The Baboon and the Bee: exploring register patterns across languages

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Abstract

This paper reports on a typological study, not of particular linguistic features or particular languages, but of patterns of register realised by language. The data is a set of traditional stories in a range of languages around the world. Analyses focus on units of structure known as story phases, that realise elements of the fields of stories. Texts are analysed for patterns of information that organise sequences of phases, and patterns of ideation that relate phases by expectancy and implication. Interesting findings include not only variations in plot structuring as phases, but their deployment in negotiating ideological positions in different cultures, through the perspectives of narrators and characters, alongside the linguistic realisations of these contextual patterns.

0 Introduction

> The Saussurean trinity is completed by the concept he attaches to the French word *langage* - language in general; *le langage* comprises the linguistic tendencies of the general human faculty. Language in general is a power, a part of human nature, social, individual, heterogeneous and multiform… if we take away all the overt individual acts of *sujets parlants* of any given community, we have the all-important residue, a silent highly-organised system of signs existing apart from and over and above the individual as *sujet parlant. Langage* minus *parole* gives you *langue,* and now we come to the main conclusion: that it is the study of this *langue* which is the real purpose and object of linguistics [Firth 1950:41].

Firth did not entirely agree with this conclusion of Saussure's, for "In the most general terms we study language as part of the social process, and what we may call the systematics of phonetics and phonology, of grammatical categories or of semantics, are ordered schematic constructs, frames of reference, a sort of scaffolding for the handling of events. The study of the social process and of single human beings are simultaneous and of equal validity" (ibid). His vision anticipated major dimensions of systemic functional theory, particularly stratification, from phonetics up to social context, and instantiation, not merely from *langue* to *parole*, but from *langage* down to single human beings, Saussure's *sujets parlants*. And equally significant is his view of the social function of linguistic theory, its appliability, 'a sort of scaffolding for the handling of events'.

We can use these criteria to interrogate the purpose and object of typological linguistics, a century after Saussure. In terms of instantiation, typological studies assume certain general potentials that are shared by languages. The goal of a study is to describe how certain general features at one or another stratum and rank (*langage*) are instantiated in the particular systems and structures of one or more languages (*langue*). In terms of stratification and rank, a traditional concern of language typology has been with variations in general potentials at lower ranks of phonology and morphology. The traditional application is reconstruction of historical relations between languages, for which human beings are interesting merely as informants. Functional language typology assumes shared potentials in clause rank systems, in order to describe variations in mood, modality, transitivity, clause complexity and theme, along with group rank and discourse semantic categories to some

extent. Matthiessen 2015 refers to these general functional potentials as 'multilingual meaning potentials'.[1]

This paper takes another step up the stratal hierarchy, to explore some general potentials at the levels of genre and register, and down the instantial cline, to interpret how people might read texts in diverse cultures. The study it reports on began with the first functional typology conference in Sydney in 2000, for which I was asked to speak on the textual metafunction (Rose 2001a). The initial data came from typological studies later published in Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004, but particularly from stories provided to me by the authors, which were needed for exploring textual strategies in discourse. The data set has since grown as a corpus of traditional stories in languages around the world. These text types are particularly useful for typological study, as genre and mode are relatively constant, allowing us to explore variations in other dimensions. Many published grammars now include stories with interlinear glosses that can be interpreted in functional terms.

Patterns of genre and register are illustrated with three stories from China, Australia and Africa. Findings include general options for types of stories at the level of genre, that are realised in general options for structuring the registers of stories, realised in general options for ideational and textual structures in discourse semantics. It suggests that systemic potentials at the level of grammar, such as process types, have co-evolved with register potentials, and hence mirror their organisation, and that instantiation in language cannot be divorced from instantiation in register and genre. Indeed, linguistic study cannot avoid displaying instances of register, in order to exemplify linguistic features. But the register of examples is usually backgrounded, in order to focus attention on patterns of language. This study reverses the focus, backgrounding grammar to attend to patterns of register.

1 Theory
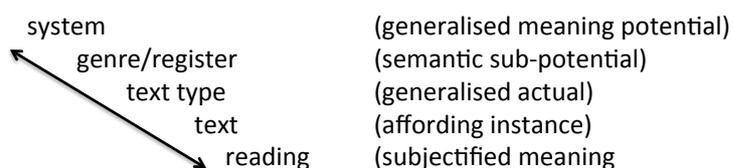
1.1 Stratification & instantiation

The study is grounded in the model of language in context proposed by Martin 1992 (Figure 1). Martin follows Hjelmslev's proposal to treat context as a connotative semiotic realised by language as a denotative semiotic. In this view, culture is modelled as constellations of genres that configure social activities, social relations, and modalities of meaning making. In other words, a genre is a configuration of selections in field, tenor and mode that is recognisable to members of a culture. Looking down the strata, genre is realised through these register variables, which are in turn realised in language by selections from discourse semantic systems, of ideation, conjunction, exchange, appraisal, identification and periodicity (Martin & Rose 2003/2007). These discourse selections are realised in turn by selections from grammatical systems at clause, group, word and morpheme ranks (Halliday 1985/2014), that are expressed by selections in sound or writing systems (Halliday & Greaves 2012).

Figure 1: Connotative and denotative semiotics
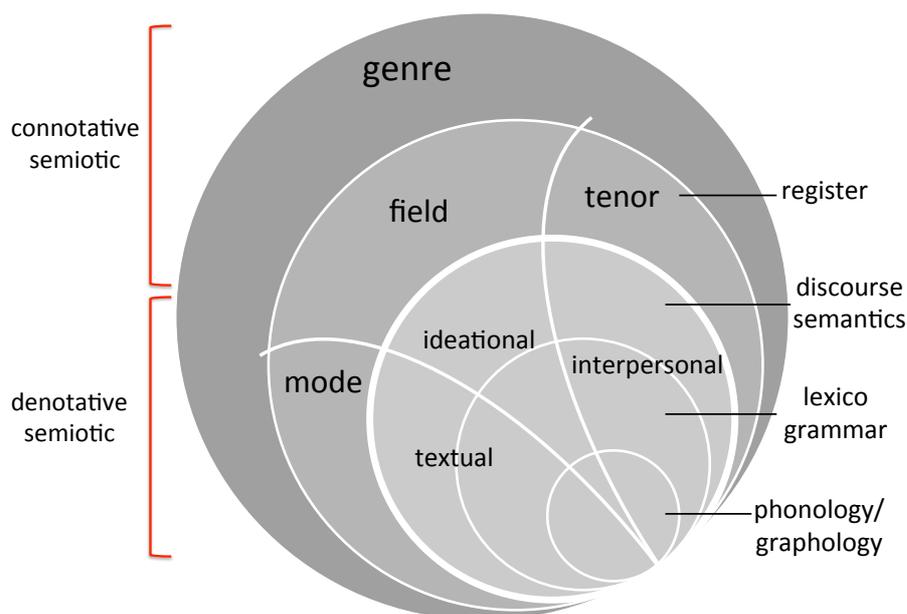
Alongside this hierarchy of realisation, potential options at each stratum are instantiated as actual patterns of meaning as a text unfolds. Instantiation is modelled as a cline in Figure 2 (after Martin 2006). Each genre and its register configurations are sub-potentials of the overall semiotic system of a culture, and particular texts are actual instances of these genre and register selections. In between, text types co-instantiate genre and register selections in regular patterns, that Halliday calls 'generalised actuals', quoting Firth (in Martin 2013:75). And finally, each text affords different possible readings.

Figure 2: Cline of instantiation

system	(generalised meaning potential)
genre/register	(semantic sub-potential)
text type	(generalised actual)
text	(affording instance)
reading	(subjectified meaning

Looking up the cline, Martin (2006:285) explains "a reading is the subjectified meaning someone construes from a text, which can thus be interpreted as an affording instance of language use; if we move on to generalise across a set of comparable texts, we move up to a consideration of generalised actuals; generalising further we arrive at the recurrent configurations of meaning we recognise as registers and genres; and finally we reach the reservoir of meanings constituting a language as a whole".

Each stratum contributes a layer of unfolding patterns to a text. Genre contributes the global organisation of texts oriented to social goals, instantiated as variable sequences of text stages (Martin & Rose 2012). Field contributes sequences of activities involving people and things, which tenor negotiates and evaluates, and mode organises as dialogue and monologue, accompanying or constituting fields of activity. Stories are usually monologic texts that constitute their own fields. Their fields are specific activity sequences, people and

places, while their tenor is variable. They negotiate expectancy with listeners/readers, and they may share feelings, judge people, and/or appreciate activities, things and places (Martin & Rose 2008). Discourse patterns construe fields of activity as sequences of figures, linked by conjunction; they enact social relations as spoken exchanges and prosodies of appraisal; and they present meanings as chains of identity in waves of information. Grammatical structures configure discourse structures as patterns of words in groups and clauses, that are expressed as sequences of sounds.

Two further points need making about relations between stratification and instantiation. Firstly, each lower stratum both instantiates its own systems and realises the instantiations of higher strata. Sequences of discourse patterns instantiate selections in discourse semantic systems, to realise instantial patterns of register and genre. Sequences of grammatical patterns instantiate selections in grammatical systems, to realise instantial patterns of discourse. Secondly, while grammar and discourse systems evolve as generalised resources for realising any instance of genre and register, the genres and register configurations that particular cultures instantiate are limited by their social organisation, economic activities and available semiotic modalities. One implication for typology is that variation is likely to be greater in register and genre than in grammar and discourse.

1.2 Realisations of fields in register and discourse

> A field is composed of recurrent sequences of activities. Because they are recurrent, any sequence is to some extent predictable within a field, so that variations from such sequences are counterexpectant (Martin & Rose 2007:101.)

Following Martin's 1992 model of field agnation, Jing Hao 2015 analysed the field of undergraduate biology into sub-fields of exploration, depiction, practice, reflection and inquiry. Each of these field types is realised **intrastratally** as types of activity sequences, respectively implication, observation, operation, review, preview and reasoning (Figure 3). In the terms developed by Martin and Rose (2007, 2008, 2012), types of activity sequences such as these are termed **phases**. In other words, phases are units of structure at the level of register that realise options in field systems.

Figure 3: Field types realised intrastratally as phases of activity
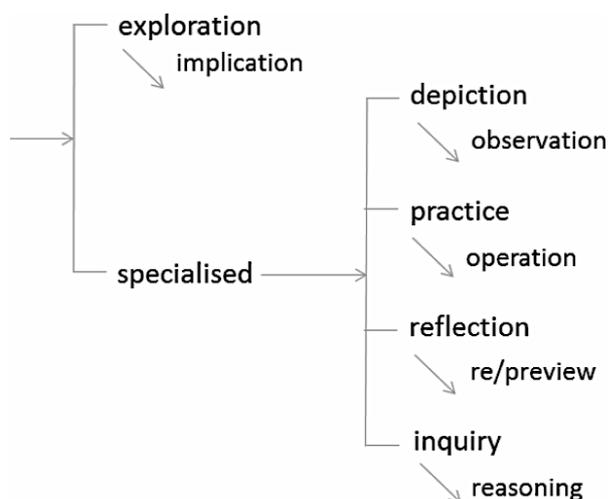
Secondly, Hao describes the discourse semantic systems and structures that realise field types **interstratally**. In particular, phases are realised by sequences of figures involving entities, events and relations, illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Field activities realised interstratally as sequences of figures
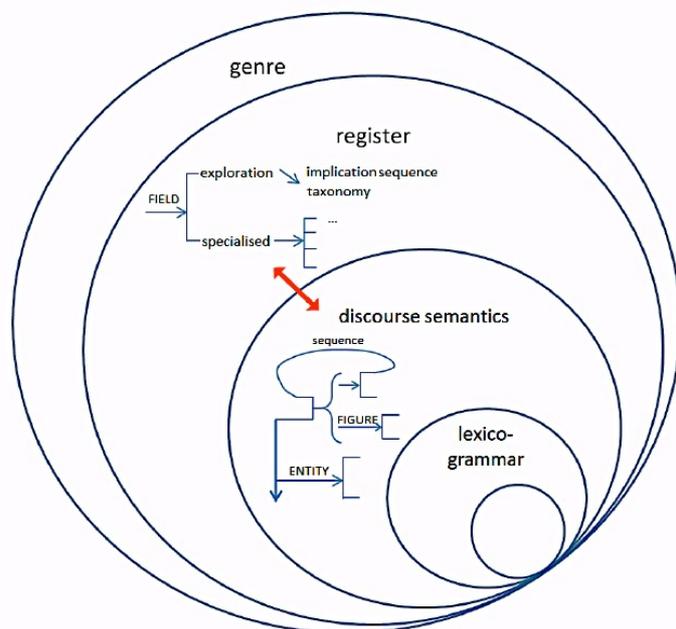

Hao reserves the terms activity and activity sequence for the level of register. The terms entity, event, figure and figure sequence are reserved for the level of discourse semantics. This terminology clarifies and brings together Martin's 1992 terms and Halliday & Matthiessen's 1999 terms, which were also used in Rose's 2001b description of Pitjantjatjara. The terms process and participant are reserved for generalising transitivity functions in grammar (Halliday 1985/2014).

1.3 Story genres realised intrastratally by staging

For the purposes of this study, we can apply this type of modelling to relations within and between genre and register, focusing on story genres and their fields. At the level of genre, relations between stories are realised **intrastratally** by their staging. Five story genres are described in Martin & Rose 2008 (following Martin & Plum 1997), including recount, narrative, anecdote, exemplum and observation. Each story genre may include an orienting and an optional evaluating stage. Their obligatory stages are shown in Figure 5 as realisation statements.

The core stage of a recount is a Record of expectant activities. The core stages of other genres configure counterexpectant activities. In a narrative this stage is known as a Complication, followed by a Resolution. The counterexpectancy of anecdotes, exemplums and observations is not resolved but is reacted to, interpreted or commented on, either explicitly or implicitly.

**Figure 5: Story genres realised intrastratally by staging**
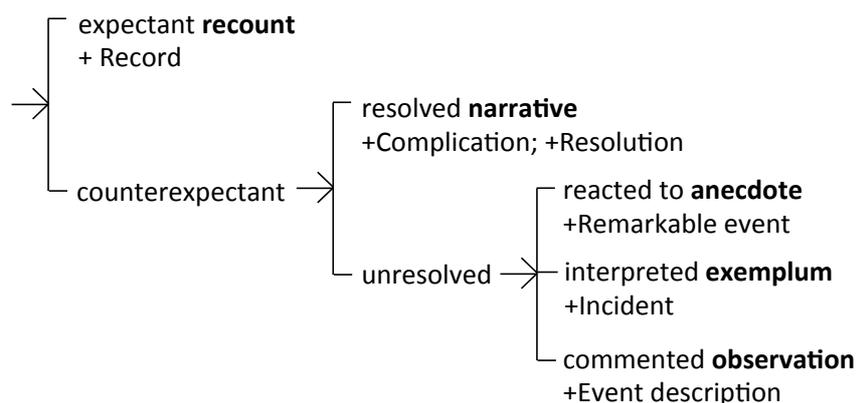
Expectancy is a probabilistic relation between meanings in discourse. As Firth noted long ago, "The moment a conversation is started, whatever is said is a determining condition for what, in reasonable expectation, may follow" [1935:31]. Recognition of expectancy in stories depends on systems of register and genre potentials that are shared between storytellers and listeners.

1.4 Fields of stories

Figure 6 offers a tentative modelling of fields in stories, borrowing a few traditional terms from literature. The aim is to position the plot of stories in relation to other dimensions of their fields.

Figure 6: Fields of stories (tentative)
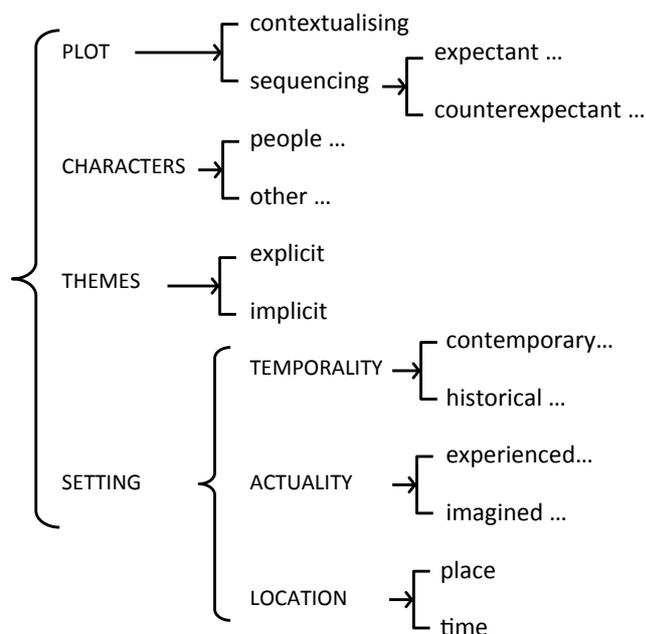
Plot refers to the overall structuring of activities, that either contextualise a sequence or unfold as sequences that are expectant or counterexpectant. Characters may be people, or personified animals or things. Themes are the abstractions construed by the story, its

interpretations of social significance, that may or may not be made explicit. (It may be possible to classify types of story themes, but this is not attempted here.) Setting distinguishes contemporary and historical stories that narrate actual experiences or imagined events. The term actuality is taken from Malinowski, who compares Trobriand myths with historical and imagined stories and contemporary experience:

> …the really important thing about the myth is its character of a retrospective, ever-present, live actuality. It is to a native neither a fictitious story, nor an account of a dead past; it is a statement of a bigger reality still partially alive. It is alive in that its precedent, its law, its moral, still rule the social life of the natives [1926:183].

Contemporary stories may narrate events experienced by the teller, or a previous teller, or they may be be imagined (fictional). Historical stories may also narrate events experienced by actual people, or by imagined people or animals, as in legends, historical fiction, fairy tales and fables. But as Malinowski explains, classification of myths depends on perspective. To the members of a culture their myths may narrate actual historical events, while outsiders may see them as imagined. Finally, setting in time and place co-select with these options in temporality and actuality. For example, locations in myths are likely to be actual places known to listeners, whereas locations in fairy stories are imagined. Or the time period in historical stories may be specific, whereas time period is indeterminate in both myths and fairy stories.

These options in story fields are sub-potentials in a culture's field systems. Martin offers criteria for classifying fields in modern culture according to modes of transmission, oral or written, and specialisations of occupation. This classification points up the cultural specificity of fields, as the stories in this study belong to oral cultural traditions with minimal divisions of labour. For example, Rose 2001b suggests criteria for classifying fields in indigenous Australian cultures according to periodic groupings of people engaged in economic, ceremonial, recreational or dispute activities. Indeed, broad classifications of cultures, as hunter-gatherer, pastoralist, agrarian or industrial, merely classify economic fields, without reference to systems of social relations or semiotic modalities, which are in principle independently variable.

Looking topologically across field systems, Martin 1992 draws a cline from commonsense to uncommonsense fields, with academic occupations specialising in uncommonsense. But in oral cultures there is no such specialisation, except perhaps the roles of shamans or priests. Bernstein argues that abstract orders of meaning can be features of societies with either complex or simple divisions of labour. Uncommonsense or 'elaborated orientations' are realised in the cosmologies of small scale societies, but their "code of cultural transmission, *the relay itself*, is not an elaborated code" (1990: 251), i.e. the written modes of academic fields. In oral cultures, the 'relays' of elaborated orientations are religious ceremonies and stories.

So traditional stories instantiate two fields at once - the particular mundane field of the story plot and the transcendent generalising field of its theme (Malinowski's 'bigger reality'). This generalising function may also be a characteristic of stories in general (Rothery & Stenglin 1997). Although this point is also assumed by mythologists such as Propp, Jung, Levi-Strauss or Joseph Campbell, this study is not concerned with reducing story plots and themes to these theorists' pan-cultural 'monomyths'. Rather, efforts at universalising should themselves be seen as culturally specific practices.

In sum, story fields are a sub-potential within a culture's overall field potential. That is, they are not equally available to other genres, but are afforded by story genres in particular. On the cline of instantiation, they are a step down from the overall semiotic systems of a culture, co-instantiated with particular selections in the culture's genre systems.

1.5 Story plots realised intrastratally by story phases

Story phases were described in Martin & Rose 2003/2007, and subsequently for stories in a range of language families in Rose 2005. They have been described as the basic building blocks of plot structure, across story genres. **Interstratally**, each stage of a genre is realised by one or more phases. **Intrastratally**, phases are types of activity sequences, that realise types of field. Story phases specify elements of plot, setting, characters, theme.

Figure 7 describes story phases relationally, in terms of their functions to either expand or comment on the field of the story. That is, story phases can only be described in relation to the sequence of preceding and following phases. In this respect they are not unlike grammatical functions.

Figure 7: Story plots realised intrastratally by story phases
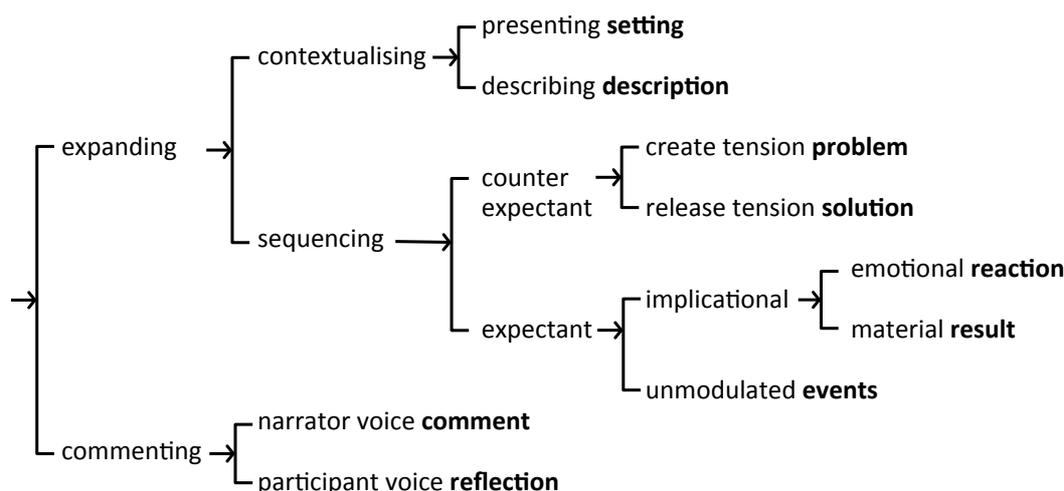
Settings establish plot expectancies in terms of the people and things involved, their activities, place and time – who or what it's about, what they're doing, where and when. Descriptions pause the flow of activity to describe people, things and places. Problems are counterexpectant sequences that create tension, while solutions release tension. Problems need not have negative effects; they are merely activities that counter expectancy. But solutions must be positive in some respect.

Martin 1992 associates expectancy with modalisation – how probable a sequence is – and implication with modulation – how obligated a sequence is, as cause and effect. Although Martin contrasts these types of sequence, implication sequences in stories are also expectant. Reactions and results are implicated by preceding phases. Reactions express characters' feelings about preceding activities, as behaviours or qualities. Results are material outcomes of preceding activities. Expectant phases that are not modulated are

simply termed events, commonly seen in recounts. Commenting phases interrupt the action, either for the narrator to comment, or a character to reflect on its significance.

Table 1 suggests some formal realisation statements for each story phase type, including sequences and insertions. Settings precede other phases, presenting people or things, and optionally place, time and activities. Descriptions follow other phases, ascribing qualities to people, things or places, and optionally their activities. Problems precede other phases with counterexpectant activities. Solutions follow problems with counterexpectant activities. Reactions follow another phase, with emotions that are implicated by the preceding phase. Results include activities or qualities that are implicated by a preceding phase. Events may occur in any sequence. Comments and reflections may also occur in any sequence, but usually follow other phases.

Table 1: Realisation statements for story phases

	sequence	insertions
setting	setting ^#	+person(s) / thing(s); (+place); (+time); (+activities)
description	#^ description	+person/thing/place; +qualities; (+activities)
problem	problem ^#	+counterexpectant activity
solution	problem (^#) ^solution	+counterexpectant activity
reaction	#^ reaction	+implicated emotion:quality/behaviour of character
result	#^ result	+implicated activities/qualities
events		+expectant activities
comment		+comment on activities; narrator perspective
reflection		+comment on activities; character perspective

1.6 Story genres realised interstratally by story phases

Genre systems and structures are realised **interstratally** by register systems and structures. In particular, the types and stages of story genres are realised by types and sequences of story phases. The counterexpectant stages of a narrative, anecdote, exemplum or observation are necessarily realised by at least one problem, and narratives must involve a solution, but beyond this the potential for variation is considerable, although not random. Rather there are predictable variations in phasal patterns within each story genre. For example, a Complication may be foreshadowed by lesser problems within the Orientation. Tension may be built within a Complication by a series of worsening problems and intensifying reactions. A recount may consist simply of a series of expectant events, or a series of episodes that include other phases.

From the perspective of instantiation, story genres and story phases co-instantiate. This co-instantiation is a step or two down the instantiation cline from the sub-potentials of story genres, towards the generalised patterns of story types. Story types may include recognisable types of plots, characters, settings and themes for each genre. More specific

instantiations within these field variables produce individual stories, that each listener apprehends according to their experience and affiliations.

Research so far suggests that systems of story genres and story phases outlined above are common potentials across language families (Rose 2001a&b, 2005). Questions for this study are how these common potentials are instantiated in particular cultures, and particular story types, and how these instantiations are realised in language.

2 The stories

Three stories are analysed to illustrate the instantiation of these general parameters across cultures and languages. The first is a traditional exemplum from Chinese, now spoken by around 1 billion people, traditionally peasant grain farmers. The second is a mythic narrative from Pitjantjatjara, a dialect of the Australian Western Desert language, spoken by around 10,000 people, who were traditonally arid lands hunter-gatherers. The third story is a mythic exemplum from the Boraana dialect of Oromo, an Afroasiatic language in the Cushitic family, spoken by about 70,000 people in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, traditonally nomadic cattle herders.

These examples thus cover a cross-section of pre-modern economic types and language families. However they exemplify a larger data set of stories from various language families and cultures that can be accessed at www.readingtolearn.com.au.

2.1 Chinese story

'The Farmer and The Hare' is a popular traditional exemplum. A farmer is plowing his field, when a hare unexpectedly dashes itself to death, giving him a free meal. The farmer then gives up his work, expecting this extraordinary event to be repeated. According to one interpretation, the story "warns us that everyone needs to work hard in order to reap the harvest. "No pay, no gain."[2]

In the transcription below, the Chinese wordings are glossed in English in two steps. The first gloss is word for word, but arranged in word groups. As far as possible, grammatical items are glossed with English items or affixes, rather than with formal labels. The aim is to render the glossing as comprehensible as possible to readers of English. If the Chinese wordings are read aloud, each line will thus be comprehensible to English readers. Alternatively, reading the English gloss gives the flavour of the original grammar without hearing the original phonology.

Following the English gloss is relatively easy with Chinese, as their grammars share some common structural patterns. For example, grammatical functions tend to be realised by words rather than affixes, nominal group order is Modifier Head (but with some post-positions), clause sequences tend to be similar, and once identities are presented, they may be ellipsed in following clauses. Verbs with realis aspect are glossed with the English suffix 'V–ing.' Note that 'being' in English may be instantiated as 'have' in Chinese. Secondly, the whole clause is glossed with an English clause, but this is not a so-called 'free translation', as the textual structure is maintained as closely as possible.

Text: 1 *Ren Tuzi* **'The Farmer and the Hare'**

1   congqian   you   yige ren   zai tian li zhong di
    once   have   one person   at field farm land
    Once upon time, there was a man farming in a field

2   huran   pao   lai le   yizhi tuzi
    suddenly   run   come -ing   one hare
    suddenly out ran a hare

3   yitou   zhuang   zai tian bianir de   da shu shang
    headlong   dash.against   at field side of   big tree upon
    and dashed headlong against a big tree near the field

4   tuzi   zhuang si le
    hare   dash.against die -ing
    The hare dashed itself to death.

5   nage ren   feichang gaoxing.
    that person   very happy
    The man was very happy.

6   ta ba   tuzi   shi qilai
    he DISP   hare   pick up
    He picked up the hare

7   dai hui   jia   qu
    bring back   home   go
    and took it home

8   cong na tian yihou   ta   jiu   fang xia   chutou
    from that day afterwards   he   then   put down   hoe
    From then on, he put down the hoe

9   zuo   zai da shu dixia deng   zhe
    sit   at big tree under neath   wait:ing
    and sat underneath the big tree, waiting,

10   kiwang   zal   you   tuzi   pao lai
    hope   again   have   hare   run come
    hoping that another hare would come,

    zhuang si   zai da shu shang
    dash.against die   at big tree upon
    and dash itself to death on the big tree.

11   ta   deng le   hen jiuv
    he   wait -ing   very long
    He waited very long

12   tuzi   mei you   zai   lai
    hare   not have   again   come
    a hare never came again.

13   ta de tiandi   ke   huangwu le
    his field   very   lay.waste -ing
    and his fields lay waste.

Source: Bittner, M. 2011 http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~mbittner

2.1.1 Periodicity

Story phases are realised in discourse as sequences of figures, that are organised in hierarchies of periodicity (waves of textual prominence). It is possible to display these patterns using only the English glosses, without needing to repeat the original wordings. This is a further advantage of glossing with English words and affixes rather than inscrutable formal labels.

Table 1 displays the Themes of each message, up to and including the first participant identity. This enables us to see how identities are tracked through the Themes of messages, as well as the textual and circumstantial Themes that precede identities (Martin & Rose

2007, Rose 2001b). Each message includes a finite clause, along with dependent, projecting and projected clauses (Martin 1992). The analysis shows the Theme of the first clause in each message. Phase shifts are indicated with lines.

Table 1: Themes in The Farmer and the Hare

	textual/circumstantial	farmer	hare
1	once	one person	
2	suddenly		one hare
3	headlong		(it)
4			hare
5		that person	
6		he DISP	hare
7		(he)	(it)
8	then from that day afterwards	he	
9		(he)	
10	again	(he)	
11		he	
12	again		hare
13		his field	

The display clearly shows the roles of Themes in structuring the sequence of phases. Thematic identities are relatively constant within each phase, tracked by strings of reference or ellipsis. Shifts from one phase to the next are presented by:

- textual and circumstantial Themes in lines 2 and 8,
- switching thematic identities, from the farmer to the hare and back in lines 2 and 5,
- restating identities in line 8 and 11.

In Table 1, participants in Medium roles are blue and Range is red. Medium is the nuclear participant in a process or relation, which may be extended to a Range. Primarily it is the Medium that is presented as Theme. From a discourse perspective, it is this nuclear identity that tends to be tracked thematically, as the starting point for each message. So it is significant that thematic identities are constant within each phase.[3]

2.1.2 Phases, figures and perspectives

Table 2 displays the sequence of figures in each phase of Text 1, and nuclear relations within each figure. The nucleus of each figure includes an event and an entity, or a relation between entities. The margin and periphery of a figure includes other entities, qualities and circumstances (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, Martin 1992, Martin & Rose 2007, Rose 2001a). Phases are labelled to the left. The farmer and hare are in blue, events are green, places are brown, appraisals are red.

Table 2: Phases, figure sequences, nuclear relations & perspective in Text 1

phase		conjunc	nucleus		margin/periphery	perspective
setting	1		one person	have	at field farm land once	**narrator**
problem	2	suddenly	*one hare*	run come-ing		recounting
hare dies	3		*(hare)*	dash.against	headlong	
	4		*hare*	dash.against dead-ing	upon big tree at side of field	
reaction	5		that person		very happy	**farmer**
farmer	6		he DISP	pick up	*hare*	feeling
happy	7		(person)	bring back go	*(hare)* home	acting
problem	8	then	he	put down	hoe, from that day afterwards	**farmer**
stops	9		(person)	sit wait:ing	at big tree underneath	acting
working	10		(person)	hope have		feeling
		"	*hare*	run come	again	
				dash.against die	at big tree upon	
result	11		he	wait-ing	very long	**narrator**
fields	12		*hare*	not-ing come	again	recounting
wasted	13		his field	very lay.waste-ing		evaluating

In terms of genre, this story's primary social function is interpretation of behaviour. It is an exemplum, realised **intrastratally** by a counterexpectant Incident that starts in line 2. The interpretation is left implicit for listeners to infer. The Incident is realised **interstratally** in two steps or episodes, including a problem and reaction, and a second problem and result.

Within each phase in Table 2, figures follow each other expectantly, but relations between phases are either counterexpectant or implicational. The setting establishes field expectancy, of farming activity. This expectancy is disrupted by the first problem, signalled by 'suddenly'. Unexpectedly, a hare runs, dashes against the tree, and dies. Consequently, the farmer is happy, picks up the hare, and takes it home. Unexpectedly he puts down his hoe, marked with the circumstantial Theme, 'then from that day afterwards', and sits waiting for a hare do the same. The result is that he waited a long time and his field lay in waste. The problems are counterexpectant, while the reaction and result are implicated by the problems.

Table 2 also introduces another angle on the register of stories, the sources of expectancy from the narrator or characters, in other words their perspectives on the activities. The setting and first problem are simply recounted by the narrator, a so-called 'observer perspective'. The reaction on the other hand is the farmer's; he is the source of happiness, which expects him picking up the hare and bringing it home.

However, expectancy in the second problem is ambiguous. From the farmer's perspective, putting down his hoe is expectant, as he hopes a hare will come again. But from the listeners' perspective it is counterexpectant; in a peasant economy, one unlikely incident should not expect a farmer quitting work. It is a solution for the farmer (to the problem of working for a living) but a problem to listeners (for the social order). While the farmer did not expect the result, for listeners the result is not only expected but implicated by the problem. Hence the perspective shifts from farmer to narrator, recounting and evaluating the result.

The implicit interpretation of the exemplum is shaped by these perspectives on expectancy. Members of a peasant community would be surprised at the hare dashing itself to death, empathise with the farmer's reaction to his luck, but then judge his hope as foolish and expect the bad result, and hence interpret the implicit theme. The perspective shifts to the narrator because the joke is on the farmer, implicitly shared by narrator and listeners.

The term **evaluating** is used in Table 2 to generalise register features that are realised in appraisal systems as engagement, graduation, judgement, appreciation. Happy and hoping are generalised as **feeling,** realised in appraisal as affect. Feeling is distinct because its source is within the consciousness of the characters, whereas the narrator evaluates from outside the events.

Other activities are generalised in Table 2 as **acting**. Feeling is a signifying activity, whose source is the characters, whereas acting is non-signifying activity. It is included in characters' perspectives where it is expected by their signifying. The farmer was happy so he picked up the hare, then he put down his hoe because he hoped a hare would come. (Expectancy is a mutual, bi-directional relation in discourse.[4])

The focus on sources of expectancy helps to explain other specific choices in instantiation. For example, 'suddenly' explicitly signals counterexpectancy to the listener, but 'then' is neutral, as the expectancy of the second problem is ambiguous, although its significance is thematically marked 'from that day afterwards'. The farmer's reaction does not require an explicit conjunction as it is intrinsically implicated by the problem of the hare's death - 'so' would be superfluous. The result also lacks a conjunction because the perspective shifts from the farmer to the listeners. A counterexpectant conjunction would take the farmer's perspective, and an expectant one would explicitly counter it. Leaving the relation implicit allows listeners to read the result as implicated.

Looking within phases, the reaction starts with the farmer's happiness, which expects his subsequent actions. Problem 2 starts with his actions because to him they are expected by his good fortune, although surprising to the listener. The result is recounted and evaluated with mild graduation but without explicit attitude or expectancy, allowing listeners to interpret for themselves. The tenor is deadpan.

Perspectives of characters and narrators is known in narrative theory as focalization, after Genette 1982. In critical theory, perspective is ideologically loaded as 'reading position'. Martin [2006:276] examines sourcing and targets of attitude in stories, to reveal how "texts are ideologically interested in divergent ways, and the different reading positions naturalised by each text" (taking 'naturalisation' from Barthes). He shows how the same story plot may be re-instantiated by different authors, with varying degrees and sourcing of attitude (primarily judgement and affect), to naturalise varying positions on the same events.

The analysis here focuses on the sourcing of expectancy rather than attitude, which is generally far less inscribed in traditional oral stories, than in contemporary written ones. The term perspective is formalised to refer to expectancy sourcing (and could also be used for attitude sourcing).[5] Crucially, the analysis shows how perspective is related to plot structuring, the phases through which a story unfolds. It is through the patterned co-

instantiation of perspectives with story phases that listeners are positioned in relation to ideological themes; in other words, that reading positions are naturalised.

2.2 Pitjantjatjara story

The next story is a 'Dreaming story' or myth of the Pitjantjatjara people of Australia's Western Desert. This narrative is concerned with relations between men and women in this kinship structured society. It opens with two brothers marrying two sisters, and camping together at a place called *Piltati*, hence the name of the story. The men hunt kangaroos in the hills, while the women collect plants and dig for burrowing animals on the plain. Expectancy is disrupted by a drought that forces the women to forage further away each day, until they fail to return. The men search but cannot find them, and wonder what has become of them, and what they will do themselves. They resolve the problem by transforming themselves into giant serpents, rising into the sky from where they can see their wives, and then descend into the earth.

In Pitjantjatjara, functions such as tense and circumstance type are realised by suffixes. To enhance readability, tense suffixes are glossed with English auxiliary verbs, and cirumstance suffixes with prepositions, instead of formal labels. As for Chinese, realis aspect is glossed with '–ing'. Pitjantjatjara has dual and plural pronouns, glossed here as they2, we2 and they4. Pronouns also show transitivity function (or 'case'), but in this text they are all Medium. They may be full pronouns, or clitic pronouns attached to the first clause element. Pitjantjatjara also uses two different additive conjunctions to track the Medium identity as the same or switched from the preceding clause, glossed as 'and' or 'andSWITCH'. Participants tend to be presented at the start of each clause, with processes towards the end, sometimes followed by circumstances or other new elements.

Text 2 *Piltati*

1   wati kutjara kunyu   kuta-rara   nyina-ngi
    man two, it's said   brother-pair   sit-were
    It's said that there were two men, who were brothers.

2   kungkawara kutjara   alti-ngu   kangkuru-rara
    young woman two   marry-did   sister-pair
    Two young women were married to them, who were sisters.

3   wati kutjara pula   a-nu   malu-ku
    man two they2   go-did   kangaroo-for
    Those two men went hunting for kangaroos.

4   kuka kanyila-ku   tati-nu   puli-ngka
    game wallaby-for   climb-did   hill-on
    For wallabies, that is, they climbed up in the hills,

5   munu pula   kuka kanyila   kati-ngu
    and they2   game wallaby   bring-did
    and they brought back wallaby meat to the camp.

6   ka pula   mai-ku   tjaru-ukali-ngu
    andSWITCH they2   vegetable.food-for   down-descend-did
    And the other two went down for vegetable foods,

7   munu pula   mai ili   ura-ningi
    and they2   food fig   collect-were
    and were collecting wild figs.

8   ngura-ngka alatjitu-ya   nyina-ngi
    place-at exactly-they4   sit-were
    It was right at that place (Piltati) that they were living.

9   munu   kuka   wiya-ringku-la   ailuru-ri-ngu
     and   game   finish-ing   drought-become-did
     Then as all the game finished a drought began.

10   putu   tjawa-ra   pitja-ngi
     unable   digg-ing   come-were
     Unable to dig anything up, the women were coming

11   munu pula kunyu   pararitja-kutu   a-nu
     and they2, it's said   far-towards   go-did
     Then it's said they travelled far away,

12   munu pula   ma-antjakari-ngu
     and they2   away-camp.out-did
     and camped away overnight.

13   munu pula   ngarin-tjanu-ngku
     and they2   sleeping-after
     Then after sleeping,

     pungku-la   antjakaringku-la   wirkati-ngu
     kill-ing,   camp.out-ing   arrive-did
      killing and camping out further, they finally arrived

14   ngura kutjupa-lta   tjawaningi
     place another-then   dig-were
     Then they were digging in another place.

15   ka pula   putu nguri-ra nguri-ra
     andSWITCH they2   unable search-ing search-ing
     Meanwhile the other two were unable to find them.

16   pula kunyu   nguri-ra nguri-ra   minyma   uti wirkan-ma
     they2, it's said   search-ing search-ing   woman   should arrive
     They kept on searching, thinking, "The women should arrive."

     yaltjiri-ngu pula ai?
     what.happen-did they2 eh?
     "What's happened to them, eh?"

     parari manti   pula a-nu
     far probably   they2 go-did
     "They must've gone far."

17   ka pula   kuli-nu   palya-nti
     andSWITCH they2   think-did   alright-maybe
     and they thought "They're probably alright."

     ka-li kuwari-mpa,   putu nya-kula-mpa,   yaltjiri-nku-li?
     so-we2 now,   unable see-ing-if,   what.do-will-we2?
     "So now if we can't see them, what will we do?"

18   munu pula   kulata   kulpi-ngka   tju-nu
     and they2   spear   cave-in   put-did
     Then they put their spears in a cave

19   munu-lta   kuli-nu-lta
     and-at.that   think-did-then
     Then they thought some more;

20   paka-ra ngara-ngu   karpi karpi
     rise-ing stand-did   twist twist
     they leaped up into the sky, twisting around together.

21   kutjara panya   tati-rampa kunyu   wanampi-rampa   nya-ngu-lta
     two that   climb-ing, it's said   *wanampi*-becom-ing   see-did-then
     Those two rising up, turning into Wanampi, saw,

     munta   nyaratja   ngura nyara parari
     aha   yonder   place yon far
     "Oh, there they are, that place far away."

22   munu pula kunyu   unngu-wanu-lta   a-nu
     and they2, it's said   inside-through-at.that   go-did
     And then they descended and entered the earth.

2.2.2 Periodicity

The Theme analysis in Table 4 shows some interesting parallels with the Chinese story. Thematic identities are again constant within phases, tracked by pronouns or ellipsis, and identities switch from phase to phase. However, phase shifts are not signalled by circumstantial Themes, which tend to culminate each phase rather than start them. Instead, phase shifts are signalled by identity switches with switch conjunctions and full nominal groups or pronouns. The final phase is signalled by a switch conjunction, although the identity of the men continues (showing that this conjunction can realise both identification and periodicity, alongside addition).

Table 4: Themes in the Piltati story

	textual/circumst.	men	women	game
1		man two		
2		(they2)	young woman two	
3		man two they2		
4	game wallaby-for	(they2)		
5	and	they2		
6	andSWITCH		they2	
7	and		they2	
8	place-at		-theyPL	
9	and			game
10			(they2)	
11	and		they2	
12	and		they2	
13	and		they2	
14	place another-at.that		(they2)	
15	andSWITCH	they2		
16		they2		
17	andSWITCH	they2		
18	and	they2		
19	and-at.that	(they2)		
20		(they2)		
21		two those		
22	and	they2		

2.2.3 Phases, figure sequences, nuclear relations & perspective

In terms of genre, this story's primary social function is resolution of a disruption in normality. It is a narrative, realised **intrastratally** by a counterexpectant Complication that is evaluated and resolved by the characters. The Complication is realised **interstratally** by a sequence of two problems, the Evaluation by a reaction, and the Resolution by a solution.

Table 4: Phases, figures & perspectives in the Piltati story

phase		conjunc	nucleus		margin/periphery	perspective
setting	1		man two	sit-were	brother-pair	**narrator**
men &	2		(they2)	marry-did	*young woman two,*	recounting
women	3		man two they2	go-did	kangaroo-for	
foraging	4		(they2)	climb-did	game wallaby-for hill-on	
	5	and	they2	bring-did	game wallaby	
	6	andsw	*they2 (woman2)*	down-descend-did	vegetable.food-for	
	7	and	*they2*	collect-were	food fig	
	8		they3	sit-were	place-at exactly	
problem1	9	and	game	finish-ing drought-become-did		**narrator**
women						recounting
cannot	10		*(woman2)*	unable dig.up-ing come-were	(food)	
forage						
problem2	11	and	*they2*	go-did	far-towards	**narrator**
women	12	and	*they2*	away-camp.out-did		recounting
depart	13	and	*they2*	sleep-after kill-ing camp.out-ing arrive-did		
	14	at.that		dig.up-were	place another	
reaction	15	andsw	they2	unable search search		**men**
men	16		they2	search search		perceiving
worry		"	*woman*	should arrive		saying
		"	*they2*	what.happen-did		evaluating
		"	*they2*	go-did	far probably	
solution	17	andsw	they2	think-did		thinking
men		"so now if	we2	OK-maybe unable seeing *(women)*		evaluating
transform		"	we2	what.do-will?		
	18	and	they2	put-did	spear cave-in	acting
	19	and-at.that		think-did-at.that		thinking
	20			ris-ing stand.up-did twist twist		acting
	21		two those	climb-ing wanampi-becom-ing		
				see-did aha	yonder place yon far	perceiving
	22	and-then	they2	go-did	inside-through (earth)	acting

The analysis of nuclear relations and figure sequences again displays patterns of expectancy within phases, and counterexpectancy or implication between phases. The setting includes three activity sequences that are expectant within the desert culture: of men and women marrying, men hunting game, and women gathering food. This normality is initially disrupted by the problem of game finishing, drought starting, and the women unable to dig up food. Then in problem 2 each activity is expectant, but the outcome is counterexpectant. The lack of food expects them travelling far to find food, then camping out because it is too far to return each day, then killing and camping out again, then arriving and digging at another place, implicitly far from *Piltati*.[6] At this point they have left their husbands, further disrupting the normal social order.

The women's unexpected departure implicates the men's reaction, in which they search for the women, expect their return, and wonder what has happened. The solution is counterexpectant, as they rise up, twisting around each other, and transform into *wanampi*

serpents in the sky, from where they see the women in the distance, solving the problem of their disappearance.

In terms of perspective, the source in the first three phases is the narrator simply recounting what happened. In contrast, the reaction is from the men's perspective, searching for the women, saying to each other, evaluating what should have happened, and wondering what has happened. Likewise, the solution is also from the men's perspective. They start by wondering what to do, then put their spears in a cave, symbolically burying this index of their manhood. Their activity then turns again from acting to thinking, whence they amazingly rise up and transform, to see their wives in the distance.

Listeners in this desert culture would recognise the expectant sequence in the setting as an ideal of gender relations and economic activity. They would experience the drought with apprehension, and interpret the women leaving as an inversion of normality. So they would empathise with the men's reaction, searching and wondering what has happened. The men's transformation into serpents is not a solution in itself, but it results in seeing their missing wives, and also sets the scene for the next episode. Entering the earth in the last line is expectant as they are now snakes.

This extract is actually only the first half of the story. The next episode begins from the women's perspective, when they return to Piltati, discover the *wanampi* serpents' burrow, and attempt to dig them out, only to be swallowed by them and transformed into *wanampi* serpents themselves. It is a serial narrative with two Complications resolved through transformations. By transforming into the serpents, the men and women become the ancestral spirits of *Piltati* and its people. The implicit theme is the web of relations between gender, descent, place and Dreaming.

Finally, in Table 3, activities of searching and looking are generalised as **perceiving**, and **saying** is presumed by the men's locutions in 16 and 17. They **evaluate** within the signifying activities of saying and thinking.

2.3 Oromo story

The final story is a myth of the Oromo people, traditionally cattle herders of Ethiopia and northern Kenya. The Oromo have been managing conflict over pasture and cattle for millennia, which is an implicit theme of this exemplum. A bee generously gives some honey to his guest a baboon, but the baboon covets the honey and challenges the bee to a battle. The battle takes place in a field of *mogoree* herb, a food for cattle and people, but the bees defeat the baboons, killing many and mutilating their corpses.

Like Pitjantjatjara, Oromo uses suffixes for tense and some circumstances, but uses post-position words for other circumstances, as its nominal group order is Head Modifier (where English uses prepositions). Participants are also consistently presented at the start of the clause and processes at the end. Oromo also re-identifies the Medium in each verbal group, in the forms of tense suffixes. These tense/identity suffixes are glossed as *did:he*, *did:they*, *do:I*.

Text 3 *Jaldeesi fa Jenaani* The Baboon and the Bee

1   gaaf toko   jaldeesi   worra kiniisa   duf-e
      day one   baboon   home bee   come-did:he
      One day a baboon came to the home of a bee.

2   jenaani   kiniisa   damma   itti   kenn-e
      then   bee   honey   him   give-did:he
      Then the bee gave him some honey.

3   jenaani   jaldeesi   guddo   damma suni   meef-at-e
      then   baboon   very   honey that   like-ing-did:he
      Then the baboon having liked that honey very much,

      kiniis irra   fud-acu fed-e
      bee from   take-to want-did:he
      wanted to take it away from the bee.

4   ammo   waani   ta-hu   wolaal-e
      but   what   be-to   know.not-did:he
      But he didn't know what to do.

5   jenaani   waani   kiniisa-ni   jed-e   an   si   had-u fed-a
      then   what   bee-to   say-did:he   I   you   fight-to want-do:I
      Then he said to the bee, "I want to fight you."

6   worra keesani   hojaa tami   had-ani   jed-e gaaf-at-e
      tribe your   time which?   fight-did:they   say-did:he ask-ing-did:he
      "What time does your tribe fight?" he asked.

7   kiniisa   waani   jed-e-ni
      bee   what   say- did:he-to
      The bee replied to him.

8   hojaa   adduun   baa-te   lafa mogorree keesatti   had-ani   jed-e
      time   sun   emerge-did:she   field mogorree in   fight-did:they   say-did:he
      "When the sun comes out, they fight in a field of mogorree plants," he said.

9   jenaani   jaldeesi   gal-e
      then   baboon   go.home-did:he
      Then the baboon went home.

10   jaldeesi dibii hedduu   yaam-e
      baboon other many   call-did:he
      and called all the other baboons.

11   wolin   duf-ani
      together   come-did:they
      They all came together

12   kiniisa   had-ani   lafa mogorree keesatti
      bee   fight-did:they   field mogorree in
      and fought the bees in the field of mogorree plants,

      yoo   addunni   guddo   baa-te
      when   sun   very   emerge-did:she
      when the sun had fully risen.

13   ammo   jaldeesi   hin-dabs-at-ne
      but   baboon   not-winn-ing-did:not
      But the baboon wasn't winning.

14   kiniisa   dabs-at-e
      bee   winn-ing-did:he
      The bee was winning.

15   eegi   lola   hobbaas-ani
      then   war   finish-did:they
      Then the war finished.

16   jaldeesi   nama isa kaa du-e   hed-e   woli   gaaf-at-e
      baboon   man him who die-did:he   count-did:he   each.other   ask-ing-did:he
      The baboons counted the men who had died, asking each other.

17   jenaani   waani   jed-ani
      then   what   say-did:they
      Then they said,

ilmani wayyu harko lama   lacu harka irra
son Wayyu Harko two   both hand from
 "The two sons of Wayyu Harko had both hands cut off

cir-ani-tti   karaa keesa   ciciis-ti
cut-did:they-and   road on   lie-are:they
 and they are lying in the road.

ammalle   harkisoo gudubo fa harkambiyedarbo fa cufa-ya   fit-ani

also   Harkisoo Gudubo and Harkambiyedarbo and all-utterly   perish-did:they
 "Also Harkisoo Gudubo and Harkambiyedarbo and all perished."

18   jabeeni   cubbuu   laafinna   dugaa   hin-dabs-at-u
     strength   evil   weakness   truth   not-winn-ing-are:not:it
     Evil strength does not win against honest weakness.

Source: Stroomer, K. 1995. *A Grammar of Boraana Oromo*. Koln: Rudigger Koppe Verlag

2.3.1 Periodicity

Theme analysis in Table 6 shows that temporal conjunctions 'then' are used consistently to signal phases shifts, as is also common in English stories. But as in Pitjantjatjara, circumstantial Themes are not used for this function. Each phase begins with an explicit identity as Theme, but thematic identities may then switch within phases, more variably than in the Chinese and Pitjantjatjara examples.

Table 6: Themes in 'The Baboon and the Bee'

	text/circumst	baboon	bee	other baboons	other
1	day one	baboon			
2	then		bee		
3	then	baboon			
4	but				what (to do)
5	then				what (they say)
6			tribe your		
7			bee		
8	time sun emerge ground mogoree in				
9	then	baboon			
10				baboon other many	
11	together			come-they:did	
12			bee		
13	but	baboon			
14			bee		
15	then				war
16		baboon			
17	then				what (they say)
18					strength evil

2.3.2 Phases, figure sequences, nuclear relations & perspective

In terms of genre, this story's primary social function is interpretation of behaviour. It is an exemplum, realised **intrastratally** by a counterexpectant Incident that starts in line 3. The Interpretation is stated explicity as a proverb. The Incident is realised **interstratally** through three problems that build tension, culminating with a solution that releases tension, followed by a result.

Table 7: Phases, figures & perspectives in 'The Baboon and the Bee'

phase	conj	nucleus		margin/periphery	perspective
setting	1	baboon	come-he:did	home *bee* day one	**narrator**
bee gives	2 then	*bee*	give-he:did	honey him	recounting
problem1	3 then	baboon	very like-ing-he:did	honey that	**baboon**
baboon			take-to want-he:did	*bee from*	feeling
covets	4 but	(baboon)	be-to know.not-he:did	what	thinking
problem2	5 then	(baboon)	say-he:did	what *bee-to*	**baboon**
baboon	"	I	fight-to want-I:do	*you*	saying
challenges	6 "	*tribe your*	fight-they:do	time which	feeling
bee			say-he:did asking-he:did		saying
	7	*bee*	say-he:did-to		bee
	8 "	(bees)	fight-they:do	field mogorree in	saying
				what time sun emerge-she:did	
problem3	9 then	baboon	go.home-he:did		**baboon**
babooons	10	baboon	call-he:did	other many	saying
fight bees	11	(baboons)	come-they:did	together	acting
	12	(baboons)	fight-they:did	*bee* field mogorree in	
				when sun very emerge-she:did	
solution	13 but	baboon	not-winn-ing-not:did		**narrator**
losing	14	*bee*	winn-ing-they:did		recounting
result	15 then	war	finish-they:did		**baboon**
babooons	16	baboon	count-he:did	man him who die-he:did	(perceiving)
count					
the dead			ask-ing-he:did	each.other	saying
	17 then	(baboons)	say-they:did	what	
	"	(bees)	cut-they:did-	son WH two both hand from	
	"and		lie-they:do	road on	
	"also	HG and H and all	perish-they:did		
comment	18	strength evil	not-winn-ing-it:not:do	weakness truth	**narrator**
proverb					evaluating

Analysis of nuclear relations and figure sequences in Table 7 again displays patterns of expectancy and implication within and between phases. Within the setting, baboon visiting bee's home expects the host giving honey to his guest. Although the baboon predictably likes the honey, tension is created when he unexpectedly wants to take the honey from the bee and wonders how. Tension is increased when he unexpectedly challenges bee to fight, asks him where the bees fight, and bee replies. It is increased again when he calls many baboons, who come together to fight the bees.

In the solution, signalled with counterexpectant 'but', the baboons are unexpectedly losing. This is surprising, considering the many baboons, but defuses the tension built through the preceding three problems. The baboons' loss then implicates the result, of counting their dead. The disaster is amplified in message 17, signalled again with 'then', as the bees have mutilated some named baboon kinsmen. This result strongly expects the concluding proverb.

Analysis of sources shows that the perspective in each phase is primarily the baboon's. In the first problem he likes the honey, wants to take it but knows not how. In problem 2 he tells the bee he wants to fight, asks the bee where, and the bee replies. In problem 3 he calls the other baboons. However in the solution, the perspective shifts to the narrator, as the baboons are losing and bees are winning. But in the result, the perspective switches back to the baboons again as they count their dead, and ask and answer each other. Finally it is the narrator who evaluates the result with the proverb.

There is an apparent contradiction here between phases and perspectives. From the baboon's perspective, problems 2 and 3 are solutions to problem 1, how to take the honey, and losing the battle is a problem for him, not a solution. However in terms of plot structuring, problems 1, 2 and 3 build tension, that is released by the solution.

This contradiction in the story points to a social contradiction. The plot structuring is oriented to the explicit interpretation, that condemns the baboon's 'evil strength' while praising the bee's 'honest weakness'. This is a message about social order based on propriety. In the setting the bee acts properly in giving honey to his guest, so the baboon coveting it is improper. The baboon's formal challenge may seem proper, but its motive is not, and calling many baboons to fight creates a further problem for the social order. Hence the baboon's losing and counting their dead restores the social order.

On the other hand, the story takes the baboon's perspective because Oromo culture is also a warrior culture, as in many pastoralist cultures where groups compete for pasture and animals. So the baboon's perspective is the warrior's perspective, of pursuing goals through violence. Organised violence is legitimated by protocols such as the baboon's formal challenge to the bee, who also ultimately wins through organised violence. This perspective is not outside Oromo culture, but within it. The story is not condemning outsiders but warning insiders, about the consequences of illegitimate violence.

The story thus attempts to resolve an inherent contradiction for societies between negotiating resources through exchange (giving the honey) and negotiating through violence (trying to take it). Like myths in general, it is a message from the ancestors to their descendants about strategies for survival, in particular, countering greed with morality, instinct with ideology.

In terms of genre, it may be objected that this story must be a narrative, as it involves a problem that is solved. Here a distinction must be made between the function of solutions at the level of register, and the Resolution stage in narratives. A solution is a counterexpectant activity sequence that releases the tension created by a problem. Any story may involve problems and solutions, in any stage, but a narrative is consummated by its Resolution stage, in contrast to other story genres. A Resolution is realised by one or more solutions (and potentially additional phases such as reactions or comments), but a solution need not resolve a Complication.

3 Discussion: expectancy and sourcing in story plots

Phases were described above as units of field, as types of activity sequences. But they also have values in tenor and mode. In mode, a phase is a pulse of meaning, presented in discourse as chains of identity in a wave of periodicity, as our theme analyses showed. In tenor, a phase is negotiated as an exchange, or as a prosody of attitude and engagement. Story phases are negotiated between narrator, characters and listeners. The negotiation is about the activity sequence – how probable or obligatory the activities are, and from whose perspective. Like moves in an exchange, the role of each phase in the negotiation cannot be understood in isolation.

Reading positions are negotiated phase-by-phase through the sourcing of expectancy and implication. A reading is the last step in instantiation, as Martin explains, "texts can be interpreted as an instantial meaning potential allowing for different readings [and] reading as the final stage on this instantiation cline" [2006:85]. Differences in readings are also a last step on the cline of individuation, which includes both **allocation** of semiotic resources to groups and individuals, and individuals' **affiliation** with social groupings (Figure 10). An individual reading is afforded, on one hand by the meanings instantiated in a text, and on the other by a person's resources for interpreting them.

Figure 10: Individuation from the perspectives of allocation and affiliation
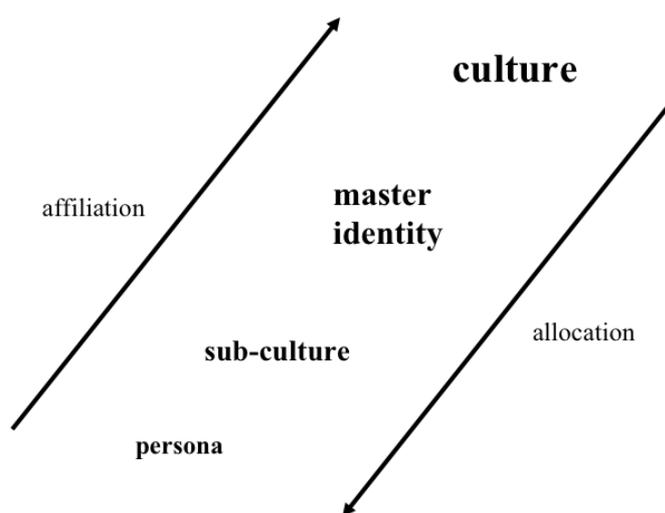
Affiliation is concerned with "how personae mobilise social semiotic resources to affiliate with one another - how users share attitude and ideation couplings…to form bonds, and how these bonds then cluster as belongings of different orders" (Martin et al 2013:489). In our stories it is not so much attitude but expectancy that is shared (see also Mandela's autobiographical *The Meaning of Freedom* in Martin & Rose 2007:276).

Stories negotiate sources of expectancy to guide listeners towards particular readings, to naturalise reading positions. *The Farmer and the Hare* positioned the farmer's behaviour outside, and the listener inside, a responsible, hard-working peasant identity. The *Piltati* story positioned the womens' behaviour outside appropriate hunter-gatherer gender relations. *The Baboon and the Bee* positioned the baboon's behaviour outside appropriate pastoralist group relations.

A significant resource for negotiating affiliation is types of counterexpectancy in problem phases. In each story, problems disrupt normalcy, in the sense of regular, predictable activity sequences (what should happen), and propriety, or behaviour considered proper to the social order (what should be done).[7] In *The Farmer and the Hare*, the hare dashing to death was surprisingly unusual, as was the farmer putting down his hoe, as well as improper for a peasant work ethic. In the *Piltati* story, the drought was unusual but not surprising in the desert climate, while the women departing was surprisingly unusual and improper for Pitjantjatjara gender relations. In *The Baboon and the Bee*, the baboon coveting the honey and fighting to take it were improper behaviours, but not surprising for human nature. Other

types of problems in this study's corpus of traditional stories included threats to characters' safety, difficulty in carrying out activities, and loss of people or things. Each type may be more or less surprising. Each problem type also implicates certain options for reactions, such as sadness for loss, frustration for difficulty, fear for safety.

Sourcing of perspectives is achieved by the types of activities available to narrators and characters. Narrators may recount, describe and evaluate activities. But the perspectives of characters are sourced as signifying activities - saying, perceiving, thinking, feeling - the view from within. In some phases, we are only allowed the narrator's view from outside the events, while in others we experience the events through the eyes, ears, hearts, minds and voices of the characters. It is the switching, back and forth from narrator to characters, while manipulating expectancy and implication, that guides us towards intended readings. Options for co-selecting expectancy with sourcing in story plots is outlined in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Expectancy and sourcing in story plots
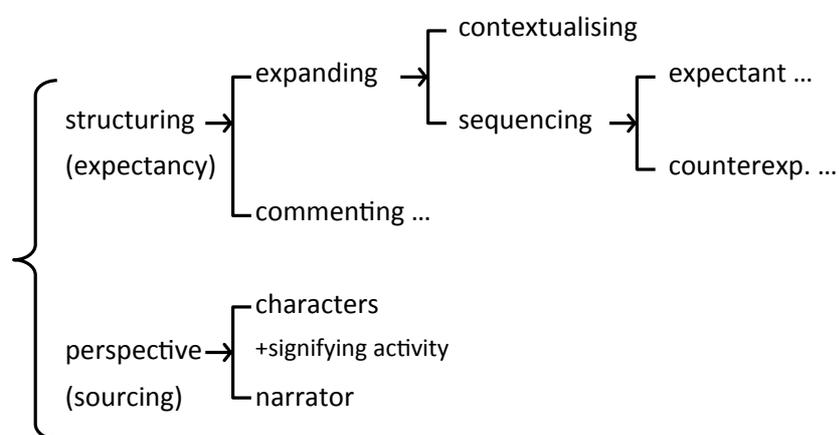
Signifying activities include many possible variations on saying, perceiving, thinking and feeling. These are highly generalised categories, and are wide open for research and critique. They are also generalised in transitivity systems across languages as mental and verbal process types (Caffarel et al 2004), but there is no one-to-one relation between activities at the level of field and grammatical process types. At the level of register, signifying activities may be instantiated in many different ways. For example, fear may be instantiated by yelling, running away or lying still. Perception may simply be implied by a description of what characters see or hear, once their perspective has been established. Thinking and saying may be implied merely by the signified activity.

Despite the wide variations between the cultures, these functions of their stories are remarkably consistent, but the readings depend on cultural membership. Individuation thus gives us another useful perspective on typology, as expectancy and sourcing in story phases are multilingual potentials for affiliation, but resources for reading them are differently allocated to cultural groupings.

4 Conclusion: shunting between language and context, system and text

In conclusion, the central hypothesis of this paper is that a phase is a unit of structure at the stratum of register, that is, like clauses in grammar, a general structural potential across languages. Also like clauses, the types of phases likely to be instantiated in a text are conditioned from the stratum above. For clauses these are functions in discourse, as message, move and figure (Halliday 1985/2004); for phases they are functions in genre. In biology reports, Jing Hao finds predominant functions of phases as implication, observation, operation, preview, review and reasoning. In stories, the general functions of phases are expectancy and implication, contextualising and commenting.

Phases of register can only be identified in sequence, not by analysing the grammar of their clauses. They can be instantiated in various ways, that are realised as patterns of discourse, that are configured in varieties of grammatical structures. On the other hand, grammatical systems have co-evolved with register and discourse systems, so their organisation mirrors those of register and discourse. For example, fields consist of activities involving people and things, so discourse construes fields as figures of events and entities, and grammar as types of processes and participants. Mental and verbal process types may have evolved as default grammatical options for realising signifying activities in fields, but what drives the elasticity of the system is the endless possibilities for instantiation. Similarly, the types of counterexpectancy discussed above as disruptions to normalcy and propriety, are mirrored in grammatical systems of modalisation (what should happen) and modulation (what should be done), which are fairly common across languages. They are also realised in discourse systems of conjunction, engagement and judgement (Martin & White 2005), that appear to vary more widely between languages. But for the most part, expectancy is implicit in the activity sequences of our traditional stories, readable by listeners from their experience of the genres and registers of their cultures.

As far as typology is concerned, systemic linguists are particularly interested in variations in meaning potential, but these variations lie well beyond the stratum of grammar. My own detailed study of grammars from very different cultures, Pitjantjatjara and English, found markedly similar functional potentials, despite numerous minor differences (Rose 2001b). What varies most widely is the registers that these grammars are deployed to realise. In this respect, Whorf's hypothesis that the grammars of Native American and 'Standard Average European' languages encode radically different ways of thinking was premature. What his generation lacked was a stratified description of language in context, to adequately describe the cultural differences he perceived. Michael Halliday and Jim Martin have now given us powerful tools for describing how grammar and discourse realise variations in register and genre, in other words for mapping cultures. Typological research now has much greater capacity to shunt fruitfully between *langue* and *parole*, between mapping the 'silent highly-organised systems' of *langage* and interpreting the 'social, individual, heterogeneous and multiform' voices of its *sujets parlants*.

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[1] Some applications to date have included testing and extension of systemic functional theory beyond the confines of English (Matthiessen 2004), translation studies (de Souza 2010), language education (Kartika 2016), ethnography (Crane 2014, Rose 2001b, 2008), and language evolution (Rose 2006a, 2013).

[2] https://sites.google.com/site/chinesefolktales/fable/farmer-and-rabbit

[3] In Chinese transitivity, the Medium function is realised structurally by sequencing the Medium before the Process, while other participants follow the Process (Halliday & McDonald 2004). One Chinese strategy to thematise non-Medium roles, is to mark the Medium with a so-called 'displaced' particle *ba*, so both farmer and hare are arguably thematic in 6-7. Readers may also be surprised that the hare is classified as Range in lines 6-7, as it is a Goal in a material process, and Goal is Medium in English (Halliday 1985/2004). The English pattern is related to its textual strategy of conflating unmarked Theme with Subject/Medium, an unusual strategy among languages (Rose 2001b). In many languages, Actor is Medium in both intransitive and transitive clauses, construing Goal as the Range of the process.

[4] "Elements of structure, especially in grammatical relations, share a mutual expectancy in an *order* which is not merely a *sequence"* [Firth 1957:17].

[5] Martin 2006 uses perspective informally for attitude sourcing, e.g. 'Australian and Japanese perspectives'.

[6] The place the sisters arrived at was about 800km to the south west of Piltati, recounted in another version of the story.

[7] I am using 'normalcy' in contrast to [normality] in appraisal and [usuality] in modality.