Article

That could be me: Identity and identification in discourses about food, meat, and animal welfare

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Abstract

In this paper I test the capacity for functional linguistics, in particular register theory (Halliday, 2002) and cohesive harmony analysis (Hasan, 1984), to illuminate how habitual patterns of language make meat-eating and factory farming seem natural, and how certain counter discourses work to expose the seams in such practices. My primary example is an award-winning animal welfare campaign based on mock recipe cards. While such genre-bending clearly aims at bypassing reader defenses, the text's real achievement is to combine semantic features whose co-occurrence is normally blocked by the cultural-linguistic system, allowing it to project a sophisticated food identity for readers and construe a social identity for the recipe 'ingredients' (pigs), realized largely through bizarre cohesive harmony. Implications discussed include relations between 'major and minor identities' (Lakoff, 2006), the mobilization of identity in dominant and emerging ideologies, and the limits on who/what can count as a social subject that might 'perform' or 'negotiate' identity.

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Introduction

As debates about the relationship between human societies and the animals used for food become more legitimate and mainstream,[1] many food production practices are being questioned in terms of the extent to which they involve cruelty to animals. For example, a 2011 exposé of cruelty to cattle in live export processing systems in Indonesia and a 2012 report of Australian sheep being buried alive in Pakistan have led to repeated public rallies, a temporary suspension on live export, and several (so far unsuccessful) bills in the Australian parliament to ban live export (Animals Australia, 2011a, 2012; Sydney Morning Herald, 2011). Some significant legislative and voluntary changes have occurred, including outlawing sow stalls in Europe (FAO, 2010) and phasing out of cage eggs in large British supermarkets (Poulter, 2009).

With growing levels of public, media and political activity around animal welfare, we might expect discourses around animal welfare to have become a significant object of scrutiny among research fields that deal with language, representation, ideology and identity, and the role of these factors in systems of exploitation and oppression. There has been an 'animal turn' in related disciplines but there is no developed body of linguistic work on discourses involving animals. In particular there has been hardly any work from a linguistic perspective on the discourses that surround meat production and consumption, how animals' interests are represented, and how the representation of animals in such discourses is related to their treatment and the kind of lives they lead.

This paper aims to energize linguistics and discourse analysis around the discursive representation of animals, for two reasons. First, discourse analysis can raise awareness about how language practices can support oppression. In the past, such awareness raising has arguably helped interrupt discourses of slavery, misogyny and class, reducing our participation in these systems (but not, of course, eradicating them). If discourse analysis can help reduce our reliance on factory farming by deconstructing its naturalness, this has the potential to reduce enormous amounts of suffering among intelligent, social 'animal' beings. With apologies to Albert Schweitzer, this can be seen as discourse analysis 'extending its circle of compassion' to include animals. Second, understanding the linguistic workings of dominant and alternative discourses around animals could be a rich test case for clarifying and expanding linguistic methods, especially around the role of identity work in what might be called the phylogenesis of ideology.

In the service of these wider aims, the paper addresses the following questions:

1. How do our habitual patterns of language obscure the reality of animal suffering and make meat production and consumption (especially factory farming) seem natural?
2. What kinds of pattern are recruited by counter-discourses to expose the fissures in such practices and meanings, and with what success?
3. What kinds of identity are construed and mobilized by dominant and alternative discourses around meat production and consumption, and do different registers constrain what counts as legitimate reader identity in ways that are important for considering how meat discourse could change?

Language practices that support and reproduce mainstream ideologies are hard to pick out in sample texts because, if they are working ideologically, they tend to be invisible. I will therefore approach the analysis of mainstream, naturalizing discourses (question 1) mostly via the analyses of counter-discourse (question 2). In effect the paper will work by identifying the strategies of representation and identification in the mainstream discourses by identifying their 'shadows' in examples of counter-discourse. Figure 1 reproduces my primary data, to be described, analysed and compared with other texts further below.

Method

Framework for the study

The primary framework for this paper is Systemic Functional Linguistics. I also draw on feminist critical theory, sociolinguistics, ecolinguistics and discursive psychology to help situate the problem of how human discourse sustains animal commodification and suffering, and to help link cultural patterns with textual patterns. One crucial concept, which I attempt to trace textually through cohesion analysis, is what Adams (1990) terms the 'absent referent', where the absent referent is the individual animal excluded from discourses and practices which entail its oppression and harm, as outlined further below.

Data

Data consist of one focus text (Text 1) and three texts from related registers (Texts 2–4) as comparison. The focus text is from an award winning campaign (Animals Australia, 2011c; Firth, 2008; Inspiration Room, no date) that opposes dominant discourses of naturalized meat production and consumption. The second text 'Sage and Red Wine Pork Sausages' represents the dominant discourse of unproblematic meat consumption. A third text, 'Fact File' from Animals Australia, is a typical animal welfare text. A fourth text is an

excerpt from *The Sheep Pig*, a children's story with a pig as a central character. The texts are matched for key features: Texts 1 and 2 are 'recipe' texts, Texts 1 and 3 are 'pig welfare' texts, and Texts 1 and 4 are 'pig sentience' texts. At the same time, Texts 2 and to some extent 3 are texts that exemplify what Adams calls the 'absent [animal] referent' while in Text 1, the focus text is constructed around restoring the absent referent at a textual level.

Emotionally Stressed Pork Sausages in Red Wine Jus

1 Factory farmed pregnant pig
1 Small metal cage/stall
(2m x 0.6m - or less)
1 Metal birthing crate/cage
(2m x 0.5m)
1 Pair of clippers

Force pregnant sow to stand or lie on concrete in cage/stall so she is unable to turn around.* Before giving birth on hard floor, stuff into smaller birthing crate to further limit movement. In front of mother, cut newborn piglets' eye teeth and tails without administering pain relief. Ignore screams. Do not let mother pig interact with her young. Remove piglets after 3 to 4 weeks, then impregnate again and continue.† Serves 6.

* Sow stalls are banned in the UK. † On average, mother pigs endure three to four pregnancies in factory farms before dying or being 'culled' mainly because of injuries, lameness or failure to become pregnant.

In Australian factory farms, most pigs are subjected to the procedures and practices described.

You can change how they live.

If you purchase pork, bacon, or ham - choose free-range.

There's nothing appetising about Australian Factory Farmed Pork.
Visit www.savebabe.com or call us on 1800 888 584.

voiceless
the fund for animals
www.voiceless.org.au

animals australia
The voice for animals.
www.savebabe.com

Voiceless and Animals Australia are leading national animal protection organisations.

Figure 1: Emotionally distressed pork sausages in red wine jus (mock recipe card).

The focus text was chosen partly because, as a mock recipe, it sets up a particular challenge for the linguistic model. Unlike real recipes, which instruct readers in how to perform an activity, the primary function of this mock recipe is to inform readers about the conditions under which animals who[2] are farmed for meat live, prompting readers to change their purchasing behaviour and avoid supporting cruel farming practices. Four 'recipes' were produced on approximately 12×10 cm cards, and these were made available at supermarkets and in magazines such as *The Australian Women's Weekly*. Each card contained a glossy food-styled image of a pork-based dish, designed to look appetizing to a 'foodie' audience, until the reader got up close and read the full names of the dishes – e.g. 'Emotionally stressed pork sausage in red wine jus' or 'Lame and Pained Pork Pie'.

Text 1 is transcribed in full below. Major clauses are numbered in Arabic numerals and clause fragments numbered with Roman numerals. (For recipe card layout of all four cards see Appendix 2.)

Text 1 – Emotionally Stressed Pork Sausages in Red Wine Jus (Animals Australia, 2011c)

    (i)   1 factory farmed pregnant pig
    (ii) 1 small metal cage/stall (2m × 0.6m or less)
    (iii) 1 metal birthing crate/cage (2m × 0.5m)
    (iv) 1 pair of clippers

    1. Force pregnant sow to stand or lie on concrete in cage/stall 2. so she is unable to turn around. 3. Before giving birth on hard floor, 4. stuff into smaller birthing crate 5. to further limit movement. 6. In front of mother, cut newborn piglets' eyeteeth and tails 7. without administering pain relief. 8. Ignore screams. 9. Do not let mother pig interact with her young. 10. Remove piglets after three to four weeks 11. then impregnate again 12. and continue. 13. Serves six. 14. In Australian factory farms, most pigs are subjected to the procedures and practices described. 15. You can change how they live. 16. If you purchase pork, bacon or ham, 17. choose free-range. 18. There's nothing appetizing about Australian factory farmed pork. 19. Visit www savebabe.com 20. or call us on 1800 888 584.

For transcriptions of the three comparison texts, and lexicogrammatical analyses of the focus ond comparison texts, see Appendix 1.

Without preempting the linguistic analysis to follow, it should be pointed out here that texts such as 'Emotionally distressed pork sausages' (Text 1, my focus text) can be seen as a kind of contextual metaphor (e.g. Martin, 1997). In this case a procedural text structure (which typically takes the form shown in Text

2) 'stands in' for a structure normally associated with the functions of informing and/or exhorting, which would look more like Text 3 (Fact file, see Appendix 1), although as we shall see there are some key ensembles of features (Butt 1983) in the focus text that are typical of animal welfare texts and of their purpose to inform and exhort.

Analytical techniques

Each text has been analysed using techniques drawn from SFL (a) at clause level in terms of transitivity, mood, modality and polarity choices, and choices of theme (summarized in Appendix 1, Tables 1–5); and (b) at the level of semantics, in terms of reference and cohesive harmony (Hasan, 1984, 1985; c.f. Martin, 1992 on Identification). One of the central concerns of the SFL model is to show how texts have the meaning they do, by showing how language choices at the stratum of lexicogrammar are organized around activating crucial distinctions of meaning at more abstract levels of linguistic organization, namely the strata of semantics and of context, following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), and Halliday (1985, 2002) among others. In this study, such patterning includes the positioning of ideal readers in terms of aesthetic and ethical identities, which in turn is based on projecting recognizable social identity formations for both human and non-human animals.

   A simple example of the kinds of distinctions I am talking about will help illustrate the techniques chosen and their utility. In the extract from the children's story, there is a central character, an individualized pig called Monty, who we are meant to sympathize with as a social subject. By contrast, in Animals Australia's 'Fact File' on pig welfare there is no central character, although there is a class of beings (pigs) whose welfare is 'topicalized' and still important. What creates these differences at the levels of semantics and context, and allows us to share their recognition? As well as the obvious differences of naming and pluralization, pigs are mapped onto very different grammatical roles in the two texts, especially transitivity roles, and this helps construct the differences in how we are positioned to see them. In the *Sheep Pig* extract, Monty the pig is mapped onto the role of Actor or Carrier in most clauses, e.g:

> When <u>he</u> was full grown, <u>he</u> weighed six hundred pounds. <u>Monty</u> was so gentle.
> When <u>I</u> went out to feed him and his ten wives <u>he</u> would come galloping through the trees … [<u>Actor/Carrier</u> underlined]

Compare the Fact File text, in which pigs are never the 'doers' of actions as Actor, or the holder of attributes as Carrier, but may be grammatical Goal or affected participant.

> *Male piglets* are routinely castrated without pain relief. <u>Laws</u> permit *pregnant pigs* to be confined for their entire 16-week pregnancy in a metal cage. [<u>Actor/Carrier</u> underlined; Goal in italics].

Transitivity patterns do not do all the work by themselves of course, but interact with other patterns, especially cohesive harmony, as we will see in the pages that follow. Before moving to these empirical analyses it is important to give some background to the linguistic study of how eating animals is represented, and of how food beliefs and practices help construe identity.

Brief survey of linguistic work on representing animals

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary field with strong links to linguistics and social theory. It is concerned with the role of discourse in reproducing and challenging dominance. CDA's practitioners have produced a considerable body of work on inequities and ideologies involving race, class, gender, war, sexual orientation, the environment, and medicine (e.g. Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Harré *et al.*, 1999; Moore *et al.*, 2001; Pennycook, 2007; Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

As Stibbe (2001) points out, not all who suffer dominance are human, yet over its 30-year history few critical discourse studies discuss animals, and hardly any position animals as interested parties. For instance, Van Dijk's seminal paper on the 'principles of CDA' exhorts analysts to 'take the perspective of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality' (1993: 253). This credo can be seen as itself a shibboleth which perpetuates the lack of attention to animals. In this credo, even before the reader gets to ideologically loaded terms like 'suffer', his or her attention has already been restricted to 'those who suffer'; in other words, persons. People who do not see animals as persons are likely to baulk or blank at including nonhuman animals in the referring expression 'those who …', so there is a kind of circularity in such a manifesto which may be self-perpetuating.

Turning to ecolinguistics, in its foundational study Greenspeak, Harré *et al.* (1999: 5) wrote of creating a subdiscipline 'capable of contributing to an informed debate concerning human survival and the welfare of the planet' (c.f. Halliday 2001[1990]). Although some ecolinguistic studies consider the plight of nonhuman animals, this is mostly limited to considering their endangerment as whole species. The field of ecolinguistics could have an important role in critically examining how and why environmental discourses tend to favour the survival of species over the cost to individuals (see e.g. Russell, 2011), linking this to the question of why animals such as whales and tigers are perceived to be 'at risk' in environmental discourse but cows, chickens and pigs are 'safe' (Moore and Grossman, 2011).

One scholar who does link species extinction and individual welfare is Jacques Derrida. Commenting on the industrialization of meat production and consumption, and our dissimulation about it, Derrida draws attention to an awful irony. Endangered species are 'annihilated' because other species are kept in a 'virtually interminable survival' (2002: 394). One thing I take Derrida to mean in this nuanced discussion is that there are so many cows, pigs, chickens, etc. brought to life, that these 'species lines' survive interminably, whereas as individuals they do not have a proper life at all, and such denial of a proper life amounts to extermination of the species concerned in a more important sense. Derrida does not however turn his attention (in any detail) to the language practices that facilitate such dissimulation, or dissociation.

Some fruitful discourse analyses of distancing devices around meat consumption and production have been made (e.g. Lawrence, 1994; Stibbe, 2001; Glenn, 2004; Stewart and Cole, 2009; Cole and Morgan, 2011). Stibbe (2001) presents an array of features used to represent cattle in meat industry discourse. These include lexical semantics (e.g. *animal* excludes *human*; *slaughtering animals* seems neutral but *slaughtering humans* conveys savagery or dehumanization; *meat* not *flesh*; *housing* not *cage*); impersonal pronoun use; culinary metonymy (e.g. giving the animal the name of the meat product – 'You'd end up cutting its head off while the *beef* was still alive'; metaphors of machinery (the sow must *produce the maximum number of live piglets* in the shortest time).

'Pig welfare' is a compound term used in industry discourse, but it is often explicitly or implicitly trumped by efficiency discourse. For instance, providing heating for farmed pigs was presented as providing 'optimal thermal conditions for pork production' and this is spelt out as 'avoiding shivering', which wastes 'feed energy' to 'frictional losses that would otherwise go to growth' (PIH, 2002: 54, quoted in Stibbe 2003). On heating policy, pig comfort and profitability align. Less happily for the pigs, ideas about the 'space needed per pig for optimal performance' do not correspond to the amount pigs need to move around freely.

Although these kinds of discourse patterns might appear trivial, inevitable, or just the way these things are expressed, a recent media event in Australia suggests they are not. After a television documentary exposé of cruelty in offshore abbatoirs was shown on government-controlled ABC TV in May 2011, leaked internal emails revealed that other ABC journalists had been instructed by ABC executives to avoid terms such as 'slaughterhouse' and 'cattle farmer', being told to use 'meatworks' and 'beef producer' instead, claiming that these latter terms were better because they were 'precise, accurate and expose meaning' (see Lukin, 2011). But a few ABC journalists took a

different view: one of them wrote, 'I know the industry favours the term "beef producer" and it is not hard to imagine why. It puts the emphasis on the beef, the stuff most people like to eat, rather than on the animal which is being raised for slaughter so that beef can be "produced" ' (Long, 2011, quoted in Lukin, 2011).

The potential reach of linguistic work on animal discourse can be seen in the recent publication of an article by the industry journal *Poultry Science*, which summarizes linguistic analyses of industry discourse (similar to the examples outlined above) and accepts most of the criticisms made. The paper's authors suggest that 'adopting innocuous terminology and withholding information deemed likely to be unpalatable to the public may be morally questionable in itself'. The authors encourage the industry to aggressively review its discourse practice, publicly naming their own current practice 'obfuscation' (Croney and Reynnells, 2008: 387).

The absent referent

A further step here is critical, and seldom made in the literature on animals and language. As Hasan points out (1996), pervasive ideologies such as sexism, or indeed speciesism, can only operate when patterns of speaking, thinking and acting are aligned at a number of levels of abstraction and across multiple linguistic systems (c.f. Whorf's notion of 'configurative rapport' (1956)). It will never be just one lexical choice (e.g. slaughterhouse/meatworks), or even one kind of choice, e.g. lexis, that is responsible for textualizing something as entrenched and contradictory as the use of cruel factory farming methods in supplying meat to people who think of themselves as humane.

One concept mentioned earlier that proves helpful in tying together the different findings sketched here and for the empirical work of the present study is the notion of the 'absent referent'. The vegan feminist critical theorist Carol Adams uses this term (recontextualized from linguistics) to describe what she calls the detachment that occurs, at least in most developed western countries, between the consumer and an implied 'other' when people eat meat (1990: 3).

> Behind every meal of meat is an absence: the death of the animal whose place the meat takes. The 'absent referent' is that which separates the meat eater from the animal and the animal from the end product. The function of the absent referent is to keep our 'meat' separated from any idea that she or he was once an animal, to keep the 'moo' or 'cluck' or 'baa' away from the meat, to keep something from being seen as having been someone.

The notion of the absent referent ties together accounts as different as: (a) Stibbe's observation that 'pig' appears as a modifier when one might expect full

clause participants (Actors, Goals, etc.) and (b) the ABC journalists tussle over whether to say slaughterhouse or meatworks. But there is still a lot of discursive work that needs to be done to sustain and reenergize such detachment/separation and to explain the continued power it has even after those who actively maintain such detachment are aware of its purpose and mechanisms. Here it is crucial to consider matters of identity and identification, including when and why discourses afford identity to nonhumans.

Discourse as register and as identity

Identity is an abstract concept, which is realized through the construction of 'identities' for and by individuals in interaction. For any individual, identity is always plural, and it is not static but actively and interactively negotiated. 'Identification' is the process through which interlocutors announce or recognize their own or others' identities, which are a realization of this abstract identity. As Benwell and Stokoe remind us (2006: 5), it can be counterproductive to try to bed down a definition of 'identity' and how it differs from its many near synonyms such as 'self', 'role', 'subject position', etc., and the different theories these terms entail. I use their gloss of identity as 'who people are to each other' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 6), noting that this emphasizes a reciprocal and broadly antiessentialist view of identity (De Fina *et al.*,2006).

Language does not just reflect personal and social identity but also actively makes categories for enacting and recognizing identity (Butler, 1990). Repeated enactments are necessary for maintaining identity. Enactments with consistent meanings are necessary for consistent identity, but inconsistent identity is in fact expected and can be productive (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Addressees will interpret such (in)consistencies of meaning for their own 'referential' value: 'who' is speaking, 'who' is being addressed, am I being addressed, could that be me they are speaking about? (cf. Coupland *et al.*, 1988; Mead, 1934). In other words it is not merely the owner of an identity that performs that identity; other interlocutors are involved in its ongoing identification and ratification. This leaves open the possibility of degrees of resistance to a proposed identity, as well as cooperative construction, and also that some features of identity will go unnoticed.

Food is a universal phenomenon around which humans (and other animals) gather and negotiate affiliation. Again, remarkably little scholarly work has been done from a linguistic perspective on relations between food and identity, outside work on traditional foods and ethnicity-based identity.

Lakoff (2006) presents an interesting case study however. She posits the idea of major and minor identities, with food as the locus of minor identity,[3] while major identities revolve around race, gender, sexuality, etc. On the basis of a

diachronic and synchronic study of cookbooks, recipes and restaurant menus, Lakoff suggests that 'knowing how to engage knowledgeably and volubly in food discourse marks one as a serious person in early 21st Century America'. For instance, restaurant menus often name the farm from which fresh ingredients derive. This is a 'code for the cognoscenti' – projecting an identity for their customers as persons who care and know about sustainability as well as having a discerning palate. The discourses studied by Lakoff do little, however, to restore the animal referent from being a 'something' to a 'someone'. In fact, providing detailed descriptions of where pigs and fava beans were farmed could be said to reinforce the naturalness of categorizing animals as carefully managed 'input' to a meal, not stakeholders with interests of their own.[4]

Food, animals and identity are investigated in Bednarek's (2010) study of television 'dramedy'. Bednarek found that sympathetic characters in the *Gilmore Girls* were constructed in terms of a meat-loving food identity, whereas vegetarian and vegan characters were very negatively portrayed. As Cole and Morgan point out (2011), making vegetarian or vegan identity uninviting serves to shore up the naturalization and inevitability of mainstream views and reinforce speciesism. Most interesting for the purpose of this paper, Bednarek's material included scenes with some partial reassociation of the absent animal referent with the meat it becomes. These scenes provide important, rarely discussed evidence about the 'configurative rapport' (Whorf, 1956) between language practices and social practices around animals and meat.

In one of these scenes, a family dinner is being planned, and with lamb suggested as the main dish. Across 11 turns of talk, various characters say how 'nice' the meal would be. In turn 5, Rory says 'So, it will be nice for everybody? Everybody will be nice to everybody?' In turn 11 however Lorelai says, 'Well, not so nice for the lamb'. The lamb to be eaten verges on becoming seen as an individual social subject, potentially taking on the role of stakeholder in a discourse about food, affect and ethics. But this option is not taken up and the contradiction between 'lamb would be nice' and 'being nice to everybody' is left hanging, marking the end of a scene. When the next scene occurs the topic is the unconnected one of manicures, and the potential ethical significance of the previous scene is dismissed.

I see this as an example of a systematic aporia that occurs at such points in real and fictive conversations. Arguably, it is impossible for dominant discourses about food to stay cohesive or coherent when an attempt to reinstate the absent referent is made. If this is true then we should find that a similar kind of aporia occurs across other registers that deal with food and animals, and that counter-discourses – such as the recipe analysed below – will try to bring this routine aporia to light; I present some support for this position below.

Identity, identification, reference and cohesion

As the above summary of relevant literature suggests, dominant discourses about food and animals naturalize the mass production and consumption of meat in part by offering coherent, ethically plausible identities to their participants and in part by keeping animals outside the category of beings who have social identity. The next section of the paper is a close analysis of textual resources used to achieve this and/or disrupt it – in other words those resources that are exploited by dominant discourses to maintain this separation and dissociation, and which are in turn manipulated by counter-discourses to 'reverse engineer' human empathy for animals and deconstruct the idea of factory farming as natural. Although there is never a neat fit between social theoretic categories such as Adam's absent referent, or psychology's dissociation, and linguistic categories such as reference or cohesion, it is possible to show how such social theoretic and linguistic categories are systematically related (e.g., Cillia *et al.*, 2011; Lyons, 1982; Moore *et al.*, 2001; Mühlhaüsler and Harré, 1990; van Leeuwen, 1996).

Analytical results

The cohesive harmony analysis is the main tool this paper uses to show how the focus deconstructs dominant discourses around meat and animal welfare, but before presenting the cohesive harmony results, I will briefly comment on some central lexicogrammatical features of the four texts, and the relevance of these patterns.

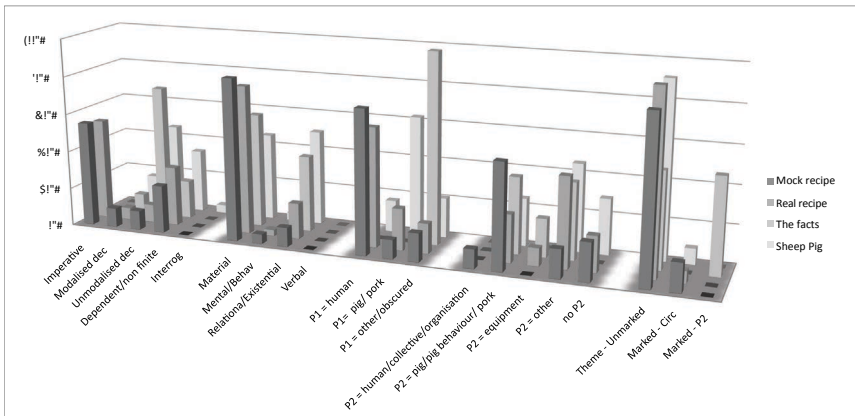### Lexicogrammatical comparisons

Figure 2: Key lexicogrammatical features for mock recipe 'Emotionally Distressed Pork Sausages' and comparison texts

Figure 2 shows, graphically, just how well the designers of the campaign text 'Emotionally distressed pork in red wine jus' have modelled, and parodied[5], the grammar of the recipe. The campaign text (Text 1: 'Mock recipe' in Fig. 2) and the real recipe text (Text 2) both make use of typical features of procedural texts, including imperative Mood sequences (remove piglets, chill a small bowl), and Marked Theme (in front of mother, in a small bowl). Process types are mostly Material (force, smear) with occasional Relational/Existential (is, get) and Mental/Behavioural (ignore, taste). Humans are implied Agents ([you] remove piglets; [you] chill a small bowl). One key difference is that Text 1 contains declaratives that are modalized in terms of inclination/ability (pigs are unable to turn; but human readers can help), which construes an ethical concern for animal welfare; whereas in the real recipe modality of obligation construes an ethic/aesthetic around ensuring food quality (sausage casings should not be salted).

Unlike typical recipes, the campaign text represents sentient pigs as second participants (P2) and moreover as the Goals (affected parties) of human action. This is a feature shared with Text 3 (Fact File), although in Text 3 passive constructions obscure human agency to some extent. The children's story (Text 4) is most notable for consistently giving pigs the first participant (P1) role in Material clauses and, in embedded clauses, the pig Monty features as Senser in Mental processes (love, like, think). See Appendix 1 for details on transitivity, mood, modality, polarity and theme choices for each text.

In short, the lexicogrammatical profiles of Texts 1 and 2 are very similar and these, taken together, are quite different from Text 3 and again from Text 4, although Text 1 borrows some patterns typical of registers that position animals as sentient and significant (Texts 3 and 4). This raises a problem for register theory in its simplest form. In explicating his notion of register, Halliday (1977/2002: 58) suggested that each of the 'elements in the semiotic structure of the situation [Field, Tenor, and Mode] activates the corresponding component in the semantic system, creating in the process a semantic configuration, a group of favoured and foregrounded options from the total meaning potential that is typically associated with the situation type. This semantic configuration is what we understand by the register'. But the structure and texture of a procedural text is not what is typically associated with the situation type that involves exposition and exhortation.

In order to understand how the features observed actually realize a campaign text quite unproblematically for readers, cohesive harmony analysis is of use. This acts as a way of displaying semantic consistencies that are constitutive of identity relations in the focus text, and which contrast with mainstream discourses around eating animals.

Cohesive harmony analysis of the focus text

Cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) and its semantic interpretation in cohesive harmony (Hasan, 1984, 1985) can be used to show how persons and their complex identities are introduced in interaction, and managed as lines of textual consistency and integration. Texts can also produce innovative or higher order consistency out of apparent inconsistency, fragmentation or unusual conflations, and Hasan's techniques can be very useful in displaying how this works (Butt *et al.*, 2010). Analysing cohesion in the Animals Australia campaign is a way of visualizing the textual effects of restoring pigs as sentient individuals into discourse about food, with its subsequent disruption to dominant discourse patterns and challenges to reader identity. Before detailing how the focus text produces such restoration, disruption and challenge, some technical notes on cohesion analysis are required.

Cohesive harmony maps are generally built out of two primary forms of cohesive chain, identity chains and similarity chains, which are then examined in terms of interaction between chains.

Identity chains use grammatical items such as pronominals (it, her, their), determiners (this, that, the), ellipsis, and repetition, to refer back to referents already presented in the text (anaphoric reference), or to anticipate the identity of referents revealed later in the text (cataphoric reference). For example in the mock recipe text an important identity chain is *sow–she–her*–etc. Another key identity chain is the chain realized explicitly as 'you' in 'If you purchase pork', but also as the implicit 'you' of the unmarked declarative – 'Force pregnant sow to stand', etc.

Identity chains can also point outside the text to shared culture or the physical environment (homophora, exophora), which is essentially what the imperative forms above rely on. The focus text utilizes such inexplicit referents to prompt the reader to question: (a) whether the 'you' in the imperatives applies to them; (b) whether there may be an unbroken chain of identity between a Subject/Actor who forces pregnant sows into distressing situations, and a Subject/Actor who buys pork sausages; and (c) whether this textual identity coextends to their own self.

Similarity chains are strings of words that are related by way of mutual expectancy, including class membership, part-whole relations, and oppositeness (often formalized as hyponymy, meronymy, and synonymy/antonymy). Examples in the text include *pork–bacon–ham*, forming a chain on the basis of meronymic relations (different 'cuts' of a whole pig meat carcass) or alternatively hyponomy (different 'types' of pigmeat).

In practice, and certainly in this text, cohesive chains are formed out of mixed relations of identity and similarity. Identity relations may be signalled through hyponomy, synonymy or meronymy. The identity chain for the (pregnant) sow in the focus text relies on equating her with the (mother) pig on some kind of meronymic basis (phases of a whole birth cycle).

Chain interaction

Once the vertical chains of identity and similarity for a text have been established, questions can be asked about how the strands of meaning are woven together via horizontal connections, or interactions, between chains, as displayed in Fig. 3.

From 30 separate identity/similarity chains identified in the focus text, there are 12 chains contributing to its cohesive harmony, by entering into repeated grammatical relations with each other as described by Hasan (1985). For instance, if a token of the word *pig* in Chain K serves as Medium in a clause where a token from Chain L serves as the Process, and another token of *pig* in Chain K in a different clause also serves as Medium to Chain L's Process, then a pattern of semantic relations between the referents is set up and the chains (K and L) are said to interact.

The focus text has a relatively high ratio of Central Tokens to Total Tokens (73: 104). What this means is that over 70% of the words used contribute to interactions between chains, not just to the chains themselves. These are relatively high ratios and can be taken as an indicator of the extent of text bonding (given Hasan's threshold of 50% as a requirement for textual coherence[6]). One can also examine the chain interactions themselves as an indication of the manner of text bonding.

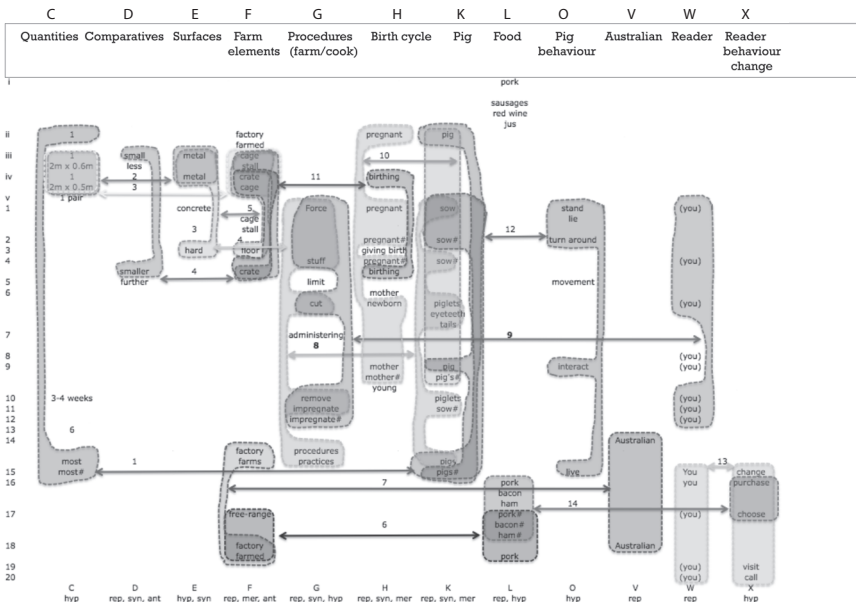## Cohesive Harmony analysis of pork sausages text

Figure 3: Cohesive harmony as chain interaction in the mock pork sausages recipe.

As the figure indicates, the 12 interacting chains construe the following consistent referents: quantities, comparisons, qualities of surfaces, elements of a farm, farm/cooking procedures, the birth cycle, pig 'family' structures, food/ingredients, behaviours, nationality, second person/reader, consumer practices. These chains are woven in and out of interaction with each other in ways that depict pigs as social subjects with personal identity, and which therefore project a number of challenging dimensions of reader identity. The most salient sets of interactions are outlined below.

Chains construing reader identity as problematically entailing their relation to pigs
Arguably the most salient chain interactions in this text are the following:

- Chain G (procedures, i.e. the chain made up of *force, cut*, etc.) serves as Process to Chain K (pigs). There are repeated interactions where the lexical set in Chain G could construe the field of cooking or the field of rough or violent handling of animals.
- Reciprocally, Chain K (pigs) is the Goal or affected entity of Chain G (processes).
- Chain W (you) is Implied Agent of the potentially violent processes in Chain G.

Such chains do not form part of the method by which a typical recipe text develops its topic and construes its Field and Mode. In the cohesive harmony analysis of the real pork sausages recipe (not shown for reasons of space), some chains are similar (e.g. the second person/reader chain, a food/ingredients chain, a surfaces chain), but there is no meronymy-based chain that positions pigs as part of a 'family' whole, only one which positions porkmeat as part of a 'sausage' whole. Nor is there any other contribution from the semantics of farming to the cohesion of the text. So as a first result, the mock recipe text sets up a kind of metaphorical identity relation between farming and consuming – since Chain G reaches out to both fields and conflates them within the one set of verbs.

   A first effect is that the conflation of farming and consumption acts as a way of presenting a kind of ethical ecology that nets in the consumer's responsibility for farmers' modes of practice, without having to spell that out (e.g. as an argument about demand-side feedback systems in the economy). Reader responsibility is set up by the conflation of fields and reinforced by the repeated involvement of the reader as implied grammatical Agent of the processes in Chain G. As discussed above, a noncompliant reader (Hall, 2004) may reject being positioned this way, but that is a risk the text design takes,

and either way the readers' identities are called up in the process of responding to this chain interaction, even if it is merely to stop reading when the consumer responsibility is inferred.

Chains setting up pigs as having interests and social selves
To the above cluster of effects, other interactions are added:

- Chain H (birth cycle) is Classifier to Chain K (pigs); pigs are described as pregnant, and given family-based nominals (mother) as well as those used in farming (sow).
- Chain K (pigs) is Medium in processes in Chain O that form a lexical set of natural behaviours (lie, turn around, interact).

In fact Chains H, K and O are all comprehensively connected, and position the pigs in the text as members of a family group with the capacity and desire to relate socially. What is then being denied to them by the violent farm procedures, which the reader has been positioned as an agent of, is not just comfort and the absence of pain but also the opportunity to be social selves and play out roles and identities, such as protecting one's offspring from pain and suffering.

Interestingly it is the interactions discussed under the previous two headings that construe the problem of cruelty in meat consumption, even though there is no actual textualization here of humans eating food. This is because the interaction between a sentient Medium and a Process such as *cut* or *force* makes a semantic configuration (Halliday, 2002) consistent only with cruelty or violence, not with normal food preparation. Cohesive harmony makes a stronger explanation of the jarring effect of the text than collocation alone, because it brings in the implied 'you', along with the consistent transitivity relations in which 'you' do something awful to 'them', the sentient pigs. Tools such as cohesive harmony provide a deeper analysis and much broader reach than approaches that cover lexis alone, especially across the many text strategies involved in naturalizing factory farming of animals for meat.[7]

Chains setting up the reader as potentially an agent for change, and setting up the exhortative nub of the text
Examining the diagram we see that the interactions mentioned so far comprise most of the Chain Interaction in the diagram and thus in the text. But the bottom third of the diagram is also noteworthy. The chains construing the text as referring to sentient live pigs, their behaviour, and specific handling are terminated by Clause 16 and new chains and interactions develop the topic in a different direction.

- Chain L picks up the narrow Field of food (pork–ham–bacon), after a long gap, from the text's title (sausages, etc.).
- Chain N (you) becomes explicit for the first time as it moves into the declarative mood and interacts with Chain L (pork, etc.), and simultaneously with a new chain, Chain X which construes consumer behaviour (purchase–choose, etc.).

Towards the end of the text it declares its hand more explicitly. In a sense it is safe rhetorically to do this, since it has replaced the typical 'bald on record' accusations of the reader and pictures of sad looking farm animals with something more interesting and less obvious. There is a short declarative version of the information provided noncongruently in the 'recipe' format, then an imperative-based congruent hortatory coda. This last set of interactions restores rhetorical order and construes conscionable action, offering the reader an enhanced identity as an ethical shopper to inhabit, qualify, postpone or reject – or possibly all of these in variable sequence!

Discussion

It would be easy to dismiss the Animals Australia mock recipe campaign as just another recipe parody, or as just another wile to get past readers with compassion fatigue. But that would be wrong, as the text discussed is doing more, and symptomatic of much more, than that. Corresponding to the three questions posed at the beginning of this paper, the Animals Australia text arguably demonstrates, by reverse engineering them, many ways in which habitual patterns of language obscure the reality of animal suffering. It thus exposes several fissures in the idea that factory farming is normal and natural. It also draws attention to the way that dominant discourses do not tend to allow animals to be represented as having personal identity, with a few exceptions including stories for children and anecdotal registers – and if one does try to position animals as having personal identity outside those allowable registers, one's own identity as a sensible and mature adult is at risk. The discussion section below picks up these questions in reverse order.

Impossible registers, impossible identities

Crucially, no existing, typical, congruently realized registers of English allow the meaning potential of the mock recipe text to occur, in terms of its semantic configurations of sentient social animals, factory farming, serious food, and consumers who are sensitive to animals' interests. It requires registerial innovation and play to make this meaning potential available.

For instance, in recipes it is not possible to represent meat ingredients as sentient beings. As soon as this is attempted the text bounces out of that

contextual category – it is no longer a 'real' recipe with the same kind of coherence and entailing the same kind of reader as it could have otherwise. More generally, food discourses and ecology are two examples of registers where individual animals cannot be a central entity. Reference to them is nearly always metonymic, either as part (ingredient) in food discourses, or as 'meta-whole' (species) in environmental discourses (Moore and Grossman, 2011).

All this works, in a way, rather like humour, where semantic configurations can be pushed together which are typically non-cohesive, as here. A higher order cohesion is produced, I would argue, through the repeated interactions between chains in ways that reconstrue the text as in some way metadiscursive. A text like the mock sausage recipe is designed first to appeal with its mimicry of serious foodie document design, then very shortly after to confront and to provoke a visceral disgust, sadness, and perhaps shame, in lieu of tokens of judgement, etc., as it sets out its array of possibilities for reader identity and identification. It also pokes some fun at itself and at foodie discourse so may also provoke laughter or a smile. That all of this should go on affectively unmarked, and thus explicitly unevaluated and momentarily naturalized is made (potentially) incoherent in the process. Therefore, it must be a critique.

These are difficult claims to support or test. The cohesive harmony analysis above goes some way towards an argument for such a claim, but more comprehensive evidence would be needed, ideally including quantitative corpus evidence, if the right kind of query could be designed to elicit patterns at a 'semantic enough' level. My hypothesis would be that in typical texts, either animal sentience and agency drop out (e.g. Animals Australia's own congruent descriptive texts about animal welfare) or the animals' interests drop out (regular recipes) or the idea of animals being commodified as food is either absent, sterilized, or problematized and narratively resolved (e.g. in children's stories, even in such notable instances as *Sheep Pig* and *Charlotte's Web*).

How the seams in the 'fabrication' of naturalness are constructed

In her discussion of the ontogenesis of ideology, using the example of sexism, Hasan (1996) argues that sexism and inequity around women's work is maintained by a kind of configurative rapport (after Whorf, 1956) which juxtaposes the category 'work' with categories used to talk about what women do at home bringing up children and managing the domestic sphere. The categories of 'work' and 'what women do' are 'juxtaposed ... so that their equivalence is negated' (Hasan, 1996: 144). The texts discussed in the present paper point to configurative rapport operating across many levels to keep sentient animals and animal-based ingredients juxtaposed in a similar way, so that their equivalence is also negated.

Furthermore, configurative rapport works between elements within texts such as a simple recipe, and between disparate discourses and loci of interaction, so that recipes, TV series, primary industry documents, and many other sites of discourse and interaction cooperate to naturalize animals as industrialized food (and other) commodities. For instance, Lorelai's silence after her comment in the *Gilmore Girls* that eating lamb would not be so nice for the lamb is powerful, because it repeatedly enacts her identity and reinstantiates discourse norms for the register in question. And as a motif of absence and silence in other discourses and contexts, Lorelai's loss for words is even more powerful.

In a sense even the children's stories by Dick King Smith (e.g., *Sheep Pig*) cooperate in this endeavour because they make it possible for (Western) children to be socialized into a juvenile ontology in which animals commonly if not generally have salience, sentience and personality – and then to be resocialized, perhaps gradually, into a different ontology to suit an adult identity, which involves the putting away of childish things. Of the texts examined in this paper, the children's story about Monty illustrates best how identity and registerial affordances work together to shore up dominant discourses around meat and factory farming. When an adult with a serious interest in food finds themselves being positioned by the Animals Australia mock recipe text as responsible for pigs suffering, and rejects that positioning, it is highly likely that their sense of identity does not afford a compliant reading of the impromptu constructions of pig sentience and value because the terms used (mother pig, etc.) belong not to food, or policy discourse but to the discourse and the identity of childhood.

How the seams may sometimes be exposed to show the reality of suffering

If, as Benwell and Stokoe put it, identity is 'who people are to each other' (2006: 6), then the Animals Australia mock recipe text disturbs readers' identities and also their framework for negotiating, contesting, juggling and integrating their various identities by asking them to orient to animals as some of the others who they themselves are 'each other' with. The text asks readers to think of animals as persons, and to net them into the readers' own process of social interaction, identity formation and identification; and to do this even around readers' negotiation of their 'food identities'.

First, the animals – in this case adult female pigs and their offspring – are to be thought of as sentient and capable of physical pain and suffering. More importantly perhaps they are presented as having social relations and as capable of expressing emotions and possibly even identity, since what is at stake for a sow in a factory farm is that she cannot perform her identity as a mother – she cannot be to her recently born offspring a protector and nurturer, and they

cannot be her 'nurtured'. Whether or not it is theoretically plausible to settle on our label for what is lost to the sow as a lost identity, in the social constructionist sense, the reader is asked to identify with the sow and project what it might mean to be forcibly denied the identity of mother.

Second, it would not be going too far to say that the Animals Australia text works on the principle of attempting to expand and reorient readers' 'food identity'. In particular it seems that readers are being asked to integrate this so called 'minor identity' (Lakoff, 2006) with more fundamental dimensions of identity that most readers would recognize and reciprocally inhabit, such as family relations (mother–child). If the broader project of exposing how animal suffering is obscured and farming practices naturalized is to succeed, it may be necessary for individuals to do significant identity work in this way, and for food to become a much more major – and ethically oriented – locus of identity than it has so far been.

Concluding remarks

In working through this discussion of an animal welfare text and its definitive and distinctive qualities, I have made fairly informal use of notions of identity and tried to show broadly how discourses around animals and our reactions to them are very sensitive to aspects of identity, particularly our food identity (Lakoff, 2006). While Lakoff describes food identity as 'minor identity', broader aesthetic and ethical orientations appeared to be very important here. For some people, food identity might be a major identity – for instance committed vegetarians and vegans or ethical hunters. For many, food identity or at least food orientation will probably be constitutive of other key aspects of their identity (see e.g. Zappavigna's forthcoming study of two distinct identity types constructed through coffee tweets). Consumption in general is also arguably becoming more and more important for the construction of people's major identities, especially where consumers can afford to worry about how consumption habits might construct their identity.[8]

Can nonhuman animals really be thought of productively as individuals with identities? Most scholars no longer think of human identity in essentialist terms but as something that is always multiple, shifting, achieved, performed and negotiated with others. It could be said that attributing such performativity to nonhuman animals is unhelpfully anthropomorphic. For one thing, at least some experts in animals and identity are convinced that at least some animals do organize their identities in negotiated ways – that is to say their identity is a function of their social relations within a meaning group (e.g. Tait, 2011). This makes sense if you think of single species communities or meaning groups as only one of a number of ways of organizing the world, but –

especially outside factory farms – animals actually tend to live with members of their own and other species, and a mixed species model might be a better starting point for scientific and ethical thinking about the outer and inner lives of animals and humans (e.g. Bradshaw and Watkins, 2006).

Moreover, as ethologists and others point out (see de Waal, 1997; Safran Foer, 2009), the label 'anthropomorphism', which is used to derogate the projection of human experience onto animals, is flawed because human experience is the only experience we have with which to understand anything. Even then, it may be the case that some humans have more 'shared experience' about some situations with some animals, so to generalize one's own experience as 'human experience' is prejudging the relevant categories. For instance, a human mother denied access to her infant child and a mother pig/lactating sow denied access to her young might possibly have a kind of experience that can be mutually understood by them much more easily than by any two random human experiencers.

To paraphrase Safran Foer (2010) on this point, is it anthropomorphism to wonder what it would be like to spend much of your pregnancy and quite some time after giving birth in a farrowing crate, or be forced to stand by while your infant underwent some kind of surgical intervention you didn't want or understand? Is it anthropodenial (de Waal, 1997) not to? These are questions that the readers of Animals Australia's mock recipe text are being urged to respond to. They are concerns that the linguistics and discourse analysis community are well placed to pursue.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1.   To exemplify this growth, consider the development of tertiary studies in Animal Law in one country, Australia. The first animal law course in Australia was set up in 2005 at the University of New South Wales. By 2008 there were three universities offering Animal Law, and at the time of writing in 2013 there are 14 universities in Australia where Animal Law can be studied. See https://www.voiceless.org.au/animal-law/study-animal-law

2.   The use of 'who' as relative pronoun for animal referents is deliberate and consonant with the goals of the paper. See also Jacobs (2011) for reports that the acceptability of using 'who'

to refer to nonhuman animals is increasing in reputable dictionaries and style guides. (It should also be noted that using the relative pronoun 'that' to refer to humans is also quite common if not increasing. Such trends require cautious interpreting.)

3.   Another minor identity is music preference. If food identity and music identity are minor identities, but sexual identity – e.g. being gay – is a major identity, then one might ask whether major identities or at least some of them can be constituted at least in part by minor identities. For instance a recent book by David Halperin suggests that culture matters more than sex when it comes to defining what it means to be a homosexual man (Halperin, D. *How to be Gay*. Belknap Press, 2012).

4.   For a satire on this practice, see the comedy series *Portlandia*, Episode 1 and/or critique of it (Talbot, 2012).

5.   Elswhere I consider this text more fully in terms of its registerial complexity, contextual configurations, and the nature of its parodic strategies and functions, which are quite different from most parodies of the recipe genre, of which there are many.

6.   High indices of cohesive harmony are to be expected in planned texts such as advertisements, although there is little empirical work confirming this hypothesis. Empirical studies of cohesive harmony have mostly concentrated on spoken, often disrupted, language, e.g. aphasic speech (Armstrong, 1991) and the speech of patients with borderline personality disorder (Butt *et al.*, 2010).

7.   In many languages it could be difficult to create the kind of cohesive harmony in this text because English has different lexical sets for different fields involving animals (pig/pork) where most other languages do not maintain such lexical distinctions.

8.   I thank an anonymous reviewer for this insight about consumerism.

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Appendix 1 – Lexicogrammatical analyses of focus and comparison texts

Text 2 – Sage and red wine pork sausages (Finecooking 2011)

i	4-1/2 lb. boneless pork butt
ii	1 lb. pork fat back
iii	1 oz. kosher salt (4 Tbs. Diamond Crystal brand or 2 Tbs. Morton brand)
iv	2-1/4 tsp. fresh finely ground black pepper
v	1-1/2 tsp. minced garlic
vi	1/4 cup chopped fresh sage
vii	1/2 cup dry red wine, such as Cabernet Sauvignon, Chianti, or Merlot
viii	12 feet small hog casings (32 to 35 mm diam), cut into three 4-foot pieces (optional)
ix	2 tsp. vegetable oil, for cooking the sausages

1. Trim and discard any gristle or connective tissue from the pork. 2. Cut the pork and pork fat back into 1-inch cubes. 3. Spread in an even layer on a rimmed baking sheet and 4. put in the freezer, 5. uncovered, 6. until very cold (partially frozen on the edges but still soft in the center), about 1 hour. 7. Meanwhile, chill a large mixing bowl and the blade and 1/4-inch grinding plate from your meat grinder. 8. Set up the meat grinder with the chilled parts according to manufacturer's instructions. 9. Grind the pork and the fat together into the chilled bowl. 10. The mixture should come off the grinder cleanly, 11. and the fat should not appear warm or smeared. 12. If smearing occurs, 13. return the meat and fat to the freezer 14. until very cold. 15. In a small bowl, mix the salt, pepper, garlic, and sage. 16. Add the seasonings and the wine to the ground meat 17. and mix briefly but thoroughly with your hands. 18. Don't overmix, 19. or the fat could begin to melt. 20. To taste for seasoning, 21. make a small patty of the sausage mixture 22. and cook it in a small skillet over medium-low heat. 23. Taste and 24. adjust the seasoning to your liking. 25. If not shaping the sausages immediately, 26. refrigerate 27. until you're ready to proceed. 28. To make sausage links, 29. force through a sausage stuffer into casing. 30. Casings should NOT be packed in salt. 31. Get fresh casings from the butcher. 32. Makes about 20-ounces of sausage.

Text 3 – 'Fact file' (Animals Australia 2011b)

1. Pigs are denied the legal protection [[afforded to cats and dogs]]. 2. Practices [[commonly inflicted on pigs]] would be cruelty offences 3. if the victims were family pets. 4. Piglets have their teeth cut and tails cut off without anaesthetic 5. an excruciating procedure [[5.1 which can provoke vomiting, trembling and leg shaking]]. 6. Male piglets are routinely castrated without pain relief. 7. Laws permit pregnant pigs to be confined for their entire 16-week pregnancy in a metal cage [[7.1 called a 'sow stall']] 8. which is so small [[that they are unable to turn around]]. 9. 'Sow stalls' have been banned on welfare grounds in Britain, Sweden and Switzerland, 10. and are being phased out elsewhere 11. yet they remain standard practice in most Australian piggeries.

Text 4 – Extract from 'The Sheep-pig' (King-Smith 1984)

1. Of all the pigs [[I ever owned]], my one particular favourite was a boar [[called Monty]], 2. who was a large White. 3. Monty never looked very white 4. because he lived out in a wood 5. where there was a pond [[in which he liked to wallow]] 6. but he looked very large. 7. And he was. 8. I bought him as a youngster 9. but << 10. when he was full grown >> he weighed six hundred pounds. 11. Monty was so gentle. 12. When I went out 13. to feed him and his ten wives 14. he would come galloping through the trees to my call, 15. a really monstrous and frightening sight to anyone [[who didn't know [[what a soppy old thing he was]]]] 16. [[What he really loved]] <<17. once he'd finished his grub >> was [[to be scratched on the top of his head, between his great ears]] 18. and it always affected him in the same way. 19. His eyes, with their long pale lashes, would close in ecstasy 20. and slowly his hind quarters would sink down 21. until he was sitting on his bottom like a huge dog. 22. Oh this is lovely 23. you could hear 24. him thinking. 25. What more could life offer?

Table 1: Synoptic overview of lexicogrammar of focus and comparison texts

Lexicogrammatical feature	Text 1 (AA mock recipe)		Text 2 (real recipe)		Text 3 (Fact File)		Text 4 (Children's story)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Interpersonal – mood/modality								
Imperative	11	(55)	17	(53)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Modalised declarative	2	(10)	2	(6)	1	(10)	4	(17)
Unmodalised declarative	2	(10)	3	(10)	7	(70)	11	(46)
Interrogative	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(4)
Dependent/non-finite clause (mood-free clauses)	5	(25)	10	(31)	2	(20)	8	(33)
Experiential – process type								
Material	17	(85)	25	(78)	6	(60)	11	(46)
Mental/Behav	1	(5)	1	(03)	0	(0)	1	(04)
RelationalExistential	2	(10)	6	(19)	4	(40)	12	(50)
Verbal	0	(00)	0	(00)	0	(0)	0	(00)
Experiential – nature of first participant (P1)								
P1 = human	15	(75)	20	(63)	0	(00)	4	(17)
P1= pig/ pork	2	(10)	7	(22)	0	(00)	15	(63)
P1 = other/obscured	3	(15)	5	(16)	10	(100)	5	(21)
Experiential – nature of second participant (P2)								
P2 = human/human Collective/organisation	2	(10)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
P2 = pig/pig behaviour/ pork	11	(55)	8	(25)	4	(40)	6	(25)
P2 = equipment	0	(00)	3	(9)	2	(20)	0	(0)
P2 = other	3	(15)	15	(47)	4	(40)	11	(46)
No P2	4	(20)	6	(19)	0	(0)	7	(29)
Textual – Theme type								
Unmarked	17	(85)	30	(94)	5	(50)	22	(92)
Marked (Circumstance as Theme)	3	(15)	2	(6)	0	(0)	2	(8)
Marked (P2 as Theme)	0	(0)	0	(0)	5	(50)	0	(0)
Total clauses	20		32		10		24	

Table 2: Summary of Emotionally Stressed Pork Sausages text – metafunctional analysis[a]

	Interpersonal				Experiential		Textual
Cl	Mood	Modality	Polarity	Transitivity	P1 (or Implied P1)	P2	Theme
i	minor			-	-	sausages	-
ii	minor			-	-	ff pregnant pig	-
iii	minor			-	-	cage/stall	-
iv	minor			-	-	birthing crate/ cage	-
v.	minor			-	-	clippers	-
1	PCA (Imperative)	-	pos	Material	(you)	pregnant sow	Force
2	SFP (Decl-dept)	ability/ inclination	pos	Material	she	-	so she
3	PA (non-finite)	-	pos	Material	(pregnant sow)	-	Before
4	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^pregnant sow	stuff
5	PC (non-finite)	-	pos	Material	(you)	movement (of sow)	(in order) to
6	APC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	newborn piglets' eyeteeth & tails	In front of mother
7	PC (non-finite)	-	neg	Material	(you)	pain relief	without
8	PC (Imp)	-	pos	Mental	(you)	screams	Ignore
9	FPCA (Imp)	-	neg	Material	(you)	mother pig	Do not let interact ?
10	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	piglets	Remove
11	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^sow	Then
12	P (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	-	And
13	SF/P (Declarative)	-	pos	Relational Identifying	^this recipe	six (people)	-
14	ASF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Relational Attrib	practices & procedures [[described]]	most pigs	In Aust. factory farms
15	SFPC (Decl)	ability/ inclination	pos	Material	You	the way [[they live]]	You
16	SF/PC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Material	you	pork, bacon or ham	If you
17	PC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	free-range (pork bacon or ham)[b]	choose
18	SF/PCA (Decl)	-	neg	Existential	nothing appetizing	-	-
19	PC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	www.savebabe	visit
20	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	us	or call

[a]Coding: S = Subject; F = Finite; P = Predicator; C = Complement; A = Adjunct; F/P = Finite and Predicator conflated; Decl = declarative; Imp = imperative; Interr = interrogative; dept = dependent; ^ = retrieved ellipsis; ( ) = implied participant; P1 = 'first' participant role (e.g. Actor if Material

Process configuration, Senser if Mental Process configuration etc.); P2 = second participant role (e.g. Goal or Range if Material; Phenomenon if Mental, etc.). NB A horizontal line marks where the ironic instructions end and the sincere information and instructions/appeal take over.

[b]Clause 17 is ambiguous whether 'pork bacon or ham' is elided as the Head/Thing of the noun group with 'free-range' as a Classifier; or whether 'free-range' is in the Head/Thing position itself, a usage which appears to have currency in animal welfare and environmental discourses. A quick check of BNC suggests roughly equal distribution.

Table 3: Summary of 'Pork Sausages with Sage and Red Wine' – metafunctional analysis

	Interpersonal				Experiential		Textual
Cl	Mood	Modality	Polarity	Transitivity	P1 (or Implied P1)	P2	Theme
i	minor					boneless pork butt	
ii	minor					pork fat back	
iii	minor					kosher salt	
iv	minor					fresh finely ground black pepper	
v	minor					minced garlic	
vi	minor					chopped fresh sage	
vii	minor					dry red wine	
viii	minor					12 feet small hog casings ... cut into three 4-foot pieces	
ix	minor					vegetable oil	
1	PCA (Imperative)	-	pos	Material	(you)	any gristle or connective tissue	Trim and discard
2	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the pork & pork fat	Cut
3	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^the pork & pork fat	Spread
4	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^the pork & pork fat	Put
5	P (non-finite)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	(pork)	-	-
6	SFPA (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	(pork)	-	until ^it
7	APC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	a large mixing bowl, the blade and plate from meat grinder	Meanwhile
8	PCAA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the meat grinder	Set up
9	PCAA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the pork and fat	Grind
10	SFPCA (Decl)	-	pos	Material	the mixture	the grinder	the mixture
11	SFPC (Decl)	obligation	neg	Rel Attrib	the fat	warm or smeared	and the fat
12	SFP (Decl-dependent)	-	pos	Material	smearing	-	If smearing
13	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the meat & fat	return
14	SFPC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	(meat & fat)	-	until ^it
15	APC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the salt, pepper, garlic & sage	In a small bowl

16	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the seasonings & the wine	Add
17	PCAA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^them	and mix
18	P (Imp)	-	neg	Material	(you)	-	Don't overmix
19	SFP (Decl-dept)	probability	pos	Material	the fat	-	or the fat
20	PA (non-finite)	-	pos	Material	-	-	-
21	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	a small patty	make
22	PCAA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	it	and cook
23	PC (Imp)	-	pos	Material/ Behav'l?	(you)	^it	taste
24	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	the seasoning	and adjust
25	PCA (Decl-dept)	-	neg	Material	-	the sausages	If
26	PC (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	sausages	Refrigerate
27	SFPC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	you	ready [[to proceed]]	until you
28	PC (non-finite)	-	pos	Material	-	sausage links	-
29	PCAA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	^mixture	force
30	SFPA (Declarative)	obligation	neg	Material	-	Casings	Casings
31	PCA (Imp)	-	pos	Material	(you)	fresh casings	Get
32	SFPC (Declarative)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	^mixture/ recipe	about 20 ounces of sausage	-

Table 4: Summary of 'Fact file' – metafunctional analysis

Cl	Interpersonal			Transitivity	Experiential		Textual
	Mood	Modality	Polarity		P1 (or Implied P1)	P2	Theme
1	SFPC (Decl)	-	pos	Material	-	pigs	pigs
2	SFPC (Decl)	probability	pos	Rel Attrib	Practices commonly inflicted on pigs	cruelty offences	Practices commonly inflicted on pigs
3	SF/PC (Decl)	(condit'l)	pos	Rel Attrib	the victims	family pets	if the victims
4	SFP+PA (Decl)	-	pos	Material	-	piglets	piglets
5	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	^which (cutting)	an excruciating procedure	-
6	SFAPA (Decl)	usuality in modal Adj	pos	Material	-	male piglets	male piglets
7	SF/PxPCAA (Decl)	(quasi modal – permit)	pos	Material	laws (secondary agent omitted)	pregnant pigs	laws
8	SFC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	which (sow stall)	so small [[that they are unable to turn around]]	which (sow stall)
9	SFPAA (Decl)	-	pos	Material	-	sow stalls	sow stalls
10	SFPA (Decl)	-	pos	Material	-	^sow stalls	and ^they
11	SF/PCA (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	they (sow stalls)	standard practice	yet they

Table 5: Summary of excerpt from 'The Sheep Pig' – metafunctional analysis

Cl	Interpersonal			Experiential			Textual
	Mood	Modality	Polarity	Transitivity	P1 (or Implied P1)	P2	Theme
1	ASF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Ident	my one particular favourite	a boar [[called Monty]]	Of all the pigs [[I ever owned]]
2	SF/PC (Decl-dept)	-	neg	Rel Attrib	who	a large White	who
3	SAF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	very white	Monty
4	SF/PA (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Material	Monty	-	because he
5	SF/PC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Existential	a pond [[in which he liked to wallow]]	-	where
6	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	very large	but he
7	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	^very large	and he
8	SF/PCA (Decl)	-	pos	Material	I	him	I
9	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	six hundred pounds	but he
10	SF/PC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	full grown	when he
11	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	Monty	so gentle	Monty
12	SF/PA (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Material	I	-	when I
13	PC (non-finite)	-	pos	Material	(I)	him and his ten wives	-
14	SFPxPAA (Decl)	usuality	pos	Material	Monty	-	he
15	SF/PCA (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	^ Monty	a really monstrous and frightening sight	^he
16	SF/PC (Decl)	-	pos	Rel Ident	[[what he really loved]]	[[to be scratched o the top of his head between his great ears]]	[[what he really loved]]
17	SFPC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Material	Monty	his grub	once he
18	SAF/PCA (Decl)	usuality in Modal Adj	pos	Material	it (being scratched)	him	and it (being scratched)
19	SFPA (Decl)	usuality	pos	Material	his eyes	-	his eyes
20	ASFPA (Decl)	usuality	pos	Material	his hind quarters	-	and slowly
21	SFPAA (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Material	Monty	-	until he
22	SF/PC (Decl-dept)	-	pos	Rel Attrib	this	lovely	Oh this
23	SFP (Decl)	possibility	pos	Mental	you	-	you
24	SF/P (Decl)	-	pos	Mental	Monty	-	him
25	CFSP (Interr/Excl)	possibility	pos	Material	life	what more	what more