

news,
views

NETWORK^{87 88} no. 11/12

and reviews in systemic linguistics and related areas

James D. Benson and Peter H. Fries, Co-Editors

Review Editor: Martin Davies, English Studies
The University of Stirling,
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EDITORIAL

At its meeting in Helsinki in June, the International Systemic Congress Committee appointed us new co-editors of NETWORK. The last issue that you will have received was No. 10 (June 1986). We propose that Nos. 11/12 (this double issue) and Nos. 13/14 (Spring 1990), both of which you will receive at no cost, count for 1987/88 and 1989 respectively. We propose further to reset the clock in the summer of the 1990, and will be soliciting subscriptions at ISC17 in Stirling. NETWORK will continue to come out twice a year.

The editorial policy has not changed since first articulated by Robin Fawcett in the first issue in 1981: 'The aim is to provide a fairly informal forum for a number of different types of people with interests in systemic linguistics. We hope it will enable us to keep in touch, both with each other and with current activities that are relevant to systemic linguistics. The work that we report will be both theoretical and applied, and we shall interpret 'relevant to systemic linguistics' in a broad sense, so as to include work in the broad Firthian tradition that is not explicitly systemic and work done in other frameworks that shows some type of parallel to systemic work'. We are pleased to continue in this tradition and publicly to express our thanks to Robin Fawcett for establishing NETWORK on such a firm foundation.

We need your input, so please don't put off filling out the NETWORK NEWS form and putting it in the mail. The deadline for NETWORK Nos. 13/14 is February 1, 1990.

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FUTURE MEETINGS: 9th World Congress of Applied Linguistics -- AILA, 15-21 April, 1990, Thessaloniki, Greece. Invited speaker: M.A.K. Halliday. All correspondence: Prof. Stathis Efsthadiadis, "AILA 1990 Thessaloniki-Halkidiki" ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITIY, P.O. Box 52, GR-540 06, Thessaloniki, GREECE. USE AIR MAIL ONLY.

ISISSS 90, 12th International Institute for Semiotic and Structural Studies, June 1-29, 1990. University of Toronto. Contact: Paul Perron, NFH 224, Victoria College, University of Toronto, 73 Queens's Park Cr. Toronto, Canada, M5S 1K7.

The Fourth International Conference on Functional Grammar, 25-29 June. (See notice in this NETWORK) (below)

Seventeenth International Systemic Congress, 4-7 July, 1990, Stirling, Scotland. Contact: Martin Davies, English Studies, The University of Stirling, Stirling, FK9 4LA, Scotland, Great Britain

International Pragmatics Conference, 9-13 July 1989, Barcelona, Spain. (see notice in this NETWORK)

LACUS (Linguistics Association of Canada and the United States), August 7-11, 1990. California State University at Fullerton. Contact: V. B. Makkai, LACUS, P.O. Box 101, Lake Bluff, Illinois, 60044 USA.

COLING, 20-25 August, 1990, The thirteenth international conference of computational linguistics, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland.

Please notify the editors of NETWORK of any meetings which may be of interest to our readers. Thank you.

CALL FOR PAPERS. The Fourth International Conference on Functional Grammar will be held at the U. of Copenhagen, June 25-29, 1990.

The conference is the 4th in the series that has been held biannually since 1984, providing an international forum for discussion of ling. topics in relation to the framework developed by S.C. Dik and collaborators, as described in "Functional Grammar" (1978) and later studies (attention is drawn to Dik's forthcoming publication: S.C. Dik: The Theory of Functional Grammar. Amsterdam: Foris).

The conference organizers hope to continue the practice of earlier conferences of having contributions, critical or otherwise, from researchers working in other frameworks; They also welcome representatives from other functional approaches to ling. This will enable the conference to serve as a forum not only for Functional Grammar as such, but also for the discussion of Functional Grammar as part of a wider functionally oriented ling.

If you intend to participate in the conference and would like to receive further circulars, please write before September 4, 1989.

MEETINGS

If you intend to read a paper, please send a 1-page abstract before December 1, 1989. Presentation time is restricted to 30 minutes, followed by 15 minutes discussion. All correspondence concerning the conference should be sent to the following address: Functional Grammar Committee, Dept. of English, U. of Copenhagen, Njalsgade 88, DK-2300, Copenhagen S, Denmark.

Systemic Meetings

ISC: 17 Scotland
1990 (July 4-7)

ISC: 18 Tokyo
1991 (July 29-Aug 2)

ISC: 19 Australia
1992

DUE FEBRUARY 1, 1990

DUE FEBRUARY 1, 1990

Network News:

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2275 Bayview Ave, Toronto, M4N 3M6, Ontario, Canada.

Your recent publications and upcoming publications:

Your current research projects:

NETWORK NEWS - continued

Personal news (travel plans, leaves of absence, sabbaticals, lectures, conventions, etc.)

Other news, questions, comments (including offers to write reviews and/or articles):

Martin Davies, English Studies, The University of
Stirling, Stirling, FK9 4LA, Scotland, United Kingdom

Please send any of your articles not already listed in
the Systemic Archive to Martin Davies as soon as possible.

Systemic Archive at Stirling

List 4, Network 11, Autumn, 1988

1. Previous Lists:

List 1: Network 7, March, 1985
List 2: Network 10, June, 1986
List 3: Available at ISC 15, E. Lansing;

2. Since the descriptor categories and other preliminary material were reprinted in List 3 earlier in this issue, I do not repeat them.

3.

The sequence in each entry is:

Number	Author	Title;	(number of sheets);	(place of interim or final publication, in which case the interim 'publication' may have been oral);	(date copy received for Archive); descriptor categories, (if supplied).
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- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|---|-------------------|--|
| 4. 1 | J Anderson
(Madonna College) | "Deafness and the Social Meaning of Language" [17]; | (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; paper, (Aug. 1988) | | |
| 4. 2 | P Auer
(Konstanz) | "Rhythmic integration in phone closings" [16]; ("Kontextualisierung durch Rhythmus und Intonation" | Project Working Paper No. 2, April 1988), (24.0.88) | | |
| 4. 3 | P Auer
S Uhlmann
(Konstanz) | "Silben- und akzentzählende Sprachen: Literaturüberblick und Diskussion" [22]; ("Kontextualisierung
durch Rhythm und Intonation" Project Working Paper No. 4, August 1988); | (24.0.88) | | |
| 4. 4 | Y Aziz
(Mosul) | "Theme-Rheme Organization and Paragraph Structure in Written Arabic Texts", dated May 1987 [7]; | (paper given at 14th ISM, Sydney, August 1987); (28.8.87) | | |
| 4. 5 | J Bateman
C Matthiessen
(ISI, S. California) | "Using a functional grammar as a tool for developing planning algorithms - an illustration drawn from
nominal group planning" [6]; | (Penman Project Paper, dated 11.88); (5.10.88) | {1, 2, 9, 14, 15] | |
| 4. 6 | J D Benson
W S Greaves
(Toronto) | "A comparison of process types in Poe and Melville" [4]; (Ross Steele, T. Threadgold (eds.): <u>Language Topics:
Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday</u> , John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1987); | (Aug. 1988) | | |
| 4. 7 | C Butler
(Nottingham) | "Systemic Models: unity, diversity and change" [8]; | (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout); (Aug. 1988) | | |
| 4. 8 | J C Catford
(U. of Michigan) | "Outline of Systemic Phonology" [5]; | (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout); (Aug. 1988) | | |

- 4.9 N Chomsky "Mark these Linguists", answers to questions about language put to them by "The English Magazine",
M A K Halliday No. 7, 1981, [4];
D Hyman (whose combined provenance defies description)
- 4.10 E Couper-Kuhlen "On the prosodic marking of discourse relations" [2]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout); (Aug. 1988)
(Konstanz)
- 4.11 E Couper-Kuhlen "On the contextualizing function of speech rhythm in conversation: Question-answer sequences" [11];
P Auer ("Kontextualisierung durch Rhythmus und Intonation" Project Working Paper No. 1 January 1988);
(Konstanz) (24.0.88)
- 4.12 B Couture "Functional Approaches to Analyzing Professional Writing" [11]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout);
(Wayne State) (Aug. 1988)
- 4.13 M Cummings "Backward and forward Chaining in a Prolog Simulation of Linguistic Models" [4]; (to appear in Lawrence J
(Toronto) McCrank (ed.): Data Bases in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Paradigm Press, 1987); (19.9.88)
- 4.14 M Cummings "Simulating Linguistic Networks with List Processing" [6]; (to appear in Alain Baudot (ed.): Mélanges à la
(Toronto) Mémoire de John Brückmann, Toronto: Editions du Gref, 1987); (19.9.88)
- 4.15 M Cummings "Syspro: A Computerized Method for Writing System Networks and Deriving Selection Expressions" [6]; (to appear
(Toronto) in R Steele and T Threadgold(eds.): Language Topics: Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday, John
Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1987); (19.9.88)
- 4.16 M Davies Archive List 3 [4]; (ISC 15, sale item: E. Lansing, August 1988); (8.88)
(Stirling)
- 4.17 M Davies "Information Structure in Speaking and Reading" [4]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout); (Aug. 1988)
(Stirling)
- 4.18 A di Luzio "On some segmental processes and their prosodic conditioning in standard Italian and in an Abruzzian dialect"
(Konstanz) [16]; ("Kontextualisierung durch Rhythmus und Intonation" Project Working Paper No. 3, July 1988);
(24.10.88)
- 4.19 S Eggins Working Papers in Linguistics, No. 5, Writing Project Report, Sydney 1987, [75]; (3.10.88)
J R Martin,
P Wignell (Sydney)
- 4.20 R P Fancett "Re-Expression Tests for Participant Roles in English" [5]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988; handout); (Aug.
(Males) 1988)
- 4.21 Gill Francis "Thematic Selection and distribution in three written discourse genres" [18]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing,
(Singapore) 1988); (revised and full version of paper, received 26.9.1988)
- 4.22 P H Fries "The Deakin University Press Language Education Series" (Review) [2]; (NORD, 38, 3, Dec. 1987,
(Central Michigan) pp.216-220); (26.9.1988)
- 4.23 P H Fries "Lexico-grammatical patterns and the interpretation of texts", dated 3.9.88 [8]; (26.9.1988)
(Central Michigan)

- P H Fries
(Central Michigan)
- "Patterns of information in initial position in English" [9]; (to appear in P H Fries & M Gregory (eds.): Discourse in Society: Functional Perspectives, Norwood, NJ: Ablex); (26.9.88)
- P H Fries
(Central Michigan)
- "Towards a componential approach to text" [8]; (paper given at International Congress of Applied Linguistics, August 17, 1987, Sydney, Australia); (26.9.88)
- P H Fries
(Central Michigan)
- "Towards a discussion of the flow of information in a written text", dated 5.5.88 [14]; (Adapted from a paper submitted for inclusion in William C Mann and Sandra Thompson (eds.): Discourse Descriptions: Diverse Analyses of a Fund Raising Text); (26.9.88)
- M A K Halliday
(Sydney)
- See: Steiner (4.48), below.
- 4.27 C G Hartnett
(College of the Mainland, Texas)
- "Clues to Mode of Discourse", "Unedited Reading Draft", [16]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
- 4.28 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Approaches to the Planning of Coherent Text" [8]; (presented at the 4th International Workshop on Text Generation, Catalina Island, CA, July 1988, Draft Copy, Penman Project Paper, dated August, 1988); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.29 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Generating Natural Language Under Pragmatic Constraints" [16]; ("Journal of Pragmatics", 11 (1987), 689-719 (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.30 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Interpretation in Generation" [8]; (reprinted from *Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference of the American Association of Artificial Intelligence held July 13-17, 1987*; Penman Project Paper, dated April, 1987); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.31 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "PAULINE: An Experiment in Interpersonal, Ideational and Textual Language Generation by Computer" [11]; (Penman Project Paper, dated August, 1988); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.32 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Planning Coherent Multisentential Text" [7]; (from *Proceedings of the 26th Meeting of the ACL, Buffalo, 1988*, Penman Project Paper, dated April, 1988, (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.33 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Pragmatics and Natural Language Generation" [25]; (Penman Project Paper, dated July, 1987); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.34 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Putting Affect into Text" [8]; (from *Proceedings of the Eighth Conference of the Cognitive Science Society, 1986*, Penman Project Paper dated December 1985); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.35 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "Two Types of Planning in Language Generation" [8]; (reprinted from *Proceedings of the 26th Meeting of the ACL, Buffalo, NY, 1988*, Penman Project Paper, dated April, 1988, (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.36 E Hovy
(ISI, S. California)
- "What Makes Language Formal?", fuller version of paper in *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Cognitive Science Society, 1987* [7]; (Penman Project Paper, dated Jan, 1988); (5.10.88) [1, 2, 9, 14, 15]
- 4.37 ISC 15, 1988
- "Set of Abstracts" [33]; (10.8.88)
- 4.38 R T Kasper
(ISI, S. California)
- "Ambiguity in Systemic Grammars: Experience with a Computational Parser for English" [4]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout, (Aug. 1988)

- 4.39 Donald M Lance, "A model for the analysis of Cohesion and Information Management in Published Writing in Three Disciplines" (Missouri-Columbia) [4]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout, (Aug. 1988)
Kim Brian Lovejoy (Indiana at Indianapolis)
- 4.40 J L Leake "Talking Science: Semantics and Social Values" [2]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
(CUNY)
- 4.41 D G Lockwood "Comprehensive Bibliography of Stratificational Linguistics" [20]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: sale item); (Aug. 1988)
(Michigan State)
- 4.42 C Matthiessen "Organizing Texts: Rhetorical Schemes and Generic Structure Potential" (Draft) [12]; (5.10.88)
(Sydney)
- 4.43 W McGregor "Formulating the Meaning of Closed Class Items" [19]; (discussion paper for Semantics Workshop, Australian Linguistic Society Conference, August 1986); (August, 1986)
(La Trobe)
- 4.44 B Mohan Language and Content, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1986.
(Vancouver)
- 4.45 B Mohan "A Situation-Based Approach to Language Across the Curriculum" [3]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
(Vancouver)
- 4.46 J Olsen "Towards a Better Measure of Readability: Explanation of Anomalous Empirical Performance Results" [1];
R Johnson (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
(U. of Michigan)
- 4.47 P H Ragan "Functional Grammar and Communicative Language Teaching" [14]; (paper given to 14th ISW, Sydney, August 1987); (8.87)
(Singapore)
- 4.48 E Steiner "Select Bibliography of Systemic Linguistics", based on bibliography compiled by M A K Halliday, 1985. updated 1988 [7]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: sale item); (Aug. 1988)
(Saarland)
- 4.49 S A Thompson "Information Flow and 'Dative Shift' in English Discourse" [3]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout, (Aug. 1988)
(Santa Barbara)
- 4.50 Yu-Wen Tung "On Parallelism and the Penman Natural Language Generation System" [22]; (Penman Project Paper, dated April 1988); (5.10.88); 11, 2, 9, 14, 151
C Matthiessen
N Sondheimer (ISI, S. California)
- 4.51 E Ventola "Problems of Modelling and the Applied Issues within the Framework of Genre" [2]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
(Helsinki)
- 4.52 D Watt "Investigating Information Theory Empirically" [4]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout); (Aug. 1988)
(Toronto)
- 4.53 W Wells "Accentual Systems for Focus in British English" [2]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988: handout, (Aug. 1988)
(Birmingham Polytechnic)
- 4.54 Agnes Wei-yun Yang "Cohesive Chains and Writing Quality", [12]; (ISC 15, E. Lansing, 1988 paper, revised version received 21.9.88)
(Arizona)

Martin Davies, English Studies, Stirling, UK.

27th October, 1988

Systemic Archive at Stirling

List 5, Autumn, 1989

1. Previous Lists

List 1: Network 7, March, 1985

List 2: Network 10, June, 1986

List 3: Available at ISC 15, E. Lansing; announced for
Network 11, intended for November, 1988, but never
published.

List 4: Submitted for Network 11.

2. The descriptor categories available are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Semantics | 11. General theory |
| 2. Lexicogrammar: syntax | 12. Comparison with other general
theories |
| 3. Lexicogrammar: morphology | 13. Applied linguistics |
| 4. Lexicogrammar: lexis | 14. Other applications of linguistics |
| 5. Phonology (language in education) | 15. Text and discourse |
| 6. English | 16. Child language and language
development |
| 7. Other languages | |
| 8. System networks | |
| 9. Realizations | |
| 10. Functional components | |

3. I do not undertake to categorize papers, and the bulk of the items on this list have never been categorized, so the list is not as useful as it could be. But if intending contributors classify their own, they will make the list much more useful. If desired, the principal category may be underlined.

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6. The sequence in each entry is:

Author(s)/Editor(s): title, [number of sheets]; (place of interim or final publication, in which case the place of interim 'publication' may have been oral); (date copy received for Archive); [descriptor number, if any].

"n.d." = 'no date'; "n.p." = 'no place'.

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Item Number	Details
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- | | |
|-------|--|
| [5.1] | Archive Lists 1-4: [5] |
| [5.2] | Akindele, F, M Berry, C Butler, R Carter, T Gibson, H Hillier, D Noel, R Riley (Eds.): Occasional Papers in Linguistics (2 vols), (Nottingham: 1987), Vol. 1, [68], Vol. 2, [68]; July, 1988; |
| [5.3] | Aurer, P: "Some Ways to Count Morae: Prokosch's Law, Streitberg's Law, Pfalz's law and other rhythmic regularities", [17]; "Kontextualisierung durch Rhythmus und Intonation" Project, Fachgruppwissenschaft Arbeitspapier Nr 6, University of Constance, December, 1988; January, 1989; |
| [5.4] | Backlund, I: "To Sum Up. Initial Infinitives as Cues to the Reader", [17]; Paper given at ISC-16, Helsinki, July, 1989. [11], July, 1989; (August, 1989); |
| [5.5] | Borgenstierna, M: "On 'Sequencing' and 'Foregrounding': Analysis of early Old English Texts." Paper given at ISC-16, Helsinki, July, 1989. [11], July, 1989; |
| [5.6] | Bregazzi, J: "Strategies of Linguistic Irony in the works of John Webster", [11]; paper given at ISC-16, Helsinki, July, 1989, (July, 1989); |
| [5.7] | Christie, F: "Language and learning: making explicit what's involved", [7]; paper given at the Thirteenth Conference of the Australian reading Association, Sydney, July, 1967; (November, 1987); |
| [5.8] | Cloran, C: "Negotiating new contexts in conversation" [13]; in Akindele et al. |

- [5.9] R. Cockcroft: "Rhetoric and Coherence" [6]; Mini-International Systemic Congress, Nottingham, July 1989; (26.8.89);
- [5.10] Couper-Kuhlen, E: "Contextualising Discourse: The Prosody of interactive repair", [18]; Fachgruppe Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz, Arbeitspapier Nr. 9, June 1989, [27]; (July, 1989);
- [5.10] Couper-Kuhlen, E: "Speech rhythm at turn transitions: its functioning in everyday conversation, Part I." Fachgruppe Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz, Arbeitspapier Nr. 5, March 1989, [27]; (July, 1989);
- [5.11] Danes, F: Review - Harro Stammerjohann ed., "Tema-Rema in Italiano / Theme-Rheme in Italian / Thema-Rhema im Italienischen". Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1986.
- [5.12] H Drury: Handouts for paper given at ISC-16, Helsinki, June 1989 [6]; (June, 1989);
- [5.13] J O Ellis: "The Definite Article in Translation Between English and Twi" [4]; Ann. Univ. Abidjan, Serie H (Linguistique). Fascicule hors serie; (September, 1989);
- [5.14] J O Ellis: "The Grammatical Status of Initial Mutation" [5]; off-print from Volume III of "LOCHLANN: A Review of Celtic Studies", Oslo, 1965, Universitetsforlaget, 'based on [paper] read to the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies, Cardiff, 1963'; (September, 1988);
- [5.15] J O Ellis: "Identification and Grammatical Structure in Akan and Welsh" [3]; offprint, np., n.d., (September 1989);
- [5.16] J O Ellis: "Linguistics in a Multicultural Society", An Inaugural Lecture delivered on 16th April, 1970 at the University of Ghana, Legon [7]; (September, 1988);
- [5.17] J O Ellis: "On Contextual Meaning" [6]; from "In Memory of J R Firth", Bazell, Catford, Halliday, and Lyons (eds.), Longman 1966); (September, 1988);
- [5.18] J O Ellis: "Some Dimensions of Being in John, Chapter 1 (A 'Transfer' Presentation of Descriptive Comparison)" [5]; "Journal of African Languages", Vol. 10, Part 3, 1971; (September, 1989);
- [5.19] El-Menoufy, A: "Intonation and Meaning in Spontaneous Discourse" [15]; in Akindele et al.;
- [5.20] Enkvist, N E: "Anticipation and Disappointment: An Experiment in Protocolled Reading of Auden's *Gare du Midi*", to appear in Les Hickey (ed.); Studies in Pragmastylistics, 7. [7]; (6th September, 1989);

- [5.21] Enkvist, N E: "Connexity, Interpretability, Universes of Discourse, and Text Worlds", from "Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 65", de Gruyter, 1989. [8]; (6th September, 1989);
- [5.22] Enkvist, N E: "Discourse Strategies and Discourse Types", paper given at ISC-16, Helsinki, June, 1989. [11]; (6th September, 1989);
- [5.23] Enkvist, N E: "Estilística, lingüística del Texto y Composición", translation of "Stylistics, text linguistics and composition" (see below: [5.36], [6]; (6th September, 1989);
- [5.24] Enkvist, N E: "From Text to Interpretability: A Contribution to the Discussion of Basic Terms in Text Linguistics", from W Heydrich, F Neubauer, J S Petofi & E Sozer (eds): Connexity and Coherence: Analysis of Text and Discourse, de Gruyter, 1989. [5]; (6th September, 1989);
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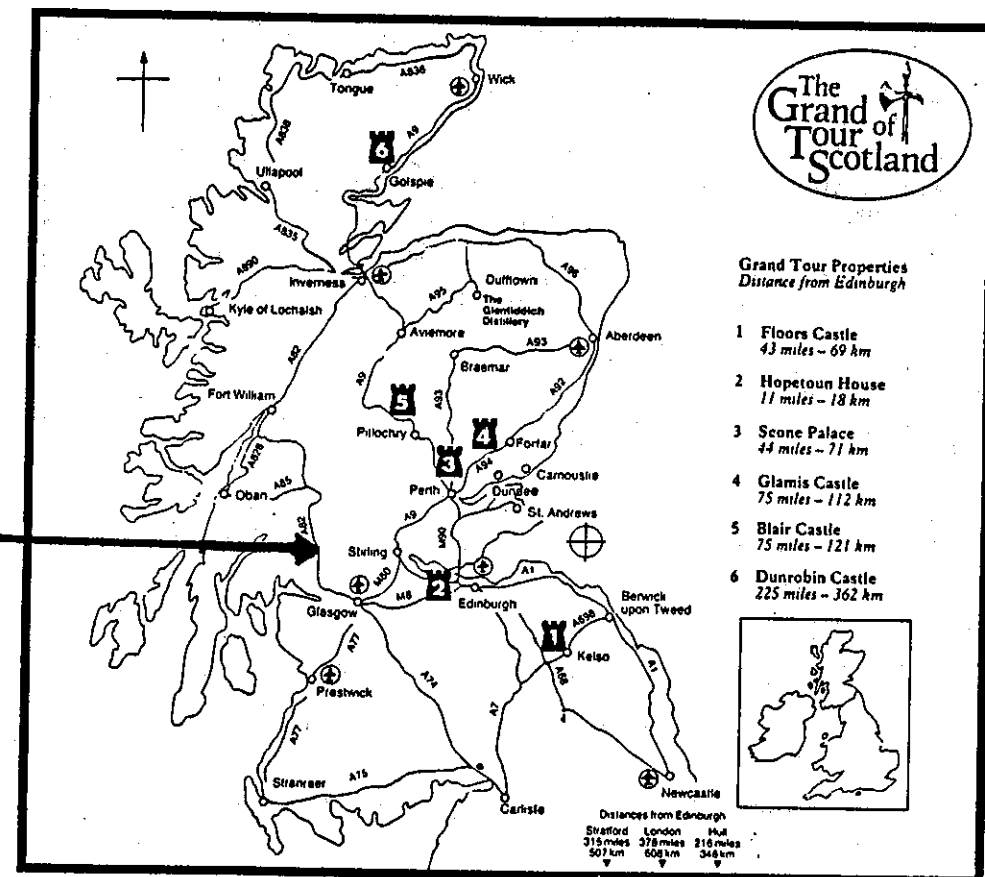
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ISC:
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&
Systemic
Archives



Sixteenth International Systemic Congress
University of Helsinki
Helsinki, Hanasaari, Finland
June 12-16, 1989

Programme:

Plenary sections will be held in the Auditorium. A-sessions will be held in the Big-lecture hall. B-sessions in the Small-lecture hall. C-sessions in Seminar room 1 and D-sessions in Seminar room 2.

Monday, June 12

- 8:00 - 12:00 Registration
9:30 - 9:45 Opening of the Congress
9:45 - 11:00 Plenary Address: **Frantisek Danes** (Czechoslovakia)
"A Functional Conception of the System of Sentence Structures". Chair: **M.A.K. Halliday**
11:00-11:15 Break
11:15-12:30 Plenary Address: **M. A. K. Halliday** (Australia)
"Systemic Directions: the Dynamics of a Functional Theory". Chair: **Margaret Berry**
12:30-13:30 Lunch
13:30-14:45 Plenary Address: **Ruqaiya Hasan** (Australia)
"The Representation of Meaning in the Systemic Functional Model". Chair: **Barbara Couture**
14:50-15:20 1. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Jonathan Fine**: "The Dynamic Construction and Misconstruction of Social Interaction". Chair: **James Benson**
B. **Elke Teich**: "A Systemic Treatment of Transitivity for Machine Translation". Chair: **Erich Steiner**
C. **Iiah Fleming**: "Co-occurring Schemata in Text Analysis". Chair: **Ruth Brend**
D. **Martin Davies**: "Theme from 'Beowulf' to Shakespeare". Chair: **Linda Rashidi**
15:25-15:55 2. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Louise Ravelli**: "A Dynamic Perspective on Systemic Grammar: getting the perspective right". Chair: **James Benson**
B. **William McGregor**: "The Rank Scale Revisited". Chair: **Cate Poynton**
C. **Jean Ure**: "Beginnings and Endings: a sociolinguistic perspective on register and generic structure". Chair: **Ruth Brend**
D. **Peter Fries**: "Patterns of Information in Initial Position in English". Chair: **Linda Rashidi**
15:55-16:20 Coffee
16:20-16:50 3. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Jay Lemke**: "Textproduction and Dynamic Text Semantics". Chair: **Gordon Tucker**
B. **Maria Th. Schmitt**: "The Differentiation of the 'Argumentational Model System'". Chair: **John Bateman**
C. **Bernard Mohan**: "Theory and Practice in Situation and Text". Chair: **Anne Cranny-Francis**
D. **Kevin N. Nwogu & Thomas Bloor**: "Thematic Progression Pattern and the Structure of Discourse in Professional and Popularised Medical Texts". Chair: **Susanna Shore**

International Systemic Congress Committee:

Robin P. Fawcett, Chair, (Europe);
Hilary Hillier, Treasurer, (Europe);
Nancy Fries, Membership Secretary, (USA);
James D. Benson and William S. Greaves, (Canada);
Peter H. Fries, (USA);
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Ossi Ihalainen, University of Helsinki
Anna Mauranen, University of Helsinki
Matti Rissanen, University of Helsinki
Kari Sajavaara, University of Jyväskylä

Tuesday 13th:

- 9:00 -10:15 Plenary Address: **Michael Hoey** (Great Britain)
"Coherence and Cohesive Harmony: a complementary perspective". Chair: Roger Sell
- 10:15-10:30 Break
- 10:30-11:45 Plenary Address: **Nils Erik Enkvist** (Finland)
"Text Types and Text Strategies". Chair: Frantisek Danes
- 11:45-13:00 Lunch
- 13:00-14:15 Plenary Address: **Roger Sell** (Finland)
"Literary Pragmatics and Literary Genre". Chair: Nils Erik Enkvist
- 14:20-14:50 5. Parallel Session Paper
- A. **Jean Bear**: "Teaching Writing: Variations on (a) 'Theme'"
Chair: Helen Drury
- B. **Cecile Paris & John Bateman**: "Constraining the Deployment of Lexicogrammatical Resources According to Knowledge of the Hearer: a computational refinement of the theory of register"
Chair: Robin Fawcett
- C. **Agnes Yang**: "Marked Word Order in Discourse: A text-based study in English". Chair: Peter Fries
- D. **Karen Malcolm**: "Dialogue and Discourse". Chair: Michael O'Toole
- 14:55-15:25 6. Parallel Session Papers
- A. **Ann-Charlotte Lindeberg**: "Rhetorical Patterns in Student Writing in EFL". Chair: Helen Drury
- B. **James Benson**: "Narrow Span Collocations: A Tool for Parsing Lexico-Grammatical Output of Field in a Natural Language Text"
Chair: Robin Fawcett
- C. **Amy Tsui**: "The Interpenetration of Language as Code and Behaviour - a Description of Evaluative Statements".
Chair: Peter Fries
- D. **Femi Akindele**: "Dialogue and Discourse in Nigerian English Prose Fiction". Chair: Michael O'Toole
- 15:25-15:45 Coffee
- 15:45-16:15 7. Parallel Session Papers
- A. **Helen Drury**: "The Use of Systemic Linguistics to describe Student Summarising Strategies at University Level".
Chair: Jean Bear
- B. **Robin Fawcett**: "Idiot Text: some things that a computer program can teach us about how a systemic functional grammar really works". Chair: Michael Cummings
- C. **Peter Ragan**: "Functions and Communicative Language Teaching". Chair: Bernard Mohan
- D. **Josephine Bregazzi**: "Strategies of Linguistic Irony in Chaucer, Webster and Pope". Chair: Tuija Virtanen
- 16:20-16:50 8. Parallel Session Papers
- A. **Gerald Parsons**: "Scientific Texts: Cohesion and Coherence".
Chair: Jean Bear
- B. **Gordon Tucker**: "The Computational Generation of 'Adjectival' and 'Adverbial' Meaning in a Systemic Functional Grammar".
Chair: Michael Cummings
- C. **Jan-Eric Widell**: "Interpretations of the Notion 'Language Functions'". Chair: Bernard Mohan
- D. **Brita Wärvik**: "On Discourse Markers and Narrative Strategies in the History of English". Chair: Tuija Virtanen

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17:25

9. Parallel Session Papers

- A. **Liora Machauf & Judith Rosenhaus**: "Some Stylistic Aspects of Technical English". Chair: Jean Bear
B. **Erich H. Steiner**: "Toward a Model of Text Production as Goal-Directed Action". Chair: Michael Cummings

- C. **Taina Pitkanen-Koli**: "Using Systemic Grammar in the Analysis of some Swedish Fictional Texts". Chair: Tuija Virtanen

18:00-19:00 Dinner
19:30- Sauna

Wednesday 14th:

- 9:00 -10:15 Plenary Address: **James Martin** (Australia)
"Life as a Noun: Arresting the Universe in Science and Humanities". Chair: Michael Hoey
10:15-10:30 Break
10:30-11:45 Plenary Address: **Margaret Berry** (Great Britain)
"Thematic Options and Success in Writing". Chair: Ruqaiya Hasan
11:45-13:00 Lunch
13:00-14:15 Plenary Address: **Barbara Couture** (United States)
"Touting Recidivist Linguistics: A Reflection on Functional Theories of Writing". Chair: James Martin

- 14:20-14:50 10. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Kim Brian Lovejoy**: "Information Management, Context, and Sentence Structure". Chair: Gillian Francis
B. **Eirian Davies**: "Minimal Exchanges in English Discourse". Chair: Louise Ravelli
C. **Michael Cummings**: "Features and Functions in the Old English Nominal Group". Chair: Matti Rissanen
D. **Ruth Brend**: "(Non)Cohesion in Modern Poetry". Chair: Ilah Fleming

- 14:55-15:25 11. Parallel Session Papers
A. **William McGregor & Marietta Elliott**: "When is a 'Text' not a Text". Chair: Ann-Charlotte Lindeberg
B. **Hilary Hillier**: "'Success' and 'unsuccess' in action instigation: form and function in the natural speech of children aged 7-12". Chair: Louise Ravelli
C. **Linda Rashidi**: "The Dari Noun Phrase". Chair: Matti Rissanen
D. **Julia Lavid**: "Semantic Options in Transitivity System: an Example of Textual Analysis". Chair: Ilah Fleming

- 15:25-15:45 Coffee
15:45-16:15 12. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Anneliese Kramer-Dahl**: "A Mixed Genre: from case report to case story. Part I: Metafunctions". Chair: Ann-Charlotte Lindeberg
B. **Ingegerd Backlund**: "Initial Infinitive Clauses as Structural Markers in Written English". Chair: Heino Liiv
C. **Susanna Shore**: "The Subject in Finnish from a Systemic-Functional Point of View". Chair: Jonathan Fine
D. **Mariann Borgenstierna**: "Aspectual Markers in Discourse: Comparative Analysis of Old English and Contemporary English Texts". Chair: Brita Wärvik

- 16:20-16:50 13. Parallel Session Papers
A. **Gillian Frances**: "A Mixed Genre: from case report to case story. Part II: Genre and Ideology". Chair: Ann-Charlotte Lindeberg
B. **Frances Christie**: "First and Second Order Registers in Education". Chair: Heino Liiv
C. **Yowell Y. Aziz**: "Identifying Theme in Standard Arabic Texts". Chair: Jonathan Fine

D. Martina Björklund & Tuija Virtanen : "Variation in Narrative Structure: A Simple Text vs. an Innovative Work of Art". Chair: Brita Wärvik

16:30-17:00 Break
17:00-17:30

14. Parallel Session Papers

A. Janet Gilbert: "A Close-Up Look at The Acquisition of Two Patterns that Predominate in Written English: The Relative Clause and Nominalization". Chair: Gillian Francis

B. Fredrik Ulfhielm: "Intentional Ambiguity - the Multifarious Communicative Levels Employed in Japanese-Western Business Negotiations". Chair: Ossi Ihalainen

C. Rachel Giora: "Cognitive Aspects of the Joke". Chair: Jay Lemke

18:00-19:00 Dinner
19:30- Annual Meeting

Thursday 15th:

9:00-9:30 16. Parallel Session Papers

A. Hu Zhuanglin: "Developments of Systemics in China". Chair: Martin Davies

B. Heino Liiv: "Language Synergetics". Chair: Ossi Ihalainen

9:35-10:05 Evaluation of Papers
10:15-11:45

1. Parallel Workshops

A. Jay Lemke & Paul Thibault: "Voices and Values: Interpersonal Meaning in Discourse"

B. Erich Steiner: "Principles & Questions in Transitivity"

C. Alison Tate & Janet White: "Informal Meetings - Do They Have a Definable Generic Structure?"

D. Michael O'Toole: "A Systemic-Functional Semiotics for Visual Arts"

E. Rosemary Huisman: "Language in Poetry"

11:45-12:45 Lunch

12:45-14:15 2. Parallel Workshops
continue

15:00 A bus to Espoo: a city reception plus a guided city tour. At the end of the tour the bus will take us to Helsinki University.

17:30-18:30 A Rector's reception at the university. Address: Main building, Fabianinkatu 33.

19:00- Congress Dinner in the Restaurant Katajanokan Kasino. Address: Laivastokatu 1, Helsinki 16

Friday 16th:

8:30-10:00 3. Parallel Workshops

A. Iiah Fleming: "A Stratificational Approach to Text Analysis"

B. Robin Fawcett & Gordon Tucker: "Exploring a Systemic Functional Grammar"

C. Cate Poynton & Anne Cranny-Francis: "Language, Ideology and Gender"

D. Peter Fries: An informal discussion on "Theme"

E. Michael Cummings: "Interpreting System Networks on the Microcomputer". NB! This workshop will take place at the university. Address: Hallituskatu 8. Administrative building (Hallintorakennus), 2nd floor, Seminar room 8. Transportation from Hanasaari to the university will be arranged.

10:00-11:30 4. Parallel Workshops continue

11:30-12:00 Evaluation of workshops. Auditorium

11:30-12:30 Closing of the Congress. Auditorium

12:30-13:30 Lunch can be bought at Hanasaari. It is not included in the accommodation fee.

13:30 Bus to Leningrad leaves from Hanasaari

Computational Papers at the Sixteenth
International Systemic Congress

Erich Steiner
Fachrichtung Anglistik
IAI EUROTRA-D
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FRG

In the following we shall try to give a short overview of the 8 computational papers and workshops which were given at the 16th Systemic Congress in Helsinki 1989. I shall take the opportunity of adding a few general remarks at the end.

@Teich, Elke. A systemic treatment of transitivity for machine translation.

Elke Teich reported on the importation of aspects of a Systemic approach to Transitivity into the EEC's multi-lingual machine translation project EUROTRA. One aspect of that importation is the use of Transitivity features and roles in transfer from source language to target language. A second aspect is the treatment, within a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) based approach, of phenomena such as reflexives and reciprocals, phrasal and prepositional verbs, raising and control phenomena. The talk emphasized both the insightfulness of specific SFG ideas for multi-lingual machine translation and the need to develop details of representation for the phenomena under discussion more explicitly than up to now.

@Paris, Cecile and Bateman, John. Constraining the deployment of lexicogrammatical resources according to knowledge of the hearer: a computational refinement of the theory of register.

Paris and Bateman described an approach in the course of which they investigated the application of the Systemic notion of "register" to the task of 'tailoring' automatically generated texts to the levels and kinds of expertise of the intended readers of those texts. A sufficiently developed theory of register, they pointed out, would be a valuable and theoretically motivated tool for computation. For such an endeavour to achieve maximal success, they claimed, available formulations of register theory would have to be adapted to the particular task at hand, in particular, the degree of systematicity and explicitness would have to be increased. Their particular implementation of an aspect of register theory focused on the logical metafunction of the lexicogrammar. Within that implementation, they made use of a new mechanism controlling choices in register and leading to partial control of the dependency structure of texts generated. Paris' and Bateman's paper was another insightful example of how work in text generation can lead to progress in research both for computation and for linguistics. This kind of a two way influence should be a characteristic feature of any careful application of linguistic theories to any field, computational linguistics in particular.

@Benson, James. Narrow span collocations: a tool for parsing lexico-grammatical output of field in a natural language text.

James Benson reported on a project using an analysis of "collocations" with the help of the CLOC program in an attempt to find particular configurations of choices made from the lexicogrammar in a particular type of text (The Joy of Bridge). The interest in this project may be seen as deriving from at least the following two sources: It illustrates how the particular functional structures of Nominal Groups and Clauses used in a text are one way of looking into some of the semantic properties of a certain type of text. Furthermore, and on a more general level, collocational analyses may have an important role to play in those areas of computational linguistics which remain inaccessible to a purely "grammatical" treatment, for example in those cases where particular syntagms are not fully determinable through the grammar. Work of the type illustrated by Benson receives additional current interest through the extensive use made of the notion of "collocations" in recent lexicographic work such as that of John Sinclair and colleagues.

@Fawcett, Robin. Idiot text: some things that a computer program can teach us about how a systemic functional grammar really works.

Fawcett described in his talk the structure and content of GENESYS, the generating system of COMMUNAL, as well as the outlines of the project as a whole. His focus was, in particular, on the role of language as opposed to the role of "knowledge", and on the particular characteristics of generation as opposed to parsing, thus successfully giving a conceptual profile of his and his group's work in comparison to other work in computational linguistics. One of the theoretically interesting aspects of his presentation in particular was a fresh perspective on the degree of interdependence between networks from different functional components, e.g. Transitivity and Theme. Fawcett thus successfully illustrated how any application of linguistic theory, and in this case it is application in a specific computational context, should be conducted in such a way as to provide feedback to the theory itself. For many of us, Robin's talk acquired a special interest through the fact that he is one of the very few Systemicists apart from Michael Halliday, and, indeed, one of the very few linguists, who have developed a fairly comprehensive model. This fact in itself offers a good chance of not losing sight of the overall architecture of one's system in the details of implementation.

@Tucker, Gordon. The computational generation of "adjectival" and "adverbial" meaning in a systemic functional grammar.

Tucker gave another report on work going on in COMMUNAL (cf. Fawcett). We have already commented on the general interest in the work going on in and around COMMUNAL, so that we shall refrain from repeating ourselves here. Tucker's paper had additional intrinsic interest by concentrating on an area which is generally underdeveloped both in Systemic Linguistics and in other linguistic theories. Computational treatments of adjectival and adverbial meanings are even more sketchy than normal linguistic treatments. So, Tucker gave an insightful talk on an important area for linguistics and for language generation, where it seems to be important that there can be interest in such a talk for both parties.

Lehrer, Erich. Workshop: Principles and Questions in Transitivity.

Let us warn the NETWORK reader that here the author of the current report is discussing his own WORKSHOP - so expect subjective statements!

My workshop mainly used the background of Machine Translation, and of "Transitivity" within that area, to propose certain principles for the assignment of Participant Roles to verbs and sentences. I furthermore talked about possible treatments of some types of "raising" and "control" constructions ("seem", "stop", "see", etc. as verbs with their non-finite complements), attempting to relate the questions raised to explicit lexical items, grammatical rules, and representations. The main points of the workshop could be summarized in the following way:

- Systemic Linguistics in its functional orientation has a lot to offer for Machine Translation;
- In order to create an impact in MT, certain rules and representations expressing generalizations of Systemic Linguistics must be made more explicit;
- For the treatment of certain phenomena (Control, Raising, Modality, Causative Constructions, "Long Distance Dependencies", etc), it may be important to become more aware of what other schools are doing (GB, GPSG, LFG, etc), not with the aim of copying results from them, but with the aim of relating one's own specifically Systemic approaches to the approaches of others in such a way as to make comparison possible for the linguistic community as a whole.

Participants worked on the task of writing lexicon entries and brought up a whole range of interesting points from that exercise. The resulting discussion to me appeared to be quite controversial, but very rewarding most of the time.

@Cummings, Michael. Workshop: Interpreting system networks on the microcomputer.

Michael Cummings in this workshop introduced participants to his tool for writing system networks and generating selection expressions from them with the help of his SYSPRO, developed over the past couple of years and reported on in previous workshops. Cummings' program is an essential tool for anyone working with Systemic Linguistics in a computational context. More so, it should become an everyday tool for linguists working in non-computational fields as well, because the program is a tool which gives us an opportunity to check the validity of the networks that we write no matter what context they are for. In SYSPRO, Systemic Linguistics now has a tool which makes writing of networks more controllable and thus ultimately should become a part of a "Systemic Workbench". It has theoretical implications as well, because developing it has created a heightened awareness of the formal properties of system networks as data structures among Systemic linguists, and even if this had been its only effects, the work would have been worth it. It is to be hoped that Cummings will continue his efforts to make SYSPRO more widely available within the Systemic community!

@Fawcett, Robin and Tucker, Gordon. Workshop: Exploring a Systemic Functional Grammar.

Fawcett and Tucker in this workshop used GENESYS to introduce participants to some of the workings of a computer model of language plus some of the interesting issues raised by implementing a complex model of language. Step by step generation using a remote login to Cardiff was the way chosen to achieve these goals. As in practically all of the computational papers and workshops, the emphasis was as much on introducing systems as such as on exploring the theoretical significance of the particular system under consideration.

Finally, I would like to take the opportunity to make a few general and personal remarks on the role of computational work in the context of the development of our theory:

Over the last couple of years, computational work has established a certain tradition in Systemic developments. On the whole, it occurs to me that within Systemic Linguistics, the mutual roles of computational and more classically philological work are more balanced than in some other contemporary schools. Systemic Linguistics has so far never given in to the danger of becoming dominated by computational work, nor has it, on the other hand, closed itself off to the contact. This state of affairs is, in my personal view, very healthy for a linguistic theory in these days. Still, I sometimes seem to detect traces of the seemingly contradictory dangers of both overrating and underrating the importance of computational work, both of which may in fact co-occur on the basis of the same fundamental misconception, which could be summarized as something like "Computational work is 'formal' per se". Then, depending on whether one values "formal" methods or whether one doesn't, one of the following two tendencies occurs:

On the underrating side, some of us do not appear to give what to me is the proper weight to the need for explicitness created in computational work and, indeed, in any kind of work, provided it is taken seriously. Systemicists sometimes display a neglect of questions of data structures used in representations of texts, and of rules for generating these representations. Given a certain quality of work, though, a high degree of explicitness becomes very desirable, and in this I was particularly impressed by work as in Kasper 1987 or in Patten's 1988 formal model of Systemic grammar, but also by McGregor's paper at the Helsinki workshop, as well as by other work of that type. I do think that computational work, alongside with other work, if it is taken seriously, helps us to develop a higher degree of explicitness, which is also necessary if we want to argue in a meaningful way with colleagues from GB, LFG, GPSG, and related frameworks.

On the overrating side, it sometimes occurs to me as if the mere fact of doing computational work was occasionally considered to be a sign of quality. People on that side think that "formal" methods are inherently valuable, and they may think that computational work is always "formal". In my opinion, computational work, if it is done without theoretical consideration, gives a wrong impression of clarity. The mere fact that something runs on a machine doesn't mean anything. With present day hardware and software, it is quite possible to get something to run which

theoretically shortsighted and linguistically poor. In particular, often models are implemented which have never been formalized in a theoretical sense. I feel that one has to demand of computational applications that they take seriously the theory which they implement, and that they thus make formalisms their tools, not their masters. Poor computational applications have at best no beneficial effect for the theory, and at worst they prevent us from doing what we should do best: Inquire into the function and structure of natural language.

To round this up: In my thinking, EXPLICITNESS is something to be highly valued as a goal both in scientific method and in everyday life. The need for it in linguistics should be recognized, whether or not one has computational applications in mind. FORMALIZATION is something which is only possible and which is only appropriate after one has reached, in a certain area, a certain degree of explicitness. It is a valuable tool, provided one has carefully developed pre-formal notions first, and if the formalism itself adds to clarity by allowing to ask further questions or to push ideas to their logical consequences. A formalism in that sense may be a certain type of feature logic (Kasper), or a formal proof, say, within set theory. A formalism exists independently of any programming language, and what it takes is essentially a certain degree of explicitness of ideas plus pencil and paper.

Viewing computational applications of (parts of) the theory against a perspective such as the one indicated here is, hopefully, one of the ways of developing a reasonable perspective on them. And because computational applications will be with us for a long time - and I hope, without ever dominating the development of the theory to the exclusion of other applications - I think it is very necessary to develop such a perspective.

Finally: My deepest thanks to the organizers in Helsinki for organizing a truly delightful workshop for us. I shall never forget the midnight walks, drinks, and conversations of Hanasaari, which, of course, were not the main thing at the workshop, but an essential ingredient.

References:

- Kasper, R.T. 1987. Feature structures: a logical theory with application to linguistic analysis. University of Michigan PhD thesis.
- Patten, T. 1988. Systemic text generation as problem solving. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The sixteenth International Systemic Congress was the first one to be held in a European country outside of Britain. With numerous participants from Europe and representatives from Africa and Asia, it marked the growing international spread of systemic grammar outside of the English-speaking world. Of course, by now systemic grammar has been on the road for close to forty years. Looked at historically, it is fascinating to see how systemic-functional grammar, since its programmatic beginnings in the early sixties, has gradually and consistently fulfilled all its promises - and much more. Numerous complementary proposals for a multi-functional clause grammar have been developed, pathfinding work on discourse, dealing with the texture and structure of text, has been accomplished, frameworks for systematically relating these linguistic 'facts' to context, social structure, culture and ideology have been elaborated and a very distinctive view of the child's language development has been put forward. Meanwhile, this core of linguistic description has sparked off a very substantial body of applied work in various domains such as educational theory and practice, stylistics, semiotics, critique of ideology, text generation and parsing by computer. After an expansion of this breadth, one might well ask: where are we going now? The annual systemic congress can be expected to be the best place to find out.

As usual, it brought together people from the most varied backgrounds, who, still, share enough to appreciate each other's work. Systemicists tend not to engage in unfruitful polemics, where everything is rejected only to start off again with something totally embryonic for which total originality can be claimed, but they do reflect critically on central theoretical concepts and descriptive categories and try to push forward our general understanding of language and the descriptions we have. The cluster of papers on theme and discourse at the congress (Bear, Fries, Berry, M. Davies, Nwogu) illustrates such a collective exploratory effort; some definitive clarifications of the relevance of theme to discourse (and of discourse to theme) can be expected to flow from it. Similarly, the research on genre and generic structure which is currently being carried out in various places (cf Gill & Kramer-Dahl, Lindebergh, Ure, Drury, Martin, Berry) should lead to a breakthrough.

This general characteristic of innovation based on continuity typified most of the contributions made at the congress in the domains of theory, description and application.

On the theoretical plane, there were papers about such topics as a statifunctional approach to text analysis (Fleming), the interaction between functional levels of language (Pirkko), statistical probabilities within the grammar (Halliday), a computer-implemented conception of register (Paris & Bateman), semantic networks (Hasan), and the dynamic perspective on language (Ravelli, Lemke, Fine).

In the way of "straight" descriptive papers, we had expositions on, inter alia, transitivity (Daneš, Steiner), the adjectival and adverbial group (Tucker), the analysis of exchanges (E. Davies), collocation and grammatical structure (Benson), cohesion and coherence (Hoey). Particularly welcome were systemic descriptions of languages other than

English such as Dari (Rashide), Arabic (Aziz) and Finnish (Shore).

Jim Martin's paper, which compared a pedagogic science and history text, was a good example of the eye-opening insights which creative application of systemic-functional grammar can yield: a very clear picture was given of the lexicogrammatical syndromes accounting for 'technicality' in the science text and 'abstraction' in the history text.

Similarly, Robin Fawcett's COMMUNAL text-generating computer programme offers an impressive illustration of systemic linguistics at work: its utterance-generating part involves a unified lexicogrammar with modular metafunctions, many of whose networks have been explicitated upto a very high degree of delicacy.

Many participants remarked that this congress was continually intellectually stimulating. With notions such as meta-redundancy, grammatical metaphor and the dynamic versus synoptic perspective new horizons are felt to come within our reach. Some of the newcomers were also pleasantly surprised by the generous and very open exchange of ideas. As one participant put it: "People really share their ideas here; they're not afraid someone might pinch them."

By way of conclusion, it may be worth noting that some of our long-held basic convictions about language - ones not necessarily subscribed to in other contemporary ways of thinking about language - were confirmed again at the congress. Thus, for systemicists the ineffable categories of a grammar constitute a culturally and socially re-coded interpretation of the world, but this does not allow us to say anything simplistic or universal about 'the structure of the mind'. Systemicists also hold that the relation between grammar and semantics is non-arbitrary, that the semantics have to be understood in functional terms, and that the context of situation has a systematic impact on the lexicogrammar. Finally, systemicists believe that language basically "works" - it is "functional", and the understanding of its functioning entails social responsibility of some kind.

Kristin Davidse
Katholieke University
Leuven

The 16th International Systemic Congress
University of Helsinki
Hanasaari, Finland, June 12-16, 1989

Coming immediately after the Jyväskylä Summer School of Linguistics, the 16th Congress continued to explore the potential and the problems of the systemic approach to language. The Congress was held at Hanasaari, a beautiful but somewhat inaccessible peninsular just outside Helsinki. It was organized "with loving care" (as Robin Fawcett put it) by a team headed by Eija Ventola. Over 120 participants listened to plenaries given by a highly distinguished set of speakers: Daneš, Halliday, Hasan, Hoey, Enqvist, Sell, Martin, Berry and Couture. There were over 50 papers, and 10 workshops. Topics covered included computer applications of text production models, e.g. for automatic translation; the dynamics of text processing; studies of text type, register and genre; literary pragmatics; cohesion, theme and information structure; writing skills; language and ideology; the extension of systemic theory to the visual arts; and much more besides.

A number of common themes and problems seemed to emerge from both plenaries and papers. One was the lack of adequate time for debate: one wonders whether future conferences might be more generous with the time slots allotted for discussion after plenaries and papers, and perhaps also allow an opportunity for a shared debate on some major issues, for instance started off by an invited panel representing obviously different points of view. This might mean increasing the number of parallel papers, but one might also consider using poster papers as well. Workshop format might also be made more dialogic.

Many of the most interesting theoretical issues that emerged, from both plenaries and individual papers, revolved round the difficulty of analysing language use as a process. In part, this means incorporating probabilities into the grammar, and perhaps doing away with strictly binary notions such as grammatical vs. ungrammatical. It also seems to imply opening up linguistics to include insights from decision theory, in an attempt to formulate the strategies language users resort to in real-time communication. One consequence of such a shift of focus might be a gain in the *prima facie* psychological plausibility of models of grammar.

Related to this issue is the prescriptive one: many papers were concerned with improving writing skills, and there were several suggestions as to the kinds of linguistic features which contribute to the evaluation of a piece of writing. One difficulty here is the process of evaluation itself, with which the linguistic analysis is correlated. Judgements of how successful an act of communication is seem often to depend on non-syntactic factors such as originality, creativity, human interest, irony, etc; none of these are easy to define in themselves, but one might assume they would have just as much influence on the way the message gets through to the addressee as e.g. degree of cohesion or type of thematization. Native speaker evaluation would seem to be a fruitful area for future research: one format might be to start with the kind of research in error analysis that focuses on the communicative effect of errors, and extend it to discourse evaluation. Another difficulty concerns the tendency to assume that correlations equal causes: i.e. that a given text is evaluated, say, low because certain linguistic features have been found in it. This may of course be the case, but it does not logically follow that it must be.

Together with the focus on language as a dynamic system, both descriptively and prescriptively, there arises the fundamental problem of metalanguage. We are used to labelling units - particles and fields - in linguistic analysis; but our resources for differentiating between different types of process - language as wave - seem much slimmer.

One way of evaluating a conference of this kind might be in terms of the number of new "cohesive" links that were set up between people and ideas. Personally, I found myself rapidly enmeshed in a highly stimulating network of people and ideas, and look forward to examining various nodes a little more closely in the future.

Andrew Chesterman
Department of English
University of Helsinki

Past meetings: The Tenth Finnish Summer School of Linguistics featured Systemic Linguistics the summer of 1989 in Jyväskylä, Finland, June 5-9. Michael Halliday and Christian Matthiessen spoke on "Lexico-grammar". Ruqaiya Hasan spoke on "Sociolinguistics in systemic-functional linguistics". James Martin spoke on "Conversational structure: negotiating meaning through dialogue"; "Participant identification: reference as semantic choice"; "Conjunction: the logic of English text"; and "Lexical relations: the company words keep". Michael Hoey spoke on "Culturally popular patterns of text organization and their correlation with genres"; and "Patterns of lexical cohesion in non-narrative text: a new interpretation of the contribution of cohesion to coherence". These presentations were given from June 5-8. On June 9th the following workshops were given: Michael Halliday and Christian Matthiessen: "Lexico-grammar in Systemic-Functional theory"; Ruqaiya Hasan: "Sociolinguistics in Systemic-Functional theory"; Helen Drury: "Academic writing at the tertiary level"; Michael Hoey: "The interactivity and hierarchicality of text"; Peter Fries: "Word order, theme and focus of information in a written text"; Bernard Mohan: "Second-language learning: a content based approach"; William Greaves: "Halliday's description of intonation and questions of Systemic phonology"; and Martin Davies: "Theme and information systems in the creation of texts". Approximately 140 people attended the Summer School and it was a great success due to the hard work of the organizer, Kari Sajavaara, and his staff.

(See review on page 32-33)

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Going to Scotland soon? Helpful addresses: Headquarters Office for Scotrail: Scotrail House, 58 Port Dundas Road, Glasgow, G4 0HG, Scotland, Great Britain. National Trust for Scotland (membership 15 pounds per year), 5 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, EH2 4DU, Scotland, Great Britain. (recommended books: *Guide to over 100 properties*, and *Gardens in Trust*). Scottish Tourist Board, 23 Ravelston Terrace, Edinburgh, EH4 3EU, Great Britain. (recommended books: *1001 things to see in Scotland*, and *Scotland bed and breakfast*). British Tourist Authority, Thames Tower, Black's Road, London W6 9EL, Great Britain. (recommended book: *BTA COMMENDED Country Hotels, Guesthouses and Restaurants*, 1990). Scottish Tourist Information Center, Broad Street, Stirling, Scotland.

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The 10th Finnish Summer School of Linguistics

Theme: SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

June 5-9, 1989

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

A view from the receiving end

Saturday, June 10, Helsinki. Home again, after a very full week indeed - 22 hours of lectures plus two 3-hour workshops crammed into five days. I now know a great deal more about systemic linguistics than I did, and it has been stimulating to hear and meet people who combine professionalism with an infectious enthusiasm. Michael Halliday and Christian Matthiessen spoke on lexico-grammar in systemic-functional theory, Ruqaiya Hasan on sociolinguistics in systemic-functional theory, James Martin on discourse semantics, Michael Hoey on patterns of text organization and cohesion. Workshops were led by Halliday and Matthiessen, Hasan, and Hoey; and also by Helen Drury on academic writing, Peter Fries on word order, theme and information structure, Bernard Mohan on second-language learning, William Greaves on intonation and phonology, Martin Davies on theme and information systems, and Jean Ure on lexical density. Each evening offered a social programme, culminating in a cruise on one of Finland's thousands of lakes.

Academically I found the week fascinating; pedagogically, however, there were a number of problems. The following comments illustrate something of what it felt like to be a student again (a most salutary experience in itself - should be recommended to all university teachers once in a while!).

The aim of the summer school was to provide an intensive introduction to systemic grammar. The first problem, then, was an audience that was very heterogeneous as regards its experience of this grammar: some knew next to nothing, others were already using it in their own research. It was clearly difficult for the speakers to know at what level to operate. Suggestion: in future, send out in advance a minimum required reading list, or an introductory summary of the theory, in order to ensure a shared baseline of knowledge.

Lectures are known to be not a very efficient way of bringing about a learning experience, especially when their length greatly exceeds the

average adult concentration span. (A common comment: "the last half hour just went over my head.") Four 90-minute lectures per day is simply too much of this form of teaching. One learns best not by being talked to, but by doing. Suggestion: reduce the number of lectures. Let there be a series of parallel workshops after each lecture, taking up the same topic and allowing us to apply it and explore it further ourselves, e.g. in groupwork or group discussion. One format might be to end a lecture with a series of questions or problems or a set of data, then allow an hour's break during which we could discuss or think (!) e.g. over coffee, then follow this with a workshop or discussion in smaller groups. Each day could consist of two such three-stage processes: lecture - response - groupwork.

There often seemed to be some doubt as to whether the setting was more like a conference than a summer school: the sociolinguistics lectures were more in the nature of a long research report; and Hoey's lectures, though intriguing and entertaining in themselves, seemed less centrally related to systemics itself.

Most of the audience were language teachers of one kind or another; it might therefore have been better to focus less on abstract theoretical orientations and more on practical applications. Lectures often seemed to go into too much delicacy in non-central places: cf. e.g. the time given to terminological variants, statistical analysis - trying to cram the details of a whole course into a single lecture?

The programme contained several different topics per day, with the same topics continuing the next day. It might have been pedagogically clearer to devote one day to one topic: e.g. day one - introduction to lexico-grammar; day two - discourse analysis and textlinguistics in systemic theory; day three - sociolinguistic applications; day four - pedagogical applications; day five - phonology and intonation; or the like. I found the programme we were offered rather confusing in this respect.

In spite of these drawbacks, though, the week was a rewarding one. I foresee many systemic shoots sprouting in Finnish linguistics research in the future!

Andrew Chesterman

Department of English, University of Helsinki.

MINI INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMIC CONGRESS

Department of English Studies,
University of Nottingham

July 24-25, 1989

It was discovered at the recent International Systemic Congress in Helsinki that a number of systemicists were to be in the Nottingham area at the end of July. This seemed an excellent opportunity for a mini-congress of our own. (Lexical query: can you have a mini-congress? Or does mini-congress equal workshop?)

The theme of the meeting will be **THEME**.

Monday July 24

Tuesday July 25

Peter Fries (USA)

'Patterns of Information in Initial Position in English'

Coffee

Kevin Nwogu (Nigeria) and Thomas Bloor (Great Britain)

'Thematic Progression Pattern and the Structure of Discourse in Professional and Popularised Medical Texts'.

Gerald Parsons (Great Britain)

'Thematic Progression in Scientific Texts'

Lunch. (This will be available in the University's Portland Building)

Louise Ravelli (Australia)

'A Dynamic Perspective on Systemic Grammar; Getting the Perspective Right'

Tea

Rosemary Huisman (Australia)

'Theme in Poetry'

Martin Davies (Great Britain)

'Theme from Beowulf to Shakespeare'

Robert Cockcroft (Great Britain)

'Rhetoric and Coherence'

Buffet Supper in University Staff Club

Peter Fries (USA)

'Towards a Discussion of the Flow of Information in Text'

Coffee

Caroline Stainton (Great Britain)

'Towards a Thematic Framework for Investigating Success in Writing' (1)

Margaret Berry (Great Britain)

'Towards a Thematic Framework for Investigating Success in Writing' (2)

Lunch (In the Portland Building)

Hilary Hillier gave a paper to fill in for a speaker who could not attend. Title not available at this time.

General Discussion (to be chaired by Dr. C.S. Butler (Great Britain))

Congress closes.

Organized by:

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Report on Mini International Systemic Congress on Theme, University of Nottingham, 24-25 July 1989

The two-day mini-congress held at the University of Nottingham gave those of us who were unfortunate enough to miss the Helsinki meeting a welcome opportunity to hear, sometimes in an updated form, some of the papers on theme which had been presented at the main congress. It also provided a smaller forum in which matters specifically related to theme could be discussed at rather greater length than had been possible in the crowded Helsinki programme. The programme consisted of 11 papers and a concluding discussion session.

The first of two papers by Peter Fries, on 'Patterns of information in initial position in English', began by considering Halliday's definition of theme, and giving examples of different types of themes. A number of hypotheses were then set up, concerning the relationship between method of development, topic, the expression of particular points, and thematic positioning in the English clause. Consideration of these hypotheses in relation to texts gave rise to principles for deciding which information in a 'T-unit' should be thematic, the general idea being that the theme of a T-unit provides a framework within which the rheme of that unit can be interpreted. The operation of this principle involves providing information which is required in order to interpret the main message, and may also require the cancellation of assumptions established in the previous context, the prevention of temporal or locational misinterpretation, and the highlighting of points of elaboration. Fries's conclusion was that theme, seen as an element of structure of the independent conjoinable clause complex, has a meaningful orienting function, and is chosen on a principled, non-random basis by writers.

Kevin Nwoogu's paper on 'Thematic progression pattern and the structure of discourse in professional and popularised medical texts' reported on comparisons of professional medical journals and popularised newspaper and magazine accounts of the same subject matter, using a Danes-inspired Functional Sentence Perspective approach to thematic progression. It was found that although simple linear and constant thematic progression types were found in all types of text examined, derived thematic progression occurred only in the research articles. Interesting differences between the various sections of articles were also reported.

The contribution by Gerald Parsons was also concerned with thematic progression, this time in scientific texts. He outlined analyses of descriptive scientific texts produced by native and non-native writers of English. Measures based on taking the initial constituent as theme in a Danes-style analysis were found to show significant correlation with informants' ratings of the coherence of the texts, whereas measures based on taking the grammatical subject as theme did not give rise to statistically significant correlations.

Louise Ravelli's paper on 'A dynamic perspective on systemic grammar: getting the perspective right' was one of two papers not specifically concerned with the main topic of the congress. She argued that there has been too little emphasis on matters of perspective in systemic linguistics and, more specifically, that a dynamic perspective could

profitably be taken in the grammar itself, where such an approach has not so far found favour. The main characteristics of a dynamic approach highlighted in the paper are: prospective viewing; a focus on dependency rather than on consistency; syntagmatic definition of environments for syntactic choice; moment-by-moment generation of structure; a probabilistic orientation; operation in text and in context; and the need to know what has occurred so far, in order to specify the potential for what may come after.

There followed three presentations concerned with theme in literary texts. Rosemary Huisman examined the significance of thematic patterning in poems by Harry, Atwood, Lehmann and Dobson. Martin Davies then looked at the development of theme in literary language from Old English to Donne. Robert Cockcroft, as a literary scholar with a particular interest in rhetoric, threw down a number of exacting challenges for systemic linguistics, wondering whether the models we operate with could offer a more enlightening account of the rhetorical devices available to writers than that of the traditional rhetorician. More specifically, we were invited to ponder, using a text from Marlowe as a focus, whether a Hallidayan theme-rheme analysis could account for "the coherence of effective persuasion" without reinventing the terms of rhetoric.

The second day of the congress began with a further paper from Peter Fries, 'Towards a discussion of the flow of information in a text'. Starting from a consideration of the distinct, but related, categories of theme/rheme and given/new information, Fries investigated the hypothesis that the 'N-rheme' (last clause-level constituent) is the unmarked culmination of new information, and so should correlate with the goals of the clause, clause complex, text segment and whole text, whereas the theme, being the 'orienter' for the clause, should not correlate with these goals, even when punctuated as a separate unit.

Caroline Stainton then presented the first of two papers concerned with a project based in the Department of English Studies at the University of Nottingham, in which a thematic framework is being used to investigate the problem of what makes a text a successful instance of a genre. After reviewing previous work on the relationship between theme and genre, Stainton put forward a general hypothesis to the effect that a successful instance of a genre will exhibit a different frequency of the various theme types from an unsuccessful one. She went on to outline further hypotheses relating thematic choices to success for the genre of the article. In general, the hypotheses appeared to be borne out in small-scale initial analyses.

The second paper on the Nottingham project, presented by Margaret Berry, examined the relationship between thematic choice and degree of success in relation to the writing task, in four texts written by children. The texts, describing the children's home town, were evaluated by informants in relation to two types of writing task: for incorporation in a guide book published by a motoring association, and in a travel brochure. The distinction between interactional and informational themes, and further distinctions within these main categories, proved to be relevant to success in the two types of writing. The paper then went on to explore the types of thematic choice which appeared to be relevant to success in the two genres, and

the strategies for choosing between options.

The paper by Hilary Hillier was also concerned with success in communication, though not specifically in relation to thematic choices. She outlined a series of criteria for the evaluation of the success of an utterance, and illustrated these criteria by reference to action-instigating utterances in children's spoken interaction.

In the space remaining to me, I shall attempt a critical evaluation of the mini-congress, based on points I made during the final discussion session.

I should say first of all that all of the papers we heard at the congress offered much food for thought, and presented material which was valuable in its own right. In general, the standard of presentation was high. I do, however, feel that our two days of papers and discussion raised some important issues about which I have considerable reservations. I should emphasise that the following represents a personal view, which would probably not be shared by many of the participants.

Let me begin with a couple of points relating specifically to the main topic of the congress - theme. Firstly, it was noticeable that although a number of approaches to the analysis of thematic structure and choice, principally those deriving from the work of Halliday, Danes and Fries, were discussed during the congress, only in parts of one or two papers were the relative merits of these models a focus of attention. Secondly (and rather disconcertingly) I, as a linguist with an interest in systemic models, but one who does not consider himself expert in the area of theme, found that I emerged from the congress still asking the question 'What is theme?' The work of Fries does seem to be attempting to provide less metaphorical definitions than those offered by Halliday. And yet there still appears to be no truly operationalisable definition which can be applied across languages. This last point brings me to some rather more general matters relating to systemic models.

It seems to me that systemic linguistics is still very firmly anglo-centric, and that this (to use appropriately systemic-sounding terms) prevents the realisation of its full potential. True, descriptions of languages other than English have appeared, increasingly so over the last few years. But the fact remains that those who are generally regarded as centrally involved in the systemic enterprise work almost exclusively on English, and this orientation was very obvious indeed in the papers given at the mini-congress. This point is, I feel, particularly important when we are talking about theme: as Halliday has stated, theme is realised by initial positioning in the English clause, but is not defined by this positioning. As I said above, we need a workable definition of theme which allows us to operate reliably with the notion in languages of widely differing types.

A second bias which emerged very clearly was towards an interest in the applications of theoretical constructs rather than towards the constructs themselves. There is, of course, as many readers will protest, an important relationship between the two: application of a theoretical construct can provide evidence for or against the validity

of that construct (for particular purposes, at least). But there is, I think, an unfortunate tendency for the theoretical implications to get lost among the welter of studies, very interesting and valuable in themselves, which apply systemic theorising to particular problems.

A further point relates to the dynamic, process-oriented orientation which was particularly evident in the paper by Ravelli and also to some extent in those by Fries. While agreeing that systemic linguistics needs to involve itself with the dynamics of sentence and text construction, I fear that attempts to do this may proceed in isolation from the large and important body of work by psycholinguists. Halliday has always declared himself to be less interested in language as a psychological phenomenon than in sociolinguistic approaches. But it seems to me that if we are to take seriously the challenge of explaining how language users actualise the potential offered by their language(s), we must inevitably be drawn into psycholinguistics. This is not, of course, an original observation: Robin Fawcett has for many years stressed the importance of cognitive factors in any adequate model of language and language use, and Dick Hudson, in the days when he was a systemicist, also paid lip service, at least, to the importance of psycholinguistic evidence. The problem is particularly sharply focused in the central question of whether system networks 'merely' represent contrasts available in the language potential, or are intended to model the choices actually made by language users. This question has never, to my knowledge, been adequately discussed, let alone unequivocally answered.

The lack of attention to psycholinguistics I mentioned above is, unfortunately, just one aspect of what I perceive as a wider problem. As I have documented in some detail elsewhere, systemicists have tended to be rather isolationist in their approach to other models. There are undeniably interesting and important points of contact between systemic models and other functional grammars, and also between the work of systemicists and that of pragmaticians. And yet we have been slow to talk to our colleagues in other traditions, and to take account of their work in our own research. The situation is, I think, improving (as witness, for instance, the widespread interest in Prague-based functional approaches to textual structure), but still has a long way to go. In relation to the mini-congress, I thought that, for example, Louise Ravelli's work would benefit from examination of the large body of work on dynamic approaches in computational linguistics, critical theory, etc.; that Margaret Berry's paper could have been even stronger if reference had been made to work on topic continuity by Givón and others, and to work on referent tracking by computational linguists; and that it was a great pity that the detailed attention paid to matters of topic, focus, etc., in Simon Dik's Functional Grammar was totally ignored.

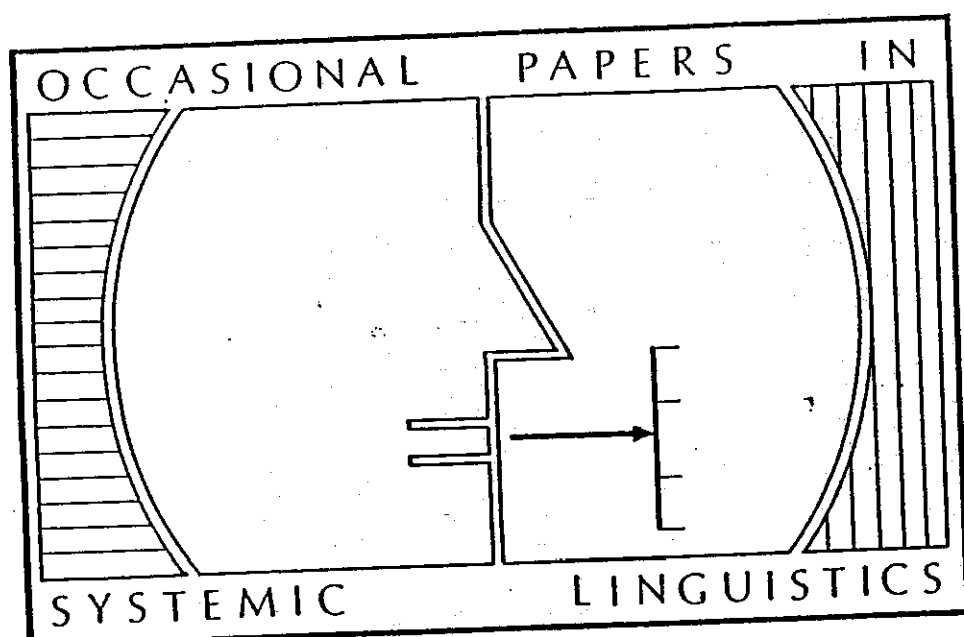
I should like to make two final points regarding the status of categories in the models discussed at the mini-congress. Firstly, I was delighted to find Peter Fries claiming that because the purposes for which writers use thematic devices are multiple and often fuzzy, system networks are probably not suitable for modelling them. Fries, rightly in my view, sees thematic choice in terms of principles or strategies which are not of a kind which lends itself to the neat oppositions of systems. This is precisely the point made by Leech, and

elaborated by me, in regard to Halliday's claim that choices in speech function and theme selection are part of the (grammatical) semantics. The possibilities for what is in first position in an English clause can, of course, sensibly be formalised in terms of systems; the underlying 'meanings', on the other hand, cannot, and are, in my view, best regarded as extragrammatical, pragmatic constructs (and no less important for that!)

My final final point relates to the issue of how the models of thematic and other aspects of linguistic organisation discussed at the congress fit into an overall view of what language is like, what categories are permissible in accounting for linguistic phenomena, and what the status of these categories is. For some participants, this was seen as an issue with which they were not, and need not be, concerned. And yet it seems to me that an answer to such questions is indispensable if the term 'systemic linguistics' is to have any real meaning, and if the studies reported at this and other systemic congresses are to be seen as anything other than very loosely and inexplicitly related. Admittedly the congress was primarily about theme, but it was also a systemic congress, and it was often difficult to see what the papers had in common which would justify their inclusion under the systemic banner.

One view from the floor was that systemic linguistics, for that participant at least, was about models of text. Even if this is so, the problem of deciding on the status of categories remains. As Halliday himself has stressed, a good model of text must be firmly grounded in a model of grammar; one would therefore hope that the two interdependent and interpenetrating aspects would relate to one another in a coherent and consistent way, especially if they make use of the same categories. But even the category of system seems not to be a firm anchor point: the system networks presented in Margaret Berry's paper, for instance, are very revealing, but they are very different indeed from those for transitivity, mood, theme, etc., which have been proposed by Halliday and others and which themselves come in such luxuriant and bewildering variety. Can a system represent choices in anything at all which can be deemed to have some relevance to some aspect of linguistic patterning as broadly conceived? The answer may be 'yes', but the question needs addressing, and exploring in some depth, if the category of system is to retain the centrality implied by the name 'systemic linguistics' and by the title of the mini-congress. I came away asking myself not only 'What is theme?' but also 'What is systemic linguistics?'

Chris Butler, Department of Linguistics, University of Nottingham



Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics is a relatively informal journal which aims to provide an outlet for writers working within a systemic framework, and for those who share the interests of systemic linguists in function, and in the relation of texts to their social contexts.

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We encountered a bit of a hitch with Volume 3. The top copy was lost in the post between Antwerp and Nottingham, and we are therefore having to assemble a new top copy suitable for photocopying. This is now in progress, and Volume 3 - to include papers by Margaret Berry, Eirian Davies, Yon Maley, Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg and Ronald Geluykens - should be unveiled in the near future.

Material for Volume 4 is currently being assembled.

Papers for future volumes may be sent to either:

Margaret Berry
Department of English Studies
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG7 2RD

or

Dirk Noel
TEW
University of Antwerp
Prinsstraat 13
B2000 Antwerp
Belgium

Submitted by:

Hilary Hillier
Department of English Studies
University of Nottingham
September 1989

KORPORA DES ENGLISCHEN
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Anschrift/Editorial Address

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Over the last 25 years, linguistic perspectives on educational processes have become increasingly important. Whether the setting is a classroom, a street corner, a conference room, a staff meeting, a parent and child at home, a peer play group, or another formal or informal setting, educational processes occur through language. The language may be oral or written, verbal or nonverbal, occur at a face-to-face level, or at broader levels. Regardless, to understand how educational processes work requires a linguistic perspective.

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Information for authors is available through the editor: David Bloome, Linguistics and Education, 223 Furcolo Hall, The University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

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NETWORK NEWS

EIRIAN DAVIES writes that she is currently engaged in the development and testing of a formal model of semantics and pragmatics of English sentence types. Her recent publications are as follows:

1988a. 'On different possibilities in the syntax of English'. In James D. Benson, Michael J. Cummings and William S. Greaves (eds.). *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 155-184.

1988b. 'English Questions'. In E. Steiner and R. Veltman (eds.). *Pragmatics, Discourse and Text*. London: Pinter, 28-45.

1989. 'Sentence Types in English Discourse'. *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, vol. 3, University of Nottingham.

forthcoming. *Pragmatics and English Discourse*. London: Macmillan.

Address: Department of English, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, Egham Hill, Egham, Surrey TW200EX, U.K.

LOUISE RAVELLI writes that she is working on her doctoral thesis 'A dynamic perspective on systemic functional grammar', that in 1988 'Grammatical metaphor: an initial analysis' appeared in Steiner and Veltman (eds.) *Pragmatics, Discourse and Text* (Pinter), and that in 1990 she'll be job hunting. [Ed. Send offers to:]

Address: Louise Ravelli, English Language Research, University of Birmingham, Birmingham B152TT, U.K.

ZUANGLIN HU presented his paper 'A semantic-functional approach to word order in Chinese' at the International Conference on Texts and Language Research in Xian, China, in March 1989. With co-authors Zhu Tongseu and Zhang Delu, he is writing 'Systemic-Functional Grammar', forthcoming with Hunan Educational Publishers. Hu is also working on 'A systemic description of the mood system in Chinese' with co-author Thies Li Shajin, and a textbook on Literary Stylistics, among other projects.

Address: Department of English, Peking University, Beijing 100871, China

MICHAEL O'TOOLE writes: 'I am currently completing a book on the Systemic-Functional semiotic model for analysing visual art forms which I am adapting from Halliday's linguistic model. The book should appear in late 1990/early 1991. A further volume, *Explorations in the Semiotics of Art*, in which I am editing further analyses using this model written by my colleagues and students should appear about one year later. . . . I would be glad to make contact with anyone interested in semiotic applications of the systemic model to any of the arts.' Contact will be facilitated by O'Toole's sabbatical leave, from July - Dec. 1990. Apart from absences occasioned by the ISC17 at Stirling and the International Semiotics Institute in Finland in July, as well

as the Poetics and Linguistics Association in Amsterdam and the Neo-Formalist Circle in Oxford in September, he can mainly be found at the University of Wales, where he will be with Robin Fawcett, and the University of Leuven, in Belgium. Recent publications include:

1988a. Functions of Style. David Birch and Michael O'Toole (eds.). London: Frances Pinter.

1988b. 'Henry Reed, and what follows the "Naming of Parts"'. In Birch and O'Toole (eds.).

1989. 'Semiotic systems in painting and poetry'. In M. Falchikov, C. Poke and R. Russell (eds.). A Festschrift for Dennis Ward. Nottingham: Astra Press.

In press a. 'A systemic semiotics of art'. In P. Fries and M. Gregory (eds.). Discourse in society: functional perspectives. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

In press b. 'A semiotics of painting and architecture'. Semiotica.

Following the Helsinki Congress, ROSEMARY HUISMAN has been engaged in antiquarian pursuits in the Bodleian in Oxford, before finishing up her leave by returning to Sydney in October. She writes: 'I am continuing work on language in poetry, including - as discussed in a paper at the Nottingham Mini-Congress in July - theme in modern poetry'. Recent publications:

1989a. 'The three tellings of Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother'. Leeds Studies in English, new series XX.

1989b. 'Who speaks for whom? The search for subjectivity in Browning's poetry'. AUMLA 71, 64-87.

Address: Department of English, University of Sydney, Sydney, N.S.W. 2006, Australia.

CHRIS BUTLER is undoubtedly looking forward to a study leave for the 1990 summer term. In the meantime he is working on a comparison of SFG and Dik's Functional Grammar, and an analysis of computerised corpora of modern spoken Spanish and English. Butler's recent publications include:

1988a. 'Politeness and the semantics of modalised directives in English'. In J. D. Benson, M. Cummings, and W. S. Greaves (eds.). Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 119-53.

1988b. 'Pragmatics and systemic linguistics'. Journal of Pragmatics 12, 83-102.

1988c. 'Systemic linguistics, semantics and pragmatics'. In E. H. Steiner and R. Veltman (eds.). Pragmatics, Discourse and Text. London: Frances Pinter, 13-27.

1989a. 'Language and literature: theory and practice. A tribute to Walter Grauberg'. Nottingham Linguistic Circular special issue. Co-edited with

J. M. Channell and R. A. Cardwell.

1989b. 'Researching politeness in a second language. Co-authored with J. M. Channell, in 1989a, 1-16.

1989c. 'Systemic linguistics: unity, diversity and change'. Word 40/1-2, 1-35.

forthcoming a. 'The interpersonal function of language. In V. Prakasam (ed.), Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistic Terminology (sponsored by the UGC).

forthcoming b. 'Linguistics and computation'. In N. E. Collinge (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Linguistics. London: Croom Helm.

forthcoming c. 'Grammatical structure: a systemic functional perspective, vol. 2 of Meaning and choice in language: studies for Michael Halliday. Norwood, NJ: Ablex (co-edited with M. Berry and R. P. Fawcett).

forthcoming d. 'On the concept of an interpersonal metafunction in English. In forthcoming c.

forthcoming e. 'Qualifications in science: modal meanings in scientific writing. In W. Nash (ed.). Writing for academic purposes. Beverly Hills, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

forthcoming f. 'A review of statistical techniques in the analysis of linguistic data. In D. Coleman and B. Levandowska (eds.). Statistics for language studies. Lodz: University of Lodz Press.

forthcoming g. 'Statistics for linguists: some case studies to illustrate techniques and their applicability. In D. Coleman and B. Levandowska (eds.). Statistics for language studies. Lodz: University of Lodz Press.

forthcoming h. 'Scale and category grammar. In The encyclopaedia of language and linguistics. Pergamon Press and Aberdeen University Press.

forthcoming i. 'Systemic grammar in applied language studies. In The encyclopaedia of language and linguistics. Pergamon Press and Aberdeen University Press.

Address: Department of Linguistics, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD, U.K.

EDUARD HOVY writes in a reflective mood: 'The Computational Linguistics world is in a sad state today, as was brought home to me again recently while I spent 2 months at the IBM NL Research Centre in Stuttgart, Germany. Over and over I heard the opinion that, while Systemic Linguistics is an interesting endeavour, its lack of rigorous formalisation (and, of course, the rather idiosyncratic terms used) make it inappropriate as a mainstream contender in their (computational) terms. This is a pity, since the computational Mafia controls a lot of research money and we could with their help (or even interest) make our research environments a lot more comfortable. But there is some hope,

particularly in the new developments on a process-oriented view of Systemic Grammar. In this respect there is quite a lot to be learned from computation, and anyone interested can read much of their work with profit'. Hovy is currently engaged in 'planning out by computer, coherent paragraphs (and hopefully longer texts) using Mann and Thompson's RST and larger more structured objects (similar, in spirit, to Hasan's GSPs)'. Current publications:

1988a. 'Planning coherent multisentential text'. American Association of Computational Linguistics Conference.

1988b. The Penman Primes, User Guide, and Manual. (with the Penman Group.)

1989a. 'Some open issues in the planning of paragraphs'. European Workshop on Text Generation.

1989b. 'Focusing your RST' (with K. McCoy). 11th Conference of Cognitive Science Society.

Address: Information Sciences Institute, 4676 Admiralty Way, Marina del Rey, CA 90292-6695, U.S.A.

PAUL TENCH, ex-UWIST now University of Wales, Cardiff, successfully defended a thesis entitled 'The roles of intonation in English discourse for PhD in January 1988. The thesis is written within the general framework of Halliday's description of English intonation, but takes into account many more recent developments, including 'discourse intonation' (Brazil et al) and the work of Ladd, Liebermann, Brown and Cruttenden. Copies are available from P. Tench, School of English Studies, Journalism and Philosophy, University of Wales College of Cardiff, P.O. Box 94, Cardiff, Wales, CF1 3XE for £12.50. Cheques should be made out to 'University of Wales College of Cardiff'.

INGEGERD BÄCKLUND is engaged in testing the hypothesis that the structural analysis used to reveal hierarchical structure in spoken and written monologue can also be used to analyse hierarchical relations in conversation. She writes: 'the hypothesis will be tested on various types of conversation and I will try to identify possible verbal signals of structural relations'. Recent publications are as follows:

1988. 'Grounds for prominence. On hierarchies and grounding in English expository text'. *Studia Neophilologica* 60: 37-61.

1989a. 'On hierarchies and prominence in English expository speech as compared with expository writing'. Papers from the Eleventh Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, vol. 2: 310-32, Jussi Niemi (ed.). *Jouesuu Studies in Languages* 15.

1989b. 'Cues to the audience. On some structural markers in English monologue'. Instead of flowers: papers in honour of Mats Rydén. *Umeå Studies in the Humanities* 90: 29-39.

"A Discourse-based Approach to the Assessment of Readability"
by Leslie A. Olsen and Rod Johnson appeared in Linguistics
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Christine C. Pappas, University of Illinois at Chicago
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Please send any change of address to Peter H. Fries,
Box 310, Mt. Pleasant, MI, USA, 48804

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News From Australia

Deakin University Press has this year produced a revised version of the B.Ed course on children's writing development. The original version, published in 1984, came out under the title Children Writing. The revised version, published this year, is called Writing in Schools. The first two sections of the Course Study Guide written by Frances Christie and Joan Rothery, offer introductory accounts of the systemic functional grammar and of a range of genres for teaching writing in schools.

The Course Reader has readings by Jim Martin on Technicality and abstraction : language for the creation of specialised texts, and a reading by Janet White, The writing on the wall : beginning or end of a girl's career. There is also an interesting report on a large study involving genre-based approaches to the teaching of genres in secondary history and science teaching. It is written by Jo McNamara of the Catholic Education Office Melbourne. One other excellent reading is worthy of mention; a paper by Pam Gilbert of James Cook University, Townsville, called Stoning the romance : girls as resistant readers and writers. Like Janet White's paper, this one makes a good contribution to the study of issues of sexism and gender in English language program.

Copies of the Writing in Schools Study Guide and Reader may be ordered by writing to the Deakin University Press, Geelong Victoria Australia, 3217. The Study Guide costs \$27.50 Aus. and the Reader is \$22.50 Aus. Additional postage and handling will be charged.

Good news on another matter. The Deakin monograph series on Language in Education at last have international distribution. Oxford University Press is now selling these in all parts of the world outside of Australia. Since numbers of people have complained of difficulties in purchasing these volumes from Australia, it is good to be able to report on their more ready availability.

One other matter - Ian Reid, Professor of English Literature at Deakin University has brought out a little volume on The Place of Genre in Learning: Current Debates. This includes Australian contributors such as Frances Christie, Jim Martin, Joan Rothery, Gunther Kress, Ken Watson, Wayne Sawyer, Ann Freedman and Bill Green. John Dixon of the UK has also contributed. For people interested to catch up on "genre debates" Australian style, this is a useful little volume. Deakin University Press is selling the book at \$10.95 Aus. Postage and handling costs also apply.

UPCOMING EVENTS

Please send notices of upcoming events to the Editors of NETWORK.

Two Events to Mark the Opening of the International Year of Literacy at Deakin University.

The Inaugural Australian Systemics Network Conference on Literacy in Social Processes, 18th - 21st January, 1990.

A Summer School for Teachers on the Systemic Functional Grammar, 21st-25th January, 1990.

An International Systemics Conference is held in a different part of the world each year. For some time the growing number of systemicists in Australia have wanted to hold their own annual conference. Deakin will be the host University in 1990. The theme for the Conference has been chosen both because it reflects the concerns of the International Year of Literacy and because it reflects the fact that systemicists have a particular preoccupation with language in social processes. They therefore expect to make a useful contribution to the development of new perspectives on the nature of literacy. In fact, systemicists have many and varied research interests in language, so the potential range of papers offered at the Conference will no doubt address a range of other issues to do with language as well.

Plenary speakers will include a number of well known systemic linguists in Australia, as well as other well known linguists who work in different but usefully related traditions of linguistic research. The speakers will include:

Michael Halliday	Clare Painter
Michael Clyne	Allan Luke
David Butt	Terry Threadgold
Christian Matthiessen	Ruqaiya Hasan

As well as the plenary papers, the program will involve a number of concurrently run sessions of 45 minute papers, and on the final day there will be a series of workshops.

The Summer School for teachers on the Systemic Functional Grammar is designed to meet the needs of a growing body of teachers who have expressed interest in finding out more about an approach to grammar which focuses on text and upon the exploration of language as a meaning system. The Summer School will be taught by a number of linguists and educational linguists who include:

Jim Martin	Frances Christie
Clare Painter	Joan Rothery
Christian Matthiessen	John Carr
Michael Halliday	Geoff Williams
David Butt	Helen Drury.

The program for the Summer School will aim to teach participants an introduction to the study of language in terms of the systemic functional grammar. While some lectures will be used, students will also work in small groups, being tutored on the grammar, and learning ways to apply what they learn to actual texts, both spoken and written. It is of course open to people to attend both the Inugural Conference and the Summer School if they wish to do so, though the two activities will be designed differently. The Summer School in particular will be designed for people with no prior knowledge of the Systemic Functional Grammar.

Members of the Organising Committee for the Conference and the Summer School are:

Frances Christie - Deakin University
 J.R. Martin- Sydney University
 Anne Cranny-Francis- University of Wollongong
 David Butt- Macquarie University
 Geoff Williams- Sydney University
 Clare Painter- Sydney University
 William McGregor - La Trobe University.

Some information about the setting for both the Conference and Summer School.

Participants will be accommodated in a comfortable residential college at Deakin University, which lies on the outskirts of the rural city of Geelong. Participants travelling from interstate will need to take the Gull bus from Melbourne Airport to travel to Geelong. Hence when booking flights they should ask the airline to check the Gull timetable and give them flights that match the bus service. There are quite frequent buses throughout the day. Once you have reached the Gull bus terminal in Geelong, you will need to take a short taxi ride to the Deakin Residential College.

Facilities on campus are good. There are tennis and squash courts, a weight room and a sauna, and there is plenty of space for those who like to jog. A swimming pool is only three kilometres away. There is a branch of the ANZ Bank on campus, a small shop and a students' cafeteria.

The summer months in Geelong can be very pleasant. You are advised however, that there can often be a cold snap, so you should bring a change of warm clothing. In the event of any sudden cold weather, each residential room has good heating facilities.

Conference participants will be fully catered for, while Summer School participants will receive breakfast and dinner as well as morning and afternoon teas. The cafeteria will be available for them to buy their own lunches. On the two accompanying sheets you are asked to fill in your registration details.

A CALL FOR PAPERS.

Interested persons are invited to submit abstracts for papers for the Conference no later than 30th September 1989 to:

Dr. William McGregor
Department of Linguistics
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria, 3083.

When preparing an abstract, please follow the following simple steps:

- 1) Use A4 paper;
- 2) Create reasonable margins;
- 3) Type the information, starting with your name, then your institution, followed by the title and a resume of what you intend to argue.

Registration Form for the Inugural Australian Systemics
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1990.

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School of Education
Deakin University
Geelong, Victoria 3217.

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Michael Halliday was born in Leeds, England, in 1925. He took his B.A. at London University in Chinese language and literature, then studied linguistics as a graduate student, first in China (Peking University and Lingnan University, Canton) and then at Cambridge, where he received his Ph.D. in 1955.

After holding appointments at Cambridge and Edinburgh he went to University College London in 1963, as Director of the Communication Research Centre. There he directed two research projects, one in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English and the other in Linguistics and English Teaching: the latter produced *Breakthrough to Literacy* for lower primary and *Language in Use* for secondary schools. In 1965 he was appointed concurrently Professor of General Linguistics, with responsibility for building up a new department in this subject. He remained at University College London until the end of 1970. From 1973 to 1975 he was Professor of Linguistics at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle. At the beginning of 1976 he became Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Sydney, and was Head of this department for the first ten years of its existence.

He taught on the Linguistic Society of America's summer Linguistic Institutes in 1964 (Indiana), 1966 (University of California, Los Angeles) and 1973 (Michigan), and was elected to honorary membership of the Society in 1978. He has held visiting professorships at Yale, Brown, the University of California, Irvine and the University of Nairobi; and in 1972-1973 was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California. In 1986 he was the Lee Kwan Yu visiting scholar at the University of Singapore. In 1969 he was awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of Nancy, France, and in 1981 he received the David H. Russell Award for Distinguished Research in the Teaching of English from the National Council of Teachers of English (U.S.A.).

His current research interests are the semantics and grammar of modern English; language development in early childhood; text linguistics and register variation; educational applications of linguistics; and artificial intelligence, in which he is associated with the 'Penman' project at the Information Sciences Institute, University of Southern California.

About the editors

Ross Steele is Associate Professor in French at the University of Sydney, foundation president of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia and vice-president of the International Association of Applied Linguistics. He is author of books on language teaching methodology and French civilisation. Terry Threadgold is Senior Lecturer in Early English Literature and Language at the University of Sydney. She has written on language and ideology, semiotic theory and systemic-functional stylistics. She is co-author of textbooks on grammar and applied linguistics — *Grammar; its Nature and Terminology* (1983) and *Inside Language* (1985) — and edited and introduced *Semiotics-Ideology-Language* (1986) with E. Grosz, Gunther Kress and Michael Halliday.

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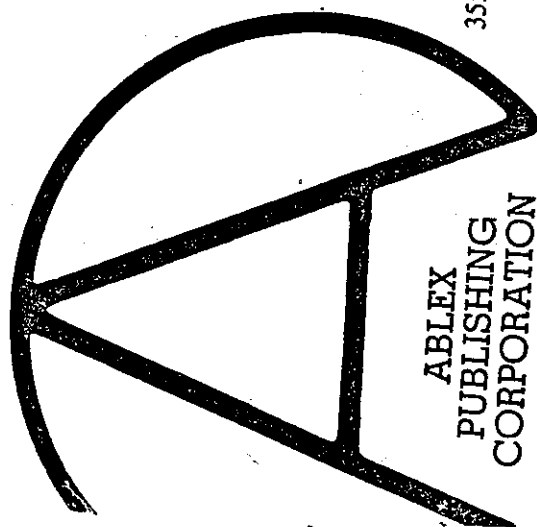
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A Textbook of Current Research

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This volume presents up-to-date research on second language discourse. Particular attention is given to the development of writing, memory and interaction. The studies in this book are not restricted to any particular realm of second language learning and teaching, but cover both theory and applied concerns, experimental studies and theoretical frameworks, teaching and evaluation in the classroom, and both writing and speaking. The studies clearly are concerned with the interaction of factors in second language acquisition and use. Combinations of social situation, speaker characteristics, task characteristics and psycholinguistic factors are

considered simultaneously to understand the process of second language acquisition and use. The commitment of the authors to multifaceted approaches to second language discourse avoids simplistic findings and concomitant theories based on single variables.

Readers will have available current original research on a range of issues in the development of discourse spanning preschool children, elementary and high school students, through university to older adults. The range of approaches is wide, linguistically and cognitively informed, and detailed enough to be useful to researchers and educational practitioners.

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VOLUME XXVI

Systemic Functional Approaches To Discourse

Selected Papers from the 12th International Systemic Workshop

edited by James D. Benson and William S. Greaves, both, York University

This volume, like the previous *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse, Volumes 1 and 2* (Ablex, 1985), offers an overview of current work in systemic linguistics of particular relevance to the study of discourse. The volume opens with Fawcett's proposed criteria for evaluating system networks, the fundamental formalism of systemic linguistics. The chapters which follow illustrate the range of discourse topics in which Systemicists are interested. The remaining chapters in the volume show how the study of discourse stimulates the development of systemic linguistics as an analytic tool. The volume concludes with three chapters with an historical dimension.

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ADVANCES IN DISCOURSE PROCESSES

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This volume reports on recent progress in the application of systemic linguistics to discourse analysis and text structure. It thus subsumes work from the fields of analysis of literary texts, the theory of context and genre, and pragmatics in so far as it relates to text structure. Part One illustrates the interaction between systemic

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0-13-643073-2 *The Other Tongue*, 358 pp.

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#

Language, Discourse and Literature

An Introductory Reader in Discourse Stylistics

Edited by
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and
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Published by the Academic Division of
Unwin Hyman Ltd
15/17 Broadwick Street, London W1V 1FP
Unwin Hyman Inc.
8 Winchester Place, Winchester, Mass. 01890, USA
Allen & Unwin (Australia) Ltd
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Allen & Unwin (New Zealand) Ltd in association with the
Port Nicholson Press Ltd
60 Cambridge Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand
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UPCOMING EVENTS

1990 INTERNATIONAL PRAGMATICS CONFERENCE
July 9-13, Barcelona, Spain. Special
topic: The interdependence of social and
cognitive aspects of language use.
Papers are invited on issues relevant to
this topic in general or related to the
following areas in particular: Language
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Conversation and Text, Communication
and Multilingual Settings, Natural
Language Processing. Send 10 copies of
a 1-page abstract (including some
relevant references) to: International
Pragmatics Association, U. of
Antwerp, Ling., Universiteitsplein
1, B-2610 Wilrijk, Belgium) before Nov.
1, 1989. All scholars submitting
abstracts must be or become members of
the International Pragmatics
Association.

**FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE
STUDY OF CHILD LANGUAGE**, Budapest,
Hungary, July 15-20, 1990, will be
organized by the Ling. Institute of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences on behalf
of the International Association for the
Study of Child Language. This triennial
meeting is a forum for scholars from all
over the world to present the results of
their latest research. Anyone wishing
to attend is asked to write to the
Congress Secretariat, Secretariat 5th
Child Language Congress, Ling.
Institute, Budapest, Szentharomsag u.2,
#-1014 Hungary. Further information
about the congress will be sent to those
inquiring in June/July.

Theme Discussion Group from Helsinki

(The people listed below met in Helsinki and
and thinking of forming an "interest group"
in Theme.)

The list was prepared by Gill Francis.

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Functions of Style, David Birch and Michael O'Toole (eds.). London and New York: Pinter, 1988.

Reviewed by LANCE St. JOHN BUTLER

At first I thought that these essays, being in the field of linguistic stylistics and therefore concerned to suggest new things about language, might be liable to misreading by literary stylisticians who would be looking for new suggestions concerning literature or discourse as text. One of the merits of this volume, however, is that it questions this distinction. Being a thoroughly Hallidayan enterprise it assumes the accuracy of his most impressive and characteristic insight, namely the inseparability of language from social context. Indeed, the word "Functions" in the title implies just this. Thus, although there is some use in retaining in the distinction between the two types of stylistics, it can also be seen as an arbitrary slicing of the seamless web of the socio-cultural context.

The best parts of this book, therefore, are those which tell us both about the way language works and the way texts work and the very best parts are those which paint with the broadest possible brush and interest themselves in writers, readers, text-production, cultural institutions and social context in general as well as in the technicalities of deixis, modality, transitivity and the text. Thus Halliday himself contributes a suggestive essay on how "grammatics" can help us to understand texts by Darwin and Tennyson that both demonstrates a virtuosity of linguistic analysis and draws some conclusions about what is revealed when we have seen, for example, what Tennyson is doing "with the grammar" of In Memoriam.

My interest in his essay is not, I think, the déformation professionnelle of the literary critic for whom insights into Tennyson must ipso facto be of greater interest than insights into the dynamics of the clause complex. For I found equally interesting the essay by Gunther Kress which takes as its examples a brochure advertising a new drug and a passage from a Mills and Boon romance. Kress manages the both/and inclusiveness which this stylistics can frequently offer and he manages to keep in play the linguistic, the textual and the socio-cultural. His essay ends with a simple but easily-neglected formulation of this point about the need to retain the widest possible perspective:

1. Texts are always and everywhere enmeshed in the social relations of writers and readers, and in their relations with social structures. It is that dynamic which gives rise to what we call style in text, and it is that dynamic which ensures that language is everywhere a part of social life.

Breadth of this sort is accompanied, in these essays, by a pleasing liberalism towards rival theories in the fields of language and literature. Here is no quick rejection of the linguistic insights of, say, New Criticism or Formalism or Transformational Grammar. No text (and that includes utterance) is excluded from the attention of stylistics, either; all is grist to the stylistic mill, and there is a sensitivity to the limits imposed by the theoretical basis of any analysis. As Ronald Carter has said "Any description is only as good as the model or system of analysis used" and this cautious relativism is echoed in much recent writing, including the present volume where the editors tell us that even their Hallidayan view "is in a constant state of flux" and "whatever 'power' a stylistic process may have is dependent upon the analytical and theoretical models it is based upon". The only limitation on

the model used appears to be that it must, if it is to be part of linguistics, concern itself with language. This is demonstrated in practice, too, as for instance in the essay by Ruqaiya Hasan where perspectives other than the systematic-functional are welcomed and the only caveat made is that we have first of all to understand "the wordings of the poet's sayings" - a formulation that indicates, in its slightly tortured neologisms, an attempt not to pre-empt the definitions of writing, text and so on that are to be used. Hasan also usefully adds that mere paraphrase of the motifs in a text cannot be "taken as serious comment on the artist's sayings".

In these respects stylistics is similar to the recently-emerged school of literary pragmatics; the presumptions made and the questions asked in both tendencies being roughly as follows: "Here is a piece of discourse in oral or written form, a text. We can deal with it grammatically, syntactically, lexically; we can contextualise it historically, psycholinguistically, sociolinguistically; we can analyze it with regard to its "subsential" components or with regard to its textual dynamics; we can see it as an element in the social semiotic, as a structure or as a process, as a series of transformations or transactions. Our models can be formal, functional, mathematical, marxist. So long as they are first seen as realised in their linguistic mode, almost any approach can be taken to texts."

The result will often be the sort of pragmatic redescription in terms of some model or theory that should surely now become the method of "criticism" employed in English and cognate departments. Certainly there would be a clear gain to be had from dissuading English students from locating their activities in a misty hinterland vaguely surrounded by such territories as mild philosophy, sociology or psychoanalysis and in helping them instead to experience the handling of more rigorous models. Application of these models should be done in the greatest possible detail to the widest possible range of texts (in these respects Functions of Style is exemplary) while at the same time practitioners need to be more clearly aware than they currently are of the interdependence between this activity and the social matrix within which texts and language (not to mention English departments) live, move, and have their being.

What is so refreshing about these newer applications of linguistics (its "widening...range of critical, analytical and theoretical interests") is that, at their touch, barriers hitherto considered rather difficult to cross seem to melt away. Reading other titles in the Pinter Open Linguistics Series and work by Roger Fowler, Ronald Carter, Anne Banfield and others, it is at once apparent that the barrier of the English Channel, for instance, has been successfully crossed: there are considerable similarities between the work of Barthes, Greimas or Riffaterre on the one hand and the sort of "Anglo-Saxon" work being done in Australia, Britain and the USA by such people as the contributors to Functions of Style on the other.

Systemic functional linguistics is the model adopted in this volume but the contributors show the benign influence of other schools in their work. As an unostentatious example we can take the following sentence from Terry Threadgold's article; she is describing her purposes in language unthinkable without Chomsky and Derrida:

2. (This article) is also about its own participation in the processes by which theoretical and other stories are generated and transmitted and changed, and it is about the way all texts participate in the construction of social realities.

This pragmatic and holistic or catholic tendency (surely more promising than many a more exclusive approach) far from being the "wise eclecticism" castigated by such as John Ellis is in fact based on the currently most acceptable theoretical model. David Butt, in the present volume, offers a summary that helps to encapsulate what I have in mind here:

3. Text is text because of its relevance to a context, and contexts are themselves constructed by text.

Butt, like several others in this collection, is quite happy to shift from the lexico-grammatical level to higher levels of analysis; indeed, this could be said to be the purpose of the whole volume, to bring together detail and larger picture. Thus Butt asks what a text is and why we can "display" the explicate structure of a clause but not of a text; he talks of texts as "ensembles" and bears this in mind while at the same time dealing with the lexico-grammatical.

Against the pleasing glasnost of these essays, however, must be set their tendency to teeter on the brink of a jargon close to being impenetrable. Here is perhaps the greatest reservation that a non-specialist must have about such highly-promising developments in stylistics. I am prepared to accept that a good deal of technical vocabulary is essential to a project of this sort but there are two objections that should nonetheless be made. The first is that where the linguist adopts a full-blown quasi-scientific style he or she runs the risk of losing the audience and achieving much less than might be possible (physician, one might say, heal thyself). Halliday and his followers are rather too ready to plunge into algebra and diagram without much of a backward glance at those of us still struggling in the tall grass outside. Is it always necessary, for instance, to abbreviate terms quite so brutally, often to a single letter? And why are some terms explained and others not? The second objection is, of course, to those linguists who actually do fall over the edge into gobbledygook. They are represented in this volume by Melrose and Melrose who receive my award (keenly contested in some quarters of the linguistic globe) for the style most suitable for use by Lucky in Waiting for Godot that I have so far read this year. They deserve a special commendation for their efforts towards incomprehensibility because of the truly impenetrable diagram they produce (p. 108) whose usefulness (dare I say whose function?) I would challenge anyone to demonstrate to me.

Interestingly, Robert Hodge's essay addresses precisely this question of the style of the stylistician. He asks how Halliday thinks and submits some sections of the master to analysis with effective results. This kind of self-consciousness and self-critical capacity must surely keep stylistics of this sort truly functional and at the leading edge of our thinking about discourse of all sorts.

University of Stirling
Scotland

Christopher S. Butler. Systemic Linguistics. Theory and Application. London: Batsford Academic, 1985. 259 pp.

Reviewed by EIRIAN DAVIES

This book deserves a welcome as the first detailed critical survey of work in this area covering the whole of the past twenty five years. Butler's account begins with the genesis of Halliday's approach in the work of Firth and Malinowski and charts its development from the Scale and Category model of the early 1960s through the shift to a greater emphasis on a deep grammar expressed principally in terms of systems of paradigmatic relations later in that decade, and in the early seventies, to the wider concerns with socio-semantic theory and analysis which have been central in much of Halliday's subsequent writing. It appeared just before the publication of Halliday's most recent book (1985), and does not deal with it.

Butler's declared aim (viii) is given in the context of noting an increasing interest in systemic linguistics: "It is important that work within this framework should be made accessible to linguists whose knowledge is confined to other approaches. ...There is a need for a book which gives an overview of the whole field, describing and comparing the various models put forward by Halliday and others within the systemic tradition. I hope that the present book will go some way towards satisfying this need." His intended readership is professional linguists and "those students who already have a good grasp of the fundamental concepts of linguistics, and have been exposed to non-systemic models of language." Problems of delimitation and focus are often intractable in establishing the ground of a necessarily restricted survey, and it is perhaps unreasonable to carp, but in view of this stated orientation more might be made of the compatibilities, which Halliday himself has been at pains to point out, between work in systemic linguistics and that in stratificational grammar and Tagmemics. Since much of the current revival of interest in systemic linguistics is taking place in North America in contexts, such as the LACUS forum, where it is this relatedness which is an important element in its renewed appeal, a greater attention to common concerns and shared beliefs would have been relevant.

Butler discusses Hudson's work on syntax, in some detail, Gregory's work on register theory and, to a lesser extent, on Communication linguistics, Sinclair's pioneering studies in lexis and discourse analysis, and also the work of Fawcett, Berry and Butler himself. In his chapter on "Applications" (9), he treats briefly of the work of Winograd, Davey, Mann and Mathiesson in computer programs for the understanding/generation of text, and also of work in stylistics by Halliday, Gregory and Sinclair, together with some coverage of the projects in educational linguistics directed by Halliday at University College London between 1964-71, and of some of the work of Bernstein and his associates using Halliday's model. Halliday's work on intonation is treated in a chapter (7) which also covers lexis and discourse, and compared there with that of Brazil. Chapter 8, "Descriptions of English and other languages" includes a discussion of Halliday and Hasan's work on cohesion.

Critical discussion is reserved principally for the work of Halliday, Hudson and, to some extent, Fawcett and Berry. Criticism of Halliday's work by non-systemic linguists is cited and evaluated in places, for example, that by Matthews, Palmer and Postal concerning the rank scale (29-33), but more space is devoted to debate within systemic linguistics itself (eg chapter 5). Butler concurs with Berry's charge against Halliday of a failure to define terms adequately (92) and faults his approach in places for a lack of explicitness

(eg 93). On the relation between syntax and semantics, he complains of unacknowledged shifts in Halliday's position between 1970-7, and a lack of clarity (79-81). He aligns his own views more with those of Hudson on this question, arguing for a "rather narrower view" of what is covered by "meaning" (102-3, 107-8, 126-7), one which allows for certain variations in form without associated semantic distinctions. This question remains in debate, both within systemic linguistics and more widely. When quoting from Leech (126-7) in support of the autonomous syntax view, he might, if only to balance the picture, have quoted with equal appositeness from Bolinger (1977: ix-x), whose robustly held belief that "any word which a language permits to survive must make its semantic contribution; and that the same holds for any construction that is physically distinct from any other construction" has been extensively substantiated in his work over many years. On a point of detail here, Davies' 1979 version of an approach first presented in 1972 follows Bolinger and Halliday in this respect, and cannot be said to "corroborate" Hudson's 1975 article on questions (188-190).

The reference to Leech brings to mind the relatively wide area of consensus among many linguists in Britain during the 1960's and early 1970s, the period when Halliday's work was exercising its greatest influence in this country. Leech's own early work (1966) made use of a grammatical framework highly compatible with the scale and category model, as did Crystal and Davy's influential analysis of varieties of style in English (1969). What proved to be less widely acceptable and persuasive than Halliday's general philosophical position and descriptive insights was the technical apparatus of systemic hierarchies and the associated notation and diagrammatic conventions. System networks can be seen as a more sophisticated version of the flow chart, and provide a device for ordering sets of conditioned alternatives. They are neutral to purpose of use, and can be employed in either a classificatory or a "generative" approach. They are not essential to the presentation of either kind of approach. They are also, in themselves, entirely neutral to subject matter. As with flow charts it is the "questions asked", the grounds for selecting them, what they are asked about, and the criteria for "answering" them which are crucial. It is therefore perhaps unfortunate that the term "systemic" came to be used for a whole approach to language much wider and richer than the name suggests. It is worth noting that Halliday avoids the term in the title of his most recent book, on the grounds that systemic networks and associated realization statements are only one part of his model (and that he was treating the functional aspect separately, as "more directly related to the analysis of text").

Butler praises Halliday's descriptive insights (192) and claims that "systemic linguistics has shown itself to be eminently suitable for application to the areas of stylistics, language learning and teaching, and artificial intelligence" (212). This is a valid claim, but leads to a query on the balance of treatment in this book. More could have been made of applications of the systemic model. For example, Dolores Burton's study of Shakespeare's Grammatical Style is not even listed in the bibliography. There is a sense in which Berry's claim, which Butler re-affirms, that Halliday's recourse to data is insufficient seems oddly paralleled in this book by Butler's own reluctance to examine existing textual studies within the systemic framework.

On the whole, this survey will be of more interest to those already well versed in systemic linguistics than to many of its intended readership. To the former group it will often be stimulating, and perhaps at times fruitfully provocative. It may well be that Butler's treatment which, in view of its title, has a rather disproportionate emphasis on theory, is a necessary and important step in making more public the themes of discussion, and developments

in thinking, among those who would regard themselves as working within the systemic tradition (although Hudson ceased to do some time ago). But we still await a survey and interpretation which will stress and elucidate the connections between systemic linguistics and other non-transformational generative approaches. It is in this context that its distinctive contributions can be most usefully assessed, and any charge of inward-lookingness and isolation most convincingly rebutted. Perhaps a second volume will be forthcoming?

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C. Butler. Computers in Linguistics. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

Reviewed by JOHN WILSON.

In the preface to this book Butler states that "...despite the emergence of so called expert systems mimicking human decision making processes computers are still very stupid beasts..." (p. vii). It is clear then that Butler views computers with a "calculator" mentality. They are tools which function primarily to assist scholars with laborious tasks such as sorting and counting large amounts of data. In reaction to this I think it would be uncharitable to take the extreme (and opposite) position noted by Gazdar and Mellish (1987: 226), that simple counting processes (word counts, concordances, indexes) "...no longer counts as computational linguistics, or even as an academic activity".

The debate about whether computers display intelligence is a complex one (see Turing, 1950; Hofstadter, 1979; Dennett, 1978), and it is one in which linguists working within natural language processing are actively involved. Whether we are personally interested in such issues or not the argument is a live one. If Butler's work is not to fall foul of the criticism of Gazdar and Mellish (1987) then it must be seen in perspective; where core issues of natural language processing in artificial intelligence are not germane to his central themes. Therefore I see little point in Butler raising intelligence issues, as simple asides or otherwise.

I am not merely making a pedantic point here. It is important to recognize that many linguists are now gaining their first experience of computers and computation via the theoretical and practical issues of natural language processing (covered in Butler in three pages). Consequently, students coming across a book called "Computers in Linguistics" might be surprised to find it has little to say about natural language processing, or indeed linguistic theory in general.

This is not to say Butler's book should be other than it is, simply that its narrow focus should be motivated in some way. The narrow scope of the book is reflected not merely in the fact that it has little to say about what Gazdar and Mellish (1987) (in a book concerned with introducing recent developments in modern linguistic thinking) call "Computational Linguistics", but also in the fact that the majority of the book is concerned with a step by step explication of one high level computer language called SNOBOL 4.

Butler organizes the book into two parts. In part one the reader is introduced to the very basics: types of computers, hardware/software, the processes of input/output, and so on: extremely useful information for the novice. Following the introduction to the basics Butler gives an overview of linguistic and literary computing and then briefly describes a number of package programs (such as the Oxford concordance program) useful for textual analysis. The flavour of most of the material here, and throughout the book, is literary; but it would not be difficult for readers interested in applying computer analysis to other areas to extrapolate beyond the example texts given. Although part one is clearly and competently presented, the examples, in some cases, seem quite trite, and perhaps some more insight into the interesting findings and hypotheses which can be derived from counts might be worthwhile; particularly since in part two the reader will be asked to expend a significant amount of time learning a programming language which will allow them to carry out textual counts.

In part two, which forms the majority of the text, Butler introduces, and works through in some detail, the programming language SNOBOL 4. This programming language has been specifically developed for the analysis of texts.

Butler argues that while package programmes are useful, in that they can be implemented in a fairly straightforward manner (with little knowledge of computing required), there is a distinct advantage in being able to make use of a high level programming language. When one can construct a program from scratch one will be in a greater position of flexibility in terms of the kinds of questions one can ask and the kinds of hypotheses one can test.

Butler recognizes that some effort will be required on the part of the reader to learn SNOBOL 4, yet the fruits of such effort are only really revealed when Butler shows us in the last chapter how he employed a SNOBOL 4 program to test specific hypotheses about the early vs the later work of Sylvia Plath. Once again I feel some occasional reward or reminder of what is to be gained from employing computers would be important; particularly for the novice. Once the novice gets past a rather innocuous and interesting part one, he finds himself right in the middle of sorting out variables, names, strings and other technical phenomena. I'm not convinced that simple information on how to count words, vowels, morphemes or whatever, is enough in itself.

In many ways part two is similar to a manual for the implementation of SNOBOL 4. There is certainly nothing wrong with this, and indeed anyone who has ever tried to work through a computer manual will appreciate the quality and clarity of Butler's exposition. Nevertheless, manuals are generally written to accompany the software, and following part two will be much easier if the reader can get access to a computer capable of running SNOBOL 4. In a way Butler is sensitive to this practical difficulty. Consequently, each chapter ends with a clearly constructed question section. Here the reader can not only test what he has learned from the chapter, but approximate to constructing programmes for himself.

Overall, as an introduction to one specific programming language I think this book is well written and excellently organized. As a general introduction to the broad dimension of text analysis within Computational Linguistics in general I feel it is restricted and narrow.

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J.C. Catford. A Practical Introduction to Phonetics. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Reviewed by BOZENA CETNAROWSKA

A Practical Introduction to Phonetics by J.C. Catford is a self-study book addressed primarily to adults who have developed a professional interest in language, for instance teachers of languages, students of linguistics, actors and speech pathologists. The author helps the readers to acquire deep understanding of the nature of speech sounds and shows how one can obtain conscious control over the vocal tract. These two goals are accomplished by a series of experiments - mainly exercises in silent speech production - which the readers are expected to carry out. Although some of the exercises can be found in other guides to phonetics, for example in Elements of General Phonetics by D. Abercrombie, An Outline of English Phonetics by D. Jones and A Course in Phonetics by P. Ladefoged, Catford's handbook has one remarkable advantage. Every sound distinction utilized in English or other languages is illustrated in the book under review by an appropriate experiment.

Discussion of articulatory phonetics takes up a major part of A Practical Introduction to Phonetics. The author embarks on a very detailed analysis of three functional components of speech, namely the initiation of the flow of air, phonation and articulation. He also provides an ample description of co-articulation, sound sequences functioning as single units and articulatory characteristics of cardinal vowels. Other topics receive less exhaustive treatment. Vowel formants and prosodic features are briefly discussed. The concepts of the phoneme, the allophone and the distinctive features are introduced. A very short overview of the sound system of English is offered. Students of English may find particularly useful Section 10 of Chapter 10, in which vowel phonemes of British and American English are contrasted. Some allowances are made for dialectal variation within these two types of English. Due to the introductory format of the book, a number of phonetic and phonological issues are left out of the account, for instance phonostylistics, neutralization of phonological contrasts and instrumental analysis of sounds.

The presentation of the material selected by Catford merits the highest praise. The author gradually unfolds the intricacies of speech production. He starts with a very general functional description of the vocal tract and with simple experiments in removing or adding initiation, articulation and voicing. Then he proceeds to identify the subsections of articulators and introduces more difficult experiments, such as the production of retroflex sounds, trills or implosives.

A Practical Introduction to Phonetics is provided with an index of terms and an excellent summary which takes the form of a glossary of main concepts introduced by Catford. The appendix entitled "For Further Reading" directs the readers to specific chapters of alternative handbooks of phonetics.

The book under review certainly fulfils its title's promises: it equips the readers with a practical knowledge of phonetics. Just one reservation could be expressed here. Catford assumes that cardinal vowels can be learned from written description. The student of phonetics would, however, be well advised to additionally consult a well-trained phonetician or to listen to recordings of cardinal vowels.

A Practical Introduction to Phonetics can be recommended as an excellent resource - one which promotes self-instruction - for appropriate courses in linguistics and language-related courses.

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Part One, Deakin University course: Language and Learning

Christie, Frances, Language Education, Deakin University 1985, pp. vi + 49

Painter, Clare, Learning the Mother Tongue, Deakin University University 1985
pp.iii + 54

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R., Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of
language in a social-semiotic perspective, Deakin University 1985 pp. iv +
126

Lemke, J.L., Using Language in the Classroom, Deakin University 1985 pp. v + 43

Halliday, M.A.K., Spoken and Written Language, Deakin University 1985 pp. viii
+ 109

Hasan, R., Linguistics, Language, and Verbal Art, Deakin University 1985 pp. vi
+ 124

[Eds.: Since this review was written, a second edition of this series has been
published by Oxford University Press.]

Review by STEVEN SCHREINER

In Network no. 10, Editor Robin Fawcett extended a warm welcome to Deakin University's language education series. The six texts reviewed here comprise the first of a two-part course in the Master of Education program, "Language and Learning." The series is edited by Frances Christie, whose own text establishes the overall aim of the course: "to improve the quality of language education in our schools" (p. v) by providing basic perspectives on language and principles for its analyses. Written primarily for teachers and educationists, this series is also about how meanings are made, transmitted, and learned and about how the language of the classroom and textbook can lead, in J.M. Lemke's words, to "social inequality and its injustice" (Lemke, p. 2).

Each slim volume contains a helpful index called "technical terms" and a "further reading" appendix, annotated in 4 of the texts; each text also contains marginal notes or annotations making it easy for student and teacher to find the salient points and key terms in each section. The reader can glimpse quickly at the major role Halliday's earlier works play in shaping the concerns of the course; but the reader does not need to be familiar with semiotics or functional systemic theory. Taken in the order in which they appear listed, the texts demonstrate successful applications of systemic theory, enlightening the intended audience for the series.

A major impetus for the course arises from the finding that Aboriginal Australians do poorly in school compared to white Australians. The Deakin series, using other findings, in one sense attempts to explain why this happens. As Lemke points out, teachers themselves are unaware of the implicit connections their texts and lessons bear to the exclusive and complex meaning systems of their particular culture. Hence, the series is among those recent few textbooks which address the way we mean, not only what we mean, in classroom games, science, conversation or literature.

Christie views language learning as a way of "negotiating meanings" (p. vi) and in those terms states the pedagogical direction the series will take:

In order to participate successfully in the various situations in which they find themselves, particularly in schools, children need to learn the language necessary to deal with these situations (p. 17).

The Deakin series aims to alert teachers that school language is a system of social meaning within which students succeed and fail as a result of their experience, not their intelligence. In the classroom, students are really learning ideologies of culture.

Christie's findings are not new (see Shirley Heath's *Ways with Words*), though they are fascinating. She examines the oral genre of "Show and Tell" and some written genres--recipes, "how to" stories, etc--and concludes insightfully that judgements about difference among students in performance have truth, but not explanatory power. For Christie, "it would seem that we should explain the difference by recourse to the differing domestic and social contexts from which children come" (p. 35). Christie admonishes us to teach students the genres they will need to manipulate. Writing teachers in the United States are coming to similar conclusions as Christie, and exploring the notion that learning to write is a matter of learning to construct different written genres.

Clare Painter's book also looks at language as a "set of resources for making meanings" (p. 48) and builds a strong case for a "language-mediated view of the world" (p. 42) which tells us that knowing a language involves knowledge of genres, contexts, and appropriate linguistic behaviors. Basing her study of acquisition on Halliday's *Learning How to Mean*, Painter looks at language learning as an interaction between infant and siblings, parents, and care-givers, in which the child learns about reality and about language simultaneously; according to Painter, "each is a consequence of the other" (p. 21). When the child recognizes that the meanings of utterance and situation are intertwined, language acquisition is greatly speeded up. Painter's study helps us understand how the systemic functional approach is specially geared to the study of language acquisition, since the approach relies so heavily on the connections between utterance and situation as systems that reveal each other.

While any interpretation of child language is at best tentative, relying on "as-if-to-say" when stating what an utterance "means", Painter's study demonstrates that "any utterance embodies more than one kind of meaning option and consists of more than one expressive form", (p. 22). By seeing language as a social phenomenon, not a cognitive apparatus which attains maturity at age 5, Painter is able to describe linguistic maturity as the child's increased ability to use language in its various functions. Painter is able to describe linguistic maturity as the child's increased ability to use language in its various functions. Painter illustrates her son's transition from a linguistic system which allowed him to talk either about things or to engage in talk with others, to the use of a system that allowed him to make both kinds of meaning happen simultaneously.

Gradually the child comes to bring the two kinds of context together (and his two "languages" together until all speech situations are alike interpreted as having component aspects (field, tenor, and mode) expressed by corresponding component areas of the grammar: the experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions (p. 36).

This book provides good support for the functional perspective as a way of explaining the relationship between language learning and language use, and while it offers no advice for the classroom, Painter's applications of

Halliday's semiotic theory will be valuable to students in graduate and undergraduate education programs.

In Language, Context, and Text, Halliday lays out his fascinating notion of language as a social semiotic system, exploring "functions" as components of meaning, "register" as the main principle of variation in discourse, and "intertextuality" as the concept which brings together context of situation with context of culture. Building upon Malinowski's belief that understanding a text in a given situation requires a history of meanings built from similar contexts, Halliday concludes

There is a sense in which the classroom is one long text, that carries over from one year to the next and from one stage of schooling to the next (p. 47).

Over the school years, as the "text" of learning in school unfolds, not all pupils become conversant with the discourse of their teachers, textbooks, and activities. Halliday's view of FIELD as "the play," TENOR as "the players," and MODE as "the parts" can help us better understand how students in a classroom can fail to make the right predictions or appropriate assumptions from the context of situation. While it may be arguable that "all learning is a process of contextualization: a building up of expectancies about what will happen next" (p. 49), Halliday plausibly concludes that the foreign student "has not yet learnt to expect in English" (p. 46) nor to make predictions based on context. Similarly, the series helps us recognize that the student from a culture foreign to that in place in the classroom and textbook world is likely to be thwarted by the social semiotic she encounters.

In her detailed, analytical contributions to the book, Hasan discusses the Contextual Configuration, of CC, of a text; the CC is a "specific set of values that realizes field, tenor, and mode" (p. 56) for any text, for example a parent scolding a child in speech. Viewing texts as "language doing some job in some context" (p. 11), Hasan wants to use the CC to account for the obligatory and optional features of texts, or the generic structure potential (GSP). By systematically describing different texts occurring in service encounters, Hasan works toward the elusive goal of representing the full semantical potential of a language, demonstrating the possible structures within genres. The diagrams, however, prove difficult to read.

In discussing service encounters, Hasan seems to stray from the series' aim to examine how meanings are negotiated in classrooms. Nevertheless, the analyses of service encounters --shopping at the market--reveal that the majority of verbs in those texts are descriptive, not active; a finding which supports her claim that "structure" or moves we are allowed in specific registers or genres, and not "texture," or specific linguistic items, identifies texts. Seen in terms of the classroom, Hasan's findings indicates that the defining features of texts such as unity and closure, must be comprehended if learning is to take place. Grammaticality is not the issue in language learning, since knowing how to speak a language is not the same as knowing how to use it.

After spending several hundred hours observing science lessons in junior and senior high school classes, physicist and semiotician J.L. Lemke notes in his text

Students are indeed three to four times as likely to show signs of close engagement with the lesson when the teacher is breaking the usual rule of formal impersonal ways of talking classroom science as when these rules are followed...(p. 16).

Because Lemke believes we ought to view education as "talk" (p.1), his finding suggests that in the classroom how we talk determines to whom we talk. What is

significant is that students differ in their capacities to respond to the social practices encoded in educational discourse, to "share-communicate or share-resemble" (p. 18). Lemke's position: current classroom practice leads to social inequality and injustice.

To support his belief, Lemke distinguishes between "activity structures," such as the behaviors initiated by teachers' moves toward question-answer formats; and "thematic structures" which are language-use habits, syntagms or paradigms, built up over years of classroom practice, and which signal "specific points of view and styles of expression" (p. 11). Lemke found that classroom systems rely on an unfolding drama of ways of meaning that are expected to be learned and known at a certain stage; moreover, these assumptions "are largely outside conscious recognition of teachers and students" (21). His monograph serves to point out that students, if for no reason than the boredom Lemke cites, are entitled to a new discourse of science in the classroom and textbook, and Lemke's concise report is a start toward raising language awareness in teachers.

Spoken and Written Language is the most complicated book in the series, for several reasons. Firstly, Halliday wants to examine in detail the structures of spoken and written language, for the purpose of showing that both forms of language are equally complex. He examines information found in tone groups, rhythm, and intonation, as he does with the clause, clause complex, and nominal group. In part, Halliday wants to debunk the notion that writing is a superior means of communicating; thus, he explores the reasons why writing has lexical density and speech has lexical sparsity. The differences are shown to be a function of the fact that spoken language deals with processes, or happenings, while written language deals with products, or existence.

The text is also complicated because, given the impetus of this series, it is difficult to place the concerns of this text within the classroom. After discussing the origins of the writing system, Halliday establishes that writing is secondary to speaking as a means of communicating. He wants us to view speaking as a way of learning; he diagrams intonation contours, transcribes speech, and counts feet in lines of verse and spoken prose, showing that rhythmic patterns are meaningful. In the context of the series, however, it is difficult to understand Halliday's text.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book deals with grammar as a metaphor, which transforms immediate processes from spoken language, such as applauding, to static products in written language, such as the nominal applause. We learn that "different world views are embedded in speech and writing," and that we "have passed the peak of exclusive literacy... speech has regained at least some of its value in the culture" (p. 98). Spoken and Written Language establishes the complexity of spoken language and the analyses thereof; yet readers may wish that this text had been more clearly integrated in the series' concern with language of education of education as a social semiotic system.

Ruqaiya Hasan has devoted much of her career to finding and developing a framework for studying the language of different discourses, including literature or verbal art. Building upon notions of information structure which help locate meaning in clauses, in Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art Hasan completes this series by examining how language functions in literature. She notes that "...appreciation must give way to appraisal..." (p. 27).

By examining a poem and a short story Hasan helps to establish that the way language functions in literature is literature; she emphasizes how interpretation through linguistic structures, for example -er and -ed roles of the speaker, tense selection, foregrounding, can reveal a full range of potential meanings. Moreover, Hasan believes that such interpretation made specific by a structural approach can lead to a clearer evaluation, than evaluation privileged for its own sake. Seen through a functional perspective,

the literature studied in the classroom becomes accessible to the student who has been preparing all through schooling--through such patterning as nursery rhymes which prepare our perception of clauses--to realize the meanings of verbal art. Hasan attempts to show teachers and students that "...the working of the patterns and the text are one and the same thing..."(p. 12).

Common threads woven through these six texts combine to remind us that as teachers our grammar and behavior form only a small number of possible discourses to which students are willing and able to respond. The Deakin series helps us understand that language fits our needs and can be closely studied through our investigation of how it meets those needs for contact, for achievement, for knowledge. Texts which illuminate the discourse of education--nursery rhymes, science, literature and conversation--improve the chances that we will teach fairly and insightfully. These are several of the many virtues of the first part of the Deakin series in language education; the second part should likewise be warmly welcomed.

Finally, it is important to make it clear that the Deakin Series is, as planned, accessible to readers who may be only slightly familiar with Systemic Theory. Painter's straightforward analyses of her transcripts help us understand how systemics accounts for language acquisition, while Christie provides a practical application of genre theory to the classroom. Likewise, practical applications of Halliday's work make systemics seem a plausible and attractive theory of language acquisition and use and these applications make up for some of the difficulties the reader will encounter in SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE. Lemke's lucid monograph cautions teachers to recognize the assumptions which govern our discourse, if we are to understand how our students learn science or any other classroom subject. For readers who have braved longer analyses of spoken conversations, Hasan's studies reveal how speech, when examined in its context of utterance, does not look the way we expected; thus Hasan's study underscores how important our presence is, as well as our practice, in performing service encounters in particular, and in communicating in general. These are several of the many virtues of the first part of the Deakin Series in language education; the second part should likewise be warmly welcomed.

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[Editor's note: The Deakin Series reviewed here are now published by Oxford University Press. For more information contact: Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP, England. At least some of the books have been revised. More information will be in Volumes 13/14 of NETWORK.]

James Copeland (ed.). New Directions in Linguistics and Semiotics. Amsterdam: Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. Volume 32. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984.

Reviewed by IREK JAKUBCZAK

The book under review brings together eleven papers delivered at the symposium on new directions in linguistics and semiotics that was held in Houston, Texas, on March 18 - 20, 1982. The contributions are grouped into five main sections, with introductory notes to each section. The volume also includes a preface, an introduction, biographical notes on the contributors, and a general index.

Dissatisfied with the definition of linguistics as the study of language, Sydney Lamb: Introduction - "On the Aims of Linguistics", attempts to redefine the field by looking into two "very nearly inseparable" (8) questions: what are the aims of linguistics? and what is linguistics? He argues for a redefinition of linguistics in Hjelmslevian terms: he opts for abolishing the boundaries between pure and applied linguistics and for reaffirming the relevance of theoretical linguistics to other fields claiming interest in language.

Part I provides two, largely programmatic, papers: "Mellow Glory" by Winfred P. Lehmann and "The Uniqueness Fallacy" by Charles C. Hockett. Lehmann is preoccupied with the current status and recent history of linguistics. He rightly points to the neogrammarians' disregard for syntax and the transformationalists' neglect of language in favour of grammar. He insists on educating linguists instead of training them, which would involve knowledge of at least one structurally different language beside one's native tongue, observing how language is used (emphasis mine), and acquaintance with several theories of language.

Charles Hockett attacks what he calls "the uniqueness fallacy", i.e. the assumption that two grammatical analyses of a sentence must obey the Law of the Excluded Middle. His discussion mainly concerns the simple clause. His non-uniqueness principle, however, is not entirely plausible. For while it is true that the word fun is a nominal predicate attribute for some speakers and an adjectival predicate attribute for others, and no misunderstanding arises in communication one can still claim that fun has noun-like distribution on the grounds that it can be negated by no, while "true" adjectives cannot, at least in predicative position, cf. * He is no wise. Still, Hockett's paper is a valuable contribution to linguistic methodology in that it reconciles diverse approaches to sentence analysis.

The common theme that runs through Part II is the concern voiced by M.A.K. Halliday: "Linguistics in the University" and Mary R. Haas "Lessons from American Indian Linguistics". They both note a crisis of identity in present-day linguistics and suggest similar remedies. But while Halliday emphasizes the social responsibilities of linguists in responding to practical linguistic issues, Haas stresses the importance of studying languages rather than language. She makes a similar point to that raised by Lehmann, namely that a student of linguistics should learn to analyze and describe a language unrelated to the student's native language. Halliday's paper also contains an excellent discussion of grammatical metaphor, even though he does not define it. By claiming that spoken language is lexically sparse and grammatically complex, while written language is lexically dense but grammatically simple, Halliday gives fresh impetus to linguistic analysis of written and spoken texts.

The three papers in Part III are clear examples of the "ethnographic" approach to language study - to use Halliday's designation employed in the same volume - with Robert Longacre's "Reshaping Linguistics" being the most

programmatic of them. Longacre correctly assumes that meaning and understanding are inseparable in language. He deals with lexical semantics, suggesting that there is no distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge. He ignores emotive meaning, which is a serious shortcoming. Ilse Lehiste's "The Many Linguistic Functions of Duration" is a valuable phonetic contribution to the disambiguation process in natural language. By showing that the increased interstress interval is correlated with the phrase boundary in (old men) and women, Lehiste proves convincingly that actual utterances rather than sentences are never ambiguous. "Lexical Semantics and Text Semantics" by Charles Fillmore postulates a cognitive-semantic approach to "expressions" and "texts". Fillmore criticizes alethic semantics for its inability to handle context of use, claiming that his theory is superior in that it can determine why a given sentence is appropriate or inappropriate in a given context. Unfortunately he does not formulate general rules tying meanings with contexts nor does he specify properties of contexts. Consequently, his framework does not account for linguistic productivity/creativity, the central problem of semantics.

The papers by Edward Stankiewicz "Linguistics, Poetics, and the Literary Genres" and Donald Preziosi "Subjects and Objects" constitute Part IV. Stankiewicz revises Jakobson's definition of the poetic language and attempts a new definition of all three major literary genres by employing the notions of invariance and markedness. He claims that the key to their differentiation is the role each of them assigns to the narrated event and to the speech event: the drama and the epic have them as obligatory features, while the lyric is unmarked in this respect. They also achieve unity differently: the first two by means of a plot, the last by means of a rhythmic pattern. It seems, however, that certain epic poems would use both means to achieve unity. Preziosi specifies two ways in which visual semiotics can influence linguistics: its recent emphasis on the user of the made (built) environment and the fact that it provides for crossmodal connections. But although we can draw many parallels between language and architecture, language will always remain the reference base. To point to two crucial differences only language can be used in the displaced mode and only language can develop spontaneously.

Part V brings together two papers: "Symptom" by Thomas A. Sebeok and "Semiotic Laws in Linguistics and Natural Science." by Sebastian Shaumyan. Both authors reserve a privileged place for semiotics among sciences. Sebeok studies the relationship between the sign and the symptom. He gives a very comprehensive definition of the sign and treats symptoms as special cases of signs. The disquieting fact about Sebeok's approach is that he does not accord language its unique place as a semiotic system. Shaumyan addresses one of the central problems in linguistic theory: the nature of metalanguage. While most of his criticism of transformational-generative grammar is certainly correct, I find it difficult to agree with his claim that "it confounds constituency relations with linear word order" (253): many writers on transformational grammar insist on separating these two aspects of syntactic structure.

Many papers in the collection manifest emphasis on the addressee in the communication process. What they lack most are clear statements on linguistic methodology.

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Functional approaches to writing: research perspectives. Edited by Barbara Couture. London: Frances Pinter, 1986.

Reviewed by CAROL C. MOCK

This collection of original papers presents the work of scholars whose insights arise from their close investigation of written texts in social contexts. It will be valuable reading both for composition theorists and text linguists, if not for lightheaded undergraduates in those two fields.

In the introduction, Couture raises a provocative question about what compositional and interpretive tasks language requires of writers and readers. First of all, what does language require of writers? Conformity to syntactic rules governing the parts of a sentence, for one thing; but syntactic matters are only a small part of what is going on in writing, if we are convinced that language functions so as to embody the social semiotic in which texts arise and are social acts. Similarly, the interpretation of a written text requires more of readers than just "barking at print," as Martin Davies points out in his paper. The fourteen papers in the book give individual answers to these functional questions, and yet they all demonstrate the interrelatedness between texts and the live discourses to which they contribute, via the linguistic choices that writers and readers make.

The book has four parts. The first offers functional descriptions of specific linguistic features in written texts and proposes methods of textual analysis by means of papers by Robert L. Brown, Jr. and Carl G. Herndl, Michael P. Jordan, and Mary Ann Eiler. Part II explores the processes of producing and interpreting written texts, in papers by Barbara Couture, Deborah Brandt, Edward L. Smith, Jr., and Michael Hoey and Eugene Winter. Part III investigates the extent to which 'well-written' texts contain identifiable linguistic features that are either lacking or misused in 'badly-written' ones, in papers by Carolyn G. Hartnett, Christine A. Hult, and Pamela Peters. Part IV addresses the challenge of teaching students how to write, with individual papers by Stephen Bernhardt, Martin Davies, Frances Christie, and a joint paper by James R. Martin and Joan Rothery. In what follows, each paper is reviewed to give a foretaste of its content.

Part I

Brown and Herndl's "Ethnographic study of corporate writing" reports two studies of writing in business corporations, focusing on the persistence with which some technical writers resist the guidance of their supervisors with regard to the style of writing demanded of them and produce heavily nominalized and/or narrative prose for audiences for whom such styles are considered inappropriate. B and H suggest that such behavior can be explained as an indication of the sign function of these linguistic choices, specifically, their significance as markers of group affiliation or social aspirations.

B and H skirt the issue of developing a method of textual analysis, simply counting the number of superfluous nominalizations per 1000 words and asserting the presence of narrative structures without reporting a close scrutiny of actual texts. It would have been good to know to what extent engineers and economists who overuse the narrative mode of discourse also overuse nominalizations, and to what extent the social anxiety or job insecurity factor that was found to be statistically significant in the first study was evident among the writers in the second study.

The most valuable part of B and H's paper is their demonstration that writing values differ from one language subculture to another and that these differences in sign function--e.g. identity maintenance or aspirations--cause

conflicts. Four pedagogical concepts emerge from their studies: 1) form/structure based teaching of writing obscures its social foundation and should be abandoned; 2) writing errors do not necessarily represent ignorance--they may indicate the writer's aspirations; 3) corporate writers need to learn to write for secondary audiences--for readers who are observing the business transactions that take place by means of written documents; 4) writing instructors can motivate good writing practices by consciously linking them with student writers' aspirations for group affiliation. In the case of misused nominalizations, admitting that "much social-science and business writing gets along just fine with heavily nominal style" can challenge teachers to teach appropriate and clear nominalization.

Jordan's "Close cohesion with do so" examines four of the syntactic contexts in which do so is used within the confines of complex sentences; 1) as the main verb after subjects defined by a relative clause (e.g. industries that want to go metric can and have done so...), 2) as a verb in the second part of compound nominal groups (e.g. to meet the requirements of variety and style within the economic framework on substantially shorter production runs, and to do so while retaining economic viability), 3) in a subordinate clause following or preceding the independent clause to which it is attached hypotactically (e.g. If I was allowed to do so, I could make the yard into an extremely viable commercial concern...), and 4) as grammatical cohesion between coordinated clauses (e.g. if you wish to make your own menu but have not yet done so...).

J claims that the third of these invalidates the statement in Halliday and Hasan 1976 that "the form [of do] with 'so' is less frequent in all cases where the presupposing clause is structurally related to the presupposed one" (*Cohesion in English*, pp. 116-117), but he interprets this to mean something much stronger than the quotation implies: that do so "cannot occur in a subordinate clause when its reference is in the preceding main clause" (39). After studying the relevant pages of *Cohesion in English* I was unable to see the point of Jordan's argument. Halliday and Hasan make only two categorical statements about conditions under which do so does not occur: in a comparative clause with than or as, and in a clause whose goal element is explicitly repudiated. J does present a real, if somewhat dubiously acceptable, example from the Daily Telegraph that contradicts the first of these limitations: This indicated that, though the total who voted was one greater than did so in the second ballot, one MP who drew a ballot paper had omitted to use it (36). But the majority of the examples he cites contradict only his overly general interpretation of the original statement by Halliday and Hasan (1976). There is criticism that could be leveled equally well at both Jordan's paper and Halliday and Hasan's book, however; neither of them presents any quantified data to support their statements about frequency of use. Another weak section in this paper was J's criticism of an elicitation experiment of Michiels (1977); he neither reports M's conclusions about do so nor conducts an elicitation experiment of his own that might have given more valid results.

J's best section is his analysis of the differences, both ideational and textual, between do so and the very similar expressions do it, and do that, which is impressively sensitive. He concludes that do so is a polite, reasoning, formal usage compared with do that and do it, and that using do so instead of one of the other expressions forces the interpretation of a syntactically closer referent.

The title of Eiler's paper, "Thematic distribution as a heuristic for written discourse function", makes sense only after one has read the whole paper; a less technical title could have been "Structurally thematic expressions as clues to the genre of a written text." Using an exceptionally unusual text--a chapter from a physics book that was only a slightly modified transcription from a series of informal academic lectures--E demonstrates that

the use of thematic choices is a significant part of social interaction; in study she shows that the interaction between (an invisible) student audience and an instructor is what shapes how information about physics is presented in the text.

E defines thematic choice in Hallidayan terms, analyzes which elements are in first position in the sentence as a result of the speaker's choice, and demonstrates how the identity and characteristic semantic function of these thematic elements can serve as a heuristic for the particular genre. She presents her investigation with laudable care, summarizing her data without ignoring minor bits that refuse to fit the overall pattern.

Part II

Couture's "Effective ideation in written text: a functional approach to clarity and exigence" proposes to describe effective writing by means of a scale of explicitness in which the implicit pole is emblematic, poetic, or ritualistic and the explicit end is clear enough for the intended audience to comprehend. She defines effective ideation as a balance between clarity and situational exigence, and the value of a text is its potential to promote both 'logical conceptualization' and 'semiotic contextualization'. Thus, "the structure of written discourse reflects two kinds of meaning systems: LOGICAL meaning which is realized in a discourse's propositional content and SEMIOTIC meaning which is realized in the discourse's reference to meaning systems above language and outside the text" (71-72): Logical conceptualization is a matter of identifying the topics in a text and comments upon them, and making note of the connections between them; e.g., the topic of a paragraph is contained in its thesis statement, if it has one, while the other sentences of the paragraph comment on it. Similarly, each sentence has a structural theme, and there are always logical relations between sentences.

For an understanding of 'semiotic contextualization' and systems of semiotic meaning, C directs us to register (the types or styles of language appropriate to particular contexts) and to genre (text format, rhetorical structures), saying that registers impose constraints of explicitness on vocabulary and sentence structure, while genres impose constraints of a broader scope encompassing the entire text. She proposes that social exigence, or the appropriateness of register and genre to the situation in which the text communicates its message, is a situational analogue to logical clarity, and she explains how written texts generally reveal the situations that prompted them to be written.

C's high level of abstraction robs her point of much of its communicative impact, because her dense prose makes for slow reading. She makes extensive reference to the writing of other theorists in support of her general statements, which is helpful for readers who are already widely read; but more language examples or in-depth textual analysis would have been useful to a less expert audience.

Writing in more accessible language, Brandt looks at three essays by a single student writer in "Text and context: how writers come to mean." Focusing on exophoric referents, cohesive devices and thematic elements in the opening paragraph of each essay, she demonstrates that there are clues in a text to the conditions under which it was written and that what a writer can mean in a given text depends upon its extralinguistic context, the 'assignment' for which it is written. B presents cohesion as a context-sensitive writing strategy: when would a word be repeated? replaced with a synonym? with a pronoun? The decision depends on the writer's assessment of the reader's need to have references labelled consistently or elaborated upon.

This paper is useful for its insistence that ultimately cohesion is not internal to a text--that its extent and appropriateness depend "on the same criteria used in choosing exophoric references, criteria having to do with the

extent of shared writer-reader knowledge and with the writer's powers...to develop understanding" (96).

The clarity with which B presents her argument leads me to wish she had explored more deeply the implications of her research for the structuring of writing assignments. For example, the less explicit and narrow the assignment is or the smaller the amount of shared knowledge which the writer can assume in advance, the more urgent is the need for the writer to help readers construct a context; thus, the text needs to be more explicit and closer to Bernstein's elaborated code than to his restricted code of communication.

In "Achieving impact through the interpersonal component," Smith presents evidence that the actual writing practice of professional writers contradicts the advice of writing handbooks, in which choices of person and mood are said to need consistency--e./g. third person throughout a formal text, without allowing for occasional shifts of grammatical mood such as imperatives or rhetorical questions. Investigating an actual text in which the personal tone changes appropriately, S argues in favor of teaching such shifts of person and mood rather than abiding by the handbooks.

According to S, textual shifts in person and mood stem from choosing to modulate personal tenor (tone, degree of formality or distancing) and functional tenor (the purpose of the text as didactic or not). He establishes a scale along the dimension formal/informal to rank the linguistic features that manifest personal tenor, and a didactic/non-didactic scale to rank features of functional tenor. Such scales could be developed into pedagogical devices so that student writers could grow in their awareness of how much flexibility of person and mood is suitable and how much is excessive.

Hoey and Winter present their descriptive approach, clause relational analysis, in "Clause relations and the writer's communicative task," and explore how the writer's grammatical and lexical choices effect how readers interpret or process texts. Although their definition of clause relations is cumbersome (123):

A clause relation is the cognitive process, and the product of that process, whereby the reader interprets the meaning of a clause, sentence, or group of sentences in the context of one or more preceding clause, sentences, or groups of sentences in the same discourse. It is also the cognitive process and the product of that process whereby the choices the writer makes from grammar, lexis, and intonation in the creation of a clause, sentence, or group of sentences are made in the context of the other clauses, sentences, or groups of sentences in the discourse.

its interactive focus is worthy of close study. For many readers, the value of this paper will be they way in which H and W bridge the gap between useful rhetorical categories which composition theorists have used for years without being able to make clear the connections between them and the syntactic categories of linguistics. The bridge is formed by the clause relations they identify, which are "abstractions from the questions a writer seeks to answer at particular points in his or her discourse" (123). Because clause relations are not quasi-grammatical structures, the number of rhetorical patterns based on them is theoretically unlimited, but the ones they list are typical: as types of logical connection, they give intentional/interpretive relations such as contrast, compatibility, generalization/ example, preview and detail, and most simply, topic maintenance; as types of logical sequences, they suggest cause/consequence, condition/consequence, evaluation/ basis (for the evaluation), instrument/achievement, and most simply, time sequence (cf. Winter 1974, for an approach to genres as culturally favored discourse patterns that are combinations of clause relations; e.g. problem/solution, question /answer

/evaluation /answer /evaluation; hypothetical/real). For genre scholars, of the research questions arising from this orientation would be to ask which questions are most likely to be answered by the sequence in which clauses and larger rhetorical units occur.

Part III

In "Static and dynamic cohesion: signals of thinking in writing," Hartnett explores the connection between coherent meaning and cohesive writing. Rather than using the more formal categories of Cohesion in English (Halliday/Hasan 1976), H distinguishes two functional types of cohesive devices: STATIC cohesive ties--those that focus and hold a reader's attention on a topic; and DYNAMIC ties--those which develop a topic rhetorically by creating new semantic ties. According to H, "Static ties connect stretches of text; dynamic ties advance the logic of the discourse" (151). The first type maintains semantic relationships already set forth in the text, while the second shifts them without losing meaningful connection with the topic(s) that have already been introduced. Static cohesive devices include lexical repetition, anaphoric demonstratives, third-person pronouns, and definite articles; substitution and ellipsis generally; continuative conjunctions such as well, additive conjunctions such as also, which "introduce further information, facts, or details without necessarily developing the topic" (145)--plus synonyms, antonyms and normal lexical collocations which maintain the semantic relationships by cognitive associations; and parallel syntactic structures. Dynamic devices include temporal conjuncts (before, after), lexical superordinates for high-level logical relationships (i.e., definition terms), hyponyms used as examples; causal conjunctions (therefore), adversatives (but however) for contrasts, comparative and superlative adjectives and adverbs for comparison and contrast.

H uses these categories in order to examine the writing of basic or beginning writers. Her experimental procedure was to search 316 essays for one correct usage of each type of cohesive device, in order to find the total number of different types used. She found a correlation, but only a weak one, between the quantity of static/dynamic ties and readers' judgements of quality of the writing. This implies that even these two categories are not directly or strongly related to readers' inner sense of what constitutes high-quality writing.

Even so, there are implications for teachers in the distinction between static and dynamic ties, for there may be a developmental sequence in learning static and dynamic ties. Unlike static ties, dynamic ones are sparse and optional, and can produce the effect of a contorted or convoluted text if overused, for extended thought is quite possible without them. H's claim that extending one's thought is more difficult than maintaining attention on a topic also merits pedagogical attention.

In "Global marking of rhetorical frame in text and reader evaluation," Hult examines how linguistic markers of rhetorical frames affect experienced readers' evaluations of the text's communicative effectiveness. The "frame" identified in this paper is labeled "informal proof" -- a type of persuasive writing to be found in editorials, but unfortunately, H does not define this crucial technical term which seems to approach the meaning of genre, saying only that experienced readers and writers have frames of expectation with which they approach texts and that these frames serve as a means of organizing and storing information.

H asks how writers signal rhetorical frames in expository essays and how the rhetorical frames of high-quality exposition differ from average ones. By analyzing a large number of student essays, she tests the hypothesis that holistic evaluators rank more highly student essays with clearly developed organization than those without it. H demonstrates that both highly valued and

average essays display similar numbers of paragraphs, main arguments, clarifying and support points, but they differ otherwise. The highly valued ones have fewer repeated arguments or repeated support points, fewer problem areas, and more examples at a parallel level of specificity, or in other words, a richer supply of elaborations. A further analysis of the rhetorical organization of sixty highly valued essays reveals regular patterns of topic sentences in paragraph-initial position, information important to the main point being placed in the thematic subject slot of individual sentences, the presence of rhetorical questions, and cohesive ties used appropriately to highlight the main arguments.

H invites scholars to analyze rhetorical frames in other types of discourse--e.g. causation, comparison/contrast, description, response, chronology--in order to correlate linguistic data with readers' holistic evaluation of quality, and suggests that writing teachers should help students recognize and control rhetorical frames, giving attention even to clause-level matters such as what belongs in the subject position.

In "Getting the theme across: a study of dominant function in the academic writing of university students," Peters explores how variation in content, audience and the overall theme (in its broad rhetorical sense as the main proposition that an expository text is assumed to have) affect judgements of the success of student essays as texts, arguing that "the theme serves to structure the often complex variety of information offered and to coordinate it toward a clear argumentative goal" (170-171). She analyzes 150 student essays (fifty essays from each of three assignments) according to three sets of functional strategies derived from Halliday's semiotic macrofunctions:

TEXTUAL ones provide cohesion from one statement to the next or mark out the structural components of the text.

INTERPERSONAL ones that represent some kind of interaction between the writer and the reader

EVALUATIVE ones that interpret, classify, and evaluate the ideational content of the text.

Unfortunately, the results of the analysis illuminate the evaluator's academic values more clearly than the writers' strategies. P demonstrates, perhaps unwittingly, that use of evaluative language in expository essays symbolizes "thinking", that most-highly valued commodity of academic discourse. The pedagogical implications of this paper are fairly predictable; for instance, that it helps student writers handle the interpersonal aspect of the writing task to have a clearly specified (and real) audience for a writing assignment, as writing instructors should already know. On the positive side, one of P's statements echoes this reviewer's struggles to teach writing: "Students might be encouraged to think of the reader as witness to the continuous unfolding of the text" (182).

Part IV

Bernhardt's "Applying a functional model of language in the writing classroom" surveys the ways in which functional approaches to language are appropriate to the teaching of writing. Toward the end of the paper he focuses on systemic functional grammar, but in general his scope is broader than any one theoretical model. Perhaps the most useful part of B's paper is his survey of the publications of writing theorists who use a functional orientation: Flower, Hayes and Swarts (1983) propose a "scenario principle," focusing the attention of writer on human agents performing actions in particular

situations; other scholars such as Huckin (1983) and Selzer (1983) attack readability formulas for being based solely on the texts in isolation from the social contexts of their use; Harweg (1980) shows how the introductory materials of a text need to draw readers in, if the audience comes to the text unwillingly; and the RHETORICAL CASES approach to composition instruction (Woodson 1982, Couture and Goldstein 1985) gives students a set of well-defined situations that demand written responses.

B also suggests that teachers of writing should present a variety of written language to students, to allow them the possibility of becoming aware of register variation; should ask them to write for a variety of audiences and purposes, leading them to a greater sensitivity to meaningful variation within registers and to an appreciation of written academic discourse as a socially relevant register.

B defends the application of the systemic functional grammar to the teaching of writing because it focuses on real choices rather than error-hunting, and because the scale of delicacy frees teachers from the frustration of trying to teach all the grammar in order to teach some of it. His functional orientation is clear: "We can teach students to recognize how writing involves constant choice from the options the language affords. What determines effective choice is how well a text reflects a rhetorical strategy--what the writer wants to do to whom in a given situation" (194). But in spite of all his good ideas, B does not quite live up to the title of the paper; rather than applying systemic functional grammar to the teaching of composition, he attempts to justify teaching functional linguistics to students who are learning how to write. Whether even a functional model of linguistics is an appropriate writing pedagogy remains to be proved.

In beautifully clear prose, Davies "Literacy and intonation" gives a brief summary of intonation, using two of the analytical categories of Halliday's approach (1967, 1970)--Tonality and Tonicity. He then reports an investigation of oral reading which demonstrates how intonation patterns in oral reading can reveal a reader's (mis)understandings because he supplies intonation patterns according to his comprehension of the information structure of the text. D compares two readings of a science text: one by a child and the other by a competent adult. The differences in their intonational choices supports D's assertion that "the particular pattern of intonation supplied by a reader is...not a peripheral adjunct to the text but an interpretation of its total semantic structure"(217).

Of the three elements that create texture in a text--thematic structure, cohesive devices, and information structure--the last one is least well represented in written English, because it is expressed by intonation. For the writer, then, the challenge is to learn to signal unusual or marked choices of words to be appropriately highlighted by stress (without recourse to too much underlining) and to control the ambiguity of semantic domain that inevitably results when the tonic appears in its unmarked position on the last salient syllable of the tone group. Punctuation only occasionally helps; for usage ranges on a continuum from closely phonological--mirroring tone group boundaries--to closely syntactical--reflecting clause structures. Therefore a major problem of both writers and readers of written English is that "intonation expresses information structure in speech, but little explicit representation of information structure appears in writing"(207).

The major value of his paper is that it clarifies the tangled relationship between the phonological form information structure takes and its representations in written English. D argues persuasively that reading with comprehension is in large part a matter of grasping the information structure of a written text, and therefore supplying the intonational cues which are only imperfectly signaled by writing conventions. Although the paper does not

directly apply linguistic insights to writing instruction, writing instructors who read it may find themselves suddenly eager to apply their new knowledge.

In "Writing in schools: generic structures as ways of meaning," Christie attacks teachers' ignorance of the objectively identifiable characteristics of highly valued language genres and argues in favor of consciously teaching genre patterns to allow children access to the forms of discourse they require to demonstrate what they know and can do.

Defining GENRE broadly enough to include the forms of writing normally used to construct meaning in several different disciplines, C claims that "learning to write in science, social studies, or literary studies is a matter of learning to distinguish the different generic structures associated with each field", so that "the more precise teachers can be about generic features, the better they will guide their children in a successful educational experience." (224-225). C supports her impassioned statements with cogent analysis of three student texts to see why they do or do not conform to the genres they are supposed to exemplify: narrative, scientific essay, and literary character study. She highlights the thematic structure and cohesive ties of conjunction, reference chains, and lexis in these texts to demonstrate why they succeed or fail as examples of particular genres.

C also spells out some of the pedagogical implications of her work. Literary interpretations are but particular examples of the generic argumentative and persuasive essay; and elementary school teachers should recognize the difference between the genres of NARRATIVE, which they favor, and the simpler genre children themselves feel comfortable with RECOUNT--a text in which events are temporally connected, but without any sense of crisis or dramatic tension and its resolution (cf. Martin and Rothery 1980, 1981; Labov and Waletzky 1967). Writing recounts may well be a necessary stage on the way to writing recognizable narratives. It is worth considering her conviction: "thoughtful attention to the linguistic structuring of the essay genres robs the processes of argument, persuasion, and discussion of the aura of mystery that surrounds them" (239).

Martin and Rothery's "What a functional approach to the writing task can show teachers about good writing" is an essay in support of the process approach to writing classes. They urge teachers to let young children invent the means for writing--spelling, punctuation--so they can focus on the more important task of making meaning, and say that young writers need to have adults respond to the meaning of their words, not just to the spelling, and that ultimately this will also allow children to see the purpose of proper spelling and punctuation. On a more theoretical level, they argue in favor of training teachers to approach language as a means to social interaction, rather than as the countersign to thought, demonstrating that genre analysis can reveal the stages or SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES that purposive language behavior has in a particular situation; e.g. the stages of appointment-making, which Hasan (1977) delineates as greeting, query, identification, application, offer, confirmation, documentation, summary, and finis. Schematic structures like these constitute sets by which entire genres can be identified, e.g. narrative, exposition, service encounter, sermon. Unfortunately, the M and R definition of GENRE as "the staged purposeful social processes through which a culture is realized in language" (234) is so abstract that it is not comprehensible without intensive reflection.

They ask that teachers become aware of genres and the kinds of linguistic choices that typically realize each one, and promise that by doing so they will be able to lead their students to discover schematic patterns and to help students recognize what genre is required by particular situations. They also suggest using Donald Graves' approach to the teaching of composition because it makes provision for a number of stages in producing a text: prewriting, time for drafting and consultation, and redrafting. There are other practical

pointers, too: teachers can help their students organize the writing processes, and evaluate the stages children go through in developing skill in particular genres, and intervene positively and constructively, with respect for each child's individual texts. The part of the paper most likely to persuade writing teachers to their point of view is a brilliant example of how a teacher could draw upon her sophisticated knowledge of the narrative genre to help a weak writer develop a one-draft failed story into something better, simply by asking the student good questions, instead of criticizing the early draft. There is an implicit political implication to all this: implementing their recommendations would take more teachers than most educational systems are willing to hire and train effectively.

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Systemic Linguistics

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The purpose of this book is to provide a general introduction to Systemic Linguistics in the form of essays written by leading figures in the field. These are, with one exception, not previously published, and taken together they constitute a comprehensive coverage of the diverse interests of current systemic theory. The volume contains bibliographies and an index.

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Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 39
Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1988. x, 452 pp.
Hardbd. ISBN 90 272 3533 3
Paperbd. ISBN 90 272 3555 4

Hfl. 180.--/\$ 80.00
Hfl. 50.--/\$ 24.95

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Robin P. Fawcett and David Young (eds.). New Developments in Systemic Linguistics, Volume 2: Theory and Application. London and New York: Frances Pinter: 1988. 225 pages

Reviewed by L.J. RAVELLI

Fawcett's and Young's collection of papers aims to give us an insight into some of the new developments in the theory and application of systemic linguistics. In contrast with Volume 1 (Halliday and Fawcett 1987), the emphasis on application is foregrounded, although both volumes reflect the cycle of "theory - description/application - theory". The result here is promising and encouraging - various new directions and new ways of following familiar paths (which then take us to new locations) are presented. The book covers a diverse range of applications: from Testing the theory, with papers on probabilistic grammar and intonation in Canadian English, to Language Pathology and the role of systemics therein. In between, there are contributions to Descriptive Semiotics, Educational, Ideological and Cognitive Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, and Literary Stylistics.

This diversity presents a problem for the reviewer, however. Such a collection of articles virtually replaces the journal, and it is difficult in one review to do justice to each paper, particularly when most of them are very complex. So, in this review, the emphasis will not be on an evaluation of individual papers, but on a search for common threads, as a reflection of the current status of theory and application in systemic linguistics. Interestingly, a large number of the papers do relate closely to one particular theme, suggesting a new focus of interest for systemic linguistics.

While a diverse range of applications are covered, often only one paper, covering one aspect of that application, is presented. So, for instance, the role of court discourse as genre is discussed as one aspect of ideological linguistics, but numerous other topics, such as the representation of gender in language, could have been included. As the introduction says, the book should be seen as an insight and not as an exhaustive overview. Some areas of application are omitted, however, and one omission seems unforgiveable, namely that of computational linguistics. Despite the excuses in both the Foreword and the Introduction, the fact remains that this is a vital and significant part of current systemic linguistics, and it must be made accessible to more people. While the topic is covered elsewhere (eg Benson and Greaves 1985) and will soon have its own volume (Bateman and Matthiessen, forthcoming), the volume concerning 'new developments' simply should have had a contribution from one of the most recent and most exciting areas of development of both theory and application.

That is not to take away from the papers which are included. Unfortunately the organization of the book - compartmentalizing the articles into areas of application - suggests that the articles are only relevant to that particular application. They do, of course, make a significant contribution to that area, but much more interesting is the way they nearly all also interrelate. This is largely because of the interplay of theory and application - new applications raise new problems and require extensions to and modifications of the theory. Thus while different papers deal with different applications, they often come across similar problems and thus an interesting 'network' of related ideas and trends emerges in this volume. Readers would be well advised not just to home

in on their favourite area of application, but to browse through the book and get a feel for its overall nature.

What, then, is 'new' about these developments? On the one hand, the papers represent a concerted effort to examine more closely some of the very familiar theoretical concepts in systemic linguistics, almost deliberately shaking and stirring the model to see what new strengths can be found or what should perhaps be abandoned or at least reworked. On the other hand, there is also an attempt to use systemic theory in different areas of application, to see what it can illuminate in other fields, and in turn, what this then adds to the theory. Scattered throughout both these approaches, is a much greater emphasis than has previously been found in systemics on the spoken, dynamic nature of language.

It is most interesting that the majority of the articles are concerned not just with examining one aspect of language, but with placing their linguistic analysis within a broader theory of language as a social phenomenon. This has of course always been a central tenet of systemic linguistics - we use language because we are social beings, and language is the way it is because of its place in society and culture. Such a notion was first expressed by Firth, following the observations of language in the context of a functioning society by Malinowski. But what is different and new in this volume, is the attempt to fully explicate the implications of such a tenet, and to demonstrate how it is that language relates to 'higher' notions of context, society, culture. Various papers in this volume gently push forward the frontiers of this theoretical boundary. Thus, for instance, in her contribution to descriptive semiotics, Ventola explores the relationship between language and semiotics, drawing on the systemic notions of system and structure to explicate the relations between language and other semiotic planes (such as genre, register). She suggests (p. 57) that the term 'systemiotics', describing the multilayered approach to analysis that she adopts, is merely playful. Yet there is an important sense in which it captures the essence of her approach: adopting a systemically based method of exploring semiotics of all sorts - culture, society, language - and the way they interrelate. Her work draws closely on the model of language developed by Martin at the University of Sydney. Based on the Hjelmslevian concepts of connotative and denotative expression planes, the model sees language as the realization of the higher semiotic planes of register and ultimately of genre. Ventola capably demonstrates the advantages of such a model: a linguistic analysis alone is simply not able to answer all our questions about the meaning of a text. For example, in the service encounter text used by Ventola, even an extensive analysis of phonology, lexicogrammar and discourse leaves many aspects of the text unilluminated. Exactly who, for instance, are the participants? Why are certain concepts important in the text? Why do the participants behave in the way that they do? Register analysis goes some way towards answering these questions, but even then, genre analysis is needed to explain the significance of the chosen options.

Steiner, in using child language to explore cognitive linguistics, also sees language in a wider social framework. Specifically, he aims to relate language as activity to a broader theory of activity in general, and he adopts a multi-level approach in order to describe both language as activity and language within activity. Further, Butt examines the role of language in the construction of reality. In probing the existential fabric of a poem as a contribution to literary stylistics, he uses a detailed linguistic analysis to

demonstrate the way a poem can exploit the reader's conception of reality, thus illustrates how language can influence our perception of the other semiotics to which it relates.

Other articles in this volume examine areas of linguistics which are not necessarily 'new', but which are nevertheless underdeveloped in systemic linguistics as a whole. Thus Gotteri looks at the role of systemic linguistics in the area of language pathology. This is an area in which only one significant contribution has been made from systemics (Rochester and Martin's Crazy Talk), but in which systemic linguistics could potentially make a great contribution. Part of the reason for the underuse of systemic theory in this field, is that practising clinical therapists simply don't have the time to go into all the details of a full blown linguistic description. However Gotteri proposes several simple principles for the therapist, based on the basic notions of CHOICE, DELICACY, NETWORK, and REALIZATION, which should enable them to get to grips with particular language problems. These principles include 'where there's a choice, draw a diagram', 'when choices are interrelated, construct a network' and 'be as specific as you need to'. Gotteri's article is a refreshing indication of how theoreticians might make their work more accessible to the practitioners, but while he appropriately tailors the paper for the linguist with little or no clinical experience, some less trivial examples, or some concrete guidelines for a simple handbook, would have been more revealing. Also, while the complexity of systemic theory is part of the reason for its underuse in clinical practice, Gotteri glosses over the fact that practitioners may be unsympathetic to the methodology of linguistics, preferring, perhaps, a behavioural, psychological model. If this is the case, then one solution would be to use sympathetic practitioners as mediators between other practitioners and the linguists, in the same way that practising teachers have been used in getting (some) linguistics across in secondary education in Australia.

Nesbitt and Plum also take on a familiar, but underdeveloped, notion in systemic linguistics as the basis of their work. This is the notion that choices in language are probabilistically weighted. Their study adds a quantitative perspective to systemics, emphasizing the patterned nature of choice. Not only do Nesbitt and Plum observe such patterning in the clause complex, but they relate that patterning to a model of language in context. This model is the same systemiotic one exemplified by Ventola, and they use it to explain the patterned choices in language according to choices in higher level semiotics. They provide new techniques for analysing and describing probabilistic patterns, thus enabling us to examine language not only as a system of possibilities, but also as a system of probabilities. The contribution of Nesbitt and Plum is undoubtedly a promising way forward for systemic linguistics.

Other contributors add new dimensions to notions in systemic linguistics which are otherwise well developed. Melrose, for instance, looks at the role of systemics in educational linguistics, one of the more 'traditional' areas of application. However, he does so from the perspective of relating systemics to the communicative language syllabus, and in particular of incorporating speech acts and conversational exchanges in order to develop a model which is functionally appropriate. The communicative language approach draws partly on pragmatics, yet the place of this in systemic theory is not by any means unproblematic (the 13th ISW, for instance, included several papers discussing the interrelation of pragmatics and systemics), and Melrose does not really

address this issue (although Butler in Volume One does). The model developed by Melrose is radical, in the light of the other papers in the same volume, in the place given to register and genre. In the model exemplified by Ventola and Nesbitt and Plum, for instance, genre is seen as the highest semiotic plane, governing and realized in register, in turn governing and realized in language. Language is seen as a tristratal construct of discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology. In contrast, Melrose removes discourse from the language plane and assigns it to a higher, non-linguistic plane. His reason for this is that discourse is '...an aspect of our behaviour potential...' (p.80) and needs to be realized both verbally and non-verbally. The point is valid, although it seems to already be covered if the relationship among the different levels of language is one of realization. That is, the need to incorporate non-verbal realization in an overall model is not sufficient justification for assigning discourse to a non-linguistic plane. It does however mean that proper account needs to be taken of expression codes other than language (kinesics for instance), and Melrose's emphasis on this is quite appropriate. (Both Ventola and Steiner also emphasize the need to better explain the non-verbal aspects of linguistic behaviour.)

The second feature of Melrose's proposals is that genre is subsumed under the discourse plane, and thus register becomes the highest order semiotic. The exact nature of the relationship between register and genre is problematic in systemics, and does not seem to be resolved in this volume. In her article, Ventola capably demonstrates that register choices can be seen to vary with the unfolding of the social process as a structure, but Melrose proposes that the selection of certain register variables determines the choice of genre. Melrose's arguments are generally unconvincing, although the paper is worth exploring for an alternative view of register/genre to that presented in other articles.

In a similar vein, Benson, Greaves and Mendelsohn do not just accept, but try to verify, the central place of intonation in the meaning system of English. They do so by testing Halliday's tone system in a Canadian dialect of English, arguing that if the interpretation of the tones is the same in the Canadian dialect, which is quite different to the British English on which the system was developed, then this will add weight to Halliday's findings. Statistically speaking, their experimental results seem to support their hypothesis, but these results are undermined by the very nature of the experiment, particularly in the way they approach the data. The data used for the experiments are completely decontextualised, and as such, the tones being tested may be more easily interpreted than is possible in real speech. Anyone who has ever tried to apply intonation analysis to data realises how difficult it can be, and thus, Benson et al's findings will hold more weight when they are validated on messy, real, confusing data. They would have done well to look at the work of David Brazil, which explores the effect a previous intonation option in a discourse may have on the next one.

While speaking of all that is 'new' in this volume, Harris's study of the genre of court discourse is a timely reminder of the dangers of embracing innovations in one area of linguistic analysis as general solutions to all aspects of that analysis. Her article demonstrates that, even when the general shape of a model is accepted, limitations can be revealed by applications to new areas. In exploring the genre of court discourse, Harris argues that 'A clear and principled account of contextual variables' (p.95) is needed, as well as a statement of Generic Structure Potential which is of general application.

However, current models of genre (as proposed by Ventola, for instance, are appropriate for these purposes. This is because the examples of discourse studied so far have tended to be 'simple, cooperative and relatively brief' (p.94), and so it is relatively unproblematic to describe the context, or to develop appropriate categories for the structural elements. However court discourse is more problematic. The contextual variables are more difficult to define, largely because of the variety of participants involved in a court case and their different interrelationships, as well as the different uses of language within the courtroom. Further, structural elements developed for other discourses are not appropriate here: what, for instance, would be the role of 'offer' in the courtroom?

Harris is forced to reconsider these issues in order to develop a model of genre more appropriate for long and complex texts, and she considers the currently available linear and hierarchical models, networks and flow diagrams. Interestingly, the nature of her data alters the criteria by which models are judged against each other. For instance Ventola, in trying to find a model appropriate for service encounters (eg 1987), rejected linear models partly because of their unsatisfactory account of optional and obligatory elements. However the question of optional and obligatory elements is not even relevant to courtroom discourse, because the stages are always obligatorily ordered. This is a clear demonstration that the most basic assumptions can be displaced when new types of data are examined, and Harris's study is a refreshing addition to this field.

The preceding discussion should be a clear indication that, at least for this reviewer, one of the most interesting features of this volume is its contribution to aspects of modelling generally. By applying accepted methods and models to new areas, or by trying to extend their use in 'traditional' areas, innovations in modelling have emerged. As mentioned, Nesbitt and Plum introduce ways of examining probabilistic patterns in language, including statistical methods. Melrose tries to give a fuller account of non-linguistic realizations, and Ventola and Steiner support this. Fawcett, van der Mije and van Wissen are also primarily concerned with modelling, in this case of developing a model of discourse. The most significant feature of their proposals is the integration of networks and flowcharts. Ventola (1987) recognized the need for this: networks may capture prototypical structures, but flowcharts are needed to capture the complex structures of real data and to describe the way texts unfold in stages (although Harris's reservations about flowcharts should be born in mind here). However the means by which to integrate these two for a fuller linguistic description was not obvious. Fawcett et al overcome this by modelling the flow between the speakers in terms of a flowchart: available options are still represented as a network, but the consequences of each option for the next speaker's turn are also included. This is undoubtedly an advance in description, not only for discourse but for many other areas of linguistic analysis. (One trivial criticism: Fawcett et al use the representational device of thick versus thin lines in order to distinguish options in a network from changes in moves; perhaps it would be visually clearer to use straight versus wavy lines for solid versus pecked lines MD).

It is interesting to consider why there is such a concern with aspects of modelling, and why so many common themes (such as the interrelationship of register and genre) emerge in this book. Just as many of these papers are not satisfied with merely identifying some linguistic feature, but need to place it

in a broader model of language in context, so too it is necessary to consider here the possible motivation for these new developments. Undoubtedly one of the most significant unifying factors is the interest in language as a process, rather than as a product - a concern with the dynamic nature of language. This distinction has only come to the fore relatively recently in systemic linguistics (eg Martin 1985; Ventola 1987; it is not, as far as I know, dealt with comprehensively in other linguistic approaches), and like many of the developments in this volume, seems to have arisen as a result of the intertwining of theory and application. That is, in trying to describe areas of language hitherto ignored, extensions of the theory were required to deal with this. Essentially it is the foray into the description of spoken language which started this ball rolling: linguistic models have tended to deal with finished, written texts, therefore most appropriately they took what Martin 1985 calls a 'synoptic' perspective on the data. That is, language was looked at retrospectively, treated as a finished product, as something that could be generated in one go. Yet now there is a desire to look prospectively at language, as an ongoing phenomenon, as a process, and for this a dynamic perspective is needed.

In systemic linguistics, the basic building block of the model is the network, representing interlocking paradigmatic choices in language. However, once a choice is made to enter a system network, there is no way out, no escape, until a realization is reached. That is, the network generates text explosively. However, for some texts, such as service encounters, it is more appropriate to have a model which progresses in stages, which allows for variation in the realization of structural elements, and in which the previous choice, on the syntagmatic axis, can be shown to influence the options available for the subsequent choice.

The papers in this volume dealing with the dynamic/synoptic distinction argue that both perspectives are necessary. This is the reason for Fawcett et al's effort to incorporate the network (reflecting the synoptic perspective) with the flowchart (reflecting the dynamic perspective, as exemplified in Ventola 1987). But why are both perspectives necessary? The answer is that modelling the text either as a process or as a product tends to capture different aspects of the data, but as most texts actually reflect both tendencies, both perspectives are needed to provide a full account. This requirement operates on several levels. At the level of describing the structural elements of genre, for instance, the synoptic model provides an exploded, rigid view, while the dynamic model is able to capture greater variation and the process of a text 'unfolding'. As Fawcett et al note (p.122): 'The identifying characteristic of a 'dynamic' model is that it generates structures as one works one's way through it....Dynamic models contrast with synoptic models, in which none of the elements of a given unit get generated until all the choices relevant to that unit have been made.' On the language plane, the synoptic model is most appropriate for the representation of constituency structures, while dependency structures are best modelled from a dynamic perspective. Ventola (p.62) confirms this when she says (p.62): 'Discourse systems mostly...generate DEPENDENCY STRUCTURES...., there are no units 'ready made', one unit consisting of another on the lower rank. Rather, the units are dynamically generated so that the meaning of one item is interpreted by its relationship to the previous item...'

There is, then, a sense in which 'dynamic' and 'synoptic' refer to different types of data, in which the synoptic view somehow reflects the prototypical,

while the dynamic view deals with less typical, but nevertheless, real data. Harris (p.100) makes this distinction, and Nesbitt and Plum explain its origin in the basic systemic understanding of the difference between language as system and language as process (p.9). In a fascinating parallel, Butt demonstrates how the poem he analyses exploits this difference between language '...as the mirror of pre-verbal experience...' and as '...the source of the unfoldings of events and happenings...' (p.217), in order to play with the representation of reality.

Yet there is a danger in confining the synoptic/dynamic distinction to the nature of the data alone. If this distinction is applied too narrowly, it could lead to the conclusion that there are two types of data, needing two models, which somehow have to be welded together. This perhaps explains Harris's difficulty in seeing how the two perspectives could be appropriately incorporated in her work. When dealing with the structure of genre or discourse, for instance, the distinction between perspective on the data and the nature of the data itself does not really matter. This is because the dynamic/synoptic distinction does coincide with broad, quite easily discernible differences in structural types: the dynamically oriented model is most needed to account for features of spoken, interactive texts. However, if the distinction is blurred, potential insights at other linguistic levels will be lost. For instance, most of the contributors would undoubtedly be satisfied with a synoptic, retrospective view of grammar, where the structural possibilities are determined by the features chosen in synoptic networks. Yet it would be quite possible simply to adopt a dynamic perspective on grammar, that is, to look forward in the text, and try to explain what's coming, and then try to develop a systemic model from this position. Some grammatical analyses, such as transitivity, are 'inherently' synoptic, that is, transitivity can't be analyzed until the whole structure has been seen. From a dynamic perspective, then, this area of meaning potential could be explained differently. On the other hand, the description of theme in English is already well suited to a dynamic perspective, as the weight of the analysis is on the initial elements of the clause. Applying the dynamic perspective to grammar is not in fact hinted at in 'New Developments', but if it is remembered that 'dynamic' is a matter of perspective, then its application to grammar is viable. Further, the dynamic perspective dealt with in this volume requires many of the developments represented here: embedding in a broad theory of context and culture; a differentiation between the possible and the probable, the system and process; and different methods of representation and modelling. All these requirements are also true of an application of a dynamic perspective to grammar, and this should be another interesting development in systemic linguistics in the future.

Of course, the potential contribution of a dynamic perspective to analysis is not the sole development represented in this volume. But it is interesting that virtually all the papers are concerned with language as activity, as process, as something which occurs as part of our general behaviour potential, and which must be accounted for in context. All these concerns are interrelated, and by trying to apply new concepts to old fields, and old concepts to new fields, the theory of systemic linguistics has been extended, modified, challenged.

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Algirdas Julien Greimas. On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory, trans. Paul J. Perron and Frank H. Collins. London: Frances Pinter, 1987

Reviewed by DAVID REID.

On Meaning is a translation of a selection of the essays in A.J. Greimas' Du sens (1970), Du sens (1983) and Semiotique et sciences sociales (1976). The selection comes with a lively foreword by Frederic Jameson and gives a good idea of Greimas' work and how it has developed.

Vonnegut has a useful joke. A man in a Chinese restaurant shouts "Hey waiter, there's a needle in my soup". The waiter comes up and says, "Ah very very sorry, sir. Typographical error. That needle should be a noodle". This joke works by a sudden shift of level. It starts off talking about what is going on out there in the restaurant. But the waiter turns things outside in by shifting from talk about what is going on to talk about the words that have been used to talk about what is going on. This Chinese waiter's move, the turning back of talk on the language it uses, has had a remarkable history in the intellectual life of this century. A critical revolution in Anglo-American criticism took the form with Eliot, Pound, Richards and Empson of concentrating on the words on the page, reducing questions of the poet's apprehension of the world or the expression of his feelings to the language of poetry. Wittgenstein and his followers thought that a lot of philosophy could be cleared up by marking exactly how words were used. Most ambitious of all are the French Structuralist and Post-structuralist movements that take their rise from Saussurian linguistics.

Greimas is a semiotician of the Structuralist sort. If I introduce him with a panoramic sweep, it is because he is pretty ambitious himself. Probably most at home with the structural study of myth and folk-tale, he writes interestingly on historiography and the psychology of the passions as well. He seeks to make semiotics a master discipline--if not a key to all the mythologies (he is too attuned to semiotics as a discipline in actual process of unfolding for that), then at least a method of great explanatory power in the human sciences. He writes, however, about meaning, not about truth, about the forms thought takes, not about its critical bearing on matters of fact. And in that sense it seems fair to associate him with the Chinese waiter's enterprise of dealing with the world by a linguistic turn.

On Meaning is not about the meaning of "meaning" but attempts to describe how words, texts, gestures, even work, bear meaning. Nevertheless a moment's reflection about the meaning of "meaning" points to the broad outline of what Greimas is doing. He is not interested in referential meaning. About that he speaks with the disdain for the world of things and events that is characteristic of the idealism of which his semiotics is a late development.

All we have to do is to consider the extra-linguistic world as no longer being the absolute referent, but as the place where what is manifested through the senses can become the manifestation of human meaning, that is to say of signification. In short all we have to do is to consider the referent as a set of more or less implicit semiotic systems. (p. 19)

Historians simply project their hypothetical construct onto the past and pompously call it reality. As a matter of fact history can be written only through linguistic mediation, by substituting historical texts--their true referent--for strings of "real"

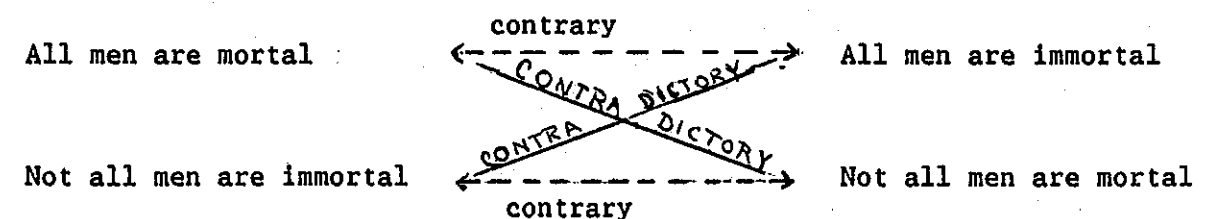
events, which are afterward reconstituted as a referential position. (pp. 209-10)

This high-handed way with referential meaning is simply an illustration of the Chinese waiter's move stated as doctrine.

But people don't mean referential meaning when they talk of meaning unless they are philosophers. When non-philosophical people talk of the meaning of a word or a sentence, they are thinking of the ideas these things signify, with how they may be put in other words. This signified is one of the sorts of meaning that Greimas is concerned with. Notably it is with words or sentences or at most short passages that we naturally speak of meaning, not with essays, or books. We would not ask "What is the meaning of On Meaning?" unless we were furious or suspected an ulterior design. Nor would we normally speak of the meaning of a story or a novel like Middlemarch. The words and sentences and their meanings have passed into argument or narrative, which can be clarified, certainly, but don't have meaning as the word is ordinarily used. It is true that we might naturally enough set an essay question on the meaning of The Faerie Queene, Bk. 2, cantos 11 and 12 or of The Waste Land. That, however, is because those poems are peculiar or baffling as stories and so make us look for ulterior designs. And we might after all for the same reason let through as passable English a statement that Middlemarch has a meaning, namely that free choice is capital; loss of free choice, being in debt. We should let that through partly because it finds that more is meant than meets the ear and we readily speak of meaning where something concealed or ulterior has to be explained. This is the second sort of meaning that Greimas is concerned with. Note that the supposed ulterior meaning of Middlemarch has been squeezed into a sentence; that helps to make talk of the meaning of the book pass, because as I said we readily talk of the meaning of sentences, though not of books.

Greimas' semiotics does not confine itself to the study of what we usually call "meaning". He finds it socially significant and so a matter for semiotic comment that Frenchmen take off their pullovers in a different way from Frenchwomen. It is only by straining the word that we could speak of a meaning here. Nevertheless the English use of "meaning", which may be quirky, does point to what Greimas is chiefly interested in, meaning as the idea signified by a word or sentence and meaning as the ulterior design of a text.

To analyze meaning in the sense of idea Greimas has invented a square of meaning. This is modelled on the square of opposition the medieval logicians used to classify propositions: but like Hegel's logic of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, Greimas' square can be made to account for almost anything, at least in the human world. The square of opposition went like this:



Greimas puts names in place of propositions, "mortals" in place of "all men are mortal." So we have contraries "mortal" and "immortal". But when we come to the contradictories puzzles crop up. What is the contradictory of "mortal" if not "non-mortal"? But how would "non-mortal" differ from "immortal"? Perhaps "non-mortal" might signify the inanimate as distinct from both the living and the never dying. But then what would the contradictory of

"immortal", the "non-immortal" be if not simply "mortal"? The dead? ghosts? A good deal of ingenuity is required to sort the oppositions of Greimas' square of meaning out. His square does not work mechanically like the medieval square of opposition. And for all his air of scientific rigour, his semiotics strikes one as more of an art than a science whose moves any student could replicate. Possibly the semiotic square works better when there is an actual text or some other body of semantic stuff to analyze than in a hypothetical void. Even so I find some of his examples puzzling and matters are not made easier by errors in printing some of his formulas. But his own illustration of how the square applies works well enough: the traffic light sequence gives the contraries, green (must go) versus red (must stop) and the contradictories, orange opposed to green (not must go) and orange-and-red opposed to red (not must stop).

The other point to be made about the semiotic square is that in it meaning is not positive but something defined by what it is not. The meaning of the red light, like the meaning of thursdays, is a matter of its occupying a certain position in a system vis-a-vis other positions. The charming absurdity of Morgenstern's poem, "Das Knie", depends on our recognizing that what we thought quite a solid knobbly entity, a knee, is just a gap between thigh and shin (never mind patellas): "Ein Knie geht einsam durch die Welt/Es war ein Knie sonst nichts" (A knee went through the world alone. /It was a knee, just that). But are all ideas, like knees, just gaps or places of intersection? Even Saussure who is supposed to be the authority for the sort of notion that meaning is a sort of mirage produced by what it is not left some room for positive meaning. The negativeness of meaning is, however, dogma with Greimas.

Greimas' semiotics comes into its own in dealing with meaning as the ulterior design of texts. It fits the analysis of myth and folktale particularly easily. Levi-Strauss's structural analyses of myth and folk tale brought out the play of polar thinking: the Oedipus myth, he maintained, could be summed up as a proportion between two sets of polarities:

overestimated familial relationship	≈	autochthonous human nature
underestimated familial relationship		negation of autochthonous human nature

The suggestion is that polarities are what myth is really about; they are both the mind playing with itself (a characteristic formulation) and in themselves a sort of structuralist thinking. But however dazzling the way in which Levi-Strauss produces symmetries out of tangle, the symmetries are static, to use his own term "synchronic". Once one has heard or read a story, bundles of polarities stand in the mind as a structure on which the story is turned. But about the diachronic, the movement of the narrative as it unfolds, he is vague: proportions are set up, transformations take place. The achievement of Greimas is to have produced a formal method of analysis that comes much closer to plotting the diachronic movement of narrative. This he works out on the structure of the semiotic square. The ulterior design of a narrative runs through its positions. To bring this out Greimas reduces his materials to a succession of deep structures or levels of abstraction. No synopsis could do justice to the refinement and rigour with which he proceeds, and I can't say Professor Perron's attempt at one in his introduction suggests that summary would lead to clarification. But the chapters on "Elements of Grammar", "A Problem of Narrative Semiotics: Objects of Value" and "Actants, Actors and Figures" have attractive illustrative examples that make clear how Greimas' formalizing of narrative can account for the sort of exchanges and transformations that take place in stories. Here he builds on the work of

Vladimir Propp, whose analyses of Russian folk tale showed how symmetries repeated in a whole class of tales unfold diachronically. But Greimas' formalizing goes much further than Propp's. As his talk of the grammar and syntax of narrative suggest, he goes behind the outlines of the story to terms and relations of enormous generality.

The question is how much does this narrative grammar and syntax explain? Certainly Greimas boils down stories to operations between subjects and objects and his essays on "Toward a Theory of Modalities" and "On the Modalization of Being" achieve an impressive reduction of what verbs can express. But whether in addition to arriving at general formulas for the processes of narrative he has hit on a grammar of grammar or a syntax of syntax I cannot say. I cannot imagine, for instance, how his own discourse, or even much simpler expository prose, could be subjected to Greimasian analysis.

Greimas' project certainly wants to take in more than narrative. If he works out how narrative runs according to the square of meaning, he works out also how meaning may be implicit narrative. His essay "On Anger" makes out that what we mean by "anger" is best explained as an implicit story that, when it develops into vengeance or pardon, runs through exchanges and transformations like Propp's folk tales. To think of emotions as implicit stories means also that one sees them as intersubjective, as reactions within exchanges with other people, and that very usefully corrects attempts to explain them as just psychological goings on inside an impassioned subject. On the other hand, how much is explained in this way? A common sense way of explaining the meanings of words for emotions is to sketch the sorts of situations in which they crop up and perhaps Greimas' elaborate formalizing may do little more than that.

Besides one wants to know if this sort of analysis could be applied to words that don't belong to narrative discourse. Is there an implicit narrative in "deep structure" for instance? Greimas does not make unlimited claims for his method, the sort of claim that Kenneth Burke made for the scheme of reducing all thought to dramatic terms that he unfolds in his Rhetoric of Motives and Grammar of Rhetoric. Even so one suspects that world domination, narrative analysis as the key to all meaning, cannot be quite absent from his thoughts, and one would like to know how he would go about realizing that project.

But if that is not yet imaginable, at least Greimas' semiotics do not seem to be self-contradictory. Structuralist semioticians both discover structure in others' thoughts and think structurally themselves in polarities such as conjunction/disjunction, paradigmatic/syntagmatic and the like. Something rather curious, though, must happen when semiotic thought distinguishes itself from non-semiotic thought (e.g. positivism, Greimas' preferred opponent), but that is by the way. As a semiotician, Greimas bypasses, if he doesn't entirely dismiss, the critical relation of statements to matters of fact. So one might wonder how he expects his readers to be persuaded by what he says. But even here his thought is not self-cancelling. His concern is with reducing to a scheme of the utmost generality, with the consistency and fitting in of semiotic material into this general scheme, with surprising symmetries and conformities, with what one might call the internal bureaucracy of a system. His essay "Knowing and Believing" treats among other things the sorts of explanation that satisfy our minds because they fit things into systems of belief or knowledge. His own explanations conform to this grammar of assent. And it must be said that most academic activity in the Arts and probably the Social Sciences takes the form of ordering material and fitting it in with current general schemes of explanation. Unadjusted apprehension of things is hard to find and generally thought a chimera anyway.

Greimas has a particular reason for rejecting the notion of an unadjusted apprehension; he believes that cultural forms, above all languages, "segment" the world as if the world were a sort of undifferentiated stuff. Underpinning that is the Whorf-Sapir thesis that different cultures divide the spectrum differently, that is they see different colours, because they have different colour words. This thesis, largely abandoned by anthropologists, is still popular in departments of literature. And Greimas speaks of it with respect. Obviously the notion that we perceive according to our culture works with some things. You have to be British to spot a spiv. On the other hand, a term like "anger", even though it "segments" social reality, does not seem to vary in meaning between cultures, at least at the level of generality that Greimas discusses it at. For though he introduces his discussion, perhaps with tongue in cheek, as an analysis of French anger, what he says holds true for British anger and, I should have thought, anger from China to Peru.

That language and culture "segment" reality seems to me only a partial truth. Perhaps what makes the idea so attractive to thinkers like Greimas is that their own thought is so much the creation of their special languages. I don't mean that Greimas' terms are empty like "phlogiston", but rather that the stuff they cut up could indeed be cut differently, and that here terms really do depend on their relation to each other for their meaning.

Greimas is lavish in coining terms of art, and apart from having to negotiate a peculiarly dense version of standard semiotic talk, the reader has to cope with "thymic space", "deixes", "actants", "translative utterances" and so forth. Greimas himself takes a quizzical look at scientific jargon.

A characteristic feature of functional discourses should be underscored. These discourses often have complementary axiological connotations, which seem to be more frequent than in the case of morphosocial connotations. Thus, for example, we can apply the connotation of "sacred terror" not only to religious languages but also to scientific discourses. This implicit exercise of terrorism takes place in the human sciences where linguists are "terrorized" by discourses held by mathematicians, but they often act in the same way with regard to sociologists, for example. A certain scientificity of discourse sets off a complex of incomprehension of this language that is no more than its social "terrorizing" connotations.

This is the sort of sceptical view of his own activities that a Director of Studies at an École des Hautes Études may permit himself without for a minute meaning to change his ways.

Some of the difficulty of Greimas' language may have to do with the translation. The translators say they cherish Greimas' style. But it is hard to believe that whatever Greimas wrote could make "refuse" the contrary of "affirm" or that "mental restriction" could really not have been replaced by the natural English "mental reservation". And one wonders if anything like "polysemic" and "plurisemic" really occurred in consecutive sentences in the original. All the same, Greimas himself has clearly chosen to write in a special semiotic language and express himself in metalinguistic turns of thought. The advantage of this style is that he can formalise his procedures. He strikes me as a much more rigorous and solid thinker than other structuralist and post-structuralist writers. He writes without fireworks, but mercifully without the tedious brilliance of writers like Lacan or the later Derrida. If structuralist semiotics is a science with a future, doubtless it will base itself on Greimas' sober and scrupulous inquiries.

For the non-semiotician too Greimas has something to offer. Not, I think, his formal analyses. To have worked one's way through those is certainly to have come in touch with structuralism in an exemplary form. And if traditional culture is all to be consigned to an ideal musee de l'homme, it will be important to gather from Greimas intimations of the way in which it will be done. But this would be an impression rather than a lesson we could adopt for ourselves without becoming Greimasian semioticians. Oddly Levi-Strauss's analyses, though they are less rigorous and evolved products of the structuralist mind, are more stimulating for the dabbler, at least when he gets away from the study of kinship. His interest in myth is more alive than Greimas'; he makes a contemporary myth of myth. And however frivolous that may sound, to read him is in some way to have lived the life of our times (well, twenty years ago). Greimas cannot do that for us. What Greimas does offer are curiously pregnant formulations of ideas. It may be that not all of these ideas are new, but couched as they are in a language stripped of common sense, they have the power to jolt the reader out of his accustomed ways of thinking.

[Consider] the relative nonintervention of a narrator in productions having a social vocation, unlike the interest shown for itself and for the implied reader ("Mon semblable, mon frere"), by the subject of enunciation of literary texts displaying its intrusive presence. It is as though, when passing from eth noliterature to socioliterature, a de facto state was transformed into a de jure state, sanctioned by success or failure. In the first case, the subject of enunciation is not known or is simply designated as a collective subject, whereas in the second case, where the mechanisms of production functioning before us can be laid bare and analyzed, the instance of enunciation must be concealed and its manifestations excluded from the text, because they hamper the social consumption of the products. (p. 190)

Or speaking of the semiotic interpretation of the bodily movements (gestures) a worker must go through to carry out a task, he remarks:

One can therefore see that the semiosis we are dealing with here is not a simple relation between a signifier and a signified, but a relational structure designated elsewhere as morphematic; that is, it is both a relation between a signifier and a signified taken as a whole (the gestural programme) and a network of relations going from the signified to each figure as a part. (p. 40, Greimas' emphasis)

These thoughts may sound quite baffling to those who have not inured themselves to Greimas' manner of speaking. I should wish to recommend inuring oneself. Even if one remains uncertain about the value of Greimas' grand semiotic project, the oddly stimulating quality of these uningratiating essays is sufficient reward.

Halliday, M.A.K. and J.R. Martin (eds.) 1981. Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic and Education, Ltd. 336 pp., glossary, bibliography and index.

Reviewed by CAROL C. MOCK

The purpose of this book is to make available papers that are important in the history of systemic grammar, but not easily accessible or well known; indeed, some of them have never before been published. The collection aims at documenting developments in systemic theory in the 1960's and early 1970's, with special attention to the growing importance of paradigmatic relations and explicit realization rules. The editors offer the collection for readers who are familiar with systemic linguistics through Halliday's more recent sociosemantic and metafunctional publications (cf. Languages as a Social Semiotic, 1978, and Learning How to Mean, 1975), and who desire a deeper understanding of the theoretical foundations of the systemic model.

Part I, Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, presents the central concepts of system, structure, rank, constituency, embedding, order and syntagm as developed in "Syntax and the consumer" (Halliday 1964), "Types of structure" (Halliday 1965, mimeo), and "Rank and depth" (Huddleston 1965). Part II, Formalizing systemic relations and their structural realization, presents two of the earliest coherent attempts to establish systemic grammar as a generative linguistic model with a "deep" grammar of systems: "Systemic features and their realization" (Huddleston 1966, previously unpublished), and "Some notes on the systemic generation of a paradigm of the English clause" (Henrici 1965, mimeo). Part III, Structure and grammatical function, system and class, focuses on functional labeling for the structural nodes derived from system networks: "Constituency in a systemic description of the English clause" (Hudson 1967), and "Structure" (Halliday 1969, mimeo). In these papers, grammatical function is clearly defined for the first time as a relation between a constituent and the class of its constitute--a part-whole relation. Part IV, Systemic functional generative grammar, argues for relatively independent metafunctional components within system networks: "Options and functions in the English clause" (Halliday 1969), and "Generating a sentence in systemic functional grammar" (Fawcett 1973, mimeo). Part V, Systemic generative grammar, presents Hudson's claim that system networks should reflect syntactic relations rather than grammatico-semantic ones: "Systemic generative grammar" (Hudson 1974). Finally Part VI, Systemic descriptions, gives the reader descriptions that make use of the systemic model at various stages of its development: "A fragment of a systemic description of English" (Huddleston 1965, mimeo), "Declarative, interrogative, and imperative in French" (Huddleston and Uren 1969), "Linguistics and the computer analysis of tonal harmony [in music]" (Winograd 1968), "An 'Item-and-paradigm' approach to Beja syntax and morphology" (Hudson 1972), and "Conjunction and continuity in Tagalog" (Martin, previously unpublished).

Halliday has written a general introduction to the collection, and Martin introduces each part with a cogent commentary highlighting the concepts from the papers which have proved to be most significant in the development of systemic linguistics. Notational conventions throughout the volume have been standardized to conform to an extremely detailed set of formal symbols (pp. 10-12), and there is helpful supporting material in the form of a glossary, a bibliography and an index of key terms and names.

For a reader having a basic familiarity with systemic approaches, the collection is a convenient introduction to the direction in which functional

systemic grammar has developed, for the progression of papers demonstrates a gradual shift in emphasis during the twenty years in which many of the formal aspects of the theory took shape. From modest beginning in which paradigmatic relations were firmly rooted in a structural matrix of SPCA's, systemic writings have become ever more abstract and semantically nuanced, to the point where some of its early adherents (e.g., Hudson, Huddleston) have broken away to develop their own versions of formal grammar. It is particularly interesting to compare Hudson's highly syntactic 1974 paper, "Systemic generative grammar", with Fawcett's more broadly semantic and pragmatic approach in the 1973 paper, "Generating a sentence."

In the Introduction, Halliday reminds us that the process of using the meaning potential of language to exchange meanings involves two steps: instantiation, or choosing particular options at both the semantic and the lexico-grammatical levels, and realization, or expressing the options chosen (presumably, at both the lexico-grammatical and phonological levels). From what Halliday says, it is not entirely clear what number of strata he thinks are necessary in an over-all model of language. The basic number seems to be two, a la Hyelmslev (content and expression), but with both a semantic level and a lexico-grammatical one within the content plane, and both phonological and phonetic levels within the expression stratum. Halliday does not address here the issue of whether pragmatic choices are best analyzed separately from semantic ones.

In the famous paper "Syntax and the Consumer", Halliday explicates the concept of delicacy (or variable depth of descriptive detail), pointing out that it provides a measure of the status of a given system relative to other systems, as either hierarchically dependent on some more general opposition or fully independent and simultaneous with other systems, i.e., at the same degree of delicacy with them. This paper is also where Halliday distinguishes between a grammatical ambiguity--a single syntagm expressing two or more different grammatical selections, and a true neutralization--having at any particular degree of delicacy only one grammatical description (in terms of the features selected from the system network). One type of systemic neutralization is the intersection between two partially interdependent systems. As an example, Halliday presents the VOICE system in the English verbal group--[active] versus [passive]--and the AGENCY system in the prepositional phrase--[agentive] versus [instrumental]; he asks whether the expression he was deceived by a trick contrasts more directly with a trick deceived him or with they deceived him by a trick. That is, is by a trick [agentive] or is it [instrumental]? According to the system network in the paper, the AGENCY system expressed in the prepositional phrase is partially dependent on concurrent selection of particular VOICE options in the verbal group: [agentive] combines only with [passive] VOICE, while [instrumental] combines with either [active] or [passive]. At a certain degree of delicacy the preposition by can realize both the [agentive] and the [instrumental] options of the AGENCY system (although surely [instrumental] also has with and through as alternative instrumental choices at a further degree of delicacy). These conditions set the stage for a restricted neutralization of the AGENCY system, such that it is not possible to say for sure whether he was deceived by a trick has an [agentive] prepositional phrase or an [instrumental] one.

The preposition by also illustrates grammatical ambiguity. The functional classes of prepositional phrases include [locative] option, e.g. by the gate, as well as the AGENCY choices [agentive] and [instrumental], eg., by John and by hand. The expression I'll roast it by the fire is simply ambiguous rather than being a case of grammatical neutralization: it means I'll roast it beside the fire when the [locative] option is selected in the clause network, and I'll use the fire to roast it when [instrumental] has been chosen. Halliday claims that "systems which yield 'neutralizations'...should appear at

a lower order of delicacy than those which yield ambiguities." (p. 27) As systemic linguists, we should ask ourselves whether we have tested and verified his claim.

In "Types of Structure," a very important article previously inaccessible to most of us, Halliday distinguishes between structure and linear sequence (or syntagm), between multivariate and univariate structures, between progressive and non-progressive sequences of elements in univariate structures, and between the recursive layering of dependency structures in pushdown constructions and the rankshifting (or embedding) of constituent structures. (This last is a distinction many American linguists have yet to take into account.) He notes that progressive realization of structural values leaves the string open-ended so that more elements can be added on, whereas non-progressive sequences are self-limiting. He also makes an intriguing typological prediction about the connection between word order and pushdown mechanisms, one that linguists of SOV languages would do well to check out: when a language puts hypotactic markers such as if and while at the end of the dependent unit, the pushdown mechanism by which recursive layering takes place should be possible in non-progressive sequences, whereas this is not possible in languages like English.

Huddleston's "Rank and Depth," a classic early discussion of the delicacy hierarchy, the rank scale, rankshifting and types of structure, is reprinted here because of its introduction of paratactic and hypotactic complexes at word, group and clause ranks, a development which significantly weakened the importance of the sentence as a unit ranked above the clause.

"Systemic features and their realization" (Huddleston 1966, previously unpublished) is important as the first coherent attempt to describe systemic grammar as a generative model of the clause and to wrestle seriously with the appropriate form of realization rules. He explores how systemic features at one rank are related via their realizations not only to particular structures at the same rank, but also to the preselection of systemic features of classes at lower ranks. Although he spells out seven types of operation that realization rules can perform, and allows them to contain ordered subrules sensitive to specific paradigmatic contexts, he says nothing of the possibility of subrules sensitive to syntagmatic contexts. Unfortunately, the article ends on a weak note with an unresolved discussion of whether to permit deletions and substitutions as possible types of realization rule; he half-heartedly proposes tagging the semantic identity of constituents to be deleted or substituted, but does not do so persuasively.

Henrici's "Some notes on the systemic generation of a paradigm of the English clause" (1965) is useful for its emphasis on how a linguist might go about building up a system network. An interesting focus here is the total output of a system network: the list of all possible feature selections (the same as selection expressions?) that can be formed from the features of a given network constitutes a set of canonical forms for the unit whose grammar is being described. Once we have an exhaustive classification, what do we do with it? What questions can we fruitfully ask about such a paradigm? Henrici introduces many technical terms that have subsequently become standard usage among systemic linguists: the point of origin for a system network, primary systems, which immediately follow the point of origin, the entry conditions for a system; the term entry criterion (for several alternative entry conditions, any one of which is sufficient). A selection expression shows most of the dependency relations among the features selected, whereas a selection set does not. Although some of his terminology and conclusions seem dated, the depth of detail in this paper is evidence of a genuine wrestling with linguistic theory, and it is worth reading carefully.

Hudson's "Constituency in a systemic description of the English clause" (*Lingua* 18, 1967) is significant for the thoughtful way it explores the implications of using many immediate constituents instead of Chomsky's few-IC

approach, and also for his exposition of grammatical function as a part-whole relation: "the grammatical function of a constituent is a relation between it and the item of which it is an IC" (111). The main point of this paper is well summed up in Hudson's own words: "if constituents are treated as realizing...defined systemic features, then the relations among the constituents are already implied by the relations among the features they realize;" (104) so that the basic structural necessity in a systemic description is to show how each clause constituent realizes one or more systemic features of the unit it is part of. To illustrate his claims, Hudson presents the least delicate systems of MOOD (indicative versus imperative, declarative versus interrogative) and TRANSITIVITY (directed versus undirected action, specified versus unspecified goal).

Part-whole structural relations are also the focus of Halliday's 1969 mimeo, "Structure," in which he delineates the difference between structure, an unsequenced set of functional labels, and syntagm, a linear sequence of items which can be represented as a sequence of form classes. Thus the transitivity structure of a clause may consist of two elements, e.g. Actor and Process while a give syntagm is one particular sequence of items that could manifest such a structure (e.g., the moon is shining and is the moon shining). We can ask of an item in a syntagm whether it is a representative of a class; e.g., is the moon a member of the class Nominal Group? But strictly speaking, we cannot ask if an item represents an element of structure. Instead, we may ask whether it has the potential to realize a particular functional element; e.g. can the item the moon function in the role of Actor in an Actor Process structure? More generally, can the class Nominal Group function in such a way? Despite many clear definitions and good examples, it is easy to see why this paper was never published before: as it stands, it is only suggestive fragment. Nevertheless, many readers will be glad to have access to it.

Halliday's paper in Part IV, "Options and functions in the English clause" (1969), is a very condensed version of the basic options in the THEME, MOOD and TRANSITIVITY networks, which can serve as a useful reminder for those of us who have studied his more extensive "Notes on Transitivity and theme in English," JL 1967-68. It contains a good example of how realization rules can and should be tied to each grammatical option (Table 1), but I would have liked to study more complex realizations of THEME, MOOD or TRANSITIVITY of the type which would be dependent on specific paradigmatic contexts.

Fawcett's 1973 mimeo, "Generating a sentence in systemic functional grammar," impressively illustrates his particular version of systemic grammar. He walks us through all the systemic selections necessary for the generation of a single sentence in a specific context of situation, from the first choice--whether to communicate verbally or not--to grammatical options such as TRANSITIVITY, VOICE and REFLEXIVIZATION, and discourse service options, which are comments about the verbal exchange (e.g., Could you say it again? Yes, of course.).

Hudson's "Systemic generative grammar" (1974) is much less oriented toward meaning than Fawcett's paper. Unlike Fawcett, Hudson distrusts semantics except insofar as it is strongly connected to formal syntax. He proposes that the grammatical analysis must incorporate only enough sensitivity to semantics to reflect semantic relations among the events and participants in a sentence (but not a text?), and aspects of meaning such as coreference, the identity of referents, and the syntactic scope of quantifiers and modal elements. He disclaims any deep interest in Halliday's metafunctional perspective; and readers accustomed to functional or semantic justifications for particular systemic options will find his syntactic approach somewhat opaque, both because he insists on defining each unit (or "item") only in terms of the system-network features which classify it, and because he avoids giving functional labels to elements of structure. In Hudson's version of systemic

grammar, structure (as opposed to system) indicates only the grammatical classes to which an item belongs, plus what higher-ranking (non-semantic) features it realizes and the particular sequence and constituent relations it bears to other items. Hudson has more to say than most systemic linguists about what a systemic phonology should look like, and proposes using the same formal apparatus: ranked units, system networks, and realization rules. In many ways this paper foreshadows the formalisms of his later daughter-dependency grammar rather than staying within the earlier systemic tradition, but the use of system networks is probably enough to brand this paper as part of the history of systemic linguistics.

The five language descriptions in Part VI strike the reader rather oddly, because the theoretical orientations of systemic linguists have shifted during the twenty-year period embraced by the collection. Reading straight through, one is forced into mental gymnastics to make the proper assumptions about terminology and the descriptive goals of each paper. In my opinion it would have been better to intersperse these descriptions among the more theoretical papers that precede them, so that the reader could go more easily from a particular version of systemic theory to the descriptive work that makes use of it.

Regrettably, the number of typographical errors is a most irritating feature of this volume. While Halliday's newly written introduction and Martin's commentaries are relatively free of mistakes, the papers themselves have so many errors that I wonder whether proofreaders were ever assigned to read them at all. Fortunately, these typographical mistakes do only minor damage to the content of the papers.

Claire Painter. INTO THE MOTHER TONGUE: A Case Study in Early Language Development. London: Frances Pinter, 1984. (271 pp.)

Reviewed by TOM BROWN

Claire Painter gives in her Introduction her three main aims in pursuing this piece of research: to replicate Halliday's case study in Learning How To Mean, to provide a more detailed and more explicit description of her subject's development than was done for Nigel, and therefrom to provide evidence as to the usefulness of the systemic approach (as modified by Halliday) in developmental studies of early language.

Her account of the case of her son Hal is preceded by three useful preliminary chapters. The first gives an account of research into the development of child language from the time when dissatisfaction with work based on Chomsky's account of how children learn language began to exhibit itself in the adoption of examinations of language-in-context, often supported by the eclectic uses of linguistic theory. What emerges is the need for an integrated theory of language-in-context to map the territory the child is seeking to conquer. Perhaps the best example of the pitfalls of the eclectic approach is provided by Bruner's work, in so many ways illuminating as to the nature of speech development, but flawed by dubious application of parts of theories.

A chapter follows devoted to a critical account of systemic theory, critical in that it does not evade certain problems of definition that have arisen, notably in regard to the terms "semantic" and "semiotic" but also due to the incompleteness of the theory in specifying networks associated with Field and Tenor. On pages 29-31 Painter offers a crucial statement of the implications of the theory for a developmental study and an outline of Halliday's own proposals in this field. One particular problem, the question of how social context and Transitivity are related, is discussed in detail. This is one of a number of issues future workers in the field will no doubt have to face arising from certain discrepancies in Halliday's account. (cf. p. 35 of Painter, figs. 2.6 and 2.7).

The third chapter outlines Painter's approach to the practical problems of the case study, starting with the status of a researcher who is actively involved as a parent in the interactional process of the subject's language development. She makes her case for the "diary" method Halliday and she employ (supplemented in her work by regular taping of informal sessions) as the most useful way of obtaining data for the study. She might have given more stress to the need for such a diary to include a sufficient account of the parental contribution, particularly its extra-linguistic aspects, to the interchanges of parent and child; in practice, however, her diary (cf. especially pp. 66-70) appears to meet this need. An important point is her conscious abstention from deliberate linguistic experimentation, as distinct from normal parental "prompting". Her suggestions (pp. 44-45) for a weighting system to indicate preference of occurrence - derived from a suggestion of Halliday's - are interesting but perhaps require, as a practical device, further scrutiny by future users. Her use of systemic networks encodes a greater amount of data than does Halliday's (as one might expect) and I find these networks extremely illuminating.

Painter opens her account of the development of Hal's language with a discussion of some of the objections made to Halliday's account of language functions in the earliest - "protolanguage" - stage. She argues convincingly for its acceptance as a practical tool of description given additional relevance since its inception by later studies in mother-infant interaction. She provides a more detailed and therefore more practical specification of her language functions than does Halliday. It is clear from what she says that

problems still exist in determining at the earliest stages which vocalisations are truly signs. Should the criteria be so rigorously applied as to provide a minimal number of acceptable vocalisations, the problem would seem to be unimportant.

The detailed account of the first phase of Hal's development is presented (as are the later stages) in six-weekly analyses - a statement of developments generally, illustrative system networks, and explanatory notes. The value of the system networks in objectifying the development of functions and the accession of new signs is clear. Especially valuable is the discussion on pp. 66-70 of interactional texts, not only as contributing to the interpretation of the personal/interactional distinction, but as illuminating in regard to the interactional process in general. Hal's first use of a lexical item occurs at 13 months and the development of his vocabulary is depicted in ensuing networks which show clearly the microfunctional status of lexical items at this stage. Hal's development to 16 months, the beginning of the "transitional" stage posited by Halliday, broadly parallels that of Nigel: I would suggest that rather than ascribe the variations between child subjects to "individual differences" we might look more closely at the nature of the parental contribution in each case. I say this because the "interactive" approach to the study of language acquisition does seem to me to stress the role of "modelling" in the child's activity and it seems reasonable to assume that different subjects responding to different parents - in different situations - may make different choices of microlinguistic features.

At this stage the data as analysed by Painter begins to show not only the disappearance of the child's personal vocal signs and their replacement by lexical items, but the generalising of the (four) perceived microfunctions of the protolanguage into two macrofunctions: the regulatory and instrumental come together to constitute a "pragmatic" function, the interactional and personal (and possibly the imaginative) as "mathetic". Not only can practical distinctions of use be established for these, but surviving vocalisations and new lexical items occur in one or other of the contexts - but not at this stage in both. The lexical items remain context-bound. The use of tone to distinguish the macrofunctions is in Hal's data clearly observable. Tone anticipates mood and transitivity. Already these findings give weight to the claim that Halliday's analysis maps a path from the earliest vocal signs employed - in parent-child interaction - to the symbols of adult language.

This generalisation of functions necessitates a change in presentation: networks are constructed to specify potential for - in the mathetic function - the coding of experience in language, and - in the pragmatic - the negotiation of demands. Though some might regard the selection of features here as *ad hoc*, the need to provide a series of comparable presentations of meaning potential through which development may be traced seems to be fulfilled.

Halliday found the informative function late to appear, and so does Painter. Its genesis is in the mathetic function, but Painter finds evidence quite early in this phase for believing that it emerges too in pragmatic interchanges, the situation being usefully summarised on p. 136. This foreshadows the gradual erosion of the distinction between the two as the incipient lexico-grammatical systems emerge. The particular ways in which the vocabulary's deployment is extended and the arrangement of lexical strings evolves into syntagms are discussed in great detail for each six-week stage. Painter is properly cautious in handling the data which suggests the breakdown of the mathetic/pragmatic distinction, as in the discussion of emergent Mood and Transitivity features (pp. 167-180). Nevertheless in this same chapter she is able to produce a word-rank network (Fig. 8.7) displaying considerable linguistic maturity and in which few items are exclusive to one macrofunction.

A major problem now lies ahead, however: the transition from macrofunction to metafunction - Mood and Transitivity functions having begun to be

identifiable. How, in terms of the adult system, can these be seen to develop? Painter finds evidence of emerging speech function and Mood options, particularly in the use of want and the more adult-like use of the rising tone. There is evidence, too, of the interpretation of incomplete clauses as - in some circumstances - moodless, without the major/minor distinction being fully established. Where the need to express subject-function existed, the subject appeared, a step in the development of Transitivity. At discourse level Painter proposed a network which like the lexico-grammatical one for this stage offers a clear indication of development - in a metafunctional direction. The chapter, (9), in which these matters are argued is the most complicated in the book, but seems to me to be successful - in spite of the unsolved problems regarding Halliday's account of the adult system discussed earlier (on pp. 31-36) relating in general to his use of the terms "semantics"/"semantic system."

In a final chapter Painter summarises her findings on development and compares Hal's progress with that of Nigel, as recorded in Learning How to Mean. Both the developmental study and the comparison support the claim that the approach proposed by Halliday makes possible a systematic account of the passage from microfunction to metafunction, from the production of highly context-based individual vocalisations to a version of the mother tongue exhibiting to a degree the complexity of choice characteristics of adult languages. Into The Mother Tongue attests the view that an account of language development supported by a comprehensive linguistic theory will be superior to those which depend on psychological theory supported by eclectic borrowings from linguists and philosophers. Painter's book will be fruitful reading for all interested in language and language development.

Edinburgh

Threadgold, T., E.A. Grosz, G. Kress and M.A.K. Halliday (eds.)

Semiotics, Ideology, Language (Sydney Studies in Society and Culture n. 3)

Sydney, 1986 (Price: A\$15.00) ISBN 0 949 405 02 7 9 (paper)

Reviewed by DANIEL FLEMING

This is a collection of papers which have their origin in a 1984 conference of the Sydney Association for Studies in Society and Culture. The conference theme was "Semiotics: Language and Ideology". The front cover carries, one above the other in this order; the words "Ideology Semiotics Language". Are we to detect some slight confusion over whether to allow a certain privilege to one of the three terms and indeed over just how, if at all, their interrelationships should be signposted? There is a reassuring sense of directness about that original colon; around it hang a number of trusty connotations. That semiotics is here to be approached through the fruitful juxtaposition of the other two terms; that a project of a kind has been envisaged for the conference and hence for this book, a project centred on elaborating that colon's implications, its promise of a certain kind of informative relationship; that the three terms have sufficiently separable existence for the colon to array them as confidently as it does: such are the original connotations. Remove the element of punctuation and an immediately vertiginous slippage occurs. The three terms slide into uncertain relationships. That is, of course, the whole point and the seemingly callous abandonment of the lonely colon is to be welcomed. But did it happen so because the conference failed to verify the promise originally punctuated in? Or because the conference turned actively against the colon and drove it off, now unwanted, the misleading promise perhaps of a grand theory capable of arranging the polygamous marriage of the three terms once and for all?

I suspect the cover of this volume to be guilty of a kind of honesty. It puts its own emphasis squarely on the word "Language" and as such it speaks of the project that might have been. What emerge from this remarkably diverse selection of papers are the lineaments of a project yet to be given proper substance. Let me explain. Those who work in literary and cultural studies need to be told more about the advances in systemic-functional linguistics. Those who work in the latter field may have suspected as much for some considerable time; indeed they may have been surprised and even a little hurt that so few of the former have taken an interest in their work. Insofar as the word "Language" in the title of this book really means the efforts of the systemic-functional "school" it places the emphasis properly on the area where work needs to be done: call it bridge-building if you will. The reasons for this pressing need can be fairly simply stated, if at the risk of over-simplifying.

Meaning is the object. Where once it was pursued outside history as if always already given, as "truth", now the elaborateness of its construction is what fascinates. Where once it shimmered like a natural jewel it is now seen to be so many glittering components, cogs and wheels and networks of often bewildering complexity. That is the great defection, from the given to the made, from ideas deemed capable of floating free from history to the discursive practices (including linguistic forms) which structure everyday life for particular peoples at particular times. If that is a loss of faith, a secular reflection of what Don Cupitt has called "taking leave of God", then we can hardly be surprised in a century that has specialised in converting "asymmetrical power relations" into ultimate horrors. Therein lies the problem for work on language, on culture and ideology and on the semiotic processes

that are now recognised as the makers of meaning, socially, inside history. If linguistic forms structure discursive practices, if in turn discursive practices structure power relations and, therefore, relations of domination (and submission or resistance), how do we get from the "micro" level to the "macro"? How do we get from the particular linguistic form to socially-made meanings and contexts and to the "larger" historical forces that operate at that level?

It would be nice if we had a theory to get us from one level of analysis to the other. In her lengthy introduction of the volume at hand, Terry Threadgold of Sydney University comes clean: "Such a theory would be text-based, with its textual analysis based on the semantically organised functional grammar of Halliday" (p44). I don't buy that for a minute (and it's the objective of this review as a whole to indicate why) but I'm very glad it got so clearly said because it identifies a hope that, for the most part, skulks about on the edges of everything else in the book.

If we no longer believe that meaning is up there somewhere, waiting to be carved in stone (or some other medium) for delivery as "natural" knowledge to those incapable of making their own, then we have to work our way right through from the fine detail (like the colon with which this review began) to the overarching social situation, in the construction and constant reconstruction of which the small details are, in some sense, involved. We need a laboratory within which the overwhelming complexity of the objects studied can be made, for a time, more manageable. That laboratory is the text. On that most of the contributors to this collection appear to agree.

Margaret Clunies Ross examines thirteenth century Icelanders' subtle solutions to the situation, within a fundamentally oral culture, of having to balance a "legal" emphasis on "fair description" against the seductive powers of metaphor; solutions based on elaborate formal means of slandering others by accusing them of impossible acts which could, however, be "translated" as symbolic. So to accuse a man of being a woman translates into the implication that he has played the "woman's role" in homosexual relations. The more the accusation left to the imagination of the hearer the less likely were the then stringent laws against "exaggeration" to be effectively applied in that instance.

Anne Cranny-Francis sets out to establish that William Morris' News from Nowhere and other "utopian" texts "can contribute effectively to the critique of capitalist society and the formation of new, revolutionary, social theory" She does so by identifying a "reflexive" aspect of the text, a self-interrogation that lends credence to its imagining of the "utopian figure" because the latter is not presented as "natural" or "unproblematic". As a result what is offered is not a fantasy but a reasoned criticism of the nineteenth century society that renders the utopian vision an impossibility.

Anne Freadman aims to "re-do" structuralism as a set of controversies over key issues rather than "a homogeneous theoretical field identifiable by a few key terms". These controversies she anchors in Jakobson on language and Metz and Wollen on cinema, at the same time effecting a return to Peirce with some slightly surprising results: Peirce is discovered to be a kind of supplement to Saussure (in something like Derrida's sense of the term), inevitably occluding the Saussurean move from the representational to the systemic. "Natural knowledge", the humanist myth, slips in, as always, by a side door; by sliding in Peircean usages of certain terms to replace the more "radical" Saussurean usages (and, to make matters worse, it is always a very partial reading of Peirce that allows that supplementing to take place). Thus, "theoretical abstraction" is rendered more apparently humane; a process of which Ms. Freadman is (with a little help from Benveniste) justifiably suspicious.

Ruqaiya Hasan's focus is on mother/child talk, but, as Marx's name is mentioned three times in the first three lines, the perspective adopted is signposted as being clearly concerned with wider issues than such talk alone. Indeed, as "ideologies live through the common everyday actions - both verbal and non-verbal - of a host of social actors who are far from thinking consciously about it", the chosen focus begins to emerge as a crucial and (in this context) too often neglected area of investigation. With vivid transcriptions of talk, this is one of the most successful contributions to the volume; convincingly working from concrete examples to the "level" of ideology via the topic of "woman's work" and its distorted refraction through apparently innocent verbal exchanges (the "silly mummy" syndrome being a particularly startling example).

There then follow three articles on literature that, though interesting in themselves, add little to the sense of a collective project in evolution. Rosemary Huisman looks at what she enticingly describes as "the habits of Old English scholars" in a short article that traces some nineteenth century social changes which may have set the agenda for Old English scholarship into the present century. Alex Jones does one of those gymnastic attempts at constructing a diagram of meaning in (at least) four dimensions. By doing things like counting the occurrences of the word "blood" in 59 poems and then exhaustively tabulating the results by year, he begins to construct a diagram of "semantic space" for his chosen body of Australian poems. And John Lechte offers a thoroughly "post-structuralist" essay on polyphony via *The Brothers Karamazov*: the kind of essay that refuses to be other than playful as it juggles terms from linguistics and (Lacanian) psychoanalysis, leaving us with the feeling that we've slid down a rather slippery slope to the author's very slippery "conclusion": that meanings are always slippery.

Theo Van Leeuwen provides an analysis of a 1981 t.v. news item from Sydney's Channel 10, an analysis exemplary in its careful attention to detail, complete with frame stills and timings. What's particularly interesting is that the analysis is of both the unedited and the edited versions of the taped interview material, thereby opening up to examination the decision-making process and its broader implications. Van Leeuwen finds a drama in construction, with a hero, "baddies" and an imposed narrative shape: hardly revelations to those familiar with the field of media studies but it's useful to find the manufacture of a news story so well documented. The conclusion in this case is that "the item, in personalised and dramatised terms, defined the relation between the producer, the consumer and the State, and disseminated this definition to the consumer", implicitly emphasising the importance of t.v. news professionals as definers and disseminators.

In a paper that promises more than any of the others in the collection, with the possible exception of Hasan's, J.R. Martin examines in detail two "ecological" texts, articles on the culling/hunting of seals and kangaroos, and relates the language used to carefully modelled "ideological systems". The latter are based on left/right and antagonist/protagonist oppositions and follow a kind of tree structure of available "positions" within any particular "issue". The approach adopted is described as one of textual "pruning" - whatever language, register and genre cannot account for is assigned to the "level" of ideology.

Ian Reid develops an argument around the notion of an "exchange" through narratives, recalling Halliday's description of the text as a gift in a "highly coded form". With a nod in the direction of reader-response criticism, Reid offers some examples of how stories establish "narrational authority" by suppressing alternative "reading positions", constructing a kind of contract or binding exchange, but also of how a knowledge of the precise terms of the contract can lead to its "authority" being evaded or challenged.

Alan Rumsey describes in detail some aspects of the oratory recorded among the highland people of the Nebilyer Valley of New Guinea, identifying a

strategy of distraction by which potentially contentious features of social life (such as segmentary group organisation and exchange which constantly threatens to degenerate into conflict between individuals or their households) are subordinated within a style of speech-making "big man". This could function as a metaphor for the "single-minded" group and, therefore, have a directly ideological function, but Rumsey argues that it is more in the nature of a distraction, the occasion for oratory itself constituting an intergroup event while the subject of the speech-making shifts the location of the problem onto the individual level and off the social.

Finally, Terry Threadgold offers the most systematic application of Halliday's ideas to extended textual criticism; Donne's poetry is approached as "a specific instance of ideological practice". Starting from the premise that patterns of linguistic variation can be understood as "representing metaphorically the variation that characterises human cultures", Threadgold concentrates on two levels of encoding: the lexico-grammar and the "metagrammatical interpretation of meaning-choices in terms of a 'higher order social semiotic or discursive formations'". She finds convincing evidence of what has been called, elsewhere, Donne's "ideological dislocation" and traces its recognition and misrecognition through a variety of critical responses, employing a systemic-functional analysis of two poems to build up a picture of the semantic structure which allows this (in fact tightly constrained) variety. The process is too detailed to be properly reported here but is the most determined example in the book of how to move from lexico-grammar to the overarching "level" of ideology without the accompaniment of angrily grating gears. The basic interpretive move is to identify the procedures through which an "I" is foregrounded by the poems while at the same time the fleshing out of that "I" as male and empowered is disavowed: this interpretive "theme" can be worked "downwards" (into the wording of the poems) and "upwards" (into the "disrupted" social formations of writer or reader). The strands of "textual polyphony" can be, and are, traced in both directions.

Having worked one's way assiduously through such a variety of material, is any kind of summation feasible? A number of general observations do indeed suggest themselves. It is notable that the contributions which "feel" most successful in terms of their ability to move across the levels, from language to social and historical contexts, are the broadly anthropological ones. Whether focussed on familial talk or tribal story-telling, it is as if the "Lévi-Strausseau" moment of the structuralist enterprise has reasserted itself: it is undeniably easier to trace in the rituals of spoken language the marks of social organisation than to do so in the complex textual spaces of literature. And the "factual" texts (news, magazine articles) fall somewhere in between; the connections between "micro" and "macro" levels here being sketched in with rather broader strokes than the "anthropological" examples allow, and rather less sense of one level being "geared" firmly to the other. Literature remains the real challenge to the promise of a "theory" based on systemic-functional linguistics which would be able to translate one level into another, to move readily and informatively through phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax to the level of social organisation and the effects of power in the world. One consequence of the attempt to realise this ambition is often an unevenness in the sophistication of analysis across the identified levels. Martin (second only to Threadgold) is one of the most determined pursuers of this goal and, therefore, among those most guilty of uneven analysis: his immensely thorough dismantling of two texts is set against an analysis of social forces that is too schematic, too dependent on a diagram of available positions within an "issue". There's much more to the overarching social and historical reality than a collection of "issues" and a text has its "social origin", as Martin calls it, in very much more than a matrix of "opposing political positions". By choosing two particularly simple articles on ecology, Martin has made things

too easy for himself; few other texts could be anchored so neatly in polar and, in each case, univocal political positions (with the obvious exception of party-political speeches).

So it is in the notion of "polyphony" that most of the contributors concerned with literature take refuge. The many voices that ask to be heard in a literary text (as opposed to the less apparently cacophonous sound of a mother talking to a child or a tribal leader talking "ritually" in public) offer a kind of explanation of the many directions that the interpretive activity has to go in if it hopes to relate the word to the world, linguistic form to ideological form. It is no longer possible to think, as Martin does, of levels that "hook up...neatly". Polyphony means anything but neatness.

What then are we to do with heteroglot linguistic diversities as they criss-cross a literary text? One project is descriptive (see Jones here); another is celebratory (see Lechte's "deconstructionist" surrender to the vertigo of "heterogeneity" and endless instabilities); yet another is critical (Cranny-Francis, Threadgold). The critical response to polyglossia allows the latter to carry traces of the differentiation characteristic of advanced social formations (expanded reproduction, class division...) and finds, as if in various "translations", the perpetual conflict of centre and periphery, of authority and resistance, now less dependent on fixed categories and realized instead in the processes of the centripetal and the centrifugal, of the constant dialogue between the forces that would establish authority and those that would challenge it.

This last deliberately echoes the terminology of Ian Reid's paper, "The Social Semiotics of Narrative Exchanges", which I would finally point to as by far the most interesting thing in the book. Instead of looking at the elements of lexis, syntax or social structure, we should be attending to the processes that run through these supposedly elementary facts: that's where we will find mechanisms which could allow interpretive translations from one level into another. Reid examines the processes available to certain texts for "transacting their semantic business". Whether one is looking at the detailed wording of such a transaction, or the narrative roles which mediate between transactors, or the text itself within socio-economic transactions, or any of the intervening "levels", it is the processes rather than the constituent elements that promise to allow the ambitions of a critical sociolinguistics some hope of success. Outwith Reid's contribution, this collection adds little to our understanding of such processes. It leaves instead the feeling that systemic linguistics would do better to "confine" itself to the descriptive phase, to the first "horizon" of textual space, leaving the other horizons to other approaches (such as those of Fredric Jameson, who has addressed the problem of the interchange between dynamic heterogeneous systems of textual and social levels with a good deal more success than this volume can manage: see in particular *The Political Unconscious*, Methuen, London 1981). We probably don't need another "theory" with claims of being able to subsume all other approaches. We probably do need a breadth of interpretive approaches which admit own inevitable polyphony.

What makes systemic linguistics a strong candidate for a place among these approaches is its emphasis on structure as the structuring of choice: in short, its inbuilt sensitivity to process, to change, and therefore to history.

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Working Papers in Linguistics. University of Sydney. No. 1 Writing Project, Report 1980 and No. 2 Writing Project Report 1981 (J.R. Martin and Joan Rothery).

Reviewed by MARY ANN EILER¹
INTRODUCTION

English education has historically been somewhat myopic and research in composition, though often elaborate, has seldom focused on the student writer attempting to mean in various contexts, evaluated for product, and subject to a hidden curriculum. Martin and Rothery reverse this trend by including the writer and graphically illustrating the features of registers. In the roles of "a teacher interested in linguistics" and "a linguist interested in education," they also reverse an academic tradition that, in its distance from the real classroom, often compounded rather than facilitated the teacher's task.

The authors' objectives consist of two phases: (1) to analyze student writing from late primary through secondary school, and (2) to look at implications such analyses have for the teaching of writing so that, over the long term, research might "quantify in a probabilistic way...the relation between genre and words and structures." Volume I contains a narrative of vicarious experience written by a boy in Year 6 of Primary School and an expository essay of literary criticism on the Canterbury tales, by a girl in Year 11 of Secondary School. Rothery examines the former for experiential meanings in clauses, the schematic structure of a story, cohesive relations, and thematic choices. Martin analyzes the expository essay for lexical cohesion, schematic structure, conjunction and theme. The purpose in both cases is to reflect "demands narrative and exposition place on students."

Rothery observes of writing instruction that "although students are encouraged to undertake a range of written genres, little is known about the course of writing development." She tells us that when asked what constitutes good writing, teachers typically reply "Good ideas and good expression," thus reacting to the FIELD of a text and implying that deficiencies could be remedied in phrase-sentence structural approaches that "were usually isolated from a text of any kind." As teacher and linguist, I, too have encountered teacher observations that demonstrated little sensitivity to the complexities of register and would invariably find myself countering laments that "Susie can't write" with "Write what? A sentence? A paragraph? A poem? etc."

The "fault" in such scenarios, at least in American education, is/was not that of the teacher alone but equally that of textbooks endorsed by prominent academicians who, as Rothery observes of teachers, "needed to draw on some explicit language knowledge" but did not. Conspicuously absent from language research of the 60's and 70's that gave rise to "The child develops language through using language," as Rothery argues, was an appreciation for register-specific tasks. Architects of curriculum and textbook writers seldom asked crucial questions like "How far is the text from the activity it describes?" and "How far removed are speaker and listener, thus neglecting the variables of TENOR and MODE"

With FIELD, TENOR and MODE Rothery's analysis relates register to lexico-grammar and text to the linguistic system unlike too many studies still prevalent at least in the U.S. where, for example, cohesion markers are often counted apart from any context or the larger linguistic system. Instead, Rothery rightly contends that "a systemic description is a paradigmatic one" that allows for "comparing texts within the same genre and for comparing texts

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from different genres." It is just such a model that is so sorely needed in the "heuristics" of text production.

Narrative of Vicarious Experience

Although vicarious narrative -- The Spaceship Story -- demonstrates a range of process types, Rothery points out that in the narratives of less able writers, material process clauses were more prevalent. She speculates that "choice of Process types...may be important in considering development in this type of narrative writing." In my own research, the proportion of material clauses in expository texts about literature, the integration and placement of these clauses in the schematic structure (1) determined successful and non-successful texts, and (2) clarified developmental stages in register production.

Schematic structure, Rothery argues, requires consideration of EXPERIENTIAL HARMONY (the consistent relationship between the characters' participant roles and processes in which they are involved) and SEQUENTIAL HARMONY (the choice of sequences of processes to the end point of the structure). She notes that the spaceship text includes a rapid succession of events without development. That "this type of progression may be typical of a certain stage of writing development" is substantiated by my own students' ability (as late as the college level) to produce successful expository statements but their inability, often, to sustain the logic of an extended exposition.

Rothery demonstrates that REFERENCE cohesion makes demands on the writer that face-to-face oral interaction does not. The following sentence written by a secondary level student in her cohort indeed involves the kind of implicature that is often viewed as a mistake: // Firstly we will look at the League of Nations. The Covenant was signed April, 1919...// The student is quite right in arguing as she does that "The teacher will know what I am writing about" for so arguing demonstrates a keen sense of the interpersonal role relationship with her audience. The question actually is not just one of audience but also one of permitted degrees of indirect reference and the given-new contract for various registers.

In her treatment of CONJUNCTION, Rothery focuses on External relations (propositions about the world) and Internal relations (rhetorical connections in discourse). Because of the dominance of External conjunctions in the spaceship story "this would seem to be a distinguishing feature of narrative." The occurrence of only two Internal relations, however, motivates the speculation that "these kinds of relations" may be "used more frequently in narratives of older, more mature writers" and that if such indeed is so, "then an important similarity would be established between narrative and expository writing. One might also add that establishing potential relationships in genres is a necessary step in planning a phased curriculum.

In her discussion of THEME, Rothery analyzes teacher comments that urge students to vary sentence beginnings. She concludes that "such remarks are focused at the level of the individual sentence or clause" and "do not take account of the development of the text overall." Although this may be so, teacher comments deserve further exploration. Research needs to test whether teachers intuitively may indeed be responding to the features of genre. If a teacher urges a student to avoid beginning each sentence with "the character did this or that" or to break the monotony of a strict temporal sequence, he may be suggesting the interplay of options that exists in successful, mature realizations of a given register variety.

Rothery analyzes LEXICAL cohesion from the perspective of Field. There is a "space invasion" string, a "crash" string, and "injury and recovery" string, etc. and the "earth and sky" string, which runs through the entire text, "realizes the setting of the narrative." The proportions and lexical

composition of strings also have important implications for the development of expository texts where Field is that of narrative.

Rothery presents the PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS of her research as follows: (1) register is central in planning for language development, (2) language development should be systematically related to the child's language use, (3) report and narrative of personal experience are common to speech and writing, (4) writing excludes the interactive production of text in the child's oral language development, (5) a child's experiential distance from the event complicates the development of writing, and (6) the schematic structures of exposition and vicarious narrative should be introduced in the classroom in appropriate ways.

She encourages teachers to allow children to re-tell their stories in pairs or groups so that guidelines of "where the child is at" in story telling can be provided. Her observation that "ideally teachers should be able to 'tune in' in this way while listening to children in all kinds of language situations echoes my own experiences with adolescents who engaged in a synoptic re-telling of the literary text as a preliminary to developing their expository texts. Allusions to character, events in the plot or aspects of the central idea became dominant in reference and lexical chains that "configured" the secondary text.

Finally, Rothery urges teachers (1) to plan the writing situation and (2) to contrast situations for "the kinds of texts they will lead to" or "the particular feature of a text they wish to influence." She concludes by arguing that it is essential for planning that teachers evaluate texts for a writer's strengths and weaknesses within and across genres. One might add that such an evaluation is crucial in phasing curriculum for students at various ability levels.

Exposition: Literary Criticism

Before analyzing the essay question response on Chaucer's description of the Prioress, Martin observes that for many teachers "no recognition is given to the fact that language exists and is used to shape meanings in texts that succeed in communication" and that "many writing teachers...view the expression of 'feeling, not approximation to a genre appropriate to a particular context', as the crucial factor in student writing.

Such statements invite rebuttals that might include (a) an exoneration of the journal as a mitigator of writing anxiety and (b) the argument that early demand for genre specifications may stifle the free expression of ideas and result in artificial and even garbled syntax. The question is at what point should genre features be introduced and demanded. A "premature" adherence to genre might result in expository "shells" where cohesive markers delineate the 5-paragraph format void of style or substance as was often the case with my ESL students. Many English speaking students procrusteanly adhere to rhetorical form, complaining that "it is hard for me to say what I really want to the way the book wants me to."

Martin's analysis of LEXICAL COHESION reveals a clustering by paragraph as seen in paragraph 1's concern with the nun's appearance, paragraph 2's with her singing, etc. while strings of literary criticism tend to run throughout until the conclusion where all the text's strings meet. Although Martin does not comment further the question of a proportionate balance between various Fields displayed in the strings - literary criticism, what Chaucer does, the nun's appearance -- might serve as a diagnostic tool to monitor register development. For example, the string "what Chaucer does" ("use, create, describe") represents a Tenor role that is slowly cultivated and with my own students did not appear proportionately integrated with other Fields in the early phases of register development.

Martin's treatment of schematic structure underscores the intricacy of literary analysis. He analyzes the Introduction of 6 arguments by noting that the argument that refers to the nun is not connected to a literary device and that the argument that refers to the language of poetry does not consider what aspect the rhythm is mocking. He concludes that the arguments lack "the balanced exemplification needed to support the thesis."

In his discussion of the interaction of lexical cohesion and schematic structure he views the "richness of language" as taught in secondary school as "trivialized into a list of literary devices which are simply the generic icing on an intriguingly more sophisticated cake." The interaction of meta-language of literary criticism with cogent observations about the literature is a difficult synthesis for even gifted adolescents. It is no surprise that Martin's student would refer in her conclusion to character traits Chaucer makes without mentioning the language of poetry. To her credit, it is remarkable that she does so infrequently. It is a bit too harsh, it seems, to contend that literary devices are presented as nothing more than a generic icing.

For CONJUNCTION, he observes that although "conjunction can be fairly forwardly analyzed in a "good essay"...in "poor writing the links are often opaque as to be uninterpretable" and that lexical cohesion is more easily analyzed in a poor essay than a good one. Lexical cohesion IS more complex in its associations in good writing. In my own research, lexical items often entailed multiple resolutions where cohesive force and distance variables complicated the analysis.

Although in his treatment of THEME Martin argues that cautions against the passive reflect "complete ignorance of the function of this text forming resource," good teachers have always recognized its rhetorical purpose as have textbooks that encourage its use "when an actor is unknown or unimportant" or "when the expression that would be the object...needs emphasis or needs to be in the subject slot to improve continuity."

Martin observes that nearly half of the topical themes in the essay refer to Chaucer and that this may reflect the student's familiarity with narrative where persons function as a method of story development. He encourages a more "appropriate alternative" namely literary criticism. Lexical items like plot, theme, character, etc., however, one might add, form an inordinately large corpus of lexical ties in early stages of many students' essays, particularly those of less able writers for whom the meta-linguistic set becomes a crutch in lexical bonding and can make for monotonous and unsuccessful texts. Martin's pedagogical implications follow:

- literary criticism is probably the most sophisticated type of exposition
- genres entail dramatic differences in discourse structure
- students recognize genre as needed in their texts and teachers demand an approximation to genre whether or not they provide models
- "learning through language" argues for "a certain convergence between thematic narrative and exposition while ignoring the differences"

Children are expected to master literary criticism before less demanding expository genres are internalized, according to Martin. It might also be added that since literary criticism involves a previous text, critical reading is an added and key variable in successful text production and furthers the argument for a developmental typology of written genres. Finally, if teachers need to know discourse structure, as Martin contends, so, too, do linguists and English educators at all academic levels need to get out of the "closet" and observe children writing and even on occasion teach them if they are to appreciate the full array of cognitive, environmental and behavioral variables that impact on the production of texts.

Martin's comments that "it was teachers, not linguists, who expelled traditional grammar as valueless" requires some tempering, at least for the U.S. Veteran teachers here still decry the "New English" forced on them by publishers, linguists and "would-be linguists" in English education. Contrary to the contention that "linguistics was not brought in to fill the vacuum created by removing traditional prescriptive grammar," it was precisely the "linguistic revolution" vis a vis Paul Roberts, Jacobs and Rosenbaum, Harcourt Brace, and others in all camps -- structural, tagmemic. - that ousted the traditionalists to the enduring distrust of any brand of linguistics among many classroom teachers.

Ontogenesis of Genres

In Writing Project 2 Martin and Rothery focus on an ontogenesis of genres and observe that (1) "write is an intransitive verb in education," (2) genre has been "trivialized" in public education, and (3) teachers expect students to master genres but do so in evaluations rather than in instruction. The authors establish a typology of written texts from Infants school to late Secondary School that includes recounts, narratives, thematic narratives, report writing, exposition, and literary criticism. Their data indicates that (1) narrative strands are the most popular genres in infants and primary school, and (2) a hidden curriculum exists as early as primary school.

They note that not only does speech and writing differ in medium but significantly in personal tenor in infants school in the avoidance of self-expression in the latter, thus underscoring "one of the great ironies of the Brittonites" emphasis on self-expression in writing." Further, among the "morass of contradictions" that prevails is the fact that "genres as different as Observation/Comment, Recount, and Report are all referenced...by the same apparent generic term: story."

The authors sound a more disputable note, however, in contending that "social class determines a child's success in learning to write or not." My own experience as a teacher for almost two decades in one of Chicago's most prestigious suburbs with children of the affluent and professional upper middle class challenges that conclusion. Even academically talented children in a homogeneous and privileged social environment (linguistic and other) do not demonstrate the same levels of writing proficiency across genres.

The authors then present their findings for each genre analyzed:

A. Characteristics of Observation/Comment include: (1) a dominance of mental and relational clauses (2) no clear beginning, middle, end (3) a strong "attitudinal" flavor in lexical strings (4) exophoric reference to the writer (largely thematic), and (5) a conspicuous absence of conjunction.

Such data, if extended and quantified, would, as Martin and Rothery argue, linguistically define expressive writing, and, it seems to me, also dispel the contention that such writing underlies all other genres.

B. Recount includes: (1) nearly 50 percent material clauses (2) dominance of behavioral processes with a focus on events in the re-orientation (3) absence of attitudinal strings (4) exophoric reference to the writer and his class (thematic), and (5) successive temporal conjunctives.

C. Report includes: (1) absence of attitudinal strings but a specialized taxonomic vocabulary organization - "nocturnal animal, moused ear bats" etc. (2) dominance of endophoric reference (3) decentered theme - events

and things not the writer, and (4) of 6 clauses, 3 relational, 2 behavioral, 1 material.

Martin and Rothery explain that "when cognitive psychologists refer to Reports as "abstract" and involving "generalization" they are in fact describing in very informal terms the experiential clause structure of this genre."

D. Narrative includes: (1) majority of material clauses (2) schematic structure of Orientation, Complication, Resolution, and Coda based on an unusual sequence of events (3) endophoric reference to topic, demonstrating context independency (4) dominance of lexical collocation versus taxonomy (5) exclusion of writer in dominant theme, and (6) dominance of temporal conjunctions.

Martin and Rothery observe that "the relation between words and structures is...a question of tendencies, not of rules." They are sensitive to the herculean effort involved in thus establishing a descriptive methodology of genres and call their own work "guidelines for further research rather than categorical facts." They also decry any suggestion that teachers present as lessons the linguistic analysis of the project.

SUMMARY

Martin and Rothery conclude by commenting on the limitations inherent in Donald Grave's writing process approach³ and argue instead for examining texts in relation to (1) the system of language from which they derive, and (2) the social context or register of the writing. They should be applauded for the rich beginning the Writing Project represents toward eliminating the hidden curriculum and establishing a linguistically explicit ontogenesis of genres. One can only hope that this effort and others like it will not fall on deaf ears among policy makers and holders of the purse in administration circles. The authors do much to re-instate the good name of linguistics and re-open a dialogue between Departments of Linguistics, English, and Education towards a mutual respect among professionals engaged in teaching young people how to write. Their work should be required reading in the councils of English teachers everywhere.

Chicago, Illinois

1. All reference in the review to my own research are based on all phases of my data collection for the following: Eiler, Mary Ann. "Meaning and Choice in Writing about literature". In Developmental Issues in Discourse, edited by Jonathon Fine and Roy O. Freedle, Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1983. (This is a condensed version of the full dissertation.)
2. "Robert M. Gorrell and Mabel M. Brown. "The Passive." Chapter 22 in Writing and Language 1. Domains in Language and Composition. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., New York, 1972.
3. The authors also discuss a controversy in New South Wales involving approaches to writing instruction that is not included in this review.

Reviewed by ROBIN WILLIAMS

The boundaries which demarcate the disciplines of human sciences from one another have always been provisional, contested, and permeable. For reasons that are not wholly clear, contemporary intellectual life is much exercised by this fact, indeed, a good deal of what seems vital in current sociology, linguistics, politics, anthropology, history and philosophy, reinforces the sense of a refiguration of the study of individual and collective life. Geertz's (1983) observation of the 'genre blurring' of contemporary social analysis, as a result of which it becomes increasingly difficult to assign particular texts to individual disciplines, is only one of several efforts to explore the shape and consequences of this development. Both the book under review, and this review itself are examples of such genre blurring. The topic of the book is the structure of social interaction - traditionally constituted as a sociological phenomenon, and the author's resources are those of linguistics. I write as a sociologist with an interest in talk considered as a type of social action. While we might want to know different things, and we might think we can come to know them in different ways, our differences as well as our similarities could prove productive.

Ventola's book is published in a series - the Open Linguistics Series - that pledges allegiance to current principles of interdisciplinary exploration. In reviewing her work I hope to raise some issues concerning the ambitions and achievements such principles, not in general and abstract terms, but more specifically and concretely, as they are applied to the study of a particular recurrent type of social interaction.

The book is an attempt to describe and analyze the semiotics of 'service encounters', what Goffman (1972) has called 'one of the most fundamental organizational devices of public order'. Ventola avoids (evades?) providing a provisional definition of this term, assuming perhaps that commonsense knowledge will be sufficiently consensual to carry readers through the opening stages of her argument. Those less confident than her might find Merritt's (1976, p. 321) definition both helpful and adequate: [a service encounter is] 'an instance of face to face interaction between a server who is "officially posted" in some service area and a customer who is present in that service area, that interaction being oriented to the satisfaction of the customer's presumed desire for some service and the server's obligation to provide that service'.

Ventola carried out a comparative analysis of such service encounters in several cultural contexts - Australia, England and Finland - but the analysis as a whole awaits completion, and the book under review contains only Australian material. Tape recorded data were collected from three service locations (a post office, a gift shop and a travel agency) over a period of nine days. Texts of four service encounters from each of the three settings form the primary data set analysis.

Early in the book, she justifies her interest in service encounters by reference to three matters: a concern with everyday activities likely to be of practical relevance to non-native actors (she has a specific interest in foreign language learning and teaching); the supposed uniformity of service encounters; their public, and hence easily recordable nature. Only in the book's final paragraph does she allude to a more compelling and less parochial reason for the study of this interactional form, the reason that, as it

happens, has guided most of the sociological work on this topic: the centrality of the 'service encounter' to the working of the interaction order. Not only Goffman has asserted such a claim, the work of Merritt (1976), Davis (1959), Spradley and Mann (1975) and others also embody the same assertion based on observations of the character of modern public life. Indeed, the very centrality of this form, and the knowledge of its organization expected of competent members of a society has made possible the deployment of the concept of the service encounter as a natural metaphor in sociology in order to illuminate features of settings in which 'service' is normally understood very differently (see for example, Goffman 1961).

Before raising some issues concerning the relationship between linguistic and sociological approaches to this issue, it is necessary to describe Ventola's work in greater detail. The underlying aim of her work is the construction of 'situational grammars', defined by her as 'how native speakers use language for communication when contextual factors and demands are also taken into consideration' (page 234). The term 'situational grammar' seems an extension and specification of Halliday's term 'ethnographic grammar', in which the change of modifier draws as much attention as possible to Ventola's concern with the contextual determination of linguistic behaviour. The aim seems to be to identify the linguistic and behavioural rules and categorizations constitutive of commonly recognized types of social situations.

Ventola's descriptions of the situational grammar of service encounters is organized by reference to a number of concepts drawn from the repertoire of systemic linguistics, especially the 'connotative semantics' of J.R. Martin. Readers of this journal will have to bear with me as I cautiously describe these concepts, doing so for the sake of clarity in my own mind rather than presuming to do so on their behalf. The most inclusive concept is that of 'genre'. Paraphrasing Martin, genre refers to the verbal strategies by which members of a culture get things done. Essential to the notion is some sense of a cohesion or organization which structures separable verbal activities, and which by its shape and content is able to be differentiated from other such genres. For Ventola, genre refers to '...goal oriented, both verbally and non-verbally realized semiotic systems or social processes which are established and maintained within a society and which, thus, comprise the culture of a society' (Page 61). She is of course adding here to Martin's more exclusively linguistic characterization of genre, even though it is noticeable in the book that she is not able to develop any convincing way of representing such non-verbal processes. Nevertheless, her assertion that 'genres are presented as recognizable, organized social activities/processes which make up our culture' is one which resonates with attempts in sociology to find a terminology flexible and powerful enough to permit the identification, description and analysis of social forms from Simmel onwards. 'Basic social processes', 'frames', 'situational definitions', 'situational particulars', 'generic social contexts', 'basic rules' and 'contextual particulars', are some of many examples (see Schwartz & Jacobs (1979) for a review) of many of these formalist concepts and their associated programmes in microsociology.

As a semiotic abstraction, argues Ventola, genre determines - in the sense of acting as a preferential organizing principle for - the linguistic patterns visible in occasions of verbal interaction. This determination is mediated through the plane of register. For Halliday, genre and register seemed to be largely interchangeable terms, both serving to indicate cohesion, while for Ventola, and for connotative semantics in general, genre is seen as a higher level of semantic organization than register, and to determine register choice. Thus the register elements of field, mode and tenor are the realisation of specific genre configurations. In turn, the register level

determines structures on the linguistic plane. The bulk of the book deals with this structure of determinations as potentially visible in only one stratum of language - that of discourse.

Ventola's empirical research is therefore concerned to do two things: first, to define the nature of the elements and organization of the service genre; second, to determine the extent to which the hypothetical generic organization of service encounters is actually realized in patterns of conversational structure, lexical cohesion, reference and conjunction observed in the transcriptions of the service encounters that comprise her data.

In the last section of chapter three, Ventola lists the nine elements that constitute the ideal-typical service genre. These are listed, and their functions are described as follows: Greeting (phatic); Attendance allocation (organization of proximity); Service bid (offer of service); Service (needs and their provision); Resolution (decision to buy, not to buy); Goods handover (exchange of goods); Payment (exchange of money); Closing (appreciation of service); Goodbye (phatic). The character of each of these elements needs no further elaboration - I assume that they may be guessed at on the basis of shared cultural knowledge. The ordering given above is the canonical sequence, though the elements need not necessarily occur in that order, nor need they all be present for the genre network to be operative. Ventola's conceptualization allows for a good deal of 'realisational diversity', both in terms of the absence of items, and in their ordering. She seems to express no clear view on the minimum structural elements necessary for the genre to be declared present preferring to concentrate effort on the issue of the sequential organization of potentially present elements. She argues for the representation of this sequential organization of elements by the use of a flowchart, in the course of doing so, rejecting as unsatisfactory two previous modes of representation - as a linear sequence, and as a network. It is certainly true that a sense of the unfolding dynamic of any encounter seems best handled by a representation that permits the maximum variability in sequential ordering, the insertion of elements from other genres and the possibility for the expansion, contraction, and even absence of the nine generic elements which Ventola argues to be constitutive of the service genre. Any analyst hoping to include both the compressed 'Two please' occurring as the only spoken utterance in a cinema queue service encounter and the extended dialogue between servers and customers in a small village grocery store as instances of the same genre will be well advised to choose the most flexible representational format available.

Having established the parameters of the genre - a largely definitional enterprise - the more difficult task Ventola undertakes is that of relating genre structure to patterns of linguistic phenomena present in the data transcripts. Four aspects are given detailed treatment: conversation structure; lexical cohesion; reference; and conjunction and boundary marking.

Here the work is organized first by looking at the presence of each type of organization found in the overall collection of texts, then in a final chapter by looking in detail at three texts to see the interrelationships between the elements already described.

The results are perhaps a little disappointing for those who were hoping for a high degree of genre-related coherence to be exhibited in each of these four discourse systems. In the case of conversation structure, she argues that the same basic patterns of conversational structure are found in most of the service encounters collected, although there seems to be considerable variability in the degree to which clear and unambiguous placement of specific conversational exchanges can be made to each of the generic elements as well as additional difficulty concerning the boundaries between one element and another. The opening and closing stages also give Ventola some interpretative

difficulty, forcing her to argue that although they are often present, they are there because of reasons un-connected with the customer server roles. The looseness of fit or 'realisation' that Ventola notes in the case of conversation structure is also found in relation to each of the other discourse elements. Her response to the relative fuzziness of the realization of genre structure in discourse systems is rather different from mine, and it may be that in considering this issue, we will come to underlying differences in the linguistic and sociological approaches to the study of social interaction.

It is Ventola's hope that methodological improvements will make possible the discovery of those connections between genre and linguistic patterns that remain currently invisible. The assumption then is that patterns do exist that remain to be discovered. Behind this is a further assumption of course, that the gearing of contexts and utterance is a perceivably close one, for after all, the aim of the book is 'to achieve an understanding of the organization of our everyday social encounters by analyzing the language used in these situations' (page 6). Here, it seems to me that linguistics may be being asked to offer more support for a sociological venture than it may have the strength to bear.

Let me suggest at least two reasons why the achievements that Ventola hopes for may prove limited ones. The first relates to the notion of the service encounter itself. One of its essential features as defined in the current work is that the participants adopt and maintain clear, definite, and circumscribed role prescriptions - those of server and customer. While such an assumption might suffice for linguistic analysis, it proves a weak one in handling the empirical detail of participation in real encounters. Remove this oversimplification, and linguistic and non-linguistic actions will be seen to exhibit the attentiveness of participants to a greater complexity of participation possibilities than such a prototypical specification imagines. Levinson (1988) has pointed to the weakness of traditional descriptions of encounters in handling the issue of participant role, recommending a closer look at Goffman's categories of participation, especially those discussed in his work on 'footing' (in Goffman 1981). The details of that need not concern us here, but the issues that need to be dealt with can perhaps be guessed at by considering the following service encounter; two people enter a newspaper shop for their morning newspaper, the second known to the server, the first not. Even though the unknown person is second in line, the server may simultaneously ask the second, unknown customer what paper she wants, while taking the newspaper known to be wanted by the other person, giving it to her, and taking the proffered money, while all the while listening to the other customer's request, reaching for her paper and providing passing greetings and goodbyes to the known customer.

The second issue concerns the extent to which we may legitimately expect a correspondence between the structure of social interaction and the structure of speech. This point is acknowledged by Ventola, but I am not sure she absorbs it with sufficient seriousness. The nature and organization of elements in the interaction order need not necessarily have any linguistic counterparts or equivalences. This is so, not because actions performed in the course of such encounters take the place of words; rather it is because encounters are not best understood by thinking of them as communicative in character, and the idea of communication may be of less help in the study of interactional structure and dynamics than might be supposed. Such structures and dynamics are as much determined by participants' attention to principles of competence and propriety as they are by their attention to principles of communication. I do not mean that participants in encounters can dispense with