with the Adjunct function,

and followed by the Mood-interrogator *est-ce que*. In discussing the structure of the polar interrogative, we identified three different means of realisation: presence of Mood-interrogator, tone, and the ordering of the Finite before the Subject. These three means are available to nonpolar interrogatives, as well. However, when Q-element is conflated with Subject, the possibility of inversion does not exist, and the conflated Q-Subject, together with the Finite, functions within the Negotiator, as (14) illustrates.

- (14) i *Qui est arrivé?*  
 who is arrived  
**Q-Subj Fin Pred**  
 —Negotiator—
- ii *Ton cousin.*  
 your cousin  
**Subj**  
**Negotiator**
- (i) Who has arrived? (ii) Your cousin.

In spoken French, when the Q-element conflates with either an Adjunct or a Complement which refers to a non-human, then it may occur in Rheme as (15) and (16) illustrate. In this environment, Subject always precedes Finite. Note that in French this type of interrogative is not limited to simply realising echo questions; it can also realise an initiating question, at least in the spoken mode.

- (15) *Tu arrives quand?*  
 you arrive when  
**Subj Pred/Fin Q-Adj**  
 —Negotiator— Remainder  
 When do you arrive?
- (16) *Tu parles quoi?*  
 you speak what  
**Subj Pred-Fin Q-Comp**  
 —Negotiator— Remainder  
 What (language) do you speak?

In (16), *quoi* is the tonic form of *que*, the latter being used only in initial position, as in (17):



Subject *tu* and Finite/Predicator *parles*. The response to this in (19ii) is a declarative, which consists simply of the element Remainder, displaying the ellipsis of the Negotiator which would be expanded as Subject^Predicator/Finite *tu parles*. These functions are presumed from the first pair part of the adjacency pair i.e. from (19i). A possible continuation of this exchange is shown in (19 iii) and (iv), where (iii) is another question, and (iv) its response. Here, the elliptical clauses consist solely of the Remainder; nonetheless, the Negotiator still plays an important part in carrying the exchange forward, being presumed by ellipsis. The Negotiator is, thus, a constant throughout the dialogue; it is always relevant and recoverable from the context.

(19) iii *Français et Anglais ?*

French and English  
Comp  
—Remainder—

iv *Non, Français*  
no Franglish  
P-mrkr Comp  
Remainder

(iii) French and English? (iv) No, Franglish.

The fact that interpersonal prosodies, other than those indicating MOOD, have the Negotiator as their domain of realisation further supports the interpretation of this element as interpersonally salient. An example of this has already been given above in (8), where we drew attention to the negative prosody. A further example of this is found in the modal prosodies within the Negotiator. As is evident from example (20), modality<sup>4</sup> can be expressed repeatedly in the Negotiator appearing in the Finite and/or the Predicator as well as in a modal Adjunct:

(20) *Jean pourrait peut-être faire ça.*  
Jean could maybe do this  
Subj Fin-mod A-mod Pred Comp  
——Negotiator—— Remainder  
Jean could maybe do this.

4. The term modality here refers to both modalisation and modulation, which correspond more or less to epistemic and deontic modality, respectively.

Here, the meaning of probability is expressed three times. First by a form of the modal verb, *pouvoir*, secondly, in the Finite (Fin-mod) which makes modal rather than temporal reference to the speech event in *pourrait*, and third by the modal Adjunct (Adj-mod), *peut-être*. Modal Adjuncts do not just realise modality but also 'presumption, time, degree and intensity' (Halliday 1985: 82). Thus the postulate of the Negotiator appears justified, both by its function in the speech exchange and by the fact that its mode of expression is prosodic, as I have attempted to show through the discussion of various examples. It is that part of the clause which must be replayed in the negotiation of speech exchange. Not surprisingly, it is "always there", either overtly or by cohesive presumption.

We turn now to a fuller structural account of the Negotiator. If the analysis of the examples discussed so far is examined, it will be seen that the functions Subject, Finite and Predicator are obligatory: there is no indicative clause where the Negotiator does not include these functions either explicitly or implicitly. In addition to these, we find certain other functions that are optional. These include a negative Adjunct clitic and/or a negative Adjunct, both exemplified in (8), and/or modal Adjuncts, as shown in (20), Complement clitics illustrated in the various examples, and/or an Adjunct clitic (see 18ii). The unmarked order in which these functions may occur in the Negotiator varies somewhat depending on whether the Finite is discrete or fused. By unmarked order, I mean Subject before Finite, which is always the case with declaratives, often also with the interrogatives, though in some cases they may be reversed, as for example in (2i) of section 2.1. The unmarked order of the various functions in the Negotiator is as shown in (a) and (b) below. The key to the symbols is presented at the end of the paper.

(a) Subj^(A-neg-clitic^)(C-clitic^)(A-clitic^)**Fin**^(A-mod\*)(A-neg^)**Pred**.

(b) Subj^(A-neg-clitic^)(C-clitic^)(A-clitic^)**Fin/Pred**^(A-mod\*)(A-neg).

Examples (21) and (22) illustrate the maximal structures (a) and (b) respectively:

(21) *Je ne le lui ai probablement pas donné*  
I not it him have probably not given  
Subj A-neg-clitic C-clitic C-clitic Fin A-mod A-neg Pred  
——Negotiator——

I probably didn't give it to him.

Compare the structure of (21) with the structure potential of the (a) variant of the Negotiator shown above. With respect to English, Matthiessen (1992: 335) points out that in a negative clause, it is the Subject that is outside the negative prosody in the unmarked case precisely because it is the element on which the argument rests: with respect to Subject, the proposition or proposal is negative rather than positive. The same observation appears to apply to the French Subject in (21) which too falls outside negative prosody. This is however not true of example (22):

(22)	<i>Ne</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>a-(t) il</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>encore</i>	<i>donné?</i>
	not	it	him	have he	not	yet	given
	<b>A-neg-clitic</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>Fin</b>	<b>S-clitic</b>	<b>A-neg</b>	<b>A-mod Pred</b>
	————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————						
	Hasn't he given it to him yet?						

Examples (21) and (22) show quite clearly that the Negotiator has the potential of functioning as a complete clause on its own which has the verbal group as its domain of realisation. Note that when the Subject is realised as a nominal rather than a clitic it is not attached to the verbal group, but it still remains part of the Negotiator. It is the only participant of the Negotiator which may be realised as either a pronominal clitic or a nominal. The shift from pronominal clitic Subject to nominal Subject correlates with the assignment of modal responsibility to some other function. This other function is usually a Complement, and it is secondary to the negotiation process. The status of the Complement is variable. When non-clitic, the Complement is part of the Remainder (compare, for example, (4) and (5) in section 3.1.1), and typically has the textual status of New. The clitic status of the Complement shows that it is at the center of the negotiation; and once this happens, then quite predictably it becomes Given.

Our statement of the structure potential of the unmarked Negotiator has shown that its minimal structure consists of Subject, Finite, and Predicate. A minimal Negotiator is still capable of functioning as a complete clause. When the Subject in a minimal Negotiator is a clitic, with the Negotiator functioning as a complete clause, the latter presents itself as a kind of Clause nucleus, in experiential terms. To elaborate, the minimal Negotiator with S-clitic consists of constituents which are in themselves sufficient to support the realisation of an experiential structure. In this respect the Negotiator is quite different from the Mood element in English, which by itself cannot be

assigned an experiential structure. This raises interesting issues in relation to the typological location of the French language which arguably has characteristics of both polysynthetic and analytic languages. Also, it suggests that in French the labour of transitivity is shared between the clause and the verbal group. However, these issues must await another occasion. With this general discussion of the Negotiator in French, we turn to the giving and demanding of goods and services.

### 3.2 The clause as exchange of goods and services: the structure of proposals

As in English, so in French, there does not seem to be a lexicogrammatical structure dedicated specifically to the realisation of offers. We turn therefore to the demand for goods and services, i.e. the command type, grammatically realised as imperative. The structure of the imperative was briefly visited in section 2.1 (see example (5)). In this section we ask how the Negotiator in the imperative compares with that of the indicative (see (a) and (b) previous section). The first point to note is that imperatives do not have a Finite element. They specify neither modal nor temporal reference to the speech situation. Secondly, although the Subject does not appear overtly, its person, number and social distance (formal vs informal) are realised syncretically in the verb which functions as Predicate. Thus the only obligatory function to appear discretely in the Negotiator of an imperative is the Predicate, as illustrated by (23-26):

(23)	i	<i>Dites-</i>		<i>moi</i>	<i>la vérité!</i>		
		tell		me	the truth		
		<b>Pred-2-sing-form</b>		<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>Comp</b>		
		————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————				<b>Remainder</b>	
	ii	<i>Non</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>vous</i>	<i>le</i>	
		no	I	not	you	it	
		<b>P-mrkr</b>	<b>S-clitic</b>	<b>A-neg-clitic</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	
					<b>P/F</b>	<b>A-neg</b>	
		————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————					
		(i) Tell me the truth! (ii) No, I won't.					
(24)	i	<i>Toi,</i>	<i>dis-</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>la vérité!</i>		
		you	tell	me	the truth		
		<b>Th/New</b>	<b>Pred-2-sing-inf.</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>Comp</b>		
		————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————				<b>Remainder</b>	

- ii *C' est quoi?*  
 it is what  
**S-clitic Fin** Q-Comp  
**Negotiator** Remainder
- (i) You, tell me the truth! (ii) What's truth?
- (25) i *Allons á la plage!*  
 go to the beach  
**Pred-I-S+** Adj  
**Negotiator** Remainder
- ii *Allons- y*  
 go there  
**Pred-I-S+** **A-clitic**  
**-Negotiator-**
- (i) Let's go to the beach! (ii) Yes, let's!

The first move of (23-25) enacts a command which is realised as an imperative. The responding move in each case consists of the Negotiator alone. In (24), the responding move is a challenge, rather than a compliance or an initiating question. These examples highlight the respects in which the interpersonal organisation of the imperative differs from that of the indicative. To reiterate, the imperative has no Finite; nor does it have an explicit Subject. Rather, the person and number of the implicit Subject of each clause is marked on the Predicator, and predictably the implicit Subject of a French imperative is either a second person or 'first person plus', the latter being different from first person plural. The marking of these as well as of formality is indicated clearly in the above analysis. A further feature of imperatives should be noted: clitics, whenever they occur in a French imperative, follow the Predicator, except where the clause has a negative prosody. In the latter case, the order of clitics vis a vis the Predicator is reversed as illustrated in (26):

- (26) *Ne le lui donnes pas!*  
 not it him give not  
**A-neg C-clitic C-clitic Pred-2-sing A-neg**  
 Don't give it to him!

This closes the discussion of the structure of the French clause as an interactive move in an exchange. The description offered here has high-

lighted the specific interpersonal functions which occur in the Negotiator. The Negotiator and the Remainder form what I have called the negotiatory structure, which constitutes the essence of the modal structure in French (see the graphic representation in Figure 2 in section 3.1.1). We have also encountered some functions that are outside the negotiatory structure e.g. the Mood-interrogator, absolute Theme and Polarity marker. I suggested that the Mood-interrogator is part of the interpersonal structure but falls outside the Negotiatory structure; the textual function of absolute Theme, whether initial or reprise, as well as Polarity markers, were seen to have an important role in dialogue. One strong motivation for dividing the clause into Negotiator and Remainder was provided from a consideration of the behaviour of ellipsis, which is defined in relation to these two parts. Thus, ellipsis may either be of the entire Negotiator, or Remainder or of both, when simply a Polarity marker e.g. *oui* or *non* might occur. If there is an ellipsis of the Negotiator, all of its functional parts must be ellipsed. Thus, unlike English, a move cannot be expressed by a replay of just Subject and Finite (Halliday and Hasan 1976; 1985; Martin 1992). The fact that Finite and Predicator must always function together in French indicative clauses, whether the two are fused or not, in addition to the fact that both Finite and Predicator may realise modality (see example (20) in section 3.1.3) suggests that both elements in conjunction with the Subject make the clause arguable. So far this description has been provided in terms of functions in the syntagm – what elements must occur in a structure, and in what order. In the following section, we attempt an examination of the system 'behind' the syntagmatic organisation of the French clause as a move.

#### 4. MOOD potential in French: Options and their realisations

As pointed out in the introduction, the SF model predicts that the primary semantics of the exchange of information and goods & services will reflect similarities across languages. This follows from the more general assumption that 'commonalities across languages are primarily functional rather than structural or realisational' (Matthiessen, Nanri and Licheng 1991: 966). On the other hand it can be predicted that the structural output of the systemic options as well as the secondary more delicate options will tend to differ from one language to that of another. My account of the interpersonal structure of the French clause is true to this prediction. But, at the same time,

at a more abstract level, we note also that MOOD options and interpersonal resources in French have a prosodic type of structure, as they do in English. As far as specific realisations of MOOD selections are concerned, we saw that French makes use of all three types of realisation encountered across languages: tone, MOOD Marker and Subject Finite ordering. The system itself will have to reflect these realisational differences through more delicate features. The lexicogrammatical network presented below will attempt to balance the semantic 'facts' of French with the structural ones. The key to system network notations is provided at the end of this paper.

#### 4.1 The primary MOOD options

We saw in text 1, that the three indicative clause types, i.e. declarative, exclamative, and interrogative may have the same interpersonal organisation with the Subject preceding the Finite, differing in terms of tone contours which are indicated in writing by the use of different punctuation marks. The unmarked intonation of French polar interrogatives is a rising tone, and of the non-polar interrogatives, a falling one. A declarative may have a falling or rising-falling tone depending on how many information units it realises, but it will always end with a falling tone. Exclamatives too have a falling tone. Battye and Hintze (1992: 144) point out that

for declaratives the last syllable of the tone will be on a low pitch falling below the normal speaking range. For non-polar interrogatives and exclamatives, the first syllable will start off on a note which is slightly above that of a normal speaking range.

Thus, both tone and pitch are crucial to the realisation of MOOD features in French, as they may be the only means of manifesting systemic distinctions. Secondary options are distinguished by means of different modes of prosodic expression and thematic organisation. Since I have approached the MOOD grammar of French from dialogue, the options systemised in the networks presented here are representative of spoken language. Some of the resources in the interrogative and exclamative systems are not found in the written mode.

Figure 3a presents the primary options of the MOOD system, those which are expected to be applicable to most languages. Note the slanting arrow below the option [indicative]; such arrows point to the realisational patterns, which themselves are shown in italics. Thus in Figure 3a, this arrow claims

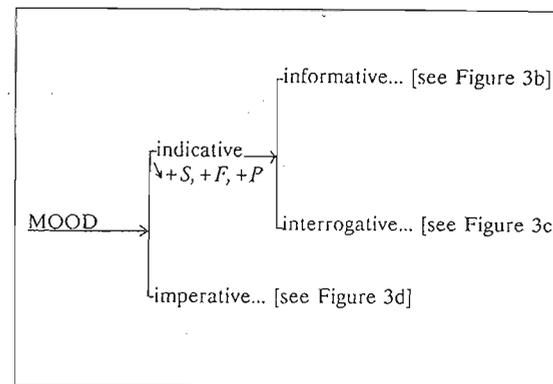


Figure 3a: Primary MOOD options

that the option [indicative] is realised by the insertion of functions Subject, Finite and Predicator into the structure, so that any clause with the feature [indicative] must have these functions. In Figure 3a, the other three options are followed by information, which is a guide to the development of the network. For example, following the option [informative] there appear the words *Figure 3b*, which is to say that the options dependent on [informative] are developed in Figure 3b. The term [informative] is used in preference to the term affirmative to avoid connotations of positive polarity (Martin 1992). The options dependent on [interrogative] and [imperative] are presented in figures 3c and 3d, respectively.

#### 4.2 Options of the informative feature

The option [informative] permits a choice between [declarative] and [exclamative]. In French the crucial properties of the structure of the declarative clause are very easily stated. All French declaratives must 'have' Subject, Finite, and Predicator, in that order. These functions are inserted as a response to the feature [indicative] (See Figure 3a); the criterial ordering of Subject vis a vis Finite is indicated in Figure 3b.

As Figure 3b shows the term contrasting with [declarative] is [exclamative]. Grammatically exclamative clauses may sometimes be similar to interrogatives, but semantically they are closer to declaratives in the sense that they give rather than demand information, which is primarily attitudinal



(28) *Qu'est-ce qu'il est sage, cet enfant*  
 How he is nice, this child  
 M-mrkr **Subj Fin** Comp Th-rep  
**Negotiator** Remainder

How well behaved is this child!

(29) *Qu'il est sage, lui*  
 How he is nice, him  
 M-mrkr **Subj Fin** Comp Th-rep  
**Negotiator** Remainder

How well behaved he is!

In (27) and (28), the nominal *cet enfant* functions as the absolute Theme; it is initial Theme in (27) and reprise Theme in (28), and in both cases it is related cohesively to the Subject *il* – anaphorically in (27), cataphorically in (28). In (29), *lui* is both the absolute reprise Theme and New; further, it is anaphorically related to the Subject *il*.

4.3 Options of the interrogative feature

The interrogative network presented in Figure 3c, starts with two simultaneous systems: the INTERROGATIVE TYPE system, shown in the network as I-TYPE acting as the entry condition to the options [polar] versus [non-polar], and MOOD MARKER system, shown as M-MARKER leading to the options [minus g-prosody] versus [plus g-prosody], where *g-prosody* stands for 'grammatical prosody'. The option [minus g-prosody] implies that phonological prosody – i.e. intonation – is the only mode of realisation; by contrast, the option [plus g-prosody] means that, in addition to intonation, a grammatical prosodic expression will occur in the clause. This grammatical prosody may occur either at clause [juncture] or it may be clause [internal]. With [juncture], the M-marker *est-ce que* is chosen as the clause-initial element, whereas with the choice [internal], the prosody takes the form of inversion whereby Finite is ordered before Subject. If a clause 'is' both [polar] and also [minus g-prosody], then this conjunction permits a choice between [tagged] and [untagged].

The realisation of the option [non-polar] calls for the insertion of Q-element, which typically occurs clause initially. Q-element may conflate with Subject or other function, as reflected in the systemic options [qu-Subject]

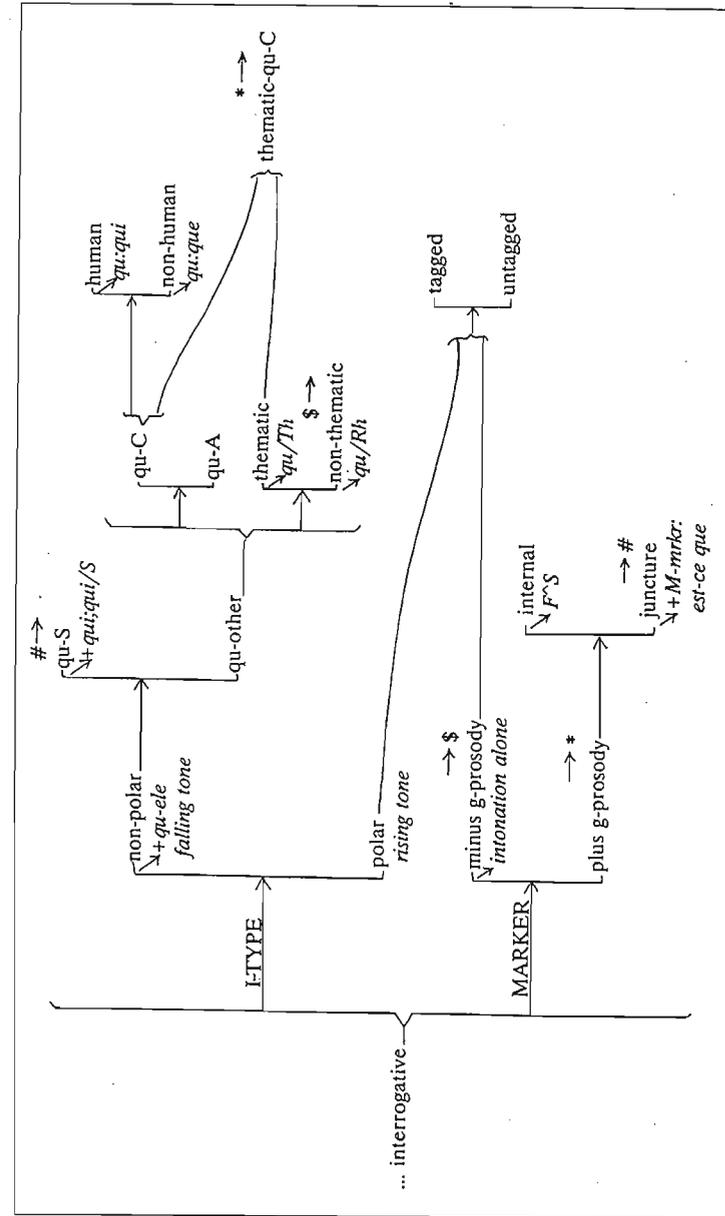


Figure 3c: Options of the [interrogative]

or [qu-other]. With the option [qu-S], Q-element can only occur clause-initially; i.e. the option [internal] is closed to it, the Subject, *qui*, always preceding the Finite. The option [qu-other] permits a choice between [qu-Comp] or [qu-Adj]. [qu-Comp] may be [human]; if so, it is realised as *qui*, or it may be [non-human], when it is realised as *que* when [thematic] and as *quoi* when [rhematic]. Figure 3c shows that the choice between [thematic] and [rhematic] is simultaneous with that between [qu-Comp] versus [qu-Adj]. If the option [thematic] is selected, the Q-element is positioned clause initially, with [rhematic], it is located clause finally serving as 'focus'. When the options [Q-Comp] and [thematic] are co-selected, the clause must 'have a' grammatical prosody, either [juncture] or [internal]. If [rhematic] is selected, then [minus g-prosody] is the only available choice. Finally, the choice of [qu-Comp] leads to a more delicate choice between [human] and [non-human]. Table 2 exemplifies the range of polar interrogatives and Table 3 the range of non-polar interrogatives.

**Table 2: Polar interrogatives: features and examples**

<i>tu aimes les gateaux?</i>	minus g-prosody: untagged
<i>tu aimes les gateaux, hein?</i>	minus g-prosody: tagged
<i>est-ce que tu aimes les gateaux?</i>	plus g-prosody: juncture
<i>aimes-tu les gateaux?</i>	plus g-prosody: internal

Note, unlike the English tag, the French tag does not pick up Subject and Finite. The "now moribund" *n'est-ce pas* (cf Coveney 1990), literally translated into the English as 'isn't it', now functions as equivalent to 'don't I', 'haven't you', 'won't they', etc. and the use of *hein* and *eh* as tag has quite overrun the use of *n'est-ce pas* in casual conversation.

Coveney (1990) mentions two types of wh-interrogatives realised with variants of the interrogative MOOD marker *est-ce que* which are not shown in Table 3. These realisational variants were first identified by Bernstedt (1973) in working class spoken contexts.

- (30) *qui c'est qui l' a mis?*  
 who particle Comp has put  
 Who put it?
- (31) *où qu' on va?*  
 where particle we go?  
 Where are we going?

**Table 3: Non-polar interrogatives: examples and features**

<i>qui a mangé ce gateau?</i>	qu-Subject; minus g-prosody
<i>qui est-ce qui a mangé ce gateau?</i>	qu-Subj; plus g-prosody: juncture
<i>que vois-tu?</i>	qu-Comp: non-human; thematic; plus g-prosody: internal
<i>qui vois-tu?</i>	qu-Comp: human; thematic; plus g-prosody: internal
<i>tu vois quoi?</i>	qu-Comp: non-human; rhematic: minus g-prosody
<i>tu vois qui?</i>	qu-Comp: human; rhematic: minus g-prosody
<i>qu'est-ce que tu vois?</i>	qu-Comp: non-human; thematic; plus g-prosody: juncture
<i>qui est-ce que tu vois?</i>	qu-Comp: human; thematic; plus g-prosody: juncture
<i>où tu vas?</i>	qu-Adj; thematic; minus g-prosody
<i>tu vas où?</i>	qu-Adj; rhematic; minus g-prosody
<i>où vas-tu?</i>	qu-Adj; thematic; plus g-prosody: internal
<i>où est-ce que tu vas?</i>	qu-Adj; thematic; plus g-prosody: juncture

This sub-section has highlighted the various modes of prosodic expression that serve to realise the options dependent on [interrogative] MOOD. It should be noted that the various options in the MOOD MARKING system not only indicate variable ways of expressing the same interrogative types, they also embody different *valeurs* as a result of their use in differing environments (cf the *valeur* of *est-ce que*, as well as of *que-* and *comme*).

#### 4.4 The options of the imperative

From the realisational point of view, the imperative MOOD differs from the indicative by virtue of the absence of the elements Subject and Finite. However, in the imperative the features of person and number relevant to Subject are marked on the Predicator, while in the indicative they are marked on the Finite. This marking within the verbal group thus becomes a means of recognising which nominal has the function of Subject; and the principle applies both in propositions where Subject and Finite are in agreement and

in proposals where it is Subject and Predicator that agree in number and person. I shall return to this issue in Section 6. The absence of Finite in the imperative is explained by the fact that this clause type does not specify temporal reference to the speech event. The imperative system represented in Figure 3d distinguishes between the [exclusive] and the [inclusive]. The former is oriented towards the addressee(s), held responsible for complying, whilst the latter is oriented towards both the speaker and the addressee.

Note that the realisation of the systemic options in each case implicates the Predicator; this is because such distinctions as that between [exclusive] versus [inclusive] are marked on that element, and this marking is always indicative of the implied Subject. Table 4 gives some examples and their systemic features:

**Table 4: the imperative mood: examples and options**

<i>mangeons!</i>	inclusive
<i>mange, Paul</i>	exclusive: singular: informal
<i>mangez, monsieur</i>	exclusive: singular: formal
<i>mangez, les enfant</i>	exclusive: plural

The imperative differs from the indicative in that it neither has a Finite nor an explicit Subject. Further, in an indicative clause clitics precede the Predicator, while in an imperative clause they follow it so long as the polarity is positive. Thus in (32) which is [indicative:informative:declarative] the clitics precede the Predicator *donne*; in (33) which is an imperative, they follow it:

(32) *je le lui donne*

I it him give

I give it to him

(33) *Donne-le-moi*

Give it to me

Give it to me.

When the final clitic of an imperative is first or second person it is realised in its tonic form, i.e. as *moi* or *toi*. In some dialects of French, (34) functions as a variant of (33):

(34) *Donne-me-le*

Give me it

Give it to me.

Declarative clauses differ lexicographically from exclamative and interrogative clauses in that their MOOD is never realised by a juncture particle, such as *comme* or *que* in exclamatives and *est-ce que* in interrogatives. The increase in the use of *est-ce que* in both spoken and written discourse to realise interrogative correlates with a lessening of the order Fin/Pred^S or Fin^S as a means of its realisation. Although the relative order of Subject to either Finite and/or Predicator may serve to realise MOOD selections, in the

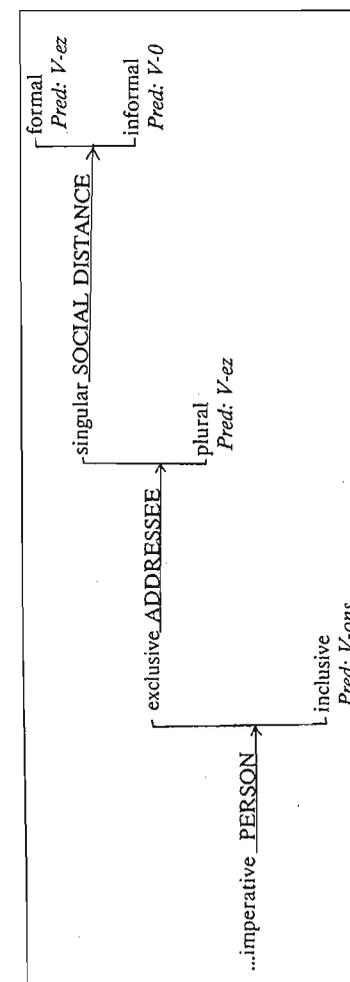


Figure 3d: Options of the [imperative]

majority of cases the Subject will precede the Finite whatever the MOOD. It is this ordering that has been referred to as the unmarked one. Thus, obviously, we cannot generalise quite as we can in English, that the order of Subject and Finite realises MOOD options. The dominant variables which distinguish the mood features are the realisational resources of intonation and the presence or absence of the MOOD markers.

### 5. The textual organisation of the clause as a move in an exchange

It seems that in French dialogues, textual structure functions together with interpersonal structure to resolve an exchange. Often, what in English would be realised as the pairing of Subject and Finite is expressed in French by textually prominent pronominals which may be modified by a negative Adjunct and/or accompanied by a polarity marker, as in (35):

- (35) i *Tu as cassé la chaise?*  
 you have broken the chair  
 Subj Fin Pred Comp
- ii *-Non pas moi, lui.*  
 No not me him  
 P-mrkr A-neg **S-clitic S-clitic**
- iii *-Lui?*  
 him  
**S-clitic**
- iv *-Oui, lui.*  
 Yes him  
 P-mrkr **S-clitic**
- (i) Did you break the chair? (ii) -No, I didn't; he did. (iii) -He did?  
 (iv) -Yes, he did.

In (35ii-iv), all the pronominals shown in bold are what I shall refer to as 'tonic pronominals' – that is to say, these French pronominals typically carry phonological salience (as the term is defined in Halliday 1985); as such they all express textual prominence. In (35ii), both *moi* and *lui* are New, but *lui* is marked as well as New. In (35iii), depending on whether we interpret the elliptical clause as *lui (a cassé la chaise)* or *lui, (il a cassé la chaise)*, it is either unmarked topical Theme or absolute Theme. The same interpretation

applies to (35iv). Thus Theme appears to have a special status in maintaining exchange coherence, and among the various types of themes, the absolute Theme seems to be most relevant to exchange.

#### 5.1 Absolute Theme: a type of prominence specific to French dialogic texts

Absolute Themes, whether reprise or not, are Themes that do not play a role either in the interpersonal or experiential structure of the clause. A reprise Theme is always in a cohesive relationship with the Subject, while a non-reprise absolute Theme may be in a cohesive relationship with any of the (pro)nominals that form part of the Negotiator. This type of thematic organisation, where a textual function is in cohesive relation to a function in the Negotiator is specific to spoken language and particularly to dialogic texts. Such Themes, although they fall outside the negotiatory structure, play an important role in the resolution of an exchange as example (35iii and iv) above illustrate. Hagège (1990: 177-178) interprets these Theme patterns as follows:

French distinguishes between two types of Themes in conversation: the Theme as old information or reprise of known material tends to be postposed, while the Theme as supporting material is generally preposed. Thus we find, on the one hand, sentences like *ça s'élève tout seul, les enfants* ('it raises itself, children', i.e. 'children raise themselves'), or *il n'est pas là, papa* ('he isn't here, papa', i.e. 'papa isn't here') in which *les enfants* and *papa* are contrastive postposed Themes representing information already given. On the other hand, we have *les chiens mordent quand on les provoque* ('dogs bite when provoked') in formal style, with weak thematisation of *chiens*; or *les chiens, ça mord quand on les provoque* in spoken style, with strong thematisation of *chiens*, recapitulated as Subject through the resumptive pronoun *ça*.

Hagège interprets all reprise Themes as contrastive. This is because he combines information and thematic structures. However, his claim does not seem to be supported by the existence of such examples as (6) *Tu la vois, Paul* (see section 3.1.1) where Paul is coreferential with the unmarked topical Theme. It functions as an absolute reprise Theme, but is not presented as contrastive; it is simply Given. The possibility of this sort of selection argues for a distinction between the Theme Rheme structure and the Given New one. To quote Halliday (1985: 278):

although related, Given + New and Theme + Rheme are not the same thing. The

Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you. Theme + Rheme is speaker oriented, while Given + New is listener oriented.

It would seem that either or both of Hagège's preposed and postposed Themes may be either New or Given depending on their phonological marking which is what construes their contrastive meaning. Halliday (1985: 277) points out that "One form of 'newness' that is frequent in dialogue is contrastive emphasis such as that on *you* and *I* in *..//you can go /if you /like //I'm not/ going//*". It is relevant to note here, however, that in French, there are two possible translations of Halliday's clause, with the meaning of 'I' being either realised as initial absolute Theme or reprise absolute Theme:

(36) *Tu peux t'en aller si tu veux, moi, je reste.*

(37) *Tu peux t'en aller si tu veux, je reste, moi.*

In both instances **moi** is absolute Theme and New but it is only in the second case (37), that it is absolute reprise Theme. Both these absolute Themes are tonic pronominals,<sup>5</sup> contrasting with the preceding Subject *tu*. In Hagège's examples, (cf above quote) the Themes are nominal and, contrary to his suggestion, do not seem to have contrastive emphasis. In the present model, both would be analysed as both Theme and Given. Since the examples have to be interpreted out of context, we cannot be sure that they are not contrastive. However, the point to note is that pronominal absolute Themes are not necessarily New and nominal absolute Themes are not always Given. Thus depending on intonation, '*Paul, je l'ai vu*' could mean either *Paul*, [as for him], *I saw him*, where *Paul* is Theme and Given or *Paul* [him but not the others] *I saw him*, where *Paul* is Theme and New (see Rothemberg 1989). In those displaced dialogic texts which are accessed entirely via the graphic channel and therefore provide no direct intonational clue, tonic pronominals are typically New, whilst nominals are typically given as (38) and (39) illustrate:

5. Tonic pronominals as opposed to the pronominals which function within the negotiatory element cannot be cliticized. Tonic and non-tonic pronouns, ie clitics, have different realisations.

(38) *Je l' ai vu Pierre.*  
I him have seen Pierre  
Th-unmkd Rheme—— Th-rep  
Given New Given  
As for Pierre, I have seen him.

(39) *Je l' ai vu, lui*  
I him have seen him  
Th-unmkd Rheme—— Th-rep  
Given—— New  
Him, I have seen.

In (38), *Pierre*, an absolute reprise Theme, is also Given; the function New conflates with Predicator, which is of course part of the Negotiator. In (39), on the other hand, the reprise Theme is presented as New information, and to convey the contrastive meaning the tonic pronominal *lui* is used.

Typically, tonic pronominals do not play a role in the Negotiator of the clause. The sole exception to this generalisation is the third person tonic pronominal referring to the non-interactant **and** functioning as Subject. In such contexts of use, predictably, they are always contrastive as exemplified by (40):

(40) *Lui est venu [pas sa femme]*  
he is come [not his wife]  
Subj Fin Pred  
Th Rheme——  
New Given——  
He came (not his wife).

In (40), *lui* which is Theme/New also plays the role of Subject within the Negotiator of the clause, as opposed to the Themes in (34) and (35) which are only in a cohesive relationship to some negotiatory functions. Let me now take a brief look at the typical patterns of conflation between the interpersonal and the textual functions in the organisation of the French clause.

## 5.2 Negotiatory structure and textual organisation in the French Clause

In section 3.1.1 it was suggested that the negotiatory structure of the French clause consists of two parts – the Negotiator and (optionally) the Remainder

in that order (see Figure 2). Of the MOOD functions identified as capable of occurring in the Negotiator, Complements and two types of Adjunct have a special status, in that they may function either within the Negotiator or in the Remainder. (See for example the discussion of 4i-ii in section 3.1.1). When Complement or Adjunct form part of the Negotiator, they are cliticised; and to say that they are cliticised is to say that they are Given; they are identifiable and non-prominent. When these functions form part of the Remainder, they are New, identifiable or non-identifiable and prominent. The Subject function is typically conflated with Theme and therefore unmarked. Thus the unmarked textual organisation of the negotiatory structure can be characterised as having initial prominence (Subject), a non-prominent median phase (Negotiator minus Subject) and a prominent final phase (Remainder), as shown in Figure 4.

The textual organisation schematised in Figure 4, can be elaborated through an examination of (41):

(41)	<i>Jean</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>a acheté</i>	<i>une glace</i>	<i>à la plage</i>	
	Jean	to him	has bought	an ice	at the beach	
	<b>Subj</b>	<b>C-clitic</b>	<b>Fin Pred</b>	Complement	Adjunct	
	————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————			————— <b>Remainder</b> —————		
	Theme	Rheme —————				
	Given	—————New				
	Jean bought him an ice cream on the beach.					

Note the negotiatory structure in line four of (41); the functions that form part of the Negotiator and the Remainder are identified in line three. The last two lines of analysis provide information about the textual organisation of the clause. *Jean* is both Theme and Given; it is a topical Theme since it also

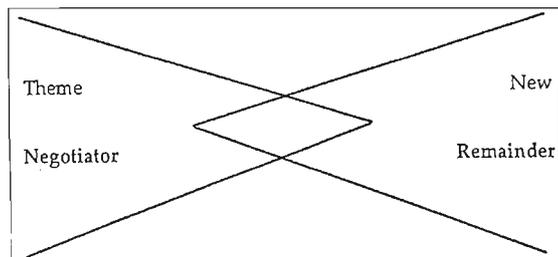


Figure 4: The unmarked textual organization of the negotiatory structure

has an experiential function (the details of which need not concern us here). It is an unmarked Theme, being Given and Subject. The rest of (41) falls within the ambience of Rheme; thus the 'boundary' of Rheme is not isomorphic with that of the Negotiator; it penetrates the latter, as Figure 4 shows. In terms of the Given-New structure, the function New extends right up to the C-clitic *lui*, thus embracing all of the Remainder and most of the Negotiator, simply leaving the Subject *Jean* out of its ambience, which conflates with the textual function Given. This does not mean that Subject must always be Given and unmarked. Thus in (40) Subject is New. Elements of the Remainder, and especially Adjuncts with the experiential function of temporal Circumstance may sometimes function as marked Theme as exemplified in (42):

(42)	<i>Demain</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>suis pas</i>	<i>là</i>	
	tomorrow	I	not	am not	here	
	Adj	<b>Subj</b>	<b>A-neg</b>	<b>Fin</b>	<b>A-neg</b> Adj	
	Th-mkd	Rheme —————				
	Given	—————New				
	Tomorrow I won't be there.					

It would seem that from the textual point of view, the French clause, as an interpersonal move, may have two textual layers, one realised by absolute Themes which fall just outside the boundaries of the interpersonal structure and the other realised by Themes conflated with Subject, Adjunct; the latter fall inside the interpersonal structure. Typically, the outer textual layer is marked, the inner unmarked. This organisation of the French clause is graphically represented in Figure 5.

In Figure 5, I have conflated the unmarked textual layer with the interpersonal structure rather than the negotiatory structure because *est-ce que* which is typically the unmarked Theme of a polar interrogative does not have a function in the negotiatory structure but does play a role in the interpersonal structure, as shown in (43):

(43)	<i>Est-ce que</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>acheté</i>	<i>une glace?</i>	
	is it that	you	have bought	an ice		
	M-int	<b>Subj</b>	<b>Fin</b>	<b>Pred</b>	Comp	
		————— <b>Negotiator</b> —————			Remainder	
		————— <b>negotiatory structure</b> —————				
		—————interpersonal structure—————				
	Did you buy an ice cream?					

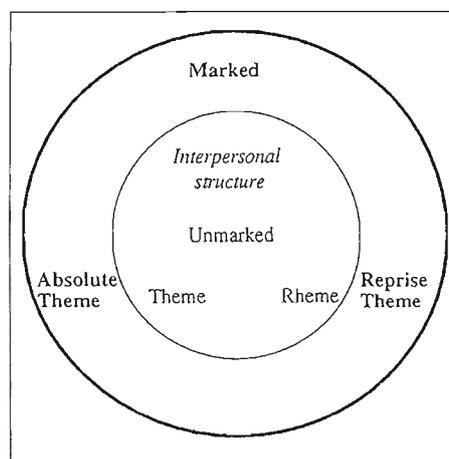


Figure 5: The two potential textual layers of the clause as a move

In (43), the functions shown in bold comprise the Negotiator; the Remainder has only the function Complement in it. These two together form the negotiatory structure of the clause. However, Mood-interrogator is an important element of the interpersonal organisation of the clause, and together with the negotiatory structure it makes up what I have called the 'interpersonal structure' of the French clause. These remarks on the interaction between the interpersonal and the textual structures of the French clause as a move conclude my exploration of the process of exchange in French. Partial though this account is, it furnishes sufficient basis for examining how the interpersonal organisation of the French clause compares with that of English and, particularly, what the element Subject means in French. Can it be interpreted in terms of modal responsibility as in the case of English Subject? If so, on what basis?

## 6. French negotiatory structure and English modal structure: some comparisons

From a functional view point, the Negotiator + Remainder structure of French is analogous to the Mood + Residue structure of English as described by Halliday (1985). Whilst English exchanges are typically carried forward by means of adjustment within the Mood element, i.e. the Subject + Finite,

French exchanges revolve around the Negotiator, involving at least its minimal components, i.e. Subject + Finite + Predicator. Moves consisting of just Finite and Subject are not possible in French. 'One cannot answer *je l'ai* (I have) to the question *est-ce que vous l'avez vu?* (have you seen it)' (Spence 1976) but rather *je l'ai vu*. In French, the arguability status of a proposition depends on the Subject, Finite and Predicator functions whilst in English it rests on the Subject and Finite alone. The resources that make the clause arguable, i.e. options in the systems of POLARITY and MODALITY are realised within the Negotiator in French as they are in English. In French, negative POLARITY is realised as the prosody *ne-pas*, which surrounds the Finite or the Predicator depending on whether the two are fused or not. MODALITY options may be realised in different ways: only as an Adjunct that typically follows the Finite or Predicator; it may also be expressed in the Finite; it may be expressed in the Predicator; or all three preceding means of realisation might co-occur. Examples of these modes of realisation were provided in section 3. In a French imperative clause, negative POLARITY is realised on the Predicator, whilst in the English imperative negation is realised in the Finite, as in *don't cry*. Furthermore, In a French dependent non-Finite clause, negative POLARITY and MODALITY are both realised in the Predicator as in (44):

- (44) *Il a peur // de ne pas pouvoir partir*  
 he has fear of not not to-be-able to part  
 Subj Fin Comp A-neg A-neg Pred-Mod Pred  
 (i) he's afraid he won't be able to go; OR (ii) he's afraid he can't go

Note that *pouvoir* functions as Predicator in the French interpersonal structure, whilst *can* functions as Finite in the English interpersonal structure in idiomatic translation (ii). The difference lies in the fact that French modal verbs are involved in expansions within the verbal group, while the favoured construction in English is to express modality as a function of the finite auxiliary. Another point of divergence between the two languages concerns the deployment of order as specific means of realisation. In English, the more delicate options of the indicative, are realised by the 'order of Subject and Finite which is significant in realising mood features' (Halliday 1985). In French, the means employed primarily is the presence or absence of MOOD marker and/or intonation. However, looking at structure from a more abstract point of view, both languages are alike: both realise MOOD selections prosodically.

Keeping these differences and similarities in view, we will now turn to

the notion of Subject. It is useful to carry out this comparison, from the two perspectives identified by Halliday (1985) as 'recognition criteria' and 'definition criteria.' The former specify characteristics whereby one may recognise the segment carrying a function in some clause type; the latter – the definition criteria – specify the semantic value of the function under examination. I will consider Subject in French from the point of view of recognition criteria in section 6.1; and then, from the point of view of definition criteria in section 6.2.

### 6.1 French Subjecthood: recognition criteria

In English, the specific character of the Mood-tag and its cohesive relation to Subject act as a reliable means of recognising the segment with the function of Subject. However, French tags are quite unlike the English one; here no nominal is picked up as it is in English. How, then, can we recognise the Subject of the French clause? Although tagging cannot be used as a criterion to establish Subjecthood of a nominal in French, there are some resemblances between English and French that are worthy of attention. For example, both in English and in French, a polar-interrogative may be realised by ordering Finite before Subject. Thus one may probe the validity of the statement, *elle est malade* (she is sick) by the confirmation question *l'est-elle?* (is she?). The Subject is always the clitic suffixed to the Finite in a polar interrogative of this type, the Subject being the element "by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied" (Halliday 1985). Another criterion for identifying the Subject, is person and number agreement with the verbal group. Thus the Subject is the function which is marked in person and number in the Finite or Predicator depending on whether the MOOD is indicative or imperative, as the following comparisons will show:

(45) *Les cloches sonnent*  
 the bells ring  
 Subj-3-pl Fin/Pred-3-pl  
 The bells are ringing.

(46) *Sonnez les cloches*  
 ring the bells  
 Pred-2-sing-formal Comp  
 Ring the bells!

Here (45) is a declarative with *les cloches* as its Subject; the Finite/Pred agrees with it in person and number. In (46), which is an imperative, *les cloches* is Complement, but since the marking on the Pred in an imperative relates to the Subject, the person and number marked on the Predicator signal addressee attributes of person (2nd), number (singular), and social distance from the speaker (formal).

When the verbal group realising the Finite and Predicator of a Negotiator has a secondary tense choice with the auxiliary *être*, the agreement spreads from the Finite to the Predicator. Thus, the realisation of the Subject is itself prosodic. It can be repeated throughout the Negotiator as in (47) below:

(47) *Les fourmis sont parties*  
 the ants are gone  
 Subj-3-pl Fin-3-pl Pred-pl  
 The ants are gone.

Note that in addition to person and number, the Predicator also marks the gender of the Subject. This adds further support to the analysis of the Predicator as a Function of the Negotiator rather than of the Remainder. While in French, intonation is a primary realisational resource for MOOD options, the Subject together with the Finite and the Predicator are at least equally crucial to this realisation, since it is the fall or rise of the tone on the Predicator which is criterial to MOOD choice recognition. Note in passing that the Predicator is the last function in the Negotiator. These are then fairly substantial recognition criteria for the function Subject in French. But what does the function Subject "do" in French? This is the question I address below.

### 6.2 French Subjecthood: definition criteria

As pointed out before, the Subject of a proposal is responsible for complying with or rejecting a command, whereas a proposition is affirmed or denied in relation to the Subject. Thus in both types of speech functions, Subject has what Halliday (1985) has called 'modal responsibility'. In both French and English, this interpretation is reinforced by several features of Negotiator and the Mood, respectively. For example, the location of Subject outside the negative prosody (see discussion of example 8) is significant. The modal responsibility of Subject is also made manifest in modulated indicative

clauses, where the realisation of Subject spreads prosodically over the modal process through the devices of person and number marking. This clearly highlights that what is at issue is the inclination, willingness, ability etc of the Subject, not of any other nominal in the clause. French modal verbs are lexical and as such may function both as Finite and Predicator in the interpersonal structure of the clause as in:

- (48) *Nous devons partir*  
 we-1-pl must-1-pl to leave  
 Subj Pred-mod Pred  
 We must leave!

Here it is the Subject that is held responsible for 'going', and is under the obligation to leave. This is made explicit through the markings on the modal verb *devoir*. The main modal verbs of French are *devoir*, *vouloir*, and *pouvoir*. They may take on different modal meanings depending on context.

- (49) [PERMISSION]  
*Vous pouvez partir.*  
 you can-2-sing-formal to leave  
 Subj Pred Pred  
 You may leave!
- (50) [PROBABILITY]  
*Elle peut avoir trente ans.*  
 she may-3-sing to have thirty years  
 Subj Pred Pred Comp  
 She may be thirty.
- (51) [ABILITY]  
*Tu peux le faire.*  
 you can-2-sing-inf it to do  
 Subj Pred C-clitic Pred  
 You can do it.

Thus, although French Subject and English Subject cannot be identified following the same grammatical criteria, they are clearly similar on semantic grounds and perform the same function in discourse. This reflects again the assumption that we are more likely to find congruence across different languages by approaching their linguistic system from discourse semantics, rather than in terms of syntagmatic structure.

## 7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to examine how the French language constructs dialogue – i.e. how it enables the exchange of meanings. At the outset, we drew attention to certain theoretical assumptions. These initial assumptions have been confirmed by the subsequent analysis. Thus, ignoring the details of actual structures, and focussing on its more abstract aspect, we find that the semantics of exchange is realised by MOOD systems which have a prosodic mode of expression both in English and in French. The primary options of the French MOOD potential reflect the primary speech functions of statement, question and command assumed to be common to all languages (see Figure 3a). From a language specific perspective on structure, the modal structure of the French clause is considerably different from that of English. These structural differences result both from the different means of enacting an exchange and the different means of realising MOOD selection. We saw that French makes use of a wider range of prosodic means of realisation i.e. tone, MOOD marker and the order of Subject to Finite or Finite/Predicator. Other interpersonal functions such as negation, modality, and Subject were also found to be realised by prosodic means within the Negotiator of the clause. Nonetheless the French Negotiator + Remainder structure is functionally analogous to the Mood + Residue structure of English. Just as for the purposes of negotiating an exchange in English, it is Mood that is crucial, so also for negotiating French exchanges it is the Negotiator that is the most crucial clausal component.

The French clause as a move was found to have a particular textual organisation making use of tonic pronominals for staging and resolving an exchange, thus creating two textual layers: one unmarked within the interpersonal structure, the other marked, outside this structure. This type of textual organisation seems to support the suggestion that French is becoming more and more polysynthetic (see comments in section 3.1.3). Whilst the tonic pronominals foreground what move the clause is about, the clitic pronominals indicate the relationships between the various entities mentioned.

This overview of the interpersonal organisation of the French clause raises issues as to what should be considered a universal category and what should be considered language specific. It seems clear that Negotiator and Remainder are specific to French and Mood and Residue are specific to English. However, we can assume that all languages will have an interper-

sonal structure, and all will have some means of realising the clause as exchange. The systemic notions of metafunctions, stratification, realisation as well as system, structure and type of structure give a general theoretical framework for exploring how a particular language construes meaning. It seems that the more general the category the more likely it is to be functional across languages. But what about notions such as Subject and Theme? It appears that Theme is a more general concept than Subject. It is defined by Matthiessen (1992) as the local context of the clause as message and it can be assumed that a clause in any language will have some kind of local context. What would differ would be the realisation of local context across languages and sometimes across registers. So, for example, Theme in French spoken discourse can be positioned clause finally. The Subject, although a category both in French and in English, cannot be assumed to be universal in its manifestation. The French Subject, which together with Finite and Predicator serves to realise MOOD selections in that language, is in some sense the same category as the English Subject. However, across languages there seems to be no question of exact identity of structural elements; and while the functions are similar, they are not identical. A dual perspective on both language specific features and on features that are in common to (many) languages is needed, so that we can identify both the particularities of a language and the general characteristics of *all* languages.

#### Abbreviations

1	1st person	pl	plural
2	2nd person	P-mrkr	Polarity marker
3	3rd person	Pred	Predicator
A-clitic	clitic Adjunct	Pred-mod	modal Predicator
Adj	Adjunct	Q-Adj	que-Adjunct
A-mod	modal Adjunct	Q-Comp	qu-Complement
A-neg	negative Adjunct	Q-Subj	qu-Subject
A-neg-clitic	neg. clitic Adjunct	s+	Speaker-plus
C-clitic	clitic Complement	sing	singular
Comp	Complement	Subj	Subject
Fin	Finite	S-clitic	clitic Subject
Fin-mod	modal Finite	Th	Theme
g-prosody	grammatical prosody	Th-abs	absolute Theme
inf	informal	Th-mkd	unmarked Theme
M-int	interrogative mood marker	Th-rep	reprise Theme

#### Symbols

- (i) Conventions for system networks: Figure 6.
- (ii) Conventions for displaying a systemic path as **selection expression**:  
[y; m; b] = option *b* depends on (symbol for dependency :) the co-selection of options *m* and *y* (symbol for co-selection ;)
- (iii) Conventions for structural representation:  
 $X^{\wedge}Y$  *x* must precede *y  
 $X \bullet Y$  *x* and *y* are un-ordered vis a vis each other  
 $(x)$  *x* is an optional function  
 $x/Y$  *x* and *y* are conflated*

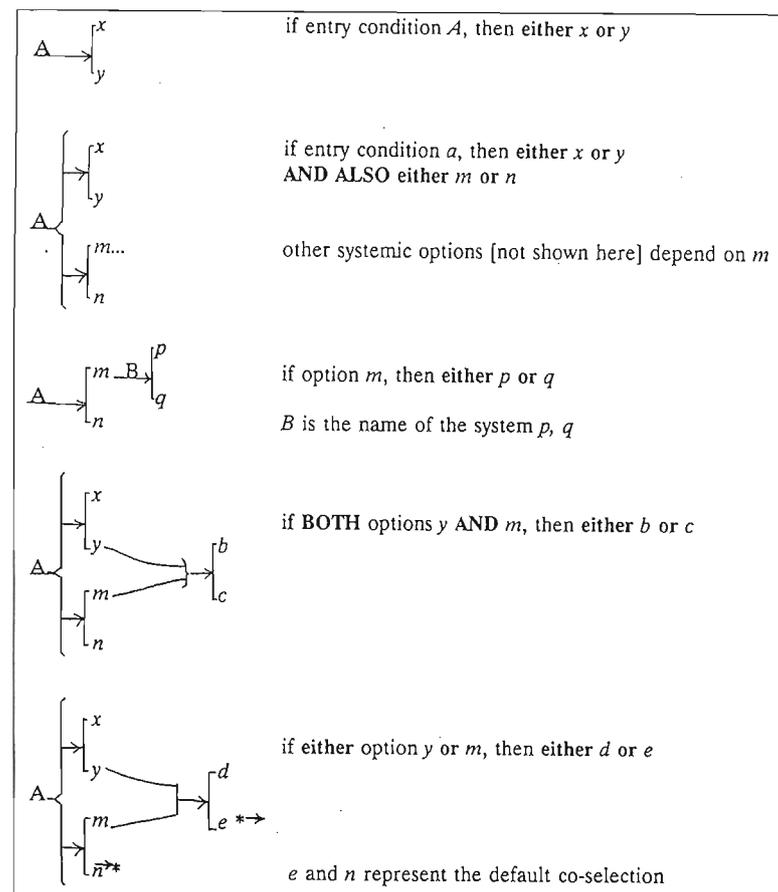


Figure 6: System network notations

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*On Subject and Theme*

ON SUBJECT  
AND THEME  
A DISCOURSE  
FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Edited by

RUQAIYA HASAN  
*Macquarie University*

PETER H. FRIES  
*Central Michigan University*



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