

self-conscious working class, almost post industrial. Was the posturing of the electrical supply networks also an attempt to speak for the society at large in addressing a sense of unease and even inadequacy brought about by the variance of the reality with the discourses of Nationalism prevalent at the time, a kind of overcompensation for the absence of a fully industrial base and industrial history?

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## Intrinsic functionality: implications for contextual theory

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J R Martin

### 0. MODELS OF CONTEXT

Along several dimensions the greater part of research on semiosis throughout the 20th century can be usefully framed in terms of reactions to Saussure. One such dimension would involve reactions to Saussure's opposition of *langue* and *parole*, especially with respect to his concern that the proper study of linguistics was *langue*. There are two responses which are particularly relevant here. The first is that of Bakhtin (e.g. Voloshinov, 1929/1973; Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) who countered Saussure's preoccupation with *langue* by focussing instead on *parole*. Bakhtin's concern with genre, heteroglossia and dialogism was eventually to prove very influential for a generation of scholars concerned with historically and ideologically positioned social subjectivities and for whom the study of intertextuality<sup>1</sup> became an important analytical tool (for discussion see Lemke, 1985, 1988; Threadgold, 1986a, 1986b). A second, rather different reaction is found in Hjelmslev (1961), who reworked Saussure's opposition as system and process, with process the realisation (or manifestation) of system. It is this response that is developed by Halliday (e.g. Thibault 1987:603) throughout the ongoing genesis of systemic functional linguistics, who in addition is concerned to contextualise *langue* - to historicise and ideologise system, and thus process, through his theory of register (e.g. Halliday, 1978; cf. Hjelmslev's contextualising of denotative semiotics with connotative ones in the *Prolegomena*).

Recently, a number of scholars in Australia, and elsewhere, have been concerned to bring together these divergent yet potentially sympathetic reactions to Saussure, which I will refer to here as the intertextual (Bakhtin's dialogism and heteroglossia) and the contextual (Hjelmslev and Halliday's contextualised system/process theory). Simplifying somewhat, what these social semioticians by and large share is the functionally organised grammar of English proposed in Halliday (1985a) and alongside this a concern with genre (in the sense of Bakhtin's (1986) presentation of speech genres as social processes) as a

fundamental principle of text organisation and classification. In this paper one aspect of this dialogue between the intertextual and contextual reactions to Saussure will be extended and explored. At issue are the implications of a functionally organised grammar for both intertextual and contextual theory. Kress and Threadgold's influential 1988 paper, "Towards a social theory of genre", which I consider part of the intertextual reaction to Saussure, will be taken as point of departure<sup>2</sup>.

Kress and Threadgold (1988: 215) suggest that social semiotics "is crucially concerned with explicit accounts of language as text, of context, and of detailed linguistic analysis within a socially based theory of language"; and they go on to construe the field as post-post-structuralist, making "quite explicit use of the work of Foucault, Derrida, Irigaray, Bakhtin, and much feminist writing, integrating these perspectives with semiotic work - especially with sociological and linguistic theory, and specifically with the work of Michael Halliday on language as social semiotic, and a semantically based functional grammar" (1986: 215-216).

Following Halliday, they take language as "a meaning potential which has the form it has because it realises particular important social functions" and address the problem of finding "means of describing ways in which texts and social agents which produce them construct and are constructed by the social and cultural" (1986: 216). To accomplish this they propose making use of the metafunctionally organised grammar outlined in Halliday (1985) and in addition a set of categories allowing for the description of "generic, discursive, narrative, dialogic, and crypto-typical patterns of meaning" (1986: 216). Of these five 'contextual' categories, only genre is defined<sup>3</sup>, although discourse, narrative, dialogism and crypto-types are illustrated with respect to a number of texts in their paper:

Genres are primarily defined as the socially ratified text-types in a community, which make meaning possible by contextualising in a metagrammatical<sup>4</sup> way (a way that tells us something about the grammar) the actual linguistic or semantic patterns that constitute the lexico-grammar of texts...It is genres that locate institutionally, valorise and shape the intertextual resources - discourses, narratives, cryptotypes and dialogisms - that are the stuff of reality construction and change... The intertextual resources - discourses, narratives, cryptotypes

and dialogism - are semiotic resources capable of being realised in verbal, behavioural, architectural, graphic, spatio-temporal and situational forms. They are the stuff of which texts, intertexts and contexts are constructed. (1986: 216-217)

In proposing this framework Kress and Threadgold do not address explicitly its relation to a long tradition of work on language and context in Firthian and Hallidayan linguistics. The key terms in this tradition, *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, are mentioned in the article; but no commentary is provided on the relationship between the 'traditional' systemic functional register analysis and Kress and Threadgold's intertextual resources. Threadgold (personal communication) has clarified that she would currently treat the intertextual resources discourse and narrative as elaborations of the register variable field and would associate genre as an intertextual resource with the register variables tenor and mode. These correlations between Kress and Threadgold's contextual categories and the more traditional systemic variables (drawing on Martin 1986) are outlined in Table 1.

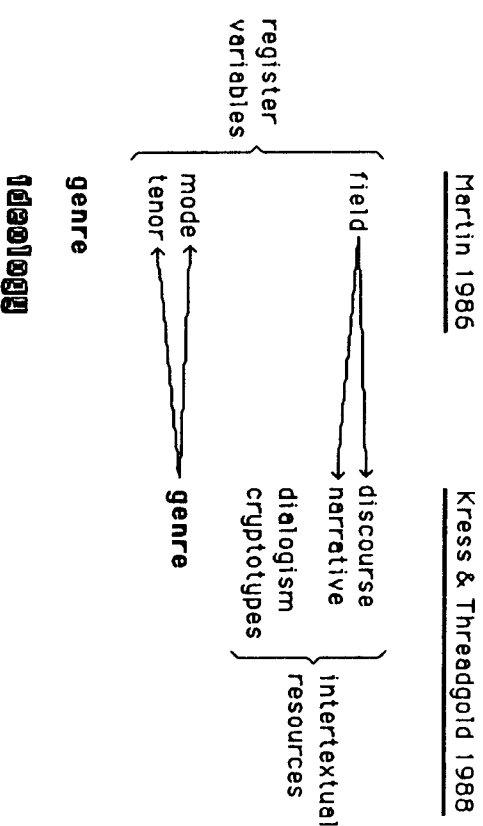


Table 1: Alternative models of contextual variables

There are of course a large number of issues raised by a correlation of this kind. In this paper one of Kress and Threadgold's most provocative challenges to systemic functional linguistics will be considered - namely the suggestion that language as system is arbitrarily related to context implicit in their rejection<sup>5</sup> of the 'natural' relation between metafunctions and contextual categories proposed by Halliday (e.g. 1974, 1978, 1985/89). Halliday's proportionalities<sup>6</sup> are outlined below (register is to metafunction as field is to experiential meaning as mode is to textual meaning as tenor is to interpersonal meaning):

**REGISTER: metafunction::**

FIELD:ideational::

MODE:textual::

TENOR:interpersonal

These proportionalities have underpinned systemic functional interpretations of language and context now for more than two decades (see for example Halliday, 1969/1981) and articulate in important respects the very *raison d'être* of the theory. Halliday's basic argument is that language is **naturally** related to context and that our understanding of this relationship is enhanced to the extent that linguistic and contextual categories are solidary. If grammar and meaning are organised in particular ways across languages, so the argument goes, then our theory of context should be similarly organised (thus the proportionalities outlined above). It follows that theories of context which are not solidary with language in this way are modelling the relationship between context and language as **unnatural** - as **arbitrary** (as with the language internal relationship between say phonology/ 'expression form' and lexicogrammar/'content form').

This issue is a crucial one - and one that is relevant when comparing systemic functional theories of context to any number of alternative structuralist, post-structuralist or semiotic models whose contextual categories do not stand in a solidary relation with the metafunctional organisation of grammar and meaning. It is this solidary relation which is the focus of this paper. Discussion will proceed by first reviewing language internal evidence for metafunctions

and then considering the implications of intrinsic functionality for contextual theory.

#### 1. INTRINSIC FUNCTIONALITY

To begin it is important to consider the nature of a linguistic theory which generates claims about intrinsic functionality, since systemic-functional linguistics is unique in recognizing language internal functional organization of this kind. Aspects of the work of Saussure, Firth and Hjelmstedt have been critical in the development of systemic linguistics (see Halliday, 1974, 1985c; Mathiessen and Halliday, 1990) and will be very briefly reviewed here.

From Saussure (1916/1974), systemic linguistics inherits an orientation to meaning as difference (*valeur*) which liberates it from referential theories of meaning and discourages lapses into the conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1979) whereby meaning is treated as channelled **through** language rather than constructed by it. This orientation is re-read through the work of Firth (1957a) on meaning as function in context, which treats all levels of language (including for Firth context of situation) as **meaning-making**<sup>7</sup>, and which develops a theoretical interpretation of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations through the concepts of system and structure. Re-articulating Saussure's language/parole as noted above, Hjelmstedt (1961) maps paradigmatic relations onto potential and syntagmatic relations onto actual, giving rise to the system/process **dialectic of realisation** used by systemicists to model the relationship between language and text (see section 2 below). Hjelmstedt extends this dialectic to define relations between levels within the system (stratification) and between systems (denotative and connotative semiotics), providing crucial scaffolding for the highly modular systemic functional models in use today.

It goes without saying that the linguistics developed by Halliday and his colleagues (e.g. 1961, 1978, 1985a) out of these discourses is a very different structuralism to the structuralism post-structuralism is post- to (see Hasan, 1987). And it is also important to note that it is this particular blend of discourses which has produced a theory of intrinsic functionality. It is a blend of discourses which treats language as a resource for making meaning, which distributes meaning-making across a number of levels related through realisation, which treats text as the

instantiation of system, and which contextualises this process as social semiosis construing culture.

Systemic functional linguistics thus studies language as a meaning-making resource. In the course of its investigations it has been found that language makes three main types of meaning, which Halliday refers to as the ideational (including logical and experiential subdivisions), interpersonal and textual. There are various ways of glossing these functional regions<sup>8</sup>. One way would be to say that ideational meaning construes 'reality', interpersonal meaning 'social reality' and textual meaning the 'semiotic' reality that manifests itself as text as meaning is made<sup>9</sup>. Halliday (1974: 95) suggests the terms 'observer' function for the ideational, 'intruder' for the interpersonal and 'relevance' for the textual. These suggestions are summarised in Table 2 and will be expanded in section 5 after criteria motivating this kind of semantic regionality are reviewed.

METAFUNCTION	'reality construal'	'work done'
IDEATIONAL (logical, experiential)	reality	(observer)
INTERPERSONAL	social reality	(intruder)
TEXTUAL	semiotic reality	(relevance)

Table 2: Glossing the metafunctions' functional load'

2. SYSTEM (paradigmatic)

Systemic linguistics, as the name of the theory implies, focusses in particular on paradigmatic relations. This focus on system as 'deep' grammar is illustrated for three MOOD systems in Figure 1 below. The network classifies clauses according to the role they play in structuring dialogue: as [major] or [minor], if [major] as [indicative] or [imperative], if [indicative] as [affirmative] or [interrogative]; these major clause classes are exemplified to the right of the network. Below each feature in the network the structural consequences of instantiating it as text are specified; these 'realisation' rules are listed separately below:

FEATURE	<u>contribution to structure</u>
[major]	insert Predicate
[indicative]	insert Subject; insert Finite
[affirmative]	sequence Subject before Finite
[interrogative]	sequence Finite before Subject

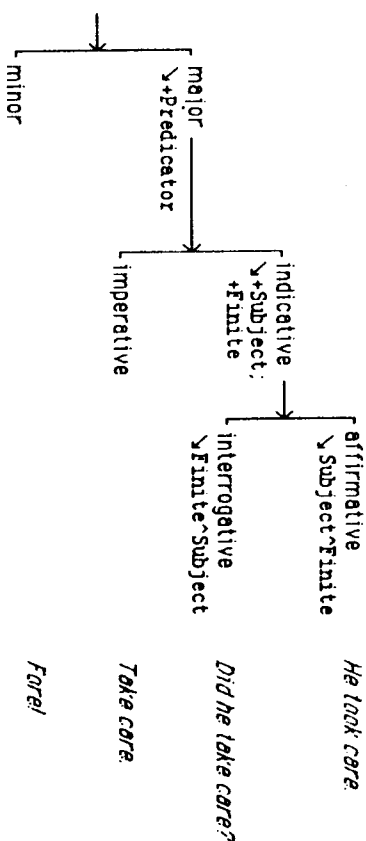


Figure 1: Three MOOD systems

This simple network illustrates the way in which systems depend on each other. Choosing [indicative] for example is only possible if the clause is [major]; and similarly only [indicative] clauses can be [affirmative] or [interrogative]. Inter-systemic dependency of this kind is very important to Halliday's observations about intrinsic functionality since in part he is arguing that systems cluster with respect to dependencies of this kind.

Note as well that when employed for purposes of text analysis, a model of this kind automatically relates clauses to each other as it analyses them. For example, if we analyse a clause such as *They've won* as Subject^Finite^Predicator we are saying quite explicitly that the clause is [affirmative] (not [interrogative]), that it is [indicative] (not [imperative]) and that it is [major] (not [minor]). In systemic theory any structural analysis thus carries with it a theory of intertextuality -

in this case a theory of interclausality: the structural analysis tells us at the same time both what something is and what it is not. In a system/process theory of this kind textual analysis is not possible without saying what text is related to<sup>10</sup>.

The subclassification exemplified in Figure 1 is complemented in the theory by cross-classification. The subclassification exemplified in Figure 1 is complemented in the theory by cross-classification. This is illustrated for major clauses in Figure 2. There, a simplified TRANSITIVITY system classifies [major] clauses with respect to the kind of process they construe: [material], [mental] or [relational]. Major clauses have now been classified twice, once for MOOD and once for TRANSITIVITY; the brace enclosing the relevant systems formalises these independent classifications as cross-classifying systems: if a clause is [major], then it is either [material], [mental] or [relational] at the same time as it is [indicative] or [imperative].

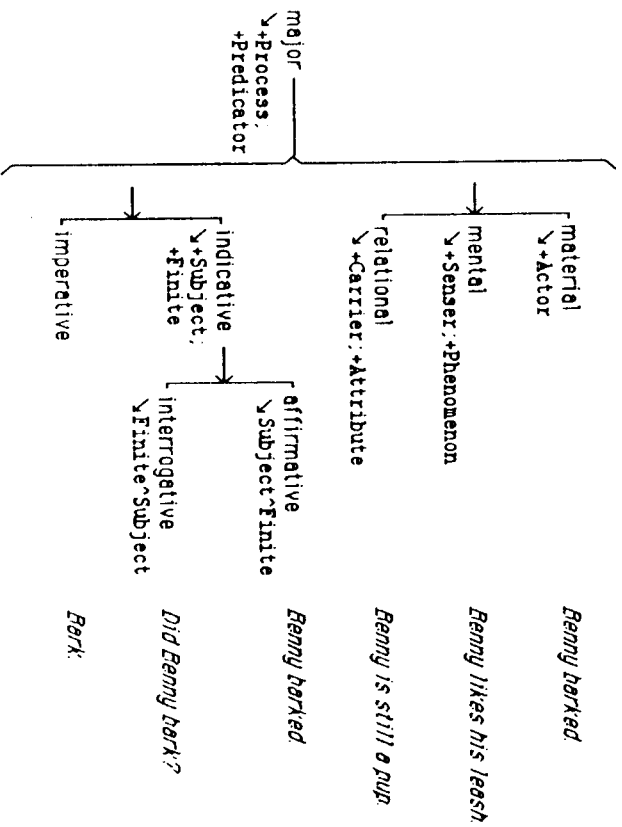


Figure 2: Major clauses cross-classified

Traditionally, two independent parameters of classification of this kind are presented as paradigms. This tabular form of representation is outlined below. Note in passing that while paradigms are limited to two (or possibly three, if the paradigm is re-projected as a cube) dimensions of classification, system networks are not: system networks can be used to cross-classify linguistic items with respect to as many dimensions as required.

	AFFIRMATIVE	INTERROGATIVE	IMPERATIVE
MATERIAL	<i>He died.</i>	<i>Did he die?</i>	<i>Die.</i>
MENTAL	<i>She fears him.</i>	<i>Does she fear him.</i>	<i>Fear him.</i>
RELATIONAL	<i>He's dangerous.</i>	<i>Is he dangerous?</i>	<i>Be dangerous.</i>

Table 3: MOOD and TRANSITIVITY proportionalities displayed as a paradigm

Halliday's point about intrinsic functionality is that by and large three main dimensions of cross-classification are required. In his work on English clauses for example Halliday found a large number of systems that clustered around MOOD and TRANSITIVITY options, alongside a further set dealing with questions of THEME. And he developed a multi-tiered structural analysis in which layers of structure were proposed to instantiate these major components of meaning. Following Halliday (1985) for example we can analyse *They've won the election* as follows:

They	've	won	the election
Actor	Process		Range
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Theme	Rheme		

Note that each layer is structurally distinct, not just in terms of labelling, but in terms of the bracketing of the clause. At the same time the layers map onto each other in more or less harmonious ways: mapping Subject, Actor and Theme functions onto the same constituent for example is a much used chord.

As stressed above, it is important to keep in mind that these structural layers of instantiation directly reflect the functional organisation of the systems which engender them. And Halliday's observation is that these systems cluster around each other at clause rank in three main groups. It should be noted here that some systemicists have challenged Halliday's interpretation of this clustering (e.g. Fawcett, 1980) and others have called for greater explicitness in such interpretations (e.g. Martin, 1984). Nevertheless, further analysis of English and other languages, including computer implementation of Halliday's English grammar for purpose of text generation (e.g. Mathiessen, 1985), has tended to substantiate Halliday's views and many systemicists would now be prepared to posit tripartite clustering of this kind as a linguistic universal (e.g. Mathiessen and Halliday, 1990). However refined, systemic models of intrinsic functionality are here to stay.

3. PROCESS (syntagmatic)

Systemic insights into the paradigmatic organisation of language began in earnest in the 60s and led during that decade to the metafunctional characterisation of grammatical value outlined in section 2. During the 70s this characterisation was further enriched by focussing as well on the structural output of the different metafunctional components. Halliday (1979) points out that the metafunctions are syntagmatically as well as paradigmatically motivated because of the divergent types of structure through which they are realised. Mathiessen (1988) provides a summary of these findings in the course of tackling some of the representational issues posed by logical, interpersonal and textual meaning.

Halliday and Mathiessen's observation is that ideational meaning is strongly associated with **particulate** realisation, interpersonal meaning with **prosodic** realisation and textual meaning with **periodic** relation. These correlations can be illustrated as follows.

i. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION - **particulate** realisation

From a syntagmatic perspective then, ideational meaning construes reality as relationships among parts and wholes. Experientially, part/whole relations are foregrounded: to construct goings-on the grammar sets up a process and at least one nuclear participant (and may include two further participants and a number of circumstances; see Halliday, 1985a).

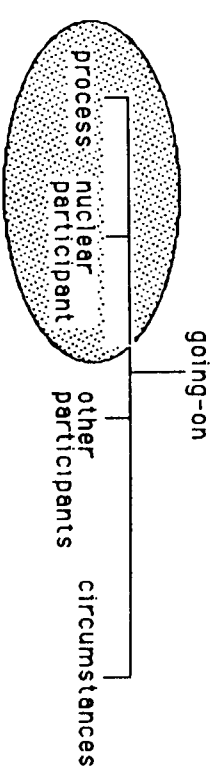
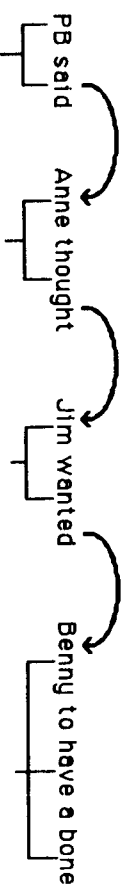


Figure 3: The experiential part-whole construal illustrated

Logically on the other hand part/part relations are foregrounded; for example, the goings-on construed in part/whole terms as just outlined might themselves be inter-linked. In structures of this kind the same kind of inter-relationship is repeated, in a potentially quite open-ended way. In the following example, four part/whole structures are inter-related through the system of hypotactic projection (see Halliday, 1985a). Dependency arrows are used above the example to show the part/part relationships involved (Halliday's notation for this interdependency structure is a "b' g 'd); the part/whole structure of each part is modelled using constituency notation below.

**interdependency** . . .



**constituency** . . .

Figure 4: Logical part/part (interdependency) and experiential part/whole (constituency) contrasts compared

ii. INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION - prosodic realisation

With interpersonal meaning structural realisation tends to transcend parts and wholes - to be **suprasegmental**; social reality is thus syntagmatically construed as an ongoing negotiation of meaning by degree (see Martin, in press b). In English the system of POLARITY provides a useful example of this non-particulate realisation. Non-standards dialects in particular, such as that spoken by Jeff Fenech, draw attention to the presence of a polarity prosody - a prosody of negation in the following example.

"If you don't get **no** publicity you don't get **no** people at the fight," he said. "If you don't get **no** bums on seats you don't get paid...Anyway I enjoy it!" (Fishman, 1990)

Put simply, English structures POLARITY by establishing the value [positive] or [negative] in a clause's Mood function, and then extending its realisation across the Residue whenever indefinite DEIXIS is realised in nominal groups. Thus *no publicity* 'agrees' with the *Finite don't* as modelled below.

If you		don't	get no publicity
Mood			Residue
Subject	Finite: Neg	→	

Figure 5: Negation as an interpersonal prosody

Note that all indefinite nominal groups added to the Residue function are affected by the prosody as they fall within its domain:

If you don't get **no** publicity for **no** fights.  
 If you don't get **no** publicity for **no** fights in **no** papers.  
 If you don't get **no** publicity for **no** fights in **no** papers from **no**one.

With standard English the prosody operates in the same way, the difference being that it is realised by *any* rather than *no* in the nominal groups it conditions:

If you don't get **any** publicity for **any** fights in **any** papers from **any**one.

iii. TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION - periodic realisation

Textual meaning construes semiotic reality syntagmatically as a wave - as a rhythmic ebb and flow constructing peaks of prominence and troughs. This periodic pattern can be illustrated by considering the complementary foregrounding of Theme and New in the English clause. In English, Theme is realised in first position and realises the speaker's angle on his message - her point of departure as it were. New information on the other hand is realised through intonation: basically a tone group's tonic syllable, which carries its major pitch movement, signals the culmination of the group or phrase which is being marked as New - with New extending indefinitely left from this position. In the example below the tonic syllable is *sick*, minimally marking *rather sick* as New.

//1 But then he might well have got rather sick //

In the unmarked case then the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION construct complementary peaks of prominence at the beginning and end of the clause - a wave of Theme, then New which gives a grammatical periodicity to text. An attempt at modelling this culminative structure is presented as Figure 6.

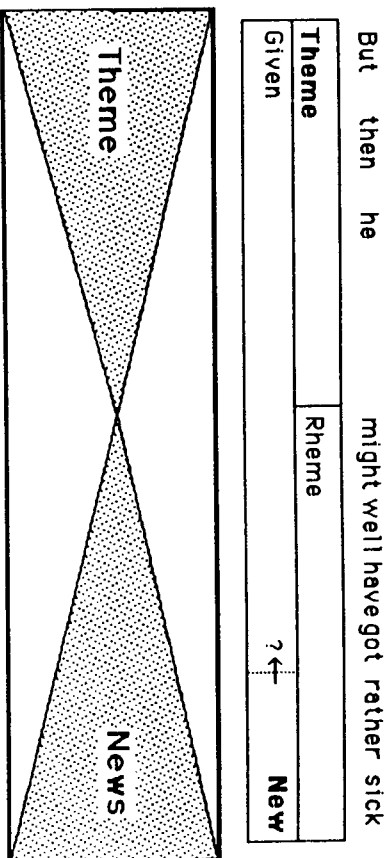


Figure 6: Textual periodicity as constructed by THEME and INFORMATION

Texts as a whole, especially written ones, may be elaborately organised around this realisation principle, with a hierarchy of periodicity extending across ranks from clause, through paragraph, section, chapter to volumes as a whole (see Martin, in press a, c for discussion).

In summary then paradigmatic arguments for the metafunctional organisation of grammar have been considerably reinforced by research into the distinctive syntagmatic patterns through which ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning are realised. And throughout the 80s research across languages has tended to confirm intrinsic functionality of just this kind as a linguistic universal (see for example Martin, 1981, 1983, 1988, 1990, in press d on Tagalog). What has emerged is a powerful model of the way in which language itself is organised to make meaning - a grounded, materialist theory of functionality.

By way of summarising the arguments for metafunctional organisation developed in sections 2 and 3 let us return at this point to Halliday (1974) - first on ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning<sup>11</sup>:

"Balbus built a wall... We can go on to say that this sentence embodies a number of different structures all at the same time, there are represented in that sentence at least three - let us confine ourselves to three - different structural configurations, each one of which corresponds to a different function of

language. On the one hand, there is a transitivity structure involved in it; we could characterize this as Actor + Process + Goal of result. Now this configuration represents the function of language expressing a content, what I prefer to call the *ideational* function: language as expressing the speaker's experience of the external world, and of his own internal world, that of his own consciousness. But on the other hand that clause has structure also in the modal sense, representing what I would call the *interpersonal* function of language, language as expressing relations among participants in the situation, and the speaker's own intrusion into it. So the clause consists simultaneously of a Mood element plus a Residue element. The Mood element expresses the particular role that the speaker has chosen to adopt in the situation and the role or role options that he has chosen to assign to the hearer. At the same time the clause has a third structural configuration, that in terms of a Theme and a Rheme, which is its structure as message in relation to the total communication process - expressing its operational relevance, if you like. The point I want to make is this: in my opinion all these three - and I would be prepared to add one or two more - structural configurations are equally semantic; they are all representations of the meaning of that clause in respect of its different functions, the functions which I have referred to as *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*." (Halliday 1974: 92-93)

And secondly on sub-dividing the ideational into experiential and logical sub-components:

"Within the ideational function, the lexicogrammatical system embodies a clear distinction between an experiential and a logical component in terms of the types of structure by which these are realized. The *experiential* function, as the name implies, is the 'content' function of language; it is language as the expression of the processes and other phenomena of the external world, including the world of the speaker's own consciousness, the world of thoughts, feelings, and so on. The *logical* component is distinguished in the linguistic system by the fact that it is expressed through recursive structures whereas all the other functions are expressed through non-recursive structures. In other words, the logical component is that which is represented in the linguistic system in the form of parataxis and hypotaxis, including such relations as coordination, apposition, condition, reported speech and others. These are the relations that constitute the logic of natural language; including those which



derive from the nature of language itself - reported speech is obviously one example of this, and another is apposition, the 'namely' relation. I think it is necessary to distinguish the logical from the experiential, partly because logical meanings are clearly distinct in their realization, having exclusively this linear recursive mode of expression, and partly because one can show that the logical element in the linguistic system, while it is ideational in origin, in that it derives from the speaker's experience of the external world, once it is built into language becomes neutral with respect to the other functions, such that all structures whatever their functional origin can have built into them inner structures of a logical kind." (Halliday 1974: 95-96)

4. GRAMMATICAL METAPHOR

Following Hjelmslev, systemic functional linguistics takes the view that language is not simply a system of signs (cf. Greimas, 1974: 58), but rather a stratified denotative semiotic built up around a fundamental opposition between expression form (phonology/graphology) and content form. In systemic theory content form is in turn stratified as two meaning making levels: lexicogrammar and discourse semantics. Crucially, while the relationship between content form and expression form is generally<sup>12</sup> arbitrary, that between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics is **solidary**: both levels (lexicogrammar and discourse semantics) make meaning. One projection of this three level system is outlined in Figure 7.

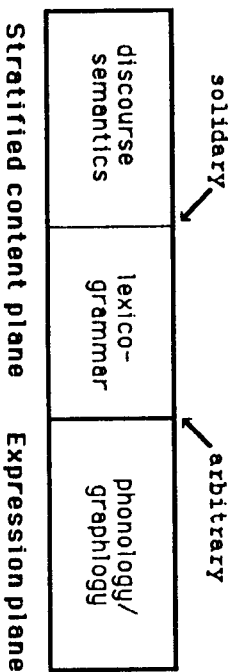


Figure 7: Solidarity and arbitrariness across strata

As outlined in sections 2, 3 and 4 clause grammar is organised by metafunction. It follows from the solidary relation between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics that metafunctional

organisation of this kind pervades the content plane. The interpersonal grammar (MOOD, MODALITY, POLARITY, TAGGING etc.) discussed above thus redounds with an interpersonal discourse semantics which re-interprets these systems with respect to their function in building text - turn-taking, exchanging goods and services and information, negotiating probability, usability, inclination and obligation and so on (see Martin in press a for discussion). Figure 8, from Martin and Matthiessen (1990), presents an alternative projection of the model which clarifies the relationship between the axes of metafunction and stratification in the model. Metafunctions are different ways of construing semiosis at the same level of abstraction; strata on the other hand construe semiosis at different levels of abstraction while at the same time recontextualising the semiosis with respect to larger units (thus the move from focussing on the phoneme and syllable in phonology to a focus on the clause in lexicogrammar to a focal concern with text in the discourse semantics).

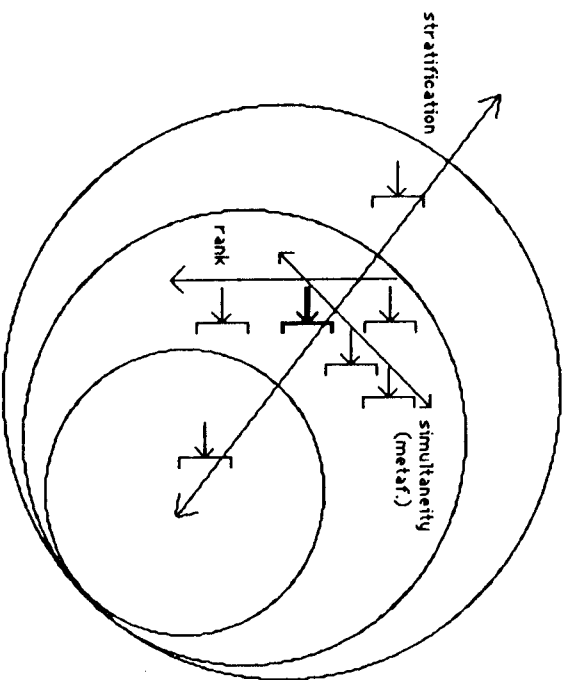


Figure 8: Three axes: strata, ranks and metafunctions

Rejecting arbitrariness, stratifying the content plane in a solidary way unhinges linguistic resources for construing meaning along one very important dimension of realisation referred to by Halliday (1985a) as grammatical metaphor. In brief, grammatical metaphor is a theory of the ways in which the solidary realisation relationship between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics may be reconstructed, thereby expanding the meaning making potential of content form. In the context of the interpersonal metafunction which has been made focal in this paper, the theory provides an account of the solidary and non-solidary<sup>13</sup> realisation relationship between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD. The solidary way of asking for a piece of experiential meaning for example is to use a wh interrogative; but a number of non-solidary realisations are available as well, which range across moods (see Table 4).

solidary	[interrogative:wh]	What's your name?
non-solidary	[interrogative:polar]	Is your name Whorf or Woof?
non-solidary	[imperative]	Tell me your name.
non-solidary	[declarative]	I want to know your name.

Table 4: Solidary and non-solidary realisations of SPEECH FUNCTION

From the perspective of the discourse semantics each realisation has the same function - to elicit the information; however the demand for information is realised, the interlocutor must provide the name in order to complete the exchange. The interlocutor can of course construe the non-solidary realisations as solidary, and respond accordingly; but any such construals will be read as facetious or resistant, and will frustrate rather than facilitate negotiation at this point in a dialogue (see Table 5)

	COMPLY	RESIST
Is your name Whorf or Woof?	- Whorf.	- Yes.
Tell me your name.	- Whorf.	- Alright.
I want to know your name.	- Whorf.	- Oh.

Table 5: Compliant and resistant responses to a demand for information

Halliday refers to this realisation principle as grammatical metaphor because the non-solidary realisations must be read on two levels: literally as the MOOD they grammatically are, and 'figuratively' as the move in the discourse semantics they realise. The presence of two levels of interpretation is clearly reflected in responses which address both meanings.

Tell me your name.  
- Alright, Whorf.

Note that addressing the grammar by responding to the [imperative] with *Alright* is optional whereas addressing the discourse semantics by responding to the demand for information with *Whorf* is a necessary move for the exchange to close. As a theory of realisation, grammatical metaphor thus allows the relationship between demanding information and interrogative mood to be unhinged, predicts that when it is unhinged two levels of meaning are coded, establishes one of these meanings as 'literal' (the grammatical reading) and the other as 'figurative' (the discourse semantics reading) and so explains why non-interrogative realisations of demands for information are marked with respect to solidary ones, can be responded to on two levels<sup>14</sup>, and must be responded to with respect to the discourse semantics for negotiation to proceed. As such grammatical metaphor is a very powerful theory for purposes of textual analysis. Indeed, putting all this another way, grammatical metaphor is a critical component in any model of intertextuality: it insists that non-solidary realisations must always be

read in the context of the solidary ones which were not spoken/written but which are especially immanent and absolutely critical to how a text is read.

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Although often mis-read in these terms, Halliday's theory of grammatical metaphor does not depend in any way on the presumption of a 'world out there' with respect to which clauses can be classified as 'iconic' or not<sup>15</sup>. Rather, grammatical metaphor is part of a theory of intertextuality which suggests that with metaphorical expressions two (or more) sets of texts are immanent - a directly immanent set, agnate to a metaphorical expression's lexicogrammar, and an indirectly immanent set (or set of sets) agnate to its discourse semantics. Grammatical metaphors thus establish the potential for texts to unfold in different directions, according to which line of *valour* is negotiated - with the strong expectation that the discourse semantics agnation will be pursued, but need not be (as illustrated above and below). It is these predictions about text as process which make the theory an invaluable tool for text analysis.

MODALITY for example, like MOOD, has a range of solidary and non-solidary realisations (see Table 6).

<b>solidary</b>	It may have been Moriarty.
non-solidary	I think it was Moriarty.
non-solidary	It's possible it was Moriarty.
non-solidary	There's a possibility it was Moriarty.

Table 6: Solidary and non-solidary realisations of low modality

And each of the non-solidary realisations noted makes use of ideational resources. The first non-solidary realisation for example is explicit subjective and makes use of a mental process of cognition *think* and a hypotactic projection *it was Moriarty*. As with non-solidary

realisations of MOOD this realisation needs to be read on two levels: literally as an ideational structure and figuratively as an interpersonal one. For a text to unfold smoothly it is the 'figurative' (discourse semantics) reading that must be pursued, although, as always, the literal is open to negotiation. Note the way in which Holmes frustrates Watson along just these lines in the following exchange:

"I'm inclined to think---" said I.

"I should do so," Sherlock Holmes remarked impatiently.

I believe that I am one of the most long-suffering of mortals; but I'll admit that I was annoyed at the sardonic interruption.

"Really, Holmes," said I severely, "you are a little trying at times." (Doyle, 1981: 769)

Sardonically, Holmes reads Watson's metaphorically modality as a solidary ideational meaning and suggests that Watson improve his process of cognition before further speculation. Whatever Watson was about to speculate about was thereby nipped in the bud. Halliday's theory of grammatical metaphor explains both why Holmes was able to frustrate Watson and why Watson had every right to be upset: Watson reconstructed the interpersonal (modality) as ideational (a projecting process of cognition) and Holmes took him up on it. It is by unpacking this interaction of stratification and metafunction that we are able to deconstruct the text.

Threadgold (in press: 22) argues that the theory of grammatical metaphor puts the hypotheses about the autonomy of metafunctions very much at risk and suggests that "saying that certain apparently ideational codings are actually interpersonal metaphors is really the same thing as saying that in this instance (and probably in this register) this mental process verb and its projecting<sup>16</sup> clause are realisations of modality or what you will, and that this is in fact the normal way for such meanings to be coded in this particular register." There are two points to consider here.

The first is Threadgold's suggestion that allowing for non-solidary realisations across metafunctions puts the 'autonomy' of metafunctions very much at risk. On the contrary, in a stratified model of the kind outlined here, it does nothing of the kind. The

argumentation for the integrity of metafunctional components in the grammar presented in sections 2, and 3 is quite unaffected by non-solidary realisations across strata. And it is this argumentation around which the notion of simultaneous metafunctional components is built<sup>17</sup>. Indeed without distinct metafunctions, it would be impossible to say that "apparently ideational codings are actually interpersonal metaphors"; and if this cannot be said, then it is not possible to explain Holmes' reply. It is precisely the ideational coding of the interpersonal meaning which creates the potential for the rejoinder Holmes proffers: other non-solidary codings (e.g. *There's a possibility... or Wouldn't you grant that it's possible that...*) would predict very different replies.

The second point at issue is Threadgold's suggestion that Halliday's theory of grammatical metaphor should be rejected in favour of a theory which argues that Watson's metaphorical modality is "simply the normal way for such meanings to be coded in this particular register". But this formulation reveals a serious misreading of grammatical metaphor as a theory of marked and unmarked relations between language and context when in fact it is a theory of marked and unmarked relations between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar - arguing that *I'm inclined to think* is the normal way of expressing low modality in this register explains neither the marked nature of Holmes' response nor Watson's justified pique. And in rejecting the notion of solidary and non-solidary<sup>18</sup> realisations Threadgold is dismissing the explanation given for Holmes' sardonic reply to Watson above, alongside innumerable comparable explanations generalised across contexts by the theory of grammatical metaphor. The theory Threadgold has in mind to replace explanations of this kind is not made clear; but deconstructive practice will be the poorer unless the alternative deals insightfully with the range of phenomena that can be interpreted by unhinging lexicogrammar and discourse semantics along the lines suggested by Halliday (the question of marked and unmarked realisation relations between language and context is another story).

## 5 REGISTER

Commenting on the explanatory significance of an intrinsically grounded theory of functionality, Halliday (1974) remarks that such a theory is designed to explain the nature of language in such a way as to relate it to its external environment:

"So we have the *observer* function, the *intruder* function, and the *relevance* function, to use another terminological framework that I sometimes find helpful as an explanation. To me the significance of a functional system of this kind is that you can use it to explain the nature of language, because you find that language is in fact structured along these three dimensions. So the system is as it were both extrinsic and intrinsic at the same time. It is designed to explain the internal nature of language in such a way as to relate it to its external environment." (1974: 95)

The projection of metafunctions across levels within language and from language to other denotative semiotics can be extended in other words to include context as well. Halliday's projection of metafunctions onto context draws on a long tradition of contextual description with Firthian linguistics. The proportionalities he suggests (e.g. Halliday, 1978) are represented below:

METAFUNCTION:	CONTEXT OF SITUATION::
ideational:	field::
interpersonal:	tenor::
textual:	mode

The term *context of situation* comes from Malinowski, but was significantly de-'materialised' in Firth's work. He comments as follows:

"Malinowski regarded the context of situation as a sort of behaviour matrix in which language had meaning, often a 'creative' meaning. The context of situation in the present theory is a schematic construct for application especially

to the typical 'repetitive events' in the social process." (Firth, 1957c/1968: 176).

Firth's own framework for analysing context of situation is outlined below, as elaborated by Halliday from Firth (1950/1957a: 182 and Firth, 1957/1968: 177) 19:

- the PARTICIPANTS in the situation: what Firth referred to as persons and personalities, corresponding more or less to what sociologists would regard as the statuses and roles of the participants;
- the ACTION of the participants: what they are doing, including both their VERBAL ACTION and their NON-VERBAL ACTION;
- OTHER RELEVANT FEATURES OF THE SITUATION: the surrounding objects and events, in so far as they have some bearing on what is going on;
- the EFFECTS of the verbal action: what changes were brought about by what the participants in the situation had to say. (from Halliday/1985b/1989:8)

By the 60s this framework had been further distilled (e.g. Halliday et al., 1964) as the now familiar field, tenor<sup>20</sup> and mode triad associated with metafunctions above. Briefly, field refers to what is happening, tenor to who is taking part and mode to the role language is playing in a context of situation. Halliday (1985b/1989: 12) unpacks this contextual construct more fully as follows:

**FIELD - the social action:** 'what is actually taking place'  
 refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what it is that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component;

**TENOR - the role structure:** 'who is taking part'  
 refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved;

**MODE - the symbolic organisation:** 'what role language is playing'

refers to what part language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in the situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like.

The de-materialisation of context is even stronger here, with field, mode and tenor well on their way to being construed as semiotic systems in their own right. Martin<sup>21</sup> (e.g. 1986, in press a) proposes construing field, mode and tenor as connotative semiotics, following Hjelmslev's (1961) definition of the term - namely, a connotative semiotic is a semiotic that has another semiotic as its expression plane. Using the term *register* as a cover term for field, mode and tenor Martin configures language in relation to context as as in Figure 9.

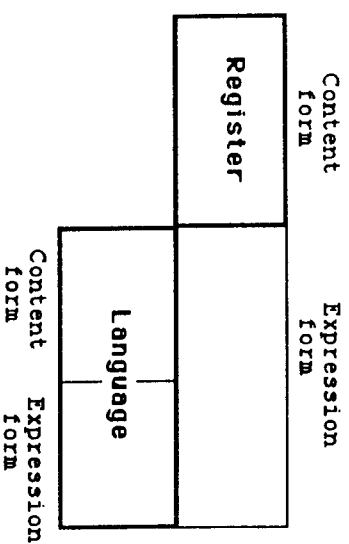


Figure 9: Register as a connotative semiotic

Halliday uses the term *register* differently to refer simply to the effect of context on language:

I would see the notion of register as being at the semantic level, not above it. Shifting in register means re-ordering the probabilities at the semantic level... whereas the categories of field, mode and tenor belong one level up. These are the features of the context of situation; and this is an interface. But

the register itself I would see as being linguistic; it is a setting of probabilities in the semantics. (Thibault, 1987: 610)

This terminological problem aside, the relationship between context and language is the two models is identical - one of probabilistic realisation with the solidary relation between contextual variables and metafunctions presented above. The correspondences are outlined in Table 7.

Halliday (eg. 1978)

Martin (e.g. 1986)

**CONTEXT OF SITUATION:**  
(contextual construct - Hasan)

**REGISTER:**  
[as connotative semiotic]:

field  
tenor  
mode

field  
tenor  
mode (excluding rhetorical mode)

**Redounding with** (i.e. symbolising, construing, reconstructing and construed by)

LANGUAGE:

LANGUAGE:

semantics (register as meanings at risk)  
lexicogrammar  
phonology/graphology

discourse semantics  
lexicogrammar  
phonology/graphology

Table 7: Relations between context and language in Halliday (1978) & Martin (1986)

Martin's semiotic construal of context will be exemplified with respect to interpersonal meaning here, drawing on work by Poynton (1984, 1985/1989) on tenor<sup>22</sup>. Following Brown and Gilman (1960) tenor oppositions are formulated with respect to simultaneous systems of power and solidarity; in addition Poynton recognises an optional affect system to account for what Halliday (1978: 33) has referred to as "the

degree of emotional charge" in a relationship. A very simplified picture of these oppositions is presented in Figure 10. The STATUS system is concerned with social hierarchy: do the interlocutors adopt positions of [equal] or [unequal] status? The CONTACT system is concerned with familiarity: how involved do the the interlocutors present themselves as being with each other - as interacting a lot or just occasionally? - over what period of time? - in how many different roles? The AFFECT system, when operative, charges the relationship with respect to the positive or negative disposition of the interlocutors.

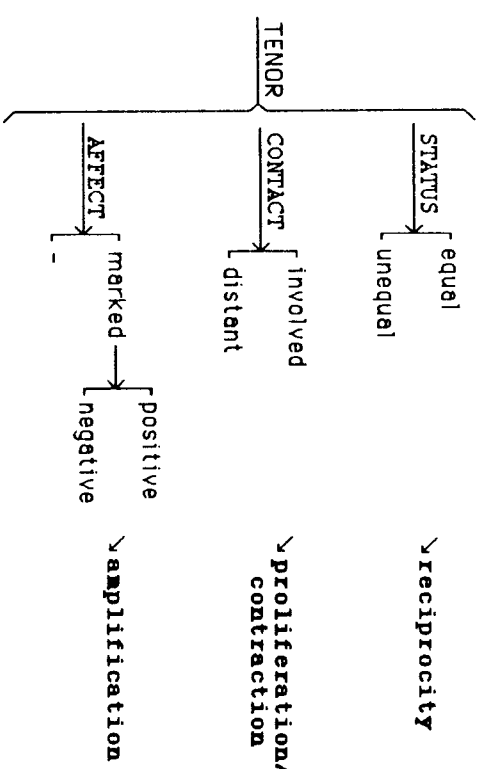


Figure 10: A semiotic construal of tenor (following Poynton 1984)

As noted above, for Halliday, register is a setting of probabilities in semantics. In re-interpreting register as a connotative semiotic for which Halliday reserves the term context of situation Martin and Poynton adopt a related perspective on realisation: the connotative is realised by skewing probabilities in language and as far as tenor is concerned the interpersonal metafunction is particularly at risk. But since the whole of language, including discourse semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology is taken as the expression

form of register, this skewing is not restricted to semantics; interpersonal systems on all strata are affected by tenor.

According to Poynton, the way in which probabilities are skewed depends on which aspect of tenor is considered. With STATUS relations the relevant realisation principle is **reciprocity**: equal status is constructed where interlocutors take up the same kinds of options, unequal status where they take up choices of different kinds. With CONTACT, the relevant realisation principles are **proliferation** and **contraction**: familiarity is constructed where interlocutors take up a wide range of choices, tending at the same time to contract their structural realisation; taking up a narrow, more predictable range of choices and realising them more fully constructs social distance. With AFFECT, the associated realisation principle is **amplification**: the more interlocutors choose to emotionally charge the situation, the more they intensify and re-iterate the realisation of their disposition (keeping in mind that turning off affect completely in involved relationships is very loud' - e.g. gritting one's teeth and talking like a robot when furious).

Each of these principles can be briefly illustrated by re-considering the relationship being negotiated by Watson and Holmes in the short text introduced in section 4 above. As far as reciprocity is concerned, the relationship is negotiated as unequal. Watson chooses a low, explicitly subjective modality *I'm inclined to think* while Holmes chooses the higher valued implicitly subjective *should*. Watson also mitigates his criticism of Holmes with the downgrading intensifier *a little* and the low valued realisation of usuality *at times*; there is of course no sign of reciprocal mitigation in Holmes' impatient interruption.

NON-RECIPROCALITY [unequal status]

"I'm inclined to think---" said I.

"I should do so," Sherlock Holmes remarked impatiently.

I believe that I am one of the most long-suffering of mortals: but I'll admit that I was annoyed at the sardonic interruption.

"Really, Holmes," said I severely, "you are a little trying at times." (Doyle, 1981: 769)

With respect to CONTACT, Watson and Holmes conduct their interaction as familiars. Watson for example begins by metaphorically modalising his speculation, positioning Holmes to read his doubt on two levels: interpersonally as 'maybe' and ideationally as 'desired cognition'. Unexpectedly, Holmes siezes on the ideational reading, effectively proliferating the number of negotiable meanings at stake. And instead of ignoring him and continuing with his speculation Watson decides to complain about this proliferation, further extending the meanings at risk. Considered syntagmatically, the realisation of this manoeuvring is quite contracted. Holmes cuts Watson off at the end of his projecting clause, thereby dismissing the projection he has already anticipated as not worth hearing; and Holmes interruption itself involves the substitute *do so*. This proliferation of meanings and contracted realisation constructs Watson and Holmes as highly involved. Read against their unequal status, this positions the two as what one might call colleagues (as opposed to friends).

PROLIFERATION & CONTRACTION [involved contact]

"I'm inclined to think---" said I.

"I should do so," Sherlock Holmes remarked impatiently.

I believe that I am one of the most long-suffering of mortals: but I'll admit that I was annoyed at the sardonic interruption.

"Really, Holmes," said I severely, "you are a little trying at times." (Doyle, 1981: 769)

Turning to AFFECT, Watson and Holmes negotiate with a degree of familiarity which makes the realisation of attitude possible. The discourse at this point is negatively charged, and is repeatedly constructed for us by Doyle as such: *remarked impatiently, the most long-suffering of mortals, annoyed at the sardonic interruption, said I severely*. Watson himself amplifies his annoyance with the intensifier *really*, balancing this by downgrading his criticism (turning down the volume as it were): *a little and at times*. Note that the expression of attitude is itself a proliferation of meaning which enhances the degree of involvement Watson and Holmes negotiate. This underlines one of the respects in which AFFECT is 'dependent' on the

systems of STATUS and CONTACT; no attempt has been made to make this interaction explicit in the account presented here.

#### AMPLIFICATION [negative affect]

"I'm inclined to think---" said I.

"I should do so," Sherlock Holmes remarked impatiently.

I believe that I am one of the most long-suffering of mortals; but I'll admit that I was annoyed at the sardonic interruption.

"Really, Holmes," said I severely, "you are a little trying at times." (Doyle, 1981: 769)

For reasons of space it will unfortunately not be possible to pursue the semiotic construal of field and mode as register variables here (see Martin in press a for an introduction). Hopefully however the discussion has been sufficient to illustrate the way in which metafunctions can be projected from language onto context giving rise to a model in which field, tenor and mode stand in a solidarity realisation relationship with ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning respectively. Note that the solidarity across semiotics, from the denotative (language) to the connotative (register), is different in kind from the solidarity across strata reviewed in section 4. Between semiotics, realisation is probabilistic - the connotative determines meanings at risk: solidarity is reflected in the fact that tenor tends to skew interpersonal probabilities, field ideational probabilities and mode textual ones. Between strata on the other hand realisation is solidary in a different sense: each stratum contributes a layer of meaning to text with grammatical metaphor mediating the degree to which the layers of meaning contributed by discourse semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology harmonise.

Within language, metafunctional solidarity across strata gives rise to a model in which discourse semantics and lexicogrammar (and aspects of phonology as well) stand in a 'natural' as opposed to an 'arbitrary' relationship with each other. Similarly, across semiotics, solidarity constructs a 'natural' relationship between context and language. The metafunctional organisation of language in other words is **not** modelled in systemic theory as an accident. Rather, it is

modelled as a consequence of the generalised contexts of use in which language has evolved over the millennia. Halliday's intrinsic theory of functionality is used to construct a model of context which embodies language's own theory of how its semiotic environment should be construed.

Models of context which do not reflect this intrinsic functionality suggest on the other hand that the relationship between context and language is arbitrary. There are many models of this kind, including the genre, discourse, narrative, dialogism, crypto-types models suggested by Kress and Threadgold. Halliday (1985/1989: 17) reviews a number of these, including Malinowski (1923), Bühler (1934), Britton (1970) and Morris (1967). The critical point to make here is that criteria are required for selecting among these models, and the many others on offer. The metafunctional organisation of language provides one set of criteria: models of context will be preferred to the extent that they are solidary with an intrinsic theory of functionality. If this criterion is rejected, as it has been implicitly by Kress and Threadgold<sup>23</sup>, then alternative criteria must be offered. Where they are not offered contextual theory places itself in the position of proliferating models which can be celebrated as different but which do not enter into a process of theoretical negotiation through which our understanding of context can evolve. This remains a very serious problem as far as dialogue between the intertextual and contextual perspectives outlined in section 1 above is concerned. From a linguistic perspective the most serious challenge faced by non-solidary models is that of explaining intrinsic functionality: if field, mode and tenor are rejected as a model of context, then why does language have the metafunctional organisation it has? - where do ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning come from?

#### 6. GENRE

One interesting effect of projecting metafunctions onto context in a solidary way is that teleology (i.e. a concern with purposes, goals, intentions and effects) is backgrounded as a contextual variable. If for example we consider Firth's elaboration of context, then field can be associated with his point (a), mode with point (b) and tenor with point



(c): his point (d) on the other hand is not strongly associated with field, mode or tenor, nor, it follows, with any one metafunction.

"The description of the context of situation by stating the interior relations of the constituents or factors, may be followed by referring such contexts to a variety of known frameworks of a more general character such as (a) the economic, religious and other social structures of the societies of which the participants are members; (b) types of linguistic discourse such as monologue, choric language, narrative, recitation, explanation, exposition; (c) personal interchanges, e.g. mentioning especially the number, age and sex of the participants and noting speaker-listener, reader-writer and reader or writer contexts, including series of such interchanges; (d) types of speech function such as drills and orders, detailed direction and control of techniques of all kinds, social flattery, blessing, cursing, praise and blame, concealment and deception, social pressure and constraint, verbal constructs of all kinds, and phatic communion." (Firth, 1957b/1968: 178)

The closest we come to a telos oriented component in Halliday's framework is within the contextual variable mode: "and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like" (Halliday, 1985b/1989: 12). In related systemic models, teleology is more strongly foregrounded, as a distinct contextual variable: note the functional tenor, role and pragmatic purpose components in the summary table of the better known of these models (Table 8).

Halliday et al 1964	Gregory 1967	Ure & Ellis 1977	Halliday 1978	Fawcett 1980
field	field	field	field	subject matter
mode	mode	mode	mode	channel
style	personal	formality	tenor	relationship
	tenor			
	functional	role		pragmatic
	tenor			purpose

Table 8. Some alternative systemic models of context of situation

Another notable effect of projecting metafunctions onto context in a solidary way is the modular picture of contextual relations produced. This creates a disjunction between the tripartite register model and contextual models centred around the the more unitary notion of genre. The advantage of the genre perspective is that it provides a more wholistic interpretation of text type which in turn makes it possible to account for the fact that field, mode and tenor variables are never randomly combined but rather settle into a number of relatively stable combinations reflecting the system of social process engendering a speech community. Bakhtin introduces the notion of speech genres in order to make way for this more integrative perspective:

"All the diverse areas of human activity involve the use of language. Quite understandably, the nature of forms of this use are just as diverse as are the areas of human activity...Language is realised in the form of individual concrete utterances (oral and written) by participants in the various areas of human activity. The utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure. All three of these aspects<sup>24</sup> - thematic content, style, and compositional structure - are inseparably linked to the *whole* of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication. Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres*." (Bakhtin, 1986: 60)

Martin (1986 in press a ) suggests stratifying context in order to reconcile a metafunctionally diversified notion of register with the more wholistic interpretation afforded by genre theory. Construed as another connotative semiotic genre then takes its place in the model as outlined in Figure 11 - with register (and so with language as well) as its expression form. In its early stages of development the level of genre was given special responsibility for teleological explanation<sup>25</sup>, subsuming notions of functional tenor, role or pragmatic purpose from related contextual models.

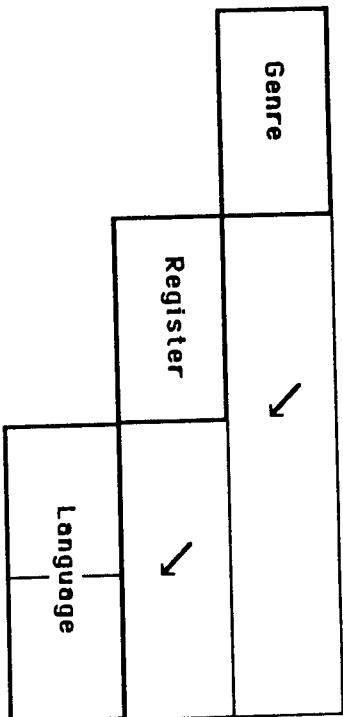


Figure 11: Genre and register as connotative semiotics stratifying context

Positioned as the content plane of register in this way the level of genre makes it possible to account for inter-textual relations cutting across metafunctions. Martin (1985/1989: 8) for example discusses inter-textual relations among Recount, Description and Report genres (for sample texts see Martin, 1985). Recounts are text types which give an unproblematic account of an sequence of events (unproblematic in the sense of 'nothing going wrong'<sup>26</sup>)- temporally sequenced macro-propositions. They may refer either to a particular sequence of events (as in a letter about a trip to a friend) or to a generalised sequence of activities (as in a history text-book describing a pattern of settlement). As opposed to these, Descriptions and Reports are thing-focused; they are not organised around a sequence of events. Descriptions characterise an individual, whereas Reports characterise a class of phenomena. These proportionalities can be presented as a paradigm (Table 9).

	particular	general
event focus	RECOUNT	GENERALISED RECOUNT
thing focus	DESCRIPTION	REPORT

Table 9: Intertextuality among four genres

The account can be extended to include macro-proposals (recipes, instruction manuals, directions and the like). Like both types of recount these procedural texts focus on events; and like Generalised Recounts and Reports they are generalised rather than particular. These macro-proposals can be more easily added to the picture by re-expressing the paradigm in Table 9 as the system network in Figure 12, with an additional system dependent on a conjunction of the features [general] and [event focus].

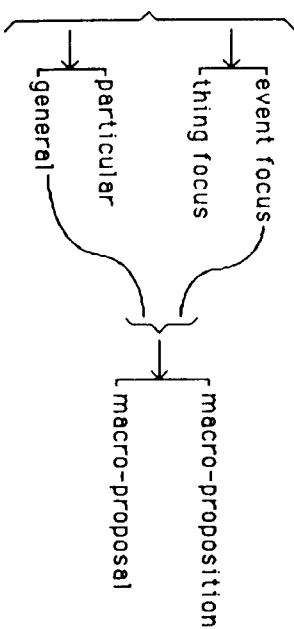


Figure 12: Systemic relations underlying Reports, Recounts, Generalised Reports, Descriptions & Procedures

Note that in characterising these inter-textual relations an appeal was made to ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. The [event focus/thing focus] system is ideational, while the [particular/general] system is textual; and Procedures were further distinguished from Generalised Recounts as macro-proposals as opposed to macro-propositions (an interpersonal opposition). A stratified context plane thus makes it possible to range across metafunctions when classifying genres at the same time as maintaining solidarity with metafunctions at the complementary level of register. Ranging across metafunctions in this way puts us in a more powerful position to reason about genres.

Consider now the following text from Kress and Threadgold (1988: 238-239). The text comes from the back of an entrance door to a flat at a beach resort. Kress and Threadgold use the text to illustrate

the multi-generic nature of texts. How then is this text related to the genres considered above?

Beach House Holiday Units

.....

This unit accommodates 5 persons only. Extra persons will be charged a nightly rate.

Unit to be vacated by 10am. on the day of departure.

Only soft toilet paper to be used in septic toilet & please do not dispose of sanitary pads in toilet.

Garbage bags to be placed out on concrete near barbecue each MONDAY before 7pm.

Barbecue is available for your use. Utensils in laundry.

No pets allowed.

No fish to be cleaned on premises.

For safety reasons please turn off heaters & fans when unit is unoccupied.

Thank-you.

Brian & Norma Vanny

Prop.

PLEASE DO NOT PUT GARBAGE IN COUNCIL BINS.

Overwhelmingly this text focusses on events: all but two clauses are concerned with action (including the metaphorical *Barbecue is available for your use = You can use the barbecue* ). Similarly, the text is overwhelmingly generic in orientation: specific reference is made to the unit, the barbecue and the proprietors but otherwise the reference is to

whole classes of persons and things. Beyond this the text is overwhelmingly a demand for service. Its proposals are generally realised metaphorically as modulated declaratives:

- COMPULSION (is) to be vacated, (is) to be used, (is) to be placed, (is) to be cleaned available (cf. the solitary *you can use* )
- ABILITY
- PERMISSION allowed
- And there are three imperatives:
  - IMPERATIVE please do not dispose
  - please turn off
  - please do not put

By these ideational, textual and interpersonal criteria then the text falls overwhelmingly into the class of procedures noted above. Unlike recipes, directions and instruction manuals however, and like rules for games, regulations and laws, the text is not organised around sequence in time. This is clearly reflected in its thematic structure: there are only two textual Themes (& *and/when* ). And as far as topical Themes are concerned the text makes extensive use of the passive to create a method of development which focusses on the unit and its contents (including exclusions: *pets and/fish* ).

Theme:	<u>topical</u>	<u>interpersonal</u>	<u>textual</u>
	this unit, extra persons unit		
	only soft toilet paper	please	&
	garbage bags		
	barbecue, utensils		
	no pets		
	no fish		
	for safety reasons unit	please	when
		PLEASE	

Table 10: Topical, interpersonal and textual Theme in the Beach House Holiday Units text

Like rules, laws and regulations then the text is concerned with restricting, not with enabling behaviour. Its social purpose is to limit the activities undertaken by guests in specific ways. In this respect it contrasts with recipes, directions and instruction manuals which apprentice subjects **step by step** into the activity sequences they are trying to learn. Systemically then it seems important to extend the network presented above to distinguish between macro-proposals that [enable] and those which [restrict]. Overwhelmingly the text is an [event focus/general:macro-proposal:restrict] genre.

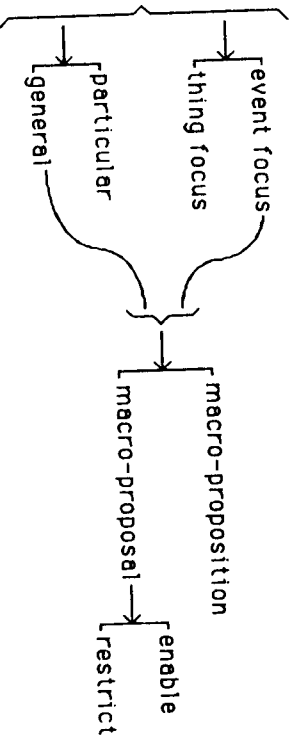


Figure 13: Systemic relations among Reports, Recounts, Generalised Reports, Descriptions, Instructions and Rules

This extension is in fact anticipated by Kress and Threadgold who distinguish between instructions and rules (1988: 239). The account of generic inter-textuality developed to this point is summarised as a paradigm in Table 11.

	particular	general:	proposal	
event focus	RECOUNT	GENERALISED RECOUNT	INSTRUCTIONS	enable
thing focus	DESCRIPTION	REPORT	RULES	restrict

Table 11: Intertextuality among Reports, Recounts, Generalised Reports, Descriptions, Instructions and Rules

A comparable account of register 'intertextuality' is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper. Tenor however will be briefly considered here. With respect to STATUS the text is written, and so positions writers and readers in a non-reciprocal negotiation of meaning. As noted above the text prefers non-solidary realisations of proposals to solidary ones (which makes it possible through the 'passive' to elide the participant modally responsible for performing the service demanded as Kress and Threadgold point out), and mitigates solidary realisations with *please* wherever they are used. This pattern of interpersonal deference is in tension with the institutional authority the writers derive as proprietors from the text's field.

As far as CONTACT is concerned there is no proliferation of meaning: the text is limited to a fairly ritualised set of prescriptions in this field. In some respects the realisation of these meanings is contracted, but these contractions are predictable from the text's cryptic public notice mode and need not be read as tokens of familiarity here. The text does not negotiate AFFECT, consonant with its construal of unequal status and distant contact.

Is this then a multi-generic text? From the point of view of a model which stratifies register and genre, and places register in a solidary relation with metafunctions, the answer is clearly "No". The text is generically a list of Rules, immediately agnate to Instructions, both of which are in turn agnate to Generalised Recounts and so on. This valetur, taken together with the text's register, including the overt tension between tenor and field (deference vs authority), and the text's public notice mode, give a robust account of the discourse semantics and lexicogrammar of its every clause. Why then do Kress and Threadgold (1988: 241) describe the text as carrying "the traces of many genres"?

Simplifying somewhat Kress and Threadgold's argument seems to be based on two points: (i), that the text is a mixture of "instructions, rules, signs" (1988: 240); and (ii), that the text realises voices of both deference and authority, reflecting the "contradictory nature of the social relations" (1988: 240). As can be seen from this line of analysis, the concept of genre in Kress and Threadgold's model does a lot of work - work shared among the genre, field, tenor and mode modules in

a model which stratifies context along the lines suggested by Martin and his colleagues. At the level of genre in Martin's model, the text is a macro-proposal and so predictably resembles both Instructions and Rules in several respects. But if sequence in time is taken as criterial for distinguishing Instructions from Rules, then the text falls clearly into the Rules genre (projecting "sets of existential classifications into which readers are meant to fit their actions" as Kress and Threadgold (1988: 239) aptly put it). Note that construing genre as a semiotic system and formalising intertextuality at this level with system networks makes possible a complex statement of just how text-types are alike and unlike each other. In such a model saying that two genres are similar is not an argument for multi-genericity, but rather for an analysis that treats them at some less delicate level as the same genre. The fact that the text is a public notice (a sign) is neither here nor there in this argument since since this is an aspect of its mode, not genre: saying that something is a sign implies a very different set of inter-textual relationships (sign, memo, contract, letter etc.) than saying it is a set of instructions or rules.

As far as contradictory social relations are concerned, this can be alternatively accommodated as a tension between field (authority) and tenor (deference) within the genre as outlined above rather than as evidence for a configuration of "generic traces". The general point here is that in a stratified model of context, genre will always be read as a configuration of register 'traces' - of recurrent and occasionally novel and at times subversive co-selections from field, tenor and mode. Genre focusses wholistically on a text's meaning; register deconstructs this unity from a complementary metafunctionally differentiated perspective.

In summary then Kress and Threadgold's argument for multi-genericness depends on a model in which genre is not played off against field, tenor and mode and in which system networks are not used to show how texts are alike and different depending on the delicacy of focus. Martin's stratified model constrains intertextuality by mapping it along four dimensions (genre, field, tenor and mode), and predicts that genres evolve by combining register variables in new ways (for the model of semogenesis assumed here see Nesbitt and Plum, 1988). Kress and Threadgold's model is apparently far more open about intertextual

relations and consequently makes much weaker predictions about the direction of generic change. It needs to be said at this point however that Kress and Threadgold (1988) are not explicit about the role to be played by intertextual resources, including narrative, dialogism, cryptotypes and discourse in accounting for multi-genericness and cultural change; their model of inter-textual relations may thus be far more constrained than their statement that "every text carries the traces of many genres" (1988: 241) would suggest.

This critique of Kress and Threadgold's interpretation of the Beach House Holiday Units text as multigeneric is not in any sense intended as a suggestion that genres cannot be mixed. Rather the critique suggests that a model of intertextuality which characterises such texts as multigeneric runs the risk of trivialising the notion of intertextuality to the point where it cannot identify genre mixing that is functionally motivated. The processes whereby feminist writers subvert genre fiction for example (Cranny-Francis, 1990) are not at all agnate to the supposed genre mixing in Beach House Holiday Units, and accordingly cannot be explained away by construing genre as a semiotic system or by allowing for register variation within a genre as suggested here. Such practices involve strategic rewriting, with a view to social change; they exploit the dynamic openness inherent in semiotic systems in ways that make the genre evolve. Arguing that every text carries the traces of many genres effectively insults subversive practices of this kind by constructing them as just another manifestation of naturalised every-day mixing (a Derridaean<sup>27</sup> 'you cannot not mix genres' carnivale). This discourse runs the very real danger of lapsing into yet another liberal humanist celebration of difference - an a-political and a-historical abyss which Kress and Threadgold are determined to eschew. By importing precisely the analytical 'text as pastiche' (see Jameson, 1984a, 1984b, 1985) technique which renders much of post-structuralism politically inert, Kress and Threadgold leave themselves open to a critique of this kind.

By way of drawing this section to a close note that the argument about proportionalities among genres was conducted here without reference to a 'definition' of genre. The reasons for this is that definitions do not have primary theoretical status in systemic theory. Defining genre for example as a 'staged goal-oriented social process'<sup>28</sup>

is simply glossing the term for 'outsiders'. The model itself constructs genre as a connotative semiotic realised through register (and so through language); system networks such as those presented in Fig. 13 above are employed to formalise inter-textual proportionalities at this level. Arguing about genre thus reduces to questions of *vaieur*: how do we place the genre in a network of systemic relations? And this is an argument about how texts are related, not about labels used to gloss these relationships<sup>29</sup>. Marhiessen (1990: 12-13) puts the strategy succinctly as follows:

"The proportionalities are primary, but the labels we use to name the members of the proportions (i.e. features in systems) and the proportions themselves (i.e. systems) are secondary. It is important to remember this when we explore the discourse-semantic motivation behind the organization of grammar: we have to reason about the proportionalities embodied in the systems, not about the names we give them. If we reason about the names, we are only engaging in lexical semantic studies of the technical vocabulary used in the account."

Unfortunately there is no space here to pursue further the advantages of stratifying context while maintaining solidarity between register and metafunction. Martin in press addresses (i). the need for a multi-functional characterisation of genre; (ii). the importance of accounting for just which combinations of field, tenor and mode variables a culture recurrently exploits; (iii). the question of variations in field, tenor and mode from one stage to another within a genre; iv. the distinction between activity sequences (field time) and schematic structure (text time); and (v). the formalisation of trans-metafunctional *vaieur* (as exemplified above). For work on genre in this tradition from a particular perspective see Ventola (1987) (on both part/whole 'synoptic' and part/part 'dynamic' realisation). For extensions of this to include prosodic realisation see Martin (in press b; Cranny-Francis and Martin, 1990); periodic realisation is taken up in some detail in Martin (in press c).

7. A NOTE ON IDEOLOGY

Each level of semiosis presented thus far (language, register and genre) has been generalised across the culture as a meaning potential

available to all literate<sup>30</sup> English speakers. Clearly however, access to this potential is very unevenly distributed, as mediated by the four highly generalised discourses of age, gender, ethnicity and class. One way of accounting for this mediation is to model all of language, register and genre as the expression form of ideology, itself modelled as a connotative semiotic determining the coding orientations of speakers (or to put this another way, interpellating their social subjectivity). A synoptic overview of these discourses is presented systematically in Fig. 14 below<sup>31</sup>; for deployment of this model in the context of feminist genre fiction, (see Cranny-Francis, 1990). Replaying the model building dialectic presented thus far, note that projecting metafunctions onto context produces a modular, differentiated view of intertextual meaning; this was then re-integrated at the level of genre to account for intertextuality across metafunctions; as a final step context has been dis-integrated again at the level of ideology in order to account for the distribution of this meaning potential across social subjects in the culture.

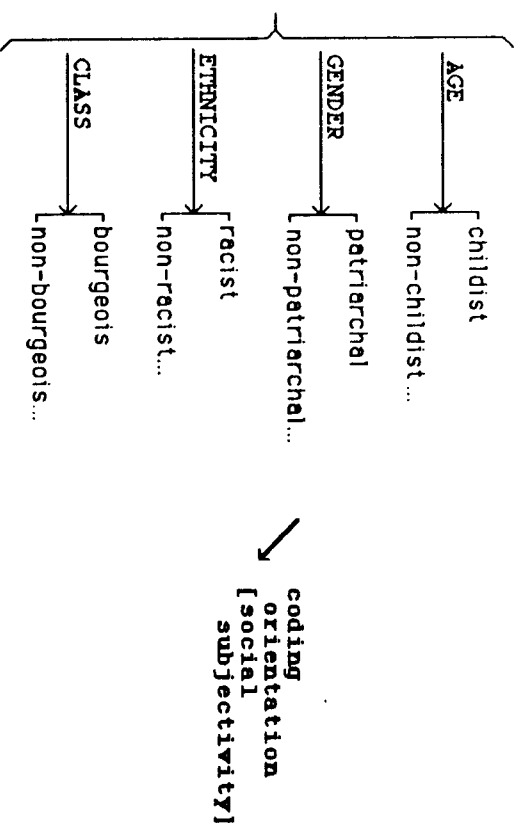


Figure 14: Ideological parameters of social subjectivity

It is appropriate at this point to return to the work of Whorf, who argued for solidarity between language and context in terms of "traceable affinities between (a) cultural and behavioural norms and (b) large-scale linguistic patterns" (1941/1956: 138). Whorf referred to these large-scale patterns as *fashions of speaking* :

"They [concepts of 'time' and 'matter'] do not so much depend upon ANY ONE SYSTEM (e.g. tense or noun) within the grammar as upon ways of analysing and reporting experience which have become fixed in the language as integrated 'fashions of speaking' and which cut across the typical grammatical classifications, so that such as 'fashion' may include lexical, morphological, syntactic, and otherwise systemically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency." (1941/1956: 158)

Critical to Whorf's interpretation of these patterns was his work on covert categories, or cryptotypes (1956: 92). Most of Halliday's (1985a) description of the grammar of English clauses is a cryptogrammar in Whorf's terms (cf. Threadgold, 1989b). There is nothing for example in the morphology of English motivating a distinction between, say, [material] and [mental] processes. But the distinction is an important one in the grammar, since it manifests itself through a number of critical *reactances* 32: [mental] processes have an obligatory conscious participant whereas [material] processes do not; [mental] processes can project, whereas [material] processes cannot; [mental] processes have an unmarked simple [present] tense for describing ongoing action, whereas [material] processes take [present in present], and so on (see Halliday, 1985a: 108-11 for discussion):

consciousness

MENTAL Benjamin/\*the tree realises the problem.

MATERIAL The tree/Benjamin grew.

projection

MENTAL Benjamin considered that language makes meaning.

MATERIAL \*Benjamin frowned that language makes meaning.

tense

MENTAL Benjamin knows that the affinities are there.

MATERIAL Benjamin is reworking the issue.

Because of the semantic significance of crypto-types of this kind it is not surprising that Halliday's grammar, like Whorf's, has facilitated the investigation of affinities between language and cultural and behavioural norms for some time. Bernstein (see Atkinson, 1985; Bernstein, 1984, 1987) for a review of this research) in particular has explored the solidarity between fashions of speaking (closely related to *coding orientations* in his terms) and discourses of class; more recently this work has been followed up by Hasan, focussing on discourses of class and gender (see Cloran, 1989; Hasan, 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1990; Hasan and Cloran, in press). Bernstein comments insightfully on the relationship between this work and Whorf's as follows:

"...the form of the social relations or, more generally, the social structures generate distinct linguistic forms or codes and *these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour*.... It [this thesis] shares with Whorf the controlling influence on experience ascribed to 'frames of consistency' involved in fashions of speaking. It differs and perhaps relativises Whorf by asserting that, in the context of a common language in the sense of a general code, there will arise distinct linguistic forms, fashions of speaking, which induce in their speakers *different* ways of relating to objects and persons. It leaves open the question of whether there are features of a *common culture* which all members of a society share which are determined by the specific nature of the general code or language at its *syntactic* and *morphological* levels. It is, finally, more distinctly sociological in its emphasis on the system of social relations." (1965/1973: 143-4).

In short then, whether re-integrated at the level of genre or not, projecting metafunctions onto context in a solidary way produces a model which is generalised, like language, across speakers. Models of this kind thus need to be recontextualised at the level of ideology in order to account for the system of coding orientations interpellating social subjectivity. This synoptic construal of the way in which meaning potential is distributed across speakers needs in turn to be re-read dynamically to make way for an interpretation of semogenesis at all levels (including Kress and Threadgold's (1988) important concern with the evolution of genres). For preliminary work in this area see Martin (1985, 1986), Cramny-Francis and Martin (1990).

8. A NOTE ON REALISATION

As outlined in section 7 above, while Whorf and Bernstein agree that the relation between language and context is a solidary one, they differ with respect to which level they describe as ideationally responsible. Writing as a sociologist, Bernstein ascribes agency to social structure:

"the social structures generate distinct linguistic forms or codes and these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour..." (Bernstein 1965/1973: 143)

Whorf on the other hand, writing as a functional linguist, usually makes language ideationally responsible (note however his more neutral "traceable affinities" quoted in section 7 above):

"We are inclined to think of language simply as a technique of expression, and not to realize that language first of all is a classification and arrangement of the stream of sensory experience which results in a certain world-order, a certain segment of the world that is easily expressible by the type of symbolic means that language employs." (Whorf 1936/1956: 55)

An ergative analysis (following Halliday, 1985a) of these complementary grammaticalisations of language/context inter-relations is outlined in Figure 15.

Whorf	language	classifies & arranges	the stream of sensory experience
Bernstein	the social structure	generates	distinct linguistic forms
	<b>Agent</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Medium</b>

Figure 15: Contrasting agency in Whorf and Bernstein's construal of solidarity between language and context

This apparently raises the issue of whether language determines social structure or vice versa, an issue which has been set aside to this point in the paper. It is however critically related to the interpretation of the technical term *realisation* which will be briefly considered here.

Throughout this paper the concept of realisation has been used to relate levels; consistently levels which are closer to denotative expression form have been made *Token* and levels further from denotative expression form *Value* in relational clauses making use of this concept as a technical verb. With respect to the summary diagram of levels presented in Figure 15 (from Martin and Matthiessen, 1990), this means for example that lexicogrammar realises discourse semantics, that language realises register, that register realises genre and so on.

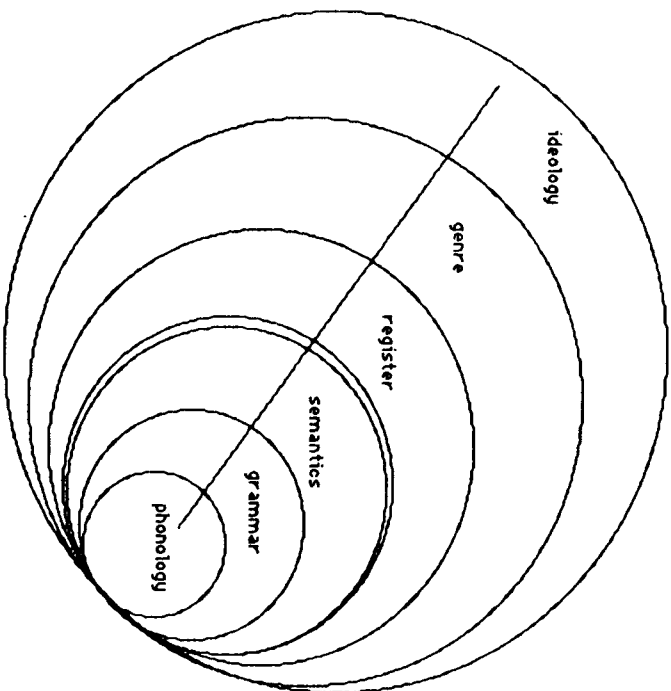


Figure 15: Summary of stratification within and between semiotics



These grammaticalisations of inter-level relations are often misunderstood as implying that 'deeper' levels control 'shallower' ones (or bigger circles smaller ones as in Figure 15); and material formulations in which genre is grammaticalised for example as *controlling* or *determining* register enhance misreadings of this kind. Note however that the intended relational process reading is ambivalent about 'control'. As Token, the grammar constructs levels closer to denotative expression form as less abstract, more material, more concrete and so on than deeper ones. At the same time, from an ergative perspective it is the Token which is Agent - the function that acts on, determines, shapes etc. the Value. Halliday's (1985a) transitive and ergative readings of relational clauses of this kind is outlined in Figure 16 .

language	realises	register
<b>Token</b>	<b>Relational Process</b>	<b>Value</b>
transitive [abstraction]		
ergative [agency]	<b>Agent</b>	<b>Process</b>
		<b>Medium</b>

Figure 16: Two-way readings in the grammar of *realisation*

The critical point here is that theoretically, the concept of realisation is not directional. Saying that language realises register means both that language determines register and that register determines language; unfortunately it is not possible in English to say both things at once. The ambivalence of the relational process readings outlined above is the closest English comes to grammaticalising the bi-directionality involved. It may be that the term *realisation* could be improved upon; the term *redound* was used in section 5 above in the diagram comparing Halliday and Martin's different uses of the term *register* . This term was unpacked there as meaning that field, mode and tenor symbolically (i.e. in a solidary way) construe, reconstrue (allowing for semogenesis) and are construed by language.

Realisation is a complex issue which cannot be further pursued here. The purpose of this section has simply been to make it clear that readings of Figures 11 and 15 as 'top-down' or 'deterministic' models are misreadings, based on realist readings of the concept of realisation as it is 'naturally' grammaticalised in English. For a recontextualisation of realisation as *metaredundancy* (the theory of patterns of patterns) (see Lemke, 1984). Halliday (1982) explores the play between levels which facilitates the construal/reconstrual of 'higher' levels by 'lower' ones (see also Lemke, 1984 on dynamic open systems and metastability and Mathesius, 1964 on static oscillation). For a more dynamic formulation of realisation as a dialectic see Martin and Matthiessen (1990). Hjelmslev (1961) is the seminal work on the very important similarities and differences among (cf. Halliday to appear on realisation, instantiation and exponence) -

- i. the realisation of system in process (e.g. of language in text);
- ii. the realisation of content form in expression form within a stratified denotative semiotic (such as language);
- iii. the realisation of connotative semiotics (such as register, genre and ideology) in denotative ones.

9 ISSUES FOR NEGOTIATION

Kress and Threadgold (1988: 216) argue that a social theory of language requires, in addition to a multifunctional grammar, a theory of the social and cultural which can handle "generic, discursive, narrative, dialogic and crypto-typical patterns of meaning." Their programmatic paper naturally raises a number of outstanding issues; from the perspective of systemic theory some of the more important of these include:

- i. What is the relationship between genre and narrative? Why isn't narrative a type of genre?
- ii. In what sense is the term discourse used? How does it relate to the register variable field? Would discourse be characterised systematically as ideologised field? If so, how is the apparent confusion of discourses

of science or religion (field) with discourses of gender or class (ideology) resolved?

iii. How does dialogism function as just one component in a theory of intertextuality? In what sense is this a reduction of Bakhtin's sense of the term given Kress and Threadgold's discussion of genre mixing reviewed above? How is dialogism different from multi-genericness? Why are both concepts required?

iv. How is the term crypto-types to be understood? For Whorf (e.g. 1956: 126) the term functioned at the level of lexico-grammar; why then is it placed among intertextual resources and thus opposed to Halliday's (1985a) crypto-grammar? What is the relationship between Kress and Threadgold's use of the term and Whorf's fashions of speaking (or Bernstein's coding orientations for that matter)?

Unfortunately, for reasons of space, none of these issues could be seriously addressed here, where the focus has been on the issue of the implications of intrinsic functionality for contextual theory. But unless these issues are addressed, and related to the question of intrinsic functionality, dialogue across intertextual and contextual perspectives will tend to atrophy. Obviously the key to evolution is negotiation. As Threadgold (in press: 28) comments<sup>33</sup>:

"Systemic linguistics and the theory of language as social semiotic have to be located in their Hallidayan forms in the traditional marxist and modernist frameworks. When that is done, most of the categories of Halliday's 1978 version of text/context relations, which are reifications in the Marxist sense - class, role, hierarchy, coding orientation and so on - the base/superstructure, edifice with levels metaphor, and the narrative of linear development from childhood to adulthood, among other things, have to be open to deconstruction, re-appropriation and strategic re-writing.<sup>34</sup>"

The purpose of this paper has been to argue that if negotiation about deconstruction, re-appropriation and strategic re-writing is to take place then a number of fundamental proportionalities have to be explicitly addressed. The following proportionalities, which are critical

to Halliday's suggestion that an intrinsic theory of functionality is at the same time an extroverted theory with implications for contextual theory, have been the main focus of attention here:

#### Metafunction -

ideational:interpersonal:textual::  
 particulate:prosodic:periodic::  
 TRANSITIVITY:MOOD:THEME::  
 field:tenor:mode

#### Levels -

expression form:content form::  
 language:register::  
 register:genre::  
 genre:ideology

#### Grammatical metaphor -

solidary:non-solidary::  
 speech:writing::  
 pre-pubescent speech:mature speech::  
 private:public::  
 foreign language learners:native speakers::  
 emotional:dispassionate::  
 noisy channel:clear channel::  
 intoxicated:sober::  
 pidgin:creole

The names given to these proportions are never less than problematic; and arguing about appropriate glosses is an important issue. Arguing about labels does not however address the proportionalities themselves. It is the proportionalities which encode systemic functional linguistics' theory of intertextuality. And it is this elaborate theory of intertextual relations, grounded as it is on an intrinsic theory of metafunctionality, which must be directly addressed.

Deconstructing this theory is an important task, particularly if Threadgold can demonstrate publicly that the proportionalities themselves encode the modernist pre-Althusserian marxism she

suspects<sup>35</sup>. But it is not a task that can be pursued without coming to terms with the grammatically responsible theory of context systemists propose. Rejecting solidarity between the metafunctional organisation of language and the contexts in which language is used puts contextual theorists in one of two positions: either (i), the position of claiming that language as system is arbitrarily related to context (perhaps with metafunctions neurologically triggered as might be argued in Chomsky's rationalist linguistics), or (ii), the position of searching for alternative social and cultural explanations for intrinsic functionality. It is unlikely that a fruitful dialogue among systemic linguistics, semiotics, post-structuralism and critical theory can proceed unless the issue of metafunctional solidarity is foregrounded in negotiation. This paper at least proposes the issue as a critical theme in the evolution of a politically responsible social semiotics such as that envisioned by Kress and Threadgold.

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- 1 Todorov 1984:60 takes the term from Kristeva to regloss Bakhtin's dialogism; this usage will be followed throughout the paper.
- 2 Other, possibly more accessible publications by Kress and Threadgold (e.g. Kress 1985/1989, Hodge and Kress 1988 or Threadgold 1988a, 1988b) would function equally well as the subject of an identical critique.
- 3 One or more of the terms discourse, narrative and genre are used in a number of other publications by the authors (e.g. Kress 1985/1989, Threadgold 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1989a). In each publication however they are re-configured in a different set of 'intertextual' resources, each of which differs from the configuration under discussion here.
- 4 Their term is 'megagrammatical', corrected as a mis-print here.
- 5 As Kress and Threadgold demonstrate in this article, and in a number of their related publications, the realisation of contextual categories such as narrative, discourse and genre is diversified across metafunctions (across ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning); their model of context does not in other words reflect the overall functional organisation of language as system.
- 6 Halliday in fact uses the term *context of situation*, not *register*, as a cover term for field, mode and tenor: for him, register refers to the linguistic consequences of contextual choice, not the contextual potential itself (see section 5 below).
- 7 Recall that for Firth it is part of the meaning of an American to sound like one.
- 8 Those in Table 2 unfortunately invoke Derrida's transcendental signified; note however that these are glosses, not definitions (see section 6 below) - argumentation for metafunctions does not in itself presuppose a world 'out there'.
- 9 This glossing was presented by Christian Matthiessen during lectures on systemic grammar at the Finnish Summer School of Linguistics at the University of Jyväskylä in 1989.
- 10 Threadgold's (1990:17 in manuscript) comment that she has "never really seen why system networks were necessary to interpretation" and that she has "never been able to use them in the kinds of textual work" she has undertaken is thus unreadable within the framework of systemic functional linguistics: systemic textual analysis is not possible without the system/structure cycle just outlined - structural analysis in the model has no interpretation except with respect to system.
- 11 Halliday's terminology has been updated to Halliday (1985a) in these quotations.
- 12 Note that interpersonal and textual meaning do have solitary realisations across lexico-grammar and phonology (see for example the discussion of TONE in section 6 below); it is only with respect to experiential meaning that language's expression form can be said to stand in a truly arbitrary relation to lexico-grammar.
- 13 Halliday's somewhat problematic terms for this realisations relationship are *congruent* and *incongruent*.
- 14 With the 'literal' response preceding the 'figurative' if both levels are addressed.
- 15 The reason for this is that Halliday's theory is a theory of how lexico-grammar and discourse semantics are related, not a theory of how language is related to extra-linguistic reality.
- 16 Threadgold must in fact mean *projected* here.
- 17 Note in passing that Threadgold's suggestion that systemic linguists have argued for 'autonomous' metafunctions is an imputation which is not substantiated in the literature, where the evidence is presented as tendencies and the boundaries are acknowledged to be blurred; see Martin (1984) for a critique of this argumentation.

- 18 Threadgold in fact bases her critique on her interpretation of the terms *congruent* (my *solidary*) and *incongruent* (my *non-solidary*) used by Halliday: the strategy of revising terminology to avoid misunderstanding is preferred here to that of rejecting the theory; these terms attempt to gloss (cf. Halliday (1984/1988) on the ineffability of grammatical categories).
- 19 Firth's actual (1957) system is: 1. The participants: persons, personalities and relevant features of these. (a) The verbal action of the participants. (b) the non-verbal action of the participants. 2. The relevant objects and non-verbal and non-personal events. 3. The effect of the verbal action.
- 20 Originally *style*, but changed to *tenor* following Gregory (1967).
- 21 The stratified register/genre/ideology model of context attributed to Martin here was developed in collaboration with Joan Rothery, Guenter Plum, Eija Ventola, Cate Poynton, Chris Nesbitt, Anne Thwaite and Lynn Poulton at the University of Sydney in the early 80s; see Plum (1988), Poynton (1990b), Rothery (1990), Ventola (1987).
- 22 Poynton refers to what is called *status* here as *power*; in addition her contact dimension has been radically simplified here (see Martin in press, Chapter 7 for further discussion).
- 23 But apparently rejected explicitly by Threadgold (1990, in press:23), as quoted above: "It seems to me perfectly possible to argue that the resources of the grammar enable three kinds of distinct functional meanings... whether or not these resources co-pattern/coadapt or not with the semiotic patterns of contextual configurations."
- 24 Note the way in which Bakhtin's thematic content, style and compositional structure anticipate Halliday's metafunctions: in addition systemic approaches to genre are foreshadowed in Bakhtin's notion of speech genres, although research in Firthian (see Mitchell 1957/1975) and systemic linguistics (e.g. Hasan 1977) represents an independent line of development.
- 25 As reflected in Martin's definition of genre as a 'staged goal-oriented social process' (e.g. Martin et al. no date); see Thibault (1989) for an extended critique of this characterisation.
- 26 See Plum 1988 and Rothery (1990) on the ways in which interpersonal meaning inflects the ideational to differentiate 'story' genres such as Recount, Narrative, Anecdote and Exemplum.
- 27 See Derrida (1980) for an equally unhelpful notion of mixed genres.
- 28 For the record, the term *staged* reflects a early pre-occupation with multi-variate structure at this rank; the term *goal oriented* was used to make an inter-disciplinary connection with work on frames, scripts and schemas in artificial intelligence and cognitive psychology; and the term *social process* was chosen to gloss the perspective as inter- as opposed to intra-organism. The definition has always been very indirectly related to work on generic proportions themselves.
- 29 Threadgold's (1990, in press) concern with Halliday's *congruence* and Thibault's (1989) critique of apparently teleologically based notions of *genre* are on one level arguments about labels of just this kind. In neither article are the proportionalities at issue directly addressed.
- 30 Control of ideational grammatical metaphor depends on control of written discourse; see Halliday (1985d/1989).
- 31 In this network the features [childist, patriarchal, racist, bourgeois] refer to dominant naturalised discourses; varieties of oppositional discourse are not delineated.
- 32 This is Whorf's term for the indirect manifestation of cryptotypes.
- 33 Threadgold's location of systemic linguistics within the modernist tradition is in fact extremely contentious. A glance at Hassan's very helpful (1987:91-92) modernism:postmodernism proportionalities shows that systemic linguistics cannot in fact be confidently positioned in this way; consider for example the following of his



modernist:postmodernist oppositions, all of which are clearly straddled by systemics - design:chance :: genre:text :: semantics:rhetoric :: paradigm:synagm ::

hypotaxis:parataxis :: selection:combination :: signified:signifier :: depth:surface.  
 34 The doubts raised about Threadgold's construction of systemic linguistics as modernist in footnote 36 aside, Threadgold's concern with re-appropriation and re-writing needs to be balanced against Harvey's (1989 - following Jameson 1984a, 1984b) construal of post-modernism as the cultural style engendered by flexible accumulation capitalism, alongside his and others' criticisms of its political incoherence, its disempowerment of 'other' voices, its failure to engage with the realities of global power and so on (1987:113-118). It might well turn out to be more appropriate for systemics to re-write post-structuralism than for post-structuralism to re-appropriate systemics, as Threadgold advocates.

35 Halliday (1990:34) in manuscript explicitly rejects these imputations: "...the system (the more or less permanent, invariant features of the language) construes the meaning styles, value systems and ideologies that constitute the culture as a whole; it does not represent the perspective of any one group within the culture - not even that of a 'ruling class'. If the system is hegemonic, this is because it defines the potential within which meanings can be meant. It is the deployment of resources within the system that differentiates social groups within the culture."

## The Dialogic Imagination In Tangu Myth

Erik Schwimmer

### Prefatory Note<sup>1</sup>

This paper was presented some years ago as part of a symposium in homage of my one-time thesis supervisor, Professor K.O.L. Burridge, at a meeting of the Canadian Anthropological Society at Université Laval. Plans to have the symposium published as a festschrift failed. I am therefore publishing the paper separately, as presented and revised for the planned volume.

It is offered here to a public of semioticians as the issue it addresses - the "literary" or "aesthetic" reading of what is supposedly "myth" or "ritual discourse" - is basically semiotic. It is argued that "dialogism", though treated here as a tool in literary analysis, correlates with cultural values and is also crucial to the development of the concept of "possible worlds" in semiotics. A dialogic text is one where each of the dramatic personae delivers complete utterances, setting up a distinct "possible world"; where the author stays outside the worlds depicted; and where the possible worlds meet at critical points of intersection in the text. My purpose has been to show how this device, sometimes considered to be the prerogative of very sophisticated literati, is made to operate effectively in Papua New Guinean oral literature.

At the time when Burridge wrote *Tangu Traditions* it was by no means generally accepted that myth analysis could be the main theme of an anthropological monograph. He had in fact carefully prepared the ground for it when he presented his "myth-dream" theory in his earlier book *Mambu. A Melanesian millenium*. There he demonstrated that myth-dream was logically and historically prior to millennial action; it was certainly not a rationalization after the event, as functionalists tended to claim at the time.

One important achievement of Tangu Traditions was that it contextualised the myth-dream, first of all, against the backdrop of a vast body of mythology dealing with relations between elder and younger brothers. He showed how the millennial version arose historically from a well-established sibling relation paradigm. Secondly, this diadic set was by no means the only one or even the most important