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9 Interpersonal grammar in Scottish Gaelic¹

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9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I use a text-based approach to grammatical description in order to explore the interpersonal grammar of Scottish Gaelic and to provide a partial network for the lexicogrammatical system of MOOD. In order to do this I will analyse three extracts from two Scottish Gaelic novels (MacLean 2009; MacLeòid 2005) from the perspectives of the semantic systems of NEGOTIATION (Martin and Rose 2007, Chapter 7) and ENGAGEMENT (Martin and White 2005, Chapter 3) and correlate distinctions in these systems with function structures at the lexicogrammatical stratum. Working along these lines, I build up a profile of lexicogrammatical elements and function structures at clause rank, with contrasting structures systematised in the most economical way in terms of markedness and inheritance features (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, p. 326; Jakobson & Waugh, 1979, pp. 90-1), and labelled according to their distinctive usages in discourse – what Halliday (1984) refers to as the ‘ineffability of grammatical categories’. On the basis of this analysis, I will suggest that Scottish Gaelic does not have a [declarative] vs [interrogative] opposition in MOOD, redounding with the system of NEGOTIATION at the semantic stratum, but rather an [assertive] vs [non-assertive] opposition, redounding with the system of ENGAGEMENT at the semantic stratum. This is, of course, not to say that the semantics of NEGOTIATION are not realised through the lexicogrammar of Scottish Gaelic, but that they are indirectly encoded through a combination of lexicogrammatical systems such as MOOD and KEY.

The structure of the chapter roughly follows Martin and Cruz’s (2018) paper on Tagalog in the Special Issue of *Functions of Language* dedicated to interpersonal grammar across languages (Martin, 2018). However, where Martin and Cruz provided an introductory metafunctional profile of Tagalog clause grammar, followed by a discourse semantic analysis which exemplified these functional structures in use, for Scottish Gaelic this is not possible. Apart from questions of space, there is only a scant literature on Gaelic from a functional perspective on which to draw (Mackenzie, 2009; Bartlett, 2016; Bartlett & O’Grady, 2019; McDonald, 2008; Byrne, 2002). Instead, therefore, I will provide a discourse semantic analysis of Scottish Gaelic texts from the perspective of NEGOTIATION and ENGAGEMENT, and from there I will select relevant moves for further analysis in terms of interpersonal elements and function structures at the lexicogrammatical stratum. Both of these latter stages will draw on the systemic principle of agnation in order to distinguish between and categorise individual features and, from here, to build up a network of systemic contrasts within the interpersonal grammar of Scottish Gaelic. This will occasionally involve the use of examples from other sources and even, in the extreme case, invented examples. I will finish with some reflections on economy and the labelling of terms in systems networks, the process of ‘shunting’ (Halliday, 1961) between strata in developing linguistic representations, and the potential implications of such an approach for the crosslinguistic validity of systems at the semantic stratum.

In the remainder of the paper I will refer to Scottish Gaelic simply as Gaelic. While the term Gaelic may also be used to refer to Irish Gaelic, it is customary to refer to Scottish Gaelic simply as Gaelic and Irish Gaelic simply as Irish.

¹ Thanks to Ed McDonald for comments on various versions of this and other papers - Mòran taing, a’ charaid! Thanks also to the editors for their patience and helpful suggestions.

9.2 Negotiating the Exchange of Knowledge

In this section I present and analyse a short extract from a Gaelic novel, *Na Klondykers* (MacLeòid 2005). The book is set in a small town in the Highlands of Scotland and portrays the effects of industrial-scale fishing and the presence of Russian fishermen (the eponymous Klondykers) on the local community. The extract begins with one of the central characters, Iain (I), being questioned by his mother (M) about his friends, Donald (Dòmhnall) and Leanne, a couple who are on the point of breaking up.

The extract has been annotated following the schema for information exchange developed by Berry (1981), Ventola (1987) and Martin (1992) and a move-by-move translation is provided. In Section 3 I analyse a different extract in terms of action exchanges. These analyses provide a description of the text in terms of the discourse work performed by the individual moves with regard to the system of NEGOTIATION. Drawing on these analyses I consider what functional structures are used to perform this work in terms of the options at clause-rank and the elements that comprise and distinguish between these structural choices. The analyses thus follow Halliday's (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 31) trinocular approach in identifying functions of elements in terms of their relation to elements above, around and below them: discourse semantic structures are analysed in terms of their contribution to the text as a whole, their systemic relations to each other, and the clausal structures that realise them. Similarly, function structures at clause rank are analysed in terms of the discourse functions they realise, their relation to other options at clause rank, and in terms of the functional elements that comprise them.

[For exchange structure notation see Martin et al., this volume; *** is used to separate exchanges below]

Text 1

A mhàthair a' cur cheistean.

'His mother asking questions'

M	K2	Am faca tu Dòmhnall? 'Did you see Donald?'

	K2	Tha e a tighinn, nach eil? 'He's coming, isn't he?'

	K1	Cha do fhreagair e am fòn. 'He didn't answer the phone'

	K2	An tuirt thu ris a thighinn? 'Did you tell him to come?'
I	K1	Thubhairt. 'Yes'
	K1f	Thuirt e gum biodh e an seo. 'He said he would be here'
M	cf	Airson diathad? 'For lunch?'
	=cf	Tha e dol a ghabhail biadh? 'He's going to have something to eat?'
I	rcf	Tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil. 'I think so'

M K2f Glè mhath.
 'Very good'

 K2 A bheil Leanne a' tighinn còmhla ris?
 'Is Leanne coming with him?'

I ch Chan eil fhios'am.
 'I don't know'

M K2 Nach fhaca tu i?
 Did you not see her?

I K1 Chan fhaca.
 No.

Cha robh Iain airson innse dhi;
 'Iain wasn't in the mood for talking to her'
 cha robh e ach air èirigh.
 'he had just got up'
 Rudeigin selfish, 's mathaid.
 'A bit selfish, maybe'
 Ach b'fheàrr leis na ceistean fhàgail aig Dòmhnall.
 'But he would prefer to leave the questions to Donald'

 I K2 Cearc a tha an diugh?
 'Chicken today?'

M K1 Ròst,
 'Roast'

thubhairt a mhàthair.
 'said his mother'

I K2f O. Math.
 'Oh. Good'

Bha glainne beag fion aice fhad 'sa bha i a' còcaireachd, ag èisteachd ris an rèidio.
 'She had a small glass of wine while she was cooking and listening to the radio'

 M K2 An cuala tu mu dheidhinn Johana?
 'Did you hear about Johana?'

Cionnas a bha fios aice cho luath?
 'How did she know so soon?'

I K1 Chuala.
 'Yes'

M K2f Uabhasach, nach eil.
 'Terrible, isn't it?'

M K1 Tha e gu bhith all right, ge-tà, tha iad ag ràdh.
 'He'll be ok anyhow, so they say'

I K2f A bheil?
 'Will he?'
 'S math sin.
 'That's good'

M	K1	Tha i ann an staid, ge-tà. 'She's in a state anyhow'

M	Dk1	Bheil fhios agad dè thachair? 'Do you know what happened?'
I	K2	Chan eil. 'No'
M	K1	Bha i ann am fight. 'She was in a fight'
	+K1	Cha bu chòir dhi... 'She shouldn't be'
	=K1	cha bu chòir dhi bhith dol faisg air na Ruiseanaich ud. 'She shouldn't be going near those Russians'
	xK1	Bha sabaid aig an talla a-raoir, cuideachd, chuala mi. 'There was a fight at the hall last night too, I heard'

M	K2	Am faca tu i? 'Did you see it?'
I	ch	Cha robh mi ann aig an am. 'I wasn't there at the time'

	K1	Cha robh ann ach scrap bheag, tha mi smaointinn. 'It was only a wee scrap, I think'

(MacLeòid 2005, p. 143-4)

Having seen how the whole extract unfolds as a phase of discourse, we can now analyse individual moves and exchanges to identify the lexicogrammatical means by which Gaelic lexicogrammar encodes the negotiation of information. I start with the opening move of the mother and son's dialogue sequence, which is a K2 move, a request for information:

Example 1

M	K2	am	faca	tu	Dòmhnall?
		INT	see.PST.DEP	2sg	Donald
		'Did you see Donald?'			

There is no response forthcoming to this question but, later in the text we see a similar question (though in the negative) which is answered. This exchange, repeated as Example 2, represents a K2^K1 sequence.

Example 2

2.1

M	K2	nach	fhaca	tu	i?
		INT.NEG	see.PST.DEP	2sg	3sg.f
		'Did you not see her?'			

2.2

I	K1	chan	fhaca
		NEG	see.PST.DEP
		'No'	

There are several points to note here. First there are the enclitic particles (or clitics), *an*, *cha(n)* and *nach*, which alter the exchange function of the clause or, in Martin and Cruz’s (2018) terms “develop the negotiability of a move”. These can be *provisionally* classified as interrogative, negative and interrogative negative respectively, and I will therefore refer to this set of features as ‘mood clitics’.² I will use the labels INT, NEG, and INT.NEG in the glossing for these clitics. Given that a central aim of this chapter is to challenge the relevance of the features declarative and interrogative in describing the mood system in Gaelic, it is important to stress that these labels, which are based on traditional analyses, are serving at this point simply as necessary placeholders, pending alternative analyses presented below. We can compare the exchange in Example (2) with Example (3), in which Iain’s mother asks Iain if he has heard about Johana (3.1) and, once Iain has responded with an affirmative K1 move (3.2), provides an evaluation as a follow-up (3.2).

Example 3

3.1

M	K2	an	cuala	tu	mu dheidhinn	Johana?
		INT	hear.PST.DEP	2sg	about	Johana
‘Did you hear about Johana?’						

3.2

I	K1	chuala.
		hear.PST
		‘Yes’

3.3

M	K2f	uabhasach	nach	eil
		terrible	INT.NEG	be.DEP
‘Terrible, isn’t it?’				

Here we see that Iain’s positive K1 move in 3.2 has no mood clitic. And, though not apparent in this example, there is in many cases also a distinction in the form the verb takes in clauses with or without mood clitics. If we substitute a positive K1 response for the negative K1 response in Example 1, above, this becomes clear.

Example 4

4.1

M	K2	am	faca	tu	Dòmhnall?
		INT	see.PST.DEP	2sg	Donald
Did you see Donald?					

4.2

I	K1	chunnaic
		see.PST
		‘Yes’

² I analyse these as clitics as they would appear, for various reasons too complex to discuss in the present paper, to operate at group rank. However, as there is no research into group structure in Gaelic, this analysis is open to revision.

These different forms are traditionally labelled 'independent' (with no mood clitic) and 'dependent' (following a mood clitic). Although these names are unsatisfactory in many ways, I will maintain them for the remainder of the paper as it is not possible at this stage to provide more functionally appropriate labels.

The analysis of these exchanges has demonstrated the contribution of the different clitics to the clause as a whole within the ongoing negotiation, but we can also draw on these examples to identify the interpersonal functions of the individual elements within the clause.

Accordingly, in Example 5 a line is added for the interpersonal structure of the clause. These include the Mood (realised by the mood clitics) and the Finite ('F'), along with the Predicator³ ('P') and its associated Complements ('C1' and 'C2', discussed further below).

Example 5

M	K2	am	faca	tu	Dòmhnall?
		INT	see.PST.DEP	2sg	Donald
		Mood	F/P	C1	C2
'Did you see Donald?'					

We can recognise the Finite – the function that grounds the clause in time or hypotheticality (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 111) – by comparing the functional structure for past reference (as shown in Example 5) with the functional structures for future reference and obligation in Examples 6 and 7 respectively. In Examples 5 and 6 the alternation between *faca* for past reference and *faic* for future reference indicates that the Finite element is conflated with the Predicator in the case of simple tenses (past and future), while Example 7 shows an alternation with a modal functioning as Finite.

Example 6

am	faic	tu	Dòmhnall?
INT	see.FUT.DEP	2sg	Donald
Mood	F/P	C1	C2
'Will you see Donald?'			

Example 7

am	feum	tu	Dòmhnall	fhaicinn?
INT	must.DEP	2sg	Donald	see.INF
Mood	F:modal	C1	C2	P
'Must you see Donald?'				

As these examples show, the Finite and Predicator are not conflated for modalised clauses (as in Example 7), and this also holds true for complex tenses such as present (Example 8) and perfect/past-in-the-present (Example 9), both of which are formed with the verb *bith* (to be) as

³ The Predicator is partially defined as specifying the process that is predicate to the Subject of the clause (Halliday, 1994, p. 79). As I am suggesting that there is no Subject function in Scottish Gaelic, the use of this term is not without problems. Here I am provisionally using it to mean, roughly, the specification of the central process upon which the truth of the clause as a whole is predicated.

the Finite at the beginning of the clause, with the Predicator as a verbal noun (VN) following a preposition⁴.

Example 8

tha	Dòmhnall	a'	tighinn
be.PRES	Donald	at	come.VN
F	C	P	
'Donald is coming'			

Example 9

tha		Dòmhnall	air	tighinn
be.PRES		Donald	after	come.VN
F		C1	P	
'Donald has come'				

While Examples 1 and 2, above, provided analyses of what we can provisionally label the unmarked functional structures for positive and negative K2 moves, Example 10 illustrates an alternative possibility.

Example 10

tha	e	a'	tighinn	nach	eil?
be.PRES	3sg.m	at	COME.VN	NEG.INT	be.PRES.DEP
F	C1	P	Mood	F	
'Donald's coming, isn't he?'					

This is an example of a 'tag question', a specific subtype of K2 move that serves to confirm assumed information (what Hasan, 1996, p. 123 labels a *reassure* move). Example 11 illustrates a similar variation of a K2 move which serves as a *check* (Hasan, 1996, p. 123) on previously-presented or assumed information.

Example 11

tha	e	a'	dol	a ghabhail	biadh?
be.PRES	3sg.m	At	go.VN	take.INF	food
F	C1	P			C2
'He's going to have something to eat?'					

Given the author's use of the question mark, we can assume that what resembles a K1 in terms of lexicogrammatical structure, in fact differs in that it is spoken with a rising intonation. Furthermore, we can see from the textual progression that, rather than either a straight K1 or K2 move, Example 11 represents a request for clarification in response to the son's earlier K1 move 'he said he would be here'. In other words, what is sought is a development of her son's answer in terms of a clarification of Donald's purpose in coming. In contrast to the previous example, then, where the structure functioned to confirm (or reassure)

⁴ There are good reasons for the analysis of both *a'* (a contracted form of *ag*) and *air* as prepositions, including the nominalisation of the following process and the potential conflation of *ag* with any attendant pronominals (a characteristic of prepositions in Celtic languages). However, the analysis is not without the usual problems encountered when trying to pin down diachronic shifts to meet the demands of synchronic description.

a piece of assumed knowledge, in Example 11 Iain's mother appears to be signalling that she is checking on the purpose of the visit, on the basis of conventional expectations rather than prior assumptions in this case.

As we have seen above, and as further illustrated in Examples 12 and 13, K1 responses to K2 moves and tags in reassure moves are realised through the same functional structure of (Mood Clitic)^Finite.

Example 12

12.1

K2	nach	fhaca	tu	i?
	INT.NEG	see.PST.DEP	2sg	3sg.f
	Mood	F/P	C1	C2
	'Did you not see her?'			

12.2

K1	chan	fhaca
	NEG	see.PST.DEP
	Mood	F/P
	'No'	

12.3

K1	chunnaic
	see.PST
	F/P
	'Yes'

Example 13

chunnaic	tu	i	nach	fhaca?
see.PST	2sg	3sg.f	NEG.INT	see.PST.DEP
F/P	C1	C2	Mood	F/P

This commonality of structure allows us to identify a Negotiator function, comprising those elements of interpersonal structure that are 'crucial both to the negotiation process...and to the realization of indicative MOOD options' (Caffarel, 2004, p. 94). This is illustrated in Example 14. Note that, as illustrated further below, it is only the Finite and any attendant Mood clitic that comprise the Negotiator, though the Predicator will necessarily also be included when this is conflated with the Finite. This is reflected in the examples that follow by analytically separating the Finite and Predicator even when they are conflated in the grammar.

Example 14

14.1

K2	nach	fhaca	tu	i?	
	INT.NEG	see.PST.DEP	2sg	3sg.f	
	Negotiator		Scope		
	Mood	F	P	C1	C2
	'Did you not see her?'				

14.2

K1	chan	fhaca
	NEG	see.PST.DEP
	Negotiator	Scope
	Mood	F P
	'No'	

In Example 15 we see how a twin-Negotiator can function to simultaneously state an assumption and also to query that assumption, hence giving rise to the 'reassure' move.

Example 15

K2	tha	e	a'	tighinn	nach	eil?
	be.PRES	3sg.m	at	COME.VN	NEG.INT	be.PRES.DEP
	Negotiator ¹	Scope			Negotiator ²	
	F	C1	P	Mood	F	
	'Donald's coming, isn't he?'					

Note that the Negotiator in Scottish Gaelic does not include any nominal referent realising the interpersonal function of Subject as 'something by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied' (Halliday, 1994, p. 76). In other work (e.g. Bartlett & O'Grady, 2019) I analyse a syndrome of interconnected features and functions to make the case that there is no interpersonal element Subject in Gaelic and that all the entities involved function as Complements of the Predicator in the interpersonal structure of the clause. As already noted, therefore, I have provisionally used the labels C1 and C2 for the purposes of this paper. One further feature of Scottish Gaelic (and other Celtic languages) that is relevant here is that there is no simple word for affirmation or negation in Gaelic (such as *yes* or *no* in English), but that it is the Negotiator that is used to this effect (as shown in Example 14).

So far we have looked at polar questions, where an affirmation or denial of a proposition is expected (though the response may be modalised as something in between). For elemental questions, as in Example 16, in which the proposition itself is not in doubt but for which the enquirer lacks a detail, the function structure is a rather different.

Example 16

cionnas	a	bha	fios	aice	cho	luath
how	REL	be.PST	knowledge	at.3SG.F	so	fast
Inquirer		F/P	C1	C2:At	A	
'How did she know so soon?'						

What we have here is an identifying process with a predicated Theme in which the Inquirer (Wh-word) is the thematised Token and the remainder of the proposition is a relative clause functioning as the Value (cf. Martin & Cruz, 2018 on the use of identifying clauses for elemental interrogatives in Tagalog). Notice in passing that in this case there is no interrogative clitic and the Finite is not in the dependent form⁵. These are important points that I will develop below.

⁵ The only exception to this is *Càite/Where?*, which is followed by the interrogative clitic and a dependent Finite. This is a result of the word's origins in a more complex structure (see Mackenzie, 2009).

To summarise to this point: I have identified three modal clitics in Gaelic, provisionally labelled the interrogative, the negative and the interrogative negative. I have also identified a Finite element and shown how this interacts with the clitics in two separate related ways: the post-clitic Finite takes a distinct form from the bare Finite; and the clitic and Finite are the two essential elements of the Negotiator. These interactions are related in that the functions of each clitic individually and the Negotiator element as a whole are related to the development of negotiation of information between speakers. In terms of this relation, I aligned these function structures with knowledge exchange structures in the interaction between primary knowers (K1) and secondary knowers (K2). It was noted in this regard that, while the interrogative clitic has strong associations with K2 moves, there were exceptions to this in the function structures realising checks and reassurances and also in the structure of elemental questions functioning as K2 moves.

As suggested above, however, interaction between speakers is not confined to the exchange of information, and we must also consider how the exchange of actions is negotiated across texts. To do this, I will introduce another extract from a little later in *Na Klondykers*.

9.3 Negotiating the exchange of actions

In the following extract, from little later in the book, Donald (D) and Leanne (L) are arguing about Donald's previous bad behaviour, how this has been a factor in their break-up, and the arrangements for Donald to see their children in the future. I have analysed the extract for the exchange of both information and goods and services, but the focus of my analysis at this point will be on the latter and the various ways in which such moves are realised in the lexicogrammar.

Text 2

Bha Leanne sàmhach nuair a thuir e sin.
 'Leanne was silent when he said that'
 Dh'fairich i pian ag èisteachd ri na facail.
 'She felt a pain listening to the words'
 Bha pàirt dhith ag iarraidh sin a dhèanamh.
 'Part of her wanted to do it'
 Pàirt eile dhith a bha cho feargach ris an diabhal.
 'Another part was as angry as the devil'

D A2 Nach tig thu air ais,
 'Won't you come back?'

Da1 agus faodaidh sinn an uair sin ar tìde a ghabhail a' còmhradh air rudan.
 'and we can take our time then, discussing things'

L K1 Bha dùil agam gu robh cùisean a' fàs na b' fheàrr,
 'I was hoping things were getting better'

thuir Leanne.
 'said Leanne'

D cf Bha.
 'they were'

ch Tha iad.
 'they are'

L rch Chan eil mi cho cinnteach.
 'I'm not so sure'

Stad i.

'She stopped'

Seo cho fad' 's a dheigheadh e.

'That's as far as she would go'

L A2 Feumaidh mi barrachd tìde, smaoinichadh air.
 'I need more time, to think about it'

I ch Nach eil gu leòr tìde air a bhith agad?
 'Haven't you had enough time?'

K2 Cò mu dheidhinn eile a dh'fheumas tu smaoinichadh?
 'What else do you need to think about?'

L K1 A bheil sinn a' dol a dh'fhuireach còmhla neo nach eil.
 'Whether we are going to stay together or not'

Dh'fhairich Dòmhnall snaidhm na stamag.

'Donald felt a knot in his stomach'

D A2 Na can sin, Leanne.
 'Don't say that Leanne'

L ch Carson?
 Why not?

K2 Nach eil fhios agad mar a tha thu air mo ghoirteachadh?
 'Don't you know how you've hurt me?'

D ch/K1 Ach chan e càil serious a bh'ann.
 'It wasn't anything serious'

L ch 'S e!
 'it was'

=ch 'S e rud serious a bh'ann!
 'It was something serious'

K1 Cionnas a b'urrain dhut sin a dhèanamh orm?
 'How could you do that to me?'

Bha deòirean a' tòiseachadh na sùilean.

Tears were forming in her eyes.

D K2f Tha mi duilich.
 I'm sorry.

=K2f All right, Leanne. Tha mi duilich.
 All right, Leanne. I'm sorry.

Bha Leanne cho troimh-a-chèile 's nach b' urrainn dhi bruidhinn ceart.

Leanne was so upset that she couldn't speak properly.

D A2 Am faod mi a' chlann fhaicinn co-dhiù?
Can I see the children anyway?

dh'fhaighnich Dòmhnall.
'asked Donald'

L A1 Faodaidh tu am faicinn turas neo dhà san t-seachdain an dèidh na sgoile.
'You can see them once or twice a week after school'

(MacLeòid, 2005, p. 155)

In Text 2 we see a direct A2 move when Donald asks Leanne not to talk about splitting up, reproduced as Example 17. In order to distinguish between the rather different function and structure of the negative element in information and action exchanges in Gaelic (see Section 5) I will use the function term Prohibitive and the glossing label PROHIB in the tables.

Example 17

D	A2	na	can	sin	Leanne
		PROHIB	say.IMP.2SG	that	Leanne
		Prohibitive	P	C	Voc
		'don't say that, Leanne'			

This function structure (*na* followed by imperative P), realising an informal negative directive in the singular, alternates with the positive structure (without *na*), as in Example 18, and the plural/respectful structure, with the morpheme *-(a)ibh* added to the Predicator, as in Examples 19 and 20.

Example 18

can	sin	a' rithist	Leanne
say.IMP.2SG	that	again	Leanne
P	C	A	Voc
'Say that again, Leanne'			

Example 19

na	canaibh	sin	Leanne
PROHIB	say.IMP.2PL/RESP	that	Leanne
Prohibitive	P	C	Voc
'don't say that, Leanne'			

Example 20

canaibh	sin	a' rithist	Leanne
say.IMP.2PL/RESP	that	again	Leanne
P	C	A	Voc
'Say that again, Leanne'			

Each of these examples includes a Vocative element (glossed as VOC). In Gaelic a Vocative is generally realised by leniting the initial consonant of the relevant name, though with certain phonological constraints. In contemporary practice, however, the Vocative function is often realised by an unlenited form.

There is also a cohortative first plural imperative form, which is one of only a small number that mark person distinctions morphologically. Once again the positive and negative alternation is realised by means of the absence or presence of the clitic *na*, as in Examples 21 and 22.

Example 21

canamaid	sin
say:IMP.1PL	
P	C
'Let's say that'	

Example 22

na	canamaid	sin
PROHIB	say:IMP.1PL	
Prohibitive	P	C
'Let's not say that'		

We can also note alternative lexicogrammatical structures functioning as A2 moves, as in Example 23, where Donald is trying to persuade Leanne to return to him.

Example 23

D	A2	nach	tig	thu	air ais
		NEG.INT	come.DEP	2SG	Back
		Mood	F/P	C1	A
		'Won't you come back?'			

In terms of function structure, this is an example of the future tense with what we can provisionally label negative interrogative marking. The move functions, however, to mitigate the force of the A2 move through opening it up to some degree of negotiation. Note here, though, that Gaelic has no everyday word functioning as an Entreaty (cf. *please* in English) and that the example could, in other contexts, have been translated as *Come back, please*.

Example 24, from the end of the extract, is a further A2^A1 exchange in which Donald makes a request (A2) to which Leanne agrees (A1). In these examples the exchange of action is negotiated by means of a modal Finite rather than an imperative.

Example 24

24.1

D	A2	am	faod	mi	a'	chlann	fhaicinn	co-dhiù?
		INT	might.FUT.DEP	1SG	DEF	children	see.INF	anyway
		Mood	F	C1	C2	P	A	
		'Can I see the children anyway?'						

24.2

L	A1	faodaidh	tu	am	faicinn	turas neo dhà san t-seachdain an dèidh na sgoile
		might.FUT	2SG	3PL.POSS	see.INF	once or twice a week after school
		F	C1	C2	P	A
		'You can see them once or twice a week after school'				

With regard to the Negotiator element in action exchanges, we can say that for imperatives⁶ this comprises the Predicator and any attendant prohibitive particle, as in Example 25 (derived from Example 19).

Example 25

25.1

na	canaibh	sin	Leanne
PROHIB	say.IMP.2PL/RESP	that	Leanne
Negotiator		Scope	
Prohibitive	P	C	Voc
'don't say that, Leanne'			

25.2

cha	chan
NEG	say.FUT.DEP
Negotiator	
Mood	F/P
'I won't'	

Imperatives tend not to get tagged in Gaelic, with the negative interrogative used to fulfil a similar function in opening up the action to some degree of negotiation, as noted for Example 23, above.

For action exchanges realised through modal forms, it is the modal and any associated mood clitics that comprise the Negotiator elements. This is shown in Example 26, which is derived from Example 24. 26.2 is a potential affirmative response and 26.3 a potential negative one.

Example 26

26.1

am	faod	mi	a'	chlann	fhaicinn	co-dhiù?
INT	might.FUT.DEP	1SG	DEF	children	see.INF	anyway
Negotiator			Scope			
Mood	F	C1	C2	P	A	
'Can I see the children anyway?'						

26.2

faodaidh
might.FUT
Negotiator
P
'Yes'

⁶ Caffarel's definition was limited to indicative clauses, but the extension to imperatives seems justified.

26.3

chan	fhaod
NEG	might.FUT.DEP
Negotiator	
Mood	F/P
'No'	

This section leads us on to a more general discussion of modality, and also gives rise to a later discussion on the distribution of work between NEGOTIATION and exchange structure on the one hand and the system of ENGAGEMENT and the distinction between monoglossic and heteroglossic utterances (Martin and White 2005, pp. 99-100) on the other.

9.4 ENGAGEMENT and MODALITY

In the previous section we saw how modality can be used to temper the force of A2 moves. This is because the use of modality renders a move heteroglossic, with alternative possibilities to the action in question implicitly entertained (Martin & White, 2005, p. 117). Within the system of ENGAGEMENT, [heterogloss] stands in systemic contrast to [monogloss], in which alternatives are not entertained. In this section I will explore further the connection between ENGAGEMENT and MODALITY.

As illustrated in Example 24, modal verbs function as the Finite element and, as with other Finites, the form they take depends on the presence or absence of a mood clitic. An immediate point of interest here is that modal Finites inflect in the same way as non-modal Finites indicating future reference: both take the suffix *-(a)idh* in their non-dependent forms and the root alone in the dependent forms following mood clitics. This similarity, which can be seen in comparing Example 24 (above) and Example 27, would seem to reflect the inherent shared property of uncertainty encoded in modality and futurity.

Example 27

27.1

nach	till	thu?
INT.NEG	return.DEP	2SG
Mood	F/P	C1
'won't you come back?'		

27.2

tillidh	mi
return.FUT	1SG
F/P	C1
'I'll come back'	

There is an important distinction to be made, however, between modulation (in action moves) and modalisation (for knowledge moves) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 618). For modulation, as shown in Example 24, the modal Finite is followed by the modulated process in the infinitive form. For modalisation, however, there is a clause complex, with the modal Finite in the main clause 'projecting' the modalised event in the dependent form, as in Example 28 (cf. Martin & Cruz, 2018, and Martin, 1995 on Tagalog). The element introducing the projected clause is labelled a Projection linker and glossed as PROJ.

Example 28

feumaidh	gu'	n	robh	an	t-acras	oirre	a-nochd
must.FUT	PROJ	INT	be.PST.DEP	DEF	hunger	on.3SG.F	last night
α	β						
F		Mood	F/P	C1	C2:At	A	
'She must have been hungry last night'							

More often than modal Finites, however, Gaelic uses a range of function structures containing modal adjectives and nominals to express heteroglossic engagement. These take various forms, one of the most common being the placement of a noun or adjective with modal force as predicated Theme, as in Example 29, taken from Text 1. For present purposes, therefore, I will provisionally analyse the thematised modal element of such clauses as a Modal Theme.

Example 29

cha	bu	chòir	dhi	bhith	dol	faisg air na Ruiseanaich ud
NEG	COP.PST	right	to.3SG.F	be.INF	go.VN	near those Russians
Modal Theme				P	A	
'she shouldn't be going near those Russians'						

As expected from the previous discussion, and as Example 29 demonstrates, for action moves the Modal Theme is followed by an infinitive form. For knowledge moves, in contrast, a finite projection is used, as in Example 30.

Example 30

is	dòcha	gu'	m	bi	na	croitearn	a'	cur	buntata
COP.PRES	likely	PROJ	INT	be.FUT.DEP	DET.PL	crofters	at	put.VN	potatoes
α	β								
Modal Theme		Mood	F	C1	P	C2			
'The crofters will probably be planting potatoes'									

Notice that in Example 30 the Finite is in the dependent form after what I have been unproblematically referring to as the interrogative clitic, a point I will be returning to below. This is not the case when the modal element appears after the main clause as an afterthought, and therefore as an Adjunct in the main clause. This is illustrated in Example 31, which is a modified version of a clause from Text 1.

Example 31

[b'	e]	rudeigin	selfish	's	mathaid
COP.PST	3sg	a bit	selfish	COP.PRES	possible
F	C1	C:At	Modal Adjunct		
'It was a bit selfish perhaps'					

This pattern is repeated for other kinds of heteroglossia, such as attributing and entertaining, as well as propositions based on the evidence of the senses. In Example 32 we see a finite dependent form in an idea projected by a mental process.

Example 32

bha	dùil	agam	gu	[n]	robh	cùisean	a'	fàs	na b' fheàrr
be.PST	expectation	at.1SG	PROJ	INT	be.PST.DEP	matters	at	grow.VN	better
α			β						
be.PST	expectation	at1SG		Mood	F	C1	P		C2:At
'I was hoping things were getting better'									

In contrast, in Example 33, where the mental process appears after the proposition, the verb is in the independent form.

Example 33

cha	robh	ann	ach	scrap	beag	tha	mi	a'	smaointinn
NEG	be.PST.DEP	PRO.EXIST	but	Scrap	little	be.PRES	1SG	at	think.VN
'1						2			
clitic	F/P	A/C1	C2:At		F	C1	P		
'It was only a wee scrap, I think'									

Examples 34 and 35 show the same patterning for attributions realised by verbal processes.

Example 34

thuir	e	gu'	m	biodh	e	an seo
say.PST	3sg.M	PROJ	INT	be.COND.DEP	3SG	here
α		β				
F	C1		F/P		C1	C2:At
'He said he would be here'						

Example 35

tha	e	gu	bhith	all right	ge-tà	tha	iad	ag	ràdh
be.PRES	3SG.M	FUT	be.INF	all right	anyhow	be.PRES	3PL	at	say.VN
"1						2			
F	C1	P	C2:At	A	F	C1	P		
'He'll be ok anyhow, so they say'									

In this section I have illustrated the use of modality in Gaelic and its realisation through modal auxiliaries, modal Themes and modal Adjuncts. I noted that the modal auxiliaries and the future tense in Gaelic share similar properties, reflecting their shared semantics of uncertainty, and illustrated distinctions between the realisation of modulated and modalised clauses following modal Finites. I then showed how the characteristics described for modality were also relevant for other forms of heteroglossia within the discourse system of ENGAGEMENT and alluded to the fact that what I have so far been unproblematically referring to as the interrogative clitic is involved in the lexicogrammatical realisation of all these heteroglossic forms. On the basis of these examples, in the following section I will make the case that there is in fact no interrogative functional structure in the lexicogrammar of Scottish Gaelic and present an alternative system for MOOD that better reflects the systemic contrasts encoded in the language itself. In the concluding section, I will consider how the implications of such a move reflect back upon on the systems at the discourse semantic stratum that were instrumental in producing this alternative representation of the lexicogrammar.

9.5 The case against the declarative/interrogative system in Gaelic.

In Sections 10.2 and 10.3 we looked at knowledge and action exchanges within the system of NEGOTIATION and saw how Gaelic grammar realises distinctions in interpersonal meaning through the use of mood clitics. These comprise a paradigm including what I have been calling the interrogative, the negative and the interrogative negative clitics. In all cases the Finite verb takes a distinct dependent form after mood clitics. However, we have also seen that the presence of mood clitics is not limited to distinctions in exchange structure and the system of NEGOTIATION, but also to both entertain and attribute options in the system of ENGAGEMENT. Conversely, we have also seen that for elemental questions there is no mood clitic, with the verb in the independent form – a phenomenon that can be explained on the grounds that in such cases the proposition itself is not in doubt.

On this basis, I would argue that for indicative clauses in the lexicogrammar of Gaelic the primary paradigmatic choice is not a [declarative] vs [interrogative] opposition redounding with the system of NEGOTIATION at the semantic stratum, but a choice between the features [assertive] and [non-assertive], realised by the independent and dependent form of the verb respectively, and redounding with the semantic system of ENGAGEMENT. As we have seen, and in line with such an analysis, the dependent form of the verb and its attendant mood clitics all function to render propositions open to alternatives, whether this be through questioning, attributing or entertaining other possibilities. In contrast, independent forms without mood clitics realise the monogloss semantics of unmodalised K1 moves and of K2 moves eliciting specific details in an uncontested proposition. The labels [assertive] and [non-assertive] have therefore been chosen to capture the essence of this distinction. This interpretation is outlined in the system network in Figure 9.1.

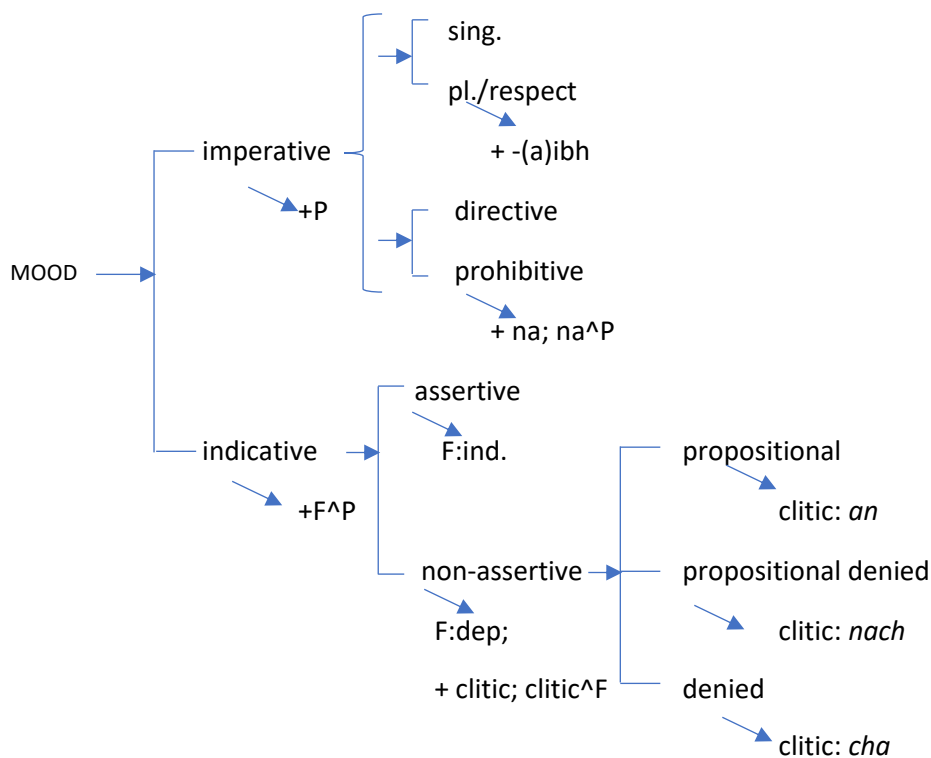


Figure 9.1. Provisional MOOD network for Gaelic, redounding with ENGAGEMENT.

It is worth taking the time to talk through the distinctions captured in this representation. On entering the system of MOOD, the first option is between [imperative] and [indicative]. Imperatives are realised by the Predicator in its base form with no overt Finite element. The choice of [imperative] leads to further simultaneous choices: (i) between an unmarked [singular] and a marked form for [plural/respect]; and (ii) between [directive] and [prohibitive], with the latter realised by the presence of the clitic *na*. In contrast to imperatives, indicatives have an overt Finite element, which obligatorily precedes the Predicator (or is conflated with it in simple tenses). The choice of [indicative] leads to a further choice between [assertive] and [non-assertive]. For [assertive], the Finite element is realised by the independent form, while for [non-assertive] the Finite is realised by the dependent form and an obligatory mood clitic is introduced. Within [non-assertive] there are three options: [propositional], marked by the mood clitic *an*; [denied], marked by the mood clitic *cha*; and [propositional denied], marked by the mood clitic *nach*.

Figure 9.1, therefore, captures the *natural economy* of Gaelic grammar, representing the oppositions that are in play at different points in the system of MOOD on the basis of their distinctive realisations, without repetition or redundancy. This contrasts with Figure 9.2, an alternative representation based on a [declarative] vs [interrogative] opposition in the system of MOOD and a simultaneous opposition between [positive] and [negative] in the system of POLARITY. Figure 9.2 omits the [singular] vs [plural/respect] opposition within the imperative for the sake of clarity.

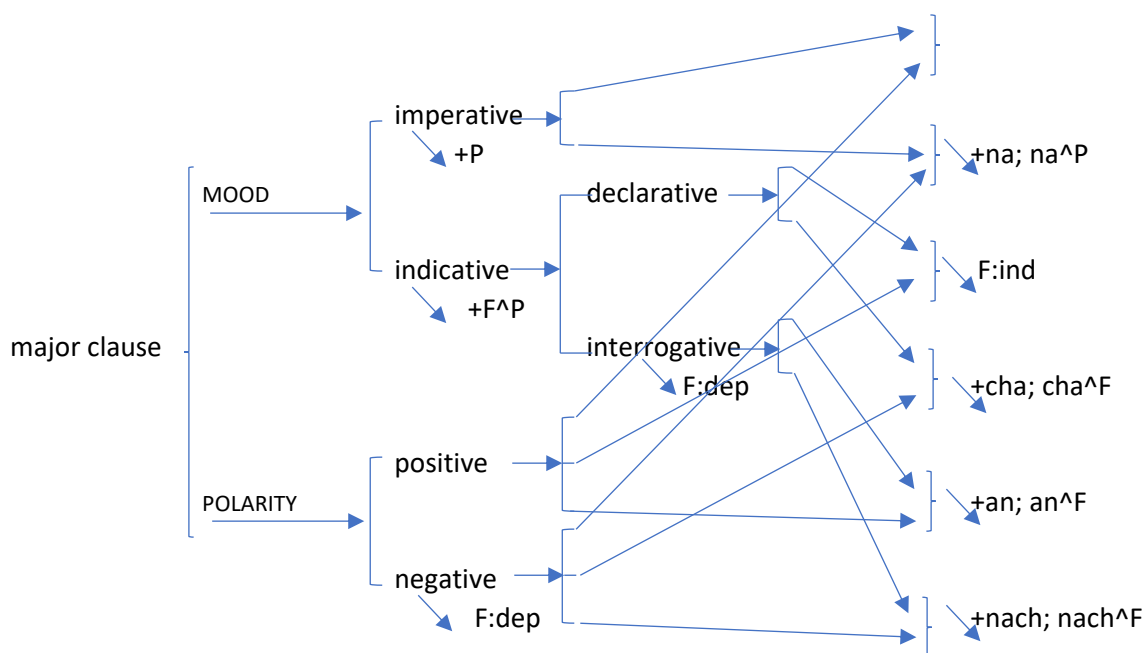


Figure 9.2. Rejected MOOD network for Gaelic, redounding with NEGOTIATION.

As can be seen from the complexity and redundancy in Figure 9.2, such a representation fails to capture the natural economy of Gaelic grammar. In contrast with Figure 9.1, the independent form cannot be introduced until [declarative] and [positive] are chosen simultaneously, while the dependent form has to be introduced and motivated separately for [interrogative] in the mood system and for [negative] in the polarity system. This representation, therefore, fails to capture idea of a single but ineffable meaning for the dependent form. And, by extension, the systemic connection between the three particles *an*,

cha and *nach*, which comprise a single system of oppositions in Figure 9.1, is lost in Figure 9.2.

Following this logic, Figure 9.2 might seem to be more economical in representing [negative] and [positive] as options within a single system of POLARITY. This contrasts with Figure 9.1, which introduces a ‘negative’ option twice: once for imperatives, as [prohibition]; and once for indicatives, as [denied]. However, the introduction of separate systems for MOOD and POLARITY would be a false economy for several reasons. Most obviously, the particle used to realise ‘negativity’ is different for the indicative and imperative systems (*na* vs *cha*), so introducing a layer of complexity into the representation. And, as noted above, such a division would mean that the dependent form would have to be separately motivated within the two systems. These differences alone would rule out the need for a system of POLARITY on the grounds of economy. However, there is more at play here than formal distinctions in realisation, in that the denial of a proposition and the prohibition of an action are distinct concepts. And while there may be underlying similarities between the two, the evidence presented above suggests that the lexicogrammar of Gaelic encodes the distinction rather than the similarity. To elaborate on this point a little further: within the Gaelic imperative system, there is an immediate choice between [directive] and [prohibitive]. There is, therefore, a systemic opposition between the positive and negative features these choices index, with each defined in opposition to the other. Within the indicative system, however, the opposition is between [denied] and [propositional] as alternative but non-discrete subcategories of [non-assertive], which is in turn defined in opposition to [assertive]. The concept of ‘negativity’ therefore has a distinctive systemic value in the two systems, and it is this distinction that motivates the differences in realisation.

To back up this analysis of MOOD in Gaelic, let us turn to one last text. This time the text does not take the form of an exchange between two interactants but represents the interior monologue of a soldier preparing for battle and considering whether he is truly prepared or not. As can be seen, the text is structured in terms of an alternation between monoglossic and heteroglossic moves of different kinds, realised by precisely the lexicogrammatical distinctions captured in the system above, as the soldier first persuades himself that he is indeed ready for battle and then entertains one last lingering doubt. In previous literature direct and indirect questions have not generally been analysed within the system of ENGAGEMENT but, in line with the general argument in this paper, I have done so here. I have provisionally chosen to label the first move [entertain] as it suggests the questioner is open to alternative possibilities.

Text 3

[entertain]	Dh’fhainneachd e an robh mi deiseil... ‘He asked if I was ready.’
[attribute]	Thuir mi gu robh, ‘I said I was.’
[monogloss]	Agus tha. ‘and I am.’
[entertain]	Uill, tha mi a’ smaoinichadh gu bheil. ‘Well, I think I am.’

(MacLean, 2009, p. 18-19)

Example 36 provides a full analysis of the moves in this inner dialogue. In more formal Gaelic the clitic AN/AM would be included before the Finite in the dependent form in the two projected

statements in 36.2 and 36.4. In less formal use, however, the clitic is dropped for the present and past of the verb *bith*, but not other verbs.

Example 36

36.1

dh'fhainneachd	e	an	robh	mi	deiseil
ask.PST	3sg.M	INT	be.PST.DEP	1sg	ready
α		"β			
			Negotiator		Scope
F/P	C1	Mood	F	C1	C:At
'He asked if I was ready'					

36.2

thuir	mi	gu	robh
say.PST	1SG	PROJ	be.PST.DEP
α		"β	
			Negotiator
F/P	C1		F/P
'I said I was'			

36.3

agus	tha
and	be.PRES
	Negotiator
	F/P
'And I am'	

36.4

uill	tha	mi	a'	smaoineachadh	gu	bheil
well	be.PRES	1SG	at	think.VN	PROJ	be.PRES.DEP
α					"β	
						Negotiator
A	F	C1	P			F
'well, I think I am'						

With regards to the notation, in 36.1 I have simply labelled the Negotiator of the projected clauses, on the basis that these, rather than the Negotiators in the projecting verbal process, represent the element that is picked up and negotiated throughout the extract.

The moves in this example nicely illustrate the crucial distinction between the MOOD systems of English and Gaelic and their relation to the wider characterologies of the two languages. In the English version, we see that all the negotiated elements appear in declarative mood, with the heteroglossia of the discourse semantics being indexed through the semantics of the Predicator in the projecting clause. In the Gaelic, however, we see that for all the heteroglossic moves the Finite is in the dependent form that realises non-assertive mood. In contrast, for the single monogloss move the Finite is in the independent form that realises the assertive mood. The evidence here, and in the extracts above, therefore, strongly favours an analysis of the lexicogrammar of Gaelic as redounding primarily with the semantics of ENGAGEMENT rather than NEGOTIATION, with the converse being the case for English. As stated in the introduction, this is not say that distinctions in NEGOTIATION are not marked in Gaelic. Rather it suggests that these distinctions are not directly encoded at the

lexicogrammatical stratum. They are realised, instead, through a combination of selections from lexicogrammatical systems such as MOOD and KEY (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, p. 142) and through the lexical semantics of Predicators. Gaelic and English, or indeed, any pair of languages, differ in terms of the nature of the work done by each of these lexicogrammatical systems and the distribution of labour between them in realising distinctions in the semantics. And it is this differential distribution of labour across the system that defines the characterology of each language.

9.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I took a text-led approach to the description of some of the central features of the interpersonal lexicogrammar of Scottish Gaelic. To this end I provided a semantic analysis of three texts in terms of the systems of NEGOTIATION and ENGAGEMENT. At each point I related the options in the semantic systems to the function structures realising them at the stratum of the lexicogrammar and, on this basis, I provided a partial systems network for MOOD in Scottish Gaelic in which the primary options for [indicative] were seen to correspond to the semantics of ENGAGEMENT rather than NEGOTIATION. Shunting back and forth between the semantic and lexicogrammatical strata enabled me to present a systems network which: (i) was economical in accounting for the systemic oppositions within the grammar; and (ii) distinguished the terms of these systems in accordance with the meaning of the sum of their uses in discourse. For both aspects, the analytical method employed represented an antidote to the imposition of categories from English or any other language. And on this basis I argued that the MOOD system in Gaelic is not based on a [declarative] vs [interrogative] opposition but on an [assertive] vs [non-assertive] opposition, with [propositional], [denied] and [propositional denied] as subcategories of [non-assertive].

The text-led approach therefore has certain advantages over an exclusive focus on lexicogrammar. There is a caveat, however, in that any recalibration of systems at the lexicogrammatical stratum will have repercussions when we shunt back up to the semantic stratum. If the meaning of individual elements in the lexicogrammar is reanalysed, then we would also expect their ‘meaning in articulation’ to be different, and this means that the semantic categories that were the starting point of the text analysis may need to be reconsidered. So, while we may expect a greater degree of equivalence between languages in terms of functions at the discourse semantic stratum, it should not be expected that these can ever be exact equivalents in that they are the product of distinctive features from the lexicogrammatical inventory of each language. From the perspective of this chapter, this suggests that discourse roles such as primary and secondary knower may not be universal categories that can be treated as a neutral starting point for text-led descriptions. Zhang (2020), for example, discusses the use of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian and the differences in *expectations of consensus* that these index. The systemic oppositions he suggests are similar to the distinctions in *response anticipation* suggested in O’Grady (in press) for the intonation system of English. Between them the two articles point to the possibility of systemic organisation at the semantic system which is based not on the traditional discourse moves of question, statement, and so on, but on response anticipation and epistemic rights (Muntigl, 2009). From the analyst’s point of view, such a possibility entails a continual shunting backwards and forwards between strata and cyclically recalibrating the description of each in terms of recalibrations in the other.

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