



مختبر مقاربات الخطاب
Laboratory of Approaches to Discourse



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This special issue compiles papers from the 48th Systemic Functional Congress (ISFC48) organised in March 2023 by the Systemic Functional Linguistics Association of Tunisia (SYFLAT) and the Laboratory of Approaches to Discourse (LAD-LR13ES15), under the auspices of the Faculty of Letters and Humanities at the University of Sfax. This special issue, which explores the theme of power and empowerment in relation to language and systemic functional theory, is divided into two volumes. The contributions in this first volume provide some reflections on SFL notions, which can empower both the theoretical apparatus and its application to different types of discourse. The papers in the second volume showcase how SFL language descriptions can empower pedagogical practices.

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Acknowledgements

The editors would like to express their sincerest thanks to the esteemed scholars who kindly contributed to the review process in this special issue.

- Radhia Bebes
- Maria Brisk
- Izaskun Elorza
- Najla Fki
- Lise Fontaine
- Sondes Hamdi
- Ameni Hlioui
- Imen Ktari
- Fayssal Maalej
- Anne McCabe
- Mimoun Melliti
- Dorra Moalla
- Nesrine Triki
- Zhenhua Wang

The editors would also like to express their sincere gratitude to Prof. Sadok Damak, Editor-in-Chief of *Academic Research*, for his invaluable support and guidance throughout the preparation and publication of this special issue.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iv

Introduction – Power and Empowerment in SFL:
Theoretical insights and discourse applications – 1
Akila Sellami Baklouti & Sabiha Choura

1
Lexicogrammar: The powerhouse of language – 10
Lise Fontaine

2
The power of grammatical metaphor: How does it
differ from conversion and derivation? – 30
Miriam Taverniers

3
Multivariate exploration of instantial variation in
situational context: The powerful role of the
individual instance of language use – 68
Stella Neumann

4
MACUVIN: Features of ‘the Meant’ under the
constraint of genre – 89
Zhenhua Wang

5
A comparative study of substitution in chemical and
anthropological magazine news and journal
commentaries – 108
Sabiha Choura

6

Linking adverbials in Tunisian research articles across two disciplines: A comparative corpus-based study – 129

Donia Kaffel

7

(Dis)empowering Ukraine/Russia through journalese: A Transitivity approach – 148

Ameni Hlioui

8

“The woman who rode away”: A Transitivity reading that matches the Sufi understanding of the circles of the inner self’s journey in time and space – 166

Cyrine Kortas

9

Modality in court hearing transcripts: An SFL approach – 183

Ahlem Laadhar

10

A comparative analysis of the construal of real-world experiences in English translations of interviews with three speakers of Djerbi Berber – 210

Mohamed Elhedi Bouhdima

The power of grammatical metaphor: How does it differ from conversion and derivation?

Miriam Taverniers

Abstract

If a language's lexicogrammar is its "powerhouse" (Halliday 2005, 74), metaphor can be seen as the super process that ongoingly provides a language's powerhouse with energy. This paper focuses on the nature of grammatical metaphor and its 'power'. It explores grammatical metaphor as an inherent feature of languages being dynamic open systems, with multiple levels of encoding (stratification) that are related through metaredundancy. Grammatical metaphor is defined in terms of stratification, highlighting its features by taking a perspective 'from above', 'from below' and 'from roundabout'. Then the paper addresses the issue of defining grammatical metaphor as a powerful process against more 'mundane' types of shift in language, viz. defining what distinguishes grammatical metaphor from processes such as transcategorization, conversion and rankshift.

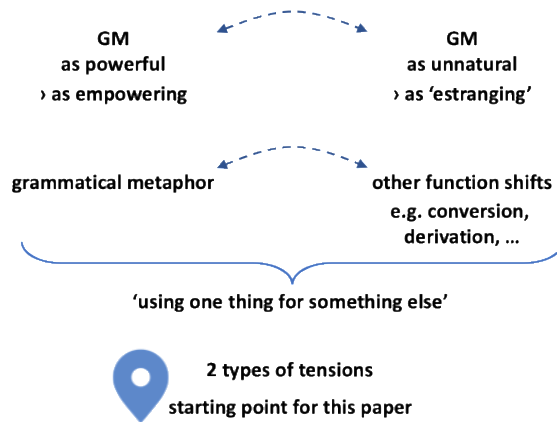
Key words

Grammatical metaphor; conversion; transcategorization; function shift; nominalisation

Introduction

This paper focuses on grammatical metaphor and its 'power'. If a language's lexicogrammar is its "powerhouse" (Halliday 2005, 74), metaphor, as the process of "reconstruing the patterns of realization in language — particularly at the interface between the grammar and the semantics" (Halliday 2003, 21), or "the constant decoupling and recoupling between the semantics and the lexicogrammar" (Halliday 2003 [1997], 253) can be seen as the super process that ongoingly provides a language's powerhouse with energy.

Figure 1: Two types of tension as the starting point for this paper



This paper was triggered by two types of tensions (as shown in Figure 1):

(1) The exploration, in the literature, of ideational grammatical metaphor as something powerful, on the one hand, and as something 'estranging' on the other hand, because it is not that much present in everyday informal speech, i.e. grammatical metaphor (henceforth GM) is something that is reserved for 'powerful', learned — knowledge-based and technocratic — discourse, and a feature of the later-stage development of languages and genres (i.e. a linguistic tool that is also learnt, in more advanced schooling, and into which one socializes in later stages).

(2) Given that grammatical metaphor is, loosely speaking, using one thing for something else, I became intrigued by the relation to other such processes, which are more pervasive in language in general, and which also occur in languages without an advanced (written) academic discourse. One such typical process is that of transcategorization (by conversion and derivation), a general feature of languages (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, 242), including languages without elaborate academic repertoires and also emergent creoles (Blank 2001).

Combining these two tensions brings me to the following research questions and topics for this paper: What is the relation between ideational GM and conversion? Can they be seen as instances of the same, more general process? If this is the case, what does this tell

us? What is additionally going on, in GM, if it is so powerful and ‘more advanced’?

1. Defining GM

1.1. Starting point: semantic tension

Grammatical metaphor can initially be explained in terms of a **semantic tension**, as in all metaphor, between a ‘literal’ and ‘figurative’ meaning (Halliday & Martin 1993, 35; Martin 1995, 37; Goatly 1996, 540). In the architecture of SFL this tension has been interpreted as a “**stratal tension**” (esp. in Martin’s work: Martin 1997, 33; 2008, 803) — or a tension between the wording and the meaning — although we will see later that the picture is more complex than just ‘wording’ and ‘meaning’.

As an initial characterization of this tension (which we will have to adjust later, as we will see), we can describe two examples as follows:

- (1) The restructuring of the economy was followed by a major crisis.
- (2) I think I’ve left the lights on.

In the ideational GM in (1), there is a tension between interpreting *the restructuring of the economy* as a figure or an event with participants, on the one hand (‘sb/sth restructured the economy’ or ‘the economy restructured’), and interpreting this as an abstract participant in a relational process. Similarly, in the interpersonal GM in (2), there is a tension between interpreting *I think* as a projecting mental process that has scope over a dependent clause, and interpreting it as a modal expression indicating a degree of likelihood (viz. that ‘I left the lights on’ is indeed the case). Martin (1995, 39) has shown that in the case of interpersonal GM, both of these interpretations can be taken up in the dialogue, and this duality is also a common topic in work on such types of parenthetical clauses (more specifically, the issue whether *I think* is the main message that hosts a subclause, or alternatively, whether *I’ve left the lights on* is the matrix clause that hosts an interpersonal or discourse marker).

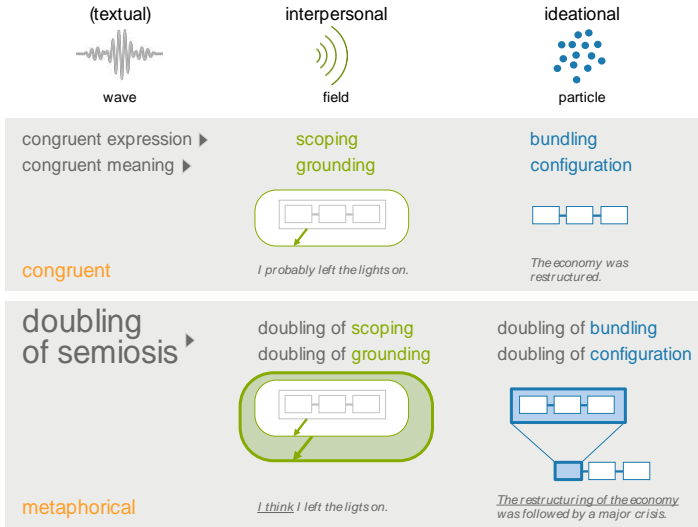
1.2. GM is a doubling of semiosis

In my own work I have focused on characterizing **the grammar of GM as based on a doubling of semiosis**, highlighting what happens in a GM, structurally, both in terms of content and expression. In this way, I tried to define grammatical metaphor as a sign type of its own, with a content and expression side (cf. Taverniers 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008a; see Taverniers 2003, 2017a for a discussion of alternative models of GM in SFL).

As shown in Figure 2, GM in the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions was defined as a doubling of the type of meaning and the type of patterning that is characteristic of the metafunction, taking as a starting point Halliday's characterization of those modes of meaning and modes of expression in terms of wave, particle, field (Halliday 1979).

In the ideational component, experience is construed linguistically, by '*con-figuring*' a figure or event, a thing type or a quality type. This is realized in a *particulate* way, as a bundle of content. Thus ideational metaphor is a **doubling of configuration & bundling**: simply put, there is a tension between a 'thing' meaning and a 'figure' meaning, because a nominalization occurs in a 'thing' slot in another configuration, while internally, it has the structure of a configuration of its own. This is the doubling effect that I tried to capture in my definition.

Figure 2: A syntagmatic/structural definition of grammatical metaphor, built on Halliday's (1979) 'wave, particle, field' motif



(Source: Taverniers 2002, 2014)

In the interpersonal component, meaning that serves to *ground* or anchor an expression in the speaker-now-context (in terms of mood, modality, and axiologically, i.e. in terms of appraisal) is realized in a field-like, prosodic (Halliday 1979) or *scopal* (McGregor 1997) type of patterning. Thus, interpersonal metaphor is defined as a **doubling of grounding and scoping**: a congruently grounded clause is further 'scoped' by (i.e. falls under the scope of) a projecting clause which interpersonally assesses it, and thus provides an extra interpersonal grounding to that clause. At the same time, this scoping clause internally has its own anchoring. There is a tension between the literal meaning of the scoping clause as a projecting clause (which is itself anchored), and a re-interpretation of this projecting clause as a grounding device itself. In dialogue, each of these two interpretations can be taken up, as Martin (1995, 38) made clear.¹

¹ See also Taverniers (2017a) for an elaboration of the 'doubling of semiosis' view of GM in relation to Halliday's definition and the treatment of GM in the Cardiff Grammar.

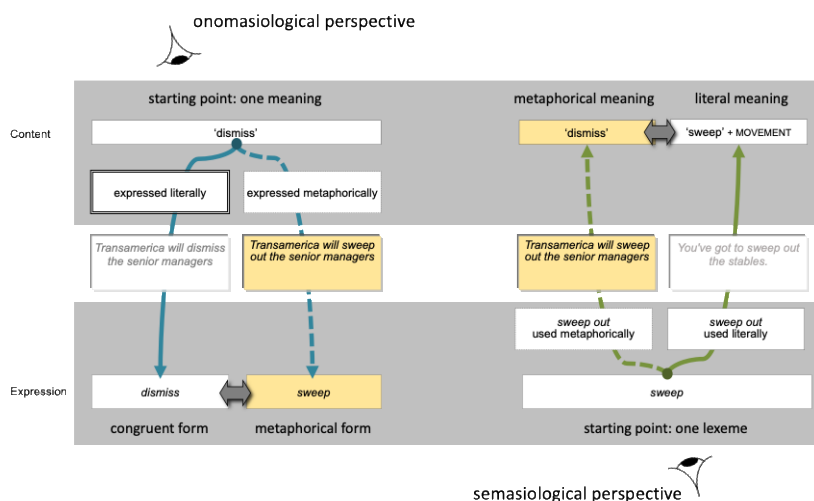
1.3. Metaphorical tension by doubling: shunting perspectives

Reconnecting to what was said earlier (1.1) about metaphorical tension, it can now be seen that the concept of doubling is a way of capturing the tension that characterizes GM: the co-construal of two layers of grounding, and two layers of configurationality. Now, in a trivial sense ‘doubling’ can be seen as underlying all descriptions of metaphoricity that involve notions such as metaphorical ‘transfer’, source and target (or donor and recipient) domains, the ‘blending’ of different meanings, one thing being used to express a ‘different’ meaning, and also using existing resources twice.

However, the notion of ‘doubling of semiosis’ is meant to bring out the intricacies of this doubling in terms of content *and* expression. In order to see the intricacies of this doubling effect more clearly, we can visualize the internal variation or tension that is at stake in (all) metaphor by further developing Halliday’s onomasiological and semasiological perspectives on grammatical as well as lexical metaphor — as shown in Figure 3 for lexical metaphor.

As shown in Figure 3, the relations between metaphorical and non-metaphorical content and expression can be looked at from above, starting from a meaning and asking the question how this meaning can be realized, or from below, starting from an expression and asking what this expression can mean. The former is traditionally referred to as an onomasiological, the latter as a semasiological perspective.

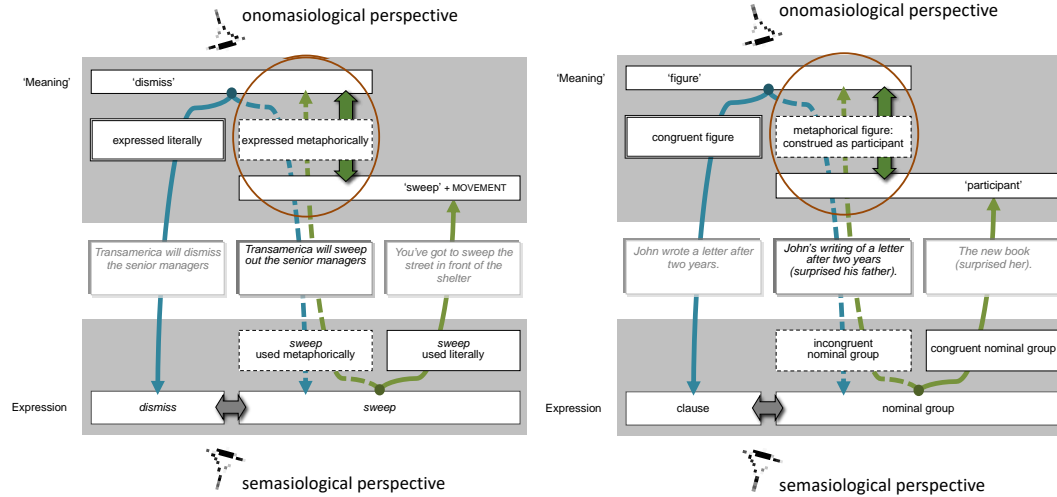
Figure 3: *Onomasiological and semasiological perspectives on lexical metaphor*



(Adapted from Taverniers 2003, 6, after Halliday 1994/1985, 342)

In Figure 4, the two directions are integrated in one picture for lexical metaphor (left-hand side), combining metaphorical and congruent renderings. Notice how the metaphorical example *Transamerica will sweep out its senior managers*, which is shared in two directions in Figure 3 comparing it to a congruent meaning and a congruent expression, is now found at the centre of the image in Figure 4. Whatever direction we take, in each case we can return to the starting 'level', where we will again see the effect of the double nature. Grammatical metaphor has the same type of variation and tension, as shown at the right-hand side in Figure 4. This scheme shows that the duality is in terms of content as well as expression, and the concept of 'doubling of semiosis' captures the crossing through this duality.

Figure 4: Onomasiological and semasiological perspectives on lexical metaphor (left) and grammatical metaphor (right) highlighting the 'tension' characterizing all metaphor



(Adapted from Taverniers 2003, after Halliday 1994/1985, 342)

By adding a perspective ‘from roundabout’, we can now use those ‘onomasiological’ and ‘semasiological’ views as a basis for taking a trinocular view as Halliday called it. Shunting across Halliday’s trinocular perspectives will allow us to focus in more detail on what ‘happens’ in GM, both in terms of the notion of ‘tension’, and with regard to what processes are typical of GM at the structural level. For each of the perspectives, from above, from roundabout, and from below, I will outline some features of GM, which we will then use later on (Section 2), to compare other phenomena, including conversion and derivation, to GM.

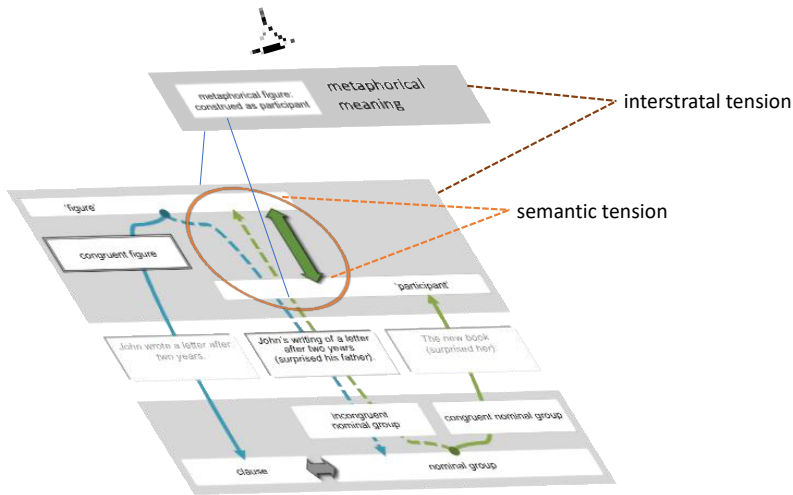
1.4. View ‘from above’: Stratal tension

At the content level, importantly, there is not just a **semantic tension** between a ‘figure’ and a ‘participant’ meaning, a *new metaphorical meaning* emerges on top of and by virtue of existing content-expression couplings (i.e. figure as clause and participant as NG) and tensions between them. This is the metaphorical meaning of a figure realized as a NG which by default realizes a participant. I think it is in this sense that the notion of ‘**stratal tension**’ (Martin 1998) has to be understood, and that this applies to all metaphor.² The new metaphorical meaning emerges as a connotative level, in the sense of Hjelmslev’s “connotative semiotic” type of system (Hjelmslev 1963/1943)³. In this sense, the new content layer does not just take a structure as its expression, rather its expression plane is precisely what we find in the lower content level: i.e. the congruent couplings between meanings and structures, and the tension or variation between them. Importantly, this means that there is a new level of content, a semantics, that is wedged in between existing content-expression (or system-structure) cycles and context, as visualized in Figure 5.

² This inherent ‘second-order’ nature of metaphor has played a major role in metaphor studies ever since Aristototele, who, according to Ricœur, “defined metaphor for the entire subsequent history of Western thought” (Ricœur 1994/1978, 14-15). This nature is also reflected in the etymology of the word *metaphor*: its origin is Greek μεταφerein, from μετα, a general prefix meaning ‘changed in form, altered’ + φerein ‘to bear, carry’, hence, ‘a carrying over, a transference’ (Klein 1971; cf. also Taverniers 2002).

³ See Taverniers (2008b) for further explanation, and Taverniers (2011) for an analysis of Halliday’s interpretation of Hjelmslev’s notion of stratification in SFL.

Figure 5: Metaphorical meaning as a new, connotative content level, and the distinction between semantic vs. stratal tension



Halliday's characterization of GM as involving a 'realignment between strata' and 'cross-coupling', 'decoupling' and 'recoupling' of strata, and likewise Martin's idea of 'stratal tension' focus on this variation between content and expression. Halliday characterizes GM as a "realignment between a pair of strata" (Halliday 1998, 192); or: "a cross-coupling (decoupling, and recoupling in a different alignment) between the semantics and the lexicogrammar)" (Halliday 2008, 16). I would go further and argue that GM is in fact a systematic exploitation of an *extra* content level in between existing signs and context.

Some ambiguity arises in the absence of a precise definition of 'semantics' (is it the content side of a sign, i.e. the paradigmatic *valeur*, as in early SFL and the Cardiff grammar?, or is it a separate stratum above those content-expression couplings that are seen as making up the lexicogrammar?). This is an issue that we cannot address here (see Taverniers 2019). However, no matter how the 'first' semantics is interpreted, my argument is that in grammatical metaphor a new level of semantics emerges — again 'on top of' and 'by virtue of' the existing system, no matter how its internal stratification is interpreted. In this sense, Halliday's argument that it is by virtue of its being stratified that the grammar has metaphoric power comes closer to highlighting the extra semantic stratum due

to GM. Put differently, the internal stratification of the content plane was proposed by Halliday in order to account for grammatical metaphor (Halliday 2008, 16), or, more broadly, grammatical metaphor was one of the reasons for internally stratifying the content plane.

Thus, GM is tightly linked with stratification. Through the wedging in of an extra, connotative semantic stratum, metaphor massively enhances a language's semiotic power. By taking a perspective from above and by defining what goes on in GM as the emergence of a new content layer and thus **interstratal tension**, I defined what doubling of semiosis means, stratally. The appearance of an extra semantic stratum can thus be regarded as the stratal corollary of the concept of doubling of semiosis: the tension we see between two bundles in ideational GM is a *semantic tension*; while *stratal tension* is reserved for the tension between the new meaning of the GM *involving the doubling of semiosis* on the one hand, and semantic tensions at the existing language level (with congruent content-expression couplings) on the other hand (see Figure 5).

1.5. View 'from roundabout': GM as an exploitation of syntagmatic compositionality

In the perspective from roundabout, we focus on the tension between the two signs that are combined in a metaphor, and how this 'merger' is put together, *syntagmatically*. In other words: what factors are at play, syntagmatically, in the doubling of bundling and doubling of grounding?

Figure 6: GM as a change in functional potential

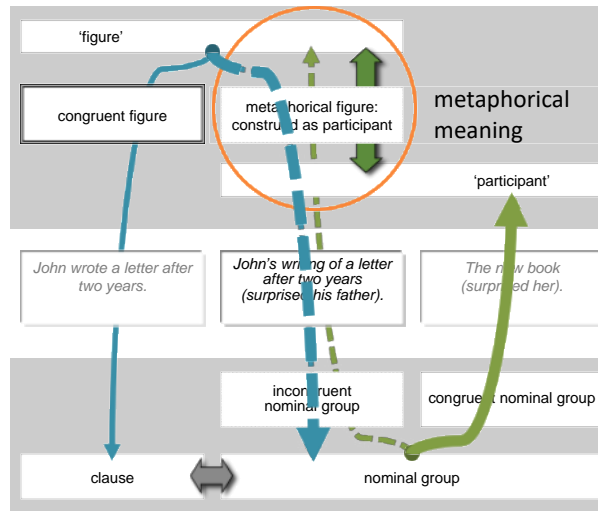
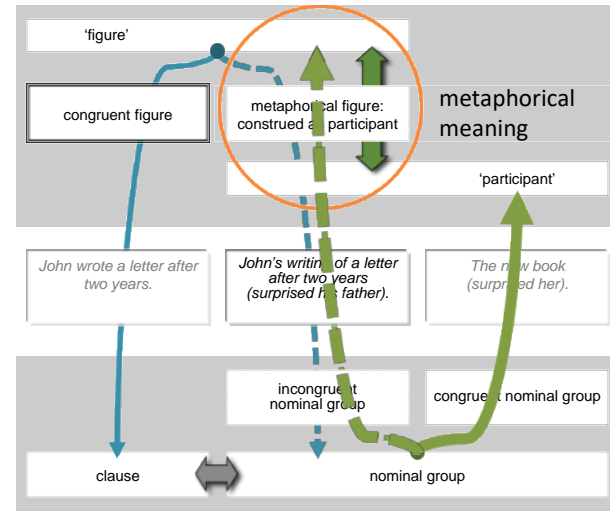


Figure 7: GM as characterized by double compositionality



There are two features of GM that appear in the perspective ‘from roundabout’. Each of these can be shown by highlighting some of the arrows in the visual indicating the tension and variation that characterizes GM, as shown in Figures 6 and 7.

In ideational metaphor a figure bundle realized as a nominal group can take a configurational slot in another figure bundle. In this sense, GM is a way of **changing the functional potential** of a meaning: a meaning that is congruently realized as a clause is reconstrued so that it can figure (no pun intended) in another clause-figure. Similarly, in interpersonal metaphor, the function of grounding is construed differently than in the mood element (where it is congruently construed), so that it can combine with other groundings outside the mood element. In both cases, a meaning is reconstrued so that it can be integrated in a new functional environment.

Within the new metaphorical syntagm as a whole (the newly achieved combination), the reconstrued item keeps its own metafunctional composition, i.e. it keeps its own configuration or grounding:

- In ideational metaphor, the double bundling occurs because within the ideational structure as a whole, the metaphorical nominal construes not an entity, but a figure bundle (an event with its participants and circumstances).
- In interpersonal metaphor, the double grounding occurs because the new grounding element, the projecting scoping clause, which metaphorically serves to anchor the scoped clause, also retains its own grounding (it has a Mood element of its own).

I will refer to this specific syntagmatic feature as **double compositionality** — using compositionality as a cover term to refer to the metafunctional ‘way of meaning’ and ‘way of saying’ (exapting Hasan’s 1984 rendering of the two sides of the sign).⁴

⁴ It is important to add this clarification about how compositionality refers to both ideational and interpersonal structure, because in linguistics in general, the term tends to have an ideational bias.

It is in fact this feature which lies at the basis of the possibility to ‘unpack’ an ideational metaphor, and the possibility to interpersonally take up the projecting clause of an interpersonal metaphor in dialogue (i.e. the arguability of the projecting clause is taken up, or the grounding/anchoring of the projecting clause is ‘opened up’).

1.6. View ‘from below’: Structural exaptation

Let us then turn to the expression side of GM. At this level in Figure 6, we see a variation in structures.

The expression-side corollary of an extra, connotative content level that takes existing signs as its expression, is that those signs are **exapted**, in order to make the construal of a new meaning possible. Exaptation or co-option literally means exploiting something for a purpose that was not its original one. In biology, where the term originated, exaptation refers to the process by which a feature, structure or organism acquires a function for which it was not originally adapted or selected (wikipedia, Merriam-Webster online). This is exactly like the functional shift that occurs in grammatical metaphor: a nominal group is exapted to express a figure: a projecting clause is exapted to express interpersonal grounding. The same happens in lexical metaphor, where a lexeme is exapted. In GM, what is co-opted is a type of structure or syntgm.

Looking in more detail at the exaptation of structures in GM, we see that not only the structure as a whole and its functional potential or its ‘fittability’ to a new environment is inherited; also its **internal structure is ‘coerced’** to help in the construal of the metaphorical meaning. As we will see below (section 2.4:[4]) ‘coercion’ is a concept used in Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar to refer to cases where one type of construction is co-opted and superimposed on another to form a new whole.

In GM, the internal structure of the exapted syntgm is coerced as follows:

- in ideational metaphor, the structure of the nominal group is coerced to express the figure bundle (i.e. the event and any participants + circumstances);

- in interpersonal metaphor, the internal structure of the projecting clause is coerced and is subtly exploited to enact different shades of interpersonal anchoring — i.e. shades that are more delicate than those enacted by the congruent interpersonal means that are available, as I have argued elsewhere (cf. Taverniers 2018).

In focusing on this exaptation of structures, it is interesting to highlight that the **rank scale** is centrally involved, and more specifically, the top ‘edge’ of the rank scale, viz. the clause complex:

- interpersonal GM makes use of a projecting complex to express a meaning that is congruently expressed within the Mood element;
- ideational GM makes use of the group rank to construe a clause. In addition, in what Halliday refers to as higher-order syndromes of GM, as illustrated in (3), where one GM is linked to another (here: *the restructuring of the economy* is linked to *a rise in inequalities*), this is not done in a congruent way by means of an expanding clause complex (e.g. introduced by *because...*) — rather, an expanding relational process is used (*was followed by*). Such linking of ideational GMs has been recognized as a separate subtype of ideational metaphor by Martin (1992, 169), viz. logical GM, which is contingent on ideational: experiential GM (i.e. logical GM is only possible if there is already at least one experiential GM).

- (3) The restructuring of the economy was followed by a rise in inequalities.

It could thus be argued that in all metafunctional types of GM, the rank scale in general and complexing more specifically are crucially involved. Interestingly, the changes in rank are opposite in ideational vs. interpersonal GM. Ideational GM is a move down in rank (from clause to nominal group; from clause complex to clause), whereas interpersonal GM is a move up (from clause to clause complex).⁵

⁵ These opposite moves in rank in ideational GM vs. interpersonal GM point to an intriguing difference which deserves further research. (My guess is that the difference has to do with the different division of labour between grammatical and lexical meaning in the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions.)

In order to realize this complexing metaphorically, projecting or expanding *lexis* is **co-opted**, i.e. mental or relational processes. In other words, in both ideational and interpersonal metaphor, the tension between clause and clause-complex expressions is contingent on the **exaptation of a specific lexeme**: an expanding relational process in the case of ideational GM, a projecting process in the case of interpersonal GM. This means that in the most full-blown GMs (so to speak), there is *double exaptation*: of grammatical patterning involving variation in rank, and of what we may call ‘complexing lexis’ (i.e. expanding and projecting lexis).

This means that grammatical metaphor builds on an *interesting division of labour* between fully schematic, grammatical patterning (the rank scale) on the one hand, and a rise in delicacy in specific lexemes on the other hand. This observation, which highlights that a rise in delicacy is also one possible driving force behind grammatical metaphor, is certainly worthy of further exploration.

The involvement of the rank scale contributes to the systematicity of GM, i.e. the fact that a GM reconstrual is available for (virtually)⁶ all clauses. I will refer to this as the **exhaustiveness** of GM, and this is one aspect of its ‘grammatical’ nature. This applies most directly to ideational GM, which exploits the tension between clause and group. It possibly also applies, or it applies to a certain extent, to interpersonal GM. However, the situation is less clearcut here, because there is always an interplay between lexical and rank-scale structuring (i.e. the fact that a clause complex is contingent on projecting and expanding lexis).

The observations here touch on theoretical and design issues in SFL that we cannot go into in this paper, but which can briefly be pointed out as follows:

⁶ For certain nominal construals, there are restrictions: e.g. gerundive nominals with determiners cannot be ‘used for’ clauses with the primary relational processes *have* and *be* (**the being of a problem*, **the having of a car*) (cf. Heyvaert 2003, 16).

- The systematicity of ideational GM has to do with the idea that the rank scale is the most primary (i.e. least delicate) type of grammar and the selection of rank scale options (such the choice between a group and a clause, and between a free and a bound clause) occurs as the leftmost part of all networks.⁷
- The nuance in the case of interpersonal metaphor has to do with the unclear status of the clause complex in relation to the rank scale.

⁷ Elsewhere, I formulated the hypothesis that the choice of rank is the most primary grammar (Taverniers 2014), and occurs at the leftmost end as the paradigmatic root of the network. While the choice between a noun and verb as guises of lexemes (as we will see below) is an ideational choice (cf. also their place in Halliday & Matthiessen's (1999) 'ideation base') and hence is located at a point where ideational and interpersonal networks are separate, that between a group and a clause, and between a free and a bound clause is multifunctional and occurs at the very primary end of the network.

1.7. Summary and overview of GM features

The process of doubling of semiosis which characterizes GM can be summarized, in terms of its content and expression sides, as in Table 1.

Table 1: The expression and content sides of the process of ‘doubling of semiosis’

doubling		metaphorical connotative CONTENT		EXPRESSION: exaptation	
an ideational bundle comes to function as participant in another bundle	metaphorical participant:	nominalized figure = figure realized as participant	exapted: participant syntagm = nominal	ideational GM
	... and is metaphoric-ally related to another GM	metaphorical expansion:	logical GM expansion of ideational GMs	includes lexis in higher-order syndromes	logical GM
a scoping expression serves to ground a message that does already have its congruent grounding	metaphorical grounding:	grounding expression realized as a projecting clause outside of the Mood element of the ground-ed clause	exapted: projecting process with grounding potential; includes lexis	inter-personal GM

In grammatical metaphor (as in all metaphor), there is not just semantic tension, but there is also a strong stratal tension. For instance, in ideational metaphor, semantic tension refers to the tension between the original bundle, which is *clausal*, and the meaning construed by the coerced structure, which is *nominal*, in order to fit the bundle into a new syntagmatic environment. The nominal meaning is the one congruently construed by the structure that is coerced, i.e. the nominal group; in addition, there is the semiotic composition of the ideational meaning as a figure. Because these two are present at the same time, there is a completely new meaning, at a higher level, namely that of a figure-expressed-as-a-

nominal. This is how ideational GM ‘supervenes’ (cf. Section 2), on top of and by virtue of existing couplings in the lexicogrammar.

Table 2 summarizes the specific features of GM, which we will compare to conversion and other functional shift phenomena in the next section. In order to make the distinction between logical GM and other ideational GM that includes especially nominalization (and its contingent phenomena in the ‘syndrome’ conception of GM), I will follow Martin and will from now on refer to non-logical ideational GM as ‘experiential GM’.

Further research could shed more light on how these different features are related to each other (if there are correlations, and if some are in fact contingent on others), and also how those features could be used in recognizing GM in text analysis.⁸

Table 2: Features of ideational (nominal), logical and interpersonal GM

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT	FROM BELOW					
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
experiential GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	yes	yes
logical GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
interpersonal GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

We can now use this detailed characterization of the doubling of semiosis in GM in analysing conversion and related types of function shift or reanalysis.

2. Conversion, derivation and GM as sign types

2.1. Starting point: Why conversion & derivation?

This section concentrates on functional shift phenomena that are pervasive in the world’s languages, and that also occur in languages without elaborate academic discourse, or languages without writing

⁸ In a work-in-progress project that attempts to operationalize GM in text analysis, Carr, Fontaine, Neumann & Taverniers (in prep.) (cf. also Fontaine et al. 2019) use the following three criteria to deductively characterize nominals as instances of nominal GM (three times positive => nominal GM): [i] is the noun converbal? (= exaptation, either in the primary sense as used to characterize GM here, or in the secondary sense, where a GM exapts a converted or derived noun); [ii] does it have a ‘process’ meaning? (= semantic tension, not necessarily stratal tension); and [iii] is there an equivalent figure interpretation? (= double compositionality).

systems. The focus is on conversion and derivation phenomena, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (4) Chólon (data from Alexander-Bakkerus 2014)
 - a. *tup* ‘walk’ — *tupuč* ‘traveller’
 - b. *tup* ‘walk’ — *kutuplam* ‘footpath to be walked’
- (5) Hadiyya (data from Hankore 1998)
 - a. *k’are* ‘give birth’ — *k’acho* ‘one’s child’
 - b. *ite* ‘eat’ — *icha* ‘thing to be eaten’
 - c. *bake’e* ‘lean’ — *bakecha* ‘leaning’
 - d. *osare* ‘laugh’ — *osacha* ‘laughter’
- (6) Lakhota (data from Comrie & Thompson 1985)
 - a. *gnaya* ‘deceive’ — *wo-gnaye* ‘deception’
 - b. *wiyuski* ‘rejoice’ — *wo-wiyuski* ‘rejoicing’
- (7) Quechua (data from Cole 1982)
 - a. *yacha* ‘know’ — *yacha-chi-j* ‘the one who causes to know/teacher’
 - b. *yanu* ‘cook’ — *yanu-shka* ‘something cooked’
- (8) English
 - a. *bridge*_N — *bridge*_V
 - b. *farm* — *farmer*
 - c. *love* — *lover*
 - d. *laugh* — *laughter*
 - e. *fold* — *folder*
 - f. *clean*_A — *clean*_V
 - g. *walk*_V — *walk*_N

Trans-categorization, *re-categorization* and *functional shift* are all names for conversion and/or derivation which characterize those processes in a way that is very similar to ideational grammatical metaphor. The feature of ‘**functional shift**’ is one aspect that conversion and derivation share with GM. Of the examples in the set above, it is especially those that construe abstract nouns or activity nouns (i.e. 5c-d, 6a-b, 8d, 8g) that are intuitively of interest in a comparison with GM. More broadly, I want to explore the nature of

conversion and derivation as types of functional shift in relation to GM.

In the next two sub-sections, we will explore the GM features defined above in relation to conversion and derivation, and other types of functional shift phenomena. In this way we will expand the view to a larger range of phenomena that can shed light on the specificity of GM.

2.2. Conversion and derivation

Conversion is a process that links two items which appear in different word classes but which are otherwise lexically the same (cf. Martsa 2013). In other words, the two categories share the same identical form (there are no morphological changes; this is reflected in the term *zero-derivation*, cf. below). The items differ in that they belong to different categories, mostly a noun and a verb, or a verb and an adjective/modifier (this is reflected in the terms *trans-categorization* or *re-categorization*, and also *functional shift*).

There is no consensus in the literature on the grammar-lexis relation in those cases (see Table 3): (i) in one view, there is one ambiguous or very general lexeme that appears with different functional potential; (ii) in another, the items are analysed as different lexemes that are homonymous. Various terms used in the literature to characterize conversion are embedded in one of those alternative views (**trans-categorization** and **re-categorization** vs. **pre-categorization**; **zero-derivation** (one word derived from the other) vs. **flexible words** (one and the same item/word can be noun or verb, for instance). The term **conversion**, strictly speaking, is also reminiscent of the first type of paradigm.

Table 3: Competing views on conversion

homonymy view	flexibility view
different lexemes sharing the same form	one general (or ambiguous) lexeme with different functional potential
<i>trans-categorization</i> <i>re-categorization</i>	<i>pre-categorization</i>
<i>zero-derivation</i>	<i>flexible words</i>

It is worth mentioning, for the further discussion below, that in relatively recent studies, the homonymy view (which has been the frame for most terms related to ‘conversion’, cf. re-, trans- and also ‘conversion’ itself, to an extent) has been regarded as based on an Indo-European linguistic view, i.e. a conception of strict divisions between word classes, as in English — a view which is not justified in a broader typological perspective. Bauer & Valera (2005, 8) note that “virtually all of this has been questioned at one point or another and yet the concept of conversion remains in use, very much as the conventional system of word-classes does in languages for which it is theoretically inadequate”.

A typologically more accurate view, according to Bauer & Valera (2005), is to take the second, flexibility perspective. In this view, whether a word is a noun or a verb is only filled in when this word is combined with a syntagmatic context. This idea has become more prevalent in recent typological research which is careful to avoid Indo-European and especially anglophone bias. It is also present in older functional traditions which have not been widely available and hence have not had a timely impact on the debate:

- Dokulil (1968, 230), a morphophonologist in the wake of the Prague School, claimed that the basic feature of conversion is “the participation of the word in morphological oppositions” (as translated by and cited in Štekauer et al. (2012, 214)).
- Coseriu (1992/1973/1955, 374), the originator of a post-structuralist theory, aphoristically argued that it makes no sense to talk about the nominal (derived or converted) forms of verbs

in the same way as it is pointless ‘to talk about the triangular forms of rectangles’.⁹

What is highlighted here is that for any (ideational) concept, its integration in various slots in the clause (i.e. in terms of clause slots and as heads in groups) can bring out (‘profile’ in cognitive linguistic terms) a different dimension of this concept. Following Coseriu, this applies to conversion as well as derivation. For example, in English a *hammer* is a tool, but when used as a verb, *hammer* refers to an event that involves a hammer. This reasoning can be extended to other (non-zero) types of derivations in English: *depart* denotes an event that is located in time and space, but *departure* highlights the event as a whole (cf. Langacker’s (1991, 554) idea of ‘summary scanning’). In fact, the idea of different combinatorics, or **variation in functional environment** (i.e. variation in terms of the integration into a syntagm), is what conversion, derivation and GM share.

I will argue below that the processes of conversion and derivation do not involve grammatical metaphor. There is no metaphoricity in a very general sense. In those cases (typologically) referred to as flexible words where there is a ‘general’ concept that can be integrated into a clausal syntagm as a verb (process) or as a noun (participant), there is no metaphoricity (no transfer, no congruent and less congruent form). In other cases (as in English), where a basic word can be recognized, and the alternative word/derivation is a ‘special’ (derived) use of it, this involves at best metonymy rather than metaphor — since this is a matter of different profiling, concomitant to fitting the concept into a different syntagmatic environment. Here too, there is no borrowing, no metaphorical extension.

⁹ My translation of the German version: “schwerwiegende Inkohärenzen, wie etwa die – um nur ein einziges Beispiel zu geben –, daß man von “Nominal formen des Verbums” spricht (was – wenn man annimmt, die Klasse des Nomens und die des Verbums kämen durch dasselbe kategorielle Kriterium zustande – genau so wäre, als wollte man von “Dreiecksformen des Quadrats” sprechen).” (Coseriu 1992, 374, my emphasis).

2.3. The relation between ideational GM and conversion/derivation

If we now turn to more specific features of the ‘doubling of semiosis’ that characterize GM (as specified above), we will see that there is also no grammatical metaphoricity in a more technical sense.

In conversion/derivation, there is **no exaptation**. This is clear in the flexibility view of ‘conversion’, which resonates with the concept of paradigmatic choice (choosing a different paradigmatic option starting from one common point in the network) is not exaptation. Remember we cannot talk about the triangular form of a rectangle, in Coseriu’s terms. Because there is no exaptation, there is **no doubling of compositionality**, and there is **no coerced internal structure**.

Note that by definition we do not have a double structure in conversion/derivation, because the ‘transcategorized’ item is a word (not a syntagm: no internal structure except for morphological structure). Furthermore, in conversion/derivation it is not the case that one expression ‘uses’ the structure of the other: there is **no** coercion of a different structure in order to ‘adapt’ the concept to the syntagmatic environment. On the contrary, noun and verb are two different renderings of an ideational concept that correlate with the different types of functional environment into which these word classes can integrate.

Similarly, since in each category, the adaptation to the syntagmatic context (metonymically) highlights one specific dimension of its generic semantics, it is not the case that a semantic compositionality is shared between the two forms.¹⁰

The relations between the variant forms are categorial relations **within one rank**. One could think of the choice of a category within one rank as a most primary grammatical choice that takes this rank

¹⁰ This is also the case because there is no syntagmatic structure that realizes the composition of the ideational meaning: there is no internal structure except for morphological structure. This characteristic highlights the ‘word formation’ nature of conversion.

as an entry condition. (This is in fact the case in the Cardiff Grammar, where we find Fawcett’s (1980, 93) congruence network as the first, primary choice to be made).¹¹

Conversion/derivation is either **exhaustive** (in languages that are completely flexible — although there is no convention in the literature that such languages exist (cf. Evans & Osada 2005)), or it is (partially) **lexically restricted**. For instance, is will be specific group of lexemes that allows the instrument-verb conversion, viz. those activities which involve the use of an instrument, such as *hammer*, *plough*, *saw*, *screw*, *staple*.

Finally, the tension we find with conversion and derivation is the **‘weak’ semantic tension** between possible alternatives in the paradigm, i.e. it is a paradigmatic tension between options: *hammer* is a verb, while it could also have been a noun. Importantly, this is **intra-stratal tension**, which is just an epiphenomenon of the paradigmatic organization of the stratum. In a sense this tension is **trivial**. It is trivial in the instance (in that the alternative profiling is just backgrounded, or can become only a part of the (metonymic) ‘conversion’: e.g. the instrument ‘hammer’ in the verb *hammer*). It is also trivial in the system, since any two options can be related to a common ‘root’ somewhere at a more primary point in the system.

Table 4: Conversion & derivation characterized in relation to GM features

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT		FROM BELOW				
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
conversion & derivation	(weak)	yes	— (#profiling)	—	—	—	—	(lexical constraints)

In conclusion, as shown in Table 4, the only feature that conversion shares with ideational GM is the change in functional potential, i.e. the variation in functional environment. Theoretically, GM and conversion are different phenomena. However, there is a link between conversion and GM which exploits this shared feature. GM can in its turn ‘exapt’ a conversion to fulfill its doubling. For example, a live ideational GM that metaphorically renders ‘an event

¹¹ The Cardiff Grammar has a “congruence network” as the most primary part of the grammar. The first options are ‘referent regarded as thing’, ‘referent regarded as situation’ and ‘referent regarded as quality’ (Fawcett 1980, 93).

of something being exposed', will take *exposure* as its nominalized hub (i.e. the nominalization which will be combined with other types of shift in a syndrome of GM), because this form is entrenched in the language. Other examples are given in (9):

- (9) This relocation will result in the departure of Delta to Terminals 2 and 3, and the arrival of Virgin America at Terminal 6.

This means that in practice, there is a grey zone between GM and conversion, although we can disentangle them theoretically as different semiotic processes.

Interestingly, the fact that ideational GM can exapt a conversion or a derivation fits within the characterization of GM suggested above: more specifically, we saw that lexical exaptation is a feature of logical and interpersonal metaphors. In a sense, the exaptation of a nominalized lexeme (a conversion or derivation) in ideational metaphor is another instance of this process, which means that ideational metaphor too can be based on lexical exaptation.

2.4. GM and conversion in a wider view of exaptation and functional shift phenomena

We can now turn to other types of function changing phenomena and characterize them in relation to the GM features pointed out in Section 1.

[1] Conventionalized metaphor

Like any metaphor, grammatical metaphors can become completely 'entrenched' and lose their metaphorical nature, i.e. the stratal tension, the semantic compositionality, etc. What this means is that *the extra (metaphorical) semantics is shed off*, and the item becomes a non-metaphorical term. This is a standard process of conventionalization that has to be understood in terms of semogenesis, and which is also seen in grammaticalization and lexicalization processes more generally (see Taverniers 2018 on the link between grammatical metaphor and grammaticalization and lexicalization). Both ideational and interpersonal metaphors can undergo such processes of conventionalization. Just like conversion, conventionalized ideational GMs lead to new lexemes that are specified for word class (i.e. new technical nouns, such as the

‘entrenched’ terms in a discipline, e.g. *stratification*, *delicacy*, *text analysis*, *instantiation*, ... in SFL). Interpersonal grammatical metaphors, on the other hand, lead to grammaticalized interpersonal constructions when they are conventionalized (e.g. *I think* as a ‘discourse marker’, cf. Taverniers 2018).

Conventionalized metaphors (summarized in Table 5) are based on a change in functional potential, and on an exaptation (as this is their origin), but the ‘doubling’ features are no longer ‘live’ (the item has lost its semantic tension, its double compositionality, i.e. the recognition of a coerced internal structure which still shines through). The doubling in terms of rank scale semiosis is also lost, and because these are individual cases of lexicalization: there is no exhaustiveness.

Table 5: Conventionalized or domesticated metaphor characterized in relation to GM features

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT		FROM BELOW				
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
domesticated GM	— (lost)	yes	— (lost)	yes	— (lost)	—	— (lost)	— (lost)

In keeping with research on lexical metaphor, it should be recognized that conventionalized metaphors (or domesticated metaphors, as Halliday (1985, 328; 1994/1985, 349) called them) can be ‘opened up’ again to make clear their metaphorical origin — e.g. in explaining an entrenched term to a novice. Goatley (1997, 30) therefore prefers to talk about “Tired, Sleeping, Dead and Buried metaphors”).¹²

In terms of the different constructions considered here, domesticated GM as well as conversion and derivation can be subsumed under the more general heading of **congruent nominalization**.

[2] Non-nominalized abstract nouns

Non-nominalized abstract nouns (summarized in Table 6), including activity nouns and quality nouns, such as *war*, *skill*, *crime*, *hope*, *idea*, *peace*, are congruent expressions that have no

¹² Interestingly, the same is true of all conventionalized implicatures as recognized in the framework of pragmatic studies (Taverniers 2017b).

semohistory of nominalization or metaphoricity. Although it could be said that they also realize a figure by means of a nominal, in this case there is only primary categorization of an ideational meaning as a noun. They share none of the features defined here with GM.

Table 6: *Non-nominalized abstract nouns characterized in relation to GM features*

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT		FROM BELOW				
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
non-nominalized abstract n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[3] Hypotaxis and embedding

Hypotaxis and **embedding** (summarized in Table 7) have been characterized as forerunners of grammatical metaphor in ontogenesis, or as ‘protometaphorical’, in the development of oral language (Derewianka 2003, 191), as well as early writing (Painter 1999, 96–8). Like GM, hypotaxis and embedding apply exhaustively (any clause can become dependent or downranked) and they involve rank changes. They keep the compositionality of the dependent or downranked clause while making it fittable in relation to another clausal syntagm (by fitting it in as a constituent in the case of embedding, or by relating it to another clause through dependency relations in the case of hypotaxis). The adaptation to a new functional environment is not based on the coercion of a different internal structure: these clauses just change status (and this comes with some reduction in terms of internal structure; i.e. they may be marked by a conjunction; in the case of embedding this adaptation is more marked, e.g. when those clauses lose their finiteness), but the internal structure remains clausal. In this sense, hypotaxis and embedding are clausal equivalents of the process of conversion at word level. Only embedding involves grammatical exaptation, but merely of the status of a group (instead of a clause) (i.e. the embedded constituent), not, as just mentioned, of internal structure. This feature places it closer to ideational GM than hypotaxis.

Table 7: *Hypotaxis and embedding characterized in relation to GM features*

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT		FROM BELOW				
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
embedding/rankshift	—	yes	yes	yes	—	—	yes	yes
bound clause/hypotaxis	—	yes	yes	—	—	—	yes	yes

[4] Coercion

Finally we turn to **coercion**. This refers to processes where one type of construction is co-opted and superimposed on another to form a new whole. An example that is often cited in cognitive and constructional literature is: *Pat sneezed* and *The napkin moved off the table (because of Pat's sneezing)* → *Pat sneezed the napkin off the table*. Here, in the intransitive process of *sneeze*, another construction is ‘coerced’ or co-opted, viz. the relation between *the napkin* and *off the table*). The two are merged together so that the overall combination looks like a caused relational event.

Table 8: *Coercion characterized in relation to GM features*

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT		FROM BELOW				
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
coercion	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	(lexical constraints)

Because there is a tension between the original coerced construction and the way it appears in the new combination, in addition to the newly constructed overall constellation, here we find stratal tension in the sense defined above. This process shares several other features with GM: coercion is based on exaptation (co-opting itself is exaptation), the co-opted construction functions in a new environment while it keeps its semantic compositionality (in this case, the relational link between *the napkin* and *off the table*), and its internal set-up coerces a structure that is compatible with the whole (in this case: there is analogy with caused relational processes: *They called the baby Amanda. They considered it a forgery.*)

In all those features, coercion is similar to GM. Where they differ, is in the features of exhaustiveness and involvement of the rank scale. Even if, theoretically, the rank scale can be involved in coercion, this is not a defining feature as it is not systematically the case. Coercion is not exhaustive because it is restricted by lexical constraints — e.g. *I ran my shoes threadbare*, but not **She wrenched*

*the stick *broken/*tight*. (Green 1972) — although the constraints can always be stretched in creative language, e.g. *Blog yourself rich in five steps* (from Berwouts 2015).

Conclusion: GM in a topology of functional shift phenomena

We can now consider the overall picture of functional shift phenomena in relation to features of GM (see Table 9), recognize similarities and groupings (see Table 10), and organize the different phenomena in a topology or semantic map, as shown in Figure 8.

What stands out, is that **coercion** shares the most features with GM, viz. all features except for rank scale involvement and exhaustiveness. I would therefore suggest that GM can be seen as a special, limiting case of coercion that involves shifts at the most grammatical end of the lexicogrammar. What singles out GM, is the grammatical ‘generality’ of GM: the fact that it involves shifts in rank, and that it is exhaustive. In relation to this, interpersonal metaphors and higher-order syndromes of ideational metaphors are clearer types of coercion because they also include lexical exaptation. In this sense then, ideational metaphor can be seen as the limiting case of conversion, completely systematized and most primarily grammatical.

The other functional shift phenomena that we considered can be put into two groups:

- on the one hand, **embedding and hypotaxis**;
- on the other hand, **domesticated GM, conversion & derivation, and non-nominalized abstract nouns**.

The former types of shift involve the rank scale and hence are primary grammatical types of shifts and as such, exhaustive. The latter are phenomena that occur more towards the lexical end of the lexicogrammar: they are processes of word formation and/or lexicalization (in the case of fully conventionalized GM).

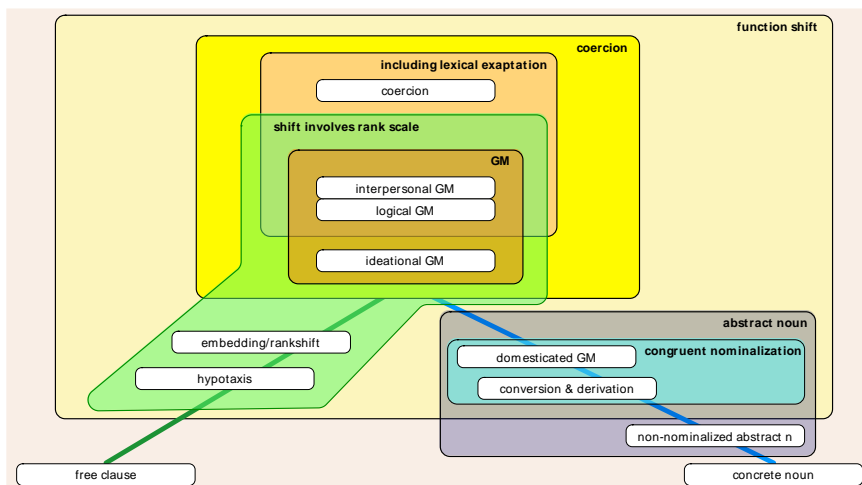
Table 9: Functional shift phenomena in relation to GM features

	FROM ABOVE	FROM ROUNDABOUT	FROM BELOW					
	double meaning: semantic tension/ stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves rank scale	exhaustiveness
experiential GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	yes	yes
logical GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
interpersonal GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
domesticated GM	— (lost)	yes	— (lost)	yes	— (lost)	—	— (lost)	— (lost)
conversion & derivation	(weak)	yes	— (#profiling)	—	—	—	—	(lexical constraints)
non-nominalized abstract n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
embedding/rankshift	—	yes	yes	yes	—	—	yes	yes
bound clause/hypotaxis	—	yes	yes	—	—	—	yes	yes
coercion	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	(lexical constraints)

Table 10: Similarities and groupings in functional shift phenomena in relation to GM features

	double meaning: semantic tension & stratal tension	change in functional potential	double structure: double compositionality	grammatical exaptation	coerced internal structure	exaptation of lexemes	involves most primary grammar: ranks	doubling potential is exhaustive
coercion	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	(lexical constraints)
interpersonal GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
logical GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
ideational GM	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	—	yes	yes
embedding/rankshift	(semantic)	yes	yes	yes	—	—	yes	yes
hypotaxis	(semantic)	yes	yes	—	—	—	yes	yes
conversion & derivation	(semantic)	yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
domesticated GM	— (lost)	yes	— (lost)	yes (in origin)	— (lost)	—	— (lost)	—
non-nom. abstract n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

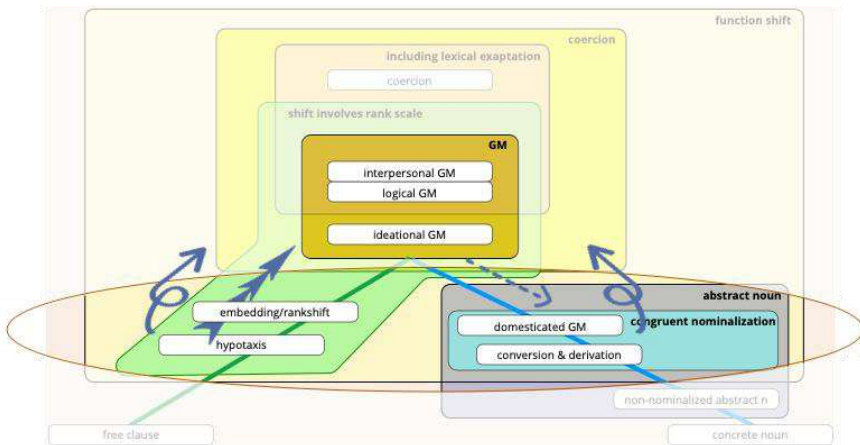
Figure 8: Topological overview of functional shift phenomena in relation to GM



These two sets of functional shift phenomena can now be placed on topological scales in relation to GM, in terms of how many features they share with GM. On each scale, the phenomena that are closest to GM have a privileged relation to GM (see Figure 9):

- **Congruent nominalizations** are close to GM in two ways: conventionalized GM can always be re-opened and re-analysed as metaphorical; and derivations/conversions can always be exapted to form the ‘hub’ of an ideational GM.
- **Embedding/rankshift** are close to GM because, at least in ontogenesis, they are a forerunner for the development of GM. In more general terms, the phenomenon of **hypotaxis**, with its two specific logico-semantic developments as expansion and projection and their more delicate realizations, can be seen as a forerunner to GM. We will return to this predecessor nature of hypotaxis below.

Figure 9: Congruent nominalizations on the one hand, and embedding & hypotaxis on the other hand as functional shift phenomena which are closest to GM



Features with regard to which GM stands out, compared to those two topological vectors, are stratal tension, coerced internal structure and, in the case of interpersonal GM and logical GM, also lexical exaptation.

- The latter are unique to GM in relation to those two topological vectors, but are shared by coercion. The features of coerced internal structure and lexical exaptation have to do with the extent of the exaptation: it is not just the external syntax, i.e. the nature of the overall slot (which is related to the fact that the new construction changes functional potential), but also the internal structure, and then, again further in interpersonal and logical GM, also lexical exaptation.
- Stratal tension is missing in the two groups of non-metaphorical phenomena, because here, semantic tension is part the paradigmatic organization of the lexicogrammar, or, more specifically in terms of semogenesis, has become part of the system at the lexicogrammar.

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Miriam Taverniers is an Associate Professor of functional approaches to English linguistics at Ghent University. Her research into the nature of grammatical metaphor in Systemic Functional Linguistics (PhD 2002) led to a fascination with theoretical concepts, especially the design and understanding of dimensions and categories in functional linguistic frameworks with a focus on SFL (esp. the relation between lexis and grammar; stratification, esp. the syntax-semantics interface and the role of context; the relation between instance, norm/ register and system; the concept of ‘construction’ and its relation to paradigmatic modelling). She also works on descriptive and applied topics, with a special dedication to what these perspectives can contribute to our understanding of the theoretical issues mentioned above.

بحوث جامعية
دورية تصدر عن كلية الآداب والعلوم الانسانية بصفاقس
ISSN – 2811-6585 – ر.د.م.م

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العدد 19 خاص في جزأين باللغة الإنجليزية
أشرف على اعداده مخبر البحث في مقاربات الخطاب
الجزء الأول
(أبريل 2025)

Academic Research

N°19, Vol.1, Special Issue

Published by the **Laboratory on Approaches to Discourse** (LAD/LR13ES15)
and the **Systemic Functional Linguistics Association of Tunisia** (SYFLAT)