

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The basic oppositions in grammars of the second half of this century is not that between '**structuralist**' and '**generative**' but that between grammars that are primarily **syntagmatic** in orientation (the formal grammar, steeped in logic and philosophy) and grammars that are primarily **paradigmatic** (the functional ones focused on rhetoric and ethnography). The former interpret language as a list of structures with regular relationships established in them, thus the introduction of **transformations**. They emphasize universal features of language, regard grammar or syntax as the foundation of language - *grammar is arbitrary for them* - and hence organized around a **sentence**. The latter however interpret language as a **network of relations**, realized in the form of **structures**. They emphasize variables among different languages, regard semantics as the foundation of language - *so grammar is natural* - and is organized around the **text or discourse**.

Chomsky formed a new opposition 50 years after Saussure and called it '**generative**'. This was the distinguishing feature of his **syntagmatic, formal** grammar, which ignores ethnography. By generative, he meant **explicit** - writing did not depend on the unconscious assumptions of the reader, only on a formal system in operation. Such a language system seems to be too idealized, leading to various viewpoints being raised but no 'Chomsky revolution'. Instead there was a shift from

the **anthropological** to the **philosophical** thought, splitting linguists into two camps. Throughout the history of western linguistics, there has been much debate concerning these two approaches, partly due to western thinking and partly due to the nature of language itself, which can be used equally well in humanities, social science, natural science, medicine and engineering but appears different depending where one starts from.

Formal grammar, being based on linguistic forms, is easily made explicit. Nevertheless, **paradigmatic** grammars too can be 'generative' in that they are expressed in formal terms and used for generating or parsing by computer. But being based on **meaning**, it is harder for such a grammar to take wings. Yet, once air-borne, it has a vast range. It is now used for text analysis, stylistics, computational linguistics, developmental linguistics to study socialization, and in the educational field. The last is the broadest range of applications.

The study of the social functions of language has occupied linguists for a long time. Bernstein explains the social processes, starting from social structure, and Labov from linguistic structure, while Halliday sees the two ideas as complementary. According to him, if language has evolved in the service of certain functions, or the 'social' functions, then it has definitely affected the nature of language. This is systematically reflected in the construction of a grammar whose components are functional in origin.

Halliday states that the social function of language is reflected in linguistic structure, that is, in the internal organization of language *as a system*. In 1923, Malinowski had written that "language in its structure mirrors the real categories

derived from the practical attitudes of the child.....” and that, through the many stages of cultural evolution, all uses of language had left its mark on linguistic structure. He saw the functional origins of the language system in child language but did not back up his ideas with child acquisition studies, it was only much later, in the 70s, that language acquisition came to be seen as the mastery of linguistic functions. The social functions of language shed light on language and we can identify a given function if we can specify *some* or *all* of the meaning potential associated with that function. By doing so, we can account for particular features in the **structural** organization of language.

It is for these reasons that I have chosen **functional linguistics** as my theoretical frame of reference as it is obvious that what is important is the social nature of language rather than an individual phenomenon. The origin and development of the systemic functional theory gives it sociological rather than psychological modes of explanation. At the same time, it has been used within a general cognitive framework, whilst current investigation into its relationship to neurolinguistics and the learning theory is going on.

2.2 Theoretical Approach: Systemic Theory

This study is based on the systemic theory, following the European functional tradition. It is developed by M.A.K.Halliday from Firth’s system-structure theory, but derives several abstract principles from Hjelmslev and the Prague school. The organizing concept is that of the ‘**system**’ in Firth’s sense of a functional paradigm but developed into the formal construct of a ‘**system network**’.

A system network is a theory of language as choice, representing a language, or part of it, as a resource for making meaning by choosing. A system comprises two choice points specifying:

1. an environment of choices already made, and
2. a set of possibilities of which one will be chosen.

It is read synoptically or dynamically - 'if feature *a* is present then either *x* / *y* / *z* is present' or if you have chosen *a*, then go on to choose *x* / *y* / *z*'. Thus:

"For any set of systems associated with a given environment, it is possible to construct a system network in which each system, other than those simultaneous at the point of origin, is hierarchically ordered with respect to at least one other system. The point of origin is specified syntagmatically, so that all features are associated with a syntagmatic environment; at the same time the system network provides a paradigmatic environment for each one of the features, specifying both its contrastive status and its possibilities of combination."

(Halliday, 1966a:66)

and in 1967, he states:

"..... A 'systemic' grammar..... This term denotes a grammar in which the basic concept is that of the system - a set of features of which one and only one must be chosen if the specified conditions of entry to that system are satisfied. The grammar itself thus takes the form of a series of system-networks, where each network represents the choices that are available to a given constituent type, this being the 'point of origin' of the network, and states for each choice the entry condition in terms of other choices, in other words, the environment in which selection among one set of features takes place is specified in terms of other features." (1967d:1-2)

As a systemic grammar is also **paradigmatic**, there is no difference between description and agnation because describing something consists in relating it to everything else. Hence structure is used to express the choices made. In discourse,

structural representations are used rather than systemic ones, as they are less abstract or 'closer' to the text. In text analysis, structural interpretation is the most direct method, and the principal systemic features used as descriptive categories. Therefore every feature of a text can be related to the overall system of English up to the limits of delicacy to which the analysis is taken.

In functional grammar (derived from systemic theory), there is no upper limit in terms of rank, though traditionally it stops at the sentence or 'clause complex'. Below the sentence, we see a constructional relationship consisting of elements with their own functions in relation to the whole, resulting in a structural relationship. But this kind of constructional organization has two patterns:

1. a structural one of a kind that is more like the dynamic processes of text formation, and
2. non-structural forms of organization that create cohesion - reference, ellipsis and so on.

This type of grammar is vital in linguistic analysis:

"A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made that are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar like a number of words per sentence (and even the objectivity of these is often illusory); or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or bad as another." (Halliday, 1985)

A text, according to functional grammar, is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realized through wordings. A theory of wordings or grammar makes explicit one's interpretation of the meaning of a text. Thus the present interest in discourse analysis is to provide a context within which

grammar has a central place. In order to provide insights into the meaning and effectiveness of a text, a discourse grammar must be functional and semantic, and grammatical categories explained as the realization of semantic patterns. It is for this reason that the functional grammar is used to analyze text in this study, with its base as the systemic theory.

The grammar therefore is both a grammar of the system and that of the text. Discourse or ‘**text linguistics**’ is founded on a study of the system of the language. At the same time, the study of the system throws light on discourse. By starting from the system, we see text as a **process**. When a written text is presented to us, we view it as a product; it is only as a writer that we realize it is a process. This distinction was made by Hjelmslev who saw text as process: he referred to language as **system** and **process**. **System** is described in terms of **paradigmatic** oppositions, and **process** in terms of **syntagmatic** structure. Both are related through the important concept of **realization**.

Functional grammatical descriptions have been developed well beyond a simple re-labeling of grammatical classes (as in tagmemics or Huddleston’s *English Syntax*, 1984). In the following, we see Halliday’s (1985a) multi-tiered perspective on the English clause, reflecting an **experiential**, **interpersonal** and **textual** perspective:

Chong	is	carrying	the parcel	Perspective:
Actor	Process		Goal	Experiential
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Interpersonal
Theme	Rheme			Textual

The experiential component here is concerned with the construction of experience in terms of acting on the happening; in the second, with giving information; and in the third, information flow is manipulated to give meaning. The textual metafunction in fact provides texture, and organizes discourse as relevant to the situation.

2.3 Texture

2.3.1 Cohesion and Text

Halliday and Hasan propose the definition of **text** as:

“The concept of COHESION can therefore be usefully supplemented by that of REGISTER, since the two together effectively define a text. A text is a passage of discourse which is coherent with respect to the context of situation, and therefore consistent in register; and it is coherent with respect to itself, and therefore cohesive” (1976:23).

Furthermore, “Texture results from the combination of semantic configuration of two kinds: those of register and those of cohesion” (1976:26), indicating that cohesion and coherence are NOT synonymous.

The concept of **coherence** is very complex with many intertwining threads, one of which is cohesion. **Cohesion** is an essential feature of text: **“Cohesion is the foundation upon which the edifice of coherence is built. If the foundation is not present, the edifice cannot be built” (Halliday-Hasan, 1985:94).**

But texture involves much more than cohesion, bringing in a culture’s text-forming resources - the **intrasentential** resources of theme and information and the **intersentential** resources of cohesion above:

“In the most general terms there are two other components of texture. One is the textual structure that is internal to the sentence: the organization of the sentence and its parts in a way which relates it to its environment. The other is the ‘macro-structure’ of the text, that establishes it as a text of a particular kind - conversation, narrative, lyric, commercial correspondence and so on” (1976:34).

Halliday uses the same **tri-partite** perspective on text forming resources, giving linguistic resources as:

Table 1: Linguistic Resources

A. STRUCTURAL
1. thematic structure: Theme and Rheme
2. information structure and focus: Given and New
B. COHESIVE
1. reference
2. ellipsis and substitution
3. conjunction
4. lexical cohesion

and notes that register determines the way in which these resources are deployed.

2.3.2 Linguistic Resources

Cohesion is expressed through the stratal organization of language, where language is “a multiple coding system comprising three levels of coding or ‘strata’: the semantic (**meanings**), the lexicogrammatical (**forms**) and the phonological and orthographic (**expressions**). Meanings are realized (**coded**) as forms, and forms are realized in turn (**re-coded**) as expressions” (Halliday-Hasan, 1976:5), that is, meaning is put into wording and wording into sound or writing. Cohesion is

expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary of the lexicogrammatical system. Thus cohesion is of two kinds:

1. GRAMMATICAL cohesion (reference, substitution, ellipsis)
2. LEXICAL cohesion (lexical items)

Conjunction or CONJUNCTIVE, though mainly grammatical, has a lexical component in it and is distinguished from CONTINUATIVES, where the former has organic relations and the latter componential relations.

Hasan (1985b) however uses the term more narrowly to refer to semantic relations realized through the intra- and intersentential text forming resources given by Halliday in Table 1. **Texture** is opposed to **text structure** derived from register variables. Texture and text structure together provide **textual unity**. Hasan's more delicate classification of texture creating resources in Table 2 (Table 5.1 from Hasan1985b:82) shows that grammatical parallelism is added to Halliday's structural resources and that cohesive resources are reorganized into:

1. grammar and lexical cohesive devices
2. componential and organic relations
3. general and instantial relations in the lexical group
4. tie relations of each device.

Table 2: **Summary of cohesive devices.** Reproduced from M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan: *Language, Context and Text*(Hasan 1985b:82).© Deakin University Press

NON-STRUCTURAL COHESION

COMPONENTIAL RELATIONS

ORGANIC RELATIONS

	Device	Typical tie relation	
Grammatical Cohesive Devices	A: Reference 1. Pronominals 2. Demonstratives 3. Definite article 4. Comparatives	} co-reference	A: Conjunctives e.g. causal tie concession tie....
	B: Substitution & Ellipsis 1. Nominal 2. Verbal 3. Clausal		B: Adjacency pairs e.g. Question (followed by) answer; offer (followed by) acceptance; compliance....
Lexical Cohesive Device	A: General 1. Repetition 2. Synonymy 3. Antonymy 4. Meronymy	} co-classification or co-extension	Continuatives (e.g. still, already....)
	B: Instantial 1. Equivalence 2. Naming 3. Semblance		

STRUCTURAL COHESION

- A: Parallelism
- B: Theme-Rheme Development
- C: Given-New Organization

Table 3: *English Text's organization of text forming resources in English*

Discourse Semantics	Lexicogrammar	Phonology/Graphology
NEGOTIATION IDENTIFICATION CONJUNCTION & CONTINUITY IDEATION	SUBSTITUTION THEME COLLOCATION	INFORMATION TONE CONCORD & TONE SEQUENCE

Nevertheless, Martin (*English Text*, 1992) reorganizes these text-forming devices into a stratified content place which accounts for most of the difference in categorization. Martin's NEGOTIATION (see Table 3) correspond with Hasan's adjacency pairs, his CONTINUITY with Hasan's continuatives. The only additions are the systems of TONE CONCORD & TONE SEQUENCE and collocation, while her structural parallelism is omitted. The componential / organic opposition is reflected in Martin's discourse semantic units with negotiation and conjunction linking moves and message parts (*English Text*, 1992:385).

It is obvious here that Martin has organized his text-forming resources into Discourse Semantics, lexicogrammar and Phonology / Graphology units. He is concerned with two main dimensions: stratification, and within strata, metafunction. Thus the IDENTIFICATION system under discourse semantics is concerned with the textual metafunction, dealing with the nominal group: DEIXIS, pronouns, proper nouns, comparison, as in Table 4 (Table 6.7 from Martin 1992:390).

Table 4: **Metafunctional organization of discourse systems**

Register	Metafunction	Discourse semantics	Lexicogrammar
Tenor	interpersonal	NEGOTIATION	clause: mood, ellipsis, modalization, modulation, polarity, vocation, tagging.
Mode	textual	IDENTIFICATION	Nominal group: deixis, pronouns, proper names, comparisons
Field	logical	CONJUNCTION	clause complex: logico-semantics & inter-dependency
	experiential	IDEATION	clause: Transitivity, group rank, experiential grammar, collocation

2.3.3 The domain of cohesive relations

Cohesion is NOT a structural relation, according to Halliday and Hasan. It is unrestricted by sentence boundaries and, in its simplest form, is the presupposition of something that has gone before, whether in the preceding sentence or not. This type of presupposition, pointing back to a previous item, is called ANAPHORA, as in [2:1], where 'she' refers to Siti.

2:1 *Where is Siti?*

■ *She is in the garden.*

But sometimes what is presupposed anaphorically may be a whole passage preceding it, as in [2:2] where '*such*' presupposes everything that precedes:

2:2 *The girls really enjoyed themselves - sitting under the shade of the swaying palms, drinking cool lemonade and listening to music. When the mood took them, they went for a swim or basked under the sun. Or they would stroll down the dusty streets, picking up souvenirs or haggling over prices with the pedlars along the footpath. It was all such fun.*

In this passage too, we see **cohesive chains** (or **reference chains**), sequences where it is necessary to step back several sentences to reach the substantial element referred to by '**they**' - '*the girls*'.

Presupposition may sometimes go in the opposite direction with the presupposed item following. This is called CATAPHORA and is an **explicit** relation, as in [2:3], where '*this*' refers to the whole procedure following it:

2:3 *This is how you make tea. Boil some water, put your tea-bags in and after three minutes, it is ready to be drunk.*

But there is another form of reference, the EXOPHORA, which takes us outside the text altogether:

2:4 *Did you water those plants?*

Here, '*those*' may refer back to the preceding text or the environment in which the dialogue is taking place - the **context of situation** - where the plants are present and can be pointed to if needed. This reference however is not cohesive as it does not bind the two elements into a text. On the other hand, when the interpretation is ready to hand in a text or situation, the hearer/reader constructs a context of situation in order to supply it for himself.

Halliday (1985) further gives another 'phoric' form - HOMOPHORIC reference which is self-specifying, or there is only one that makes sense in the context:

2:5 *Have you let out the dog?*

Thus cohesion is relational and directionality comes in only if one of the elements in the cohesive relation is by its nature cohesive by pointing to something else. A logical dependence arises with a significant opposition in the system between anaphora and cataphora. But cohesion is a process: "A text unfolds in real time, and directionality is built into it; hence of the two elements embodying the cohesive relation, one always follow the other" (Halliday-Hasan, 1976:19).

2.3.4 Textual meaning and Context of situation

Halliday's unstratified system or structure cycle organized by rank and metafunction treats cohesion as a set of non-structural resources within the textual component, i.e., cohesion relates ideational (experiential and another metafunction, the logical) and interpersonal meanings to each other, integrating them as text.

Seen from Martin's stratified content plane, semantic systems deal with meanings that are abstract and bigger in size than grammatical ones. Discourse semantics have its own metafunctional organization, reflecting both the organization of the lexicogrammatical resources to realize meaning, and the organization of context into the register variables tenor, mode and field. From Table 4 above, we see that IDENTIFICATION is abstracted from nominal group DEIXIS and together with the lexicogrammatical systems of SUBSTITUTION and ELLIPSIS, is a powerful measure of contextual dependency, thereby relating it to MODE.

Whenever defining text or text unity, Halliday and Hasan supplement cohesion with notions of register and text structure because text is *semantic choice in social context*, therefore texture must be contextualized in a model of a culture's text forming resources. Halliday uses the term **register** to describe the meanings in a **context of situation** comprising three components - *field, tenor* and *mode*. Contextual systems are essential in any culture's text forming resources, for texture in functional linguistics can only be texture in context, and linguistic text forming resources interpreted against context of situation.

2.3.5 Cohesion and linguistic system

Structure is a **unifying** relation in a text. The parts of a sentence or clause **‘cohere’** with each other because of the structure, hence displaying texture. All elements - sentences, clauses, groups, words - have an internal unity to express the text. In short, structure is one means of expressing texture. However, a text extends beyond the range of structural relations; and texts cohere. So cohesion within a text - **texture** - depends on something other than structure. It is obvious that there are certain specifically text-forming relations which are non-structural but are properties of the text. These are called **semantic relations**, and the text is a **semantic unit**, while the non-structural resources for discourse are what are referred to as COHESION.

Since cohesive relations are NOT concerned with structure, **“they may be found just as well within a sentence as between sentences. They attract less notice within a sentence because of the cohesive strength of grammatical structure”** (Halliday-Hasan 1976:8).

Cohesion therefore is a semantic relation, referring to the relations of meaning existing within the text, which defines it as **text**. Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one **presupposes** the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. As a result, a cohesive relation is established and the two elements, the **presupposing** and the **presupposed**, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text.

This shows that this kind of meaning relation is especially important for the creation of texture or the property of 'being a text' - that in which **one element is interpreted by reference to another**. Thus cohesion is a relational concept. Briefly, the concept of cohesion accounts for the essentially semantic relations whereby any passage of speech or writing is enabled to function as text. This concept can be systematized by classifying it into a small number of distinct categories - reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. These categories have a theoretical basis as distinct TYPES of cohesive relation and also provide a practical means for describing and analyzing texts. Each category is represented in the text by physical features - omissions, repetitions, occurrences of certain words and constructions - which have in common the property of signaling that the interpretation of the passage in question depends on something else. If that 'something else' is verbally explicit, then there is cohesion.

There are three major functional-semantic components:

1. the ideational (experiential and logical functions), concerned with transmitting information between members of society;
2. the interpersonal, concerned with the social, expressive and connotative functions of language; and
3. the textual, the text-forming component in the linguistic system - it provides texture and organizes discourse as relevant to the situation.

All three operate through systems associated with particular ranks in the grammar. The textual component operates with every clause making a selection in the system of theme to convey the speaker's organization of the clause as a message

and to express it through the clause structure. But this is only a part of its operation. The component also incorporates patterns of meaning which are realized outside the hierarchical organization of the system, e.g., through the information structure, thematization and identification, to name a few.

The remaining part of the textual component is that which is concerned with **cohesion**. It is closely related to information structure; but information structure is a 'given-new' framework, whereas **cohesion** relates one element in the text to another. Cohesion is therefore part of the text-forming component in the linguistic system - the means whereby elements that are structurally unrelated to one another are structurally unrelated to one another are linked together through the dependence of one on the other for its interpretation. In short, cohesion is the linguistic means by which a **text** is enabled to function as a single meaningful unit.

2.4 Measures of coherence

Hasan's measures (1985b:94-95) of peripheral, central and relevant tokens and suggestions for using cohesive harmony analysis as a measure of coherence is as follows:

TYPE OF TOKEN

- peripheral** - tokens which do not participate in strings or chains
- relevant** - tokens which participate in strings or chains
- central** - relevant tokens which interact

MEASURES OF COHERENCE

1. The lower the proportion of the peripheral tokens to the relevant ones, the more coherent the text is likely to be.
2. The higher the proportion of central tokens to non-central ones, the more coherent the text is likely to be.
3. The fewer the breaks in the picture of interaction, the more coherent the text.

Martin (1992:433) rejects this procedure because:

1. cohesive harmony is a measure of texture - it does not consider unity derived from register and genre
2. it is a measure of experiential texture - it has not developed enough to include the interaction of strings and chains with interpersonal, textual and logical structure.
3. it focuses on componential cohesion and does not treat organic relations (conjunction and negotiation).

In this study, Hasan's procedure is also rejected, NOT because of the reasons given by Martin but because only **one** part of cohesive harmony is considered here - **reference**.

2.5 Reference

This study will use Halliday and Hasan's classification of reference items as it is obvious that even Martin's 'English Text' utilizes the same form, being an extension of Hasan's model. Thus reference items generally may be exophoric or endophoric, and if endophoric, they may be anaphoric or cataphoric, as shown below:

Personal Reference

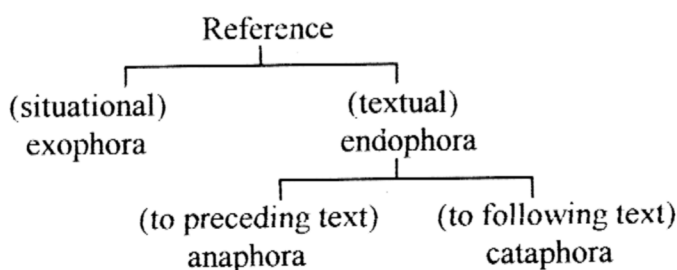


Table 5: **Personal Reference**

<i>Semantic category</i>	Existential	Possessive	
<i>Grammatical function</i>	Head	Modifier	
<i>Class</i>	noun (pronoun)	determiner	
<i>Person:</i>			
speaker (only)	I me	mine	my
addressee(s) with/without other person(s)	you	yours	your
speaker and other person(s)	we us	ours	our
other person, male	he him	his	his
other person, female	she her	hers	her
other persons; objects	they them	theirs	their
object; passage of text	it	[its]	its
generalized person	one		one's

Table 6: **Demonstrative reference**

<i>Semantic category</i>	Selective		Non- selective
<i>Grammatical function</i>	Modifier/Head	Adjunct	Modifier
<i>Class</i>	determiner	adverb	determiner
<i>Proximity:</i>			
near: specific	this these	here [now]	
far (remote): specific	that those	there then	
neutral: non-specific	it		the

Table 7: **Comparative reference**

<i>Grammatical function</i>	Modifier:Deictic/Epithet	Submodifier/Adjunct
<i>Class</i>	adjective	adverb
<i>General comparison:</i>		
identity	same identical equal	identically
general similarity	similar additional	similarly likewise so such
difference (i.e., non-identity/similarity)	other different else	differently otherwise
<i>Particular comparison:</i>		
	better more fewer less further so as + numeral [comparative adjectives and quantifiers]	so more less equally

However there are three types of reference - personal, demonstrative and comparative:

1. **Personal reference** is reference by means of function in the speech situation through the category of PERSON (Table 5).
2. **Demonstrative reference** is reference by means of location, on a scale of PROXIMITY (Table 6).
3. **Comparative reference** is indirect reference by means of IDENTITY / SIMILARITY (Table 7).

Since grammatically all reference items, except the demonstrative adverbs and some comparative adverbs, function within the nominal group, the nominal group structure should be understood first before going into the group of reference in detail. This, following Halliday's analysis of the nominal group, is given in Table 8. The **head** is expressed by a given common noun, proper noun / pronoun. The optional **modifier** normally modifies common nouns only. Subdivisions occur within the modifier when seen from the **experiential** dimensions and so we have **deictic**, **Numerative**, **epithet**, **classifier**, **qualifier** and **thing**, according to their structural roles, which realize certain functions (denoted by **classes**). These have the function of **specification**. But sometimes modifiers themselves may be further modified into **submodifiers**, which are typically adverbs (very, equally, too), prepositional groups (in every way, an out of the way valiant attempt). These are usual under Epithet.

Reference items are not classified according to their functions in the nominal group, but on the type of reference involved. This is a semantic classification cutting across the classification depending on grammatical function. Still, the reference type is related to the form it takes in grammar and to the word classes functioning as reference items.

2.5.1 Personal reference

The category of **personals** includes the three classes of personal pronouns, possessive determiners (possessive adjectives) and possessive pronouns. They all belong to different classes with diverse structural roles but represent a single system - that of PERSON. This is represented in systemic and tabular form as given in Table 9.

PERSON in this system is used in the special sense of 'role' - **first, second and third** person intersecting with the number categories of singular and plural. The term **person** may seem misleading because 'impersonal' as well as non-personal reference (to objects) also come under this umbrella term; but to avoid cumbersome technicalities, we use it simply as an 'address'. In fact, the PERSON system is just the means of referring to **relevant** persons and objects, using a small set of options depending on the particular nature of their relevance to the speech situation. We therefore distinguish between the *persons defined by their roles in the communication process*, called **speech roles (speaker and addressee)**; and all other roles designated **other roles** (see Table 9).

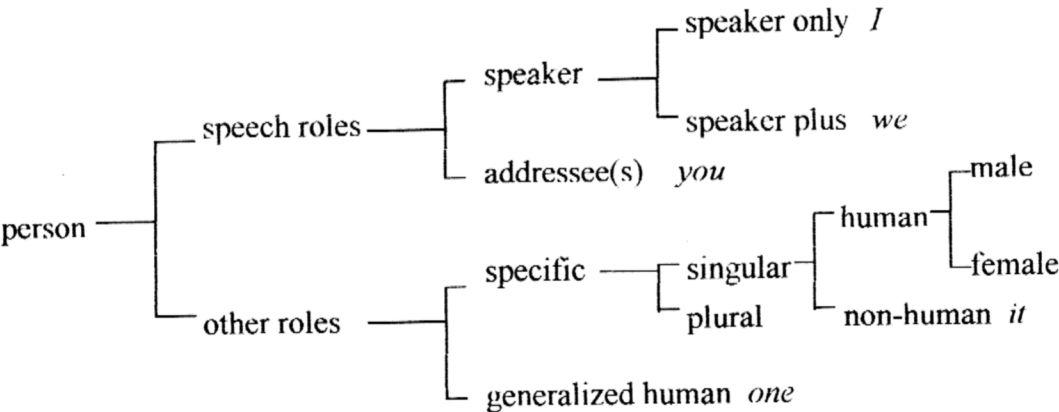
Table 8: Structural Analysis of the Nominal Group

	the	ten	pretty	brick	houses	by the riverside
Structures: logical	Premodifier				Head	Postmodifier
experiential	Deictic	Nume- rative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
Classes	deter- miner	numeral	adjec- tive	noun	noun	[prepositio- nal group]

Table 9: PERSON

Speech roles			Other roles		
			Specific		Generalized
	Speaker	Addressee	Human	Non-human	Human
one	I	you	he him	it it	one one - one's
	me mine my	you you	she her hers her	[its] its	
more than one	we us ours our	yours your	they theirs	them their	

Personal Reference System



Basically, in the evolution of language, the referential category of PERSON was DEICTIC in the strict sense 'to be interpreted by reference to the situation here and now' (I = the one speaking; you = the one(s) spoken to; he / she / it / they = the third party, 'the other(s) in the situation'). The first and second persons *I* and *you* are naturally deictic as their meaning is defined in the act of speaking. Therefore, we can say that personals referring to the speech roles are typically **exophoric** but become **anaphoric** in quoted speech and are normally so in many varieties of written language, as in narrative fiction. Here, the context of situation includes a 'context of reference' that is constructed from the text itself, making all reference within it **endophoric**. Along the narrative, there will be names or designations to which we can relate the *I* and *you*.

But a written text as a whole has its own outer context of situation in which the writer may refer exophorically to himself (*I / we*), or to his readers (*you*), or both. This is common in letter-writing, in first person narrative, in advertising, in official documents to the public, and in notices. *He / she / it / they* can be used deictically but are more commonly anaphoric, leading to cohesion. That is, personals referring to other roles are typically anaphoric but may be exophoric wherever the context of situation is such as to permit identification of the referent in question.

It must be stated here that **only the anaphoric type of reference is relevant to cohesion**, as it provides a link with a preceding portion of a text, so the third person forms are more important here. Yet there are instances of these which are not cohesive in **spoken** English:

2:6 *They're here!*

This then depends on the context of situation too.

Finally, the third person forms are cumulatively anaphoric with an appearance of a proper / common noun, followed by several *he / him / his*, etc., all referring to the original name or thing. This is what contributes markedly to the internal cohesion of a text, creating a network of reference lines, linking each to its predecessor until the initial form. **The number and density of such networks is one factor which gives texture to a text.**

Personal reference, however, does not stop at this point. An important form of special personal reference is **extended reference**, where 'it' may refer to an identifiable portion of text:

2:7 *Curtsey while you're thinking what to say. It saves time. Alice*

was too much in awe of the Queen to disbelieve it. (Alice in Wonderland).

The first 'it' refers to the whole sentence preceding it. The second 'it' is an example of text reference, referring to the fact that '*curtsey(ing) while you're thinking what to say... .. saves time*'.

Similarly, we get generalized exophoric reference forms where *one / we / you / they / it* all have generalized use, referring to 'any person':

2:8 *You never know.*

Or the speaker may be referring to a particular group of individuals, including himself:

2:9 *We accept it as our duty.*

The 'we' here can also be the general term used by royalty, editorial, etc. 'They', however, refers normally to 'persons unspecified or the authorities':

2:10 *They're fining the road hogs.*

And 'it' occurs as a universal meteorological operation in:

2:11 *It's hot today / It was a scene of pandemonium.*

Exophoric reference nevertheless makes no contribution to cohesion of a text and are called '**institutionalized**' exophora. But they do form part of a text as the hearer need not ask "Who is?" or "What is?" for further clarification.

As for cataphoric reference, only the personal pronouns participate, not the possessive forms, where 'he' refers forward to '*who comes last*':

2:12 **He** *who comes last stands to lose.*

These personal pronouns are normally cataphoric only within a structural framework, and so do not provide cohesion to the text. The reference is within the sentence, and is determined by the structure of the sentence. The cataphoric structural functions of the personal forms are summarized as follows:

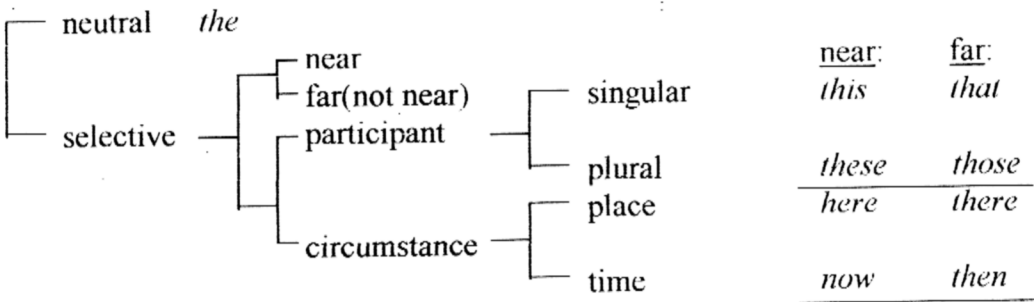
- i. Third person pronouns other than 'it' may refer cataphorically to a defining relative clause as above (*who comes last*). This is normally seen in proverbs, aphorism, etc. (Sometimes, *we / you* are also used thus: *we / you who can't trust things now*)
- ii. All third person pronouns occur cataphorically as "substitute themes" in clauses where their referent is at the end: *It's great, this show!*
- iii. Like the last, 'it' is often used with the subject as nominalization: *It's true that he often shirks his duties.*

All such cataphoric reference is structurally determined and makes no direct contribution to the texture. But there is one cataphoric instance where 'it' is cohesive:

2:13 *I would never have believed it. He's back in Malaysia now.*

2.5.2 Demonstrative reference

This is a form of **verbal pointing** where the speaker identifies the referent by locating it on a scale of **proximity** in the system as follows:



All demonstratives (nominal) - *this, these, that, those, the* - refer to the location of something, typically a person/object participant in the process. They are determiners with the experiential function of Deictic (Modifier or Head) as in:

<i>that cat is fat</i>	Modifier
<i>that is a fat cat</i>	Head

In the second, the demonstrative is more like a personal pronoun (compare with: ***yours** is a fat cat*).

The circumstantial (adverbial) demonstratives '*here/there/now/then*' however refer directly to the location of a process in space / time, NOT via the location of the participant.

Demonstratives may be **exophoric** or **anaphoric**. They were probably the same as third person forms but they are more deictic than the personals, with some distinct anaphoric functions of their own. Like personals, they may refer exophorically to something within the context of situation, and this primary form of verbal pointing may be accompanied by gestures:

2:14 Take **that** and come **here**!

This these / here imply proximity to the speaker, thus the former is more specific.

However, exophoric reference is NOT textually cohesive. But the uses of *this* and *that* in endophora can be explained by reference to their exophoric meanings, so it is necessary to start from the general concept of proximity which is interpreted situationally. Similarly for the definite article *the* which is used exophorically within the context of situation:

2:15 Don't! I've the cane here.

Nevertheless, demonstratives occur widely as anaphora in all English varieties with three systematic distinctions - those between:

1. 'near' (*this/these*) and 'remote' (*that/those*)
2. 'singular' (*this/that*) and 'plural' (*these/those*)
3. 'Modifier' and 'Head' (*that boy is fat/that is a fat boy*)

This that refers anaphorically to something that has been said before by the speaker himself or by his interlocutor:

2:16 a. *Tourism has led to many problems.*

This seems to be a hot topic now.

b. *Tourism has led to many problems.*

- Yes, that seems to be a hot topic now.

Here, (a) indicates 'near' and (b) 'not near' the speaker, or 'what I have just said' and 'what you have just said' respectively. That is, if the referent is associated with the speaker (his personal feelings, etc.), then the 'near' form is used. Similarly, 'this' can be associated with the present or future, and 'that' with the past:

- 2:17 a. *We were caught in a traffic jam yesterday. That was a bad experience.*
 b. *We'll be caught in the jam if we don't hurry. That'll be our first bad experience in months.*

(Compare with the exophoric form: *this morning; in these/those days, etc.*)

In the Singular and Plural demonstratives, the most marked difference between the Singular Forms used as Head (*this/that*) and the others (see below). The plural forms may refer anaphorically to a preceding plural noun or sets that are plural in meaning.

A demonstrative as Modifier may refer to any class of noun (that boy/pet/dog) but a demonstrative as Head is only used freely for non-humans, NOT humans, i.e., we can say:

- 2:18 *That man did it.*

and not: *That did it.* (referring to 'man')

Demonstratives can only refer pronominally to human referents anaphorically / exophorically in relational clauses of the equative type where one element is supplying the identification of the others, as in:

- 2:19 a. *And who is the lady here? This is Cinderella!* (reading a book)
 b. *Who are these characters?*

- *Those must be the new workers.*

For demonstratives functioning as Head, the referent's level of generality poses a problem. If used with a noun, the meaning is always identical with that of the presupposed item as in [2:20] where '*cat/monster/animal*' all refer to the first '*cat*':

2:20 *A cat's trying to get in.*

- *Oh, that cat monster animal's always doing that.*

But sometimes we use the demonstrative alone to refer to a general class as in [2:21] where '*those*' refers to '*cats*' in general:

2:21 *Two cats are trying to get in.*

- *Oh, those must be kept away.*

The reference is still identical but broader. However, in [2:22] we have an ambiguous answer, as '*those creatures*' may refer to the two particular cats or to cats in general

2:22 *Two cats are trying to get in.*

- *Oh, those creatures must be kept away.*

This means that demonstratives, when anaphoric, need the explicit repetition of the noun, or some form of synonym to signal exact identity of specific reference.

'*This/that*' can have extended references including text as 'fact':

2:23 *They broke the vase.*

- a. *That was valuable.*
- b. *That was careless.*

Here, (a) refers to 'vase' (extended meaning) whilst (b) refers to the whole event (relevance to fact). But there is a difference between 'this' and 'that' in extended text reference in terms of proximity. 'That' is always anaphoric while 'this' may be anaphoric/cataphoric as in:

2:24 Viola: *I am all the daughter of my father's house*

And all the brothers too - and yet I know not

Sir, shall I to this lady?

Duke: *Eh, that's the theme.*

The use of 'this' is the only instance of cataphoric cohesion in English, together with the parallel use of 'here' (see 2:30 below).

In spoken English however, 'this/that' in extended use is often tonic, unlike other cohesive items in the language. This is because tonicity is associated with 'new' information whereas anaphora is not 'new'.

The DEFINITE ARTICLE has been set apart as a unique member of a class comprising itself and 'a/an'. But it has similarities with the other items which places it under specific determiners, including the demonstratives and possessives and possessives. It resembles the demonstratives and is originally a reduced form of 'that' functioning, only as a **modifier**. Thus, like the personals and other demonstratives, it is a specifying agent, serving to identify a particular individual/subclass. It signals 'you know which one(s) I mean' but with a difference. The other items signal that the identity is known/knowable and state how identity is to be established:

2:25 *my pen* - 'you know which: the one belonging to me'

this pen - 'you know which: the one near me'

the pen - 'you know which: the information is there if you look for it'.

In short, 'the' indicates specific identity; it does not specify it - it is available elsewhere in the preceding text (anaphoric) or following (cataphoric). And sometimes it is **self-specifying** - there is only **one** in the context (homophoric):

2:26 *I found a pen. The pen is new.* (anaphoric)

This is the pen that I found. (cataphoric)

The pen is mightier than the sword. (homophoric)

'The' then is an unmarked demonstrative while '*this/that*' are marked demonstratives.

The demonstrative adverbs include 'here/there/now' and 'then' though 'now' is very rarely cohesive. The last three must be distinguished from their homographs:

2:27 a. *There's a man at the door.* (pronoun)

b. *You're wrong there.* (adverb)

a. *Now what we're going to do is this.* (conjunction)

b. *Things have changed now.* (adverb)

a. *Then you've changed your mind?* (conjunction)

c. *We had different ideas then.* (adverb)

As reference items, '*here/there*' closely resemble '*this/that*':

2:28 *Are you going swimming today?*

■ *Yes*

Fine, you'll see me there.'

'There' is anaphoric and locative, referring to 'going swimming today'. Similarly, 'here/there' are used regularly for **extended text reference**, meaning 'in this/that respect', as in:

2:29 *I think drug pushers must be sentenced to death.*

■ *You're wrong there.*

'Here', like 'this', may be cataphoric:

2:30 *Tourism has led to problems. Here is what I mean. First, it has increased crimes.....*

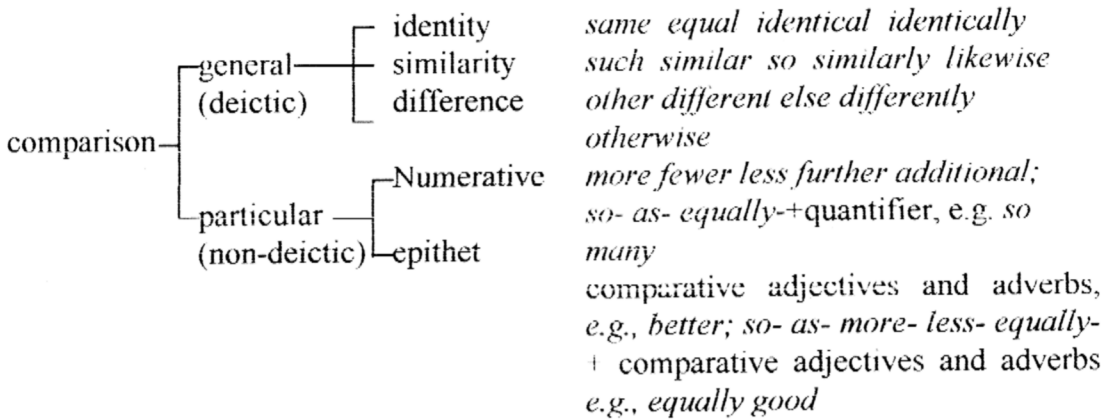
The 'here' refers to the whole text following it. Thus, in English, the demonstratives 'this/these/here' are the only sources of CATAPHORIC COHESION.

Finally, discourse adjuncts '*in that case, that being so, after that, at this moment, under the circumstances, as a result, as a result of this, etc.*' are considered as conjunctives here, NOT demonstratives.

2.5.3. Comparative reference

General comparison expresses likeness between things, where two things may be identical to each other (**identity**), similar to each other (**similarity**) or different from each other (**difference**).

Comparative reference items are systematized as follows:



These are shown in:

- 2:31 *It's the same cat as the one earlier.* (identity)
- It's a similar cat to the one earlier.* (similarity)
- It's a different cat from the one earlier.* (difference)

Likeness is a referential property where a thing must be 'like something', therefore comparison, like personals and demonstratives follow the same possibilities - they are **exophoric** or **endophoric**. All the examples in [2:32] are **cataphoric**, fully determined by structure, and so not cohesive. But **cataphoric cohesion** can occur too:

- 2:32 *The other squirrels scrambled for the best nuts; Chip ran up the tree while
 Monk ran down the tree.*

'Other' refers to 'Chip' and 'Monk', separated by a semi-colon and so not structurally related. Anaphora is seen below referring to the text before it:

- 2:33 *Let's go for a picnic.*
- *I was hoping to do something else.*

In the case of [2:35], however, where two or more things are compared, we do not have a case of comparison:

2:34 *Most people have the same breakfast every day.*

They gave three similar answers.

All reacted identically to the news.

Here the comparatives are **Epithet**, not **Deictic**. But in the example below, 'different' in (a) is Deictic and referential while in (b), it is Epithet and non-referential:

2:35 a. *They were a different two colours.*

b. *They were two different colours.*

Particular comparison expresses comparability between things in respect of a particular property of **quantity** or **quality**. In terms of **quantity**, it is expressed in the **Numerative** in the nominal group structure, e.g., *more mistakes* (**comparative quantifier**), or '*as many mistakes*' (**adverb submodifying a quantifier**).

In terms of **quantity**, it may be an **Epithet** in the nominal group, as a **comparative adjective** (e.g., *easier/more difficult tasks*) or an **adverb of comparison submodifying an adjective** (e.g., *so difficult a task*). Or it may be an **Adjunct** in the clause in the form of a **comparative adverb** (e.g., *He rowed faster*) or an **adverb of comparison submodifying an adverb** (e.g., *She sang as sweetly*).

To be referential, there must be a standard of reference by which one thing is said to be better, equal, or lower in quality or quantity, e.g., '*this tree is taller than that*' (anaphoric reference). Cataphoric reference is also seen, as in:

2:36 *He's a **better** man than I am.*

*Her room is **bigger** than mine.*

These are NOT cohesive. But in:

2:37 *Her room is **bigger**: it could easily fit two sofas*

we see **cohesive cataphora**.

Examples of exophoric comparatives include: *not so much noise*; *go more slowly!*; *mine is much prettier*, etc. but anaphoric comparatives are more important, being cohesive:

2:38 *You need flour, sugar, eggs, milk... ..*

*- **So many** things?*

Of all reference items, **comparatives** are the most typically **anaphoric** than exophoric. Personals and demonstratives involve reference that is inherently extra-linguistic - reference to speech roles, proximity to speaker, etc. But for comparatives, the nature of its relationship is at the **same** level of abstraction, that is, both comparative and referent are at the **semantic** level rather than one in the text and one in the situation.

Finally, 'so' and 'such' must not be confused with **intensifiers** meaning 'extremely', as in:

2:39 *They were so horrible.*

They were such nuisances.

But they become structurally **cataphoric** in:

2:40 *They were **so** horrible no one ate them.*

*They were **such** nuisances that we had to move house.*

An unusual cataphora is seen below where the referent is a **Qualifier**, not part of a nominal group:

2:41 *Such an efficient man as John*]
 So efficient a man as John] *cannot be found.*

Expressions such as ‘*of the kind*’, ‘*like that*’, ‘*that way*’, ‘*do likewise*’, and ‘*another thing*’ resemble comparatives and can be treated as such. But since they contain other reference items, it is easier to interpret them in terms of the latter.

2.6 **Identification**

2.6.1 **Participant Identification: Phoricity**

Martin’s English Text is influenced strongly by Gleason’s stratificational model. He uses Hartford’s term ‘**participation identification**’ to refer to the strategies languages use to get people, places and things into a text and refer to them once there. Gleason too set up semantic structures for texts, called **reticula**, consisting of events and the connections between them(an event-line). These reticula enabled Hartford stratificationists to focus on how discourse structure conditioned the realization of participants, event clusters and role relations in grammar. In systemic terms, reticula focused on IDENTIFICATION, CONJUNCTION and TRANSITIVITY.

Martin however uses the systemic functional model to deal with role relations. This model treats grammar as a meaning making resource, unlike the stratificational model, which dualises meaning and form. Moreover, it emphasizes system as well as structure where Identification and Conjunction are concerned.

One of the peculiarities of English regarding grammatical resources for identifying participants is its definite/indefinite article system. In this system, every time a participant is mentioned, the identity of that participant is explicitly recoverable from the context (or not), from the nominal group structure, as in:

2:42 ***John** went to **the zoo** with his **mother**. He fed **the gorilla** some peanuts and noticed **a boy** beside him. This boy, *Ali*, wanted some peanuts too. So Mum gave some to him and he fed the gorilla. Then he found his **watch** missing. They looked for it and found it finally in **a baby gorilla's** hand - it was trying to eat it!*

The basic discourse opposition here has to do with **phoricity**. The nominal groups in [2:42] are organized semantically into phoric and non-phoric classes, according to whether their grammar signals the identity of the participant they realize as recoverable or not (shown in Table 10). Thus, all non-phoric groups are associated with first mention, together with several participants(in bold in [2:42]). **Phoric items therefore require that information be recovered from the context.**

Table 10: **Coding recoverability**

Identity Not Recoverable	Identity Recoverable
<u>Indefinite article</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>
	his, he, it, him, they
a boy	he, him, his
a gorilla	it
a watch	his, it
	<u>Demonstrative</u>
	this boy
	<u>Definite article</u>
	the gorilla
	<u>Proper name</u>
	John, Ali, Mum

There are 3 main types of information that need to be recovered and nominal groups may depend on their context with respect to any one, or any combination of the three. They are:

1. **Reminding phoricity** ('you know my identity'): This signals that the identity of the participant being realized is recoverable, as in Table 9 above. [For all examples given here, the phoric items under focus will be in bold letters and the information they depend on in italics].

2:43 The boy had **a cat**.

It ran away.

2. **Relevance phoricity** ('you know the identity of related participants'): This signals the identity of one or more participants related to the participant being realized is recoverable, normally through comparative and superlative forms for nominal groups.

2:44 The boy found **the cat**.

There was *another* cat too.

3. **Redundancy phoricity** ('you know my experiential content'): This is concerned with signaling that experiential meaning needs to be recovered from the context (of nominal groups), not with tracking the identity of participants.

2:45 The boy found his **cat**
and brought home a baby *one* too.

English nominal groups also combine these three freely:

the smaller dog reminding + relevance

<i>the small one</i>	reminding + redundancy
<i>a smaller one</i>	relevance + redundancy
<i>the smaller one</i>	reminding + relevance + redundancy

Thus in [2:46], the *smaller one* depends on *two cats* to recover the experiential content of its head (redundancy phoricity).

2:46 The boy found two *cats*.
 One was smaller than *the other*.
 The boy took *the smaller one* home.

It also depends on *the other* to recover the participant compared to it in terms of size (**relevance phoricity**), and on *one* where the identity of the smaller cat was first established (**reminding phoricity**).

Other than nominal groups, systems depending items on their context in terms of recoverable information are found throughout the grammar and may be itemized as:

Reminding phoricity	Circumstance of Location Facts
Relevance phoricity	Circumstance of Manner and Extent Conjunction Continuity
Redundancy phoricity	Verbal Substitution and Ellipsis Clause Substitution and Ellipsis Tonicity

Halliday and Hasan (1976) describe phoric terms as presupposing information from their context. Where this information is found in the co-text, the link between presupposing and presupposed constitutes a **cohesive tie** (see 3.3 below). Martin

however uses the terms **presuming** and **presenting** (and **presumption** instead of **presupposition**).

2.6.2 Reference as semantic choice

Participant identification is concerned mainly with the oppositions of **reminding** and **relevance** phoricity, as in:

	<u>presenting</u>	<u>presuming</u>
Comparison	a smaller frog	the smaller frog
[-]	a frog	the frog

Presenting reference is therefore strongly associated with **first mention**, and **presuming** reference with **second mention**. The +/- comparison system makes reference to the identity of related participants optional. But the realization of this system and the probability of phoric options being chosen is very much affected by a third system - **[generic/specific]** - which cross-classifies **[presenting/presuming]** and **[+/- comparison]**.

Generic reference is selected when the whole of some experiential class of participants is affected rather than a specific manifestation of that class. **This is typical of scientific report writing**, as shown below (taken from Martin 1992:103):

2:47 Fifteen per cent of the world's land area consists of **deserts**. **The true hot deserts** straddle the tropics..... **They** are found in all continents..... and **they** extend inland from the west coasts **They** are never found on east coasts.....
Cool deserts are found further polewards.....
There are *five major desert belts* in the world *The largest hot desert* extends from the west coast of North Africa - *this is the great Sahara*.

The world's deserts are referred to generically six times (given in bold in text) before going into specific manifestations of this class (in italics). This shows that generic reference can be phoric : '**they**' refers generically to hot deserts, and generic participants may be introduced definitely (**the true hot deserts**) or indefinitely (**cool deserts**). Generic groups do not depend on their context in the way specific groups do, unless they involve demonstratives or pronouns (**they**, **these** deserts). Then their context is that of knowledge of the language being used.

Similarly, generic groups may neutralize number, as in:

2:48 **A thick waterproof covering** *protects desert plants and their leaves are often reduced to thorns to protect them from animals who may eat them for moisture.*

The two groups in [2:48] may be replaced by '**Thick waterproof coverings**' and '**an animal**' (or '**the animals**') without affecting the text. But **these neutralizations affect the nature of cohesive patterns in texts oriented to generic classes of participant - pronouns and demonstratives** are commonly used to presume generic participants. Nevertheless, '**the**' is not phoric in generic contexts, and breaks up the participant line into a number of **short generic reference chains**.

Because adjectives have a classifying rather than a descriptive function in generic nominal groups (Halliday 1985a:163-165), **relevance phoricity** is less commonly realized here than in specific groups. Yet, it is possible too, as in:

2:49 *Mountains* keep out rain bearing winds. But **flatter terrain** would allow rain in.

where ‘**flatter terrain**’ presumes ‘*mountains*’. Thus we have three central identification systems: [generic/specific], [presenting/presuming], [comparison/-].

In the case of specific reference being co-selected with presenting, we need to know the number of members of a class, thus giving a [total/partial] opposition.

The pronominal and nominal realization of these features are as follows:

	PRONOMINAL	NOMINAL
TOTAL	everything everyone everybody	every bee every boy
PARTIAL	something someone somebody	a bee/some bees (unstressed) a boy/some boys (unstressed)
	anything anyone anybody	any bees/becs any boy/boys

Both [presenting/presuming] and [total/partial] oppositions are neutralized when using the interrogative pronouns ‘who’ and ‘what’:

2:50 **Who** did you see?

■ Everyone / Someone / Linda.

What did you see?

■ Everything / Something / The lorry.

But ‘what’ is selective when functioning as Deictic:

2:51 **What** CDs did you bring?

■ Just **the few** I like / Just **the ones** I like.

Within partial pronominal reference, these options do not differentiate between *somebody/someone/something* and *anybody/anyone/anything*, rather between [restricted] reference to a particular member of a class and [unrestricted]

reference to any of its manifestations. Nevertheless, unpublished analyses reported in Rochester and Martin (1979) showed that mass and plural nouns lacking an indefinite article (e.g., *snakes*, *water*) provided referents for other nominal groups **three times less** often than when an indefinite article was presented (e.g., *some snakes*, *some water*). Besides, as reported by Du Bois (1980:220) in Martin 1992, “for humans, the zero-form plural is not used to mark non-identifiable referents”. **In fact, it was more common to have initial mentions of OBJECTS as zero-form plurals.** This point is especially significant here as this study focuses on **factual** articles, and not narrative (where humans play more important roles). In the following examples, *any/some/one/this(certain)* signals that it does not matter which member of the experiential class in question is being referred to:

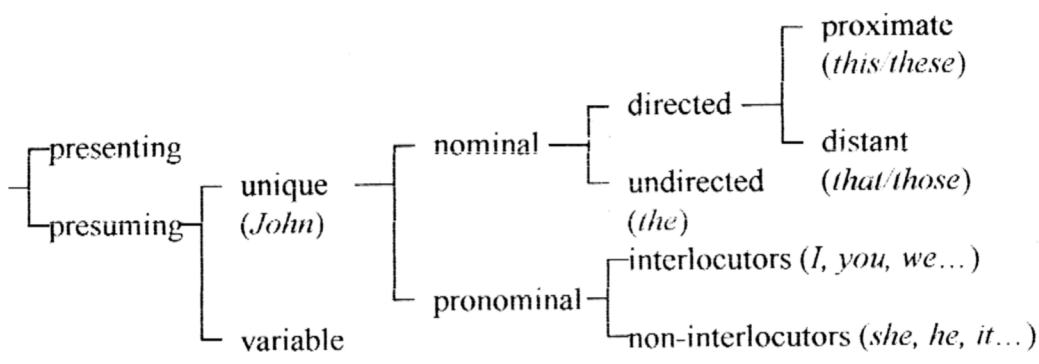
- 2:52 He waited for *any girl* there.
 He waited for *some girl* there.
 He waited for *one girl* there.
 He waited for *this girl* there.

The demonstratives *this/these* are **not phoric** in this case but they signal that a particular participant is focal, as in:

- 2:53 He waited for *this girl* there,
 but **she** did not come until the next day.

In the case of [presuming] items, we find that names are phoric and that when the identity of the participant referred to is not recoverable, participant identification breaks down. But if names are not available or inappropriate, signs that have not been tagged for specific individuals will be chosen, e.g., personal

pronouns, or common nouns as Thing, Numerative, Epithet, Classifier and Quantifier. Thus, **presuming reference** is sub-classified as:



In the context of [undirected] groups, we have the following classes of items:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| phoric Deictics: | both, either, neither, each, which |
| ordinative Numeratives: | first, second, third, etc.; next, last, etc. |
| superlative Epithets: | biggest, most enormous, etc. |

These items have the function of referring to a group of participants **relevant** to the participants being identified through including it as a member. There is a difference between presuming the identity of the participant being realized and optionally presuming the identity of the group of participants to which it belongs, as in:

2:54 The boy took *the cat* home.

 The boy took *the biggest cat* home.

‘*The cat*’ signals that the identity of the cat is recoverable, but ‘*the biggest cat*’ shows that the identity of the cat he took home is **recoverable (reminding phoricity)**, and that the identity of the group of cats it is selected from is **presumed as well (relevance phoricity)**.

Comparative reference is also associated with **relevance phoricity** but it is differentiated from superlatives in that it combines freely with both presenting and