

METAFUNCTION	TYPE OF STRUCTURE	PIKE'S TERMS
interpersonal	prosody	field
textual	pulse (culminative)	wave
experiential	constituency	particle
logical	interdependency	—

In this paper the idea that texts have a prosodically realised interpersonal structure alongside an experiential structure realised through constituency will be explored. It will be suggested that texts including and agnate to the ZPG text under discussion do indeed need to be analysed along at least these two dimensions.

2. Experiential Meaning (Constituency Structure)

The analogy between clause and text structure that has been best explored, as least within the systemic tradition, is that a text has constituent structure (Mitchell 1957/1975; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Hasan 1977, 1979, 1984; Martin 1984a, 1985a, 1985b; Ventola 1987). Mitchell for example proposes the following structure for market and shop transactions:

Salutation	Enquiry	Investigation	Bargaining	Conclusion
	as to	of Object of		
	Object	Sale		
	of sale			

Analysis along these lines suggests that texts realising market and shop transactions can be divided into five stages, which typically occur in the sequence outlined above (Mitchell, a fully trained prosodic phonologist of the London School, does in fact allow for non-verbal realisation, optional elements and comments that "*Stage* is an abstract category and the numbering of stages does not necessarily imply sequence in time." 1957:43)

The analysis further suggests that underlying these text structures is a system of text types, relating buying and selling genres in terms of their structural similarities. Mitchell for example considers the similarities and differences between market and shop transactions and auctions, proposing the following related structure for the agnate auction genre:

Opening	Investigation of	Bidding	Conclusion
	Object of Sale		

Experientially derived constituent structures have not been the sole focus of systemic work on genre. The strengths and weaknesses of relating system and process along these lines have been explored by Martin 1985a and Ventola 1987 who argue that a text needs to be seen in dynamic as well as synoptic terms — that is to say, texts have an ongoing interdependency structure analogous to recursive structures deriving from the logical metafunction. And Martin (1986:38-40) analyses culminative Theme-Rheme structures at several levels in the structure of bureaucratic writing. But to date very little has been accomplished on global text structure from either an interpersonal or prosodic perspective.

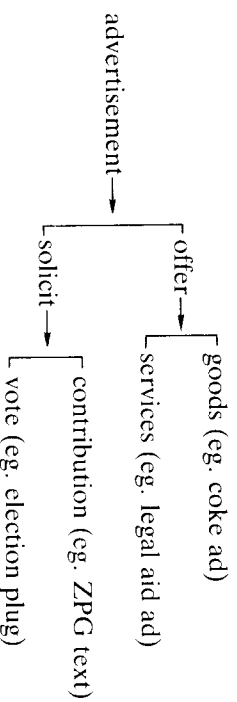
Adopting this experiential perspective on the ZPG text, one might propose a constituent structure along the following lines (see segmented text in Introduction):

Involvement	Product	Appeal
1-10	11-13	14-30

The function of these stages could be glossed as follows:

INVOLVEMENT	— get reader's attention
PRODUCT	— describe product offered
APPEAL	— solicit contribution, giving reasons

And the text type could be provisionally related to other types of advertisement in something like the following network:



The system/process research paradigm for genre implicated in this section is still in its infancy. And there is still a tremendous amount to be learned about the ways in which genres can be conceived experientially, in constituent terms, as staged goal-oriented social processes. But the paradigm, however successful, is not designed to give a complete account of text structure. For the remainder of this paper, the complementary interpersonal dimension will be in focus.

3. Interpersonal Meaning

Halliday (1971:106) describes the interpersonal function as follows: "Here, the speaker is using language as a means of his own intrusion into the speech event: the expression of his comments, his attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener — in particular, the communication role he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and the like." Note that this description covers both personal meaning, the speaker's attitude to the meaning he is making, and **interpersonal** meaning, the speaker's relation to his listener.

What is being suggested here is that there is a functional commonality between **acting on** the world, especially other speakers, through Commands, Offers, Questions, Statements and other speech functions, and **reacting to** the world, especially what other speakers have said, through commentary deriving from the systems reviewed in 4 below.

Certainly the grammar of English affords numerous examples of this interdependence. Modal verbs for example are found in indicative but not imperative clauses:

[indicative] *You could come./Could you come?*

[imperative] **Could come.*

Modal adjuncts (Halliday 1985a:50) like *frankly*, *honestly*, *seriously*, *tentatively* are similarly restricted to the indicative, and are further sensitive to the opposition of declarative and interrogative. In declaratives they code the speaker's opinion, but in interrogatives they invite the listener's:

[declarative] *Frankly, I don't like him.*

[interrogative] *Frankly, do you like him?*

And exclaimatives grammaticalise high intensity attitude at clause rank:

How well he plays!

What an idiot he is!

Beyond this, as Halliday (1985a:86) notes, the indicative/imperative opposition symbolises the semantic opposition of propositions (exchange of information) with proposals (exchange of goods and services). He goes on to interpret modality (embracing probability and usability as discussed below) as a scale grading propositions from yes to no and modulation (embracing obligation and inclination as discussed above) as a scale grading proposals from do to don't, as reviewed in section 4 below.

From a discourse perspective, this allows us to interpret Questions as demands for modality and Statements as opportunities to modalise:

Is she coming?

– *Yes/certainly/probably/possibly/no.*

Does she attend?

– *Yes/always/usually/sometimes/no.*

As far as modulation is concerned, Offers express inclination (inviting obligation) whereas Commands assert obligations (inviting inclination):

I'd be happy to take you.

– *Okay, thanks.*

You really should take me.

– *I'd be delighted to.*

The relationship of attitude to mood is perhaps less transparent, but modulation and attitude might be related as follows. The desire to act on the world with a proposal (Offer or Command) is in some sense dependent on dissatisfaction with the ways things are and a desire to make them better — both from the speaker's point of view. Making a proposal thus implies a negative evaluation of the way things are and a positive evaluation of the way they could be. Or to put this another way — attitude is realis; it evaluates what is as good or bad. Modulation is irrealis — it comments that what is shouldn't be (thereby implicitly evaluating it as bad) and what isn't should be (thereby implicitly evaluating it as good). This interaction of modulation and affect is clearly symbolised in the opposition between reaction (realis) and desire (irrealis) in mental processes of affection (Halliday 1985a:106-112). Note the following:

REACTION	DESIRE
<i>I hate going there.</i>	<i>I'd hate her to go there.</i>
<i>You love eating clams.</i>	<i>You'd love her to eat clams.</i>
<i>I like seeing her.</i>	<i>I'd like him to see her.</i>
<i>You adore oysters.</i>	<i>You'd adore her to eat oysters.</i>
<i>You despise exams.</i>	<i>You'd despise him to pass exams.</i>

Reaction clauses process phenomena — things and acts (i.e. *going there*, *eating clams*, *seeing her*, *oysters*, and *exams*). Desire clauses may also process phenomena, but can project metaphorical phenomena as well — e.g. the ideas *her to go there*, *her to eat clams*, *him to see her*, *her to eat oysters* and *him to*

pass exams. As Halliday (1985:336) suggests, this means that desire clauses often function as metaphorical expressions of modulation, as illustrated in the following proportionalities:

I'd permit him to go:he may go::
I'd like him to go:he should go::
I'd love him to go:he must go

Locating semantic and grammatical systems in metafunctional components is less than straight-forward (see Martin 1984b for discussion). However, in light of the kind of interdependency noted in the preceding discussion, for the purposes of this paper both mood (acting on the world) and judgement (reacting to the world) will be taken as critical interpersonal dimensions and explored in the ZPPG text accordingly.

4. Prosodic Realisation

Halliday's point about the realisation of interpersonal meaning in clause structure is that it is, potentially at least, non-discrete. In *My firm conviction is obviously that certainly it must be a Range, musn't it?* for example, a modality of certainty is coded as a semantic motif running right through the clause: *firm conviction, obviously, certainly, must, must*. Prosodic realisation in general poses problems for constituency based grammars, and so it is important to understand exactly what it is that makes them awkward.

Marthiessen in press lists the following systems as problematic in current generative formulations of systemic grammar:

mood number and person (agreement)
 moodtag
 polarity
 reflexivization
 key

With the first four systems the problem is that the choice of a particular grammatical feature affects more than one constituent in clause structure. With polarity for example, the choice of negative may be realised across several elements. Marthiessen presents the following examples (negative realisations in bold face):

I ain't never had no trouble with none of 'em.
I haven't ever had any trouble with any of them.

Key is realised by tone. Here we might say that instead of the realisation of a feature being **distributed** across a number of constituents, the realisation is spread evenly through a constituent — in the case of key, the tone group. This **continuous** realisation is more typical of Firth's use of the term *prosody* in phonology, although discontinuous realisations were certainly recognised — e.g., vowel harmony (see papers in Palmer 1970).

Finally there is the **accumulated** realisation illustrated in the first example given above, where the meaning of certainty is amplified by being selected several times. It is not just the realisation of a particular feature that is prosodic here; the meaning itself has been chosen over and over again and thereby spreads itself across the constituent structure.

Prosodic realisations of interpersonal meaning are also found at group rank, in the context of accumulating attitude. Consider positive and negative attitude in the following nominal groups:

my sweet darling little baby pussy cat
you horrible screaming nasty wakeful cry-baby you

The difference in meaning among accumulating realisations of modality, attitude and other interpersonal systems is a matter of degree. The more a speaker wishes to amplify his position, the more realisations will be used. The grammar piles up meanings across a structure, much as phonology operates gradually with continuous realisations, adjusting pitch, rhythm, intensity, voice quality and so on to suit a speaker's mood. Poynton 1985:80 refers to the realisation principle under consideration here as **amplification**, which is associated with the *affect* component of tenor in her register theory.

The grammatical systems most strongly associated with amplification appear to be those used by speakers to make judgements of various kinds — systems whose options are graded, with high, median and low values. Modality for example allows for degrees of certainty: possible-probable-certain. In choosing among options such as these, speakers take up positions representing their personal assessment of degree. And they may choose to reinforce their assessment by stamping it several times onto their message as in the prosodic realisations considered above.

This association of gradable systems and prosodic realisation of this kind raises the question of which grammatical systems allow for meaning by degree. These will be addressed in section 5 below. Then later, in section 7, the effect of accumulating meanings of these kinds across discourse units will

be considered in an effort to interpret attitude, comment and evaluation in the ZPG text.

5. Gradable Systems

Sapir (1944/1949:123) points out that "Every quantifiable, whether existent (say *house*) or occurrent (say *run*) or quality of existent (say *red*) or quality of occurrent (say *gracefully*), is intrinsically gradable... house A is higher but house B is roomier, while existent C is so much smaller than either A or B that it is "less of a house" than they are and may be put in the class "toy" or at best "shack". Similarly occurrents like *running* differ with respect to "speed, excitement of runner, length of time, and degree of resemblance to walking." Further "Different examples of "red" similarly exhibit "mores" and "lesser" with respect to intensity, size of surface or volume characterised as red, and degree of conformity to some accepted standard of redness. And "gracefully" is quite unthinkable except as implying a whole gamut of activities which may be arranged in a graded series on the score of gracefulness."

Sapir's comments underline the pervasiveness of meaning by degree in text; they were taken by him as point of departure for a discussion of grammatical comparison. In this paper his remarks will be developed in a different direction in order to focus on the grammaticalisation of grading and its relation to interpersonal meaning.

The first point that needs to be taken up is the difference between graded and gradable items. To take Sapir's example of *house* and *shack*, it is important to recognise that both items enter into two distinct sets of oppositions. On the one hand they enter into oppositions concerned with the classification of experience and are opposed to *flat*, *apartment*, *office*, *school*, *church*, *theatre*, *hotel* etc. On the other they enter into oppositions concerned with the evaluation of experience, and are opposed to *hut*, *hovel*, *palace*, *castle*, *mansion*, *pad*, *shanty*, etc. It is this second set which is inherently graded.

This can be tested in several ways, the general point being that it is not possible to grade nouns like *house* without expressing an attitude towards them, whereas nouns like *shack* are already graded. Consider the following:

It was a mansion: It was quite a mansion::

It was a hovel: What a hovel it was!

It was a church: It was quite a church::
It was a school: What a school it was!

In the first set, the second member of each opposition intensifies the first; but in the second set the opposition is between classification and evaluation. As we grade the ungraded terms, our attitude towards them is invoked.

Some types of intensification draw a clear line between inherently graded and ungraded items. Note the ungrammaticality of the second member of the following pairs:

*It was an absolute mansion: *It was an absolute school::*
*It was such a palace: *It was such a theatre::*
*It was a bit of a hovel: *It was a bit of a church*

The distinction between graded and gradable items raises the question of grammatical resources for grading. A selection from these was illustrated above: *quite a*, *what a*, and *absolute*. Each has the effect of adjusting the evaluation of a graded item or adding an evaluation to an gradable one.

Grading systems arrange comment, evaluation and attitude by degree, generally along a scale with high, median and low values (with various possibilities for fine tuning among these). *Quite* (median) contrasts with *absolute* (high) and *a bit of a* (low) along one of these scales, which is used for evaluating nouns:

an absolute idiot
quite an idiot
a bit of an idiot

Grading systems respond in general to degree questions, usually containing the word *how*. They contrast with systems of measurement which give absolute as opposed to relative values. The examples below contrasts grading with measurement in this way.

How long was he here? — Ages: Three hours::
How many were there? — A few: Three::
How significant is it? — Very:: 0001::
How much did he drink? — All of it: 24 stubbies

Clearly a full treatment of grammatical resources related to grading is beyond the scope of this paper. Some of the more central of these, especially those most relevant to interpersonal meaning in the ZPG text, will be briefly reviewed here.

The presentation will be organised around clause, nominal group and verbal group systems. A brief comment on lexis will follow. In all cases only representative realisations are specified and only systems with clearly coded degrees of high, median and low will be considered. In the realisations degree will be organised vertically, with the high value at the top.

Following each of these scales an example will be given (enclosed in square brackets) showing the way in which a particular value can be amplified across a clause or group structure in order to bring out the relationship between grading systems of this kind and accumulated prosodic realisation.

5.1 Clause Systems

The first five of these systems are taken from Halliday (1985a:334-341) (see also Halliday 1970/1976). These are:

- a. probability
(**How sure** are you?)

This system is realised through corresponding modal verbs and adverbs. It codes speakers' assessment of certainty interpreted as degrees of yes or no:

(it is)
certainly it must be
probably it will be
possibly it may be
(it isn't)

[I think **possibly** it might be a Range, **mightn't** it?]

- b. usuality
(**How often** does it happen?)

This system is similarly coded through corresponding modal verbs and adverbs. It grades speakers' judgements of usuality in terms of degrees of yes and no:

(it is)
it always must be
it usually will be
it sometimes may be
(it isn't)

[Will he be in this semester?]

– He **sometimes may be popping in once in awhile.**]

- c. obligation
(**How necessary** is it?)

This system codes degrees of obligation to act. It is realised through modal verbs and 'passive participles':

(do)
you are required to/you must do
you are supposed to/you will do
you are allowed to/you may do
(don't)

[The notice **insists** that it is a **requirement** that all employees **must** return to duty at 1pm.]

- d. inclination
(**How keen** are you?)

This system deals with degrees of willingness to act. It is realised through modal verbs and corresponding participles and adjectives.

(do)
I'm determined to/I must do
I'm keen to/I will do
I'm willing to/I may do
(don't)

[I'm **willing** to make **my inclination** that I **may** do it clear.]

- e. subjectivity (Halliday's *orientation*)
(**How objective** is that?)

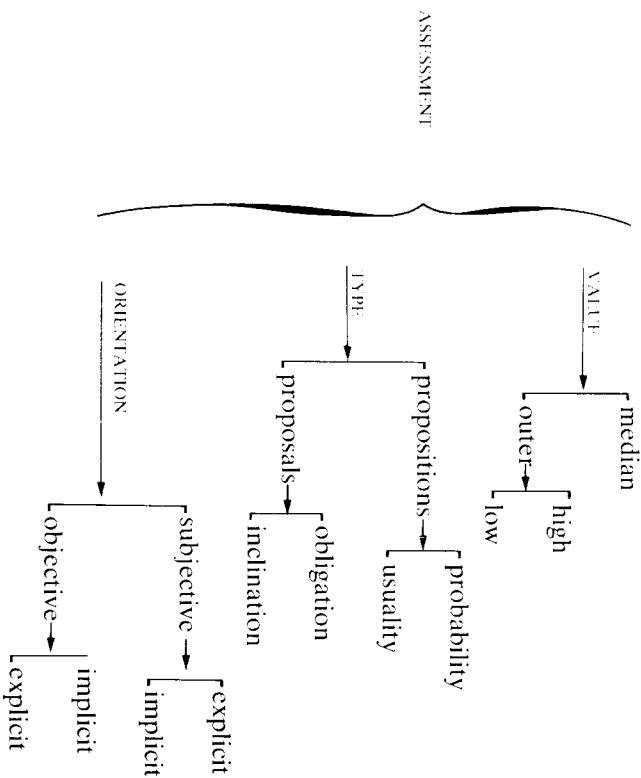
This system allows each of the preceding four systems to be graded in terms of how subjectively probability, usuality, obligation and inclination are expressed. For example, taking modality as an exemplar:

(She knows)
I expect she knows
She'll know
She probably knows
It's likely that she knows/She's likely to know
(Her knowledge)

[**Certainly** he is **surely** coming **definitely** at 6.]

The explicitly subjective (*I expect*) and explicitly objective (*It's likely*) forms in fact treat the assessment itself as a clause, potentially debatable apart from the proposition it's assessing. That this is a marked, though possible, option can be seen in the tag: *I expect she knows, doesn't she?*, not *I expect she knows, don't I?*

The following network sums up these five systems:



f. commitment

(**How thoroughly** did he do it?)

This system codes the degree of commitment with which some action is undertaken. It is realised through manner adverbs (see Quirk et al.'s 1972 8.18 ff discussion of what they call *emphasizers*, *amplifiers* and *downtoners*).

(*doing*)

really doing

kind of doing

hardly doing
(*not doing*)

[Well I **sort of kind of** liked him **to some extent**.]

A large set of attitudinally oriented adverbs are used for grading in this system (e.g. *desperately*, *half-heartedly*, *grimly*, *drastically* etc.); see discussion of attitude in nominal groups below.

g. immediacy

(**How soon** can they come?)

These systems take the present as point of departure and grade the distance between that point and the completion or inception of another event.

(*is doing*)

(*is doing*)

immediately

just done

soon

a while ago

ever

ages ago

(*will do*)

(*done*)

[I'll do it **right away immediately now**.]

h. succession

(**How far** along are they?)

This system is realised through conjunctions and monitors how far along a particular activity has progressed.

(*done*)

finally

afterwards

at first

(*would do*)

[And **finally** in the end it got **wrapped up**.]

5.2 *Nominal Group*

As indicated by Sapir, the relevant nominal group systems deal with quantity and quality. For the nominal group description assumed see Halliday (1985a:159-174).

a. quantity

(**How many** were there?)

Here we are concerned not with exact measurement and counting, but with ongoing rough and ready assessments of quantity (cf. Sapir 1944/1949:122 “The first thing to realise about grading as a psychological process is that it precedes measurement and counting”). These are realised through the Numerative element in nominal group structure.

<i>(birds)</i>	<i>(jam)</i>
<i>many birds</i>	<i>a lot of jam</i>
<i>several birds</i>	<i>some jam</i>
<i>a few birds</i>	<i>a little jam</i>
<i>(no birds)</i>	<i>(no jam)</i>

Partitive systems are also relevant here, realised through Pre-Numerative elements with the structural marker of:

<i>(the beer)</i>
<i>most of the beer</i>
<i>half of the beer</i>
<i>a little of the beer</i>
<i>(none of the beer)</i>

[I'd like **a little** of this beer, **just a bit**, **a drop**.]

- b. intensity
(**How fit** is he?)

Intensity allows for degrees of quality — size, shape, colour, etc. It is particularly associated with attitudinal Epithets and can also be used to grade Things when these code positive or negative affect.

<i>(fit)</i>	<i>(an idiot)</i>
<i>really fit</i>	<i>such an idiot</i>
<i>rather fit</i>	<i>quite an idiot</i>
<i>somewhat fit</i>	<i>a bit of an idiot</i>
<i>(not fit)</i>	<i>(not an idiot)</i>

[He was just **such a complete absolute** idiot.]

Note that nominal groups grading non-attitudinal Things are in fact attitudinal: *quite a player* means ‘a very good player’; *a bit of a singer means* ‘an okay singer’, and so on.

Superlatives in general do not imply high intensity: the tallest person in the room need not be very tall. But they do code high intensity when realising an Attribute in an intensive attributive relational clause (Halliday 1985a:112 ff):

You're the greatest!
She's the prettiest little thing!

Intensity is also relevant to manner adverbs, which can perhaps be treated most economically simply as incongruent adjectives (see 4.1.f above) [see Halliday (1985a:319-345) for a discussion of congruent and incongruent expression]:

(desperately)
really desperately
rather desperately
somewhat desperately
(not desperately)

- c. position
(**How far** along were they?)

This system is realised through Pre-Deictic elements and judges position in space.

(first in line)
the front of the line
the middle of the line
the end of the line
(last in line)

[He's at the **front** of the line, **the beginning**, **at the head** there.]

5.3 Verbal Group (Complex)

Verbal groups are gradable through hypotactic complexes oriented to the degree to which something is underway, appears to be underway or was brought about.

- a. fruition — time phase (aspect)
(**How far** along are they?)

This ‘aspectual’ system grades processes in terms of speakers’ assessments of their state of completion (cf. 4.1.h above).

(has done)
finish doing
keep doing
start doing
(not doing)

[He's just **begun to start to get going** with that project.]

- b. appearance — reality phase
(**How clear** are you?)

This 'modal' system permits speakers to judge probability explicitly with respect to their own perception (cf. 5.1a probability above).

(*is doing*)
turns out to be doing (cf. *it turns out we'll win*)
looks to be doing (cf. *it looks like we'll win*)
seems to be doing (cf. *it seems like we'll win*)
(*not doing*)

[Well how **I look at it**, they **seem by all appearances** to be winning.]

- c. causality
(**How much pressure** did you have to exert?)

This 'modulation' system measures the degree to which an Agent intervened to bring about the process (cf. 5.1c obligation above; see Halliday 1985a:265).

(*did*)
make x do
have x do
let x do
(*not do*)

[**My insisting made** John do it **through sheer pressure**.]

5.4 *Lexis*

While not systematically organised into high-median-low interpersonal values for each experiential meaning, attitude is pervasively coded throughout lexical systems. Poynton 1984 examines grading in names used as vocatives, noting clines such as *Dr Smith, William, Bill, Billy, Billkins, Petal* and so on. Vocation is clearly one very sensitive area; but attitudinal series are common elsewhere:

bad-horrible-appalling
good-great-fantastic
walk-stroll-saunter
cry-scream-howl

acquaintance-friend-lover
problem-mess-fiasco
request-order-demand
etc.

The most prosodic of all attitudinal systems is swearing, which can be realised throughout clause, group and word units:

Jesus that god-damn bastard is un-bloody-believable!
What the hell was he fucking doing down there, the bastard?

Closely related is the lexis of taboo:

penis-prick
breast-tit
urinate-piss
vomit-spew
have intercourse-fuck
perspire-sweat
etc.

And colloquial lexis is marked in many registers; note the use of scare quotes around *blow the whistle* in the ZPG text.

Attitudinal lexis will be noted in the analysis undertaken below, with degree ratings (i.e. high-median-low) assigned subjectively by the author.

For reasons of space, phonological and graphological (including formatting) realisations of interpersonal meaning, though important, will not be considered at all.

In addition interpersonal meanings which are not grammatically gradable in terms of high-median-low values have not been documented (see Labov 1972:378-393 for an more exhaustive treatment of evaluation, in narrative of personal experience genre; Bolinger 1972 looks comprehensively at degree words in English).

6. **Macro-Proposals**

Consider the following (constructed) conversation:

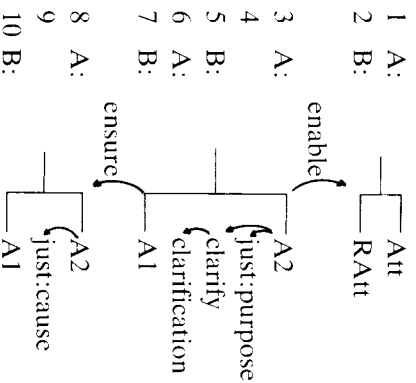
- 1 A. *Hey Mary.*
- 2 B. — *What?*
- 3 A. *Can you leave me the pack?*

- 4 *I can do the shopping.*
 5 B. *What do we need?*
 6 A. *Fruit, vegies, cat food, you know.*
 7 B. *Okay.*
 8 A. *Don't forget.*
 9 *Sam hasn't got any food.*
 10 B. — *Yeah yeah yeah yeah.*

From the point of view of conversational structure this text could be described in terms of three exchanges. Basically it is a proposal and compliance — A's request for the pack and B's compliance (*Can you leave me the pack? — Okay.*) But this core proposal is further enabled in four ways:

- a. A first gets B's attention (*Hey Mary. — What?*)
- b. B checks to see what shopping A & B need (*What do we need? — Fruit, vegies, cat food, you know.*)
- c. A last reminds B not to forget (*Don't forget. — Yeah yeah yeah yeah.*)
- d. A motivates both the initial request and the reminder (*Could you leave me the pack? I can do the shopping. and Don't forget. Sam hasn't got any food.*)

One way to interpret this is to argue that the basic adjacency pair is supplemented by a number of dependent moves and exchanges each designed to ensure that the request for goods and services is acted upon. Diagrammatically, using Berry's (1981a, 1981b) notation for exchange structure, augmented dynamically along the lines of suggestions by Ventola 1987, the text might be represented as follows:



[key: Att = demanding attention; RAtt = responding to demand for attention; A2 = demanding goods and services; just = justification; A1 = complying with demand for goods and services]

[constituency relations: 1 & 2, 3 & 7, 8 & 10; dependency relations: between exchanges — 2 & 3, 7 & 8; between moves — 3 & 4, 4 & 5, 5 & 6, 8 & 9]

This diagram interprets the dialogue in terms of three constituency structures. 1-2, 3-7 and 8-10; 1-2 is dependent on 3-7, enabling the latter, while 8-10 is similarly dependent, but in an ensuring role. In the middle exchange (3-7), there are three dependent moves, justifying and clarifying the request in 3; the final exchange, 8 10, also contains a dependent justifying move.

This diagram illustrates just some of the ways in which a proposal can be elaborated, expanded and enhanced in casual dialogue, displaying some of the structure of the discourse unit exchange underlying the grammatical structure of the clause. It was in fact constructed as a model that might serve as the basis for interpretation of the ZPG text, which is not casual dialogue, but consciously constructed written monologue — a macro-proposal rather than a spoken command.

Inherently, like the model conversation above, the ZPG text is a request — a proposal, demanding goods and services (in this case money).

This request is in fact realised (prosodically) several times in the text:

- 14.2 we urgently need your help
 [you should help us as soon as possible]
16. Your support now is critical.
 [you should support us now]
18. With your contribution,
 [when you contribute]
22. Please make a special contribution today.
 [please contribute today]
- 23.1 Whatever you give -- \$25, \$50, \$100 or as much as you can --
 [when you give]
- 30.3 by completing the enclosed reply form today

In each case the experiential meaning of reader giving money is nominalised: *your help, your support, your contribution, a special contribution, whatever you give* and less directly, *the enclosed reply form*. In terms of the transparency of the proposal, these can perhaps be ranked as follows:

22	imperative	Please make...
16	incongruent modulation	need (= 'should have')
14.2	incongruent modulation	<i>critical</i> (= 'should')
30.3	non-finite clause	<i>by completing...</i>
23.1	embedded clause	<i>whatever you give...</i>
18	prepositional phrase	<i>with your contribution</i>

Much of the text is spent justifying these (for a more detailed analysis of the reasoning involved see Mann, Mathiessen & Thompson's RST diagram in this volume):

- 14.2 in order to 14.1 (to use ZPG's UST effectively)
- 16 because 15 (we're stretched to the limit) in light of 17 (it's our best chance ever)
- 18 in order to (arm activists) because 19-21 (we can act locally to get the data to the right officials)
- 22 because 23 (we'll use it immediately to get information to officials)
- 30 to enable 29 (monitoring the media coverage)

The proposal and justification in the P.S. (29-30) symbolise the 'do this because' structure of 14 to 23, acting as a kind of mood tag. Thus 14-30 can be taken as structurally parallel to a tagged imperative: *Do this, won't you?*

The function of these justifications is of course to persuade the reader to comply. The large number of justifications is no doubt due to the monologic nature of the text: predictable objections must be pre-empted whether they would arise in a particular reader's dialogue with the text or not.

Preceding sections of the text, 4-10 and 11-13 can be related to the basic proposal in terms of seeking the reader's attention and elaborating on the goods offered respectively. This allows us to re-interpret the experiential text structure proposed in section 2 above in interpersonal terms as follows:

EXPERIENTIAL	INTERPERSONAL
Involvement	Seek attention (4-10)
Product	Clarify service offered (11-13)
Appeal	Make and justify demands (14-23)
	Reminder (29-30)

And the structure of the text as a whole can be symbolised grammatically with a sentence such as:

Mary, leave the pack and I'll do the shopping, fruit, vegies and stuff, okay?

This symbolises the ZPG text as follows:

Seek attention	<i>Mary</i>
Clarify service offered	<i>fruit, vegies and stuff</i>
Make demand and justify	<i>leave the pack</i>
by offering a service	<i>and I'll do the shopping</i>
Reminder	<i>okay</i>

These analogies between text, exchange and clause give a partial account of the way in which the ZPG text acts upon the world. But in order to act successfully it must also react — proposals implicate attitude as outlined above. This raises the question of the use of evaluative meaning in enabling the basic proposal.

7. Evaluation by Degree

A detailed analysis of evaluation in the ZPG text is given clause by clause below. [Clause Themes are in bold face and Subjects underlined, following Halliday (1985a) — starting from the left, clause constituents up to and including the first experiential one are treated as thematic; ellipsed material however has not been filled in and treated as thematic. The text has been divided into ranking clause units appropriate to a clause complex analysis; embedded (non-ranking) clauses are enclosed in double brackets. In addition a very rough transitivity analysis is provided for ranking clauses two layers of interpretation are provided for clauses involving experiential metaphor. All analyses are based on Halliday (1985a).]

As far as possible evaluation is categorised with reference to the systems outlined in section 4 above. To help clarify the categorisation, the place of each item in a high-median-low scale will be exemplified next to its categorisation.

- 1 ZERO POPULATION GROWTH
- 2 November 22, 1985
- 3 Dear Friend of ZPG:

[lexis: *Dear* — low; DEAR-DEAREST-DARLING

[lexis: *Friend* — median; COLLEAGUE-FRIEND-LOVER]

4 **At 7:00 a.m. on October 25,** our phones

Cir:loc:time Actor

started to ring.

Process:material

[fruitior: *started to* — low; START-TO-KEEP-ON-FINISH]

5. **Calls** jammed our switchboard all day.

Actor Pro:mat Goal Cir:extent

[lexis: *jammed* — high; SPRINKLED<C>UTTERED-JAMMED

quantity: *all day* — high; NOW AND THEN-PART-OF-ALL]

6.1 **Staffers** stayed late into the night,

Actor Pro:mat Cir:extent

[quantity: *late into the night* — median; A LITTLE-AWHILE-LATE

lexis: *stayed* — median; BEGAN-STAYED-COMPLETED]

6.2 answering questions

Pro:beh Range

6.3 **and** talking with reporters from newspapers, radio stations, wire services and TV stations in every part of the country.

Pro:beh Receiver

[quantity: *every part* — high; SOME-MANY-EVERY]

7.1 **When we** released the results of ZPG's

1985 *Urban Stress Test*,

Behavior Pro:beh Range

7.2 **we** had no idea

Cr Pro:att/poss Attr

Senser Process:mental.....

[quantity: *no idea* — high; NO IDEA-SOME IDEA-KNEW FULL WELL]

7.3 **we** 'd get such an overwhelming response

Behavior Pro:beh Range

[intensity: *such a* — high; A BIT OF A-QUITE-A-SUCH A

lexis: *overwhelming* — high; ACCEPTABLE-POSITIVE-OVERWHELMING]

8. **Media and public reaction** has been nothing

short of

incredible.

Carrier Pro:att Attribute

[quantity: *nothing short of* — high; KIND-OF-QUITE-NOTHING SHORT OF

lexis: *incredible* — high; GOOD-ENCOURAGING-INCREDIBLE]

(para)

9. **At first, the deluge of calls** came mostly

Actor Pro:mat Cir:manner

[succession: *at first* — low; AT FIRST-LATER-FINALLY

quantity: *mostly* — high; PARTLY-GENERALLY-MOSTLY

lexis: *deluge* — high; SPRINKLE-FLOOD-DELUGE

from reporters [[eager to tell the public about Urban Stress test results]] and from outraged public officials [[who were furious that we had "blown the whistle" on conditions in their cities]].

Cir:loc

[inclination: *eager* — median; WILLING-FAGER-DETERMINED

lexis: *outraged* — high; MIFFED-ANGRY-OUTRAGED

lexis: *furious* — high; MIFFED-ANGRY-FURIOUS

lexis: "*blown the whistle*" — high; REVEAL-EXPOSE-BLOW THE WHISTLE ON]

10. **Now, we** are hearing from concerned citizens in

Beh Pro:beh Cir:loc

[succession: *now* — median; NOW-LATER-FINALLY

lexis: *concerned* — low; CONCERNED-TROUBLED-ANGUISHERD

all parts of the country [[who want to know what they can do to hold public officials accountable for tackling population-related problems [[that threaten public health and well-being]]]].

[quantity: *all parts* — high; A FEW-SEVERAL-ALL

inclination: *want* — median; BE WILLING-WANT-BE DETERMINED

causality: *hold* — median; LET-HOLD-MAKE

lexis: *accountable* — median; INVOLVED-ACCOUNTABLE-RESPONSIBLE

lexis: *threaten* — median; AFFECT-THREATEN-DAMAGE

lexis: *well-being* — low; WELL-BEING-HEALTH-VIGOUR]

(para)

11.1 **ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test**, . . . is

Token Pro:ident

the nation's first survey [[of how population-linked pressures affect U.S. citizens]].

Value

[[fruition: first survey — low; START-KEEP-FINISH (surveying)

lexis: *pressures* — low; PRESSURE-STRESS-PROBLEM
causality: *affect* — low; AFFECT-UPSET-DAMAGE]

11.2 created after months of persistent and exhaustive research

Pro:mat Cir:loc:time

[[quantity: *months of* — median; DAYS-MONTHS-YEARSfruition: *persistent* — median; PRELIMINARY-PERSISTENT-CONCLUSIVE
lexis: *exhaustive* — high; PHOT-SYSTEMATIC-EXHAUSTIVE]12. **It** ranks 184 urban areas

Actor Pro:mat Goal

on 11 different criteria [[ranging from crowding and birth rates to air quality and toxic wastes]].

Cir:matter

[[lexis: crowding — low; CROWDING-CONGESTION-OVER-POPULATION

lexis: toxic — low; TOXIC-POISONOUS-LETHAL]

13. **The Urban Stress Test** translates complex, technical data

Actor Pro:mat Goal

Attributor Carrier

into an easy-to-use *action tool* for concerned citizens, elected officials and opinion leaders.

Cir:loc

Attribute

[[lexis: *complex* — low; COMPLEX-DIFFICULT-UNREADABLElexis: *technical* — low; TECHNICAL-JARGONISH-UNINTERPRETABLElexis: *easy-to use* — low; EASY-TO-USE-PERSONALISED-CUSTOMISED
lexis: *concerned* — low; CONCERNED-TROUBLED-ANGUIISHED]14.1 **But** to use it well,

Pro:mat Rg Cir:manner

[[lexis: *well* — median; POSITIVELY-WELL-TO-GET-THE-BEST-OUT-OF-IT14.2 **we** urgently need your help

Senser Cir:manner Pro:ment Phenomenon

Carrier Pro:attr/poss Attribute

[[immediacy: *urgently* — high; EVENTUALLY-Soon-URGENTLY
obligation: *need* — median 'should have'; COULD-USE-NEED-MUST-HAVE
(para)]15.1 **Our small staff** is being swamped

Goal Pro:mat

with requests for more information

Actor

[[lexis: *small* — low; SMALL-MODEST-NEEROT'Slexis: *swamped* — high; SPRINKLED-SOAKED-SWAMPEDlexis: *request* — low; REQUEST-CALL-DEMAND15.2 **and our modest resources** are being stretched

Goal Pro:mat

to the limit.

Cir:extent

[[lexis: *modest* — low; MODEST-LIMITED-LIMITLESSlexis: *stretched* — median; EXTEND-STRETCH-GOVERN-EXTENDquantity: *to the limit* — high; SOMEWWHAT-SEVERELY-TO-THE-LIMIT]
(para)]16. **Your support** now is critical.

Carrier Cir:loc Pro:attr Attribute

[[immediacy: *now* — high; EVENTUALLY-SOMETIME-NOW
obligation: *critical* — median; USEFUL-CRITICAL-ESSENTIAL (cf. *could use-should have-must have*)17. **ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test** may be

Token Pro:id

our best opportunity ever [[to get the population message heard]].

Value

[[probability: *may* — low; MAY-WILL-HAS-TOintensity: *best* — high; RATHER-GOOD-OTHE-GOOD-BESTimmediacy: *ever* — high; FOR-NOW-FOR-AWHILE-EVERcausality: *get* — median; LEFT-GET-FINISHER]
(page, para)]

18. **With your contribution, ZPG** can arm
 Cir:manner:means Actor Pro:mat

[lexis: arm — median; FOUR-ARM-FORTIFY]

our growing net- with the materials [[they need to warn community
 work of local leaders about emerging population-linked stresses
 activists before they reach crisis stage]]
 Goal Cir:manner:instrument

[lexis: *activist* — median; PARTICIPANT-ACTIVIST-PROTAGONIST
 obligation: *need* — median; COULD USE-NEED-MUST HAVE]

lexis: *warn* — median; ALERT-WARN-FRIGHTEN

lexis: *stresses* — low; PRESSURE-STRESS-PROBLEM

fruition: *reach* — high; HEAD-FOR-APPROACH-REACH

lexis: *crisis* — high; IRRITATION-PROBLEM-CRISIS]

(para)

- 19.1 **Even though our national government**

Behavior

continues to ignore the consequences of
 uncontrolled population growth,

Pro:beh Range

[fruition: *continues to* — median; BEGIN TO-CONTINUE TO-END UP]

lexis: *uncontrolled* — median; BURGEONING-UNCONTROLLED-RAMPANT]

19.2 **we** can act

Actor Pro:mat

19.3 **to take positive action** at the local level.

Pro:mat Range Cir:loc:space

[lexis: *positive* — median; USEFUL-POSITIVE-EFFECTIVE]

(para)

20. **Every day** decisions... are being made

Cir:extent Range Pro:beh

[quantity: *every day* — high; SOME-MANY MOST]

by local officials in our communities

Behavior

[...that could drastically affect the quality of our lives]]

[commitment: *drastically* — high; IN PART-RAATHER-DRASTICALLY]

causality: *affect* — low; AFFECT-UPSET-DAMAGE]

- 21.1 **To make** sound choices in planning for people,
 Pro:beh Range Cir:loc

[lexis: *sound* — low; SOUND-INSIGHTFUL-WISE]

- 21.2 **both elected officials and the American public**

Carrier

need the population-stress data [[revealed by our study]].
 Pro:poss Attribute

[obligation: *need* — median; COULD USE-NEED-MUST HAVE]

lexis: *revealed* — low; REVEAL-EXPOSE-BLOW THE WHISTLE]

(para)

22. **Please make** a special contribution

Pro:mat Range

to Zero Population Growth today.

Recipient Cir:loc:time

[lexis: *special* — median; HELPFUL-SPECIAL-GENEROUS]

- 23.1 **[[Whatever you give]] -- \$25, \$50, \$100 or as much [[as you can]] --**

Range

will be used immediately

Pro:mat Cir:loc:time

[quantity: *whatever* — high; A LITTLE OF-SOME OF-WHATEVER]

quantity: *as much as* — high; A LITTLE OF-SOME OF-AS MUCH AS

immediacy: *immediately* — high; EVENTUALLY-LATER-IMMEDIATELY]

- 23.2 **to put** the Urban Stress Test in the hands of those [[who need it

Pro:mat Goal most]].

Cir:loc

[obligation: *need* — median; COULD USE-NEED-MUST HAVE]

quantity: *most* — high; A LITTLE-SOMEWHAT-MOST]

24. Sincerely,

[lexis: *sincerely* — median; LOVE-SINCERELY-YOURS SINCERELY]

25. (Handwritten signature)

[lexis: Susan Weber — median; SUE-SUSAN WEBER-MS S WEBER]

26. Susan Weber

[lexis: *Susan Weber* — median; SUE-SUSAN WEBER-MS S WEBER]

27. Executive Director

[lexis: *Executive Director* — high; ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-DIRECTOR-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR]

28. P.S.

29. The results of ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test

Range

were reported as a top news story

Pro:beh Cir:role

[lexis: *top* — median; LEADING-TOP-FEATURE]

by hundreds of newspapers and TV and radio stations from coast to coast.

Behavior

[quantity: *hundreds of* — median; NUMEROUS-HUNDREDS-OF-THOUSANDS OF]

30.1 I hope

Senser Pro:ment

[inclination: *hope* — median; BE WILLING-HOPE-BE DETERMINED]

30.2 you 'll help us monitor

Agent Behavior Pro:beh

this remarkable media coverage

Range

[causality: *help* — low; HELP-HAVE-MAKE

lexis: *remarkable* — median; NOTABLE-REMARKABLE-INCREDIBLE]

30.3 by completing the enclosed reply form.

Pro:beh Range

Overall the realisation of attitude throughout the text is fairly evenly distributed — between two and three evaluations per clause. However the distribution of high, median and low values is not even; nor is the distribution by type random. Interestingly enough, very little attitude is realised in either the Subject or Theme:

	THEME		SUBJECT
1	textual		
2			
3			
4		At 7 am on Oct 25	our phones
5		Calls	Calls
6.1		Staffers	Staffers
6.2		(answering)	
6.3	and		
7.1	When	we	we
7.2		we	we
7.3		we	we
8		Media & public reaction	Media and...
9	at first	the deluge of calls	the deluge..
10	now	we	we
11.1		ZPG's 1985 UST....	ZPG's 1985..
11.2		(created)	
12		It	It
13		The Urban Stress Test	The Urban...
14.1	But	(to use)	
14.2		we	we
15		Our small staff	Our small...
16		Your support	Your support
17		ZPG's 1985 UST	ZPG's 1985..
18		With your contribution	ZPG
19.1	Even though	Our national government	Our national
19.2		we	we
19.3		(to take)	
20		Every day	decisions
21.1		(To make)	
21.2		Both elected officials & the American public	Both elected officials &
22	Please	(make)	
23.1		Whatever you give...	Whatever...
23.2			
24			
25			

26				
27				
28				
29		<i>The results of ZPG's UST</i>	<i>The results</i>	
30.1		<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	
30.2		<i>you</i>	<i>you</i>	
30.3	<i>by</i>	<i>(completing)</i>		

As far as the high, median and low values are concerned, the basic pattern is as follows (**only major clauses in the body of the text are considered in the figures given below; segments 1-3 and 24-30, including the P.S. are not included**):

	HIGH	MEDIAN	LOW
Involvement (11 clauses; clauses 4-10)	15	9	4
Product (4 clauses; clauses 11-13)	1	2	9
Appeal (16 clauses; clauses 14-23)	15	15	7
	total 31	26	20

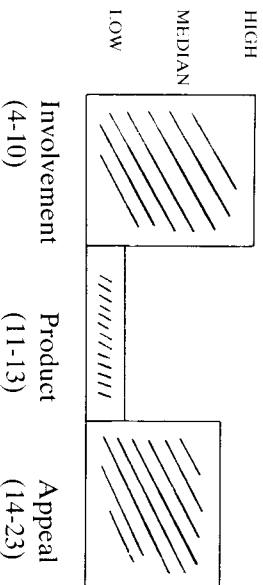
Both the Involvement and Appeal stages favor high values over low, with the reverse being true in the Product element. The Involvement stage in particular foregrounds high values, with a 3/1 ratio of these to median ones.

	HIGH	LOW
Involvement	<i>jammed</i>	<i>started to</i>
	<i>all day</i>	<i>at first</i>
	<i>late into the night</i>	<i>concerned</i>
	<i>every part</i>	<i>well-being</i>
	<i>no idea</i>	
	<i>such an</i>	
	<i>overwhelming</i>	
	<i>nothing short of</i>	
	<i>incredible</i>	
	<i>mostly</i>	
	<i>delay</i>	
	<i>outraged</i>	
	<i>furious</i>	

"blown the whistle"
all parts

Product	exhaustive	first	pressures	affect	crowding	toxic wastes	complex	technical	easy-to-use	concerned
---------	------------	-------	-----------	--------	----------	--------------	---------	-----------	-------------	-----------

The rhetorical strategy here seems to be to react strongly when trying to get the reader to act — first of all to read the text and then to send money. A less subjective pose is adopted to present the product itself — the ZPG's UST. This amplification pattern can be sketched graphically as follows:



A more detailed breakdown, including type is as follows:

	HIGH	MEDIAN	LOW
Involvement	quantity 7	lexis 4	lexis 2
	lexis 7	inclination 2	fruition 1
	intensity 1	quantity 1	succession 1
		causality 1	
		succession 1	
Product	lexis 1	quantity 1	lexis 7
		fruition 1	causality 1
		succession 1	succession 1

Appeal	quantity	4	lexis	8	lexis	5
	immediacy	4	obligation	5	causality	1
	lexis	4	fruition	1	prob..ity	1
	intensity	1	causality	1		
	fruition	1				
	commitment	1				
TOTALS						
lexis		38				
quantity		13				
obligation		5				
immediacy		4				
fruition		4				
causality		4				
succession		3				
inclination		2				
intensity		2				
commitment		1				
probability		1				

Overall, just under half the evaluation is realised lexically. In interpreting this pattern it is important to take into account the large number of nominalised processes in the text. Once nominalised these are evaluated using nominal group rather than clause or verbal group resources — especially attitudinal Epithets:

such an overwhelming response
persistent and exhaustive research
easy-to-use action tool
modest resources
uncontrolled growth
positive action
sound choices
special contribution
remarkable media coverage

These incongruent processes also appear in attributive relational processes:

The reaction has been nothing short of incredible
your support now is critical

And they themselves appear as participants associated with attitudinal processes:

calls jammed
swamped by requests
threaten public health and well-being

Nominalisation is a distinctive feature of writing (see Halliday 1985a; 1985b on lexical density and grammatical intricacy in spoken and written language) and so one factor influencing the high degree of lexical evaluation may be the number of nominalised processes in the text. On the other hand, one might argue that a large number of processes are so nominalised so that nominal group resources for coding attitude can be brought to bear (the advantage being that attitudinal adjectives are far and away English's largest open class of evaluative items). Some nominalised processes are also quantified:

no idea
months of...research

Quantity is in fact the next largest category of evaluation in the text:

all day; late into the night, every part of the country, no idea, nothing short of incredible, come mostly, all parts of the country, months of...research, to the limit, every day, whatever, as much as, need it most, hundreds of

And this list does not include the following lexical items, with a clear quantitative implication: *swamped, small, stretched, overwhelming, jammed, deluge*. Taken together the maximisers account for just over half the high value evaluations in the text. Rhetorically the argument seems to be: "we're doing as much as we can, so you give as much as you can."

The other distinctive patterns have to do with the association of immediacy (urgently, now, ever, immediately) and obligation (*need, critical, need, need, need*) with the Appeal section. The argument here is that readers should act right away to give money:

we urgently need your help
your support now is critical

And if they do, ZPG will act right away to get the UST results to the people who should have it.

In short then, the reaction in the text is designed to support the action. High values are foregrounded in the Involvement section to attract the

reader's attention. Low values are foregrounded in the Product section to lend credibility to the test results. Then median and high values, foregrounding immediacy and obligation, are used to strengthen the Appeal.

8. Interpersonal Structure and Genre

In this paper an attempt was made to analyse the ZPG fund raising text in interpersonal terms. Both the acting and reacting aspects of interpersonal meaning were considered. With respect to action it was suggested that the text could be conceived as a macro-proposal, realised through, and symbolically related to, exchange structure at the level of discourse and imperative mood in grammar:

GENRE	EXCHANGE	CLAUSE
Seek attention	call	vocative
Clarify Service Offered	clarification	elaborating taxis
Make & Justify Demands	command & justification	imperative; enhancing taxis
Reminder	ensurance	mood tag

With respect to reaction it was suggested that the distribution of evaluative meaning through the text was not random. High values were used to seek attention and make and justify demands, while low values were associated with clarifying the service offered. In addition, immediacy and obligation were foregrounded to make and justify demands.

The realisation of both action and reaction was shown to be prosodic rather than particulate. The basic proposal, that the reader send money, was realised no less than 6 times in the text. And reaction was realised 77 times, across a wide range of clause, nominal group and verbal group structures.

One immediate implication of these findings would seem to be that Halliday's (eg. 1978) metafunctional interpretation of clause structure in relation to situation needs to be projected back not simply through register categories but on to the level of genre as well:

GENRE	REGISTER	METAFUNCTION
constituent structure	field	experiential
prosodic structure	tenor	interpersonal
(culminative structure)	mode	textual
(dynamic structure)	?	logical

A second implication may be that as far as interpersonal meaning is concerned text will turn out to be a powerful source of metaphors for interpreting the clause. The non-discrete realisation of interpersonal meaning in the ZPG text is clear. And even more clear is that fact that the text depends critically on this meaning to achieve its ends. From the point of view of genre the meanings and structures associated with action and reaction are not something that can be relegated to pragmatics. They are structured into the text, and to get there they have somewhere to be structured into lexicogrammar. Projecting text onto clause along these lines challenges many formal linguists preoccupation with constituency patterns. Successfully mounting this challenge is long overdue.

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Macro-Proposals: Meaning by Degree

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1. How is a Text Like a Clause?

Halliday 1982 suggests that the relationship between text and clause is not arbitrary (as between say clause and syllable), but natural. Realisation between text and clause is, in other words, **symbolic**. It follows that both text and clause are rich sources of metaphor for interpreting each other.

Given our present understanding of discourse and grammar, one is naturally predisposed to using grammar as a source of metaphors for discourse (rather than using discourse, which is less well understood, as a resource for interpreting grammar). And in his paper Halliday points out a number of ways in which a text resembles a clause:

1. A text has structure
2. A text has coherence
3. A text has function
4. A text has development
5. A text has character

Reviewing point 1, Halliday speculates "whether the text may display the same kind of multiple structuring that is found in the clause, ideational, interpersonal and textual, having, potentially at least, an ideational structure relating to its field and an interpersonal structure relating to its tenor..." (Halliday 1982:225), referring to his 1979 analysis of the different types of structure associated with different metafunctional components in the grammar. Mathiessen 1988:157 summarises these as follows, splitting the ideational into its two sub-components, the experiential and logical: