Chapter 3:
Definition and Identification of Theme

This chapter outlines the theoretical assumptions underlying the notion of Theme in the present study. Halliday (1994) hypothesises that the basic organising principle of language is 'functional', and he proposes three 'metafunctions' to account for its organisation: an ideational, a textual and an interpersonal metafunction. Halliday further contends that looking at actual texts as the instantiation of language through the prism of the metafunctions will help us understand the way in which meaning is made through language. The focus of this study is the textual metafunction, and the way in which certain interpersonal meanings, i.e. meanings that belong to the interpersonal metafunction, are embedded within the choice of Theme in a clause complex (the 'sentence' of traditional grammar). The study aims to discover whether selected Themes in memos, letters and reports reveal both textual and interpersonal features which writers select to convey the intended meaning of a text.

In particular the study is concerned with the following questions relating to the definition, identification, constituent features and multiple functions performed by Theme. The general question is:

1) What function does Theme perform in written workplace texts?

Before attempting to answer this general question, it is clear that more specific questions need to be addressed, including:

2) Where should the boundary between Theme and Rheme be drawn?

3) What, if any, are the major issues related to establishing this boundary?

4) How can different Theme choices be labelled?

5) What are the constituent elements of Theme and what function does each perform?

As the chapter develops it becomes clear that even more specific questions require answers such as:

6) How does extended Theme function in the texts?

7) What evidence is there that the choice of Theme is genre-related?

8) What linguistic resources are used to realise and construe interpersonal realisations through choice of Theme?

Research by Davies (1988, 1994, 1997), Martin (1992b), Berry (1995, 1996), Thompson (1994, 1996), Fries (1995a) and others are cited to support the view that the choice of Theme in English workplace texts influences not only the structure of a text, but also meanings of an interpersonal nature.

In Section 3.1, the theoretical framework is established by an exposition of the way in which Theme is understood in this study. The concept of metafunction is outlined and the major features of textual metafunction are introduced. The function of Theme in text, especially its role as a device for structuring text, is then discussed. The various ways in which scholars have defined and identified Theme is considered in Section 3.2. In this section the position adopted in the present study, especially in relation to the decision to consider everything up to and including the Subject of an independent clause as Theme, is outlined. A description of the unit of analysis applied to the data in the present study is provided in Section 3.3. The way in which the different elements constituting Theme are treated, with special reference to the choice of textual, interpersonal and topical Theme, are discussed in Section 3.4. In addition, factors related to the Subject, an obligatory part of Theme, are reviewed. The arguments for including marked Theme as part of extended Theme, and for believing that extended Theme occurs at important stages in the text, are presented in Section 3.5. Finally, a brief summary of the key arguments and concerns related to the definition and identification of Theme is provided in Section 3.6.

3.1   Overview of Theme

3.1.1   Three metafunctions

SFL views language "not as a set of structures but as a network of SYSTEMS, or inter-related sets of options for making meaning" (Halliday, 1994:15, upper case in original). In order to account for this meaning-making potential of language, as introduced in Section 2.7.2, Halliday (1994) proposes three metafunctions at a lexico-grammatical level:

> ideational   – "construing a model of experience"
> interpersonal – "enacting social relationships"
> textual   – "creating relevance to context"

> (Halliday, 1994:36)

These three metafunctions are drawn on simultaneously whenever language is realised. The speaker/writer can be seen to have made lexico-grammatical choices to represent the world,

both imaginary and real, abstract and concrete (ideational metafunction), to convey their relationship to the listener/reader (interpersonal metafunction), and to organise the presentation of their message (textual metafunction). These metafunctions, although fundamental organising principles of language, may also be thought of as 'tools' which enable the linguist to analyse, understand and talk about the linguistic choices made in a given text. The analyst may employ them as tools to 'deconstruct' any message encoded within text in relation to the linguistic realisations in each metafunction.

The present research focuses on the textual metafunction. Within the textual meta-function, however, the choices are inextricably related to simultaneous choices in both the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. As a consequence, the other metafunctions cannot be completely ignored. As Matthiessen (1995) points out, the textual metafunction allows the ideational and interpersonal features of a text to be understood by the speaker and listener: "it [the textual metafunction] has a distinctive part to play in the overall creation of meaning – one that is oriented specifically towards the creation of meaning in the realm of semiosis" (Matthiessen, 1995:20).

3.1.2 Textual metafunction: Theme and Rheme

Within the textual metafunction the two choices Theme and Rheme form the major system. Theme, for Halliday, is the "point of departure; it is that with which the clause is concerned" (Halliday, 1994:37). Theme is seen as a universal element; in every language there is a means for identifying what the clause is about. Halliday defines Theme as a function where a "special status [is] assigned to one part of it [the clause]" (Halliday, 1994:37). In English, Theme is realised by what is placed in initial position within the clause and this initial position gives the Theme a 'special status' within the clause. For example, the writer has chosen to give special status to *the problem* in Letter 12, clause 14 (wherever possible, examples have been taken from the present study's corpus; in such instances, the text and the clause/clause complex from which the example is drawn is presented):

Example 3.1

The problem	requires continued vigilance.
Theme	Rheme

<div align="right">Letter 12, clause 14</div>

The writer could have chosen a different starting point, but consciously or unconsciously chooses to thematise *the problem*. The special status given to the initial position in English is not a universal trait. Other languages have different ways of marking the Theme of a clause. The Theme of a clause in Japanese, for example, is followed by the particle *wa* or *ga* (Halliday, 1994:37), and in Tagalog the particle *ang* is used to identify the Theme of the message (Martin, 1983).

In English the Theme, the 'point of departure' for the clause, is also one of the means by which the clause is organised as a message. Theme is the 'glue' that structures and binds the ideational and interpersonal meanings. In studies of Theme in children's writing and in writing in the workplace, the choice and representation of Theme is seen as a crucial element related to the success of a text (Martin, 1985/89, 1992b, 1993b; Martin and Rothery, 1993; Berry, 1995, 1996; Stainton, 1996, amongst others). The belief that an understanding of the way in which Theme works can be usefully incorporated into pedagogy is the motivation behind this and many other studies of Theme.

Theme, then, is seen to play a crucial role in focussing and organising the message and to contribute to the coherence and success of the message. Martin (1992b) argues that the choice of what comes first is "a textual resource systematically exploited" to effect different patterns (Martin, 1992b:12). Martin adds that the different patterns and meanings made by the choice of Theme can be manipulated and exploited, consciously or unconsciously, by the writer in order to convey their 'angle' or viewpoint. In more recent work, Martin (2000b) and Martin and Rose (forthcoming) suggest that Theme and many other features in a text function to construe the writer's viewpoint. In Example 3.1, the writer has chosen *the problem* as the Theme of the clause in order to emphasise its importance. In contrast the writer could have chosen a number of different options as the starting point of the message. For example, the writer could have chosen:

Example 3.2

You	are required to be vigilant with this problem.
Theme	Rheme

Each choice of Theme represents a different starting point for the message conveyed in the clause. In Example 3.2, the agent *you* has thematic status within the organisation of the clause, and as the Theme of the clause it carries 'a special status'.

Rheme is everything that is not Theme: it is the part of the clause where the Theme is developed (Halliday, 1994:37). A message structure in English is comprised of a Theme plus a Rheme. There is an order to the structure: Theme comes first, followed by Rheme, and whatever is placed in initial position is Theme (Halliday, 1994:37). In many instances Rheme is related to New Information, while Theme is related to Given Information. Given refers to what is already known or predictable, while New refers to what is unknown or un-predictable. Halliday elaborates the distinction between Given and New as "information that is presented by the speaker as recoverable (Given) or not recoverable (New) to the listener" (Halliday, 1994:298). Martin (1992a) also points out that Theme is equated with "what the speaker is on about" while New is the structure which is "listener-oriented" (Martin, 1992a:448). Halliday adds that although the two pairs of clause functions, i.e. Theme/Given and Rheme/New, are similar, they are not the same thing. Theme realises the 'angle' of the story and the New elaborates the field, developing it in experiential terms (Martin, 1992a:452). Martin (1992a) also adds that Theme is generally restricted to grounding the genre of the text, while the New is not restricted in this way and is far more flexible. As interesting as the interaction between these two pairs of concepts is, an investigation into Given and New is beyond the scope of the present study.

3.1.3   Function of Theme

Although there are some disagreements between scholars regarding the boundary between the functional constituents Theme and Rheme, there is general agreement regarding both the function of Theme and its importance. As noted above, Theme gives a special status to a chosen part of the clause – it helps organise the message and plays a crucial role in the success of a text from a reader's perspective. It also helps construe the intended inter-pretation of the clause and the text as a whole. In addition, it is commonly understood that Theme is important since it extends the analysis of a text beyond the grammatical structure of individual clauses or sentences to the unit of text. Theme incorporates, at a higher level, the author's aims in participating in discourse. Davies (1988) points out that Theme

> may be seen at a level between the grammatical constraints on allowable sentence patterns, and the high level, goal oriented discourse constraints.
>
> (Davies, 1988:179)

This highlights not only the choices with which a writer or speaker is faced, but also the constraints that they must observe. The grammatical constraints in question are those

which structure both written and spoken English in different genres. The discourse constraints are more abstract than the grammatical constraints, and are related to the idea of the social context in which the discourse is produced. Plum (1988), Martin (1992a:453) and Fries (1995a) agree with this notion and believe that the thematic choices to some extent are influenced by a genre. Plum (1988) and Fries (1995a) both point out that Theme choices are not only influenced by the genre, but that particular stages within a genre influence the choice of Theme. Thematic choice must take generic conventions into consideration. For example, in the context of an English business letter written to an influential client in a very formal organisation within the UK, USA or Australia, it would appear very strange if the writer used Themes such as: *as my friend said, yeah it would be true to say*, *so sorry that I,* etc. According to McCarthy (1998), such Themes are found within the context of spoken informal English. They are not commonly expected Themes in formal written workplace texts. As Davies (1988) and Fries (1995a) comment, the writer must take into consideration the 'real world' situation in which the reader may receive the information. Concerns related to the genre and the intended audience will influence the choice of Theme.

Martin (1992b) notes that the choice of Theme "constructs a particular angle of inter-pretation on the topic of each text which resonates with other aspects of discourse organisation" (Martin, 1992b:12). Therefore, in the examples above, putting either *the problem* or *you* in initial position, and thus making either an abstract nominal group or a personal pronoun – both realising the Subject in their respective clauses – the starting point of the message helps construct, in combination with other features in the text, the 'angle' with which the message will be interpreted by the intended reader. Depending on the context, either of the Examples 3.1 or 3.2 may have more or less influence on the intended reader's decision whether *to be vigilant* or not.

There are many resources which help construct the angle of the intended meaning. The choice of the Subject of the main clause, which in this study is analysed as part of Theme, is one resource for organising the message. Who or what holds modal responsibility in the main clause is made clear within the clause and plays a crucial role in the construction of the meaning of the clause (Iedema, 1995, 1999, 2000). The notion of modal responsibility is discussed further in Section 3.4.3. Textual and interpersonal Themes, discussed in detail in Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3, also influence the reader's interpretation of the text. A Theme

can either be a simple Theme where only the Subject realises the Theme, or what Halliday (1994:52-54) terms a 'multiple Theme', where a textual and/or interpersonal Theme is placed before the topical Theme.

Another feature which affects the way in which the Theme is interpreted is 'markedness', e.g. by choosing to place a(nother) Theme before the Subject of the main clause, this Theme becomes a 'marked' Theme (since the clause Subject is always considered the unmarked Theme; see Section 3.5 for examples). These marked Themes may be realised by a variety of grammatical elements, namely Circumstantial Adjunct, hypotactic enhancing clause, projecting clause and Complement. The Complement is a nominal group that is not functioning as Subject, but could be the Subject if the order were changed (Halliday, 1994:44). Theme, then, is seen to contribute to the construal of a text's meanings, to the organisation of the ideas in a text, and to a reader's interpretation of the message.

Theme enhances the understanding of language at various levels:

clause – Theme helps in understanding the starting point of the message.

text – Theme helps us understand the way in which the message is organised, and it is a major device that helps us understand a text as coherent.

genre – Theme helps us understand some of the generic conventions which exist in a given genre. For example, Coffin (1997:218-9) cites hyper-Theme choices such as "One major effect of World War II", "Another effect of the war", "A third consequence of the war" as hyper-Themes of a history text.

Theme is valuable both as an analytical tool and a pedagogic resource. As Matthiessen points out, Theme is "a resource enabling the ideational construction of 'knowledge' organized into instantial ideational systems" (Matthiessen, 1995:20). At the same time, the textual metafunction acts as an 'enabling' resource so that it is possible for each clause to be interpreted (Matthiessen, 1995:20). The analysis of the choice of Theme and, by default, the choice of Rheme, allows the analyst to discuss linguistic choices which are crucial to the organisation, interpretation and construal of meaning.

While Theme has been investigated in a range of genres, only limited research has been carried out at a lexico-grammatical level into authentic workplace texts, the examples being Davies (1994, 1997), Berry (1995, 1996), Iedema (1995, 1997) and Stainton (1996).

Workplace texts, as pointed out in Chapter Two, play a central role in the language taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Training in workplace English, and the production of texts of workplace English, is also an expanding market. In applied linguistics, discussions of the language, communication patterns and discourse of workplace occupy a prominent place. However, not much is known about the lexico-grammar of workplace texts.

3.2   Theme and Rheme

3.2.1   Halliday's definition of Theme

The most common approach to identifying Theme in a clause is based on Halliday (1994), who states that "Theme extends from the beginning of the clause and up to (and including) the first element that has a function in transitivity" (Halliday, 1994:53). Thus, according to Halliday (1994), the Theme of a clause "ends with the first constituent that is either participant, circumstance, or process" (Halliday, 1994:52) and Rheme is "the remainder of the message" (Halliday, 1994:67), i.e. everything which is not Theme. Examples 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the way in which Halliday identifies Theme and (by implication) Rheme in the clause:

Example 3.3 Unmarked Theme

China	started its massive programme of tax reform as part of an overall economic restructuring in January 1994.
Theme	Rheme

Example 3.4 Marked Theme

In January 1994,	China started its massive programme of tax reform as part of an overall economic restructuring.
Theme	Rheme

Report 6, Clause 4

We may interpret Example 3.4, following Halliday, as the writer having made the date the Theme of the clause – perhaps to remind the reader of action which occurred previously. In Example 3.4, the first element with a 'function in transitivity' is not the Subject, but a Circumstantial Adjunct of location: time, *in January 1994,* and because it has ideational force, Halliday identifies this element as Theme. (A discussion of Circumstantial Adjuncts occurs in Section 3.5.2.) Furthermore, since Halliday considers any clause element coming before the Subject in the clause a 'marked' Theme, the Circumstantial Adjunct *in January*

1994 is a marked Theme in this clause. In this example, it follows that the Subject in this clause, *China*, is part of Rheme (rather than part of Theme) since the function of Theme is not merely realised by the Circumstantial Adjunct but 'exhausted' by it. On the other hand, in Example 3.3, the Subject of the clause, *China,* is the first element with a 'function in transitivity' in the clause, and thus it is not only Theme but also considered the 'unmarked' Theme. The present study diverges from Halliday in the identification of Theme and the reasons for this are given below. In the corpus texts marked Theme features quite prominently and a more detailed discussion of marked Theme is presented in Section 3.4. Findings related to marked Theme in the present data are presented in Chapters Five and Six.

3.2.2   Alternative definitions of Theme

Although most scholars follow Halliday (1994) in their analysis of Theme, alternatives do exist and these are discussed below.

Building on Halliday's work on Theme, Berry (1995, 1996) argues that Theme need not necessarily be only the first ideational element in a clause. If only the first ideational element is analysed as Theme, Berry (1996) suggests, then some co-referential elements will not be captured by an analysis of Theme in a text. She claims that "the priority concerns, discoursal or causal, of a speaker or writer need not be ideational" (Berry, 1996:19), and that the writer may choose to select a feature as Theme because it relates to the surrounding text, or the concerns of the immediate clause, or something more closely related to the reader's concerns. Berry states that when conducting an analysis of the thematic choices in a text, she is more interested in its interpersonal and textual features and that extending the boundary of Theme aids her understanding of such features. In some cases, she argues that the Theme can be seen to act as an interpersonal Theme at a discourse level, and that such interpersonal Themes will influence the meaning of a number of clauses or a paragraph. Therefore Berry, along with Davies (1988, 1994, 1997), Stainton (1993), Ravelli (1995) and others, argues that the boundary of Theme needs to be extended to include some elements relegated to Rheme in Halliday's style of analysis.

Stainton (1993) argues not only for the Subject to be included in Theme but also the auxiliary verb. Berry's position (1996) takes her further still, proposing that the lexical verb may be included as part of Theme as well. She argues that by including the lexical verb

within the Theme, the Theme will then include prioritised interpersonal meaning. Berry adds that by including the lexical verb, the Theme is seen to represent "the part of the clause associated with the speaker's/writer's main communicative concerns" (Berry, 1996:46). However, to date little support has been given to the proposal that the boundary of Theme should be extended to include the auxiliary and/or lexical verb. The case for the inclusion of the auxiliary verb is stronger than that for the lexical verb, because as argued by Halliday (1994), in an interrogative clause the auxiliary verb is included as part of Theme. Berry took a different position on this issue in an earlier paper (Berry, 1995), where she argued that Theme should be extended up to and including the Subject. However, most SFL scholars have been content to advance arguments as to whether or not the boundary between Theme and Rheme should be moved to include the Subject or not, with Davies (1988, 1994, 1997), Matthiessen (1992), Berry (1995), Ravelli (1995), Martin and Rose (forthcoming) all suggesting that Theme should include the Subject.

3.2.3   Subject as an obligatory element in Theme

The main argument in favour of analysing the Subject as part of Theme is that the thematic development of a text may be more easily understood (Davies, 1988, 1997; Matthiessen, 1992; Berry, 1995, 1996; and Ravelli, 1995). Berry (1995) argues that it is only when one starts to analyse everything before (but not including) the main verb as Theme that one can clearly show how a text fits together. The writer may wish to include more than one element as the start of the message. Matthiessen (1992) agrees with Berry that "… experiential Adjuncts may pile up at the beginning of the clause and the effect is clearly one of successive Thematic contextualisation" (1992:50). By including the Subject as part of the Theme, Berry and Davies argue that this 'piling up' of ideational meaning in the initial part of the clause should be investigated further.

The views put forward by Berry, Matthiessen and Stainton are supported by Thompson (1996), and Martin and Rose (forthcoming), in addition to Davies, who argues that non-Subject Themes are 'framing elements' (Davies, 1994:172; 1997:55). Martin (1992a), Davies (1994) and Thompson (1996) among others believe that these elements are used as a signal for showing a step or a stage in the progression of the text, or as a change in focus, whereas Subjects are seen as 'recurrent elements'. Thompson (1996:122) states that an Adjunct in thematic position tends "to serve a particular function in signalling textual organisation". Martin (1992a), and Martin and Rose (forthcoming) agree and state that

marked Theme choices occur at important stages in the text. The recurrent (Subject) elements continue the lexical chains and cohesion throughout the text and marked Themes, called 'framing elements' by Davies (1988, 1994, 1997), generally show a change in topic or progression.

These 'framing elements', which Davies calls 'Contextual Frames', help establish the context of the clause. Davies (1988) points out that non-Subject thematic elements

> …are seen to serve the distinct function of providing **different frameworks or contexts for the development of the topic** as the discourse proceeds.
>
> (Davies, 1988:177, bold in orig.)

Davies argues that while the Subject of the clause is an obligatory element of Theme, a contextual frame is "optional and is seen to serve the function of signalling changes in the real-world, fictional, or discourse circumstances" (Davies, 1997:55). Davies adds that by considering the Subject as part of the Theme, we can show that Theme has the two potential functions of the "identification of *Topic*, realised by Subject, and provision of *Contextual Frame*, realised by elements preceding the Subject, i.e. Circumstantial Adjunct and/or modal or conjunctive adjuncts and conjunctions." (Davies 1997:55; italics in orig.).

In arguing for a dynamic view of Theme, Ravelli (1995) also argues that what is identified as the Theme of a clause should always include the Subject of the clause. She believes that the Subject is an important element in understanding thematic development and is a necessary part of Theme. In her work on modelling the textual system, Ravelli presents a view of Theme which makes thematic choices clearer. She recommends that "Synoptic and dynamic perspectives need to be interwoven, and both should be applied simultaneously to data to achieve full understanding of text", and that such a model would be of benefit to SFL theory (Ravelli, 1995:191). She views the linguistic choices in a text as being dynamic where whatever is chosen as the Theme, and consequently the Rheme, of a text will affect the way in which the text unfolds. She argues by looking at the decisions that lead to, or follow, the specific point at which the choice of Theme is made, i.e. the *path* leading to the Theme, that the choice of Theme can be understood. Moreover, factors which occurred before or after the decision are seen to affect the decision made at the point of making the choice of Theme. The choices of Theme at particular places in the text can be understood by establishing the factors influencing the decision-making point. Certain paths may lead to a marked Theme being chosen above an unmarked Theme, and

understanding the successive choices, and the local contexts for each choice, would be extremely informative. In part, this is what happens when conducting an analysis of thematic development. Ravelli is calling for a more in-depth analysis related to successive choices; such an investigation would reveal interesting findings, but would be impractical if analysing large corpora.

An analysis of a text which allows the Subject to be considered part of Theme, whether it is preceded by a marked Theme or not, makes it easier to see its thematic development (and to some extent its lexical chains and cohesive patterns), whereas in Halliday's mode of analysis, the Subject Theme in cases of a preceding marked Theme is 'lost' and consequently, at times, so too is the text's line of development. Fries, in reviewing the different approaches concerning what should be included in Theme, posits that the inclusion of the Subject "finesses the issue of exactly how Theme and Subject interact" (Fries, 1995a:15). Fries adds that this interaction is difficult to separate in a number of instances where the Subject and Theme are conflated. Ghadessy (1995) argues that since marked Themes, especially Circumstantial Adjuncts in initial position, are frequently New Information, considering these to constitute all of the Theme obscures the development of the text. An analysis of lexical chains and cohesion does not depend on an analysis of Theme as such an analysis can be carried out without analysing Theme. However, when conducting an analysis of Theme, including the Subject as part of Theme allows the researcher to see the lexical chains, cohesion and all other choices in the Theme which may have occurred, such as a marked Theme choice. Analysing the Subject as obligatorily part of Theme allows us to always see both. The argument in the present study is that Theme can include more than one topical element and that the choice of a second topical element within the clause is a meaningful one which needs to be investigated further.

3.2.4   Topic, Subject and Theme

The discussion so far has involved investigating the different ways in which scholars identify and analyse Theme. Downing (1991) points out that often topic or Subject are equated with Theme and, as Thompson cautions, "it is easy to confuse Theme and Subject since we can say that, in some sense, the clause is about both" (Thompson, 1996:121). Topic also refers to two distinct elements according to Halliday (1994:38) – Theme and Given. As already noted, Theme and Given have two distinct functions. However, these

three terms – topic, Subject and Theme – are not synonymous, and this section attempts to clarify the way in which the terms are used in the present study.

Topic, Downing (1991:121) states, is a "rather elusive category", pointing out that there appears to be a great deal of confusion concerning the notion of 'topic'. A topic can occur at different places within a clause and may even be interpreted differently by different readers. Halliday points out that "The label 'Topic' usually refers to only one particular type of Theme … ; and it tends to be used as a cover term for two concepts which are functionally distinct, one being that of Theme and the other being that of Given" (Halliday, 1994:38). Topic then is seen as a difficult element to identify as readers may interpret a text differently and disagree about the topic of a particular clause, or a particular clause complex.

While topic may be not be easily defined or identified in a clause, let alone a text, the grammatical Subject is both more easily defined and recognised. This study will not make use of the term topic, and will instead limit itself to the concepts clause grammatical Subject and Subject/Theme. Halliday condenses the history of the different interpretations of Subject over the course of the 20th Century, and summarises the three different functions for Subject: 'psychological' Subject - "that which is the concern of the message"; 'grammatical' Subject - "that of which something is predicated"; and 'logical' Subject - "doer of the action" (Halliday, 1994:31). In some instances all three functions can be conflated, as shown in Example 3.5.

Example 3.5

The duke	gave my aunt this teapot.
psychological Subject grammatical Subject logical Subject	

Example 3.6

This teapot	my aunt	was given	by the duke.
psychological Subject	grammatical Subject		logical Subject

(examples from Halliday, 1994:32)

In other instances, the three functions of Subject can be assigned to more than one participant, as shown in Example 3.6. For the purpose of the present study the grammatical Subject of a clause, whether in a single clause (a 'simplex' to contrast it with a clause

complex) or in the α clause of a clause complex, will be referred to as Subject/Theme, as shown in Examples 3.7 and 3.8:

Example 3.7

The major change of the audit report	is to clearly spell out the respective responsibilities of the auditor and the auditee for the financial statements.
Subject/Theme	Rheme

Memo 27, clause 5

Example 3.8

Whilst City Council do have responsibilities for Environmental Health,	they	do not have responsibilities for the delivery of primary health care services to the people of the City.
marked Theme	Subject/Theme	Rheme

Letter 3, clause complex 2

Example 3.9

but	at that time,	of course,	we	will follow Personnel's guidance as always, to make sure we are doing everything fairly.
textual Theme	marked Theme	Interpersonal Theme	Subject/ Theme	Rheme

Memo 2, clause complex 23

The term Subject/Theme has been borrowed from Martin and Rose (forthcoming) who use it in their discussion of marked Theme (see Section 3.5). Subject/Theme is distinct from textual and interpersonal Themes, which precede it and which, together with Subject/Theme, constitute a multiple Theme. Halliday points out that the unmarked Theme is the default choice and the Subject is usually "chosen as Theme unless there is a good reason for choosing something else" (1994:4). He continues to define marked Theme as "a Theme that is something other than the Subject", that is, when an ideational realisation is chosen in initial position which is not the Subject. In the present study, the term marked Theme will be used to refer to ideational elements which precede Subject/Theme, but the Theme of the clause/clause complex may include more than one ideational feature as Theme will always include the Subject. As shown in Example 3.9, there are two ideational elements realised in the Theme: a Circumstantial Adjunct of location: time, *at that time*, and the Subject/Theme, *we*. A distinction needs to be made in the discussion of Theme between the possible elements which can be realised in Theme, as Theme may include far

more than Subject alone. The thematic choices of Subject/Theme, textual Theme, inter-personal Theme and marked Theme and how they relate to the present study are discussed in more detail below.

3.2.5 Theme in the present study

Within SFL there is general agreement about the function and definition of Theme. However, there appear to be differences in the identification of Theme, and especially in the identification of subcategories of Theme. As always, it is possible for an analyst to adopt a working identification of Theme which will vary with the purpose of the analysis, and also to some extent with the type of text being analysed. The identification of Theme and thus the resulting analyses will also vary if Theme is analysed at different ranks or rather for different lexico-grammatical units, i.e. clauses vs. clause complexes. The researcher needs to designate the unit of analysis and establish clear criteria for identifying Theme, as different methods of identification of Theme will result in different findings.

According to Halliday (1994), Theme is realised by the first element of the clause up to and including the first ideational element. Departing from this, in the present study the 'special status' assigned to the starting point of the message may include more than one ideational element, which means by definition the Subject of the main clause will be included in the Theme. In addition, Subjects which are found after the verb of the independent clause will not be analysed. If the Subject of the independent clause has been ellipsed, then the ellipsed Subject will be noted and analysed as ellipsed.

In assigning the Subject and all that precedes it to the category of Theme, certain nuances of the text may be overlooked. For instance, as noted in Example 3.4, Halliday and others argue that a Circumstantial Adjunct coming first in the clause constitutes its ideational Theme and the Subject following it constitutes part of Rheme. Scholars adhering to this position argue that if the Subject is not in initial position in the clause, then this demonstrates a choice by the writer or speaker to highlight another element of the clause as its Theme. However, by analysing Theme up to and including the Subject, other elements such as Circumstantial Adjunct, which may occur before the Subject, along with the Subject are all classified as Theme. This interpretation of Theme takes into consideration this loading of ideational elements in the choice of Theme. This study adopts the position

advanced by Davies (1994, 1997), Ravelli (1995) and Berry (1996), who identify as Theme any ideational element up to and including the Subject.

Any analysis that varies from those of other scholars in what it recognises as Theme will produce different results, but as the main function of an analysis of Theme is to show the way in which the text makes meaning through its choice of Theme, such variation in modes of analysis has to prove its worth by the results it achieves. The position adopted in this study is that by making the Subject obligatorily (part of) Theme, we will be able to more clearly show the way in which a text is structured. It may be that authors of memos often put Circumstantial Adjuncts of location: time before the Subject or, as Matthiessen (1992:50) points out, certain text types may produce a 'loading' of Circumstantial Adjuncts in the Theme. As Thomas and Hawes (1997) state, "an item in Subject position serves as a more effective prompt for what a passage is about than another item which is not the Subject of the sentence … This suggests that the grammatical Subject is closely associated with what the message is about" (Thomas and Hawes, 1997:35). In other words, if an element is in Subject position, it is highly relevant to the meaning of the clause, i.e. to the 'aboutness' of the clause, and to the structuring of the message. Such meanings are the (textual) focus of the present study. The meanings construed in the Rheme are essential meanings conveyed by 'new information'; they may well be the message itself, but they are not the focus of the present study.

Moreover, Cope and Kalantzis (1993:9), in presenting a history of the genre movement and its application to pedagogy, point out that "the divergences are the essence of the vitality of the genre literacy movement" (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993:9). They argue that sometimes it is just a matter of talking about different things, or looking at something from a different perspective. However, the fundamental aim of SFL has been to offer a theoretical and pedagogic resource which goes beyond the traditional and progressive models. Keeping SFL constantly in touch with other approaches, or looking at texts from different SFL perspectives, necessarily adds to this theory of language. Thus, by adopting a method of analysis where Theme includes Subject, SFL takes on another perspective in the understanding of texts and the way in which they are structured. This study does not propose that Davies, Berry and others are necessarily 'right' in their description of Theme, but adopts their approaches as 'another way of looking at the same coin', bringing to bear multiple perspectives on our understanding of the meaning of text. Berry, Davies and

others who stretch the boundaries of SFL strongly believe in SFL as a theory of language – they are simply arguing for space within that theory.

3.3   Unit of analysis

Theme can be analysed as an element of either the clause or the clause complex. Martin advocates analysing Theme in relation to the clause, clause complex, paragraph and text (Martin, 1992a). Whichever unit one chooses to analyse, Fries and Francis (1992) recommend that "the choice of unit must be governed by the purposes of the investigator" (Fries and Francis, 1992:47). The purpose of the present research is to provide information which can later inform pedagogy. Whittaker (1995), whose analysis was also pedagogically motivated, believes that the clause complex or "orthographic sentence" was the best choice for the unit of analysis as it was easily recognisable by students with little or no knowledge of grammar (Whittaker, 1995:107). She added that research into reading considers the sentence as the main unit used by readers to process written texts. The fact that readers with no grammatical background can recognise the sentence as a complete unit is critical, and has led to the adoption of the clause complex as a unit of analysis.

   Fries and Francis (1992), Berry (1995), Fries (1995c), Whittaker (1995), Thompson (1996) and Davies (1997) argue for the independent clause to be the unit of analysis. For example, Fries and Francis argue that

> if one chooses to examine only the 'main' clauses within a clause complex (i.e. paratactic sequences and primary clauses in hypotactic sequences, with beta clauses forming part of Rheme), then it becomes easier to discern the method of development and thematic progression of the text.
>
>   Fries and Francis (1992:47)

   The clause complex, in the present study, refers to an independent clause which may be followed or preceded by one or more dependent clauses, i.e. a clause complex with either an alpha ^ beta (α^β) or a beta ^ alpha (β^α) structure in the notation introduced by Halliday (1994). In a clause complex where there are two or more paratactic clauses, for example an alpha ^ alpha (α^α), or alpha ^ beta^ alpha (α^β^α), each alpha clause has been analysed separately for its thematic structure. In this study, following Fries and Francis, the approach taken is to "ignore the Themes of hypotactically related (subordinate clauses)" (1992:47) if they follow the independent clause, as shown in Example 3.10:

Example 3.10

Alternative arrangements	must be considered	if the unit cannot service their needs.
independent clause		dependent clause
α		β
Subject/Theme	Rheme	

The dependent clause in such a clause complex is considered part of the Rheme. Although of course it still has its own thematic structure, in practice the reason for not analysing the dependent clause is that, as Fries and Francis (1992:47) point out, "the structure of beta clauses, including their thematic structure, tends to be constrained by the alpha clauses", and we are thus justified in ignoring a dependent clause following the independent clause on which it depends. Halliday's claim that "the main contribution comes from the thematic structure of independent clauses" (Halliday, 1994:61) also supports the position adopted in this study.

On the other hand, in a clause complex where the dependent clause is followed by the independent clause on which it is dependent, i.e. a beta ^ alpha (β^α) structure, the dependent clause plus certain elements of the following independent clause will be identified as Theme, as shown in Example 3.11:

Example 3.11

If the unit cannot service their needs then	alternative arrangements	must be considered.
dependent clause	independent clause	
β	α	
extended Theme		Rheme

Report 3, clause complex 100

In a β^α clause complex, then, the dependent clause is considered the (marked) Theme of its clause complex, following Halliday (1994) in this regard, and the elements in the following independent clause up to and including the Subject (itself considered an obligatory part of the clause Theme) are considered the Theme of the clause. In support of Halliday, Thompson (1996) points out that the analysis of the text "emerges more clearly if dependent clauses in initial position are taken as the point of departure for the whole clause complex" (Thompson, 1996:132). In this study both the Theme of the clause complex, i.e. the dependent beta clause, and the Theme(s) of the independent alpha clause, i.e. Subject and any marked clause elements preceding it, (including Circumstantial Adjunct,

Complement, conjunctives and relatives), are considered 'one' Theme, and identified as 'extended Theme', as shown in Example 3.11.

In analysing the Theme of independent or alpha clauses, one exception is made to the way in which projecting and projected clauses are analysed. Projecting clauses found in initial position in the clause complex, it is argued, should be considered as interpersonal Themes in the clause complex because such clauses are seen to be construing writer viewpoint. It should be noted that this thesis is only concerned with discussing projecting clauses which are in initial position and which are hypotactically related to the projected clause. Therefore, from this point onward, unless stated otherwise, all references to projecting clauses refer to projecting clauses in initial position which are followed by a hypotactic projected clause. When a projecting clause is followed by the projected clause, the projecting clause and the Subject (and anything preceding the Subject) of the projected clause constitute the Theme of the clause complex, as shown in Example 3.12:

Example 3.12

I can assure you that	the Government	share your concern about violence at football matches
projecting Theme	Subject of projected Theme	Rheme
extended Theme		

Letter 12, clause complex 2

The rationale and justification for this is presented in detail in Chapter Six.

In the case of a clause which has no relation to any other clause in an orthographic sentence or clause complex, the Theme is considered to include all elements up to and including the Subject, as shown in Examples 3.13 and 3.14:

Example 3.13

The library	cannot meet the present increasing level of demand from existing resources.
Subject/Theme	Rheme

Report 3, clause 67

Example 3.14

As part of our internal library study	a questionnaire	was sent out to UK Higher Education libraries.
Circumstantial Adjunct	Subject	
marked Theme	Subject/Theme	Rheme
extended Theme		

<div align="right">Report 3, clause 68</div>

Following the approach taken with a single clause, in the case of paratactic clause complexes each clause will be analysed with respect to its own thematic structure, as shown in Example 3.15:

Example 3.15

The County Council	are now appealing on the decision of the Court of Appeal to the House of Lords [sic]
and the hearing	is scheduled for 12th June 1995.
Theme	Rheme

<div align="right">Report 4, clauses 52 and 53</div>

Clauses 52 and 53 in Example 3.15 are independent but linked paratactically, and are thus analysed as each having their own Theme.

In this study, therefore, the unit of analysis is:

– a single clause structurally unrelated to any other
– where the clause complex comprises of two or more independent clause ($\alpha^\wedge\alpha$ structure), the Theme of each independent clause will be analysed for its own thematic structure
– where the clause complex comprises a dependent clause preceding an independent clause ($\beta^\wedge\alpha$ structure), both clauses, i.e. β and α clauses
– where the clause complex comprises an independent clause followed by one or more dependent clause(s) ($\alpha^\wedge\beta$ structure), only one clause, i.e. α clause
– where projecting clauses of a hypotactic nature are found in the Theme position, the projecting clause and the Subject of the projected clause

Both the clause and the clause complex have thematic structures appropriate for analysis. The departure in this study from some other approaches lies in analysing a dependent clause in a $\beta^\wedge\alpha$ clause complex as part of a larger Theme that encompasses both the independent β clause and the independent α clause on which the β clause is dependent, such a Theme being defined as 'extended Theme'. In this way it is hoped that thematic patterns of interest for pedagogy may be revealed.

3.4   Textual, interpersonal and topical Themes

3.4.1   Textual and interpersonal Themes

The Theme of a clause includes an obligatory topical Theme and may also include optional features such as textual and interpersonal Themes. Textual Themes help structure the text by developing links to other clauses and are realised by Conjunctive Adjuncts, e.g. *and*, *however*, conjunctions, e.g. *before*, *after* and relatives, e.g. *how*, *which*. Interpersonal Themes function to explicitly construe writer viewpoint and are realised by Modal Adjuncts, e.g. *unfortunately*, *in my opinion*, *generally*. The one feature they have in common, Halliday notes, is that they do not exhaust the potential of Theme and cannot be counted on their own as the Theme of a clause.

  Textual Themes are typically thematic since they relate the clause to the preceding text and thus usually come first in order to realise this linking role. Textual Themes such as Conjunctive Adjuncts (*however*, *in conclusion*, *as a result*) are typically thematic, although they can occur other than in initial position in a clause. They signal the coherence of the text, being concerned with the way in which the meaning expressed in one clause is related to that expressed in another, and are thus textual in nature. Halliday (1994:49) presents a list of Conjunctive Adjuncts, together with text examples, as shown in Table 3.1. In the first column, Halliday groups the Conjunctive Adjuncts into three groups: I, II and III. Although he does not explicitly state the rationale for this numbering, from the grouping it can be inferred that the three groups realise elaboration (I), extension (II), and enhancement (III).

Table 3.1   Conjunctive Adjuncts

	Type	Meaning	Examples
I	appositive	'i.e., e.g.'	that is, in other words, for instance
	corrective	'rather'	or rather, at least, to be precise
	dismissive	'in any case'	in any case, anyway, leaving that aside
	summative	'in short'	briefly, to sum up, in conclusion
	verifactive	'actually'	actually, in fact, as a matter of fact
II	additive	'and'	also, moreover, in addition, besides
	adversative	'but'	on the other hand, however, conversely
	variative	'instead'	instead, alternatively
III	temporal	'then'	meanwhile, before that, later on, next, soon, finally
	comparative	'likewise'	likewise, in the same way
	causal	'so'	therefore, for this reason, as a result,
	conditional	'(if …) then'	in that case, under the circumstances, otherwise
	concessive	'yet'	nevertheless, despite that
	respective	'as to that'	in this respect, as far as that's concerned

(Halliday, 1994:49)

Textual Themes also include conjunctions and relatives, which commonly occur in thematic position. Conjunctions are different from Conjunctive Adjuncts as they not only establish semantic relationships between meanings, but are grammatical in that they "construct two parts into a single structural unit" (Halliday, 1994:50). Relatives also relate one clause to the previous clause, and may function as Subject, Adjunct or Complement within the clause. They are not a separate word class; they are nouns or adverbs.

Modal Adjuncts are intrinsically interpersonal in nature, adding information that reflects the writer's or speaker's judgement. Interpersonal Themes are not necessarily obligatory elements of Theme as they can occur in other positions in the clause. However, as Halliday points out, they are commonly in thematic position because "If the speaker includes within the message some element that presents his or her own angle on the matter, it is natural to make this the point of departure: 'I'll tell you what I think'" (Halliday, 1994:49). Modal Adjuncts have two sub-types, Comment Adjuncts and Mood Adjuncts. Comment Adjuncts are realised by expressions which comment on the clause as a whole, such as *generally*, *unfortunately* (this can be compared to the traditional term 'disjuncts' by Quirk et al. (1985:612-31)). Mood Adjuncts are more commonly linked to the Finite within the clause, for example *of course*, *in my opinion*, *in general*. Examples of Modal Adjuncts following the list outlined by Halliday (1994:49, Table 3(3)) can be found in Table 5.3, Section 5.2.

If a textual Theme, Modal Adjunct, Conjunctive Adjunct, conjunction or relative occurs thematically, it "may not exhaust the thematic potential of the clause" (Halliday, 1994:52), and is thus considered only part of the Theme in the clause. Therefore a Theme may comprise several Themes, i.e. textual, interpersonal and topical Themes, and such a composite Theme is referred to as 'multiple Theme' by Halliday (1994).

The present study follows Halliday (1994) in that Modal Adjuncts, Conjunctive Adjuncts and relatives occurring thematically are not considered marked Themes (what is meant by marked Theme is discussed in Section 3.5). Following Halliday (1994:54), Conjunctive Adjuncts and relatives are considered to add textual value, and are thus considered textual Themes, while Modal Adjuncts are considered interpersonal Themes within a multiple Theme. While these Adjuncts may be part of the Theme, they do not exhaust the potential of Theme; instead, along with the Subject, they are considered to be a part of a 'multiple Theme' comprising textual, interpersonal and topical Themes.

A topical Theme is an obligatory part of Theme. Following Halliday (1994), Theme will include everything up to the first topical (ideational) element. In the present study, as previously noted, Theme will include everything up to and including the Subject. A topical Theme can be realised by a Circumstantial Adjunct, e.g. *in October*, *after the meeting*, *tomorrow*, etc., a participant, e.g. *The Director of Housing*, *the programme*, or a process, e.g. *decide*, *to be examined*, *obtain*. Generally for a process to be the Theme, i.e. for a process to be the first ideational feature in a clause, it is part of an imperative structure, e.g. *please ensure*. In this example, as is usual in imperative clauses, the Finite *will* and Subject *you* have been ellipsed. Topical Theme is a term used to refer to any or all of the above features which are found in the Theme of a clause or clause complex.

3.4.2   Is the Theme interpersonal or topical?

In many cases, topical and interpersonal Theme are realised simultaneously by the same word or phrase. For instance, *we* typically represents the views of the participant, an animate Subject, as in *we - the company*, where *we* is experiential and topical Theme. On the other hand, if *we* refers to both author and reader, i.e. it is an inclusive *we*, then it should be considered interpersonal in nature, as suggested by Berry (1995, 1996). Personal pronouns which refer to both the reader and the writer, such as *you* and *we*, which are commonly analysed as topical Theme if in initial clause position, could also be analysed as interpersonal Theme (Berry, 1995:64).

Personal pronouns commonly straddle the line between the interpersonal and the ideational metafunction; examples of either ambiguity or true double encoding are *you*, *your*, *our* and *us* in *let's*. Here both the intended reader and the writer are the topic and are thus functioning as ideational elements, but simultaneously the pronouns contribute to the development of an interpersonal strand in the text.

Other grammatical choices also play an interpersonal role in the linguistic realisations of shared knowledge; the use of imperatives, for example, is inherently interpersonal. In the present study, it is argued that projection is also functioning in an interpersonal manner, by construing writer viewpoint either in an explicit manner, e.g. *I believe*, where the personal pronoun *I* explicitly marks the writer's viewpoint, or in a more implicit manner, e.g. *it is believed*, where the *it*, to some extent, appears to be more objective. Projection and its relationship to interpersonal meaning is discussed in depth in Chapter Six. This study aims

to discuss in detail the way in which the writer influences the intended meaning of a text through their choice of Subject – not only through the use of personal pronouns but also through other features chosen as Subject.

For the purpose of the present analysis, although it is understood that these personal pronouns construe interpersonal meanings, these items have been coded as meta-functionally ideational and thus as topical Theme. For example, when personal pronouns are the Subject of an independent clause, they function both ideationally and inter-personally within the clause complex. The interpersonal characteristics of such linguistic choices are returned to in the discussion of the texts and the findings in Section 5.3. It is noted that these personal pronouns are seen to be performing two functions at the same time, namely realising both the interpersonal features and the ideational topic.

In addition, as pointed out by Thompson and Thetela (1995), personal pronouns not only subsume both interpersonal and ideational meanings, they also 'project' and 'enact' roles for the reader. Personal pronouns are one method of assigning certain roles to the two (or more) people involved in the text. These assigned roles are called 'enacted roles' by Thompson and Thetela (1995:108). The writer, through their choice of declarative, inter-rogative or imperative, and depending on the context, establishes the role for the speaker / reader, i.e. whether the clause and the clause participants are giving/demanding information or giving/demanding services. In a memo, for example, the participants could be placed either in the role of giver or demander of information by the writer's selection of a declarative or interrogative clause. Projected roles refer to the explicit labelling of the interlocutors. In Thompson and Thetela's (1995:108) example *you can use it to guarantee cheques up to £100*, the enacted and projected roles combine in that the *you* is a participant both in the clause and the language event, i.e. *you* is the reader and also the Actor in the process of guaranteeing a cheque. This clearly demonstrates that the writer may choose both the type of role they wish to project for the reader and who will be enacting the role instantiated in the clause.

3.4.3   Subject/Theme

The enacted role and projected role chosen as the Subject/Theme are influential in deter-mining the inscribed meaning and the interpreted meaning of a text. The Subject/Theme, as established above, refers to the grammatical Subject of the α clause (with the exception of

projecting Themes). Subject/Theme may include realisations such as personal pronouns, e.g. *I*, *you*, *we*, *they*; reference items, such as demonstratives and anaphoric nouns, e.g. *this*, *that*; Subjects that have been ellipsed from the clause, such as in imperative clauses, e.g. *you*, *in [you should]*, see Appendix II; Subjects, such as *what* in *What is the best way forward?*; and nominal groups, e.g. *the Landlord*, *the incinerator*.

Included in the analysis of Subject/Theme is its possible expansion through resources which add further descriptive information to it, e.g. through post-modification. Some examples of post-modification are: *the role of the unit [[in serving the teaching needs of faculties not based at the Frenchay Campus]]*, *the amount of waste [[disposed of via this route]]*, *the Hotel owners*, *[[Messrs Cheung and Foo]]*. The double square brackets here show that the information inside these brackets is postmodifying the noun. The Subject/Theme can include any or all of the following functions: Deictic, e.g. *any* in *any of the institutions*; Numerative, e.g. *all* in *all gain on capital tax*; Epithet, e.g. *fantastic*, *great*, Classifier, e.g. *the school association* in *the school association of Nicholas Comprehensive* and Qualifier, e.g. *splendid*, *fantastic* can all modify the noun chosen as Subject (Downing and Locke, 1992:438-449; Halliday, 1994:180-186). The Subject/Theme can be modified by both pre- and postmodifiers, with both adding supplementary information about the Subject/Theme but not new information (Halliday, 1994:191-196). Modification can be used to encode the writer's viewpoint in their choice of Subject, as in the following example:

Example 3.16

some	very	important	issues
Deictic	Epithet	Classifier	Thing
Subject/Theme			

If this were the Subject/Theme of a clause, it would be clear that the writer was encoding a particular viewpoint in this message. Martin (1997, 2000a) proposes an 'appraisal system' to interpret the interpersonal linguistic features of a text. In this study the interpretation of interpersonal features of the Theme draws to a limited extent on the work on appraisal.

The range of lexis realising Subject/Theme is extensive. A closer examination of the type of lexis used to realise Subject/Theme of the main clause in workplace texts may reveal interesting information which can aid our understanding of this particular genre. As argued by Iedema, meanings can be distanced from the here and now through various linguistic

resources and, as they become more distanced, they become "less-negotiable" (Iedema, 1995:134). The choice of Subject/Theme reflects this move of dislocating the proposal from the here and now. Table 3.2 shows how the Subject/Theme choice moves the modal responsibility from the personal *I* and the less personal *the company*, where it is clear who is doing the *requiring*, to the proposee in *you are required*. The modal responsibility of a clause is related to the choice of predicated Subject, which in the present study constitutes part of the choice of Theme. Modal responsibility is where the onus of the proposition advanced in the clause is placed on the writer, the institution, and the intended reader. Iedema (1995, 1997, 1999, 2000) discusses how the modal responsibility placed on the Subject affects the meaning and interpretation of a directive. Modal responsibility is therefore an issue directly relevant to the present study.

Table 3.2 Changing the modal responsibility realised by Theme

Subject/Theme	Rheme
I	require you to be vigilant with this problem.
The company	requires continued vigilance in relation to this problem.
You	are required to be vigilant with this problem.
The problem	requires continued vigilance. (Letter 12, clause 14)
The requirement	is that you remain vigilant with this problem.
Continuation of vigilance	is required with this problem.

In the Subject/Theme examples *the problem*, *the requirement* and *Continuation of vigilance*, the proposer and proposee roles are de-emphasised in the choice of the Theme. Each of these choices represents a different starting point for the message conveyed in the clause or clause complex. In the last two examples in Table 3.2, *The requirement* and *Continuation of vigilance,* the Theme is depersonalised, the modal responsibility of the clause has been 'objectified', and the proposer and proposee have been de-emphasised. This de-emphasis is what Iedema (1995, 1997, 1999, 2000) refers to as "demodulation". Demodulation is used in administrative texts to suppress the proposer (of the proposition) and to make the source of the utterance sound more objective and 'fact-like'.

Nominalisation is one form of demodulation. Nominalisation is where a congruent verb is used metaphorically and changed into an incongruent noun. For example, in Table 3.1 above, the verb *to require*, which usually has an Agent (who is asking someone to do something) and an Actor (who is responsible for carrying out the action), is transformed into a noun, *the requirement*. The participants involved become implicit and the *requiring*

becomes an objectified packaged statement. Hartnett (1995:206) states that nominalisation is presented in a manner where the writer wants the reader to accept the information "without a challenge". Halliday (1994) adds that the writer holds greater control over the intended meaning of a text if nominalisation is used as the meaning is clear to the writer, but due to the linguistic complexity of nominalisation the meaning may not necessarily be completely clear to the reader. It is therefore seen as a complex packaging of information which in workplace texts is used as a mark of prestige and power. Iedema argues that

> To appreciate the constructive power of administration and its language, we need to 'unpack' the discourse, i.e. go into the grammar and show how the features of administrative language contribute to its power over social organisation.
>
> (Iedema, 1995:134)

By 'unpacking' the influential choice of Subject/Theme, which in some cases may include nominalisation, workplace texts can be understood in relation to the power, identity and status construed in the choice of Subject/Theme.

3.4.4 Existential Themes as one choice of topical Theme

As noted by Thompson (1996), when analysing Theme "you will certainly find that you run up against some problems, some more serious than others" (1996:138). The question of what is the Theme in existential 'there' clauses is one such problem. Since *there* does not realise a participant in the transitivity of an existential clause, i.e. it has "no represent-ational function" (Halliday, 1994:142), the question is whether *there* can in fact be considered Subject/Theme. In other words, since Halliday (1994) identifies Theme as the first ideational element in a clause, it is difficult to understand why *there* should be considered Theme. As shown in Table 3.3 below, Halliday adds that *there* is the starting point of the clause, and that the referent comes later in the clause (Halliday, 1994:44). Martin (1992b) supports this view and adds that *there* realises the existential feature and sets up the presentation of the Existent later in the clause. Martin adds that

> existential clauses… are ideally designed for introducing participants as un-marked news at the end of the clause… and reinforcing their introduction by taking their existence as the point of departure
>
> (Martin, 1992b:164)

The Theme *there* makes prominent the feature that will be introduced later; it makes space, in an unmarked manner, for a referent that will come later.

Thompson (1996) argues that *there* in existential clauses can be analysed as Theme, but that in existential clauses the Theme should be extended to include the process (Thompson, 1996:138). However, this approach raises the question: if the process is to be included in Theme in existential clauses, then why not in other types of clauses?

Table 3.3   Different interpretations of existential Theme

There	will be	a parallel run	of 1 week before implementation.
existential Theme	Process: Relational	Existent	Circumstantial Adjunct location: time
Theme	Rheme		(Halliday, 1994)
Theme	Rheme		(present study)
Theme		Rheme	(Thompson, 1996)
Theme			Rheme (Davies, 1997)

Memo 6, clause complex 10

As shown in Table 3.3, Halliday, Thompson and Davies draw the boundary between Theme and Rheme at different places. Davies (1997) suggests that in existential clauses the Theme should include both *there* and also the Existent that is set up by the introducing *there*. Davies (1988) adds that by choosing *there* as Theme, the writer "presents their own viewpoint as established fact". The author's viewpoint becomes hidden and information is presented in an existential manner. Although this appears to be a more convincing argument than Thompson's, problems persist with this account of existential Themes. If a writer has explicitly chosen an existential *there* in thematic position, it may be, as Berry (1995) suggests, worth considering *there* as a 'negative option' where the writer chooses as Theme "a **pass** option, an option *not* to make use of the thematic slot to foreground any particular type of meaning" (Berry, 1995:66, bold and italics in orig.). By choosing an existential Theme, the writer has chosen to remain 'hidden' and to pass over the option of placing something interactional (interpersonal) or informational (topical) in initial position. It should be noted that existential Themes are different from everything else which is referred to as Subject/Theme as they are the grammatical Subject but not the true topic of the main clause in the analysis. However, other alternatives for extending the analysis of existential Themes to include more than just *there* are not completely convincing and in the present study *there* will be analysed as Subject/Theme but also considered, following Berry (1995), a 'pass' option from the writer's perspective.

3.5   Marked Themes and the concept of 'extended' Theme

In the typical clause pattern, the Theme is conflated with the Subject. Such a Theme Halliday refers to as 'unmarked Theme', stating that "The Subject is the element that is chosen as Theme unless there is good reason for choosing something else" (1994:43). A Theme that is not Subject Halliday (1994) refers to as 'marked Theme'; the most common types of marked Theme are:

- Circumstantial Adjuncts (*today, currently, on 13 August, at the meeting*)
- Complements (*that meeting we could not attend*)

Halliday (1994) posits a cline of markedness, capturing the likelihood of any of these elements occurring in initial position in the clause. The most common form of marked Theme is an adverbial group or prepositional phrase functioning as Circumstantial Adjunct. The least likely, and thus the most marked, is a Complement, which is a nominal group that could have been chosen as Subject but was not (Halliday, 1994:44).

Regarding the order of clauses in a clause complex, Halliday argues that the default order of clauses is independent clause followed by dependent clause, while a dependent clause in initial position constitutes a marked choice of Theme (Halliday, 1994).

In the present study, marked Theme is analysed in the clause as well as in the clause complex. As outlined in Section 3.5.3, if Theme is analysed to comprise everything up to and including the Subject of the independent clause, the question as to whether a Theme can be 'marked' arises, as Theme will always include the Subject, which is 'unmarked'. Martin and Rose (forthcoming) overcome this problem by identifying the marked Theme and the Subject of the α clause, as shown in Example 3.17:

Example 3.17

after about three years with the special forces	our hell	began
Marked Theme	Subject/Theme	New

(Martin and Rose, forthcoming)

However, they do not propose a term which can be used when discussing the combination of marked Theme and Subject/Theme. For the purpose of the present study, as introduced above, where the combination of marked Theme and Subject/Theme is used to realise a

thematic choice, the term 'extended Theme' is adopted to refer to this combination, as shown in Example 3.18:

Example 3.18

In the event of the contract being terminated by either party,	Universal	will not buy back the original stockholding,
marked Theme	Subject/ Theme	Rheme
extended Theme		

Letter 14, clause 8

Example 3.19

If anyone can see a better way or advise improvements	please	[you]	feel free to speak to me or Pete
marked Theme	Interpersonal Theme	Subject/ Theme	Rheme
extended Theme			

Memo 4, clause complex 50

In an independent clause that is not part of a clause complex a marked Theme, i.e. any topical element(s) preceding the Subject, plus the Subject itself are analysed as extended Theme. In Example 3.19, the extended Theme includes a marked Theme, an interpersonal Theme and the Subject/Theme. In a clause complex with a projecting clause in initial position, the projecting clause and everything up to and including the Subject of the projected clause are also analysed as an extended Theme. The projecting clause is categorised as an interpersonal Theme and constitutes the 'marked' part of the Theme. Exemplification is provided in Chapter Six.

3.5.1 Function and importance of marked Theme as part of extended Theme

A marked Theme is said to be a Theme where the writer consciously or unconsciously affects the organisation of the text by choosing something other than the Subject for the starting point of their message:

If Theme is *everything located at the beginning of the sentence as a result of choice*, then markedness of Theme or use of special resources to put Complements/Objects and Verbs in initial position betrays a deliberate choice; by contrast the default use of Subject as Theme may be quite automatic.

(Goatly, 1995:166, italics in orig.)

Goatly's point is supported by a number of writers (Downing, 1991; Martin, 1992a; Berry, 1996; Stainton, 1996; Thompson, 1996; Davies, 1997; Martin and Rose, forthcoming), who agree that the choice of marked Theme is important, and that it plays a crucial role in the interpretation of the message. Discussing Circumstantial Adjuncts as an example of a marked Theme, Downing (1991), Berry (1996) and Davies (1997) agree with Halliday that Circumstantial Adjuncts are important to the message as they add further ideational detail and information, but are optional in that the message would be coherent without them. However, Davies and Berry disagree with Halliday's view that circumstantial elements "typically, …. occur freely in all types of process, and with essentially the same significance wherever they occur" (Halliday, 1994:149). Downing (1991), Martin (1992a), Berry (1996), Davies (1997) and Martin and Rose (forthcoming) argue that when a Circumstantial Adjunct occurs in first position it has greater importance than if it occurs elsewhere in the clause. A Circumstantial Adjunct in initial position constitutes a marked choice and a marked Theme is seen as a "deliberate choice" made by the writer, according to Goatly (1995).

Research on marked Theme by Stainton (1996) suggests that it is not only important because it is a 'motivated' choice by the writer, but also that it is important for the success of a text. Stainton found that in 22 technical reviews there was a higher proportion of "marked themes in the most successful texts" (Stainton, 1996:53). Davies (1997) analysed 14 texts covering a wide range of text types, e.g. novel, historical survey, prospectus, children's writing, editorial, letter to the editor, textbook, gardening magazine article, and research article, while Berry (1996) analysed three texts functioning as a university depart-ment's introductory guides, namely a departmental guide, the registrar's guidelines, and university guidelines. Even though their motivations and starting points are different, Davies and Berry agree that marked Theme functions in some way to guide the reader or, as Davies (1997) puts it, to act as a 'Contextual Frame'.

However, very little research has been conducted into marked Theme in workplace texts, with Iedema (1995) and Stainton (1996) being the only notable exceptions. In addition, it appears that few studies have analysed and discussed Circumstantial Adjuncts, dependent clauses and projecting clauses found in thematic position in workplace texts.

Davies (1994, 1997) suggests a framework for analysing marked Theme at the level of discourse. She believes that the marked/unmarked distinction of Theme is too simplistic a

categorisation, and she suggests three categories of Theme as introduced previously in Section 3.4.1. These three categories, i.e. interactive, informational and organisational Themes, Davies believes, could be applied to all Theme types. The categories introduced by Davies directly reflect the interpersonal (interactive), ideational (informational) and textual (organisational) aspects of discourse. Interactive Themes basically negotiate the relationship between the writer and reader expressing the interpersonal function, e.g. *in my view*, *if you wish to be considered*. Informing elements are related to the ideational meta-function and are predominantly realised by topical or informational units, e.g. *in 1997*, *over the last few weeks*. Organising Themes are where the writer selects a Theme which is related to an earlier or later part of the text, e.g. *in this section*, *in view of the above*, and as such they are closely related to the textual metafunction. For Davies (1994), all Themes can be classified using these three categories. In a later paper, Davies (1997) suggests that the categorisation of these Contextual Frames is driven by semantic as well as grammatical criteria. Davies' semantic categories are discussed below in relation to marked Theme and particular grammatical features found in marked Theme, i.e. Circumstantial Adjuncts and hypotactic enhancing clauses.

Martin (1992a), Davies (1994:174) and Fries (1995a) all believe the Subject is recurrent and enhances the coherence of the text, while the marked Theme, the Contextual Frame, is not recurrent but rather signals "changes/shifts or stages in the progression of the discourse" (Davies, 1997:55). Davies views the grammatical Subject as the topical Theme and if other elements precede the Subject of the independent clause then they are viewed as framing elements.

A further departure from Halliday (1994) is proposed by Davies (1994, 1997) in what she classifies as marked or unmarked Theme. Although Halliday and Davies would agree that the function of 'markedness' is to give a special status within the clause to something other than the Subject of the clause, Davies extends what Halliday would identify as a marked Theme, arguing that Modal Adjuncts, Conjunctive Adjuncts, existential *there* and anticipatory *it* should all be considered as marked Themes. She believes that existential *there* and anticipatory *it* should be analysed as interpersonal projections of writer view-points in relation to the 'Existent' they introduce. The writer is exploiting the thematic structure of the clause by choosing such features. Existential Themes and anticipatory *it* are not the true Subjects; instead, they are place holders for what will follow as Subject. The

present study follows Davies here only partially in that *there* in an existential clause will not be considered a marked Theme as it does not convincingly fulfil interpersonal roles in the same manner as *it*. For example:

Example 3.20

> There is ample spare capacity.
>
> Report 1, clause 4

Example 3.21

> The Design Team have recommended that a re-tender exercise be undertaken following substantial redesign of the project.
>
> Report 2, clause complex 10

In Example 3.20, the existential Theme *there* is followed by a relational process which may not necessarily be encoding interpersonal meaning. However, as shown in Example 3.21, a projecting clause is realised by a mental, verbal or factual type of projection and according to Martin (1995), Thompson and Thetela (1995) and Thompson (1996), projection is taken to be inherently interpersonal. The position taken in the present study regarding existential Themes is to only count the existential *there* as the Theme, as outlined in Section 3.4.4. The position taken with regard to anticipatory *it* clauses within projecting clauses is to include the whole projecting clause as an interpersonal Theme. When it is used in a cleft sentence, as presented in Section 6.3.2, only the *it* will be classified as Theme.

3.5.2   Extended Theme: Circumstantial Adjuncts

Circumstantial Adjuncts can occur freely in the clause, as noted above. When a Circumstantial Adjunct occurs in clause-initial position, it is considered by Halliday as a marked Theme, with the unmarked Theme always realised by the Subject of the in-dependent clause. Together, the marked Theme of a Circumstantial Adjunct and the un-marked Theme constitute what has been called an 'extended Theme', as shown in Example 3.22:

Example 3.22

As of today	we	have ordered a large consignment of items from yourselves on a BMS Purchase Order and await the delivery.
marked Theme	Subject/Theme	Rheme
extended Theme		

Letter 13, clause 6

Circumstantial Adjuncts are considered part of the ideational metafunction in SFL. They are frequently realised by an adverbial, e.g. *today*, *currently*, *tomorrow*, or as a prepositional phrase, as shown in Example 3.22 *as of today*; other examples include: *on 25 July*, *as an investment* (Downing and Locke, 1992:556; Halliday, 1994:44). Circumstantial Adjuncts do not have the potential to become the Subject or take on the modal responsibility within the clause (Halliday, 1994:150). However, the words that make up the Circumstantial Adjunct may become Subject, and if they do, then they can no longer be functioning as an adjunct; for example, compare *today is my birthday* with Example 3.22. In *today is my birthday*, *today* is no longer an adjunct but the Subject of the clause. Halliday identifies nine types of Circumstantial Adjunct: location, extent, manner, cause, contingency, accompaniment, role, matter and angle (Halliday, 1994:152-158). Circumstantial elements usually answer questions such as 'when?', 'where?', 'how?' and 'why?' and they are generally linked to, and expand upon, the process or participant in a clause. Halliday's nine types of Circumstantial Adjunct are illustrated in Table 3.4 with examples from the corpus of workplace texts in the present study or from Thompson (1996), or Martin et al. (1997); the Circumstantial Adjunct is shown in italics. The examples marked with '*' in Table 3.4 are taken from Martin et al. (1997) or Thompson (1996), as no examples were found in the corpus.

Table 3.4   Types of Circumstantial Adjunct

Circumstantial Adjunct	Example	Probe
location		
- time	*Every Monday afternoon*, representatives from the recycling company will come to our office.	When?
- place	*After Gothenburg*, the container is usually shipped to Hamburg in Germany, more delays are likely here.	Where?
extent		
- time	As you know, *over the last few weeks*, smoking breaks have been taken outside of the building… every step*	How long/often?
- space	in the yard, miles away*	How far?
manner		
- means	*With the present methods of off-air recording* there is always the possibility of human error and of last minute programme change.	With what/ By what means?
- quality	*In its simplest form,* the chemical waste producer would pay a charge for the collection and disposal of his wastes.	How?
- comparison	It's OK, she went out *like a light*.*	What … like?
cause		
- reason	*Because of the size of CL*, all loading has to be planned a number of days in advance.	Why? As a result of what?
- purpose	*For the purpose of this review*, C&A homes refer to those C&A homes receiving government subventions.	What for?
- behalf	*For those reviewers* who are using Cabs pro, you are expected to ensure that your time sheets are correct and complete.	Who for? On whose behalf?
contingency		
- condition	*As the requirement for engineering increases*, engineers will need the facility to draft concepts of SAC and then to send to the DAC operator for detailing.	Under what conditions?
- concession	in spite of the rain*	Despite/in spite of what?
- default	in the absence of proof*	Lacking what?
accompaniment		
- comitative	*With Gary's post and registration*, it is short term and the range of duties is fairly limited…	Who/what with?
- additive	the Director of Housing has added *that in addition to departmental vehicles*, the HAHQ building has to provide…	And who/what else?
role		
- guise	*as a concerned parent**	What as?
- product	(smashed) *into pieces* [sic]*	What into?
matter	*With regards to Select feed plus pricing* I understand that Tariff 1 is to be replaced with another pricing structure…	What about?
angle	Basically, *under BVI law*, surplus of the company is anything over and above the capital and liabilities of the	From what point of view? Says who?

Circumstantial Adjunct	Example	Probe
	company.	

(Adapted from Thompson, 1996:105, and Martin et al., 1997:104)

However, despite the neatness suggested by this coding scheme, "circumstances frequently seem to combine two different types of meaning", as pointed out by Thompson (1996:105). He adds that frequently time and cause, along with manner and reason, may both be present in one Circumstantial Adjunct. He also suggests that the use of metaphor may also confuse the meaning of a Circumstantial Adjunct. Thompson sums up his description of Circumstantial Adjuncts by stating:

> Whichever set of categories you rely on, you are likely to find that they will not easily account for all examples of circumstances that you come across in texts.

> (Thompson, 1996:105)

A limited number of Circumstantial Adjuncts found in the corpus could have been 'doubly' coded, as pointed out in Section 4.4.5.

As noted above, the analysis of Circumstantial Adjuncts in thematic position differs from Halliday (1994) in that Halliday's analysis considers a Circumstantial Adjunct coming first in a clause as constituting the total Theme, while in this study the Subject following the Circumstantial Adjunct will be included in an 'extended' Theme. Example 3.23 contrasts the two styles of analysis:

Example 3.23

In 1994 and 1995,	the tax authorities	were focusing on the introduction of the tax reform and the formation of a new system of tax administration.	
Circumstantial Adjunct	Subject		
Theme		Rheme	(Halliday, 1994)
extended Theme		Rheme	(present study)

Report 6, Clause 105

While in Halliday's style of analysis the Circumstantial Adjunct *in 1994 and 1995* constitutes all of the (marked) Theme, in the style favoured in this study *in 1994 and 1995, the tax authorities*, i.e. the Circumstantial Adjunct together with the following Subject, constitute the 'extended Theme' of the clause. The Circumstantial Adjunct, following Davies (1997:58), is believed to frame "real world entities" within the discourse of the text, and the Subject to provide information about the topic or 'content' of the clause. In the

present study, the extended Theme may include one or more Circumstantial Adjuncts directly preceding the Subject.

Circumstantial Adjuncts which occur before the main verb are referred to as "additional ideational" information by Berry (1995:76). This is in partial agreement with Halliday (1994) who clarifies the status of the Circumstantial Adjunct by saying

> what is important is the notion of the 'circumstance' as a kind of additional minor process, subsidiary to the main one, but embodying some of the features of a relational or verbal process, and so introducing a further entity as an indirect participant in the clause.
>
> (Halliday, 1994:152)

It could therefore be argued that as Circumstantial Adjuncts embody only 'some' of the features of a process or participant they, like other linguistic elements, do not exhaust the potential of Theme.

In support of this view Downing (1991) provides three reasons why a Circumstantial Adjunct should not be counted as Theme on its own. Circumstantial Adjuncts

- "do not represent participant roles in the semantic structure … They can never, in 'congruent' representation, be topics … they are not identifiable as 'what the clause is about'";
- do not disturb the mood structure and do not therefore "affect the predictability of which way the clause is going";
- are not directly related to what the clause is 'about', but rather provide a "spatial, temporal or other circumstantial framework within which the ensuing message can develop."

(adapted and quoted from Downing, 1991:126)

In this sense, Downing's view of Circumstantial Adjuncts as a constituent within Theme supports Davies' arguments, presented above.

3.5.3   Extended Theme: dependent clauses

A marked Theme may be realised by a whole (dependent) clause acting as the Theme of a clause complex, or by one of the elements discussed above, i.e. a Circumstantial Adjunct or a Complement in clause-initial position. This section discusses why dependent clauses may be Theme in a clause complex but independent clauses may not.

The justification for analysing the Them of the independent clause in a clause complex is provided in Section 3.6. At the level of the clause complex, the clauses exist as 'bundles' of clauses which have some direct structural relation with each other. In written language a clause complex is typically identified by the conventions of marking sentence boundaries, i.e. the first word in the sentence is written with initial uppercase and the sentence ended with a full-stop, while a clause complex is not as easily identified in spoken language. In a coherent written text, a sentence may be presumed to be co-extensive with a clause complex or a single independent clause (a clause 'simplex'), but beyond this there is little reliable information found in conventional punctuation concerning the relationship of clauses within the clause complex.

Halliday (1994:218) posits two dimensions to the interpretation of clause relations. These are shown below in Table 3.5:

Table 3.5   Basic types of clause complex

		(i) paratactic	(ii) hypotactic
(1) E x p a n s i o n	(a) elaboration	John didn't wait; 1 he ran away. =2	John ran away, α which surprised everyone =β
	(b) extension	John ran away. 1 and Fred stayed behind +2	John ran away, α whereas Fred stayed behind. +β
	(c) enhancement	John was scared, 1 so he ran away x2	John ran away, α because he was scared xβ
(2) P r o j e c t i o n	(a) locution	John said: 1 "I'm running away" "2	John said α he was running away. "β
	(b) idea	John thought to himself: 1 'I'll run away' '2	John thought α he would run away. 'β

(Halliday, 1994:220, Table 7(2))

Halliday describes the interdependency of clauses in terms of 'hypotactic' and 'paratactic' relations, giving us dependent and independent clauses, and the logico-semantic relationships between clauses in terms of 'expansion' and 'projection', both of which may be realised through either parataxis or hypotaxis. The concept of interdependency is discussed in Section 3.5.3.1, and that of expansion in Section 3.5.3.2.

3.5.4   Clause relations: interdependency

Relationships between clauses, especially dependent relationships, are central to the analysis presented in this study. The study focuses on the way in which hypotactic clauses function as Theme in the clause complex. According to Halliday (1994:56), the typical order of clauses in the clause complex is independent clause followed by dependent clause, and when the order is reversed and the dependent clause comes first, the "motive is thematic". The clause and clause complex can both be analysed for Theme, as Halliday demonstrates:

Example 3.24

If	winter	comes	can	spring	be far behind?
$Theme_1$			$Rheme_1$		
structural	topical		Finite	topical	
$Theme_2$		$Rheme_2$	$Theme_3$		$Rheme_3$

(Halliday, 1994:57, Fig 3-16)

Halliday states that while it is acceptable to analyse a dependent clause as Theme when initial in the clause complex, each clause also has its own thematic structure. As shown in Example 3.24, there are three possible interpretations of Theme. $Theme_1$ is the Theme of the clause complex, while $Theme_2$ and $Theme_3$ are the Themes of the dependent and independent clauses respectively. In support of Halliday, Fries (1983), Housman (1967, quoted in Goatly, 1995), Berry (1996) and Davies (1997) agree that a hypotactic clause (which is by definition dependent) occurring in initial position in a clause complex should be analysed as marked Theme.

When carrying out an analysis of data, the test applied to decide whether a clause was hypotactic was whether it was dependent on the other clause or not, in line with (Halliday, 1994:221): "Hypotaxis is the binding of elements of unequal status. The dominant element is free, but the dependent element is not". Paratactic clauses do not fit this test as both (or

more) clauses are free and neither clause is dependent on the other. Halliday, as shown in Example 3.25, illustrates the hypotactic relationship between clauses in a clause complex:

Example 3.25

John thought	he would run away.
α	β

(Halliday, 1994:220)

Similar examples can be found in the corpus of workplace texts:

Example 3.26

Although no details have been confirmed yet,	the proposed elimination of exemptions for the importation of goods forming part of foreign investments seems to be a certain move.
β	α

Report 6, clause complex 61

In both examples the β clause is dependent on the α clause. In Example 3.26 the independent clause *the proposed elimination of exemptions for the importation of goods forming part of foreign investments seems to be a certain move* could stand alone while the dependent clause *Although no details have been confirmed yet* could not. If one were to remove the α clauses in both examples, the β clauses would not make sense on their own. These two examples demonstrate a relationship between two clauses in which one is dominant and the other dependent. When the dependent clause is in first position in the clause complex, it constitutes a marked Theme. In the present study the Theme of the clause complex is analysed to include the dependent clause and anything up to and including the Subject in the following clause, provided it is both an independent clause and the dominant clause in the clause complex, as illustrated in Example 3.27:

Example 3.27

Although no details have been confirmed yet,	the proposed elimination of exemptions for the importation of goods forming part of foreign investments	seems to be a certain move.
dependent clause	Subject/Theme (of α clause)	Rheme (of α clause)
β	α	
extended Theme		Rheme

Report 6, clause complex 61

Therefore, when discussing relationships between clauses, hypotaxis is an important feature as the meaning potential of one clause is only realised if another clause is present.

In addition, hypotaxis is important in the analysis of Theme in a clause complex, since it is only dependent clauses which have the potential to be marked Theme.

As established above, as the Theme includes everything up to and including the Subject of the independent clause, following Davies (1994, 1997) and Berry (1995), if a dependent Theme is in initial position then this, as well as the Subject, will be taken to be the Theme. The function of marked Theme is not relevant to paratactically related clauses as these clauses may occur in any order. Paratactic clauses are independent units and they have been recognised as such in the analyses of Theme.

3.5.5   Clause relations: expansion

According to Halliday (1994), a dependent clause may be related to another clause by a relationship of either 'expansion' or 'projection', collectively referred to as logico-semantic relationships. These two types of relationship capture the way in which any two clauses in a clause complex are related semantically while their logical relationship is captured by those of 'taxis', i.e. hypotaxis or parataxis.

Halliday posits three different types of expansion:

i.   elaboration
     One clause is used to specify or describe another clause.
ii. extension
     One clause adds information to another clause to extend its meaning.
iii. enhancement
     One clause qualifies the meaning of another clause by time, place, manner, cause or condition.

(adapted from Halliday, 1994:220)

The logico-semantic relationship most frequently found in this study's corpus in relation to Theme was enhancement. Frequently, enhancing clauses were found in initial position, thus constituting a marked Theme. All hypotactic clauses of expansion can be realised through both Finite and non-finite clauses.

The Finite and non-finite hypotactic clauses analysed as marked Themes in this study tend to be enhancing clauses. The enhancing clause has "a circumstantial feature incorporated into it" according to Halliday (1994:232). Additionally, in hypotactic (rather than paratactic) enhancing clauses, "the conjunction serves to express both the dependency (the hypotactic status) and the circumstantial relationship" (Halliday, 1994:238). As there

is such a clear relationship between the circumstantial nature of hypotactic enhancing clauses and Circumstantial Adjuncts, the markers of hypotactic enhancing clauses are very similar to those of Circumstantial Adjuncts illustrated in Table 3.1. In the present study, dependent clauses functioning as marked Themes have been analysed following Halliday (1994:237), reproduced as Table 3.6, which includes an exemplification of some of the conjunctions and prepositions associated with hypotactic enhancing clauses. In this table, adapted from Halliday, the symbol '#' signals that no marker was provided by Halliday or found in the corpus; and '*' signals an example not given by Halliday, but found in the corpus.

Table 3.6   Principal markers of hypotactic enhancing clauses

		Finite conjunction	Non-finite conjunction	preposition
(i)	**temporal**			
	same time: extent	as, while	while	in (the course/process of)
	same time: point	when, as soon as, the moment	when	on
	same time: spread	whenever, every time	#	#
	different time: later	after, since	since	after
	different time: earlier	before, until	until	before
(ii)	**spatial**			
	same place: extent	as far as	#	#
	same place: point	where	#	#
	same place: spread	wherever, everywhere	#	#
(iii)	**manner**			
	means	#	#	by (means of), as (e.g. as spoken)*
	comparison	as, as if, like, the way, however*	like	#
	quality*	whilst*	#	for*, in*
(iv)	**causal: conditional**			
	cause: reason	because, as, since, in case, seeing that, considering	#	with, through, by, at, as a result of, because of, after*
	cause: purpose	in order that, so that	#	(in order/so as) to; for (the sake of) with the aim of, for fear of
	condition: positive	if, provided that, as long as	if	in the event of
	condition: negative	unless	unless	but for, without,
	condition: concessive	even if, although	even if, although	despite, in spite of, without

(adapted from Halliday, 1994:237, Table 7(7))

To summarise, an extended Theme comprises any marked Theme together with the un-marked Theme of the main clause. The marked Theme can be a Circumstantial Adjunct, or a Complement at clause level, or a hypotactic (dependent) clause in initial position at

clause complex level, together with the Subject of the following dominant (independent) clause.

3.6   Concluding remarks

From the research and through the above discussion, it has been shown that choice of Theme appears to be a key factor for the success or otherwise of clause and text alike. In relation to the general question of the function Theme performs in written workplace texts, one function of Theme would seem to be the organisation of the message. In the present study, an additional role is explored, viz. that of expressing an interpersonal message or viewpoint. Two particular thematic choices appear to serve this function, viz. marked Theme and projecting clauses in thematic position in a clause complex. Projecting clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

A number of methods for identifying Theme have been reviewed in detail, and a rationale for selecting the method used in the present study provided. The boundary between Theme and Rheme adopted for the present study diverges from Halliday's identification of Theme in that Theme is considered to extend up to and including the Subject of the first independent clause in the clause complex. The reasons for analysing Theme in this manner are that it allows the text analyst and others who are users of the texts to understand the way in which a text is constructed and the role played by the Subject and features other than the Subject in organising the message. Davies (1988, 1994, 1997), Berry (1995, 1996), Fries (1995a) and Ravelli (1995) all support the view that including the Subject as part of Theme aids the understanding of the thematic development of a text.

In the present study, Theme is made up of the Subject of the main clause plus anything preceding the Subject. Theme may therefore include textual Themes, interpersonal Themes, as well as more than one topical Theme. The term Subject/Theme has been adopted in order to establish the obligatory topical Theme. When the Subject is the only thematic element, it is also the unmarked or default choice of Theme. When other topical features are found to precede the Subject/Theme, these are referred to as marked Theme. The distinction made between marked and Subject/Theme, and the idea that marked Theme plays a special role different to the default unmarked Theme have been established. The category of extended Theme, which includes additional topical Themes other than the Subject/Theme, such as clause elements, e.g. Circumstantial Adjunct, Complement, as well

as dependent enhancing clauses, was introduced in a departure from Halliday's concept of marked Theme.

As argued above, the choice of Theme will always affect the viewpoint, or as Martin (1992b) calls it, the 'angle' of the message presented in a text. Extended Themes are one way in which interpersonal meanings within the choice of Theme are construed. Another feature which it is possible to analyse and investigate in depth is the choice of Subject. As pointed out by Iedema (1995, 1999, 2000), the modal responsibility assigned by the choice of Subject can explicitly emphasise the personal or depersonalised nature of a text and its meaning. The choice of Subject as part of Theme is an area which will be scrutinised in detail in the following chapters. The range and choice of Theme, according to Martin (1992a), Davies (1994, 1997) and Fries (1995a) will be constrained to some extent by the genre in which the writer is operating. However, the extent and level of constraint needs to be investigated further.

After considering the theoretical concerns and establishing the remit of the present study, the procedures and application of the theory to the data need to be explicated. The methodological considerations adopted for the analysis of the present study will be presented in the following chapter.