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news views NETWORK 17 10 '91

and reviews in systemic linguistics and related areas

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FROM THE EDITORS' DESK

We are now approaching the end of our three year term as co-editors of NETWORK. The next issue will be our last, and a new editor (or editors) will be chosen next summer at the business meeting of the Macquarie International Systemic Functional Congress. While the changes in the world of Systemic Linguistics have not been as astonishing as those in the world at large during this period, they have been dramatic. The workshops, conferences, and summer schools on four continents many of which are reported in this issue are a sign of healthy and diversified growth.

These continuing developments make it all the more important that there be a NETWORK to keep the systemic community informed about what is going on. They also make the editorial work easier, since organizers and participants of conferences are eager to share their knowledge and experiences. We want to encourage you to think seriously about taking on editing NETWORK. It is not a big job. We have been operating at a very basic level, with a bank account, a computerized record of subscribers, a copy machine, a post office, an electronic mail connection, and an ability to cut and paste. Managing editor, Nan, will pass on a subscription list in apple pie order; Peter and Jim are happy to dispense free advice, Martin Davies will continue as book review editor/archivist, and the International Systemic Congress Committee continues to provide area representatives whose job descriptions include submitting copy to NETWORK.

In this issue you will find NEWS of the Sydney Congress and publication NEWS from Helsinki and Sterling. There is also extensive NEWS from two Congress Committee members from Europe and Africa. There are REVIEWS of meetings from Glendon, Nottingham, Hangzhou, Beijing and Suzhou. as well as REVIEWS of books from Tench, Corbett, Bex and Ventola. Reports on work in progress come from Sinclair, Hasan and McDonald. The ISSUES we discuss in Volume 17 are theoretical with contributions from Matthiessen, Fawcett, Butler, Parsons, Tench and Anderson.

Finally, please look at the mailing label on the envelope. For some of you, the date 10,1991 appears under your name. This means that your NETWORK subscription has expired, and unless you pay us, this is your last NETWORK. Please resubscribe while you are thinking of it. Also, please send us something for NETWORK NEWS, while you are at it.

James D. Benson
Peter H. Fries

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NEXT INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMIC CONGRESS NEWS

ISC92

The 19th International Systemic Congress will be held from 13-18 July 1992 at Macquarie University.

Daytime sessions will be devoted to plenary and section papers, with the Wednesday set aside for workshops or sightseeing.

Evening sessions will be devoted to panels, and to presentations about the semiotics of theatre and music which will include an element of performance.

A second brochure, with accommodation and registration information, will be distributed by the middle of November 1991.

Please send your abstracts to:

Rhondda Fahey
School of English and Linguistics
Macquarie University
NSW 2109
Australia
Fax No: (061 intl.)(02 natl.)805 8240
E-mail: isc92@srsuna.shlrc.mq.oz.au

by February, 1st, 1992.

- Abstracts should be camera ready and include a heading with: the title of the paper, and name(s) of the author(s), together with the name of the institution(s) to which the author(s) are attached, e.g. "Macquarie University".
- Abstracts should not exceed one A4 page. This includes references.

Please use wide margins - minimally 3 cm left and right, and minimally 4 cm at top and bottom.

All papers will be given a 40 minute time slot.

Please indicate if you need less time or more.

With your abstract please send us also a separate sheet with the following information:

- your name, the title of your paper, and the address to which we should send out reply.
- The title and the brief description of any workshop you would like to offer.
- An indication of the type of workshop(s) you would like to participate in. (We will use this information to try and determine what workshops are likely to attract sufficient participants to be viable).
- Any equipment (projectors, audio or video replay facilities, etc.) you will need for your paper and/or workshop.
- Whether or not you require early acceptance for funding purposes.

UPCOMING MEETINGS

October 4-6, 1991. East Lansing, Michigan, USA. Theory Construction and Methodology in SLA. Inquiries: Alan Beretta/Susan Gass, Department of English, Michigan State University, 201 Morrill Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824 USA. E-mail: 21003smg@MSU or 21910mgr@MSU.

October 18-20, 1991. Boston University Conference on Language Development, 16'th. Boston, MA. Abstract deadline: Postmarked 1 May, 1991. Contact: Conference on Language Development, Boston University, 138 Mountfort St. Boston, MA, 02215. Phone 617-353-3085. e-mail: langconf@bu-mfl.bu.edu

November 2-4, 1991.17'th Annual Conference on Teaching/Learning. Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT). Portopia Convention Center, Kobe, Japan. Contact: JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-Agaru, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel: 0755-361-5428. Fax: 075-361-5429.

November 22-27, 1991. National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE). 81'st annual convention. Seattle, Washington. For information: NCTE, 1111 Kenyon Rd. Urbana IL, 61801, USA. Tel: 217-328-3870.

1992

January 3-9, 1992. Barcelona, Spain. Twenty-sixth International Conference of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL). Inquiries: IATEFL, Mrs. Julia Norcott, 3 Kingsdown Chambers, Kingsdown Park, Tankerton, Whitstable, Kent CT5 2DJ, United Kingdom.

February 14-16, 1992. Multicultural Education for the 21st Century, Orlando, Florida, USA. Contact: Alfread Mouton, NAME Proposal Coordinator, Division of Basic Studies, McNeese State University, Lake Charles, LA, 70609.

February 28-March 2, 1992. American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL). Seattle, Washington. Contact: Sandra Savignon, 2090 FLB, University of Illinois, 707 S. Mathews, Urbana, IL, 61801.USA. Fax: (217) 224-2223. E-mail: s-savignon@uiuc.edu

March 3-7, 1992. Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Vancouver, Canada. For information: TESOL Central Office, 1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, VA, 22314. Tel: 703-836-0074, Fax: 703-836-7864

March 20-22, 1992. BAAL Seminar on Forensic Linguistics. Limited to 40 participants. Contact: Malcolm Coulthard, Department of English, University of Birmingham, PO Box 363, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B.S ... England. Tel: (021) 414 - 5687. Fax: (021) 414 5668.

April 1-3, 1992. Conference on Applied Natural Language Processing, Trento, Italy. Contact: Lyn Bates, BBN Systems, 10 Moulton St. Cambridge, MA. 02238. USA.

April 2-4, 1992. Socio-linguistics Symposium 9. University of Reading, England. Contact: Paul Kerswill, Department of Linguistic Science (Fax: 0734-753 365) or Eddie Williams,Centre for Applied Language Studies (Fax: 0734-756 506), University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, RG6 2AA, ENGLAND.

April 2-5, 1992. Second Language Acquisition: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Contact: India Plough, Conference Chair, English Language Center, 1 Center for International Programs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, 48824, USA. Tel: (517) 353-0800. Fax: 517-336-1149. E-mail: 21003icp@MSU.BITNET. Abstracts: 3 copies of a one-page abstract (without name), and a 3" by 5" card giving name, title of paper, affiliation, address, phone number and e-mail address. Deadline for abstracts: October 15, 1991.

April 5-7, 1992. Sixth International Workshop on Natural Language Generation. Castel Ivasno, Trento, Italy. Contributors interested in participating should submit a paper of 10 pages in length to Robert Dale, Center for Cognitive Science, University of Edinburgh, 2 Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LW, Scotland. Tel: (+44) 31 650 4416. Fax: (+44) 31 662 4912. Email: R.Dale@uk.ac.ed. Submissions due no later than November 4, 1991

April 20-23, 1992. Georgetown Round Table on Languages and Linguistics. Topic: Language, communication and social meaning. Contact: Carol J. Kreidler, GURT 1992, SLL Dean's office, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 20057. [Speakers invited include Halliday, Hasan, and Fries.]

April 24-26, 1992. 37'th Annual Conference of the International Linguistic Association. At Georgetown University, Washington DC. Topic: Functional Linguistics. Contact: Ruth Brend, 3363 Burbank Dr., Ann Arbor, MI, 48105. Abstract Deadline: December 31 1991.

June 25-27, 1992. 4'th International Conference on Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Machine Translation. Montreal, Canada. Contact: Pierre Isabelle, TMI-92 Program Chair, Canadian Workplace Automation Research Center, 1575 Chamedey Boulevard, Laval, Quebec, Canada, H7V 2X2. Tel (514) 682-3400. E-mail: tmi@ccrit.doc.ca. Deadline for submission of papers: January 31, 1992.

July 4-7, 1992. Seventh International Phonology Meeting. Krems Austria. Contact Phonologietagung, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Berggasse 11, A-1090 Wien, Austria. Deadline for abstracts (1 page max.) December 1, 1991.

July 6-9, 1992. 9'th Biennial Conference of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA). "Towards Language Excellence in the 21'st Century." Contact: The Secretariat, Ninth National Languages Conference, Language Teachers Association of the NT, PO Box 42446, Casuarina, NT, 0811. Abstracts: due December 13, 1991. (about 150 words)

July 7-9, 1992. Fifth International Morphology Meeting. Krems Austria Contact Phonologietagung, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Berggasse 11, A-1090 Wien, Austria. Deadline for abstracts (1 page max.) December 1, 1991.

July 9-13, 1992. 1st Asian-Pacific Regional Conference, Applied Linguistic Association of Australia (AILA). University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, 2006, Australia. Contact: Prof. Ross Steele, University of Sydney.

July 13-18, 1992. 19th International Systemic Congress. Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Contact: Ruqaiya Hasan, School of English and Linguistics, Macquarie University, NSW, 2109, Australia. [See call for papers in this issue]. [PLEASE NOTE: There was a mistake in the area code of the fax address listed in the call for papers which was distributed in Tokyo. The area code for Australia is 61 (not 62 as listed).

July 23-28, 1992. Coling—92, Nantes, France. 14th International Conference on Computational Linguistics. (Pre-COLING tutorials will take place on July 20-22. Contact: Prof A. Zampoli, Universita di Pisa, ILC, via della Faggiola 32, I-56100 Pisa, ITALY. Tel: +39-50-560481. Fax: +39-50-589055. Deadlines: Submit six A4 or 8-1/2 by 11 inch copies of the full paper to Prof Zampoli before November 1, 1991. Camera ready copies of final papers conforming to the COLING style sheet must reach GETA (GETA-IMAG, COLING-92, BP 53X, F-38041 Grenoble, FRANCE) by May 1, 1992.

July 31 - August 2, 1992. International Association of Literary Semantics.University of Kent, Canterbury, UK. (Contact Trevor Eaton, Honeywood Cottage, 35 Seaton Ave, Hythe, Kent CT21 5HH, England.)

July 31 - August 3, 1992. Fourth Nottingham International Systemic Workshop. (Papers on Genre, Theme and Exchange encouraged.) Contact: Gerald Parsons, Department of English Studies, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, NG7 2RD, U.K. If you wish to submit a paper, contact Gerald parsons before January 24, 1992.)

August 4-8, 1992. Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States (LACUS). At the University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada. Contact: Valerie Makkai, Secretary-Treasurer, LACUS, PO Box 101. Lake Bluff, IL, 60044, USA. Abstract Deadline: January 15, 1992.

August 9-14, 1992: Fifteenth International Congress of Linguists Quebec City, Quebec, Canada. Abstract deadline: 1 October 1991. Contact CIPL, Department of Language and Linguistics, Laval University, Quebec City, Quebec, Canada G1K 7P4. Phone: 418-656-5323: Facsimile:418-656-2019. e-mail: cipl92@lavalvm1.bitnet.

August 26-29, 1992. Discourse and the Professions. Uppsala, Sweden. This international conference will focus on the production and comprehension of written and spoken discourse in professional settings. Text analysis, discourse analysis, pragmatics, and studies of the writing process will be covered, together with studies of the interrelationship of speech and writing in modern society. Both theoretical and applied studies of spoken and written discourse among professionals and between experts and lay people will be discussed. Inquiries: Britt-Louise Gunnarsson, FUMS, Uppsala University, Box 1834, S-751 48 Uppsala, Sweden.

1993

July 1993. Fifth Nottingham International Systemic Workshop. Madrid or Barcelona, Spain.

July 1993. Australian Systemic Meeting. Contact: Cate Poynton, South Australia College of Advanced Education, School of Communication, Magill Campus, Lorne Ave, Magill, SA, 5072, Australia

July 1993. Third Biennial Chinese Systemic Conference. Hangzhou, P. R. China. Contact: Prof. Shaozheng Ren, Foreign Languages Department, Hangzhou University, Hangzhou Zhejiang, 310028, P. R. China, .

July 19-23, 1993. 20th International Systemic Congress. Victoria. British Columbia. Canada. Contact: Gordon Fulton, English Department, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia Canada. There will be a "course" for one or two weeks before the Congress in Vancouver run by Bernard Mohan.

1994

August 1-5, 1994. (Tentative date). ISC-21. Ghent, Belgium. Contact: Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen, Guinardstraat 12, B-9000 Gent, Belgium.

1995

July 1995. ISC-22. Beijing, China. Contact: Prof HU Zhuanglin, Department of English, Peking University, Beijing, People's Republic of China.

July, 1995. China Systemic Conference. Beijing, China. Contact: Prof HU, Department of English, University of Peking, Beijing, People's Republic of China.

1996

July 1996. ISC-23. Sydney, Australia. Contact: Di Slade, Faculty of Education, University of Technology, PO Box, 123, Broadway, Sydney, NSW, 2007, Australia.

August, 1996. Jyväskylä, Finland. 11th World Congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA). Inquiries: Prof. Kari Sajavaara, Department of English, University of Jyvaskyla, SF-40100, Jyvaskyla, Finland.

Notes from Nan: ON CONSIDERATION. We would like to thank everyone who sent material to us on white 8 1/2 by 11 paper and changed their tired old typewriter ribbon before writing for NETWORK. REMINDER: Send your electronic addresses to Jim Benson for the Systemic list; send your references to Christian Matthiessen for the Systemic Bibliography; and send copies of your atricles and books to Martin Davies for the archives and for book reviews in NETWORK. Please feel free to volunteer articles for NETWORK, your energy for putting out NETWORK in the future, your nomination or self-nomination for the next International Systemic Congress Committee, and your participation in any or all of our meetings. Although we have a mailing list (and charge money for NETWORK) we do not intend to exclude anyone. The money we charge for NETWORK just barely covers the cost of production. Also please feel free to add meetings to the 'upcoming meetings' list, review ANY meeting you attend, send in area news, review any book, etc. We particularly need news of all NEW books. We would also like to know if you are interested in hosting a International Systemic Congress (after 1996). [See NETWORK volume 16, page 7 for instructions.] Please feel free to use the page called 'NETWORK invoice' at any meeting you attend. We need help selling NETWORK. Most of all we need to know what YOU are doing. Are you going on leave? Do you have 'work in progress'? Have you had a book accepted? Did you get a Ph.D? Have you changed jobs? Have you written an article? Please let us know! Thanks, Nan

4TH NOTTINGHAM INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMIC WORKSHOP

31ST JULY TO 3RD AUGUST 1992

CALL FOR PAPERS

Following the success of the previous workshops, we are pleased to announce that a Fourth Systemic Workshop will be held in Nottingham next summer - once again over a period of THREE days.

The main topic will be GENRE and workshop sessions will explore aspects of different GENRES.

Two days of the Workshop will be devoted to papers and discussion under the main heading. However, to reflect the on-going interest in our previous topics, the third day will be devoted to sessions on THE EXCHANGE and on THEME.

Date of workshop: Friday 31st July to Monday August 3rd 1992.

Conference address: Dr. Gerald Parsons
Dept. of English Studies
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG7 2RD U.K.

Further Information: This will be sent to those who return the slip below by January 24th 1992

Please return this slip by January 24th 1992 to Dr. G. Parsons, Dept. of English Studies, University of Nottingham, NG7 2RD U.K.

Name... (PLEASE

Address.. WRITE

.... .LEGIBLY)

Please tick as appropriate:

☐ I hope to attend the 4th Nottingham International Workshop and would like further information.

I am willing to present a paper on:-

☐ Genre
☐ The Exchange
☐ Theme
☐ Other

The title of my paper will be:

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Helsinki Congress

Recent Systemic and Other Views on Language

Eija Ventola (editor)

1991. approx. 520 pages. Cloth. ISBN 3 11 017407 0
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Special conference price. approx. DM 174.40. approx. US$ 96.00
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Systemic linguistics, which has developed from Firthian linguistics, and such functional approaches to language as, for example, the Prague School, have always shared common ground.

This collection of 21 original articles captures some of the newest developments in functional linguistics.

Part I deals with theoretical considerations (dynamic vs. synoptic/static options, probabilities of systems, the notions of register, transitivity, and rank).

Part II presents analyses of spoken conversational data, both from a theoretical and from an applied point of view. Topics include recoverability, minimal exchanges, evaluative assessments, and discourse skills in patient interactions and in educational contexts.

Part III centres around analyses of written data and covers functional theories in teaching writing, various ideologies in writing and their realization, intertextuality, cohesion and coherence in texts, and foreign learners' difficulties in academic writing.

Contributors include M.A.K. Halliday, Nils Erik Enkvist, Frantisek Danes, John A. Bateman and Cécile L. Paris, William McGregor, Ronald Geluykens, Amy B.T. Tsui, Jay L. Lemke, Elke Teich, Eirian L. Davies, Jonathan Fine, Frances Christie, Barbara Couture, James R. Martin, Paul J. Thibault, Gill Francis and Anneliese Kramer-Dahl, Kevin Nwogy and Thomas Bloor, Michael Hoey, Gerald Parsons, Helen Drury and Eija Ventola.

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Eija Ventola (editor)

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Sterling Congress

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Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice

edited by
Martin Davies (University of Stirling)
and
Louise Ravelli (University of Birmingham)

CONTENTS

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Announcing the LINGUISTS Nameserver
8/2/91

Today we have put into operation a linguistic nameserver. The function of this server is to reply to single or multiple requests for e-mail addresses of researchers in the language sciences.

The basic commands now available are: HELP, LIST, ADD, REMOVE.

HELP speaks for itself

LIST requests address listings. Legal requests include: list surname; list string*; etc.

ADD requests the addition of an address. The format is:
add surname, first name: address

REMOVE requests the removal of an address. The format is:
remove surname, first namé: address

(before issuing a REMOVE command it is advisable to check the exact form of an entry with LIST)

All requests should be addressed to LINGUISTS@ALF.LET.UVA.NL. The subject line will be ignored. Each request should be entered on a separate line.

Please let your colleagues know about us!

Norval Smith,
Institute for General Linguistics,
University of Amsterdam

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FRIENDLY JOURNALS . .

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A TRANSDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL IN FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS, SEMIOTICS AND CRITICAL THEORY

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Published at the University of Sydney

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SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

The title of this new journal derives from M.A.K. Halliday's Language as a Social Semiotic (1978). It was also the title of a book by two prominent Australian semioticians, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge.

Since the appearance of Language as a Social Semiotic, social semiotics has expanded beyond language to fields such as literature, performance studies, film and television, art and music, and beyond functional linguistics to connections with contemporary social theory, feminist theories, psychoanalysis, deconstruction and a variety of approaches to cultural studies.

The new journal seeks to give a wider audience to recent Australian work in social semiotics, and invites contributions from anyone who feels at home in the trans-disciplinary conjunction which it represents.

IN THE FIRST ISSUE (FEB 91):

Anne Cranny-Francis Batman: Hollywood and the postmodern
Anna Yeatman The epistemological politics of postmodern feminist theorizing
Jan Wright Gracefulness and strength: sexuality and gymnastics in the Seoul Olympics
Peter Doyle The sociosemiotics of electricity substations
J. R. Martin Intrinsic functionality: implications for contextual theory
Theo van Leeuwen The sociosemiotics of Easy Listening Music
Eric Schwimmer The dialogic imagination in Tangu myth

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Department of English Studies

MONOGRAPHS IN SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

EDITOR: GERALD PARSONS

The aim of this series is to focus attention entirely upon one particular study. The rationale is that in so doing an opportunity will be provided to give the reader an in-depth insight into the development of the author's ideas, not always possible in shorter publications.

It will be particularly useful in providing an opportunity for the author to give a detailed account of an analytical model which may be problematic. In so doing, it is hoped that constructive criticism may be developed which will lead to progress in solving some of the problems involved.

The following publications are available in this series:

Number One: A Comparative Study in the Writing of Scientific Texts Focusing on Coherence and Cohesion

Gerald Parsons

This research report, written by the editor of the series, uses Hasan's chain interaction method to investigate the comparative coherence of sixteen texts. The results show that a significant correlation exists between perceptions of coherence and the percentage of central tokens, thus lending support to Hasan's concept of cohesive harmony. Statistical analysis shows that focusing on long chains of interaction results in a distinct improvement in the explanation of the informants' perceptions of the relative coherence of the texts. The author has developed a method of calculating the relative strength of the contribution of cohesive harmony to textual coherence.

Number Two: Discourse Variation in Medical Texts: Schema, Theme and Cohesion in Professional and Journalistic Accounts

Kevin Nwogu

Dr. Nwogu has made an important contribution to the field of genr[e] analysis. There is a detailed account of the use of thr[ee] analytical frameworks applied to the same data. The first is bas[ed] on Swales' approach to the analysis of article introductions. T[he] second and third methods examine the thematic progression a[nd] nature of cohesive devices in the three parallel genres of: t[he] research article proper, an accompanying abstract and t[he] equivalent journalistic version.

Number Three: Power Relations in Shakespeare: A Discourse Stylistics Approach to Dramatic Dialogue

Clara Calvo

This monograph differs from the others in that it uses discours[e] stylistics, which involves findings from the fields of discours[e] analysis, conversational analysis and pragmatics, to examine t[he] fool-master discourse in Shakespeare.

The analysis has employed three different perspectives: the use o[f] pronouns of address (*you/thou*); the overall organisation of t[he] discourse; and the politeness strategies used by fools and the[ir] masters in face-to-face interaction. Burton's framework was use[d] to study the conversational structure of fool-master discourse an[d] Brown and Levinson's model to study the politeness phenomena.

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UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM 1991

Department of English Studies

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...olume 1 (1987)

...igel Gotteri: When is a system network not a system network?
...faf El-Menoufy: Intonation and meaning in spontaneous discourse.
...sdis O. Vatnsdal: Register analysis - The language of air traffic control.
Carmel Cloran: Negotiating new contexts in conversation.
Karen Malcolm: Alternative approaches to casual conversation in linguistic description.

Volume 2 (1987)

Ivan Lowe. Sentence initi... elements in English and their discourse function.
Sandra Har...is: Court discourse as genre - Some problems and issues.
Caroline St...nton: Interruptions - A marker of social distance?

Volume 3 (1989)

Margaret Berry: They're all out of step except our Johnny - A discussion of motivation (or the lack of it) in Systemic Linguistics.
Yon Maley: Interpersonal meanings in judicial discourse.
Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen: 'He's my friend' or 'It's cr friend'? A systemic account.
Eirian Davies: Sentence types in English discourse - A formal approach.
Ronald Geluykens: Information structure in English conversation - The given-new distinction revisited.

Volume 4 (1990)

William McGregor: The metafunctional hypothesis and syntagmatic relations.
Gill Francis: Theme in the daily press.
Robert Cockcroft: Rhetoric and coherence.
Angela Downing: The discourse function of presentative *there* in existential structures in Middle English and Present Day English: A systemic functional perspective.
Hilary Hillier: Success and unsuccess in action instigation: A framework for describing 'success' in the natural speech of children aged 7-12.

ORDERS FOR PUBLICATIONS SHOULD BE SENT ON THE ACCOMPANYING PROFORMA TO:

DR. HILARY HILLIER, DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, NG7 2RD, U.K.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM 1991

Department of English Studies

REPRINTS IN SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

EDITOR: GERALD PARSONS

The aim is to reprint volumes for which there still appears to be a demand, but for which the original editions are no longer available.

Number One: An Introduction to Systemic Linguistics
Volume One: Structures and Systems

Margaret Berry

This is a reprint of volume one of the popular introductory account of Systemic Linguistics, first published in 1975 and is in response to many requests for the book. Volume One deals with Structures and Systems and is characterised by succinct and lucid writing.

The two opening chapters lay the foundation for the rest of the book and are especially helpful in clarifying the characteristic features of systemic linguistics.

Chapter three focuses upon language levels and the next chapter deals with the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of chains and choice. The rest of the book concentrates upon grammar and in particular discusses the concepts of structure, unit, rank, system and delicacy.

We are grateful to B.T. Batsford Ltd. for permission to use the original setting in the reprinted version of our first volume in this series.

Number Two: An Introduction to Systemic Linguistics
Volume Two: Levels and Links

Margaret Berry

(forthcoming)

Number Three: On the Surface of Discourse

Michael Hoey

The early chapters focus on some of the factors which have to be taken into consideration in any discussion of discourse organisation. Emphasis is given to the work of Winter who treats discourse as the product of semantic relations holding between sentences or propositions. There follows a discussion of the definition of clause relations, categories of clause relations, the ways in which relations are signalled and the means by which they may be clarified.

The next chapters show how Winter's work may be applied to analyse whole discourses and longer passages. At first, the method is illustrated using an example devised by Winter for teaching purposes and involves the Problem-Solution pattern. Later the method is used with real discourse taken from a variety of sources. Two modifications to the method are explained. The first involves the concept of multi-layering - the existence of more than one Problem-Solution pattern within the same discourse. The second involves the role of participants and audience, which is shown to affect the analysis of fiction, scientific writing and advertisements. Other patterns are illustrated before a final chapter deals with certain theoretical conclusions. This book can be recommended for its detailed analysis and theoretical conclusions. We understand that Dr. Hoey considers it to be the precursor to his future work in this area.

We are grateful to Allen and Unwin for permission to use the original setting in the reprinted version of this book.

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DR. HILARY HILLIER, DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, NG7 2RD, U.K.

Missing persons! If you know where any of these Systemic friends are, please tell Nan Fries, Box 310, Mt. Pleasant, MI, 48804, USA. Thanks. Dr. C. Thomas (Robin?), (Jean Ure?) Julie Spreadbury, (McGregor?), Susan Doran, (Fran?), Janet White, (Michael?),

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FRIENDLY ORGANIZATIONS

AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE
INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION
(for Non-Institutions only)

I wish to become a member of the International Linguistic Association. My check in the appropriate amount is enclosed. (Please check the appropriate category)

( ) Individual member $35.00
(includes subscription to WORD)

( ) Full-time student member $25.00
(Please indicate university)

My complete mailing address is:

full name

address

city, state and zip code

Mail this application with your check or money order in U. S. dollars payable to the International Linguistic Association to the Treasurer of the ILA:

Theodore S. Beardsley Jr.
The Hispanic Society of America
613 W. 155 St.
New York, N. Y. 10032
U. S. A.

W O R D

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THE INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

Language has been called "the ultimate and deepest foundation of human society", and with every passing year it becomes clearer that an understanding of ourselves and our society depends on an understanding of the nature and function of language. The ways we think, act, and interact are inextricably bound up with the ways we structure and formulate our perceptions; if we are to comprehend ourselves and our experience, we must examine our single most distinctive feature as humans, our language.

The diverse forms of verbal communication provide a subject which has profoundly affected man's view of himself and his world. Explosive controversies have erupted and subsided as new information from many disciplines has added to our understanding of language. History, sociology, anthropology, psychology, biology, physics, and electronics have all contributed exciting new discoveries to our knowledge of the acquisition, structure, and influence of language.

But the study of language in its many aspects has not been limited to pure theory; it has a constantly growing range of practical applications. New information from the social and natural sciences has made possible the description of language with new objectivity and provided valuable new tools for social planning and the teaching of language. A scant century old, linguistics, the scientific study of language, has never been so dynamic as it is today. In recent years, furthermore, students of literature have found the methods and insights of linguistics to be useful in elaborating theories and methods of literary criticism, and their discoveries have, in turn, shed more light on linguistics.

The ILA is a scholarly organization offering a forum for the examination of linguistics from all angles. Its monthly and annual meetings and its distinguished journal WORD provide an opportunity for the dissemination of new data and ideas. Members of the ILA include linguists of every linguistic school and persuasion and scientists in related disciplines in all parts of the world, as well as language students. The only

3

in the study of language.

HISTORY

The ILA was founded in 1943 as the Linguistic Circle of New York, on the model of such European organizations as the Linguistic Circle of Prague and the Societe Linguistique de Paris, by a group of European linguists in exile because of the war, in association with linguists at several New York universities. Because of the nature of its membership, it has occupied a unique place in the history of world linguistics: as H. A. Gleason, Jr., wrote in 1965, "The Linguistic Circle of New York from the first was a meeting place for European and American viewpoints and techniques. Graduate students trained in the universities of New York were trained in both traditions."

By 1969 the organization had grown to include more than 2000 members from all over the world and the name was accordingly changed to the International Linguistic Association. Nations in Europe and South America, as well as countries as widely scattered as Indonesia, Tahiti, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Nigeria, Kenya, Japan, and Korea, are among the more than 30, on six continents, represented in its present membership.

The membership lists of the ILA have read like an honor roll of the profession. Such influential scholars as Dwight Bolinger, Noam Chomsky, Zellig Harris, Roman Jakobson, William Labov, Robert Lado, Andre Martinet, Kenneth Pike, Paul Postal, T. A. Sebeok, and Uriel Weinreich are among those who have worked with the organization, spoken at its meetings, or written for its journal.

ACTIVITIES

Regular Meetings

Since 1943 guest speakers have been invited to present papers at the regular monthly meetings held at 2:30 p.m. on the second Saturday of each month, October through May, except March (when the Association has its Annual Conference). Currently the meetings take place at Hunter College at 695 Park Avenue, New York City.

In recent years we have heard from David K. Barnhart (Lexik House) speaking on "New English"; Giuliano Bonfante (University of Turin) on "Aphasia"; Marvin I. Herzog (Columbia University) on "The Yiddish Language and Culture Atlas"; William G. Moulton (Princeton University) on "Sentence Perspective in English"; James Macris (Clark University) on "Primate Communication"; Geoffrey Needler (Pace University) on "The Dutch Language in Metropolitan New York"; Dennis Wepman (Queens College) on "Prosodic Features of Black Folk Poetry"; and Eugene Nida (American Bible Society) on "Semiotics and Lexicography".

Annual Conference

In order to provide a broad forum for the reading of papers, and the exchange of ideas by the international linguistic community, the ILA has held an Annual Conference on Linguistics every year since 1955. Most conferences have been in New York City, but other sites have included Worcester, Massachusetts; Arequipa, Peru; and Windsor, Ontario, Canada and the Association is actively pursuing the possibility of a Conference in the Far East in the very near future.

PUBLICATIONS

One of the most important functions of the ILA is the publication of WORD. Appearing three times a year, in April, September, and December, the journal contains articles dealing with the structure, function, and historical development of natural languages and with related topics. Readers of recent issues of WORD have found articles on the traditional "school" languages -- Latin, Greek, English, German, French, Spanish, and Italian -- as well as on many less widely studied, such as Russian, Dutch, Welsh, and Sinhalese. Articles in recent numbers have included such diverse subjects as a comparison of the dialects of Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, a theoretical study of neo-structuralism, and the phonological processes involved in first-language acquisition. From time to time an issue is devoted to a single topic or theme: for example, Volume 28, numbers 1-2 (April-September, 1976) dealt with Celtic linguistics; Volume 30, numbers 1-2 (April-September, 1979) was devoted to the problems of national language planning; and Volume 33, numbers 2-3 (July-August, 1982) examined the Spanish language in

Amerindian languages

INFORMATION

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RESEARCH
1983-1986

directed by

Ruqaiya Hasan
School of English & Linguistics
Macquarie University
New South Wales, Australia 2109

with the assistance of

Carmel Cloran — David G Butt
Michael Oerlemans — Rhondda Fahey

1: Title of research

The role of everyday talk between mothers and children in establishing ways of learning

2: Basic questions

Phase 1: Do speakers systematically differ in the selection of meanings in everyday discourse?

If so, does this variation correlate with the speaker's social position?

Phase 2: How does the speakers' experience of socially differentiated ways of meaning in everyday talk at home compare with ways of meaning typical of other significant interactional environments such as the instructional contexts of the classroom and the personal ones of peer group interaction?

3: Subjects: all from in and around Sydney, NSW.

A: Phase 1

- -24 mother child dyads;
- -all dyads Australian native; English as first tongue;
- -no consistent experience of any other culture;
- -average age of children 3;8 (range 3;6-4;2);
- -equal number of male and female children;
- -mother-child dyads from two social backgrounds;
- -social background defined by reference to degree of autonomy in work position:
  - Lower Autonomy Profession (LAP)
  - Higher Autonomy Profession (HAP)

B: Phase 2

14

a) -24 schools; 12 from HAP, 12 from LAP areas;
-kindergarten teachers and 20-22 children;
-co-ed class; age range 5;0-5;6;

b) -8 phase 1 children (2X2X2), each playing with two or three of their neighbourhood friends;
- neighbour children same age and background;

c) -same 8 children and a Senior Research Assistant;
-SRA native Australian; first tongue English;
-parent of child similar age as subject children;
-experience of teaching in local schools

4: Data

A: Phase 1

- approximately 100 hours of naturally occurring dialogue between the subject child and her/his mother in their home environment recorded by the mothers while they were engaged in their everyday household activities;

- from this a sample of approximately 22,000 messages analysed for semantic variation; messages approximately equally divided across 24 dyads and in each dyad across the three material situational settings common to all dyads, viz. (i) mother giving care eg bathing, dressing child; (ii) cooperative activity, ie both mother and child "working" together eg baking, tidying up room, hanging out washing; and (iii) copresent but distinct engagement eg mother working, child nearby playing or just hanging about;

B: Phase 2 (data from 3 contexts):

-context 1: 24 classroom interactions
-12 schools from HAP area; 12 from LAP area;
-recording from the first year of schooling;
-two rounds from each class;
-round 1 during first month of schooling;
-round 2 during last month of schooling;
-two major pedagogic fields:
-picture talk
-number talk

total collected data: approx 48 hrs

-context 2: 8 children from Phase 1 recorded while playing with their neighbourhood friends in their usual home environments

total collected data: approx 16 hrs

-context 3: same 8 children in casual conversation with a Senior Research Assistant who had first spent time getting to know them by frequent visits and participation; the same senior researcher inserts within his casual talk with these children a pedagogic context, treating the children as if they were pupils in the classroom and as if he were the teacher.

total collected data: 16 hrs+

5: Statistical Procedure

- A principal components analysis
- Clustre Analysis

6: Result Highlights

• PHASE I:

- in mothers' talk greatest variation correlates with social class background;
- next most important social factor is their children's sex;
- therefater, child's position (1st child or subsequent), mother's outside interests (interest in child's school, church group etc) and or religious background;
- in children's talk, the two most important social factors are their social class background, and their sex;
- high degree of correlation between mothers and children on the statistically significant variables in their talk.

6: Some publications

D G Butt: The object of language. In Hasan and Martin (eds) 1989.

C Cloran: Learning through language: the social construction of gender. In Hasan and Martin (eds) 1989.

R Hasan: The ontogenesis of ideology: an interpretation of mother child talk. In Threadgold et al (eds) 1986

-------: Reading picture reading. Proceedings of the 13th Australian Reading Association. 1987.

-------: Language in the processes of socialisation: home and school. In Gerot et al (eds) 1988

-------: Semantic variation and sociolinguistics. AJL 9. 1989.

R Hasan & C Cloran: A sociolinguistic interpretation of everyday talk between mothers and children. In Halliday et al (eds) 1990.

L Gerot, J Oldenburg & T van Leeuwen (eds) Language and Socialisation: home and school. Macquarie University. 1988.

M A K Halliday, J Gibbons & H Nicholas: (eds) Learning, Keeping and Using Language: selected papers from the 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics. John Benjamins. 1990.

R Hasan & J R Martin: (eds) Language Development: Learning Language Learning Culture. Meaning and choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday. In Series Advances in Discourse Processes XXVII. Ablex. 1989.

T Threadgold, E A Grosz, G Kress, and M A K Halliday: (eds) Semiotics Ideology Language. Sydney Studies in Society and Culture, No. 3. SASSC, Sydney University. 1986.

WORK IN PROGRESS

COLLINS COBUILD

THE UNIVERSITY
OF BIRMINGHAM

School of English

Bank of English
Westmere
50 Edgbaston Park Road
Birmingham B15 2BX
United Kingdom
Telephone 021 414 3925
Fax 021 414 6203

February 1991

Dear Colleague

The Bank of English: An International Language Corpus

Following the success of the first Cobuild publications, I can now reveal that Cobuild has begun a substantial new development in corpus collection at Birmingham and in the research associated with it. The original research has borne fruit in a range of dictionaries, grammars, course books and guides, and the data has been made widely available.

The First Ten Years

Cobuild was ten years old at the beginning of October 1990. In this first decade our thinking moved from recognising the unique value of the evidence we got from 5 million, then 7.5 million, and eventually around 20 million words, to realising that there is still a very large amount of information available in the language to which we did not have access. This concerns the detailed patterning of less common words, and the development of comprehensive lists of the words and phrases that follow similar rules.

Hundreds of Millions of Words

Therefore once again we are going to raise the size of our corpus by an order of magnitude and move into the hundreds of millions of words. We hope that most of this work will be done during 1991, and that from 1992 onwards there will be a completely new range of evidence available to enhance the publications of the future.

A Massive Flow of Language

For the longer term, work has also started on a new dimension of corpus research. In the same building as the Cobuild project is the Research and Development Unit for English Language Studies, a section of the School of English that is particularly interested in the building and analysis of corpora, and in conducting new research in the field. One of the principal projects of the Unit in the coming years is to extend the notion of corpora into endless amounts of text flowing through the computer, and to develop accompanying retrieval software. This is a unique project supported by the British Government (dti/SERC), Nimbus Records and Collins Publishers.

Access to the Corpus

It is the settled policy of all the partners in the Birmingham corpus work that our material should be available for general use. During the 80s, many scholars, business

colleagues and students made their way to Birmingham to work with the material that was available. Gradually the software that gives access to the corpus and allows it to be processed has become user-friendly and very powerful and sophisticated. We hope to maintain and increase the availability of the material to those who have a serious interest in it, and invite scholars to spend periods of study in a pleasant environment in the same building as Cobuild. Small and clear requests can often be handled by correspondence. We cannot subsidise these services, but we keep our charges as low as possible. If you want to use the corpus, please write to the Corpus Administrator at the above address.

Research in Grammar

We are also very pleased to announce that a major research initiative has begun in the study of English grammar. The Cobuild Grammar recently published has created a lot of interest because it provides information not available elsewhere. It is now possible, building on that experience, to put together a very detailed grammar from which further publications can be derived. Professor Michael Halliday, consultant on the existing grammar, has agreed to be a participant and consultant in the new project.

The associated compilation work in Cobuild continues and more titles will be published each year; fairly soon we will begin a revision of the first dictionary, and the new evidence from the corpus and grammar will be incorporated into that project.

Research and Development in Lexicography

Cobuild has now established a new approach to lexicography which seems to be on course to becoming the principal way of studying the vocabulary of a language. Since Cobuild has demonstrated the relevance and enormous value of large corpora, there has been a growing interest from other students of language, including those working in automatic intelligence, translation and language teaching. Cobuild thus has a ten year lead to maintain and these new developments are the latest stage in meeting the needs of the 90s and beyond.

Cobuild and the School of English have established a good working relationship with corpus linguists in other countries, notably in Europe, and together we promote the provision of corpus resources in languages other than English with the support of the Council of Europe and the EEC. Hence the title of the new initiative; we see ourselves as the English language base of a growing international community.

If you have an interest in finding out new facts about English, the Birmingham corpus, and our expertise and experience may be able to help.

Yours sincerely

John M. Sinclair

Professor J M Sinclair
Professor of Modern English Language
Editor-in-Chief Cobuild

INFORMATION

Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND DEAF STUDENTS' TEXTS: TOWARDS A PEDAGOGY OF MEANING AND REPRESENTATION

Because of the centrality of language to the educative process, deaf students matriculating in mainstream colleges and universities experience more problems with reading and writing activities than their hearing peers and fail to graduate in greater numbers. In attempting to assist hearing-impaired learners, teachers and researchers have tended to remediate their lexicogrammatical errors; they have concentrated on what deaf writers do incorrectly in texts. This manuscript suggests a different approach. By employing three linguistic methodologies--error analysis, functional sentence perspective, and text analysis--I try to show how deaf students use the resources of English to make meaning and represent their ideas. I develop strategies for analyzing student texts, and I suggest various ways that the mainstream college composition instructor can utilize the findings of linguistics as a basis for the instruction of deaf and hearing students.

Opening with a review of the factors influencing the language acquisition of deaf youngsters, the text explores strengths and weaknesses of both oral and signed training for those with moderate to profound hearing loss. I then discuss the characteristics of deaf students' written prose at the micro and macro textual levels as a prelude to a linguistic study of eleven short essays written by deaf students.

A brief history and description of the contrasting linguistic ... terminology is explained.

In the chapter on error analysis, I describe the interlanguage rules manifested by deaf writers in their texts, demonstrating that their "errors" are the result of rule-governed behavior. In the chapter on FSP, I show how deaf students manage given and new information to create communicative dynamism, while in the section on text analysis I examine semantic and cohesive connections in their texts.

Suggestions for a linguistically-based composition curriculum conclude the study. Examples from student texts illustrate how deaf learners respond to the pedagogical approaches outlined in the manuscript, supporting the contention that instruction in information management, in the ideational and tagmemic constituents of texts, and in the logical relations of English are more beneficial to deaf writers than pedagogical practices based on the eradication of syntactic errors.

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TOWARDS A GENERAL POLICY FOR PUBLISHING BOOKS OF PAPERS IN SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

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THE PROBLEM

Over the last few years I have had a growing feeling that those who work in the systemic framework are not doing as well as we might to make our ideas available to each other and to those outside. Network is there to keep us in touch with each other, but it does not normally publish full length articles such as might appear in a journal or a book. In fact, our main public forum is our annual international congress - increasingly strongly supported by the area meetings that take place in North America, Australia, Europe and China. The problem is that, by and large, different groups of people attend the different conferences, so that most people miss most papers.

I am in the fortunate position of having been able to get to almost all of the recent international congresses (though not, of course, to most area meetings), and I am increasingly concerned that the many excellent papers that are presented are heard by far too small a group. So what is to be done? 'Publish the conference proceedings,' you may say. But there are at least the following two problems.

To illustrate the first problem, consider the Stirling Congress of 1990. Of the sixty or so papers given there, around thirty were offered to the editors of the resulting volume (Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice, edited by Martin Davies and Louise Ravelli, to be published im early 1992 by Pinter) - but there was room for only twelve in the book itself. So one problem is that many good papers do not appear, even when a 'conference proceedings' appears.

The second problem is the difficulty of finding publishers willing to publish books consisting of conference papers. Those who organise and attend conferences often rather like the idea that a book has come out of the conference. But for those who have not actually been there - which includes most of the potential purchasers of such a book (and, most importantly, the potential publishers) - the mere fact that papers have been presented on the same occasion does not normally strike one as a particularly powerful unifying factor. The fact is that, these days, it is not easy to sell, year by year, a series of books each of which claims that it gives an overview of current thinking in a particular area - even in as exciting a growth area as systemic linguistics! It simply is not the case that each year's book of conference papers provides a new, definitive 'state of the art' in the field - and yet the editors of such books are virtually forced to make some such claim in order to make the book attractive to those who publish and purchase such books. (For this type of book to a be genuinely authoritative overview - as the two New Developments in Systemic Linguistics volumes published in 1987 and 1988 sought to be - the editors need to have access to ALL possible contributors; not just those who happen to have presented a paper to a Congress in Helsinki or Stirling or Tokyo, worthwhile though these collections undoubtedly are.)

I can think of three ways of responding to this problematical situation, and I would like to propose these for consideration by the systemic community. Of the three, it is the third which could, I think, make the most significant difference.

THREE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

1. We should all ensure that our libraries order copies of all systemic books. While I haven't been able to check with Nan Fries before writing this, my guess is that there must be around a thousand people on the list of those invited to our congresses. This should mean that we have reached the critical mass for supporting book publication without depending on outside interest (not that we should not continue to try to increase this, of course). In other words, if each of us ordered one copy of every systemic publication, no publisher need ever lose money on a systemic book again. (Perhaps Network could reprint the order forms for the papers from the congresses from which books have been produced?)

2. We could follow the trend established at the East Lansing and Tokyo Congresses and seek to publish our proceedings in journals. Here, questions to ask are: How many journals would would be willing to do this? And is the publicity sent out by journals to libraries, etc, as good as that of mainstream publishers? My feeling is that there are probably not enough journal editors willing to take our conference papers more than very occasionally, but that where this avenue is open it may at times be appropriate - perhaps in the framework of what is to be proposed below.

3. We could stop publishing an annual book centred on each annual congress, and instead start

publishing books centred on specific themes (unless the organiser particularly wanted to and could ensure suitable publication). This type of book would be likely to be more attractive to authors, publishers and book purchasers. It could be an opportunity for those other than conference organisers to edit a book (and so possibly give their CV a boost).

For example, I can imagine that the systemic community may well be capable of publishing a useful and insightful book every five years or so in each of the following areas:

(1) systemic theory and description (these two being separable in principle, though I would prefer not to separate them for the reasons given in the Introduction to Halliday and Fawcett 1987) e.g. new ideas connected with the theory and apparatus of systems, such as the role of probabilities in system networks, systems that change, the role of gates, the relationship of system networks and realization rules, new ideas about theme in relation to other languages, possibly a whole book of papers on, e.g. theme or transitivity or mood or modality, etc);

(2) systemic literary stylistics;

(3) systemic ideological studies;

(4) systemic computational linguistics;

(5) systemic educational linguistics;

(6) systemic linguistics and society (includes (3)?).

There could be less frequent books on currently less popular areas such as systemic psycholinguistics and systemic phonology. And there need be no necessary limitation to books made up on the conventional pattern of papers of 4,000 to 8,000 words; there could, if it were appropriate, be two to five papers of 15,000 - 40,000 words.

At Pinter we have made a small beginning in the publication of theme-based books, with Birch and O'Toole's The Functions of Style covering stylistic studies (many being literary), Chilton's The Language of the Nuclear Arms Debate covering a specialist area of ideological linguistics, and a book currently in preparation, edited by Paul Tench, on Systemic Phonology. But there is certainly scope for more.

I should make it clear that Pinter would NOT want to publish all of these books! It is healthy that an increasing number of 'friendly publishers' are appearing, and in my view the more publishers there are who publish systemic and related books, the more likely others are to realise that our books are indeed worth publishing. I would like to see as many publishers as possible publishing systemic books.

My proposal is that there might be a small committee who would act as a combination of clearing house, catalyst and signal box. Its role would be to do what I have been doing in relations between systemic linguistics and Pinter Publishers over the last few years, but on a broader front and perhaps more systematically. The committee could collect a 'pool' of material that authors were willing to have considered for book publication (most obviously, but not exclusively, from the international congresses and the 'area chapters' that are now developing in North America, Australia, Europe (all at Nottingham so far) and China. It could suggest to potential editors that they might consider working on a book in some area or other. (Initiating new books in this way has been one of my main satisfactions in editing for Pinter.) They would also keep in touch with publishers, to see who might and might not be interested in publishing work in any particular area. (I have in mind one or two experienced people who might chair or serve on such a committee...)

None of this would be intended to replace the current procedures whereby authors of whole books approach, or are approached by, individual publishers, or the valuable role played by Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics. The purpose is to provide more and better outlets for the excellent papers that are presented at systemic congresses, and which too often do not get shared with the wider community. I am thinking in particular of the many outstanding papers that were presented at the last congress in Sydney, and the fact that on that occasion no book came out of the congress. But many could have gone into 'theme-centred' books, if only there had been someone to prompt and co-ordinate any willing editors. Next year we have our second congress in Sydney; my proposal is that this time we should seek to set up two or three potential books that would draw on the material presented there, as well as that from previous congresses or area conferences or specially written papers by people who are unable to attend, and to seek to publish through a variety of publishers.

SUMMARY

To summarise (concentrating on the third proposal): I am suggesting that we should move on from a practice that has served us pretty well, on the whole, in the past, but which it may be becoming time to abandon as our principal publication outlet. It is not fair to contributors to a congress that the publication of papers originally given at that congress should depend, as it does now, on the willingness of the organiser to take on the additional work of editing a volume of papers - a volume, moreover, that may in the end have as its only significant unifying factor that most of the papers are systemic. While this has been good enough in the past, I think that we may find increasing difficulty in getting such volumes accepted for publication in the future - and that we shall in fact get more and better books published if we switch to 'theme-centred' books.

What do you think? If you have any comments, criticisms or suggestions (e.g. for committee members), please contact me at the address at the head of this article. I hope this matter may be discussed at the Business Meeting of the Sydney Congress, when I could summarise the views sent to me, and I hope we might set up such a committee.

SYSTEMIC ARCHIVE

SYSTEMIC ARCHIVE ACCESSIONS LIST 9

October 1991 fall issue

1. Previous lists

List 1:	Network 7,	March, 1985
List 2:	Network 10,	June, 1986
List 3:	Network 13/14	March, 1990
List 4:	Network 11/12,	October, 1989
List 5:	Network 11/12,	October, 1989
List 6:	Network 13/14,	March, 1990
List 7:	Network 15,	October 1990
List 8:	Network 16,	March, 1991

2. The descriptor categories available are as follows:

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

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.

4. Reminder. In the past, the question of copyright of items deposited in the archive has been raised, some authors saying that their editors or publishers should be contacted if their articles are to be published elsewhere, which raises the question whether depositing an item in the archive may - in some countries, at least - constitute publication. It may do; but whether or no it does, since I cannot possibly write to all editors and publishers on the matter, I can only accept items on the understanding that authors have obtained any necessary permissions before depositing their work. The copyright in all cases remains with the owners, whether the author or anyone else. No liability is accepted by me or by my department or by Stirling University for any unwitting misappropriation of copyright.

5. The cost of duplicating is worked out according to the number of sheets a paper requires. The costs of postage are worked out according to whether the recipient is in the U.K., Europe or elsewhere, these categories deriving from the different scales of the U.K. postage rates. Duplicating costs have risen, so new rates (including both copying and postage charges) are given in the boxes below. Cheques should be made to "The University of Stirling", in sterling, please, so that the amounts are received net of conversion charges. Pre-payment is essential: no money, no copy. Please cite the List Number, as given before each item.

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6. The sequence in each entry is:
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"n.d." = 'no date'; "n.p." = 'no place'.

SYSTEMIC ARCHIVE

The archive has received rather few papers recently and it is too soon after the event for any of the papers given at Tokyo to have arrived; but the more contributions that are received the more useful it can be. So contributions from everyone working in systemics or related fields will be most welcome and should be sent to me at the Department of English Studies, Stirling University, FK9 4LA, Scotland. The most recent harvest is listed below.

U.K. mail prices go up shortly but copies will be sent at the old prices until the spring issue of NETWORK.

Martin Davies

SYSTEMIC ARCHIVE ACCESSIONS LIST 9

Autumn, 1991

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].

9.1 Bex, A.R.: Describing written genres: The graphic point of entry [13]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.2 Brown, M.: Towards a "psychosociolinguistic" theory of genre [6]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.3 Harvey, A.: Genre in Transition - Rhetorical Strategies in Conflict: An Alternative Perspective on Incoherence in Discourse [11]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.4 Knowles, M. and K. Malakjer: The lexicalization of magic: The self-conscious fairytale [14]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.5 Lenk, H. E. H.: Evaluations in German newspaper Editorials - from a systemic point of view [6]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.6 Macaulay, M.: The Advertorial: Genre Mixing in Print Advertising [12]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.7 Martin, J. R.: Language on language: the grammar of semiosis [17]; ms, 22.4.91;

9.8 Martin, J. R.: Macro-genres: the ecology of the page [28]; ms, 22.4.91;

9.9 Matthiessen, C: Interpreting the Textual Metafunction [46]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.10 Matthiessen, C.: Metafunctional complementarity and resonance in syntagmatic organization [22]; ms. 22.4.91;

9.11 Ragan, Peter H.: Probabilities in Written ESL Texts: The Quantification of Choice [5]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.12 Steiner, E.: Some fragments of a systemic grammar of German for a computational environment [13]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990.

9.13 Toolan, M.: Token and Value: A Discussion [8]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.14 Torsello, Carol Taylor: Teaching students to approach even the literary text through field, tenor and mode [7]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.15 Ungerer, F.: Mood, syntactic scope and word order [6]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

9.16 Verma, S. K.: Allosentences: A Study in "Universals of Linguistic Theory" [8]; Indogermanische Forschungen, Zeitschrift für Indogermaniistik und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, 75 Ban, 1970 I. Aufsätze, 1 - 15; 12.3.91;

9.17 Verma, S. K.: An Introduction to Systemic Grammar [16]; ms (1966); 12.3.91;

9.18 Verma, S. K.: Linguistics in Second Language Teaching [4]; RELC Journal (n.d.; latest reference 1971); 12.3.91;

9.19 Verma, S. K.: Structure and System: A Point of View [4]; Bulletin of the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, India, No. 6, 1966-67; 12.3.91;

9.20 Verma, S. K.: A Systemic Approach to Syntax [6]; The Critical Harvest, University of Lucknow, Lucknow (India), 1971; 12.3.91;

9.21 Verma, S. K.: Topicalization as a Stylistic Mechanism [8]; ms (? 1973); 12.3.91;

9.22 Whittaker, R.: Theme in Cognitive Processing [8]; paper given at 17thISC, Stirling, July 1990

WORK IN PROGRESS

Teaching Schedule for A New Teaching Grammar of Chinese

Contents

Introductory chapter to a functional reference grammar of Chinese developed in the Chinese Department of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. July 1991. Sent in by Edward MdConald, Shao Yuan House, G-311-1, Peking University Beijing, 100871, P.R. China. (See next page)

Preface to "*Introduction to a Functional Grammar of Chinese*"

Edward McDonald
Department of English
Peking University
August 1991.

The following essay is the first chapter of a functional grammar of Chinese currently being trialled in the Chinese Department at Macquarie University. This grammar is being used with second year undergraduates and takes the form of a teaching schedule to a first year *Teaching Grammar* (also by the author), rearranging the topics in that grammar more systematically and providing linking material. The general framework is modelled on *IFG* and this introduction is very much a simplification and (in *most* cases at least) a rewording of the introduction to *IFG*. This modification of *IFG* for Chinese has had to proceed on two fronts at once: firstly, using systemic theory to rework the description of the language and secondly, simplifying the theory itself to make it more approachable for teachers and students. This has meant that I've been working on a general account of the language in functional terms before a lot of the detailed work has been done, and also that I have been pulled between the desire of the linguist for theoretical consistency and the needs of teachers and students for clarity and simplicity. I would be interested to hear from other people who have been attempting the same balancing act!

1. Introduction to a functional grammar of Chinese

1.0 Contents

1.1 What is grammar? Does Chinese have a grammar?

Grammar is a type of language patterning. It is part of the general patterning through which a language organises its sounds into words, its words into larger groups, and these larger groups into coherent wholes so that we can make sense to each other. Grammar lies between two aspects of the real world: at one end, the sounds that we utter or the letters that we write; at the other, the contexts in which language activity takes place. Grammar is **formal** patterning; that is, to do with **form**: how **items** i.e. words, are organised into **structures**, i.e. phrases and sentences. Grammar is also **meaningful** patterning: differences in the form of items and structures reflect differences in meaning.

Looked at in this way, grammar is an indispensible part of any language: no language could function without this formal and meaningful patterning. So when you hear people say "Chinese has no grammar", in effect what they are saying is "Chinese isn't a language!". What they are usually picking up on about Chinese is that it doesn't possess the sort of classical Western grammar exemplified by Latin **word inflections**: i.e. changes in the form of the word, usually its ending, to express different grammatical meanings like tense, gender, number, case and so on.

But there are other ways of organising form to express meaning, and Chinese, which has almost no word endings, makes great use of word order, and what the Chinese traditionally call "empty words": that is, words which indicate grammatical relationships. It is true, however, that there are a whole lot of grammatical meanings that we are obliged to express in English which Chinese does not need to express. For example, the Chinese sentence 我买书 **Woo maai shu** "I buy book" could be translated either "I'm buying a book" or "I'm buying some books": there is no need to specify whether one or more than one book is involved. Likewise the action of buying represented by **maai** could be taking place in the past "(Yesterday) I bought some books", or the present "(Today) I'm buying books", or the future "(Tomorrow) I'll buy some books", with no change in the form of the word.

Learning to speak Chinese is thus a process of readjusting our expectations as to what we need to express in an utterance; taking a broader view, that means readjusting the whole way we embody our experience of the world and communicate it to others. How do we effect this "change of mindset"? What we need is some sort of theoretical perspective, some way of looking at language.

The grammar of Chinese, this set of formal and meaningf patterns, lies behind every utterance a Chinese speaker make and is to a large extent unchanging. However what a **descripti** of this grammar, "a grammar" of Chinese in the other sense of t word, reveals and emphasises about the language, depends ve much on the way it views language in general. The sort description used here is a **functional** one, so I will now go on summarise the main features of a **functional** view of language.

1.2 What is a functional grammar?

A functional grammar is a **natural** grammar, a grammar in which every feature can be explained by reference how the language is used; in other words, the kinds of grammatical patterns that exist in language bear a natural relation to the meanings they express.
Let's look at an example of how the grammar represents experien

Someone observes a complex phenomenon and represents linguistically as

服务员 洗 盘儿.
Furwuyuarn xii parn'r
waiter wash dish.

We can look at this representation in at least three differe ways. Firstly, on the level of meaning, it breaks down a compo experience into three parts: a person, an act of washing, a di Secondly, in grammatical terms, these parts fulfil differe roles with respect to the whole: we may label these roles as

Actor Process Goal
Furwuyuarn xii parn'r
waiter wash dish

Thirdly, these different parts may be assigned to different w classes:

noun verb noun
Furwuyuarn xii parn'r
waiter wash dish

reflecting the analysis of experience into "goings-o represented by verbs, and participants in the goings- represented by nouns.

I've already used some terms that may be familiar to yo from your previous study of grammar, but these terms are not se as "merely grammatical", in the sense that "grammatical" i often opposed to "meaningful". In a functional grammar, the distinctions represented by such terms are seen as embodying natural relationship between grammatical **forms** and their **meanings**, in other words between the forms of a language ar their relationship to their context of use. Thus a functiona grammar explicitly draws the connection between a contextua notion like "goings-on", the grammatical function that represent it, i.e. "Process", and the word class that expresses that function, i.e. "verb".

A functional grammar first asks about a language

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"What meanings does this language exist to express?" and then it tries to identify the forms through which these meanings are expressed. This is a very different viewpoint to that of traditional (Latin) grammar, which asks first "What are the different forms that exist in this language?" and then "What meanings can be attached to these forms?"

From the practical point of view of making sense of a language, a functional approach is thus more immediately relevant. But a functional grammar does not simply ask "What are the meanings that exist in the language?", or to put it another way "What are the meaning distinctions recognized in this language?", it **simultaneously** asks "How are those distinctions expressed?". That is to say, we cannot simply draw distinctions on the basis of meaning alone; in that case we could go on forever drawing finer and finer distinctions. It is a basic principle of a functional grammar that every **meaning distinction** recognised must make some contribution to the **form of the wording**. This grammar of Chinese that we are about to work through may not tell you anything new about the forms that exist in Chinese; what it hopefully will do is make more sense of those forms by identifying the meaningful contrasts that they embody, and the broader contexts of those meaningful contrasts. In other words, a functional grammar is a functional interpretation of language forms.

A functional grammar thus equates "meaning" with "function in context": that is, the meanings of language forms are built up through their use in different contexts. This may not seem earth-shatteringly original: it is obvious that a lot of what we mean when we speak depends on the context in which we speak it. But a functional grammar carries this idea of "meaning = function" right down into the grammar itself, i.e. into the interpretation of language forms.

We have seen this application of the idea of "function" to grammatical form, in the analysis of the example we've given above **furwuhyuarn xii parn'r** "waiter wash dish" into Actor, Process and Goal, showing the function of language in representing experience. But is this the sole function of language? Let's look at another example:

我吃苹果

Woo chi pirngguoo

I eat apple

This too can be viewed as a representation of experience in terms of

Actor Process Goal.

But what about this example:

苹果我吃 (桃我不吃).

Pirngguoo woo chi (taor woo buh chi).

Apple I eat (peach I not eat)

Just looking at the first part first, as a representation of experience this still has the same functions

Goal Actor Process

though the order has now been changed.

What is the significance of this change? The clue is given by the additional clause in brackets **(taor woo buh chi)** "peach I not eat", which sets up a contrast between "apples" which I do eat, and "peaches" which I don't. Each of these clauses represents a different experience, but the wording of them together reflects not only the representation of experience, but also a presentation of information. In other words, we can look at the above example, and also our first example, **not only as a** representation of experience but **also** as a message. This means that we recognise two distinct types of function: the first have to do with the representation of experience and include such functions as Process "goings-on", Actor "performer of goings on", Goal "that to which the goings-on extend"; the second have to do with the presentation of a message, and include the functions Topic "starting point of the message" and Comment "development of the message".

Thus the contrast between **Woo chi pirngguoo** and **Pirngguoo woo chi** can be clearly brought out by identifying both the similarity of experience and the difference in message:

Topic	Comment		
Actor	Process Goal		
Woo	**chi pirngguoo**		
I	eat apple		
Topic	Comment	Topic	Comment
Goal	Actor Process	Goal	Actor Process
Pirngguoo	**woo chi**	**taor**	**woo buh chi**
apple	I eat	peach	I not eat

As well as what we have called the "experience" and "message" functions, there is another distinct function of language that could be called "exchange": i.e. the aspect of language as an exchange between a speaker (or writer) and listener (or reader). In English this forms another "layer" of the structure of the clause, as exemplified by the relationship between the underlined elements in the following exchange:

"I'm going now?" Are you?" "Yes, I really should: it's getting rather late, isn't it?"

In Chinese we don't need to recognise the exchange functions in the clause in the same way as the experience and message functions, but we can and will identify the place of all three in the grammar. What we need to do now is to talk about how a functional grammar is organised, and some of the other notions, besides "function", that underly it.

1.3 How is a functional grammar organised?

In order to show how the parts of language are functional with respect to the whole, we need to break down the grammar into units of different sizes that progressively "fit into" each other - or, looking at it another way, into different **levels** that are built on top of one another. At each of these levels we can identify the **functions** played by the different components, and the different classes to which they belong. So now we will examine these three notions: level, function and class.

(a) Level

Grammar, i.e. linguistic form, can be divided into three levels: clause, group and word. The clause is the highest level: clauses are complete utterances in a context, they are what we make texts out of. Clauses may either occur complete in themselves (equivalent to the traditional term "simple sentence") or they may be joined to form clause complexes ("complex/compound sentence"). The above examples: **Woo chi pirngguoo** "I eat apple", and **Furwuhyuarn xii parn'r** "waiter wash dish", are clauses; **Pirngguoo woo chi; taor woo buh chi** "Apple I eat, peach I not eat" is an example of a clause complex.

The next level is that of group; it is similar to the traditional term "phrase". Groups are the components of clauses, they make up clauses, and different kinds of groups "slot into" the different functional positions in the clause. So our first example

Furwuyuarn xii parn'r
waiter wash dish

consists of three groups

nominal verbal nominal

as it consists of three functions

Actor Process Goal.

The next level down is that of "word". Words in their turn make up groups: to take our first example again, we have

noun verb noun.

Why do we go to all the trouble of identifying and naming these different levels if, as in the above example, they all just fit neatly into each other like a Russian doll? We do this because not all examples are as straightforward as the above one. Let's look at a similar clause which is slightly more complicated:

中国 学生 经常 洗 自己的 衣服.
Zhongguor xuersheng jingcharng xii zihjii .de yi.fur.
China student often wash self SUB clothes
"Chinese students often wash their own clothes."

We can identify the clause functions as follows (introducing a new function "Adjunct", something that adds meaning to the Process)

Actor	Adjunct	Process	Goal
Zhongguor xuersheng	**jingcharng**	**xii**	**zihjii .de yi.fur.**
China student	often	wash	self SUB clothes

As we try to specify what the functions are being filled by, we see that the picture is slightly more complex. Firstly the Actor function is filled by **Zhongguor xuersheng** "Chinese students". We would still want to call this a nominal group, but you will notice that instead of a single noun, it is now made up of two nouns, joined by what we might called a "modifying relationship". Let's skip to the Goal function, filled by **zihjii .de yi.fur** "their own clothes". Again we would call this a nominal group, but it's no longer filled just by nouns, but by a pronoun (**zihjii**) and a noun (**yi.fur**) and a grammatical marker (**.de**) showing the modifying relationship between them. The Process function is here again filled by a single verb (**xii**) but in another context could be filled by a verb plus stative verb (洗干净 **xiigan.jing** "wash clean") or by a verb plus aspect marker (洗了 **xii.le** "completed washing, washed"). Finally, the Adjunct function is filled by the adverb **jingcharng** "often", but this slot could easily be filled by two adverbs in a modifying relationship, e.g. 不常 **buh charng** "not often", or by something more complex: 认认真真地 **rehn.rehn.zhenzhen .de** "conscientiously".

We can see from the above example that the relationship between the different levels is not always simple. However, by carefully distinguishing these different levels, we can identify the clause functions at the most general level, and then work our way down through group and word, keeping in mind these general functions while we identify, in successively greater detail, how they are composed or made up. Thus recognizing these different levels enables us to bring out clearly the central application of the notion of function in describing linguistic form.

<There is a further level we can recognise, that of "word formative" or "morpheme", i.e. the parts that make up the words themselves, such as 中 **Zhong** and 国 **guor** in **Zhongguor** and 学 **xuer** and 生 **sheng** in **xuersheng** (these correspond in written Chinese to separate characters). However, they are not directly relavant to the description of the grammar, so we won't go into them in any more detail now.>

(b) Function

We have talked about "function" in a general sense referring to the uses to which language is put. "Function" with a capital letter refers to the specific parts of the grammar that are functional with respect to the whole. The parts of the clause that we have labelled "Actor" "Process" "Topic" "Comment" etc, are Functions in this sense. Functions are identified both by their meaning and by their form (see the discussion above about the two-fold character of a functional grammar); "form" in Chinese is mostl defined as position in the clause or occurence with other elements. So for example the Function "Topic" is defined as "starting point of the message" (meaning) and (roughly) as "first element in the clause" (form). We have already discussed how the clause has two different arrays or configurations of Functions, one to do with representing experience (Actor, Process, Goal etc), the other with presenting a message (Topic, Comment).

We can also recognise Functions at other levels besides that of the clause: for example, in many of the groups above we had two elements that could be characterised as "Modifier" and "Modified". We will identify these functions occasionally, but since the range of Functions here is not so wide, and comparatively more of them tend to be filled by distinct word classes, we won't apply the notion of Function as strictly as at clause level.

(c) Class

A class is a set of items that are alike in some respect. We can have classes of clauses (major (with a Process), minor (without Process)), and classes of groups (nominal, adverbial, verbal), but the most useful application of the concept of class is at word level: "word classes" (traditionally - and erroneously - called "parts of speech"), e.g. nouns, verbs, conjunctions etc.

Why do we need this notion? Well, looking from the perspective of clause Functions, we find that there is not always a one-to-one relationship between Functions and the groups and words which slot into them. Let's take this time the message Functions "Topic" (starting point of message) and "Comment" (development of message). In an example like

Topic	Comment
她	游泳.
Ta	youryoong.
s/he	swim

"She swims."

the two Functions are filled, at group and word level respectively, by

nominal group	verbal group
noun	verb.

Compare another example:

Topic	Comment
游泳	是一项很好的运动.
Youryoong	**.shih yir xiahng heen haao .de yuhndohng.**
swimming	be one MEAS very good SUB sport

"Swimming is a very good sport."

This time the functions are filled by

verbal group	verbal group nominal group	
verb	verb	NUM MEAS adverb verb SUB noun

We can see that the verb **youryoong** functions in the first example as Comment, and in the second as Topic, but we can also see that in another sense it is still the same, it is still referring to the act of swimming.

How do we know it is still the same? Well partly for the reason we've just given above (meaning), but also for other reasons that have to do with what we might call its "structural potential", i.e. its occurrence in different grammatical structures (form). Compare the following examples:

Topic	Comment
她	不游泳
Ta	**buh youryoong**
s/he	not swim

"She doesn't swim."

Topic	Comment
不游泳	为了身体不好.
Buh youryoong	**weih.le shentii buh haao.**
not swim	for health not good

"Not swimming is bad for your health."

We can see that **youryoong** "swim" is in both cases modified by **buh** "not" in a way that wouldn't be possible for a Topic like, for example, 学生 **xuersheng** "student". So we put **youryoong** into the class "verb" because it refers to a type of "going-on" in our experience (a meaningful reason), and because it can be preceded by adverbs like **buh** "not" and followed by aspect markers like 了 **le**, 过 **guoh** etc (a formal reason).

These sorts of reasons allow us to set up a number of distinct word classes in Chinese (or any language). In traditional grammar, the idea of class and Function is not clearly distinguished, and so we have formulations like "Subject (Function) verb (class) object (Function), because the Function we would call Process is always filled by a verb. But because this one-to-one relationship is not followed throughout the grammar, either in English or Chinese (as we have seen above), and because in Chinese there is even more flexibility for different word classes to fill the same Function, we will, at clause level at least, keep Function and class very clearly dictinct.

1.4 Using a functional grammar: a note on terminology

This "grammar" in the concrete sense, i.e. this description of the grammar of Chinese, has been designed with some definite aims in mind. Firstly, from our starting point "What is "grammar"?" and "Does Chinese have one?", you can see that we believe that there is a definite role for grammatical descriptions in language learning. The kind of description being developed here (and it is still very much at an early stage) grows out of a particular way of looking at language - a functional one - and its development was prompted by a widespread dissatisfaction, both from the point of view of teachers and students, with current descriptions of Chinese. A functional approach to language description , such as that set out for English in Michael Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar, seemed to throw new light on some old questions in Chinese grammar, within a framework whose own foundations are very explicit and clearly set out.

Which brings us to another sense of the word "functional". This functional grammar, as well as being developed in the framework of certain grammatical functions, is also designed to be "functional" in the ordinary sense of the word: i.e. to be usable. The description set out here, its categories and distinctions and labels, are all intended to be useful in dealing with real Chinese, that is, in analysing actual texts in Chinese. This type of analysis is not some lofty theoretical construct, it is a contribution to the practical process of working out "what the hell it all means", and a large part of that, though not the whole, consists in understanding the grammatical patterns.

It is in this light that the distinctions recognised here and the labels given to them should be viewed. They are not real in themselves, they are merely shorthand for certain regularities observed in the patterning of the clause: becoming aware of those regularities is much more important than learning the labels. As labels however they are meant to be useful, and in most cases are chosen to give as clear an idea of what they represent as possible. This is particularly true of the Function labels, the ones most immediately useful in analysing clauses. There are three main kinds of labels used in the present grammar, so I will now briefly identify them.

The first type could be called simply "grammatical" labels, or more strictly "(grammatical) system" labels. These refer to different kinds of meaning distinctions that are arranged in "systems" whose features are in some sort of opposition to each other: e.g. statements vs questions; uncompleted vs completed aspect; topicalisation vs focus, and so on. Many of the systems introduce further distinctions stemming from one or more of their features: e.g. statements vs questions, questions either yes/no or missing information. Many of the headings in the list of contents in the main text are system labels of this kind, and the organisation of this review is one by systems.

The second type are class labels: i.e. labels for "items that are alike in some respect". These class labels are largely traditional, handed down from Greek via Latin: e.g. "noun", "verb" "adverb" etc. Some terms have been adapted from the existing terms, e.g. the terms for the "verb-like" "coverb" and "postverb"; other terms have been adopted for features peculiar to Chinese: e.g. "measure". These class labels, and the organisation of (most) word classes into group classes, are explained in detail in Introduction A of the main text.

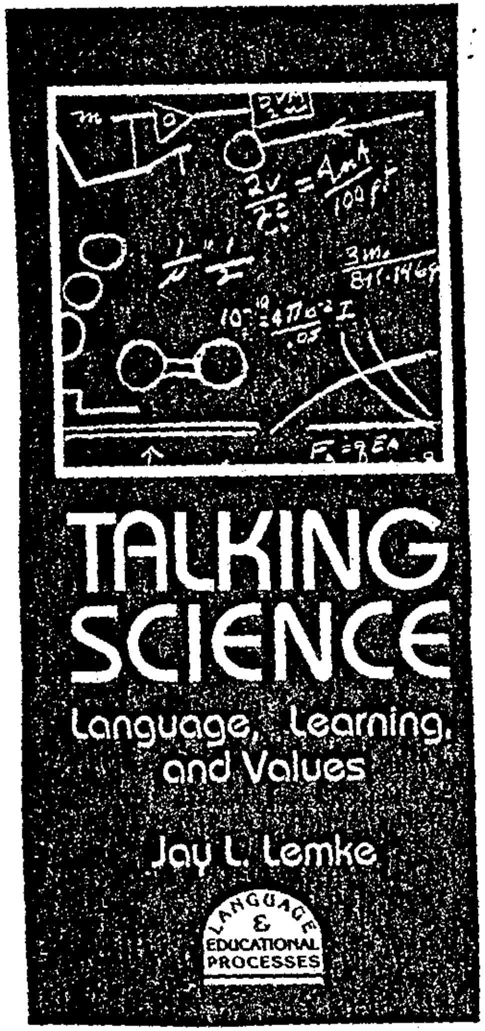
The final type of label, Function labels, is distinguished from the other two by being always given an initial capital. This is firstly because Function labels particularly have been selected to be as meaningful as possible, and therefore many common terms have been adopted, whose particular grammatical use is marked by the capital: e.g. Topic, Comment, Actor, Goal etc. Secondly it is the Function labels that are the most useful in analysing clauses, that is, in separating out the functions of the different parts of the clause in relation to each other, and thus understanding the functioning of the whole, and this particular status is marked by the capital.

This type of grammatical analysis, i.e. identifying the functions of the parts of the clause in relationship to the whole, is the aim of the present description. It is designed to help with the practical problems of making sense of strings of words - or in written Chinese, strings of characters. It is thus intended to be applied in the analysis of actual texts, and most of the grammatical distinctions introduced here have already been illustrated in the summaries attached to each lesson, and will be tested in text exercises.

This revision is organised in a way that is clearly functional (in all of the senses discussed above). First we identify the basic structure of the clause, how it is put together, with the two major divisions into representation of experience, and organisation of message. Following on from that we examine the third major function of the clause as an exchange between speaker and listener. Next we move on to identify the ways in which additional information can be added to this basic structure, and the different functional slots in the clause where this information fits. Thirdly we discuss how the clause as a whole, or particular parts of it, may be "marked", i.e. some particular grammatical features added in response to a particular context (this marking again falls clearly into experiential and message marking).

Then we move on above or beyond the single clause to discuss the different ways in which one clause may combine with another, and the different meaning relationships that can be established between them. Finally we narrow our gaze a little to examine how words are combined into groups, and take a brief look at the structure of words themselves and how they are built up out of characters (morphemes), particularly relevant again in written Chinese, which does not mark breaks between words, but prints characters successively from left to right.

We hope that this new look at the grammar of Chinese will give those of you who are now struggling to come to terms with its complexities some way of reducing the "level of confusion". Descriptions of Chinese in the past have suffered from having Western grammatical categories foisted on them more or less indiscriminately. While we couldn't claim this as a genuine "grammar for Chinese", we believe that a functional way of looking at language helps to "see around" some of the traditional distinctions, and identify patterns that are more relevant to the interpreting of Chinese texts.



TALKING SCIENCE: Language, Learning, and Values

Jay L. Lemke, City University of New York (Brooklyn College)

Talking Science talks plainly about the role of language in teaching and in the communication of scientific and technical subjects. It identifies and analyzes the many strategies teachers and students use to communicate about science and to influence one another's beliefs and behavior. Special emphasis is placed on analyzing patterns of social interaction, the role of language and semantics in communicating scientific concepts, and the social values and interests which lie behind these patterns of communication.

The book addresses fundamental questions:

- how do we communicate ideas
- why does communication work so well sometimes, and fail so badly at other times
- what are the most basic difficulties in communicating scientific and technical concepts
- how do teachers communicate science in the classroom
- why do some students succeed in mastering science, while so many others find it impossibly difficult and frustrating
- what attitudes and values are transmitted in the science classroom along with the science that is learned

Essentially this is a book about *talking science*; it asks how we use the specialized language of science to make sense of the world, and to make sense of and to one another. However, "talking science" does not simply mean talking *about* science. It means *doing* science through the medium of language, that is, observing, describing, comparing, designing experiments, reporting, arguing, lecturing and teaching in and through the language of science. The author urges teachers to learn to see science teaching as a social process: to bring students into the community of people who talk science. It is unique among books on the teaching of science in its emphasis on seeing the mastery of science as consisting in large part of learning to speak and write the language of science.

Because communication and teaching are social processes, they depend on attitudes, values and social interests, not just on knowledge and skills. In every chapter, the author looks at conflicts of interests and values in order to understand the successes and failures of communication in the science classroom. Additionally, the author addresses the "mystique of science." By analyzing how teachers and students talk science in the classroom we can begin to understand how this mystique is perpetuated, why it is harmful, and what we can do about it.

Chapters 1 and 2 introduce the specific themes and methods of the whole book. Each analyzes a brief classroom episode, looking from two different points of view at how teachers and students talk science. Chapter 3 is about the unwritten rules of the classroom. It addresses social contexts, power, interests, and values. Chapter 4 describes in detail how the semantic resources of language are used in talking science. Specific examples from actual lessons illustrate a variety of strategies. Chapter 5 ties the language of the classroom to larger social issues including the mystique of science and students' alienation from science. Chapter 6 raises critical issues for the analysis of curriculum in science and other subjects. Chapter 7 summarizes many of the arguments made throughout the book by providing a list of recommendations for changing the way teachers teach. Finally, Chapter 8 gives an overview of social semiotics.

Working from recorded transcripts made in real science classrooms, **Talking Science** goes beyond previous work on the organization of classroom discourse to show how the conceptual content of a specialized subject is actually communicated through the semantic patterns that teachers and students weave with language. Modern techniques of discourse analysis are used to place the communication of science in the context of classroom lessons, debates, and disruptions.

The volume argues that mastery of scientific and technical subjects means learning to talk and use their specialized languages. It offers many specific recommendations for improving the teaching and *communication of science and provides an introduction to the important new fields of semantic discourse analysis and social semiotics.*

Talking Science can be used as a basic textbook for undergraduate courses in methods of teaching science and also for graduate courses on verbal and nonverbal communication in the classroom. It is also important reading for researchers and students in linguistics, discourse analysis, semantics, anthropology of education, classroom ethnography, sociology, semiotics and educational psychology.

CONTENTS:

1990 288pp. ISBN: 0-89391-565-3 $47.50 (Cloth)
ISBN: 0-89392-566-1 $24.95 (Paper)

Talking Science is a volume in the *Language and Educational Processes* series edited by *Judith Green, (University of California at Santa Barbara).* The volumes provide a forum for the exploration of how language in use influences and is influenced by educational processes. Of particular concern is the need to make visible the often invisible influences of language on what and how students learn or fail to learn from participating in various educational processes throughout their lives. Scholars working on the nexus of language and education from the perspectives of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnomethodology, ethnography, cognitive psychology and related areas are invited to submit monographs and edited collections of original papers to the series editor.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jay Lemke teaches Science Education and Language and Education at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. After completing his doctorate in theoretical physics at the University of Chicago, his interest in science and culture led to research on classroom communication of science supported by the National Science Foundation. He has also written extensively on literacy education, discourse linguistics, and social semiotics.

PAST MEETINGS

Review of:

What Now? What Next? New Perspectives in Linguistics

The Applied Linguistics Research Working Group
International Spring Colloquium

April 19 - 22, 1991

held at Glendon College, York University, Toronto

Fourteen papers by linguists from Canada and the United States were delivered at this colloquium. Given its relatively small size, the colloquium received papers displaying interest in a wide variety of linguistic problems and perspectives-- and every paper had engaging, pertinent and convincing aspects both from theoretical and practical points of view. Quality levels were consistent and high.

The following quote is given as an entry point (if a somewhat exaggerated one) for the discussion of a number of the colloquium's papers:

> Dramatic developments within psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics ... have led to rekindled interest in generative grammar. Recent discoveries have provided independent corroboration for the generativist view that the form of language exists independently of its content (i.e. competence independently of performance), thereby shattering the functionalist view that the two are inseparable. For example, neurologists have found that the grammatical properties of language are represented in the brain separately from its functional properties, including those pragmatic aspects that generativists would ascribe to performance. Under pathological conditions, form and function can even become disassociated from each other; many cases are documented in which, as a result of some cerebral trauma, a patient has maintained grammatical abilities, yet has lost the ability to use language communicatively, or vice versa. Psychologists report cases of abnormal language acquisition, where form and function have become dissociated. Such findings have suggested to many that a generative grammar is more than the product of the manipulation of a set of arcane symbols-- it is a model of the human language faculty.[1]

This is a rather overstated attempt to 1) divorce 'form' from 'function' and 2) insist on a purely 'formal' linguistics. Perhaps I have unfairly taken this quote from its context (Newmeyer's book is a very informative one) but it does highlight some issues that are relevant to the ALRWG colloquium. It does so in the following way:

There is a gulf between formal and functional views of language, perhaps best summed up as the difference between an "intra-organism" versus a "inter-organism" approach (Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as a social semiotic*. London: Arnold. p.12). From one side, there was a recognition in several of the papers at the colloquium that a functional perspective needs must have a more consistent degree of formalism where possible (e.g. in the lexicogrammar). The majority of the papers were given 'from a functional (systemic-functional) perspective', but in several (e.g. Gregory, Asp, Tousignant, Stainton), aspects of 'formal' models were incorporated (e.g. GB syntax). These 'blends' were not established lightly, they were established to improve the viability of statements about language code and language events. At worst, the colloquium participants were called upon to re-examine aspects of the linguistic models they work with. From the colloquium's title (What Now? What Next? New Perspectives in Linguistics) one of its major themes emerges: The linguistic model we operate with, like language potential in general, is open to modification in contact with other instances of linguistic models. Hegemony in a science ostensibly devoted to communication is problematic no matter what side of a particular fence we find ourselves on.

What follows is a short commentary on each of the papers (in the order of their colloquium presentation) with these initial observations in mind.

The conference began on an historical note with Richard Baily's (University of Michigan) paper "The Age of Words". Baily penetrated 19th century 'feelings' about language and pointed out that what we 'feel' about language today very much comes from the 19th century when "words first became things". These impressions have been left unexamined for too long, Baily claimed, and linguists need to turn constantly for evidence to lay-persons' conceptions about language. A more articulate socio-historical and socio-linguistic agenda emerges from careful self-reflexivity of language.

Jim Benson (Glendon College, York University) turned the participants' attention to continuing debates concerning genre in "Genre and Register: the tail wagging the dog?". By way of field, tenor and mode analysis of several texts, Benson sought to establish that "generic structure, whatever it is, would seem to be a product of the interaction of register values". With this thesis, he stands opposed to Martin, who Benson cited as having claimed that genres cannot be determined by the values of registers but, in fact, determine register. Given that (after Halliday 1978, op cit) generic structure is outside the linguistic system, it is the opinion of this reviewer that a dialectical relationship exists between genre and register. This, of course, depends on what constructs genre is 'made up of'. The view of field, tenor and mode as a semiotic environment that activates choices in registers seems to emphasize the equal significance of all three situational constructs as 'determiners' of registerial choices. As we will see, this very point was challenged in a number of the colloquium's papers.

This reviewer's paper followed. In "Discerning the discerning traveller", I attempted to show how a phasal analysis/catalysis can be a useful approach for making statements about 'ideological patterns' in instances of discourse (in this case a newspaper advertisement for an 'up-scale' travel magazine). I leave it to others to review this piece.

In "O'Neill's dramatic dialogue", Karen Malcolm (University of Winnipeg) presented a detailed phasal analysis of a large sample of major characters' monologues in several

[1] Newmeyer, Frederick, J. 1986. *Linguistic theory in America*. New York: Academic Press Inc. p. 229

O'Neill plays. Malcolm demonstrated parallels between O'Neill's perceived "language consciousness" and the shifting 'complexity' of phasal patterning in the texts. The phasal analyses were a convincing treatment of the speakers' "structuring" of monologue. However, Malcolm's analyses, at least as presented, did seem to side-step matters of degrees of delicacy and depth of detail. It appeared that all phasal distinctions were made 'at the same level'. Significant similarities and dissimilarities of phases at one degree of delicacy with language potential in general (e.g. generic situations/registers) and their renewal of connection in instances could have been more clearly articulated.

In "The role of register and phase in text typology", Lynne Young (Carleton University) reported on her research using the constructs of phase and register in the description and typology of spoken academic texts (lectures). Her goals were twofold: (1) "to examine the connection between registerial constructs and codal selections to show the influence of situational components on the linguistic choices of users" and (2) "to determine the nature of the resulting discourse in terms of macro structure." Young's description represents a crucial step toward providing interested parties with "reliable and complete descriptions of diatypic varieties" and is thus crucial to "enabling teachers and learners to predict linguistic choices in a variety of generic situations." Dr. Young was questioned about her maintaining a distinction between <u>personal</u> and <u>functional</u> tenor (cf. Gregory, M. 1988. Generic situation and register: a functional view of communication. In J. Benson, M. Cummings and W. Greaves, eds., *Linguistics in a systemic perspective*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. for an opposing view.)

One of the most interesting and best presented papers of the conference was Jacqueline Anderson's (Madonna University) contribution "Theme management and generic formation in deaf students' writing". Her ongoing research into the nature of deaf students' writing has produced some very important results that, according to some at the colloquium, have not necessarily been warmly received by the current purveyors of "wisdom" for deaf persons' language use. This is unfortunate because Anderson's paper indicated her acuity and thoughtfulness. She demonstrated how deaf students' writing was structured, but structured differently than 'standard' texts because of what she called "structural mismatches" correlated with generic academic writing forms. Deaf writers, she reported, do not have the same understanding hearing writers do of information requirements. Anderson even went as far as to compare this fact with other 'non-standard' dialects (e.g. Hispanic English) and cited it as a major factor in writing problems. Because deaf students' writing 'problems' are not necessarily lexical or syntactic, but come mainly from a failure to understand the requirements of institutionalized discourse structures, Anderson has reported success with deaf students' writing by offering consistent and explicit genre description and teaching. Her research programme also demonstrates a fruitful 'blending' of linguistic models: Her theme/rheme description is drawn from a Hallidayan (IFG) model and her discoursal structure descriptions are drawn from the tagmemic work of Longacre.

Carol Winkelman (University of Michigan) presented findings from her doctoral research regarding ideational patterns (specifically, transitivity patterns) in her paper "Verb types in some seventeenth-century pamphlets". Using a large sample drawn from a "pamphlet war" raging in England in the 1600's and employing computer-assisted statistical analysis of verb types, Winkleman was able to make interesting statements regarding the style of

W

different factions involved in the pamphleteering. Particularly, this involved pairing certain verb type patterns with one of the pamphleteers (a woman) whom Winkleman said was able to "fight fire with ice" given her subtle control of this register.

In "Dialect diversity and processes of language change", Jay Lemke (City University of New York) posed a number of interesting questions for the future agenda of linguistics (particularly systemic-functional linguistics) especially as regards the "fostering of diversity" and how we model the relationships between social/cultural change, dialectal diversity and changes in discoursal schema. Lemke discussed the difference between several "scientific" models (e.g. self-organizing systems {chemistry}, eco-systems {biology} and eco-social systems {extrapolation from biology}) positing that our modelling of processes of language change will need to account for (*inter alia*) the different rates and courses of development in (for example) grammatical change ("slow") versus discoursal schema ("fast"). In some ways, Lemke's paper defies digest here, but brief mention of one point may give the flavour of his presentation. He cited a model of eco-systems and their inherent processes of "ecological succession" that leads to a mosaic or "patchiness" where 'units' have continually developed from and towards diversification. Unlike "embryonic" systems following predictable development patterns (e.g. based on DNA characteristics) and tending towards individuation, "eco-social" systems develop into mosaics, do not "die of old-age", and are also subject to interventions occasioned by semiotic relationships affecting its material basis. These extrapolations from scientific, biological models suggest interesting perspectives for modelling processes of language change and highlight the need for a continually diversified approach to matters of dialect and register.

In "Preliminary issues for the study of theme/rheme in Old English", Michael Cummings (Glendon College, York University) explored the relationship between form and function of theme and rheme using a sample of Wulfstan ("the homilist") texts. Using an IFG model, Cummings found that, on the whole, Old English themes in this sample were not very divergent from what a Hallidayan theme/rheme analysis would predict. However, an explicit temporal placing of the texts has led Cummings to explore certain thematization patterns that are not necessarily reflected in present-day English. For instance, many of the preposed 'auxiliary' elements in the Old English texts would not be properly categorized as Interpersonal theme (as in IFG) because the Old English auxiliary in these cases had "more lexical content". They were categorized as Ideational:topical theme. Cummings' list of Old English thematic elements has added to IFG theme potential categorization and shown another of Old English's modern reflexes.

Elissa Asp (York University) affirmed the importance of knowledge as a resource for socio-semiotics and for a socio-cognitive linguistics in "Dislocating systems: reconsidering the role of systems in a socio-cognitive model". Asp emphasized the social in terms of the relationships between linguistic code and linguistic behaviour, but also stated that a cognitive linguistic model "should meet the minimum requirements of cognitive research". To this end she pointed out some problems with systemic-functional models, particularly as regards the metafunctions and the status of systems and system networks. With the metafunctions Asp has suggested a slightly different perspective based on research into cognitive processes and the theory that knowledge is stored in propositional form (e.g. even knowledge of how to ask questions). The equal status of the three metafunctions is slightly skewed in this view-- the ideational is prioritized, while the interpersonal and textual selections are more 'motivated' by instances of discourse (see comments on Gregory's paper below). Asp cited the apparent 'stability' of systems as representations of an *etat de langue* as a problem, particularly in terms of representing value as part of a dynamic process. She cited the value of the choices 'Ms.', 'Mrs.' and 'Miss' and pointed out that a simple systemic notation of these misrepresents their actual values in certain contexts. Asp suggested a model-instance framework in place of systems. Given some of the tenets of the "Selective Inheritance Principle" (cf. Hudson, R. 1984. *Word Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.), replaying dynamism is less of a problem because any instance can stand for a model: new information can (cognitively) enter the model via the instance. Realization relationships can be replaced by model-instance relationships.

In "A transformational and functional perspective on discourse analysis", Nathalie Tousignant (York University) combined linguistic models to analyze a short newspaper story on the U.S. condemnation of Israel for violence on Jerusalem's Temple Mount (*Toronto Star*, Oct.10, 1990). Using a combination of the Communication Linguistics model and GB syntax, Tousignant outlined how the experience relationship of a generic situation (ideational function) would "activate" the lexicon and subsequent projections in instances of discourse. The codal cycle is thus conceived of differently in relation to its activation in instances of discourse which can be functionally characterized by a phasal analysis. Tousignant also reported on her research into the possibility that "X expands into X" and "X'' expands into X'''" citing as examples sentence rank (clause complex) elements such as link, attitudinal, vocative, etc.,(that X' expands into X' has been established in GB theory).

One of the colloquium's more 'formally' complete presentations came in Robert Stainton's (MIT) "In Praise of Open Questions". Stainton sought to give an account of the propositional content of WH-interrogatives. His initial examples will give some idea of the course of his paper: It has been "standardly claimed" that sentences (1) and (2) have identical propositional (roughly, ideational) content;

(1) Grass is green. (2) Is grass green.

To distinguish the semantics of interrogatives and declaratives, mood is introduced. Stainton calls such methods "force" and "radical" approaches, but goes on to point out that these approaches do not easily relate the propositional content of such sentences as (3) (WH-interrogatives);

(3) Who invented the hot-dog?

Using intensional logic, Stainton outlined a theory of meaning for English with an output of an infinite set of true "S-sentences" like (4), where 's' is a variable over meaningful expressions in English and 'p' is a variable over formulae in intensional logic;

(4) 'S' is satisfied in English if and only if 'p'.

His paper then outlined in detail how S-sentences can be given for WH-interrogatives.

Stainton's proposals (which are much more lengthy and detailed than presented here) set up some interesting challenges for any linguist concerned with replicable statements of meaning regarding WH-interrogatives. Although it may not be to everyone's taste to use such formally explicit methods (e.g. "already interpreted languages" like intensional logic), Stainton has shown that many 'assumptions' about sentences' propositional content do not necessarily hold, and for a semantics that seeks to be maximally explicit and replicable much more research needs to be done. His paper constitutes an insightful contribution to this agenda.

Michael Gregory (Glendon College, York University) began his presentation "Motivating Movement: functional linguistics and GB syntax" with a metaphor: grammars are like stories. Stories are told for purposes and some stories fit these purposes better than others. Selecting from a number of stories, Gregory proposed an engaging new narrative, that is, a 'grammar' drawing on constructs from Communication Linguistics and GB syntax. Prompted by challenges met in text generation, discourse analysis, and driven by a desire for parsimony in general, Gregory outlined the framework he is heading towards. This involves "wrapping" gnostological patterns from communicating community contexts and generic situations around a GB syntax model so that, for instance, matters of projection from a lexicon and movement (*inter alia*) are seen as functionally motivated. This framework is heading towards a productive marriage of 'functional' and 'formal' models.

The final paper of the colloquium was David Watt's (University of Calgary) "Dynamic description for context negotiation". The title of this paper is misleading, because Watt ended up giving a short but penetrating course in intonation. He began with a reassertion of the oft ignored role of phonology in some linguistic work, especially as regards the importance of intonation in discourse analysis. Watt neatly demonstrated that intonation is not just a matter of the patterning of various types of tones and tone sequences. While doing so, he showed how a "grammatical approach" to categorizing tones (eg. a tone sequence is seen as the entry condition for a sub-system consisting of the options; cohesive, paratactic or hypotactic) is not necessarily the best approach. He gave an example of two consecutive tones that were important in the realization of hypotaxis and parataxis predominantly because of their size (observable with the aid of computer graphics) rather than their 'shape' (falling, rising, etc.). Watt concluded that other factors needed to be brought into the analysis instead of consistently turning to grammatical criteria. He closed with an example of prosodic features in some tone groups that signal "over and above" grammatical signals.

Several key issues (re)emerged throughout this colloquium as a whole. I will simply list some of the ones that have stuck with me and preface the list by saying that there existed at the conference (particularly in discussion periods and around the 'cash bar') a healthy degree of non-consensus coupled with an equally healthy desire on the part of all the participants to be explicit in their understanding of issues raised in the papers and discussions.

Some questions and issues:

To what extent and with what benefits can a more formal syntactic component (possibly a GB syntax) be coupled with a functional perspective toward language and communication?

What aspects of current systemic-functional linguistic theory need to be seriously re-examined to more accurately depict 'how we mean'? (or in the case of Michael Cummings' paper, 'how we meant'). For that matter, what aspects of current systemic-functional the are potentially being 'wrongly' re-modelled? (Benson's contribution on genre and register is relevant in this context).

What are the theoretical (and practical) consequences of our modelling of linguistic processes? Are the metaphors (or abstractions) we make suitable to the purposes we hope for them to serve? (the contributions of Asp, Lemke and Gregory were most relevant to these issues).

Current models can be profitably applied to research on ongoing language 'problems', especially when description takes place in the context of a number of linguistic theories. This facilitates not only clearer, more revealing descriptions, but also draws attention to the viability and efficiency of the models used (this was especially clear in the case of Anderson's paper and to some extent in the contributions by Malcolm, Stillar, Young and Tousignant).

Finally, what are the key factors involved in our research for the new "stories", the new perspectives in linguistics we continue moving towards?.

- Glenn Stillar
York University

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PETA
Feb., 1991 88pp Paper 0-909955-90-5 $12.50

THE THIRD NOTTINGHAM SYSTEMIC WORKSHOP, 1991

The workshop gave an overall impression of very smooth organisation and thoughtful distribution of areas of study, which means that the organisers had been, and still were, working very hard. There were about fifty participants (from all over the globe), a number which made for easy and pleasant interaction. Also nice was the mixture of old and new faces.

Certain areas of interest stand out on the programme. The meeting was convened around two main topics: the Exchange, which took up most of the first two and a half days, and Theme, which filled the last day of the workshop. As regards the particpants' choice of subjects of study, the meeting showed that the language of politics, language use and development in children, language in business and the language of academic papers are fields under investigation. The aims of research in these areas are threefold: first, descriptive - the papers presented a lot of data from different corpora of spoken or written language; then theoretical and/or applied - speakers considered the implications of their data given the present state of the theory in their area, on the one hand, and on the other, suggested explanations for certain intuitions about language, or ways of applying their research to language teaching and language awareness. Reasons why speakers or writers succeed or fail in their communicative aims were given special attention in talks in both sections of the meeting: the Exchange and Theme.

As we saw on the first day, political interviews provide data which is lively and meaty - for example, it appears that interviewees flaunt conversational principles for their own ends. Sandra Harris (Nottingham Polytechnic) showed us why we get the impression that politicians are evasive: over 60% of their responses are not answers to the interviewer's questions. Favourite ways of evading the question are challenging either the presuppositions or the illocutionary force - in the latter case, the politician has frequently perceived an accusation. In fact, a problem with the data turned out to be the actual recognition of questions and answers - the response is directed not at the questioner but at the overhearing audience, so that the communicative intention is not "normal"; and the mapping of the question onto linguistic structures takes many forms. Also, as Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen (Ghent) demonstrated for "of course", a linguistic form can have different functions. Politicians use certainty adverbs to persuade, by creating a bond with their audience - together they share certain knowledge or they recognise the logic of an argument. This bond does not necessarily include the interviewer. The interview of Juan Guerra, the notorious brother of the (then) Vice-President of Spain, by a popular and normally friendly journalist, Mercedes Milá, studied by Vincent Salvador and Antonia Sánchez (Valencia) showed evasion by deliberately failing to apply the principle of "relevance" and choosing unintended implications. It is interesting how in this interview, and others in Harris' corpus, the audience perceives the questioners as aggressors when they try to prevent the interviewees from avoiding their questions.

This year's keynote speaker, Eija Ventola, brought us up to date in studies of the Exchange. In her lovely relaxed manner - which, however, combines with packing in a lot of information - she gave an appraisal of work in the line of Sinclair and Coulthard,

especially that of Margaret Berry (who as an organiser had unfortunately decided not to present a paper this year, but who contributed many insightful and incisive comments in the discussions at the workshop) and an evaluation of the approach of the ethnomethodologists - their shortcomings being, in her view, lack of consideration of the social situation and of interest in the whole area of realisation in the lexicogrammar. Conversation analysts (perhaps because they insist on "pure" conversation as their material) do not get much further in their picture of discourse structure than adjacency pairs, while systemicists are constantly looking for structures. Eija concludes that "conversation analysts do not see the wood for the trees, and systemicists sometimes forget that there are trees in a wood".

Mike Hoey's (Birmingham) interest was also in evaluating and extending the theory of exchanges. He considered the concept of complex moves, where either two units have the same function - for example: initiation, or one move has two functions - for example: response and initiation. He sees a larger structure than the three/four move set: exchange progressions parallel to Danes' thematic progressions. Thus, he linked the two areas of the workshop's content. An eye-opener to some of us was the use of discourse analysis as evidence in court cases. The analysis can evaluate the likelihood of exchanges between the accused and the police being authentic. A technical innovation in his lively talk was the use of double transparencies!

More work on the theory of exchanges came from two very different sources: children's interaction - Hilary Hillier (Nottingham) and interaction generated by the systems programmed into Robin Fawcett's computer (Cardiff). Hilary has studied the ways in which participants (in her corpus three children aged between 7 and 12 playing a computer game) come to an agreement as to what should be done in a particular situation, and, from here, the grammatical realisations of successful and unsuccessful action-instigating sequences, with their different choices of possible acts. As was pointed out in the discussion, studies like this of interactions between more than two participants are needed.

Robin, in his double session, invited us to browse in his systemic flowchart of exchange structure, which is about to be implemented in the Cardiff generation programme. The flowchart is the result of a study, in collaboration with two Dutch researchers, using a corpus of the language of 8 - 12 year old children. It is, of necessity, complex, since an exchange grammar must be capable of generating (or analysing) any type of situation, while genre grammars are specific. We were shown how the grammar not only deals with more straightforward exchanges, but copes with challenges, and also covers indirect speech acts through the choice: <straight/oblique>. In building his network, Robin has found useful the work of Sinclair and Coulthard, with the advances made by Margaret Berry.

Different types of data were presented in studies on spoken discourse. Patricia Haegeman (Antwerp) and Francesca Bargiela (Nottingham Polytechnic) analysed exchanges in native and non-native business English, and Barbara Bokus (Warsaw) the interaction of children working together to create stories.

In the evening of the second day of the conference, on Robin's suggestion, a dis was held around the different analyses of an example of an exchange taken from Mike Hoey's talk. Eija, Margaret, Hilary, Mike and Robin gave their versions according to their models - a very interesting experience for the group.

In the summary session on the Exchange, introduced and led by Robin, the various points raised showed that differing opinions still exist (a healthy situation). Questions such as whether the exchange should be seen as process or product - in the first case including in the model the possibility of repairs, challenges, etc, in the second, aiming for a model of canonical exchanges, which would then show deviations from the norm, account for our evaluation of a particular exchange and, in fact, constitute a complete grammar of discourse. Robin was in favour of the dynamic model (in fact, supporting the view held by many computational linguists, that two different grammars are necessary: one for generation of language, the other for analysis) and Margaret of the synoptic perspective. Jean Ure pointed out that only when we arrive at the product stage can we check our analysis of the process. Mike Hoey reminded us of the importance of the prospective aspect of the Birmingham group's description of the exchange: the recognition of a particular move sets up expectations which have a certain probability of being fulfilled. Research presented at earlier sessions and the ensuing discussions have, in fact, shown interest in constructing predictive models.

Those of us working on Theme fall into different and overlapping interest groups: thematic choices and successful writing, descriptions of the thematic possibilities in different types of language, or different languages, and clarification of terminology. Ingegerd Bäcklund (Uppsala) presented the results of an analysis of themes in telephone conversations. Over 50% of the themes in the T-units studied refer to the speaker, so she suggests that the method of development in this type of text is, in fact, the speaker. It is interesting that these conversations use very few marked themes (19 out of 419, of which 10 were if clauses), while the proportion of interpersonal and textual themes to ideational themes was over 50% in each case. Normally, new material is not presented in thematic position - the theme tends to be realised by pronouns on inferrable items. Another characteristic is experiential iconicity - events in phone calls are represented in the order in which they occur, causes before effects, etc.

Two of the papers looked at Theme in languages which present different thematic possibilities from those we have seen in Modern English. Michael Cummings (Toronto) introduced us to the thematic choices in Old English, taking a text composed of narrative and expository passages. He found that the typical topic theme was the grammatical subject, and that, as in Modern English, a marked theme provides a framework within which to interpret the following message. An interesting point as regards genre is the fact that marked themes were relatively unusual in the expository sections but frequent in narration. A problem is presented by "then", which appears so often it does not seem very satisfactory to analyse it as marked theme, but rather as a discourse marker. Predicators in thematic position present difficulties for analysis - or at least, pose questions. Michael found that they seem to topicalise the idea of "pastness". And what should be done about the auxiliary and catenative verbs in first position?

Rachel Whittaker and Elena de Miguel (Madrid) had to deal with somewhat similar problems in their paper on Theme in Spanish, a language in which the predicator is often

placed in first position - for a number of different reasons: (a) the semantics of the verb (basically, verbs indicating physical or mental states or changes of state, and those with a presentative function); (b) impersonal structures; (c) preposed predicator (and postposed subject) when the writer chooses the verb as point of departure; (d) predicator with null pronoun. In this last case, the writer considers the reader still has the subject (and topic) activated, so this choice carries an instruction for the processing of the text - "we are still talking about the same concept". For this reason, this option was called "zero theme". The paper also compared the semantic roles of the themes in the Spanish corpus of academic articles with a similar English corpus, and showed considerable similarity between the two languages in this genre.

Hieng Hiong Lau (Birmingham) is also working on the language of scientific papers, and presented a very interesting modification of one of Danes' thematic progressions: the hypertheme. This rather loose term was shown to cover two types in his corpus: "resumptive" and "summative" thematic links. He also found evidence for an orientative and a prospective pattern.

Two studies were interested in effective writing and thematic choices. Jiafeng Zhang (Nottingham) presented the results of experiments on the language of job brochures. She tested different hypotheses: that the brochures judged more attractive by her subjects (young job-hunters) would have a higher number of interpersonal and interactional themes and more references to people. Also there would be fewer lexical items in the themes, making for easier reading. In fact, in the texts chosen, human presence seemed to be the key to their attraction, though Jiafeng warned that the study needed to be repeated on a larger scale. However, the companies whose brochures she used were interested in these results. Yuk Ching Hon and Puleng Thetala (Liverpool) showed us examples of children's science report writing. We discussed reasons for the success or failure of the two reports and the extent to which this type of writing should be guided.

Ignacio Vázquez (Zaragoza) drew our attention to an interesting fact: linguists and workers in AI use the term "focus" to refer to totally opposite concepts. For linguists, the focus carries unrecoverable information, for AI the focus is given - in the sense of salient in the hearer's stack of knowledge - and appears in first position.

In the summary session on Theme, led by Eija Ventola, the discussion revolved around some questions which have come up before (and will continue to do so): "Is Theme a necessary concept?", "Theme v topic", "Theme v given", "What does 'the point of departure' do?"; and some new, like: "Does Theme distinguish text types?" and "Are there textual metaphors?". To the new questions, a probable "yes" was given. As for the old ones, information from other languages was illuminating. As to the relationship between theme and topic, it turns out that in Chinese topicalising phrases meaning roughly "as for" can be applied to "yesterday" and "possibly" in "Yesterday/Possibly John went to London", where the question is "Is the first ideational element topical theme?". In Arabic, too, topicalisers for possibility exist. Also, the predicator in first position is normal when the action is the point of departure - for example, in a football commentary. Robin brought up some problems related to implementation in the computer: predicated theme [illegible] adjunct as scene-setter - how long does it hold good? It was suggested that Fries and Lowe might be useful here. As the discussion went on, Eija suggested that a "problem clinic" could be a useful slot in future workshops.

Other areas of work in systemic linguistics were present at the meeting: phonology and applications to EFL, as well as another functional perspective: Elen Prince's work on given and new. Martin Davies (Stirling) presented a detailed study of lexical and phonological cohesion - and their interdependence - in Toads Revisited by Philip Larkin, with a view to explaining certain "surprising" choices in the poet's own reading of his work. The tones used at certain points in the poem reveal meanings which the reader could not have perceived alone - so that Martin concludes that without the aid of the author's interpretation, made clear by his reading, we have no way of discovering some aspects of the poem's significance. Cohesion is also created at the suprasegmental level by patterned distribution of certain tones, underlining the unity of the different sections of the poem and helping to convey the character of each part.

Alfred Ndahiro (Liverpool) took up Prince's taxonomy of "assumed familiarity", which she showed to analyse an oral narrative successfully, but which had caused problems with an academic text. Although Prince was among the potential readers, she had difficulty in classifying the different types of given information ("inferrable", "unused", "evoked"). Alfred tested two texts on a small number of informants and confirmed Prince's problematic area. It was interesting that subjects agreed on a "brand new" item in first position in one case. Alfred found that a high degree of shared knowledge between writer and reader produces a text with a large proportion of "unused" entities.

Bill Greaves introduced a group of us to "the grey book", Halliday's "A Course on Spoken Intonation", and helped us to recognise the different tones. He was very generous with his time and offered a second and third session at different points during the meeting. Jean Ure led a discussion on using systemics in teaching English as a foreign language.

The atmosphere - as is usual at systemic meetings - was friendly and relaxed. The congress was organised in such a way as to get a lot done - to have a chance to really discuss the papers and different points which worry a number of us - without rush or stress. I am sure that everybody will be pleased that the Nottingham group have decided that they can manage to organise another workshop next year.

Rachel Whittaker and Gerald Parsons

Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics

Volume 4 (1990)

The Hangzhou Conference on Discourse Analysis, June 7-9, 1991.
Hangzhou, Zhejiang, Peoples Republic of China

Reviewed by Peter H. Fries

The Hangzhou Conference on Discourse Analysis was held from June 7 - 9 1991 at Hangzhou University. The meeting was cosponsored by the Hangzhou University Department of Foreign Languages and the Zhejiang Foreign Languge and Literature Association, with additional support from Fudan University. It drew participants from 24 different universities from seven cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tienjin, LaoLing, Fujian, Szechuan, and Zhejiang) and four provinces, not to mention the four participants from the USA (Nancy, myself, Tim Nelson, and John Rohsenow). Thirteen papers were delivered at the conference; all were presented in English (a rare occurrence in China these days). The conference was intended to showcase a number of approaches to discourse, including the Systemic Functional approach, but in fact to our surprise, only two approaches were used. Several of the participants from Shanghai, who had studied with Diver, and more recently with Van Dijk used a cognitive approach. These papers approached text from a macro-level analysis. The other presentations used some version of the Systemic Functional model and involved a detailed analysis of features of language of some text(s). No one used a formalist approach. Indeed, the notion of rule-governed behavior as applied to discourse came in for quite a bit of criticism at the conference generally. The cognitively-oriented papers focussed on belief systems and the relevance of the assumptions participants have about the text to the interpretation of what is said, while the people using the Systemic Functional model tended to talk about uses of language and the differences in language used in different situations. I was particularly interested in the fact that the notions of Theme and Rheme were being used and explored. For example, a comparison of the scene text (a sub-portion of stage directions) and the line text (what the characters say) of a play provided additional evidence that the choice of Theme is related to differences in genre. Prof HU from Peking University presented a paper exploring whether choices of Rheme can be made into a system. In addition a paper was presented by a student of Hangzhou University exploring the relevance of the textual metafunction to translation.

The conference was a very pleasant conference with about 50 participants. Ample time was provided for each paper. In fact, sufficient time was allotted to each paper so that people could run over their time limit (I am sorry to admit that I was one of them) and still have ample time for discussion

THE FIRST SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR SEMINAR HELD IN CHINA

by Fang Yan

The first Systemic-Functional Grammar Seminar of Chinese scholars was held on August 3 - 5, 1989 in Peking University, Beijing, China. Nearly 40 linguists and language teachers attended the seminar, at which 18 papers were presented exchanging results of work in the theory and practice of SFL carried out since the 1980s. The first speaker was Hu Zhuanglin, Professor of English of Peking University and Chairman of the seminar, who briefly summarized the work in the research of SFL by Chinese scholars. He pointed out that with the increasing number of linguists educated in Australia, England, New Zealand and Canada, more and more articles concerning SFL theories and applications had appeared. In the early 1980s, the emphasis was laid on the explication of the three components of functional grammar and their related semantic functions as well as the functional approach in foreign language teaching. Beginning from the middle of the decade, there emerged a diversity of approaches to teaching and research in China, mainly involving (a) exploration of the theory itself; (b) applications of the theory in discourse analysis, stylistics, sociolinguistics and foreign language teaching; (c) functional interpretation of the Chinese language in word order, process classification, sound, mood, cohesion, thematic structure, etc.; (d) SF grammar being taught to post- graduates in three Universities: Peking University, Tsinghua University and Normal University of South China; and (e) a textbook, A Survey of Systemic- Functional Grammar, compiled by Hu Zhuanglin, Zhu Yongsheng and Zhang Delu being on the way to completion. (It was published in October 1989 by Education Publishing House of Hunan Province.)

Then some scholars presented their views on the nature of language and research methods adopted in this school

Yang Chaoguang, a scholar from Beijing University of International Economics and Trade, in his paper 'Epistemology and SFL', discussed the reason for the complicated framework of SFL from the perspective of 'looking at the world in its entirety'. he pointed out that Chinese scholars appreciated the tradition of this school which emphasizes 'coordination among all the component parts within the system'. He argued that the SF theories are 'in conformity with the current view of the world and in agreement with the need of the age of information'. However, he urged SF linguists to develop a common terminology so that their theories will 'fall within the reach of everyone interested in the study of language'. Xu Shenghuai, from Normal University of South China, Guangzhou, dealt with issues on 'Research Methods in Functional Linguistics', focussing on exploring its differences from approaches of other schools. He claimed that SFL recognizes a three level language system and that the process of SFL development has been one of discovering, exploring, perfecting and developing the third level -- that of context. He then went on to comment on the bases and directions of SFL and the laws and principles this school observes. Zhou Guangya from Sichuan University compared SF and TG Grammars, maintaining a complementary view in approaching the two schools. In the paper entitled 'Reflections on Text', Zhao Jiancheng, a young linguist from the Chemistry Engineering University of East China, Shanghai, emphasized Halliday's view of taking text as the point of departure in the study of language, for it is an important means of cultural transmission and also for realizing the meaning of language. Zhu Yongsheng, from Suzhou University, elaborated on 'Pluralism in Linguistics' and its relevance to stylistic analysis.

Several papers were concerned with the concepts of subject, thematic structure, mood and modality, and transitivity systems in the Chinese language.

Fang Yan, from Tsinghua University, spoke on 'subject', which had remained controversial ever since the 1950s. Having summarized various definitions of this concept, she proposed that perhaps following Halliday's macro-functions and splitting 'subject' into theme, subject and actor could be a solution to this sticky issue. Zhang Delu explored 'Desirability in Social Communication in Relation to Mood and Modality in Grammar in Chinese', while Li Shujing and Hu Zhuanglin summed up a rather comprehensive interrogative mood system in conjunction to its semantic functions and grammatical realizations. Zhou Xiaokang classified Chinese verbal processes, and Hu Zhuanglin worked out a network of Clause complex of the Chinese language.

Experiments have also been made to apply SFL to language teaching. Yue Meiyun, from Nanjing University, and Luo Jiangsheng, from the Institute of Nationalities of Central China, Wuhan, both endeavored to use the theories of this school in the teaching of the Advanced English Reading Course. Yue Meiyun found that 'being a discourse grammar', SFL 'not only provides insights into the meaning and effectiveness of a text, but also offers the techniques and devices for the interpretation of texts and discourses'. She proposed 'a holistic cyclic approach' in teaching reading. Luo Jiangsheng, on the other hand, organized his students to practice the ideational and interpersonal functions by way of writing summaries and playing roles. Moreover, Wang Ying sought relationship between 'Meaning, Interaction and Language Teaching', whereas Wang Zhenya talked on 'Exploration of Socio-cultural Approach in Foreign Language Teaching'.

The last paper was given by Hu Zhuanglin reporting briefly the 16th International Systemic Congress held in Helsinki.

The papers delivered were only first attempts in the research and teaching of SFL. Since most scholars were Halliday's students, their work was mainly concerned with the explanation and application of his theories. The participants found it necessary (a) to study other versions represented by other SF linguists so that they could have an overall picture of this linguistic school; (b) to go into depth in their research and develop a critical attitude in their evaluation of SFL; and (c) to further apply its theoretical framework to expounding and disclosing the features of the Chinese language and to teaching English and other languages, which has become one of the biggest enterprises in China.

Before the seminar was adjourned, the participants discussed and settled the following issues: (a) a collection of the seminar papers was to be published (it was published in September 1990 by Peking University Publishing House, edited by Hu Zhuanglin); (b) Suzhou University would sponsor the next seminar in July 1991, and from then on, the SFL scholars would meet every two years; and (c) these linguists would strengthen their unity and form an association with Hu Zhuanglin as the head. All agreed that Professor Hu would be the representative of the Chinese scholars in the international SFL circle.

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INTERNATIONAL SUMMER INSTITUTE IN FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS
29th July - 25th August 1991

Professor V. PRAKASAM
Course Director

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER INSTITUTE IN FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS
29 July - 24 August 1991

The International Summer Institute in Functional Linguistics was planned to bring practitioners of different schools of Functional Linguistics together for mutually beneficial interaction. The CIEFL, Hyderabad, the CIIL, Mysore and Telugu University, Hyderabad jointly organized this institute. Prof.V.Prakasam was the Course Director. The Governor who inaugurated the ISIFL on 29.7.1991 congratulated the organisers for hosting the conference as a cooperative effort of three institutions. Prof.S.K.Verma in his welcome address explained how the ISIFL is a self-financing institution, without any funds from the UGC. Prof.V.Prakasam outlined how the ISIFL was conceived as a tribute to Prof.S.K.Verma the seniormost functional linguist of the country on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

Eleven senior linguists in the field gave courses at this institute: Prof.Ashok Kelkar (Pune), Prof.K.V.Subba Rao (Delhi), Prof.A.K.Sinha (Delhi), Prof.N.Krishnaswamy (CIEFL), Prof.K.A.Jayaseelan (CIEFL), Prof.R.Amritavalli (CIEFL), Prof.K.V.Tirumalesh (CIEFL), Prof.B.Ramakrishna Reddy (Telugu University), Prof.Robert D.Van Valin Jr. (SUNY, Buffalo, USA), Prof.Michael O'Toole (Murdoch University, Australia), Dr.David Brazil (Birmingham University, U.K.).

Extension lectures were delivered by Prof.C.Rama Rao (Osmania University), Prof.S.K.Verma (CIEFL), Dr.J.Bapu Reddy (Govt.of A.P.), Prof.B.Lakshmi Bai (Osmania University), Prof.Prabol Das Gupta (University of Hyderabad), Prof.Uday Narayana Singh (University of Hyderabad), Dr.Susie J.Tharu (CIEFL), Prof.V.Prakasam (CIEFL), Prof.B.V.L.Narayanarow (CIEFL), and Prof.Priya Hosali

NEWS FROM CHINA
Second Chinese Systemic Workshop: A Great Success

The Second Chinese Systemic Workshop was held at Suzhou University, Suzhou China, from July 15 to July 18. Over 60 people attended the meeting. Among the participants were four specially invited speakers: Prof M. A. K. Halliday, Prof.Ruqaiya Hasan, Prof.Michael Cummings, and Prof. Christian Matthiessen.

The workshop received about 30 papers and 25 of them were presented. These papers touched upon a lot of topics in systemic linguistics. They included: basic tasks and fundamental conceptions in systemic linguistics (Halliday), the relationship between semantic networks and discourse analysis (Hasan), Language Processing (Matthiessen), systemic grammar and pragmatics (Zhang Delu), Criteria of textual coherence (Zhu Yongsheng), thematic structures (Cummings, Hu Zhuanglin, Wang Huifang, Peng Wangheng), mutual complementarity of lexis and syntax in Chinese (Chen Yuming) and the application of systemic-functional grammar in language teaching (Fang Yan, Yue Meiyun, Ren Shaozen, Guo Hong). All the papers presented were connected with systemic linguistics therefore the workshop was really a systemic one.

The organizing committee of the workshop and all the Chinese participants wish to express their heartfelt thanks again through *Network* to Prof. Halliday and the other three guests from overseas for their strong support and hard work during their stay in Suzhou — The temperature was over 35° C and there was a big flood!

The proceedings of the workshop will be published in China by Qinghua University Press. The organizing committee has entrusted the editing work to Associate Professor Zhu Yongsheng of Suzhou University, who was the convenor of the workshop.

The Third Chinese Systemic Workshop will take place in Hangzhou in July 1993. All correspondence should be sent to Prof Ren Shaozen of Hangzhou University, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, 310028, P. R. China.

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) were discussed in detail. Susumo Kuno's work was presented by Prof.K.V.Subba Rao. Simon Dik's Functional Grammar and Talmy Givon's Functional-Typological Syntax were summarised by Prof.V.Prakasam in his extension lecture.

Fifty-seven participants came from different parts of the country and spent a month at Hyderabad. One of the participants, Prof.N.Khorshid, was from Egypt.

The society has been extremely responsive to the needs of the institute. The State Bank of Hyderabad was kind enough to give a grant of Rs.10,000/- to buy copies of Linguistics at Large (a volume of papers on Linguistics presented to Prof.Verma on his sixtieth birthday on 29.7.91) and give them to the participants of the Institute. Similarly several other organisations like Visakhapatnam Port Trust, Dept. of Information and Public Relations (Govt. of A.P.), I.T.C., Bhadrachalam Paper Board Ltd., The Peria Karamalai Tea and Produce Co.Ltd., and Oxford University Press helped the organisers by hosting lunches and inserting advertisements in the souvenir. This proves their commitment to excellence in Education.

An Institute of this kind gets a shot in the arm when it gets properly recognised by policy makers. Shri Arujun Singh, Union Minister for Human Resource Development, presented the valedictory address on 24.8.1991. In his address, the minister stressed on the Asian identity of the CIEFL and suggested the inclusion of Japanese as one of the foreign languages to be studied. He advised the participants to fully absorb the ideas of functional linguistics and help people develop greater understanding of one another. He appreciated the work being done by the CIEFL.

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Three video programmes were recorded by the E.M.R.C., CIEFL during the Summer Institute. Professor Michael O'Toole and Professor V.Prakasam discuss the concept of Functions of Language in the first programme. In the second programme Professor Robert D.Van Valin, and Prof.S.K.Verma discuss the place of Role and Reference Grammar of Van Valin in the context of different Formal and Functional Theories of Language. In the third programme, Dr.David Brazil and Dr.P.V.Dhamija discuss the role of intonation in Discourse.

(V.PRAKASAM)
Course Director

AREA
INFORMATION

EUROPEAN REPORT

by Erich Steiner

According to my files, it is about time I sent my report on some the systemic work going on in Europe (excluding Britain, which is outside of my realm). Obviously, the following summary is far from complete, and I do know of a number of colleagues who have not replied, probably for reasons of time. I sent out around sixty letters, getting a response of only seven. which is less than I had hoped for. Some of the most obvious gaps in the following include colleagues from Finland and from Belgium. Also, even if Spain and Italy are represented - and I am very grateful to those who have responded, actual Systemic practice is even more wide-spread in both countries than my summary suggests.

Let me now give a short summary in alphabetical order, commenting on the following points:

(1) Summary of activities
(2) Special Projects or interests
(3) Recent publications

Please, note that responses came in very different forms, so that if sometimes one of (1) to (3) has no entry, it only means there was no information given on this point in the mail I received. Also, I am, conversely, not including some types of information that were given, but seem to fall outside of my grid. Let me at this point express my gratitude to all those who have taken the time to send some information. Let me also apologize to those who think they should be included, but did not even receive a letter from me, simply because their name was not in the files that I used. I should also warn people that I will sometimes have to write bits and pieces in languages, such as Italian or Spanish, that I do not know very well - so, please, excuse my mistakes there.

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Ingegerd Baecklund
****
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(1) ... has recently finished a study of theme in English telephone conversation. She now plans further quantitative studies of similar nature on varius text types, such as face-to-face conversation. public debate. written narrative, procedural, and descriptive text. (cf. also paper given at the Tokyo Systemic Congress).

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Foz, Carmen
****
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(1) At present, I am taking part, together with Dr. Vasquez and Dr. Jaime, in a program research about the communicative strategies of courtesy in both English and Spanish; our aim is to detect the reasons for the incorrect use of such strategies by advanced Spanish students of English. Our main aim is to supply solutions to this problem.

(2) The increasing number of students of English for business makes its teacing a worldwide phenomenon. Therefore, there is an urgent need to carry out research into the nature of what is generally called business English. We hope that its results will help us to provide our students with appropriate tuition so that they can produce more adequate written business documents in English. Our present concern is to detect how informatin is presented in written business texts in English and for that we are applying a systemic approach.

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Orta, Ignacio Vazquez
****
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(1) I am working on the applications of Systemic Grammar to the analysis of the language of advertising and propaganda. I am also involved in a project called "A comparative study of the communication strategies of politeness in English and Spanish"

****

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****
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ESPANA

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(1) I am at present taking part, together with another colleague...and Dr. Vazquez himself, in a research programme entitled "a comparative study of the expression of communicative strategies to show courtesy in English and Spanish". (for further info cf. entry under Vazquez).

(2) I am myself working in another research project of which I offer a summary outline below:

The purpose of this work is to establish a comparison between the rhetorical structure used in scientific articles written in English and in Spanish so as to offer the Spanish speaking scientists a guidelineto be used whenever they are forced to publish the results of their research workin international journals written in English. A systemic approach is applied in this study which intends to solve the problems that Spanish scientists have to face when they see their works rejected for rhetorical, not for linguistic or scientific inadequacy.

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- systemic linguistics and music
- systemic linguistics and ideology (in the traditional sense of Feuerbach. Marx, Hegel)

(3) - A functional perspective on language, action, and interpretation; Berlin. New York : De Gruyter (1991)

- Structural and lexical information in a functional approach to machine translation, in: Proceedings of the International Conference on Current Issues in Computational Linguistics. Penang, Malaysia (1991)

- Allegranza & Krauwer & Steiner. eds. 1991. Special Issue of Machine Translation on EUROTRA. Dordrecht : Reidel

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(1) KOMET at GMD-IPSI, Darmstadt, is a natural language processing project dealing with German text generation. The underlying theory of KOMET is systemic linguistics. For the development of our system we use the PENMAN/NIGEL environment. The system currently has three components: a text planner and text base, a lexicalization component and a grammar of German. The grammar is a systemic grammar, very much like the NIGEL grammar of English. One important topic we deal with in developing this systemic grammar of German is to reconsider the expression of syntagmatic relations in systemic theory.

(3) Teich. Elke. 1990. Developing a systemic grammar of German for text generation. Darmstadt: GMD/IPSI Research Reports

Other systemically oriented people working in KOMET are John Bateman, number of papers in various Computational Linguistics journals, John Batmen in particular has undertaken very important work on using typed feature structure formalisms to represent systemic (syntagmatic) information (cf. also his contribution at this year's congress in Tokyo).

The German "scene" involved in text generation on a systemic basis also includes Marcus Brown at Munich University.

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- Dalle metfunzioni semantiche ai Sistemi Lessico-Grammaticali, accettato per la publicazione da parte dell' IRRSAE Veneto negli atti del "Progetto Speciale Lingue Straniere del Veneto su 'Educazione Linguistica', Montebelluna Novembre 1990

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I am also grateful to the following colleagues who have sent a reply although they do not consider themselves as systemic linguists. Their names are given below, with their main reserach interests at the moment:

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(1) in collaboration with Sergei V. Chesnokov (Kontekst, Moscow), my work continues to focus on orthographic databases or languages of wider use, systems of determinacies, reading and spelling primers, automatic readers and spellers, systems of print-to-sound and sound-to-print, transitional systems for reading-to-spelling,developmental orthography, reading- and spelling-error editors, studies in similarity perception and lesson planners.

(3) - 1991. Developmental orthography. Amsterdam : John Benjamin's
- 1991. editor. Complexity in language. Special issue of theoretical linguistics. Berlin : de Gruyter

AREA INFORMATION

SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS AND EDUCATION IN AN ESL SITUATION

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1. Introduction

The publication of Halliday (1961) article Categories of the Theory of Grammar brought a revolution to linguistics not only in Europe and America but also in other parts of the world where English is used as either a native or non-native tongue. Apart from posing challenges to linguistics, it provides an alternative theory to the already established Traditional approach to language description and Transformational Generative theory postulated by Chomsky in the 50s. In Africa in general and Nigeria specifically, Systemic Linguistics has not only challenged the existing theories of linguistic description but has also made its way through the Nigerian educational system from tertiary level to primary school level. Indeed, it has been vigorously applied to indigenous languages as well as to the teaching of other languages in the country. In this paper, I attempt to explore very briefly the introduction of Systemic Linguistics to Nigerian Educational System, its current trends and its future prospect. I also show in some details how the theory has been able to facilitate the growth and development of Nigerian English as a Second language, contribute to the education of the Nigerian child, as well as coping with socio-political decisions that relate to language in the country.

2. The beginning

Systemic Grammar (SG) was introduced into the Nigerian educational system in the early and late 60s through the University first by Ayo Bamgbose and later by Adebisi Afolayan. Ayo Bamgbose introduced Systemic linguistics to the University of Ibadan, Department of Nigerian Languages and Linguistics in 1963 following the completion of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Edinburgh. The thesis which was a description of Yoruba grammar was largely informed by Systemic grammatical theory.

At first, Ayo Bamgbose designed courses in Systemic Linguistics for the undergraduate and Post-graduate levels. He undertook the teaching of these courses, as well as the training of Systemic linguists, some of which are teachers in Secondary and tertiary institutions in Nigeria.

Perhaps where Bamgbose's impact on Systemic linguistics is felt in his research and publication. Although he claims not to be a Systemic linguist, his several researches into the Yoruba language are influenced by Systemic linguistics. Notable among them are Bamgbose 1963, 1964, 1966, 1972, 1973 a, b, 1977 and 1980. Bamgbose (1966) A Grammar of Yoruba and its abridged version Bamgbose (1972) A short Yoruba Grammar, for instance, form a comprehensive theoretical analysis and discussion of Yoruba language from Systemic Grammar view point. The books are a strong departure form the early and contemporary study of the Yoruba language by the Traditional grammatical descriptive approach, or even the eclectic approach represented in the works of Crowther 1858, Bowen 1858, Ward 1952, Delano 1965, Awobuluyi 1972, and Ogunbowale 1980 respectively.

Bamgbose's books cover such issues as the description of Yoruba tone, of the sentence, Clause, Nominal Group, Verbal Group, Adverbs and Adverbials, as well as word-formation. The works have been very useful to various researchers working either on Yoruba language only or doing a comparative study of the English language and Yoruba, or Yoruba and French. Indeed, the works have been very useful to teachers of Yoruba language not only at the University level, but also at the Primary and Secondary School levels. Systemic grammar has thus been introduced to young generation of Nigerian children.

Bamgbose's (1972) work on The Yoruba Verb Phrase brings together the orientations of Systemic Grammar and Transformational Generative Grammar in the discussion of an aspect of Yoruba grammar - the Verb. Afolayan and Bamgbose in their respective articles approach the discussion of the Verb from Systemic grammatical view point, while Awobuluyi deals with the topic form the T.G. perspective.

While Bamgbose was introducing Systemic linguistics and its application to Yoruba language at the University of Ibadan, Adebisi Afolayan started building up the Department of English Language at the University of Ife, Ile-Ife since 1968. The department whose emphasis was and is language has been Systemic linguistics in orientation. Most of the courses offered in the department both at the undergraduate and port-graduate levels are informed by Systemic Linguistics; notable among these courses is The Structure of Modern English and various linguistic stylistics courses.

The Department has thus been able to produce Systemic grammarians and linguists who are involved in the teaching of English as a second language (ESL) at all levels of Nigerian educational system.

One of the important aspect of Systemic linguistics that have been found very useful in the teaching of the English language to Nigerian children is its sociological orientation as opposed to total psychological orientation to language study. This has perhaps encouraged the cultivation and growth of Nigerian variety of English as a second language. This sociological aspect has been echoed on different occasions by Afolayan. See for instance, Afolayan 1966, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1977, 1981. Indeed, this has influenced his recent research in English as a second language and the subsequent publications arising therefrom. See Afolayan forthcoming.

3. Current Trends in Systemic Linguistics application to Education.

The practice of Systemic Linguistics in relation to Education in Nigeria span through Stylistics, Textlinguistics, Syntax, Register or Genre Analysis and Discourse Analysis.

Afolayan (1975) stylistics work "Language and Sources of Amos Tutuola" is perhaps the earliest published work which attempts at employing Systemic Linguistics to the analysis of African Literary text. The work complements his doctorate stylistics study.

Many other interesting Systemic Linguistics stylistics studies followed from this work. They include several Graduate thesis and publications such

Amuda 1982, Olove 1988, Arogundade 1984, Oyeleye 1985, Awonuga 1984, 198_, Oladeji 1980, 1987.

These studies which were carried out in Ife and Ibadan University in the southern part of Nigeria have influenced the teaching of literary genres at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. And in Zaria (northern part of Nigeria) John Haynes has done a lot of interesting stylistics work based on Systemic Linguistics thus promoting the theory in that part of the region. One can confidently say that linguistic stylistics proposed by Halliday in the early 1970s has been entrenched into the Nigerian educational system and is helping in the understanding of both native and non-native literary genres in English in this region.

Perhaps the areas where Systemic linguistics have contributed significantly in recent years are Grammar and Lexis. Almost all the 31 Nigerian Universities have felt the impact of Systemic Grammar and the study of Lexis. Systemic Linguistics courses in Grammar and Lexis designed by older Universities of Ife and Ibadan have been adopted in almost all the 31 Universities. This has been the consequences of trained linguists trying to re-locate and subsequently introducing the theory. In addition, research and published works in these areas are well circulated in the higher institutions. Examples of these are Afolayan 1968, Akindele 1983. At the Secondary School level, the current practice is the application of Systemic linguistics to the teaching of English grammar and lexis. This replaces the traditional and eclectic approaches that have dominated the scene for a long time.

There are also some studies in Systemic textlinguistics. These are attributed to Wole Adejare who proposed the theory and has applied it to both literary and non-literary, native and non-native English texts. He has won several disciplines through his teaching and research both in Ife, Maiduguri and Lagos. Systemic textlinguistics which enables students to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic and semistic evidence has enhanced the teaching of literary texts in both secondary and tertiary institutions in Nigeria. Indeed, a lot of research work is still going on and publications are increasing in this area. See for instance Adejare 1981, 1982a, 1982b, forthcoming; Ayoola 1989, Adegbite 1989 and forthcoming. The theory which includes theory of translation has helped in further understanding ESL African texts by the international English community. It has also enabled school children to develop more interest in literary genres particularly Poetry in Nigeria.

4. Femi Akindele's Contributions

My first contact with Systemic Linguistics was 1975 as a University Undergraduate at the University of Ife, Nigeria. I was trained as a Systemic Grammarian and later as a linguist through exposure to Systemic linguistics related courses both at the undergraduate and Master's levels. I later broadened my scope of Systemic linguistics by studying Discourse and Genre Analysis for my Doctorate Programme under Margaret Barry at Nottingham University, England.

On completion of my programme, my first task was to design and define courses in discourse and Genre analysis since there was little or none of such in any of the Nigeria Universities. Where there was a course under the title of Discourse analysis, the concept was confusing. It was equated with stylistics. Having designed some courses in Discourses and Genre Analysis for both undergraduate and Post-graduate levels, I started making efforts to interest students in them. It is interesting to note that today students have come to be more interested in the field and have been able to analyse both spoken and written texts in English. Discourse Analysis have been recognized and made compulsory for all students in Nigeria Universities by the National University Commission as part of the approved minimum academic standards to be fulfilled by any graduating student of English Language or Linguistics.

One other important area which I have made some contributions is Children's writing. For some years, I have been working on problems involved in children's writing and how to improve on the quality of such writing. Issues such as Cohesion and Coherence, as well as thematic organization in the writings of primary, secondary and University students have been my pre-occupation. The outcome of my research have been made known to my students who in turn used them in improving their style of writing. In some cases, research reports were sent to institutions to help improve the quality of children's writing. See Akindele 1990, forthcoming. Another outcome of my research in Genre analysis can be seen in its application to Print media.

Efforts have been made to examine cohesion, coherence and thematic organization in Nigerian Daily Newspapers. Such attempts have yielded fruitful results. Some media houses in the country have employed the services of students trained in this area and have also requested for copies of publications of research findings in the field. Ayodele (forthcoming) is an instance of the work requested.

I have also applied the theory of Discourse Analysis to literary texts particularly the conversational aspect of fictional prose. This has complemented linguistic stylistics approach to texts and has enhanced the comprehension of fictional prose by students. In addition, I have been involved in the teaching of Systemic Grammar to final year undergraduate students for the past four years and such students in turn impart their knowledge of the theory to High School children.

Some of my contributions in the field of Systemic linguistics are represented in Akindele 1983, 1988, 1990, forthcoming a, b.

5. The Future of Systemic Linguistics in Nigerian Education.

There is no doubt that Systemic Linguistics has a significant place for itself in the growth of Nigerian educational system. Its impact has been felt at nearly all the levels of linguistic description. However, the task of Systemic linguists in the country is still enormous. For instance, there is still much to do in the development of Nigerian English Phonology, and Systemic Linguistics could assist in achieving this goal. Perhaps, the most significant area where Systemic Linguistics is most needed is in the promotion of computational linguistics. Nigerian educational administrators are keenly interested in Computer education but little or nothing is available in the area of computational linguistics. Systemic Linguistics with its sympathy for English as a second language would be of great help in the development and promotion of Computational-Linguistics. The future of Systemic Linguistics in the development of Mother Tongue education (a priority) of the Nigerian government today can not be over-stressed. Efforts would be made to develop various indigenous Nigerian languages along Systemic Linguistics description. Ayo Bamgbose (1976 and Fafunwa et al (1990) have begun this description which could be built on by other Systemicists.

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NEW BOOKS

ISSUES IN
SYSTEMIC THEORY

Developments in Systemic Functional Theory: a discussion of the dimensions of change

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Thursday, September 12, 1991

45

Systemic theory can be interpreted as a **metalanguage** – talk about talk. One advantage with this type of interpretation is that it immediately gives us a way of talking about systemic theory and we can see that it has a number of the properties of language: it has a context, it has metaregisters (descriptive, computational, educational, semiotic, and so on) and metadialects (however we choose to interpret them, e.g.: Hallidayan, Fawcettian, Gregorian),[1] it is both interaction and reflection, it is stratified, and so on. And like language, it is a dynamic open system. It is constantly developing in exchange with its environment – the environment provided by research applications, interfaces with other disciplines, and so on. This development has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary: the theory has expanded its domain in an additive way in contrast to generative linguistics where the domain of enquiry has not been the locus of change and theories have changed through replacement rather than addition. As the theory's domain expands, earlier parts of the theory (e.g., grammatical theory) may be recontextualized and this may give a sense of contradictions in theoretical positions through the history of systemic theory;[2] but, in my view, there has been remarkable consistency and what are interpreted as contradictions are really only different mutually compatible perspectives within a multi-dimensional theory. For instance, there have not been contradictory positions on the stratal assignment of metafunctions or major systems such as transitivity in Halliday's work: both grammar and semantics are levels of 'content' (in Hjelmslev's sense) and grammar is natural grammar so any metafunction is a grammatical principle of organization as well as a semantic one and any grammatical system such as transitivity will also be restated as a semantic one at a higher stratum of abstraction.

Since development takes place in many places around the world (and, importantly, increasingly also in languages other than English) and since theoretical development often takes place in praxis without necessarily being articulated in theoretical terms at the same time, it is important to take a step back now and again and try to identify the patterns that are emerging. I will try to do this here against the background of past phases of development. My view will not be comprehensive or exhaustive. Since I am assuming other systemicists are or will also be discussing theoretical developments in Network, my view will basically reflect my own vantage point: geographically, it underrepresents e.g. Europe and China, where there are now regular systemic workshops complementing the international congresses;[3] thematically, it does not include important recent work in verbal art, social semiotics, and educational linguistics. For a discussion of systemic linguistics on historical principles, see Halliday & Matthiessen (forthcoming), which also includes an up-to-date discussion of grammatical theory; for a current presentation of Martin's model of discourse semantics and higher levels, see Martin (in press); for a general survey of theoretical work up to 1988 from another vantage point, see Butler (1989); for a discussion of modelling issues in the area of genre, see Ventola (1989); for a discussion of theory development in the exchange with computational modelling, see Matthiessen & Bateman (in press). For collections of recent work, see Benson, Cummings & Greaves (1988), Halliday & Fawcett (1987) and Fawcett & Young (1988).

1. Past phases in development

If we recognize that language is embeddied in context and that the linguistic system itself is stratified into the three levels (strata) of semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology, we can

[1] Here again insights from the study of language are important. For instance, there are metadialect chains (e.g. from SFG to dependency grammar vis Hudson's Daughter Dependency Grammar) and metalanguages in contact as with Communication Linguistics, developed by Michael Gregory and others. I will not, however, discuss metadialectal variation here even though it has been an important and productive aspect of the development of systemic functional theory.

[2] Particularly if the only model for interpreting change used is the one established within generative linguistics -- change through rejection and replacement (i.e., extension through substition rather than addition).

[3] The second bi-annual national systemic seminar in China was held at Suzhou University in July 91, where I had an opportunity to learn about developments in various areas, including textual comparison of Chinese and English in translation, a concern with important theoretical implications. Prof. Hu Zhuanglin provided a survey of systemic research in China at the 16th International Systemic Congress in Helsinki in June 1989; see *also* Zhuanglin Hu, Yongsheng Zhu and Delu Zhang (1990).

characterize the development of the ideas that have evolved into systemic functional linguistics as taking place in three phases in the past. The major dimension of development here is stratification.[4]

(i) Firth worked primarily on the outer strata of language in context -- context (& semantics) and phonology, not on the inner level of lexicogrammar.[5] For instance, his theory of system and structure and of prosodic organization looking at units top-down rather than bottom-up were worked out at the stratum of phonology. But they were general and abstract enough that they could be applied outside of phonology.

(ii) This meant that Halliday and other systemic linguists had to focus first on developing a theory of lexicogrammar in the 1950s, when Halliday (1956) applied Firthian system-structure theory at the level of grammar, and in the 1960s, when scale-and-category theory turned into systemic theory; the second phase was characterized by this focus on the internal stratum of language[6] -- though there was also, of course, important work on other areas setting the scene for the 1970s. At the same time, the theory became explicitly systemic: paradigmatic organization was taken as basic within any given stratum. It was possible to interpret grammar in as a resource -- a fundamental way in which the grammatical theory is functional. This lead to the discovery of another dimension of global organization -- metafunctional diversification in the content plane of language (see further below), manifested in systemic clustering into metafunctional regions of the system network such as transitivity, mood and theme.

(iii) Once a functional theory of lexicogrammar was in place, the conditions for linking it up with higher levels of organization had been met (the systemic organization of the grammar as a resource and the metafunctional organization) and the entirety of the language-in-context complex could be taken into view as in Halliday's hypothesis about the correspondence between context and language according to the metafunctional diversification of language. This also meant an extension upwards in the theorizing of language in context -- either by further elaboration of context, as in the work of Halliday and Hasan (e.g., Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985), or by stratification or planing of context itself, using Hjelmslev's notion of connotative semiotics to interpret the higher-level organization of context relative to language and stratification within context, in the work by Martin (e.g., 1985; in press) and Rothery, and others.

Schematically:

4 This trajectory of change can be contrasted with the one central to American structuralism and its generative successor: American work was much more oriented towards a constituency orientation -- phonemics - morphology - syntax, and, for some - discourse. But the contrast between the two principles came into view in the work of Hockett, Gleason and Lamb.

5 This formulation would not make sense in Firth's own terms since he did not interpret the levels as stratified -- in contrast to e.g. Hjelmslev, Allen, Halliday and Lamb.

6 Consequently, the first domain of metadialects was grammar itself -- in particular, Hudson's move to Daughter Dependency Grammar (followed also by Butler) and later Word Grammar.

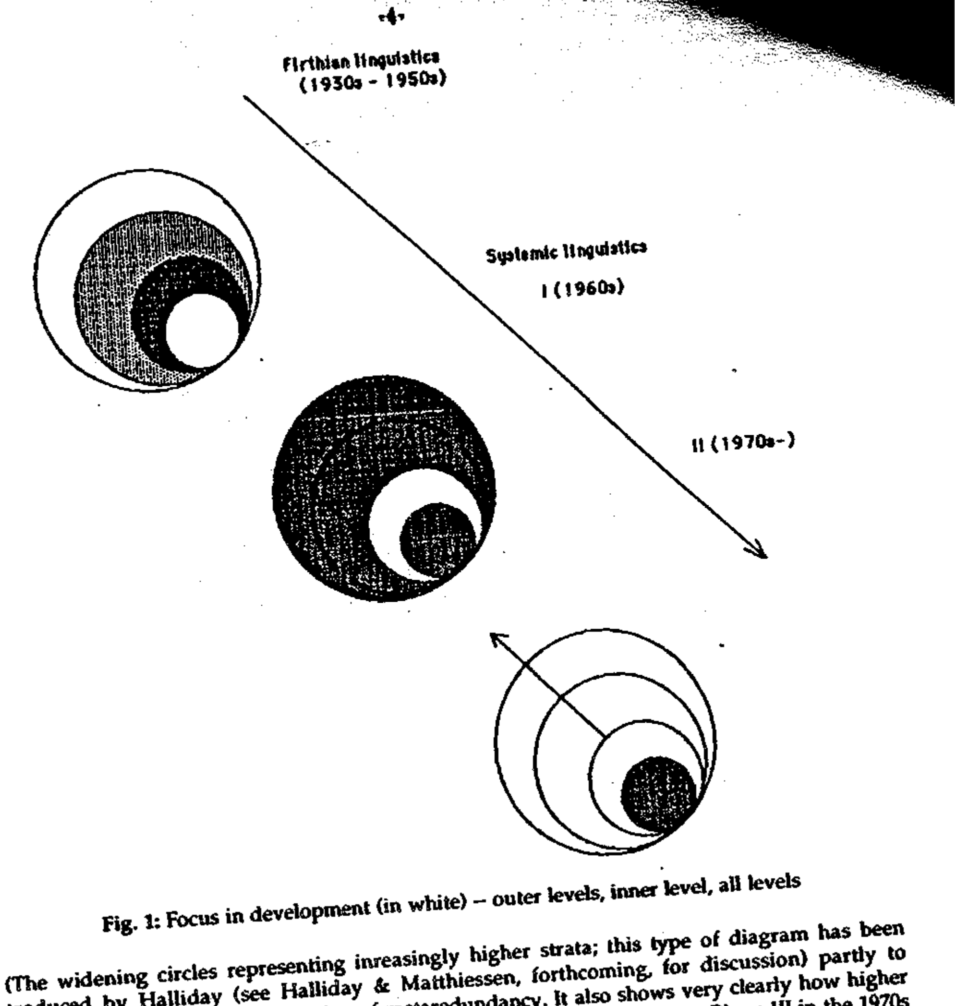

Fig. 1: Focus in development (in white) -- outer levels, inner level, all levels

(The widening circles representing inreasingly higher strata; this type of diagram has been introduced by Halliday (see Halliday & Matthiessen, forthcoming, for discussion) partly to capture Jay Lemke's (e.g., 1984) notion of metaredundancy. It also shows very clearly how higher strata provide a semiotic environment for lower ones.) Research belonging to Phase III in the 1970s and 1980s can thus be characterized as being concerned with a stratal extension of the theory and descriptions deploying it: cohesion and its discourse semantic implications, semantics as an interlevel, generic structure, the semiotic interpretation of context, the metafunctional interpretation of the relationship between language and context, ideology. And explicit computational modelling of systemic theoretical models has followed this same principle; it has essentially been a stratal move upwards from lexicogrammar. Consequently, the core of the linguistic system -- lexicogrammar -- has taken over the role player earlier by phonology as a site of development and testing of models that apply more generally across the stratal system as a whole or across pairs of strata. This has perhaps led to more abstract principles such as the metafunctional principle.

The theoretical and modelling work was accompanied by descriptive expansions along stratal lines -- descriptions above lexicogrammar include e.g. in Berry's (1981) work on exchange, Hasan's (1978; 1984) work on text and generic organization, Benson & Greaves' (e.g., 1981) research on field and techniques for profiling fields, Eggins' (1990) work on speech function in casual conversation, Hasan's (forthcoming) work on speech function, Martin's (in press) work on English discourse semantics, Ventola's (1987) account of service encounters. These various descriptive efforts have all been centrally related to the theoretical development.

Once the strata have been established as separate subsystems, it makes sense to enquire how they relate to one another; higher strata can be used to provide an explanatory semiotic environment in relation to lower ones. As far as grammar is concerned, Halliday's (e.g., 1985) demonstration that grammar is natural relative to semantics is the foundation for explaining grammar in a stratal sense by reference to its construal of higher strata of meaning.[7] A number of studies have been explicitly concerned with correlations between strata, in particular grammar in higher levels of discourse organization (Fries, 1981/3; 1985; 1988; Halliday, 1984) but also the relationship between generic organization and semantics (Hasan, 1984; Cross, 1991).

Although stratification was arguably the major dimension along which developments took place up through the mid 1980s or so, it was not the only dimension in this period. Metafunctional diversification came into existence in the 1960s as a new dimension of the organization of the content strata. It provided the basis for Halliday's (1978) theory of the correlation between context and language; and it was also the point of departure for important work in the 1980s exploring criteria for recognizing the metafunctions (Martin, 1984) and seeking to come to grips with non-experiential modes of meaning and organization (Halliday, 1979; Martin, 1988; Poynton, 1990a,b; Bateman, 1989; Matthiessen, 1988, 1991): this was an expansion into new areas of meaning, recently also for sign language by Trevor Johnston (1991), with important implications also for the interpretation of spoken English. It also provided the foundation for a breakthrough in the understanding of the relation between grammar and discourse in Fries' (1981) work on Theme and the development of discourse.

Once the metafunctions had been teased apart as organizing principles and their contributions to text, the clause, etc. had been factored out, it became possible to ask if they harmonize or resonate with one another. Hasan (1983; 1985 in Halliday & Hasan) provided the breakthrough here with her theory of cohesive harmony in text. This has been followed up for grammar in Matthiessen (1991). It also became possible to interpret reconstrual within the ideational metafunction (metaphors of transitivity, etc.) also in terms of the textual metafunction (Halliday, 1988; Matthiessen, forthcoming).

Already in the 1970s another fundamental dimension of systemic theory had come into focus -- the dimension of language development, first in the pioneering work by Halliday (1975) and later extended by Painter (1984), Oldenburg (1987) and others. This work provided an early context for enquiring into how the system changes itself in exchange with its environment and the work threw new light on the stratal organization of language; in particular, it showed how lexicogrammar emerged under functional pressure in the transition to adult language from bi-stratal protolanguage and how the metafunctional organization develops as a generalization and re-interpretation of earlier functions. This ontogenetic perspective is still unique as an integral part of a comprehensive functional theory of language in context: elsewhere, 'language acquisition' has remained fairly insulated from theoretical work on adult language. In systemic theory, it introduces a new dimension of explanation: in addition to stratal explanation by reference to the semiotic environment provided by higher strata, it is now possible to explore developmental explanation. The work on language development also provided one of the points of departure for one of the major themes of the 1980s -- educational linguistics -- adding a new dimension to the work in this area started in the 1960s.

The interpretation of language development rests crucially on the three theoretical dimensions of stratification, metafunctional diversification and history in the ontogenetic sense:

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7 This is not the only form of explanation. But the pont is that explanation proceeds along some dimension identified in the theory, relating what's to be explained to something along this dimension -- a higher stratum, an earlier stage of development, etc..

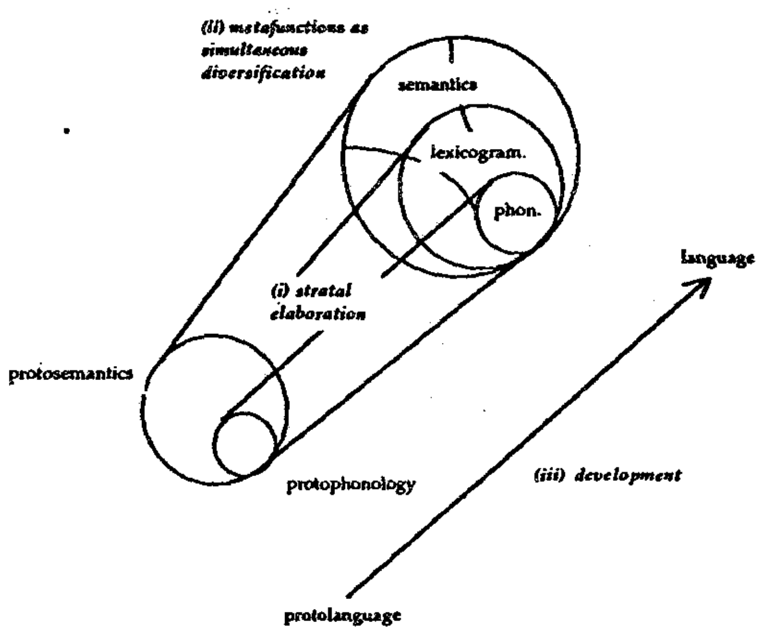

Fig. 2: Development of language and, by analogy, shift of focus in metalanguage

If we summarize language development in this way to bring out the stratal elaboration with the emergence of lexicogrammar, and the metafunctional generalization, with simultaneous metafunctions on the content plane, it is possible to see an interesting analogy with the shifting focus in the development of systemic functional metalanguage.

In Phase I of language development (protolanguage), there are two strata, content and expression (protosemantics and protophonology, with some gestures) and in Phase I of systemic-functional theory (Firthian theory), the focus was on the outer levels of the system (context & semantics and phonology). Experience with fundamental principles was built up first here; and these principles could then also serve as the 'blueprint' for grammar.

In Phase II of language development, two fundamental aspects of adult language begin to emerge: lexicogrammar through stratal elaboration -- the development of a stratum between semantics and phonology -- and metafunctions as principles of simultaneous resources within content (semantics + lexicogrammar). In Phase II of systemic-functional theory (the transition from Firthian theory via scale & category to systemic-functional theory), the focus is on grammar; and the metafunctional organization is discovered.

It would be possible to continue the analogy; for instance, later in the life of the child well into Phase III of adult language, grammatical metaphor develops as an expansion of the meaning-making resources; similarly, grammatical metaphor came into theoretical focus in Phase III of the development of systemic theory in the 1980s. But the central generalization reflected in the analogy has to do with the need to build up critical experience with and information within a simpler system before taking that as a point of departure to move towards a more complex one. And while there is considerable reinterpretation in the transition, at least in language development (e.g., in the move from macro-functions to meta-functions), there is also fundamental continuity and there is an important sense in which order that is explicit in later stages is already implicit in earlier stages: the system has within itself the potential to develop. (I will return to this issue in my conclusion: it seems that this evolutionary principle in language should be an important principle for metalanguage.)

2. Recent developments: dimensions in focus

So far I have tried to interpret the general outlines of the development of systemic theory up to the late 70s and early 80s, with some forward references. Now we turn from this history to more current affairs. Recent developments have included further exploration of established dimensions:

- **stratification: problematizing inter-stratal realization.** There has been a push for a better theoretical understanding of stratification and inter-stratal realization: Lemke's (1984) interpretation in terms of metaredundancy -- see also Halliday (1990); interstratal interfaces (interface to 'output' systems: Sefton, 1990; semantic interface: Matthiessen, 1988); interstratal dialectic; natural grammar. In addition, Martin (e.g., 1985) has shown how Hjelmslev's notion of connotative semiotic (a semiotic whose expression system is another semiotic system) can be used to interpret the relationship between language and context and also to stratify context itself.

- **stratification: a continued push upwards**, both theoretically and descriptively -- in the work by Hasan, Lemke, Martin and others already mentioned in the previous section; and also in the computational linguistic modelling (see Matthiessen & Bateman, in press, for a discussion of research on stratal extensions upwards).

- **stratification: downwards to phonology again** (see Mock & Tench, in press, and work by Mock and Prakasham referred to in the collection; Johnston, 1988; Matthiessen, 1987); exploration of graphology in the work of Sefton (1990), making both a descriptive and a theoretical contribution. A very crucial theoretical development here is Trevor Johnston's (1991) interpretation of the expression system in sign language, showing among other things how the material expression construes the semiotic potential at higher levels in the system.

- **stratification: metaphor.** Halliday (1984; 1985) presents the resource of grammatical metaphor and a good deal of work in the second half of the 1980s has dealt with this area (e.g., Halliday, 1988; Eggins et al, 1987; Martin, 1989). Part of the interpretation of metaphor is stratal -- semantic configurations can be realized congruently or metaphorically in the lexicogrammar; that is, alongside the congruent alignment between two strata, there is a metaphorical realignment, which expands the meaning-making potential of the grammar.

- **axis:** the introduction of an explicitly **topological** perspective on paradigmatic organizatin alongside the typological one embodied in system networks. Lemke (forthcoming) introduced this perspective in the study of genre and it is taken up in Martin & Matthiessen (1990). Further, flowcharts (e.g. Ventola, 1987) and systemic flowcharts (Fawcet et al, 1988) have been explored as resources for representing choice in conversation.

- **coding orientation and semantic variation:** the research by Hasan (e.g., 1990) and her group including C. Cloran (e.g., 1989) and R. Fahey, expanding on the work led by Bernstein in the 1960s and 1970s. This is part of the foundation of a systemic socio-linguistics -- not as a hyphenated separate subdiscipline, but as an integral part of the basic theoretical interpretation of language.

One important point about the developments mentioned above is that they are neither random nor isolated: they constitute systematic expansions along the dimensions mapped out by the theory; for instance, once the principle of stratification is in place, it becomes possible to explore stratal extensions in a systematic way. Sometimes new dimensions such as the metafunctions have been introduced; but they are always part of the overall space for interpreting language in context created by the theory. The same is true of a number of dimensions that have received special

attention in the 1980s. Let me mention some of these briefly together with related developments:

(i) theoratical:

- **potentiality:** potential - actualization - actual. Systemic descriptions have always been concerned with potential -- ultimately, language as meaning potential (cf. Halliday, 1973; 1977) -- as something that is neutral between analysis and synthesis. The latter are different ways of actualizing the potential; but the potential itself is not committed to either analysis and synthesis -- it is simply atemporal and can unfold in time in different ways depending on how the process of actualization is specified. For instance, a system network can be traversed backwards or forwards. Traditionally, systemic linguists and linguists in general have focussed only on the potential and on the actual, i.e. the result of actualization (particular instances of text, sentences, etc.). However, the question of process came into very sharp focus in the 1980s in two different research contexts: (i) one was concerned with the analysis primarily of dialogue, as in Ventola (1987); it was introduced in general theoretical terms in Martin (1985), and (ii) the other was concerned with the actualization of the potential in computational models, as in the process of parsing or generation (see Matthiessen & Bateman, in press). However, it is actually important keep two abstractions distinct -- the notion of a dynamic vs. static[9] account and the dimension of potentiality. For instance, it is theoretically possible that we might need to assume a dynamic potential, which does not mean that this is actualization rather than potential; it is still potential but potential that embodies some kind of change of state (cf. Bateman, 1989; Matthiessen & Bateman, in press). There has been considerable discussion of issues in this area (cf. Hasan, 1991) and this is not the place to try to resolve them; important considerations are included not only in the works already mentioned but also in Hasan (1980) and O'Donnell (1990).

- **history:** phylogenesis and logogenesis in addition to ontogenesis. The work on language development introduced one kind of history into systemic theorizing; the nature of the development of stratal organization, metafunctional organization, grammatical metaphor and so on could be explored in the light of the ontogenetic perspective. More recently, both a longer and shorter time depth have been adopted -- the longer time depth of **phylogenesis**, particularly in Halliday's (1988) study of the development of scientific English, and the shorter time depth of **logogenesis**, the history embodied in an evolving text (Halliday, 1988; in press). For instance, Halliday has demonstrated how the potential for grammatical metaphor evolves instantially in scientific text; and Nanri (in prep.) has found similar patterns in news articles. It thus becomes possible to theorize the instantial system as something that emerges in text against the background of the general potential (cf. also Fries, 1982, on instantial lexical systems). Whichever kind of history is at issue, the probabilistic nature of the system is a crucial step in relating the system to its past and its future and in relating it to instances in text; the probabilistic nature of the system was noted in Halliday (1961) and has been discussed recently in important work by e.g. Nesbitt & Plum (1988), Plum & Cowling (1987), and Halliday (1989).

- **variation:** variation as a stacking up of varieties of a system without any moves along other dimensions such as stratification. The notion of variation has been part of systemic theorizing from the very beginning (cf. Gregory, 1967) and registerial varieties have been described at various levels. What is more recent, I think, is the attempt to model variation as a dimension on a par with e.g. stratification. One aspect of this is the work on the probabilistic nature of systems and the resetting of probabilities, another is the recent

[8] As presented here, these dimensions may appear to be an arbitrary list; but they are all placed within the overall theory of language in context or the metatheory of how that theory is applied. Having mapped out the territory theoretically, systemicists may have set certain areas aside for a long time until further study was possible -- as has happened with lexis as most delicate grammar (see Hasan, 1987); but they are still part of the picture.

[9] Or synoptic; but it would actually be useful to distinguish between static in direct opposition with dynamic (i.e., = pertaining to state) and synoptic in the sense of a static summary of larger whole.

qualitative work by Caffarel (1990; 1991) on how to model the registerial variation in the semantics of French tense. Caffarel's work opens up the discussion by contrasting various theoretical possibilities such as stratification vs. variation as a dimension internal to a stratum: cf. also below. Recent work in computational linguistics at the University of Sydney has added another type of variation – variation across languages in multilingual systems: see Bateman, Matthiessen, Nanri & Zeng (1991a,b) and Matthiessen, Nanri & Zeng (1991). Here varieties are represented by partitioning a common resource such as grammar into language-specific partitions whenever languages diverge.

- **delicacy**: this is not a new dimension, but it has been explored recently in two contexts – Hasan (1987) puts lexis as most delicate grammar back on the agenda and Halliday & Matthiessen (forthcoming) consider the relationship between the most general part of the ideational semantic system and 'domain models'. The issues of the relationship between grammar and lexis are also discussed briefly in Matthiessen (1989) and in detail in Nesbitt (in prep.).

- **micro-macro**: the world in a grain of sand, the text in a clause. Micro-macro is not an independent dimension, but typically a move along two dimensions: stratification and rank, making it possible to reason about e.g. text and clause. Halliday (1981) drew attention to the metaphorical relationship between text and clause (how is a text like a clause?) and Matthiessen & Thompson (1989) added the relationship between text and clause complex to this; the synthesising metaphor is, I think, that text can be like a nominal group (simultaneously multivariately and univariately organized). In addition, the cumulative patterns of micro-analysis in a logogenetic perspective (say, clause-based summed up synoptically over a text in favourite clause types) have had increasing importance in systemic 'discourse' analysis and the relationship between the macro-analysis of text and the cumulative micro-analysis of clauses will be important in future research. This is certainly likely to happen in computational discourse analysis (cf. Matthiessen, O'Donnell & Zeng, 1991) where grammatical parsing is a possibility but fullscale macro-semantic analysis of text is not yet. In very recent work on macro-genres, Martin (1991) has discussed the relationship between micro and macro at the generic level.

- **complementarity**: like micro-macro, this is not a new dimension; but it is a recurrent motif that has come into focus in the 1980s – as in the complementarity of reflection and action in the metafunctions, congruent and metaphorical construals, written and spoken language, as emphasize in Halliday's work in the 1980s. The recent work on the complementarity of different semiotic systems – language and some other semiotic system – is also crucial here – see Cranny-Francis & Martin (1990), Kress & van Leeuwen (1991); and it is likely to become increasingly important in the move to the next century.

(ii) metatheoretical:

- **theoretical interpretation**: language and metalanguage – stratification within metalanguage. Firth provided an essential insight into linguistics by characterizing it as talk about talk; and it is becoming increasingly important to focus on the stratification of the theory seen as metalanguage. It has become clear that it is very useful to distinguish higher-level theoretical interpretations of language from the forms of representation (Matthiessen, 1988; in prep);[10] for instance, we have increasing experience with the different metafunctional modes of expression (Halliday, 1979), but experiential constituency is still the dominant form of formal representation (Halliday, 1985; Matthiessen, 1988; 1991). One area where these issues come up is computational modelling (Bateman, 1991; Matthiessen & Bateman, in press); but it is also important to explore further how language embodies an unconscious theory of itself (Matthiessen, in press). As part of the focus of theoretical interpretation and the nature of metalanguage, Halliday's

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[10] This includes different modes of representation -- discursive, algebraic, graphic -- for instance, it is important to maintain intertranslatability as far as possible (which is not always the case): cf. Kress & van Leeuwen (1991) and Matthiessen (1988).

(1984) observation that grammatical categories tend to be ineffable has been important in diagonising our difficulties and it is helpful to examine metaphorical systems used in metalanguage partly to characterize ineffable categories (see Thibault, 1990, on the 'exchange' metaphor in the interpretation of interpersonal systems and Matthiessen, forthcoming, on metaphors used in interpreting the textual metafunction).

The exploration of difference and similarity in the organization of systems and structures across the dimensions of stratification, variation, rank and micro-macro, has raised the issue of **fractal patterns** -- general patterns manifested in different semiotic environments in the overall system. For instance, Halliday (1985: 306-7) shows the projection of elaboration/ extension/ enhancement throughout the grammatical system and Martin (1989) shows how Halliday's notion of a hierarchy of periodicity applies to Theme and New as generalizations of textual organization. The move into semiotic systems other than language (music, painting, graphics) in the work by O'Toole, Kress, van Leeuwen and others raises similar questions about general semiotic principles being manifested in different environments.

The dimensions discussed here define a theoretical space. Interpretation relative to this space is **flexible**; it possible to interpret some phenomenon along alternative dimensions of the space and thus to place in in different locations in the overall model. Thus while text is explicitly interpreted as a unit or process at the semantic stratum, it is perfectly possible theoretically to interpret it at the stratum of grammar as a rank higher than the clause (as has often been done in Tagmemic linguistics): this is an empirical issue of whether stratification or rank is the appropriate dimension along which to relate e.g. text and clause (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1981; Martin, in press). The phenomenon of variation is one phenomenon where alternative theoretical placements have been proposed and are being explored. For instance, in the model presented in Martin (in press), generic variation is captured by positing a stratum or plane where systemic statements about genre agnation are made; in contrast, the account of register in Halliday & Hasan (1985/ 9) implies more of an independent dimension of variation (cross-cutting stratification), along which varieties are stacked up:

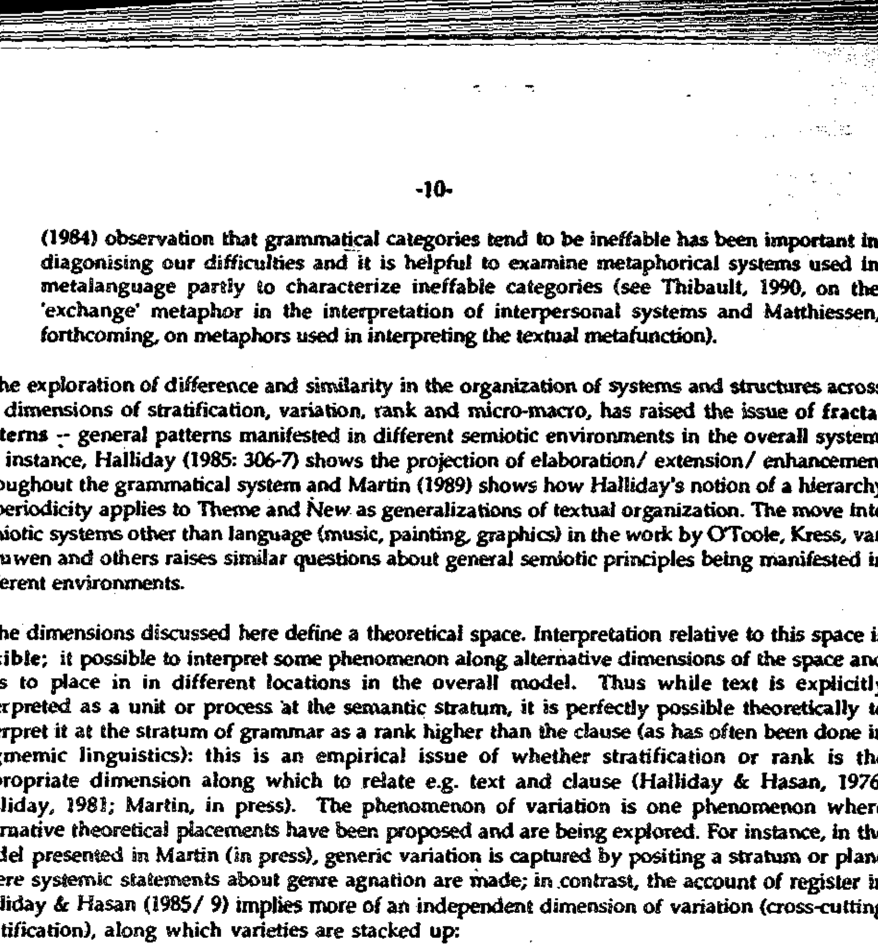

Fig. 3: Locating variation in the theoretical space – two approaches

See the work by Caffarel (1990; 1991) already referred to above for discussion. The two approaches diagrammed above are not necessarily mutually exclusive; further work is needed to establish compatibility. Grammatical metaphor is another phenomenon whose theoretical placement may vary for a while as different alternatives are being tried out.

3. Permeability, exchange and academic interfaces

As a metalanguage, a theory develops in a semiotic environment, in a context; and this environment includes, among other things, other theories that are employed in the interpretation of the whole system of language in context or of a subsystem such as phonology. These other theories are either different metalanguages – varieties from disciplines other than linguistics – or different metadialects – varieties within linguistics associated with different regions; central examples include:

(i) different semiotic systems

social semiotics – flowing on from social semiotic interpretation of language in context

educational linguistics – flowing from the concern with a language-based theory of learning, one that intersects learning language, learning through language and learning about language.

computational linguistics – flowing from the concern with resources and text in context.

(ii) different metalanguages[11]

* Pacific functionalism: West Coast functionalism, systemic functionalism.

Information-based linguistics: mid to late 80s information-based formal linguistics and meaning-based systemic linguistics.

However, setting this up as a contrast between exchange with different metasemiotic systems and exchange with different metalanguages obscures the important point that a number of commonalities are more important across disciplines – Halliday's observation that themes will play an increasingly important role relative to the traditional disciplines. Indeed, such themes emerge when we examine the different sites of semogenesis such as social semiotics and Pacific linguistics. This thematic perspective also makes it easier to draw analogies with systems other than language, as in the work by Kress, van Leeuwen, O'Toole and others on non-verbal semiotic systems, Lemke's interpretation of language as a dynamic open system, Butt's (1987) implicate order taken from theoretical physics and Halliday's (1987) work on language and the order of nature. It is not possible to discuss all of the sites of semogenesis – a number of already been discussed recently in Network in any case. So I will just say a few words about Pacific linguistics, computational linguistics and information-based linguistics.

Pacific linguistics

Many years ago, Firth (1957: Ch. 12) talked about *Atlantic Linguistics* – "certain common interests in the study of English, of other languages, and of language in general, shared by all who have written in English both in Europe and America since the middle of the eighteenth century, to the characteristic and highly significant development of American Indian studies, and to the present fact that the centre of gravity of the linguistic sciences is no longer in the heart of the continent of Europe, but appears to be moving westwards". The Atlantic continues to be an important abstraction in linguistic development; but since Firth's time, the westward move (taking Europe as the point of departure and moving through North America) has continued; the Pacific has also emerged as an ocean of a number of significant meta-linguistic areal features such as the interest in

[11] We can add a number of theories to this list that are not general theories of language but are subtheories of some particular subsystem: for example, prosody-oriented phonology (Autosegmental phonology, systemic phonology developed from Firthian prosodic analysis), dialogue-focussed theory (Conversational analysis, negotiation/ exchange in systemic linguistics, etc.). We can also, of course, add varieties that have long been recognized: stratificational linguistics, Tagmemic linguistics and Prague School linguistics.

functional accounts and explanations of grammar and the relationship between grammar and discourse. (And these may come together in accounts of languages spoken around the Pacific; for example, in descriptions of Chinese, Japanese and Tagalog.)

In addition to systemic-functional linguistics, we find what is often called West Coast Functionalism in this grouping of Pacific linguistics – West Coast because of its place of origin and because a number of researchers are active in departments along the West Coast (e.g., S. Thompson, W. Chafe, J. DuBois, M. Mithune, T. Givón, R. Tomlin). But the West Coast is, of course, a state of mind (semiosis!) just as it is a material place and West Coast Functionalists can also be found in many other places e.g. Colorado (S. Cumming, B. Fox). West Coast Functionalism developed to a large extent as a reaction against formal linguistics of the 1960s and 1970s, where theory had become a straightjacket, both in terms of what could be the scope of study and in terms of modes of explanation. As a result, there has been a tendency to avoid comprehensive theorizing and formal representation and while the reasons for this are understandable, it is worth noting that it is also possible to avoid being caught in theoretical traps by employing a flexi-theory such as systemic theory that is inherently multiperspectival. The role of the theory is to enable rich interpretations and to provide new perspectives not available without a comprehensive theory.

Ideas where there are important points of contact with Systemic Functional Theory include, in addition to the general functionalism and orientation towards discourse, the following (systemic references in italics):

(i) An exploration of grammar as **natural** in terms of semantics (in a wide sense, including pragmatics and discourse), even iconic – e.g. Hopper & Thompson (1983), Haiman (1985), *Halliday (1979; 1985)*.

(ii) The identification of **functional components** or domains in the linguistic system – e.g. Givón (1982), *Halliday (1967/8; 1985)*; cf. also Dik (1978).

(iii) The correlation between grammatical strategies and **discourse** organization – e.g. Fox (1988), *Fries (1981)*.

(iv) The identification of the role played by '**information flow**' – e.g. Chafe (1987), Thompson (1987), *Halliday (1967/8; 1982b), Fries (1988)*.

(v) The **contextual matrix** of grammar – e.g. DuBois (1985), *Halliday (1978)*.

(vi) The **probabilistic** nature of the linguistic system – e.g. Givón (1979), *Halliday (1961), Plum & Nesbitt (1989)*.

(vii) The **social** basis of language and the role of social explanations (this is certainly not emphasized by all; indeed, cognitive considerations have been much more foregrounded in general) – e.g. Ochs (198), *Halliday (1975; 1978; 1984)*.

There are various interesting examples of the explicit use of systemic work – e.g. in Thompson (1984; 1987) – and of integration (Matthiessen & Thompson, 1989).

Information-based linguistics

If we stay on the US West Coast, we can also note another point of contact – this time particularly with research carried out at the cluster of research sites around Stanford University (CLSI, SRI, Xerox Parc, etc.). However, this research is now also carried out at other places in North America and in Europe. The initial focus was on grammar and a family of related approaches (GPSG, LFG, FUG, PATR) came to be known as feature-&-function grammars (Winograd, 1983) or unification-based grammars (Shieber, 1986). Winograd explicitly included SFG in this family and Kasper's (e.g. 1988) translation of the 'Nigel' grammar from SFG to FUG/

PATR has shown compatibility with the unification-based representation. Most of the similarities are at the lower levels of the representation of grammatical theory -- GPSG and LFG are, after all, formal theories of grammar -- not at the higher levels of theoretical construal of language in functional terms (where we find similarities with West Coast Functionalism). For instance, features play a central role in this family of grammars. Based on the experience with unification-based grammar and with other areas of research such as formal semantics and knowledge representation, Pollard & Sag (1987) developed Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), which brought modern formal grammar even closer to SFG than e.g. GPSG had been. They emphasize that the theory is concerned with specifications of information in different domains, such as semantics, syntax, and phonology: this is an intriguing echo of Firth's notion that meaning pervades language and Halliday's characterization of language as 'meaning potential'. While Firth's insight was often met with disbelief, the importance of the information-based conception of language is now being widely recognized -- it is, after all, a metaphor that resonates with a phase in our history where information has become the most important commodity and serves, together with its technologies, as a way of interpreting reality. One aspect of this conception is the organization of types of information into subsumption lattices -- taxonomic organization of functional descriptions, something which makes unification more efficient. Consequently, we can see how not only the feature-part of systemic interpretations find resonance in modern formal theory but also the systemic organization of features into system networks. The resource for representing grammars like HPSG is called Typed Feature Structure (TFS); current research by John Bateman and a group in Stuttgart involves representing the systemic Nigel grammar by means of TFS (see Bateman & Momma, 1991).

These new developments in formal (grammatical) theory are refreshing; in general, it seems to me that the potential for exchange has increased because formal theory is becoming more systemic-like. There are a number of interesting conclusions to draw; for instance, efforts in the 1960s and 1970s to 'prune' extravagant systemic accounts to make them more like formal ones may have been quite premature: with new conceptions of formal grammar emerging, multiple constraints in an extravagant interpretation can have a significant value and total accountability across strata and ranks seems to be a feature rather than a bug, even from a computational point of view. It seems important, then, to maintain the course of development if it is internally motivated in systemic theory even when the external conditions are adverse; they may change just as they are changing because of developments in formal theories of grammar.

Computational linguistics

The developments in formal theory of grammar have taken place at the intersection of linguistics and computational linguistics and a number of ideas (such as constraint-based interpretations of specifications of information, unification and subsumption lattice) come from computational linguistics rather than linguistics. As anticipated by Fawcett (1980), the interface between linguistics and computational linguistics has also become a productive research environment in systemic work: the exchange is discussed in Matthiessen & Bateman (in press), where we try to identify some important developments in systemic computational linguistics. Recent research also includes Cross (1991), Fawcett (1989), Fawcett & Tucker (1989), and Patten (1988). I hope to return, in a later discussion, to the question of what developments have been particularly salient in the computational environment. Given the importance of both computational linguistics and educational linguistics in the development of systemic functional theory, it would be interesting to explore the experiences in both areas systematically. It has seemed to me for a long time that there are some important points of convergence and a recent discussion with Jim Martin and John Bateman highlighted some of these: for example, the need to push further in a more non-directional, possibly dialectic understanding of realization, the need to model how systems reconstrue themselves through time (e.g. discourse time), the relative difficulty of congruent and metaphorical representations and the importance of the complementarity of the two in the construction of 'knowledge'.

-- part of which is metalinguistic typology. This has to be done with the same respect for different metalanguages as we give to languages; and it has to be global rather than piecemeal. There is a real trap here -- the danger of treating metalanguages other than one's own as strangely scrambled versions of it, much as languages other than English or Latin have often been characterized as departures from these languages. And there is also the problem of polemic instead of dialogue: these issues are discussed in Matthiessen & Martin (forthcoming) and Martin (1991) in relation to Huddleston's (1988) highly problematic review of Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar.

4. Conclusion: modes of change

I have presented some observations about the development of systemic theory, seen as metalanguage. And in conclusion I will now only return to the question of the nature of this change. Does theory -- metalanguage -- change through evolution, change in a species, or growth, change in an individual -- two different models of change highlighted by Jay Lemke? Although phylogenetic development and ontogenetic development show a number of parallels, they are by no means identical and the question is an important one since growth, change in the individual, suggests birth, maturation and, ultimately, death, whereas there is no lifecycle of that kind in evolution. The analogy between language and metalanguage suggests that the answer is evolution rather than growth: languages evolve, they don't grow. (We sometimes speak of language growth and death, but these are arguably quite inappropriate metaphors deriving from the general, metaphor of language as an organism, which is misleading unless it is taken in very abstract terms.) Do metalanguages die? The answer partly depends on how we draw the boundary around a metalanguage -- while theories are certainly abandoned and we speak of revolutions bringing about paradigm shifts, in many cases, it may really be a variety of some theory that 'dies' rather than the basic assumptions embodied in the theory. Thus while the so-called Chomskyan revolution is often said to have brought in a completely new theory of generative linguistics, this type of linguistics can really be interpreted as a variety of the earlier American structuralism, with a number of meta-ideational categories intact such as the syntagmatic interpretation of language, immediate constituency analysis, and the basically segmental interpretation of sound structure.[12] In any case, there is one important difference between language and metalanguage: while language is an evolved system rather than a designed one, metalanguage is much more open to conscious design and planning. Consequently, in metalanguage planning, we can attend to changes very consciously and we can direct them by means of theoretical design. In systemic linguistics, this has meant designing the theory in such a way that it is like language in certain respects that are critical to its mode of change: it is dynamic and open, it is comprehensive, it is a flexi-theory, as Halliday has put it; and it is more powerful for any given context of research application than is needed for that particular application, which means that it is not necessary to change the theory every time it is used to organize information from a new domain. And to this we can add: it has a large community where it develops as a resource in praxis -- it is not laid down as a legal rule system by an Academy. If we attend to properties such as these, systemic metalanguage will continue to be functional (metafunctional!) and can continue to develop as a resource in the 21st century, responding to demands placed on it by changing non-catastrophically.

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FIFTEEN THEORETICAL QUESTIONS FOR SYSTEMIC LINGUISTS IN 1990s

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I offer here a list of questions for systemic theory that have been raised as a result of work in implementing a systemic functional lexicogrammar as a computer program - specifically, in the COMMUNAL Project.[1] In what follows, it will be useful to know that the lexicogrammar in COMMUNAL is called GENESYS (because it GENErates SYStemically) and the lexicogrammar in the Penman Project described in Matthiessen and Bateman (in press) is called NIGEL (= `son of Halliday').

These are all questions on which, it seems to me, any user of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) should have a position - or at least be working towards having one. So far as I can see, most of the questions are not ones that are limited in their relevance to work on building better models for text generation or understanding; virtually all should be just as relevant to those who want a good description of language for, let us say, describing a text of literary or social interest.

Some of the questions may appear to some readers to be more concerned with the apparatus of systemic linguistics than its use in describing texts (and therefore, such readers might assume, not really relevant to them). But at root the two aspects of systemic functional theory are inseparable; in fact, many of the answers that you provide for yourself to the questions put here will imply a position on a major question.[2]

1. Can the system networks in the lexicogrammar be semanticized further than the networks that underlie (but are unfortunately not reproduced in) Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar (1985, henceforth IFG) without overstraining the realization rules (or `realization statements', to use Halliday's term)? (The networks in the NIGEL grammar correspond fairly closely to the network equivalent of IFG.) The system networks and realization rules developed by Gordon Tucker and myself in the GENESYS generator in the COMMUNAL Project (and described in my Cognitive Linguistics and Social Interaction (1980) and in various articles by one or other of us) seek to do this; do these `overstrain' the realization rules?

2. Given that it is the case that equivalent systemic grammars can be written in which there is considerable scope for a trade- off between complexity/simplicity in the system networks and simplicity/complexity in the realization rules (as work on GENESYS suggests), what are the criteria for deciding where to put the complexity? What degree of complexity in the realization rules would constitute `overstraining' them, as in Question 1? (See also Questions 3 to 5 below.)

3. Is the phenomenon of the `gate' (roughly, something that appears to function as a one-feature system) as used in the Nigel grammar and in GENESYS a single concept, or is it an ultimately misleading cover term for two (or more?) different concepts? Is it the case that some of the `gates' found in current network diagrams are integral parts of the system networks (i.e. genuinely `one-feature systems'), while others (as found in NIGEL and some other current systemic work, but not in GENESYS) are in fact part of the realization apparatus (i.e. a device to bring various conditional features together as entry conditions to an additional single feature to which a simple realization rule can be attached? If the latter is the case, is it really appropriate to create a new feature that has no semantic motivation in this way? And, if it is claimed that it is justified, is its theoretical status claimed to be the same as the other features? From an analysis of some of the networks that use such `realization gates' freely, it appears that their use may lead to an over- free use of simultaneously entered systems, from which many features can be co-selected. The problem about this is that only some of these co-selections can be realized, so that the network generates many selection expressions that simply have no realization. (This may be defensible for `lexical gaps', but this sort of use should be very strictly limited.) How far do such networks in fact fail to capture the true meaning potential of a specific language?

4. What is the full range of possible ways of handling the inter-stratal relationship of realization (which has been much less fully discussed so far than networks), and what is the optimal apparatus and notation? For example, should negative conditions be allowed (as in GENESYS), or is this an `overstraining of the realization rules'?

5. Given that what we normally term `realization rules' are inherently instantiation rules (i.e. rules that turn a selection expression of features from the meaning potential into a specific instance of an arrangement of items), are such rules also genuinely `realization' rules (i.e. rules that relate two levels of representation to each other)? (This is the position taken in GENESYS.) Specifically, is there, in a NIGEL-type grammar, where there is no explicit claim that the system networks constitute the level of semantics (as opposed to their being, as it were, `meaning-reflecting'), a relationship of realization between the selection expression generated on passing through the system network and the `functional' representation? If it is claimed that two levels are not involved, why do we need to have two distinct `levels' of representation for any `instance': the `feature' description (in the selection expressions for each unit) and the `functional' description (as in IFG and its equivalent in GENESYS)?

6. Is the current apparatus for system networks adequate? Do we perhaps wish to claim that we need to consider additions, such as (a) distinguishing exclusive and inclusive disjunctive entry conditions (`or' as well as `or or and'), and (b) system networks that can be changed by decisions in other parts of the network on the same pass through the network? (See below for changing networks on a subsequent pass.)

7. Is it necessary to postulate a higher stratum of `semantic' choices than those in the lexicogrammatical level of `meaning potential' that is still within the semiotic system of language, as Halliday suggests may be needed (e.g. in the Introduction to IFG)? This is in contrast with the alternative position, where the phenomena assigned in such an approach to one or more higher levels in the same semiotic system are modelled as being parts of separate components of the overall process of planning in the production of text (which may in some cases have the form of a `higher semiotic system'). Examples would include the `conceptual hierarchy' in the `belief system' or `upper model' (assuming a rough equivalence of these terms, from COMMUNAL and Penman respectively), and the component that plans discourse structure.

8. What is the role of probabilities in (a) generation and (b) understanding? In generation, how should a weighting be given to such probabilities, alongside the influence on choices in the meaning potential of the lexicogrammar derived from higher components such as the conceptual hierarchy? In generation, is the current practice in GENESYS appropriate, where the mechanism that has been introduced for expressing relative probabilities is used also for expressing the `absolute probabilities' of pre- selection (i.e. when a choice is a system at one rank pre-selects a feature in a lower rank, when the system network is re- entered)?

9. Should register variation within a language be expressed by having different (but partially similar) lexicogrammatical networks that are used in different situation-types, or by having one large network and varying the probabilities according to the situation (including absolute probabilities of 100% and 0%, e.g. to rule out the passe historique in spoken French)?

10. How should dialectal variation be modelled (e.g. when it is available to a single speaker)? Is it in such a situation effectively a variant of the overall language which can be modelled in whatever way we decide on to model register?

11. At what level of planning is it most appropriate to handle register and other types of variation that are open to users of a language? How would one handle Gregory's notion of `phases' in register variation?

12. Given the long-standing SFL commitment to modelling the meaning potential of lexis in system networks (as is done in GENESYS), should there also be, in a SFL approach, a role for anything remotely like the standard notion of a lexicon that is separate from the `grammar'? The question arises because, in all models of parsing that I know of, there is a need for a wordlist, which includes as well as the words themselves some grammatical facts. This is commonly called a `lexicon' in parsing circles (even though such `lexicons' frequently omit what many would take to be a lexicon's main function, i.e. to indicate a word's meaning. Such a `grammatically annotated wordlist' can in a SFL approach be derived from the rest of the lexicogrammar, and so is secondary. But it is nonetheless a major

component of a full natural language processing system that exists outside the current range of recognized components; what should its status be in a theory which claims to be about how language is used?

13. What higher components and/or levels are needed in a full model of language? Is it right to assume that they should all be modelled in system networks? What should their relationship be to lower components such as the lexicogrammar? Should it be one of 'pre-selection' (called 'pre-determination currently in COMMUNAL to distinguish it from the intra-stratal relationship of pre-selection from one rank in lexicogrammar to another)?

14. What is the relationship of the traditional linguistic concept of a supposedly neutral description of a language to the computational concept of language as a processing device for turning (very roughly) 'meanings' into 'sounds' and 'sounds' into 'meanings'? In a systemic framework, where the system networks and realization rules can usefully be regarded as the last major stage of a speaker's planning of what he/she is saying, and the task of the hearer is that of working out what the speaker may have been trying to say and mean, is there really a need any more for 'neutral' descriptive models? Isn't any systemic description essentially a representation of a level in the process of generation (or, by derivation, understanding)?

15. Should models of generating (or producing) text be derived from models of understanding text, or vice versa (or from a supposedly 'neutral' descriptive model)?

Notes

1. This paper began as an expansion of a small part of my Foreword to Christian Matthiessen and John Bateman's Text Generation and Systemic Functional Linguistics, which will be published by Pinter Publishers in late 1991, but soon acquired a life of its own.

2. For example, consider Questions 1 and 5. When you use a specific systemic functional description of a language to describe a text (e.g. IFG for a text in English), your answers to Questions 1 and 5 should clarify your position on the issue of whether you are describing the text at the level of form or at the (or 'a'?) level of meaning. While in one sense it doesn't matter, in another it does. This is because, if your answer is that your description is at the level of form, you will feel that it is significantly incomplete. You may hope that one day it may be possible to provide an explicitly semantic description, which would presumably be correspondingly more insightful when you are in a position to provide it, but the fact is that you do not have it now. Alternatively, if you take the view that your description is itself the description of the text at the level of meaning, then you will feel very much more satisfied - while perhaps still feeling that the apparatus available, like all of the descriptive apparatus in any linguistic theory, has considerable room for improvement. (You can work out for yourself, from the way the questions are framed, what position I adopt on this issue!)

Criteria of adequacy in functional grammars, with particular reference to Systemic Functional Grammar

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1. *Introduction: aims and scope*

Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG) began to emerge in the mid 60s (the seminal paper, in my view, is Halliday 1966) as a development and enrichment of the Scale and Category Model (Halliday 1961). Since then, a number of other 'functional' approaches to language have been proposed, and it is perhaps now time to ask what it is that characterises such approaches as a 'family', and what criteria of adequacy, apart from purely descriptive, might be appropriate for evaluating functional grammars.

This brief contribution clearly cannot make substantial headway into such a complex area (a detailed treatment will eventually be available in Butler (in preparation)), but will be deliberately programmatic. I will first discuss attempts to answer the question 'What is a functional grammar?', and to locate SFG within the spectrum of approaches which fall under the resulting definition. Out of this discussion will emerge a single primary aim for functional approaches to language, and a fairly coherent position on the scope of a functional grammar, common to a group of such approaches. I will then make some suggestions for a set of types of criteria which, I argue, must be satisfied if the primary aim is to be fulfilled. This will be followed by an assessment of the success of SFG in meeting the criteria, with brief references also to other functional approaches. Finally, I will suggest a number of areas which, in my view, need to be developed in future research in SFG.

2. *What is a functional grammar?*

Halliday's view of wnat makes a grammar 'functional' is nicely summarised in the following:

> Language has evolved to satisfy human needs; and the way it is organized is functional with respect to these needs - it is not arbitrary. A functional grammar is essentially a 'natural' grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used. (Halliday 1985: xiii)

A number of other scholars have likewise attempted a characterisation of functional approaches to language (see especially Dik 1986, 1989a: 3; Foley and van Valin 1984: 7, Nichols 1984, van Valin in press a). In all these accounts, the fundamental property highlighted is that language is seen first and foremost as a means of communication, and that the primary aim of the grammar is to explain the properties of languages in terms of their primary communicative role. This stance distinguishes functional grammars very clearly from the kind of 'formal' approach advocated, for

instance, by Chomsky (1975: 56-7, 1980: 229-30), who denies that communicatio[illegible] the key function of language. This is not the place to argue for the functionalist as opposed to the formalist position: for cogent presentations of the arguments, see Dik (1986), Foley and van Valin (1984: Chapter 1).

The characterisation of language as primarily a communicative system, and the primary aim to explain linguistic phenomena in terms of this role, define a number of approaches as being functional in the sense intended here, but exclude others which may nevertheless have the word 'functional' in their titles. The classification of Nichols (1984) into 'conservative', 'moderate' and 'extreme' functional approaches is a useful starting point.

'Conservative' functionalists, such as Kuno (eg. 1980), hold that analyses of communicative function can simply be added to existing formal models as a separate 'module', without in any way being incompatible with the basic tenets of such models; such approaches clearly fall outside our definition of functional grammars.

'Extreme' functionalist approaches such as that associated with what has become known as West Coast Functional Grammar, deny the existence of a grammar as a structural system, and effectively wish to reduce grammar to discourse (see eg. (Givón 1979, 1984, 1989, 1990; Hopper 1987).

'Moderate' functionalist accounts, on the other hand, accept the existence and importance of a structural system in language, but claim that the properties of this system can be explained only by reference to its communicative functions. Such approaches include SFG (Halliday 1978, 1985), Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (Foley and van Valin 1984; van Valin 1980, in press a) and Dik's Functional Grammar (FG) (Dik 1989a). Note that since the aim of a moderate functional grammar is to provide explanations, in communicative terms, for the structural systems evidenced in languages, such approaches are committed, just as are 'formal' approaches, to providing theories of these structural systems, in all their rich detail. This point will be taken up again in Section 10.

In addition, there are approaches which share at least some of the concerns of the more central functional theories, such as Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987a, 1987b) Stratificational Grammar (Lockwood 1972), Tagmemics and Prague School theories of textual structure (Daneš 1984, Firbas 1987): these will not be discussed here, but deserve mention in a more expanded treatment.

3. *Criteria of adequacy for moderate functional grammars*

Let us begin by exploring a little more what it means for a theory to explain the grammar in terms of the communicative use of language. The 'functional prerequisites' imposed on natural languages are discussed in some detail by Dik (1986: 21-2), and are claimed to explain the forms of natural languages, and to define the concept of 'possible linguistic change'. They include:

i. the primary claim already discussed, namely that languages have, as their primary aim, communication between human beings;
ii. the physiological and psychological constraints imposed by the fact that the primary mechanism for the expression of human languages is the vocal-auditory tract;
iii. the physical, socio-cultural and linguistic circumstances in which natural languages are used.

The second and third of these deserve further comment, since they will allow us to derive a set of adequacy criteria. One of the main constraints imposed by the physical mechanism of speech (though not that of writing) is linearity, and Dik observes that this linearity is exploited in significant ways in the grammatical systems of languages. More important, however, according to Dik, are the psychological constraints on the production, perception, comprehension, memorisation and acquisition of languages: in other words, one major factor which can be used to explain why languages are as they are is the relative ease of various aspects of processing and learning. The physical factors mentioned in (iii) relate to, for example, the effects, mainly but not exclusively on the vocabulary of languages, of the presence or absence, from a cultural environment, of particular objects or phenomena. The linguistic circumstances include, for example, other languages used in the community. Most important of the factors in (iii), though, are the socio-cultural circumstances of language use - basically, the fact that we cannot with impunity say (or write) just anything we like in just any set of socio-cultural circumstances.

To this set, a further factor needs to be added. As has been pointed out by a number of functionalists (see, for example, Foley and van Valin 1984: 1, Givón 1984: 239), most linguistic communication does not consist of single sentences, but is, to use Givón's term, multi-propositional in nature. This has a multitude of profound effects on the grammatical organisation of languages.

Note, by the way, the constant reference to 'languages' in what I have said so far. Although, as will be apparent in more detail later, functional approaches differ greatly in the range of languages they have taken into account, I take it that functional linguists of all persuasions would reject the set of assumptions which for many years allowed the Chomskyan linguist to claim that because the only truly interesting and important aspects of language were universal, theories could validly be built on the analysis of a single language. No functionalist, I think, would be more than provisionally content with a theory which offered explanations of phenomena in one language, but did not stand the test of observations from other languages: such a theory would fail the absolutely basic criterion of descriptive adequacy.

From this set of factors, which to me seem quite uncontroversial, we may deduce a set of criteria for the adequacy of functional approaches to language. Before I suggest such criteria, however, I must raise an important issue relating to the concept of 'adequacy'. For the linguist who is afraid that to stray too far from language itself will open the floodgates and result in lack of rigour, it is tempting to formulate criteria of adequacy which are of the form 'all statements of the theory must be compatible with what is known about the factors leading to functional pressures on languages', and to leave to some other, extra-linguistic theory the modelling of the factors and their relationships with language. But as Nuyts (1983: 383) has pointed out, "a grammar that does not describe these characteristics of expressions is not a F[unctional] G[rammar] at all". In order to explain linguistic forms in terms of functional constraints, we must include in our theory an account of the relationships between the two, and this in turn presupposes a model of each type of constraint.

Below is a suggested set of adequacy criteria. The order in which these are presented is based on the order of discussion above, and is not intended to represent any ranking in terms of importance.

1. **Psychological adequacy:** the theory must contain a model of the processing constraints on language use and the relationships between these constraints and the forms of languages.

2. **Acquisitional adequacy:** it must also model the process of language acquisition, explaining why acquisition proceeds as it does.

3. **Socio-cultural adequacy:** the theory must model the social and cultural circumstances of language use, and the relationships between these and the forms of languages.

4. **Discoursal adequacy:** the theory must contain a model of the essentially multi-propositional nature of linguistic communication and the relationship between this property of communication and the forms of languages.

5. **Typological adequacy:** the theory must be applicable to human languages of all types.

I should make clear at this point my belief that any theory which wishes to make a serious overall claim for functional adequacy must aim to satisfy all the above criteria. If, as I have assumed, we agree that the factors relevant to principles 1-4 have an important influence on language in use, and if we also agree that linguistic theories should be applicable to the whole range of language types, then it surely follows that any theory which leaves any of the relevant factors out of account is failing, to some extent, to provide an explanation of why languages are as they are. This does not mean, of course, that at any one time, all functional theories will have equally well-developed explanations corresponding to all the relevant factors; but it does mean that all the factors must be taken into account in the theoretical framework, and their explanatory potential investigated at some point. For such-and-such a researcher not to be interested in factor X is fair enough: the plea that such-and-such a functional theory has no interest in that factor seriously diminishes that theory's claims to adequacy.

In what follows, I will attempt to evaluate past and present work in SFG (and, limitedly, in other moderate functional approaches) with respect to each of the five criteria, starting with those where I would claim SFG has had the greatest success.

4. *Socio-cultural adequacy*

SFG is arguably the only functional theory which builds in, as an absolutely central component, a model of social and cultural context and its relationship to the language system. To the extent that this part of the theory is valid, then, SFG goes further in the direction of socio-cultural adequacy than any of its sister approaches. Systemic work on the classification of social context, as is well known, derives ultimately from Firth and Malinowski, via the working out of the field-tenor-mode framework by Halliday, Gregory, Ellis, Ure and others in the 60s. The modelling of text-context relationships took a substantial step forward with Halliday's introduction of the functional components/ metafunctions hypothesis (see eg. Halliday 1970) and the proposal that there is a systematic link between metafunctional meaning choice and parameters of social context:

> ... the type of symbolic activity (field) tends to determine the range of meaning as content, language in the observer function (ideational); the role relationships (tenor) tend to determine the range of meaning as participation, language in the intruder function (interpersonal); and the rhetorical channel (mode) tends to determine the range of meaning as texture, language in its relevance to the environment (textual). (Halliday 1978: 117)

Here, then, is a proposal which gets right to the heart of how language in use responds to socio-cultural pressures. However, the validity of the claim depends crucially on that of the categories involved in it, and it has been argued that there are grave problems of definition both for field/ tenor/ mode and for the metafunctions. The arguments will not be repeated here: readers unfamiliar with them should consult Berry Berry (1982) and Butler (1985: 88-90). Furthermore, there seems to have been no work specifically designed to test the operationalisability of the situational and metafunctional categories and the validity of the metafunction-register hypothesis by charting the detailed effects of field, tenor and mode on meaning choices and the forms which realise them, in a systematically chosen set of texts.

Apart from sporadic comments on, for example, the "special pragmatic significance" of indirect speech acts (Dik 1989a: 255), Dik's FG at present makes no attempt whatever to achieve socio-cultural adequacy, and the same is true of RRG.

5. *Discoursal adequacy*

There can be no doubt that SFG takes very seriously the concept of text (readers should note that I am not making any principled distinction between 'text' and 'discourse' for the purposes of this discussion). Indeed, text is seen as "the basic unit

of the semantic process" (Halliday 1978: 109), and much of the most influe systemic work of the last decade or so has been in the area of textual structure. The work of Halliday and Hasan on cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1989) is very well known and respected; that of Hasan (1978, 1984a, 1984b), Martin (1985), Ventola (1984, 1987), and others has provided valuable insights into generic structure; systemically-inspired work, initially by the Birmingham-based group (see Sinclair amd Coulthard 1975, Coulthard and Montgomery 1981) has provided a hierarchical model of discourse structure; and Lemke (see eg. Lemke 1985) has added significantly to our knowledge of relationships between texts. (For a brief overview of this work, see Butler 1989.)

Although, as we have seen, systemically-based work certainly places a high priority on the modelling of text structure, it has not been carried out primarily with a view to explaining why the grammars of languages are as they are. Although Halliday (1985: xvii) has observed that "a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text", the *de facto* relationship between grammar and text in the prevailing methodology of SFG is largely that the grammatical framework is fitted to the requirements of text analysis - that is, the grammar is set up in such a way that it is appropriate for the analysis of texts. There is, of course, nothing wrong with this in itself, as an aid to text analysts (see Section 9 for further discussion of the criterion of 'applicability' of grammars). But as a theoretical manoeuvre, it has its dangers. Firstly, as I have argued above, the properties of discourse are just one of the factors which the grammar must reflect, and any theoretical constructs which are motivated by arguments from discourse must also be compatible with psychological, socio-cultural and typological considerations. Secondly, given the over-arching programme of functional theories, to provide functional explanations of linguistic phenomena, there is a need to investigate whether discoursal factors can account for observations about the grammars of languages which may, at first sight, not appear to have an obvious textual motivation. The work of the West Coast functional grammarians Hopper and Thompson on transitivity (1980) and on form classes (1984) is a good example of such an approach.

Other moderate functionalist theories are seriously deficient on the discoursal adequacy criterion. Neither FG nor RRG as yet contains any explicit model of discourse structure as such. RRG has paid a great deal of attention to clause chaining and discourse referent tracking phenomena (see Foley and van Valin 1984, van Valin in press a, also Section 8 below). West Coast Functional Grammarians, a collection of linguists with rather more extreme functionalist views, have undertaken an extensive programme of quantitative text-based studies of discourse connectivity (see especially Givón 1983), and have sought to explain a number of grammatical phenomena in language in discoursal terms (see eg. the work by Hopper and Thompson referred to above).

6. *Acquisitional adequacy*

Although acquisitional adequacy is often treated as part of psychological adequacy, I have deliberately listed it separately because, as work in SFG has shown, socio-cultural factors are also of importance in acquisition. Halliday's work on the acquisition of English by a single child (Halliday 1975) represented an important departure from the structure-based studies which dominated the field at the time. It was truly functional, in that it attempted to demonstrate that the order and manner in which the child acquired particular aspects of the grammar could be explained in terms of the functional pressures on the child in his environment. Later work by Painter (1984) has confirmed the basic features of the original study, while documenting individual differences between the children concerned. Let us note, however, in passing, that only two children have been studied in detail, and that both were acquiring English. I will return to this aspect of SFG studies below. It is also worth observing that systemic work on acquisition does not afford a model of the acquisition process which integrates the socio-cultural constraints with the cognitive factors which are also undoubtedly important.

Linguists working in Dik's FG framework have so far not turned their attention to problems of acquisition. As far as RRG is concerned, however, a recent paper by van Valin (in press b) presents an extremely interesting account which demonstrates that even the syntactic constraints, such as certain extraction phenomena, cited by Chomskyan linguists as firm evidence for an innate language acquisition device, are explicable in functional terms within a 'constructionist' framework which claims that the child, rather than merely adapting a set of genetically pre-established features to the language(s) of his/her environment, as in the parameter-setting approach of Government and Binding theory, actually learns the language, constructing a grammar during the acquisition process.

7. *Psychological adequacy*

Halliday has made it clear that for him, SFG is oriented to sociological rather than psychological concerns:

> The orientation is to language as social rather than as individual phenomenon, and the origin and development of the theory have aligned it with sociological rather than psychological modes of explanation. (Halliday 1985: xxx)

However, as Fawcett has observed, there is no contradiction between the sociological and the psychological; on the contrary,

> ... various aspects of language - and in particular those related to social interaction - can, and for many purposes must, be set within a model that is cognitive. (Fawcett 1980: 1)

Fawcett himself aimed to model "the psychological reality of language" (Fawcett 1980: 7), and built into his overall model of language and language use a model of the cognitive capacity of the user. He explicitly recognises (1980: 9) the importance of psycholinguistic experimentation in the evaluation of linguistic models, but also observes that much of such experimentation is not done with the specific aim of

evaluating a particular model, so that we may have to rely on a surrogate procedure, the incorporation of the linguistic model into a computer implementation. There can be no doubt that SFG has enjoyed considerable success in natural langauge processing by computer, especially in the area of language generation (see Hovy in press). However, as Fawcett recognises, the successful incorporation of a linguistic model into a computational system should not mislead us into believing that we have produced an analogue of normal human processing mechanisms. It would also be unfortunate to assume that only those psycholinguistic experiments specifically designed to test a particular linguistic model can be of use to that model: we should be trying to ensure that our linguistic models take proper account of whatever is known about processing mechanisms and strategies.

Dik has recently incorporated into his FG a computational model of the natural language user (NLU), which aims "to simulate the actual, natural performance of NLU in normal communicative circumstances (Dik 1989b: 3). It has been claimed, however, that the model does not, and in its present state cannot, achieve a significant degree of psychological adequacy (see especially Hesp 1990, also Butler 1990, in press). The work of Nuyts' (see, for instance, de Schutter and Nuyts 1983, Nuyts 1989a, 1989b) proposes an at present somewhat programmatic Procedural Functional Grammar in which this requirement is addressed.

RRG has so far paid little attention to the modelling of processing factors and their possible relationships with the forms of languages.

8. *Typological adequacy*

Halliday (1985: xxxiv) comments on "the tendency to ethnocentrism in modern linguistics", and rightly warns against the "danger of assuming that the categories used here are valid in the description of any language". Certain features of the grammar (for instance, the metafunctions) are explicitly claimed to be universal, but the descriptive categories are particular. Indeed, SFG is said to be one of the group of approaches which "emphasize the variables among different languages" rather than to the group, including transformational generative grammar, which "emphasize universal features of language" (Halliday 1985: xxviii).

And yet it remains true, as I remarked earlier, that the central figures in SFG have worked almost exclusively on English, and this fact has undoubtedly exerted a very powerful influence on the shape, as well as the details, of the grammar proposed. The situation is improving, in that systemic accounts of some areas of certain other languages are becoming available. The work of McGregor (see, for example, McGregor 1990) is, in my view, particularly interesting and important, since he deals with native Australian languages which are typologically very remote from English, and is also sensitive to the insights to be gained from a study of other functional approaches. Nevertheless, the fact that SFG has been developed almost entirely on the basis of data from English inevitably makes it harder for those working on other languages to free themselves of the preconceptions engendered by the considerable weight of previous work. Furthermore, there is a complete absence, from the SFG literature, of studies which examine a single area from a comparative perspective, basing the discussion on a wide range of typologically diverse languages. Such work, of course, brings its own dangers - it is always slightly risky to make pronouncements on a language with which one is not familiar, perhaps on the basis of data from other linguists - but is nevertheless essential if the cross-linguistic validity of theoretical constructs is to be demonstrated rather than simply assumed. As van Valin (in press b) has recently pointed out, typological studies are also of paramount importance for functionalist theories of language acquisition: in order to understand the task faced by the child in acquiring a language, we must know about the range of potential linguistic systems.

For the other main moderate functionalist theories, as well as for West Coast Functional Grammar, typological considerations are high on the agenda. Some idea of the range of languages discussed can be obtained by looking at, for example, the index to Dik's most recent comprehensive account of FG (Dik 1989a), which lists more than 80 languages, or the recent synopsis of RRG by van Valin (in press a).

9. *A note on applicability*

Halliday has always been particularly interested in the application of linguistic descriptions and techniques in areas such as stylistics and education. More recently, his ideas have been used, with considerable success, in computational linguistics, as noted earlier. The successful application of descriptions within a particular theoretical framework is, of course, to be welcomed. In SFG, however, applicability has been elevated to the status of a major criterion of adequacy.

Halliday's own position is made clear in the statement that "a theory is a means of action, and there are many very different kinds of action one may want to take involving language", so that "it is unlikely that any one account of a language will be appropriate for all purposes" (Halliday 1985: xxix). I quite agree that a grammar written specifically for application to, for example, stylistics may well differ in important respects from one written to facilitate, let us say, natural language generation by computers. But many (probably most) functionally-inclined linguists, myself included, would want to claim that there is one 'purpose' which must constitute the principal aim of any theoretical endeavour in functional linguistics, namely to understand the nature of language(s) as a means of communication between human beings, constrained by and responsive to the social, cognitive and other factors operative in language use. As Halliday himself has said, we are "trying to characterize human interaction" (Halliday 1978: 51). If we are anything like successful in this enterprise, our grammars should indeed be applicable to particular types of study (of literature, or whatever) in which language plays a crucial role, since we must, as I have argued, build in models of the various situational and cognitive constraints and their relationships to the linguistic system. But applicability cannot, in and of itself, be validly treated as a criterion of adequacy: it is perfectly possible for aspects of a grammar to be useful, even where they rest on dubious theoretical foundations. As I have said on previous occasions, the metafunctional hypothesis and the metafunction-register hook-up may well fall into this category.

10. *Some suggestions for future work*

Present work in SFG is heavily biased towards two main areas: text/discourse analysis and computational linguistics. Both of these are extremely important and valuable: indeed, as I said earlier, the former is essential to the adequacy of any functional theory. It is very much to be hoped that further work in these areas will continue to bring insightful results.

That said, however, the heavy concentration on text, genre, register and the like seems to me dangerous. The development of textual models, largely for English, with little or no regard for cognitive constraints, evidence from a wide range of languages, and so on, is likely to lead to proposals which, even if they achieve a degree of discoursal adequacy, will prove seriously inadequate when embedded in the more comprehensive overall framework which, I have argued, should be our essential overall aim. For this reason, I very much hope that work in text analysis will not only be paralleled by, but will also build in the insights to be gained from, studies of other kinds. Below are some suggestions for such work.

(i) In order to improve on the already substantial progress made by systemicists in the area of socio-cultural adequacy, the situational parameters of field, tenor and mode need to be more rigorously defined. Here, relevant work in sociological theory would surely be useful.

(ii) The metafunctional hypothesis is in serious need of critical examination, especially in view of recent work in other moderate functional theories, demonstrating convincingly that features corresponding closely to ideational and interpersonal aspects of patterning show scoping relationships in clauses, rather than constituting parallel layers of structuring (see, for example, Foley and van Valin 1984; Hengeveld 1989, 1990; van Valin in press a, and the brief discussion in Butler 1990: 42-4).

(iii) When, and only when, progress has been made on (i) and (ii) above, we shall be in a position to assess, through careful and extensive analysis of texts of various kinds, the metafunction-register hook-up hypothesis.

(iv) Work needs to be done on many more languages, of typologically different kinds. This will inevitably lead to the considerations in (v) below.

(v) There is a need for a more serious consideration of various syntactic and morphological phenomena than has so far been the case. Because of its concentration on English, SFG has so far paid scant attention to many formal aspects of other types of language which prove to be of great importance for matters, such as metafunctional meaning realisation, information distribution and textual structure, with which SFG is rightly concerned. I am thinking particularly of phenomena such as the ordering of morphological segments in languages with rich tense-aspect-modality morphology, the morphological marking of focus structures, switch reference as a device for signalling topic (dis)continuity, etc.

(vi) There is also a need for the construction of a cognitive model to complement the sociologically-based model alluded to in (i), and the integration of the two aspects, as a continuation of the programme conceived, but sadly never fully realised, by Fawcett.

(vii) Much could be gained from an open-minded assessment of the insights which might accrue from the study of other functional theories, as well as the great variety of work which, though not conceived within a particular functional theory, goes under the general banner of 'pragmatics'. And we should not forget that the study entirely non-functional approaches to language is never a waste of time, if only because it may lead us to investigate whether our own theory can offer a functionally-based explanation of the phenomena under discussion.

One useful way into such an admittedly ambitious research programme might be to take some particular area of long-standing concern to systemicists, and attempt to re-examine it from all the perspectives I have discussed here. By way of illustration, I will outline what this might mean for the study of the three key areas of transitivity, mood/modality and theme/information distribution. These suggestions are by no means intended to be exhaustive, but are simply meant to indicate the kind of investigations I have in mind.

Transitivity

This is an area where all three major moderate functionalist theories have much to say. Re-examination of the area might therefore start with a critical comparison of the positions taken in representative FG and RRG accounts such as those of Dik (1989a: Chapter 5) and van Valin (in press a). The preliminary comparison of SFG and FG approaches in Butler (1990: 26-42) raises a number of issues for both theories. (A more detailed version including RRG will appear in Butler (in preparation).)

A second strand of the work would involve thinking about the importance of transitivity relations in relation to the discourse model being developed within the overall theory. Here, the work of Hopper and Thompson, even though it takes a rather different view of transitivity, would offer relevant insights.

A third component of the work would be centred on the question: 'Is the same set of transitivity categories adequate for the analysis of a wide range of typologically different languages?' Consideration of work in, for example, RRG would already have provided some input relevant to the answering of this question.

A fourth area for consideration is whether there are any cognitive factors which are relevant to the transitivity model.

A fifth matter for study would be the relationship between the semantics of process types and the syntax of complementation (for a partial answer within FG, see Dik and Hengeveld (1990), and for work in RRG van Valin and Wilkins (in press)

The result of all these studies would hopefully be a much stronger model of transitivity which (given a correspondingly strengthened model of social context) would then allow the more rigorous testing of Halliday's hypothesis that ideational patterning, of which transitivity is the main exemplar at clause rank, is systematically related to the field of a text.

Mood, modality and 'illocution'

Although their stances are somewhat different, all three moderate functionalist theories build in models of what, for want of a more neutral term, I will call 'illocution', all discuss the realisation of illocution in clauses, and all pay considerable attention to modality, which is, of course, intimately related to illocution. As with transitivity, much can be gained from a comparison of the three approaches (again to be attempted in Butler (in preparation)).

Illocution is clearly of major importance for the structure of discourse. Discoursal adequacy will demand a well-supported model of, for example, the relationships between illocutionary significance and discourse function (for a critical survey of systemically-inspired approaches up to 1984, see Butler 1986).

Illocution is also of central interest when we attempt to explain the relationships between language form and social context. Here, the concept of 'indirect speech act' comes to the fore (or, to put it in more appropriately systemic terms, part of the area of 'interpersonal grammatical metaphor' - see Halliday 1985: 342ff). There is already a substantial body of work in the pragmatics literature on indirectness and its relation to 'face', politeness, etc. (see especially Brown and Levinson 1987). The role of modality in indirectness is also well documented. SFG will need to build such information into its own model of text-context relations.

Indirectness in language normally brings with it complications in the production and comprehension of utterances: for instance, indirect speech acts are typically longer, and more complex syntactically, than direct ones. A functional theory needs to address the question: 'How does a hearer decode the speech act intentions of the speaker?' Here, Gricean principles, with their later offshoots in, for example, relevance theory, cannot simply be ignored.

If the SFG model of illocution, mood and modality is to be typologically adequate, information already available on these areas for languages other than English needs to be considered and, where necessary, supplemented.

Theme and information distribution

It is widely recognised that work in SFG has significantly advanced our knowledge of information structuring in English. This work has been, and continues to be, influenced by developments in Prague School theory (see, for instance, Daneš 1984, Firbas 1987, Sgall 1987). An expanded view, such as I hope to present in Butler (forthcoming), would also take explicit account of work emerging from other moderate functionalist theories (see Dik 1989a: 263-87, Hannay 1990, Mackenzie and K

1990, van Valin in press a) and from scholars such as Prince (1981). This would involve disentangling the terminological (and sometimes conceptual) confusion surrounding terms such as theme/rheme, topic/focus, given/new.

Clearly, such concepts are of central importance to the discoursal adequacy of a theory, and work on the discoursal significance of thematic patterning, for example by Peter Fries (eg. Fries 1983, forthcoming) and by Margaret Berry and her colleagues at the University of Nottingham, is among the most important being done in SFG today. Such studies can only benefit by a wider-ranging, multi-faceted approach to information structure such as I am advocating here.

If SFG is to achieve some degree of psychological adequacy in this area, psycholinguistic work, for instance on the relationship between sentence position and ease of processing, needs to be considered.

Systemic work on theme/rheme relations in my view illustrates very well the pressing need for greater attention to typological adequacy. Nowhere is the anglocentric nature of the theory more clearly apparent. Halliday (1985: 39) defines the Theme as "the starting point for the message" and as "what the clause is going to be about" (two concepts which, in fact, can be shown to be non-equivalent: see Downing 1991). Halliday thus observes, quite properly, that Theme is not defined in terms of initial position in the clause, but is realised in this way in English. However, when the concept of Theme is abstracted away from its realisation, as it must be, it becomes unclear just how the idea of 'starting point' can be rigorously defined or even operationalised cross-linguistically. One way into this problem would be to extend to a variety of other languages the kind of work on thematic development in texts which is currently being done by Fries and by the Nottingham group, in the hope that a cross-linguistically motivated characterisation of Theme would emerge.

Some readers, especially those attached to a particular functional theory, may be feeling that my suggestions would, if implemented, lead to a loss of distinctiveness in systemic theory, through the imbibing of ideas from other approaches. This is, I think, not necessarily the case: greater openness towards other theories, and the widening of scope that this would entail, need not mean the wholesale adoption of ideas from those theories. My own view, however, is that it would be no bad thing if some rapprochement between (certain aspects of) moderate functionalist theories could be achieved. In that way, we might be able to forge a stronger, more adequate answer to the all-embracing questions which all functionalist approaches seek to address: How do people communicate linguistically, and to what extent and in what terms can we explain the form of linguistic communication by reference to the properties of human beings and the situations in which they communicate?

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EXPERIENTIAL RENDERING AND CHAIN INTERACTION

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The aim of this paper is to report on one aspect of my on-going research into coherence. This is the relationship between cohesion and coherence. In this brief report, I will discuss one of the problems I have experienced in developing Hasan's chain interaction method and my attempts to solve it. This is the lexical rendering of the texts, which is the first step in the method.

Background to the research

The publication of Halliday and Hasan's research into the cohesive devices used in the English language (1976) provided a stimulus for a substantial amount of research into the relationship between cohesion and the quality of written texts. Much of this work focused on the quality of undergraduate writing. If it can be shown that a correlation exists between cohesion and the quality of students' writing, it may be possible to use this knowledge to help students to write better essays. This work has been extensively reported. Examples of some of this work are provided by Nold and Friedman (1977:240), Pritchard (1980), McCulley (1985), Harnett (1986) and Neuner (1987).

Although there are many interesting aspects to this work which are important for my on-going study, the results of the research into the relationship between cohesion and writing quality are of direct relevance to this paper.

The work can be broadly divided into two sections depending whether the evidence suggests that a relationship between writing quality and cohesion does or does not exist. Workers such as Nold and Friedman (1977:240) came to the conclusion that cohesion is no better than any other quantifiable factor as a predictor of writing quality. Pritchard (1980) came to the conclusion that there was no difference in the percentage of ties between good and poor compositions.

One problem in evaluating some of the work is that of being able to clearly distinguish between writing quality and coherence. These are features whose relationship needs clarifying. However Tierney and Mosenthal (1983) quite explicitly ranked their texts for coherence and found that for their data, cohesion is not a predictor of coherence.

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On the other hand, McCulley (1985) in a study of 120 essays drawn from a total of 493 found a significant correlation between writing quality and various cohesive ties and also between these ties and coherence. It was also found that coherence correlated with writing quality. Although Neuner (1987) found that the number of cohesive ties did not vary from good to poor essays, his results suggest that the length and number of cohesive chains did give an indication of writing quality. The overall conclusion is that good writing is characterised by longer chains and greater variety and maturity of words. The latter is judged by the frequency with which a word may be encountered. The words in the chains of the good essays are less than half as likely to be encountered as the words in the poor essays.

The overall conclusion to the research relating writing quality/coherence and cohesion is that a definite correlation has not been established. Even so there does seem to be a trend relating the variables. All of the work except that of Neuner involved counting individual ties. Neuner's results suggest that an examination of the number, length and quality of chains provides an approach which could prove useful.

Chain interaction

It is against this background that Hasan (1984) developed the chain interaction method and the concept of cohesive harmony as a way of measuring cohesion. This is important because another, more accurate method of measuring cohesion should be developed before the claim that cohesion is not related to coherence is made. Hasan (1984:187) started the analysis of three texts which had been unanimously judged to vary in coherence, with two hypotheses: (i) that the greater the number of cohesive devices in a text the greater is the coherence and (ii) the greater the continuity of the ties relating to each other, the greater is the coherence. The results invalidated these hypotheses. Clearly another approach was needed.

Hasan's new approach was to note that in dealing with cohesive chains, the entire message is ignored and only components of a message are under consideration. It is only through a message that a text has viability. Furthermore, it is only through the rank of clause or above that a unit can encode a complete message and what is needed is relations which can encapsulate these components of a message. These are the ones that exist between the units in a clause or group. Hasan (1985:93) lists these relations as: (i) 'actor action', (ii) 'action acted upon', (iii) 'action and/or actor location', (iv) 'saying text', (v) 'attribute attribuand'. These essentially grammatical relations are the ones that may bring the members of two or more distinct chains together to interact and so result in chain interaction. The minimum requirement for chain interaction is that 'at least two members of one chain should stand in the same relation to two members of another chain' (Hasan 1985:91). Hasan sees the rationale for chain interaction as 'in a coherent text one says similar kinds of thing about similar phenomena' (p92).

My approach to chain interaction is to consider that coherence is in part achieved through the continuity of topic. This is not achieved by simply having cohesive chains. Even though this may go some way towards helping to create continuity of topic, it is not enough. The reason is that topic is not normally expressed by a single item such as a noun phrase, but as something taking the form of an argument/predicate complex. It is more appropriate to refer to 'aboutness' in these terms than just by noun phrases. It is quite possible to have a cohesive chain consisting of noun phrases running through a text with the remainder of the clauses/sentences lacking continuity with respect to each other. The next step therefore, is to consider the necessity of having at least one extra cohesive chain running through the same clauses/sentences. So a text is likely to be coherent if there are at least two cohesive chains running through some of the clauses/sentences. This, however, is not enough. The unity of the text can be improved further if at least the two chains stand in the same grammatical relationship to each other. This, of course, is chain interaction.

In my opinion, these are the theoretical reasons for justifying research into the relationship between cohesion and coherence. One important feature of these reasons is the acceptance that there is not necessarily a correlation between the number of cohesive devices and textual coherence.

<u>Lexical rendering</u>

The first step in the chain interaction method is to identify the content words in the text. These are the words which have meaning and are those from which the cohesive chains are built. This is important because it lays the foundation for what is to follow. However, there are sometimes ambiguities in deciding whether an item is grammatical or lexical. There are also problems in the recovery of the referent in the case of co-reference, substitution and ellipsis. There is the additional problem of deciding whether certain items are to be treated as compound and when this decision has been made whether to treat a compound as a single item or two and to consider its constituents separately. However, in this paper it is proposed to focus upon the first problem of deciding whether an item is lexical or grammatical.

Lexical words are open-class items in that the membership of the class is infinitely expandable, in contrast with grammatical words whose membership is closed in the sense that its membership comprises a small and finite set of words. Lexical words are subject to diachronic change and also carry a higher information

content than do the grammatical words. The meaning of a grammatical word tends to be bound up with the structure of which it forms a part. For instance a determiner typically signals the beginning of a noun phrase. The grammatical items consist of pronouns, articles, auxiliary verbs, prepositions and conjunctions. Lexical items typically are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

However, Jackson (1988:17) notes that there is a continuum between completely lexical items like nouns and completely grammatical items like articles. This notion is expressed in diagram 1.

Diagram 1 <u>The suggested position of the word classes on the lexical-grammatical continuum</u>

noun	preposition	pronoun	determiner
verb	conjunction	adverbs	(e.g. *this*)
adjective	quantifier	like *here*	auxiliary
adverbs	adverbs like	possessive	verbs
ending in	*however*	*determiner*	
-ly		like *my*	

Most lexical______________________________ least lexical

Presumably, the criterium upon which Jackson bases diagram 1 is the extent to which a word class or group within a word class can fulfil the particular features of lexical or grammatical items. For instance, there are three classes of adverbs (Quirk et al. 1985:438): simple adverbs (eg *just*), compound adverbs (eg *somehow*), and derivational adverbs (eg *oddly).* The first two classes are closed classes while derivational adverbs are open class adverbs. This would seem to justify the position of *-ly* adverbs on the continuum in contrast to adverbs like *however.* Intuitively, I consider that not all prepositions are necessarily grammatical words even though they respond to the criteria for grammatical items. Another problem is that the lexical/grammatical status of numerals is unclear. The existence of the continuum means that the division of words into a lexical/grammatical dichotomy is not possible.

<u>Hasan's views on lexical rendering</u>

A fresh approach needs to be made if the chain interaction framework is to be developed and refined. However, since this study is based upon Hasan's work, it would be useful to examine her analyses to ascertain the extent to which she recognises the existence of problems in the lexical rendering stage of the analysis and possible solutions to these problems. Neither in Hasan (1980), (1984), nor (1985) does she explain precisely what is meant by lexical rendering or how to carry one out. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer from her analyses that she recognises the general dichotomy outlined above but not the existence of a lexical/grammatical continuum. The texts were very short and written by young children with a limited vocabulary. However, Hasan classifies *many* as a lexical item even though it is behaving in this text as a post-determiner and in fact belongs to a small group of closed-class quantifiers (Quirk et al. 1985:262). In addition, clauses (1) and (12) (1985:72) in text 5.1 begin *once upon a time there..* and *every time* respectively. None of these words is included in the lexical rendering. A possible explanation for this departure with the omission of *once* and *time* is that she regards the item not to be directly concerned with content of the clause, because *once upon a time* is a ritual opening to childrens' narrative story and means *I am going to tell you a story about something that happened in the past.* In this sense it is playing the role of a discourse marker and not directly contributing to the content of the story. It is not easy to see why she does not interpret the beginning of line thirteen which starts *and that's how*, perhaps the explanation is that the expression does not directly contribute to the remainder of line thirteen. On the small amount of evidence available, it seems that Hasan does not completely adhere to the guidelines for the division into lexical/grammatical words outlined above and perhaps gives greater importance to the content of the clause than discourse markers. It may also be useful to look at the work of colleagues working in the same general field. so the next section will look at the recent work of Halliday and Martin on the subject.

Halliday and Martin on lexical rendering

Halliday (1989:63) outlines the differences between lexical and grammatical words in an introduction to a discussion about lexical density. He notes that lexical words are called *content words*. On the surface, the meaning of *content* would seem to be straight forward but in practice it is is much more tenuous. All the writers referred to so far do not count prepositions as lexical items because they do not have content (but see below), yet this would not seem to apply to some prepositions such as under which surely has a spatial meaning and would alter the meaning of a clause if it were substituted for *above*. Actually while explaining the existence of a lexical/grammatical continuum, Halliday (1989:63) does note that prepositions and certain classes of adverbs are on the borderline of becoming lexical.

Martin (1985:29) is also interested in lexical density and so comments upon the lexical/grammatical dichotomy. He accepts the usual division based on the criteria outlined at the beginning of this section but also includes closed system items such as *everyday*. In the lexical rendering of two texts, he generally follows the guidelines but does include the cardinal numerals *six* and *sixteen* but excludes the adjective *necessary*.

The general conclusion to this brief outline is that the difference between lexical and grammatical items is quite clear in those instances which are at either end of the continuum but far less clear when the items fall on the continuum. Halliday quite

correctly points out that for the purposes of measuring lexical density the main point is to be consistent, but for the current research it is preferable that a principled position (if possible) be adopted. This will be discussed in the next section, where it is proposed to apply Halliday's work on the functions of language.

Experiential rendering

It is suggested that a concept crucial to the solution of many of the problems discussed above should be based on Halliday's functional approach to language (1970:140-165). Halliday analyses the functional basis of language in terms of four functions: the experiential, interpersonal, logical and textual. These reflect the aspects of language meaning. The experiential function is concerned with communicating the content of the utterance and emphasises events, actions, states, people, qualities and circumstances (1978:48). The interpersonal function is concerned with establishing and maintaining social relations, influencing people's behaviour and expressing feelings, attitudes and opinions. The logical function is concerned with the expression of logical relationships by relating ideas to each other. The textual function is to make texts (to provide cohesion) and, of course, to make use of different linguistic resources to link the ideas which are being expressed. In this respect it shares this role with the logical function, but in addition, the textual role accounts for the thematic organisation and informational structure of the content of the sentence. It cannot be over-stressed that each part of a clause may at one and the same time serve a number of functions. This is discussed in some detail by Butler (1985:51), in a slightly adapted version of an example given by Halliday (1973:43).

It is suggested that to some extent or other each of the functions of language may make a contribution to textual cohesion and coherence. It is probable that the relative sizes of the contributions may depend upon genre. Obviously, an investigation into all these factors could form a long term study. It is therefore proposed to restrict the present study to the contribution of the experiential function to the cohesion and coherence of the texts obtained for the present study. So an experiential rendering will be carried out instead of a lexical one.

One of the advantages of this approach is that the precise terms of reference are specifically laid down by the researcher, who can then conduct the analysis within these constraints. The other advantage is that it could lay the basis for an investigation into the other contributions of the other functions to textual cohesion and coherence. This could be achieved by the step-by-step incorporation of these functions into the analysis. This will become clearer after an explanation of the meaning of *experiential rendering* has been carried out.

The meaning of experiential rendering

The meaning of experiential rendering is similar to that of lexical rendering except, only those words which have experiential content are included in the rendering. For instance, any item which is deemed to realise an interpersonal function will be excluded from the rendering. An example of such an item could be one which expresses the writer's/speaker's comment about the propositional content of the clause e.g. a disjunct which expresses a point of view such as *obviously* in *obviously, this is an expensive method.* The task then, is to be able to classify those items which are realising the experiential role as distinct from the inter-personal, textual and logical. It will then be possible to evaluate the experiential contribution to the cohesion and coherence of the texts. A further analysis could then be performed which would incorporate the interpersonal function into the existing analysis and so give the combined effect of the two functions. The difference would then result in a measure of the interpersonal function. A beginning to the appropriate statistical analysis has been suggested by Parsons (1990:220). Possible indirect support for this view is provided by Hasan (1984:219), when she says : *there remains the problem of integrating the cohesive analysis of the interpersonal meaning relations.* An implication of this could be that her analysis was based upon experiential meaning and excludes the interpersonal. What is needed is a way of testing for the experiential character of the words. This will be discussed in the next section and will be based upon Halliday's work on transitivity.

Transitivity and experiential meaning

A suitable way of identifying those items which are fulfilling an experiential role may be based upon a series of wh-questions. *This assumes that a verbal group will always be realising an experiential function, so that any other part of a clause which answers questions about the predicator is going to be part of the experiential meaning.* This can be illustrated by Example 1.

Example 1 <u>Birds</u> <u>are flying</u> <u>in the sky</u> <u>today</u>, so presumably <u>birds</u> <u>were flying</u> <u>in the sky</u> <u>yesterday</u>.

The underlined items in example 1 are those which it is considered are realising experiential meaning. The wh-questions are:

(1) Who or what is flying? Birds.
(2) Where are they flying? In the sky.
(3) When are they flying? Today.
(4) What were flying? Birds.
(5) When were they flying? Yesterday.
(6) Where were they flying? In the sky.

It is worth noting that *presumably* which is an adverb is recorded not to be realising experiential meaning because it is not possible

to devise an appropriate question which answers a question about the predicator. It is a content disjunct (Quirk et al:620) and so is expressing the speaker's comment on the degree of truth of the content of the clause and not forming part of the experiential meaning of the clause. Similarly *so* is playing the role of a conjunction (1985:998) and will therefore not be contributing to the meaning of the clause but will be joining two clauses. It can be seen then, that in this simple example the tests have successfully identified those items which have contributed to the experiential meaning.

A two stage analysis is necessary of which the first stage has been described above. This has been at clausal rank and the next stage is to carry out the analysis at the lower group (phrase) rank to see if all the words in them are contributing to the experiential meaning. This is rather a complex subject and all that can be achieved in this paper is to give an indication of the approach, which will focus upon the experiential character of epithets, numeratives and prepositions. It will be discussed in much more detail in a future paper.

Halliday (1985:163) divides epithets into two groups. The first group consists of epithets which describe the objective property of the thing and the second group describes the writer's/speaker's subjective attitude towards the thing. The former are experiential in function and the latter are realising interpersonal meaning. An example of the former is *green* in *the green apples*. An example of the latter is *incredible*. Most people with normal colour vision would agree about the colour of an apple although they may differ about the precise shade. However, not everyone would agree that a particular event was *incredible*. One of the problems is that the division is not a hard and fast one. Halliday suggests that the principal difference is that experiential epithets are potentially defining against a norm. Whereas *incredible* is an attitudinal epithet, *green* is a recognisable and accepted colour. An epithet such as *long* is defined relative to a norm. Although, the general approach has been explained, it is recognised that there are problems with the experiential status of some epithets. The same word may act either as an experiential epithet or an interpersonal one depending whether it is defining in the particular context (Halliday 1985:163) or not.

Numeratives are also considered by Halliday to realise experiential meaning because they indicate some numerical features of the nominal group. In an early stage of this research, I had decided to count cardinal numbers as lexical items, because they referred to a different state of affairs in the world. The meaning of the clause could be altered by using a different numeral. Ordering numeratives (the ordinals) are also included in numeratives. As well as exact numeratives (cardinals and ordinals) there are inexact numerals such as *many*.

Halliday (1985:102) notes the usual way of realising the role of circumstance is through the adverbial group or prepositional phrase. Since the role of circumstance is one aspect of phenomena in the real world, adverbial groups and prepositional phrases are realising one aspect of the experiential function of language. He gives a detailed account of the way in which the circumstantial element is realised (1985:131-144) and the role of the prepositional phrase is clearly brought out. In this section, he also describes the way in which the relationship between process and the type of participant is also realised through the preposition. Although the prepositional phrase contains a nominal group, the latter is only indirectly related to the process. The preposition acts as the intermediary and expresses the nature of this indirect link. Clearly, prepositions are expressing experiential meaning in these contexts. In most cases, if the preposition were to be omitted the meaning would change (or the sentence would become ungrammatical). This clearly supports the proposition that prepositions express experiential meaning. Further evidence which supports this proposition is given by Quirk et al. (1985:673-709), who provide a detailed account of the meanings expressed by prepositions. Sometimes, prepositions are used without a specific meaning (see Jackson 1982:81) in which case, they are not realising experiential meaning.

Although this section relies heavily upon the work of Halliday, especially his work on transitivity, I do have reservations about certain of his views on the experiential structure of nominal and verbal groups (1985:160-187). In particular, I question his inclusion of the demonstrative pronouns and the definite article from the nominal group and the finite element realised by auxiliaries into those items classified as experiential. Space does not allow me to discuss my views in detail but my questioning and a principled solution has arisen from a study of deixis. The limitation of space also prevents me from discussing my research into the experiential nature of adverbs and the adverbial group. Suffice to say that an experiential rendering does not accept that all adverbs (not even all *-ly* adverbs) under all circumstances realise experiential meaning.

Conclusion

This paper has given a very brief account of some of the work which has arisen from the publication of Halliday and Hasan's research into cohesion in English (1976). In particular, It has noted that the result of the research does not convincingly demonstrate that there is a correlation between the number of cohesive devices and writing quality/coherence. The relationship between writing quality and coherence is a matter for which further research is needed.

Hasan's awareness of some of these problems led to further research in which she put forward the chain interaction method. One advantage of which is that it is not necessary to accept that there is a correlation between the number of cohesive devices and coherence.

Problems with the lexical rendering of the texts, arising in part from the existence of a lexical/grammatical continuum led me to research for solutions to these problems. These were based upon isolating the experiential contribution to the cohesion and coherence of the texts. The identification of those items realising an experiential function is a two stage process. The first of which is at clausal rank and depends upon a series of wh-questions based upon the predicator. This method assumes that the verb will always realise experiential meaning. The second stage is at group/phrase rank and involves identifying the words which realise experiential meaning within those clausal constituents which have already been identified as realising experiential meaning.

Some of the differences between a lexical rendering and an experiential one is that the latter includes most prepositions, numeratives and not all adverbs and adjectives. The advantage of an experiential rendering is that it enables the contribution of the experiential function to cohesion and coherence to be determined and this could lead to the determination of the contribution of the interpersonal and other functions to textual cohesion and coherence.

Acknowledgements

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NETWORK NEWS

JULIA LAVID is completing a year's leave of absence at the Information Sciences Institute at the University of Southern California, where she has bee engaged in research on a new text planner following PENMAN's architecture at ISI together with Dr. Eduard Hovy (ISI), Dr. Cécile Paris (ISI) and Elizabeth Maier (IPRSI). 'Semantic options in the transitivity system: an example of textual analysis' will appear in the volume of papers from the 16th International Systemic Congress edited by Eija Ventola. As of October 1, 1991 Julia can be found at:

ADDRESS: Luis Vives 4, 2A, 28002 Madrid, Spain.

A year ago April, **V. PRAKASAM** moved Punjabi University, Patiala to the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad as Professor in the department of Correspondence Courses. While at Patiala he supervised 30 M.Phil theses and 7 Ph.D theses. Since then, at Hyderabad, Professor Prakasam organised a seminar on Stylistics, Semiotics and the Teaching of Literature in October. and acted as Course Director of the International Summer Institute in Functional Linguistics in August 1991. Professor Prakasam writes: 'An Encyclopaedia of the Linguistic Sciences is being published in 2 volumes by Allied publishers, New Delhi, India. Compiled and edited by me, the first volume has 65 invited entries dealing with 'issues and theories'. The second volume. mainly written by me, will cover 'concepts and categories'. The first volume will be published in 1991 and the second in 1992. I have also edited B.S. Sanduh's An articulatory and acoustic analysis of Punjabi consonants (Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984), and J.S. Komal's Shaw's Historical Plays: a Semiostylistic Study (Indian Institute of Language Studies, Patiala, 1988)'.

ADDRESS: Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad - 500 007 India.

At the Annual Convention of the College English Association, **ALAN WALKER READ** was presented with the 1990 Professional Achievement Award, 'in Recognition of Extraordinary and Sustained Service to his Profession'. Among many other papers delivered in the course of the year were:

'Ripples of change in the place-name cover of the United States' at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the North Central Name Society, Newberry Library, Chicago.

'A perspective on Korzybski's general semantics' at the Forty-seventh Annual Seminar Workshop in General Semantics, Alverno College, Milwaukee.

'On being "New Yorkish": some semantic developments in the derivatives of the place name "New York"'.

ADDRESS: 39 Claremont Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027.

In October 1990, **ERIC STEINER** took up his new postition as Professor für Englische Sprach- und Übersetzungswissenschaft in the Department of Applied Linguistics. Translating and Interpreting of the University of Saarland in Saarbrüken West Germany. His new book, A Functional perspective on language, action and interpretation (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter) is to appear in 1991.

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SOME REMARKS ON HALLIDAY'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITISH ENGLISH INTONATION

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1. Functional Components

I have found it useful to separate the functions of intonation along the lines of the systemicists' notion of functional components. A clear statement of this notion is found in Fawcett (1980):

> ... the term 'functional' reflects two concepts. The first is the tendency... for the system networks to group themselves into relatively independent sets. The second reflects an idea with far-reaching implications: namely, that each of these functional components carries options in a DIFFERENT TYPE OF MEANING. The functional components are therefore essentially SEMANTIC in nature. I am using the term 'semantic' in a broad sense to include not just the experiential' and 'logical' types of meaning that philosophers and linguists have traditionally considered under this label (particularly in relation to the unit of the word) but also other types of meaning that are reflected in the organisation oflanguage. Examples are Austin's 'illocutionary force' (Austin, 1962), and the notion of 'functional sentence perspective' developed by Prague School and further developed in Halliday's notions of 'theme' and 'information structure' (Halliday's 1967, 1968). The second aspect of the term 'functional' is therefore that it means 'semantic': i.e. the 'functional components' of the grammar are components of the semantics.
>
> Fawcett (1980: 26-27)

The functional components in which I identified an involvement of intonation are the following:

1 <u>The organization of information in a discourse</u>

This seems, to me, to be a basic or primary function of intonation, in the sense that any utterance has meaning which has to be presented somehow. We are heavily indebted to Halliday (1967, 1970) for an explication of the intonation forms that realize this function, and in particular, the systems of tonality, tonicity and tone. There is a real sense in which this function is so fundamental that many intonation studies overlooked it, but basically it handles the distribution of units of information (tonality), the focus of information units (tonicity), and the status of information (tone); this latter is dealt with in greater detail below.

2 <u>The expression of communicative function</u>

I am borrowing the term 'communicative function' from the foreign language teaching profession, to refer to what others call 'discourse/ speech functions' and 'illocutionary force', such as statements, questions, commands and exclamations. This is also a basic or primary function of intonation, in the sense that any utterance has such a function in discourse. The communicative functions are broadly akin to the mood system in syntax but are in fact much wider, and include functions as diverse as greetings, thanking, promises, offers, coaxing, apologizing, complaining, protesting, warnings, threats, etc, etc.

It is the tone system that realizes distinctions in communication functions, as can easily be demonstrated by the contrasting effects of rises and falls on tags. I would wish to advance the general notion that a falling tone denotes speaker dominance (statements, commands, promises, etc) whereas a rising tone denotes deference to addressee (yes/no questions, appeals, requests, etc).

3 The expression of attitude

This is perhaps the next most familiar of the functions of intonation, and seems to be regarded as the primary function in the studies of some (e.g.. Pike, 1945; O'Connor & Arnold, 1961/1973; Gimson, 1961/1989; Crystal, 1967; Liberman, 1979, Bolinger, 1989). Yet there is controversy over the issue as to whether utterances can be credited as "neutral" in respect of attitudinal expression. Many, including Halliday and Tench (1990), would claim that utterances can be made that are attitudinally neutral, and Crystal (1975) certainly inclines to this view rather than the one he originally propounded in Crystal (1967). Nevertheless, all studies grant intonation with this function, whether it is regarded as a primary, or a secondary function.

4 The organization of discourse

One limitation of Halliday's presentation of intonation is that it contains no reference to ranks higher than that of intonation in the phonological hierarchy. Pike (1955/1967) had drawn attention to phonological organization above the level (or rank) of intonation such as 'emic breath groups' and 'emic rhetorical periods'. Trim (1959) and Fox (1973) drew attention to the way in which units of intonation group themselves together phonologically, and Fox coined the term 'paratone', a notion which Brown (1977/1990) adopted. I wrote in terms of 'phonological paragraphs' (Tench, 1976) and the work of Lehiste, Couper-Kuhlen, and especially Brazil and Coulthard, have consolidated the description of these higher levels (or ranks). Of critical importance are the pitch levels of onset syllables and final falls and tails, as well as other prosodic like tempo and pause.

5 The identification of genres

A limitation of most intonation studies is the total lack of reference to intonation's contribution to the specification of genres. What makes news reading sound so different from other monologues? What makes informal conversation sound so different from other dialogues? I have presented a discussion of the role of intonation in this respect (Tench, 1988).

6 The exponence of syntactic contrasts

In Tench (1990), this is treated as a separate function of intonation, but I recognize that others will see it as merely the detail of 1 above. It concerns for example the difference of transitivity of washed in

a) she washed // and brushed her hair, and
b) she washed and brushed her hair

of asked in

a) he asked himself, and
b) he asked himself

and the difference of clause structure in

a) he came // to hear about it, and
b) he came to hear about it.

7 The identification of the speaker

This is occasionally referred to as the 'indexical' function of intonation (eg. Couper-Kuhlen, 1986); by which the origin, age, physical and psychological conditions of the speaker are indicated. Although such information is conventional, it is not primarily linguistic, i.e. related to the conveyance of meaningful messages, and as such, it does not receive much attention in linguistic theory or description.

It will be seen from the above brief overview of those functional components in which intonation is intimately involved, that there are occasional divergences from Halliday's presentation of English intonation. I now turn to four details on which I found myself in disagreement with Halliday.

2. Rising Tones

Halliday makes a primary distinction between a high rise (Tone 2) and a low rise (Tone 3) on both phonetic and phonological grounds. The phonetic grounds are obvious, except that as Halliday himself concedes, there is often "phonetic overlap" between the two; the analyst is left to interpret an indeterminate rise by reference to the most appropriate meaning or function (Halliday, 1970: 21). Only H.E. Palmer (1922) made a similar distinction, whereas other analysts were content simply to distinguish between high and low varieties of a single tone, in the same way as they distinguish high and low varieties of a fall.

Considering the data available and the various proposed theories that attempted to account for it, I have proposed retaining Halliday's distinction between a neutral form of Tone 1 (the fall) and high and low varieties of it and matching it with a similar distinction between a neutral form of a Tone 2 (the rise to mid pitch) and high and low varieties (rising to high, or to mid-low) (Tench, 1990: 448-454). The rises which, in Halliday's system, are indeterminate are almost certainly what I now call neutral rises. The rise to high indicates a strong or intense expression (attitudinally) such as typically occur in challenges, echo questions and the like:

/What did you say

The rise to low is described by Cruttenden (1986: 105-6) as indicating uncertainty or a "non-committal or even grumbling" attitude. Pike (1945) described it as "deliberative". (Incidentally, Pike also acknowledges a three-fold distinction in rises.)

The three forms of the rise can be nealty illustrated in checking tags:

a) (He's \ passed) /hasn't he (high rise: intense, challenging: "I would be very surprised to hear otherwise.")

b) (He's \ passed) /hasn't he (neutral rise: question,seeking confirmation: "I would like to be serve.")

c) (He's \ passed) /hasn't he (low rise: non-comunittal, grumbling: "Well, let him be thankful for that at least - he could have failed.")

The question will then arise: how do you tell the difference in function between rises for questions and rises for incomplete or minor information? The answer is to invoke the distinction between dependent and independent units of intonation. Halliday touches on this in Halliday (1967) and (1970). I discuss this in greater detail in Tench (1990: 220-222). My proposal is that rises that occur in dependent units denote either incomplete or minor information (depending on the sequential attachment to the independent or main unit) and that rises that occur in independent units denote questions or other similar communicative functions like requests and warnings. 'Incomplete' and 'minor' can only mean something in relation to another unit. Questions, etc, are independent units of information. In general, the function of a rise is "not fall", i.e. not major information, not speaker dominance (knowledge, authority).

3. <u>Rise-falls</u>

Halliday posited a rise-fall complex tone as one of the five primary tones in the English tone system. Its meaning is labelled as "strong assertion" (Halliday, 1970:27). The label itself provides the clue to an alternative treatment - as a more intense expression than even a high fall. A fall would then represent an unmarked statement (or assertion), with at least two degrees of "strength" - the low pitched rise-fall, being a third, indicating an even greater emotional involvement. (Incidentally, it is only Kingdon (1958),and Pike (1945:57) who acknowledged this low pitched form, besides Halliday.)

I have argued (Tench 1990) that it is the variations from neutral forms of the fall, rise, and fall-rise, that constitute the intonational means of exponencing the attitudinal function of intonation. The fall, the rise and the fall-rise operate in the "status" system of information (major, minor, incomplete, etc) and in the communicative function system (broadly, the mood system: statement, question, command, etc); the high and low variations, and variations in the head and pre-head ('pretonic'), operate in the attitude system. The system with falls can be shown as follows, from mild to strongest

he's \ <u>right</u> (low fall: fully expected)
he's \<u>right</u> (neutral)
he's \<u>right</u> (high fall: strong, possibly surprised)
he's ^<u>right</u> (rise-fall: quite unexpected)
he's ^<u>right</u> (low pitched rise-fall: quite unexpected, with additional emotional involvement)

A phonetic clue, which Halliday describes, helps to confirm the above treatment, namely the occasional observable hint of a rise in the pitch of the voice in order to effect the fall. For a falling tone, the pitch of the voice must be relatively high; usually, a jump in pitch between pretonic and tonic is enough to ensure appropriate pitch height before the fall, but occasionally, the pitch of the voice is heard to "climb" slightly to reach the appropriate pitch height. The rise-fall can thus be viewed, even from a phonetic point of view, as an extension to the fall.

Admittedly, the view that a rise-fall is "merely" a variation of a fall spoils the symmetry of balancing the fall-rise with a rise-fall as a primary tone, but the theoretical gain is to show more clearly the functional distinction between the intonational forms that operate in the systems for 'status' of information and communicative functions, on the one hand, and those that operate in the system for attitudinal expression.

4. Fall-rises

I accept Halliday's description of the phonetic forms of the fall-rise tones - the neutral form and the low-pitched variety, but I offer a simplification of the glosses that indicate their meanings.

It is important, once again, to invoke the distinction between dependent and independent units of intonation. Independent units contain major information and are usually accompanied by a falling tone; if, instead, they

are accompanied by a fall-rise, "there's a 'but' about it" (Halliday 1967:27). These "buts" are labelled "reservation", "contrast", or "personal opinion offered for consideration" if linked to declarative clauses (Halliday 1970: 26), and "compromise" or "concession" if linked to imperative clauses (Halliday, 1970: 28). These labels are typical of other studies (e.g. O'Connor & Arnold, 1973: 68-9; Crystal, 1975: 36,38; Cruttenden, 1986: 109). Kingdon explained the function of the fall-rise in terms of

> some insinuation in making the statement, expecting his hearer to understand more than is said.
> (Kingdon, 1958: 29-30)

Pike had offered a similar explanation:

> Often it points out and admits one fact... while implying that there might be modifying or doubtful circumstances which demand cautious statement; these other circumstances or conclusions may then be explicitly stated or may be only tacitly implied.
> (Pike, 1945: 50)

Ladd (1980: 145-162) provides a long and valuable discussion of the use of fall-rises, which is itself further discussed in Tench (1990: 233-238). The conclusion is that the fall-rise alerts the addressee to extra, but implicit, information beyond what is verbally given; the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what is implied and that an appropriate interpretation will be reached. It is not necessary for the analyst to gloss any more precisely than "implication", because the interpretation of the extra, implicit information must be available from the situation - the linguistic context, the setting, shared knowledge, etc. (This is not to deny that sometimes the addressee's interpretation may be at variance with the speaker's intention!) Thus, an implication can be of whatever kind: a reservation on the part of the speaker, a contrast to what the addressee might expect, a "focus within a given set" (Ladd, 1980: 153), etc: it is the situation that tells. The label "implication" simplifies the description of the meaning of the fall-rise.

The fall-rise also accompanies non-final dependent units of intonation. Very typically, the theme element of a clause may be separated intonationally from the rheme. The intonation unit containing the theme element could, very typically, be accompanied by a rise to indicate incomplete information; but just as typically, it could be accompanied by a fall-rise. What might be the systemic difference between rise and fall-rise in this context? It seems to me that what a speaker does, when electing to use a fall-rise with the theme instead of a rise, is to draw greater attention to the theme: the theme, either neutral or marked, gets "highlighted".

This interpretation of the fall-rise in a non-final dependent unit of intonation was checked against all Halliday's examples and seemed to work, even when the theme was a conditional or concessive clause (or any other initial dependent clause). This interpretation, i.e. highlighting the theme, also seemed a much more satisfactory explanation for the ubiquitous fall-rises in Brazil's work (Brazil, 1975, 1978, 1985; Brazil et al, 1980).

Thus, the fall-rise operates primarily in the system for 'status' of information: to indicate implications in independent units of intonation, and the highlighting of the theme in (non-final) dependent units of intonation.

5. <u>Status of Information</u>

Finally I wish to propose that the tone system in intonation realizes the status system in information. 'Status' is not a term that Halliday has employed, altho' the basis of the concept is clearly Hallidayan, viz. 'major' v. 'minor' information and 'incomplete' information.

It seems to me that the categories associated with tones in Halliday's model either belong to the mood system or to features of information. I contend that these categories represent quite different "slices of meaning" i.e. belong to different functional components. In other words, the tone system operates in two separate components: the organization of information and the communicative functions ("mood system"); many (but not all) the differences relate to associations with either independent or dependent units of intonation. Basically, the tone system for communicative functions ("mood system") operates only in independent units; the tone system for the organization of information operates in dependent as well as in indenpendent units.

The organization of information in discourse involves tonality for the distribution of units of information, tonicity for the identification of focus of information, and tone for the representation of status of information. A fall represents major information. A rise represents minor information if it follows major information, or incomplete information if it precedes. A fall-rise represents major information with implication; it is never followed by minor information, and is thus, with this meaning, always final in any grouping with dependent units. A fall-rise in a non-final dependent unit represents the highlighting of the theme. Thus

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\ = major

/ = minor (in final dependent unit)

/ = incomplete (in non-final dependent unit)

V = implication (in final unit)

V = highlighting the theme (in non-final unit)

and can be illustrated as follows:

just \ thinking about it
(It won't \ help) just / thinking about it
just / thinking about it (won't\help)
just V thinking about it
just V thinking about it (won't\help)

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(This paper formed part of a joint paper that was presented at the International Systemics Congress, at Stirling, Scotland, 1990.)

Theme Management and Generic Formation in Deaf College Students' Texts

In his opening address to the Applied Linguistic Research Working Group at Glendon College, Richard Bailey asserted, "Our convictions about English need to be examined.[1]" And, I might add, "So do our convictions about the teaching of English, particularly in ethnically and culturally rich classrooms."

Whenever members of minority groups which speak a language or language variety different from that utilized by the majority culture enter institutions of higher learning conducted by the majority culture there is bound to occur a certain amount of linguistic dissonance. This dissonance, I would like to suggest, will correspond and vary directly not so much with the lexical and syntactic differences between the two languages--a process often referred to as *interference* in ESL textbooks--but with the mismatch existing between the functions of writing and range of genres utilized by the two communities. The intersection of pragmatics, semantics, and lexicogrammar does not occur in the same ways in different communities, even if those communities speak or write the same language. Teachers who ignore this essential fact of communicative behavior are destined to misread their students' texts and will fail to provide their students with the skills needed to master the discourse practices of academic communities. And when some of those students are members of the Deaf community, the problem is even more complicated and the corresponding prospect of student failure even greater. Many hearing teachers regularly fail to recognize that deaf students' texts do not necessarily instantiate the pragmatics-semantics-lexicogrammatical intersection in the same way that hearing students do; consequently, the same teachers often contend that the intersection has not been achieved, when, to the deaf students, it has. The reality of deaf-hearing English mismatch can be illustrated by two humorous stories current in the deaf community.

Story Number One: A deaf man was driving to work one day when he was stopped by lowered gates at a railroad crossing. After the train had passed, however, the safety gates did not rise. The deaf man tried to get the attention of the signalman who appeared to have fallen asleep inside his booth, but had no luck. So he left his car and went into the booth and tried to sign to the signalman to lift the gates, but the signalman, who was hearing, could not understand the deaf man's sign language. The deaf man then asked for a piece of paper and wrote, "Please, different."

Story Number Two: A deaf woman was invited to a party at which there were deaf and hearing guests, including her husband's boss who was hearing. Soon the party was in full swing and the room got more and more crowded. Finding herself squashed and needing space to carry on a conversation with another deaf guest, the woman took a step backwards and crushed the toes of her husband's boss. Acutely embarrassed and knowing that the man could not understand sign, she reached for a cocktail napkin and wrote, "Sorry, Cheese."[2]

The humor in these stories is not readily accessible to hearing people because the stories are based on the visual modality of sign language rather than the auditory modality of English. The intersection of pragmatics (accessible to deaf people), semantics (the humor of the stories), and lexicogrammar (the last two words of each story) does not fit a pattern familiar in hearing communities. Humor, both in spoken and written English, is often predicated on sound similarities. Whether the stories are simple "knock, knock" jokes or elaborate puns, hearing listeners know exactly what to expect when in humorous stories; the introductory, medial and concluding segments are formulaic.

Humorous stories told in the deaf community are just as structured. Both of the particular stories related above begin with a deaf person who finds himself or herself in the hearing world; an inciting event occurs which places the deaf person in conflict with a hearing person who does not understand sign; the deaf person, upon whom the burden of relating a message is placed, discovers that he/she must write the message in English but ends up writing something that makes no sense to the hearing person because the words written are a transliteration of what is a visual pun in American Sign Language. The end effect of each narrative is that both the hearing person and the English language are gently mocked because they cannot accommodate the visual aspects of sign. Thus, in the first story, the humor rests on the fact that the ASL sign for "railroad gates" is the pointing of the index fingers of the signer's hands at each other and the raising of the fingers simultaneously, while the sign for "different" is the raising of the index fingers of the signer's hands from a starting position in which the fingers are crossed close to their bases. Hence the two signs are almost--but not quite--the same, and the deaf viewer of the joke would recognize the incongruity of the English message and laugh. In the second narrative, the sign for "step on" is to place the heels of the palms for both hands together and turn the dominant hand a half turn towards the front of the non-signing hand. The sign for "cheese" is to place the heels of the palm of each hand together and to make two half turns with the signing hand, one toward the fingers of the non-signing hand and one back to the starting position of the sign. Again, the humor rests in the incongruity of the English transliteration.

However, I did not relate these stories because I wanted to analyze deaf humor, but because the narratives help illustrate two points I wish to expand in the rest of my paper:

xts--or texts written by any minority speakers of ust as structured as texts written by majority English, although the structures may not be y apparent to mainstream readers.

as we tend to find the texts of deaf writers difficult to derstand, so they find texts written by hearing people difficult understand, not so much because of lexical or syntactic deprivation, but because of what might be called "structural mismatch". The genres and generic structures common within hearing communities are not the genres and generic structures common in deaf communities.

I, for example, know that I am about to violate the structure of academic papers, because I would like to front the conclusions I have drawn from fairly extensive linguistic analysis of deaf students' texts before I present you with evidence to justify those conclusions. The conclusions are based on the premise that most minority students in college courses do not meet teacher expectations in terms of their writing essentially because those students are not familiar with academic conventions or genres and do not know how or when to deploy these conventions and genres. Because they are political in nature, my solutions to this problem depart quite radically from the current practice of teaching writing in the United States and Canada. They are:

1. Before we as teachers attempt to comment on deaf students'--or any minority students'-- texts, we need to discern which features of their texts are idiosyncratic and which are characteristic of the vernacular genres of those writers whose texts we are considering. This, of course, means that composition and other instructors will need a minimal understanding of linguistics, a contention which, at least in the U.S., most instructors resist.

2. The approach to composition instruction known as "process writing"-- stressed in most composition textbooks--may not be the most felicitous approach for teaching composition to deaf or minority writers, at least not as the dominant or sole approach.

3. A more effective composition methodology for deaf or minority students might be a "modeling" approach in which the instructor, together with her students, uncovers those discursive features of generic texts, capable of being schematized, and designs activities which will help student writers grow in awareness of and in the manipulation of these features of discourse.

4. Many of the syntactic errors of deaf and minority writers, which instructors find so distracting and resistant to correction, will be remediated as deaf and minority students learn to monitor (in Krashen's sense of the term) their texts for generic features.

Let me demonstrate my agenda for composition instruction by concentrating on one aspect of academic texts in English: the selection and management of theme or information. The current linguistic interest in theme has its roots in a functionalist perspective of language. Functionalism, in all of its many formulations, has as a primary unifying belief that central to the study of language is what language does; that is, how various groups of people use language to achieve diverse purposes. To say language emanates from a person and is received by other persons means, functionalists insist, that language will always be purposeful no matter how routine its manifestations (e.g. greetings and politeness formulas) or how divorced from practical activities (e.g. student essays). A functional study of theme, then, is concerned with how what gets chosen to initiate an utterance or sentence is related to the use(s) that that particular utterance or sentence is meant to fulfill. What gets expressed thematically in a text is always, at the very least, a correlate of context.

Currently the question of theme is one of the most controversial in the systemic model of functional grammar. Halliday's description of theme as the first element of a clause, its springboard or starting point, "what the clause is about" (1985) is cognitively but not empirically satisfying. Hence researchers are presently exploring such issues as the nature and size of the unit referred to as theme, the degree of communicative dynamism which can be attributed to specific themes in specific settings, the boundaries between textual and topical themes particularly in regard to initial conjunctions, whether theme-like structures exist in larger units of discourse such as texts, and how the theme--rheme distinction connects to such concepts as given--new, known--unknown, and topic--comment (Francis 1990). These questions are crucial not only to an understanding of the grammar of texts written in standard English, but also to those texts written by cultural minority students such as deaf writers.

Because deaf and hearing student writers embody different world views, have different ideas of what their audiences know, and possess different understandings of how to convey their ideas efficiently and coherently, their texts will of necessity be structured differently. I will not, at this time, go into a long discussion about the nature of deafness and about the limitations it imposes on the deaf person's understanding of an oral language. I and others have written about this topic extensively elsewhere. It is, however, crucial to this discussion to stress that many teachers of deaf students feel, as Benderly contends, that "most deaf compose rigidly, choose grammatical units almost at random, fashion structure out of stereotypes, in general approach the task [of writing] simplistically and mechanically" (1980, 86). My stance is that Benderly may well be wrong. Rather, I would suggest that because deaf student writers--or Hispanic student writers, or Chinese student writers, etc.--do not fully understand the information expectations of their hearing, academic readers, they do not structure texts in the same way. They do, however, I would assert, structure their texts, but structure them in a such a way that the information they seek to present is accessible to readers like them: that is, the information is accessible to other deaf student writers, or Hispanic student writers, or Chinese student writers.

Deaf students, because of their interactions with other deaf individuals, know that texts are purposeful units of discourse which, to use Hasan's term, "hang together" in some way (1978). They also know that they must adapt the message of the clause to their interlocuters to maintain social relationships; they do that daily in their interactions. What Halliday has identified as the Interpersonal function of language (1973, 107) is operative at all times in all languages, including sign languages. The Interpersonal function itself is concerned with information--both new and given--and the arrangement of this information so that a sharing of knowledge will be facilitated. For a written text to be functionally communicative it requires a thematic progression which its readers will find logical; that is, a coherent written text requires an organization of its syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic means of expression in such a way that they are integrated into a recognizable format. Such an integration is dependent, Scinto contends, on the links which are established "between thematic and rhematic elements of succeeding sentential units" (1983, 84).

We know that when dealing with texts of consecutive sentences, readers interpret the second and subsequent sentences in relation to the first, the third and subsequent in relation to the first and second, and so on through the text. The communication process is hindered when a reader cannot find a direct antecedent to previous information in the text. Then he or she must build an inferential bridge, a process which diminishes the likelihood of information being conveyed accurately. Thus sentences that are not connected to the propositional content of the sentences which immediately preceded them will be judged as awkward or inappropriate in their context and will take longer to comprehend even if they are grammatically correct. The principle which governs the connections that exist between clauses if they are to be found coherent is called the principle of thematic progression. On the other hand, texts comprised of sentences which repeat the same propositional content in several successive themes or rhemes will lack communicative dynamism and are likely to be described as boring by their readers. To satisfy their readers, linked sentences must introduce new information and manage that information efficiently. They must also present the kinds of information expected by readers, in a sequence expected by readers. Texts must have content (semantics), context (pragmatics), and structure (lexicogrammar).

There are, linguists have come to realize, conventions of discourse production which operate at a level which has variously been called the level of Text Structure, Discourse Structure, or Rhetorical Structure. Linguists in the field of discourse structure seek to discover the basic rules and constitutive units of texts-as-a-whole. Contrastive units functioning at given levels of a text (word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, etc.) have been called by Longacre (1983) "syntagmemes". Texts are comprised of obligatory and optional syntagmemes, and syntagmemes of constituent tagmemes, all of which fulfill specific functions, all of which are ordered. Grammar, even at the level of discourse or text is both functional and systemic.

To demonstrate, then, the contention that the primary weakness of deaf or minority students as writers of English is not their syntactic deviations from standard English but their failure to understand culturally institutionalized patterns of information management and discourse structure, it will be necessary to look at some texts. The texts I am primarily interested in are Texts C and D (see Appendix) which were written by two deaf students attending Madonna University. Both students are profoundly deaf, both are very intelligent. The author of Text C, however, was in a class section which had no instruction in discourse organization beyond that given in most composition courses, while the author of Text D was in a section which concentrated on the structural aspects of written genres of language. Students in this second section studied several exemplary texts written by sociolinguists, discussed the organizational patterns of the texts and their flow of information, and generated schemata of the organizational units of the texts. The study of genre, I would contend, made a difference in the sturcture of this second deaf writer's final text.

Tables 1 and 2 (Appendix) schematize just one syntagmeme of two texts (Text A and B) written by competent academics--David Freeman and James Heap--the INTRODUCTORY syntagmeme. Readers know that the passages cited are INTRODUCTORY syntagmemes because they are labeled as such in the texts of which they are constitutive elements. Tables 1 and 2 locate the thematic elements of the major clauses of the syntagmemes by boxing them and distinguish between topical and non-topical thematic material. An examination of Texts A and B indicates that professional writers in the area of sociolinguistics tend to begin their clauses with fairly complex topical themes, but utilize very little extra-topical thematic material. What extra-topical thematic material they do include tends to serve the Textual metafunction rather than the Ideational or Interpersonal. Because of the comparative dearth of extra-topical thematic material the INTRODUCTORY syntagmemes hang together through the agency of information management rather than that of surfaced logical connectives. In Text A, for example, there is only one logical connective, the *as* of clause 6, and in Text B there is only one, the *how* of clause 3.

The deaf student texts, on the other hand, exhibit a somewhat different pattern. Both Texts C and D (see Tables 3 and 4, Appendix) have more complex themes than Texts A or B. In Text C, clause 1, for example, the writer inverts thematic order, placing textual material after topical which marks the theme and gives it more dynamism than the rheme. Throughout the syntagmeme the writer is careful to provide connectives for readers, surfacing them through such lexical elements as the *therefore* of clause 3 and the *even if* of clause 5. The same pattern is repeated in Text D which has even more involved thematic material than Text C and includes interpersonal as well as textual material in the theme slot. Both deaf writers, then, connect ideas through the insertion of extra material into the theme slot of the clause rather than through information management, the method used by the professional writers. This becomes more clear when we look at Table 5.

Table 5 identifies key semantic items in both the theme and rheme of each clause of each text. Semantic fields are noted by capital letters, and subfields of what Daneš refers to as hyperthemes are indicated through the addition of subscripts to the appropriate capital letters. Hence in Text A, a hypertheme such as <<anaphora>> has the subthemes of <pronoun reference>, <pronouns>, and <coreference>. while the hypertheme <<research>> has the names of various researchers as subthemes. Obviously the assignment of thematic and rhematic elements to various semantic fields is a subjective decision, and different researchers could make different assignations than those I have made in Table 5, yet the overlap would, I believe, be significant. When we examine the four texts for idea management--that is for the topic which is introduced by the theme and commented on by the rheme in an orderly pattern so that each clause after the first selects some element of the previous clause as its starting point in order to minimize reader dissonance--we note that Texts A and B carefully introduce hyperthemes in the comment or rhematic position of the first sentence (<<anaphora>> and <<pronoun reference>> in Text A, <<structures of talk>> in Text B) and then explore various subthemes of those hyperthemes in the remaining clauses of the paragraph.

In Text C, the deaf writer does not do this. Rather, there is a good deal of redundancy in Text C with the theme <<hearing people>> being repeated but not developed. The writer clearly needs the extra textual material (see Table 3) which he has inserted in the themes of the various sentences of Text C to prevent the comments being made about <<hearing people>> from being totally redundant. The logical connectives, then, are a structural device which compensate for the writer's inability to expand hyperthemes in a dynamic fashion. In Text D the structure is a little different. Instead of simply repeating semantic content, the writer introduces many ideas, none of which is developed fully in the paragraph, but which, the writer promises, will be developed later in the text. The textual and interpersonal material in the themes of the deaf writers, then, seem to serve as true connectives or structural devices, a way of managing information, albeit a way not selected by the hearing academic writers of Texts A and B.

Other syntagmatic differences can be noted if one examines Tables 6, 7 and 8. Tables 6 and 7 are paradigms I developed for a much longer study of deaf students' texts[2]; they attempt to identify the various syntagmemes found in the kinds of academic writing students will be most likely asked to do in their college classes, based on essays found in rhetorical texts, and to describe the ideational constituents of those syntagmemes. If one examines the column marked "Expository Tagmemes" one will notice that the INTRODUCTORY syntagmemes of most expository texts tend to be organized in specific ways. In Expository prose, a PRELIMINARY tagmeme which states the general nature or goal of the discourse and a TEXT tagmeme which states the topic, research question, or stance of the writer are generally obligatory in English. A BACKGROUND tagmeme, in which the current state of research is discussed, is optional. Any of these three tagmemes may, of course, be expanded by clauses, sentences, or paragraphs.

If we look at Text A, we can see that the writer ignores the PRELIMINARY tagmeme, begins with the TEXT tagmeme, includes a good deal of background, and concludes with an expansion of the TEXT tagmeme. The lack of a PRELIMINARY tagmeme was less noticeable in the publication from which Text A was taken[4] than it is here because the article was preceded by an abstract. Text A, then, fulfills the expectations of the readers of academic prose, as does Text B, because its INTRODUCTORY syntagmeme follows the Expository pattern for academic prose in English.

Text C, however, seems to belong to a different genre of writing entirely--a cross between Expressive and Hortatory prose. Personal opinion of the writer is injected and an EPISODE tagmeme is included. The syntagmeme does not sound at all like the texts of professional writers. Text D, however, written by the deaf student who had exposure to generic structures in academic texts, does. While the writer ignores the PRELIMINARY tagmeme, the device of beginning with a research question is acceptable within the context of the class assignment. The INTRODUCTORY syntagmeme of Text D, in its overall structure, is much more Expository-like than the INTRODUCTORY syntagmeme of Text C.

Other differences with regards to Ideational constituents of Expository prose can be noted, particularly in the areas of process and participants. Of the four Texts, for example, C is the only one which is not activity- or theme-referenced.

What emerges from this brief study of one syntagmeme, then, is that deaf students do structure their texts and manage thematic information in certain ways to achieve certain purposes. If, however, they are not acquainted with the discourse structures used by academic writers in their specific areas of study, their texts will fail to be regarded as appropriate by their instructors whose expectations are colored by the texts with which they--as hearing academics--are familiar. Revision of student papers, then, can benefit through modeling behavior in the classroom, exercises in which the students concentrate not only on the content of the material that they read, but also on how it is structured. By creating their own heuristic devices, students will be provided with a framework for revision that is specific and structurally-oriented. And instructors who work with their students on such heuristic procedures may well discover that their own perceptions of student texts will change in the process.

In his keynote address which opened this conference, Richard Bailey quoted an academic who believed that studying texts would only render students "insolent to their superiors". Studying texts for their generic structures would, I contend, render student texts acceptable to their teachers, no longer inferior but equal.

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Notes

[1]Richard Bailey's remarks were taken from his keynote address, "The Age of Words", delivered to the Applied Linguistic Research Working Group, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, April 19, 1991.

[2]I am thankful to Ken Rust, director of the Sign Language Studies Program at Madonna University, for this second example.

[3]Tables 6 and 7 were developed, based on models offered by Robert Longacre, for my dissertation, *Linguistic Analysis and Deaf Students' Texts: Towards a Pedagogy of Meaning and Representation*, written at The University of Michigan, 1990.

[4]Texts A and B were taken from the journal *Linguistics and Education*, Nov. 2, 1988.

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Table 1
Theme and Rheme in Text A

1 The purpose of this study was to examine young readers' ability to assign pronoun reference, an important aspect of anaphora.
top

2 Baumann (1977) found
top

3 that pronouns comprised 86.2% of all anaphoric devices used in the stories he analyzed.
text top

4 Research into readers' ability to comprehend anaphoric relations by Barnitz (1979, 1986), Webber (1978, 1980), and others has been extensive and varied.
top

5 This research indicates
top

6 that a number of variables comes into play as readers attempt to determine coreference.
text top *text top*

7 Much of the research has focussed on readers' ability to determine pronoun reference.
top

8 The present study examines in some detail the text features, comprehending strategies, and correction patterns readers exhibit as they assign pronoun reference.
top

Table 2
Theme and Rheme in Text B

1 Analyses of classroom discourse usually focus on formulating the structures of talk between teachers and students.
top

2 Moving beyond this focus on structure this paper will illustrate
downranked clause in nominal group *top*

3 how discourse structures can be analyzed to explicate the ways in which they facilitate the accomplishment of pedagogic tasks.
text top

4 I examine a variation of the familiar question-answer-comment discourse format which involves expansions of the basic structure.
top

5 These expansions have positive interaction and pedagogical functions and are directly related to the task at hand.
top

Table 3
Theme and Rheme in Text C

1 Hearing people, in general, differently communicate with deaf people with a tone of pity which they do not use when speaking to other hearing people.
top *text*

2 Since hearing people don't know sign language, they are unable to communicate with deaf people.
β

3 Therefore, they think that the deaf people is inferior.
text top

4 Employers also would rather hire a hearing person
top

5 even if the deaf person is capable of performing efficiently at a job.
text top

Table 4
Theme and Rheme in Text D

1 How does a deaf individual develop the concept of self through social interaction and standard English at school?
int int top

2 Although it is an abstract and complicated question to investigate, I believe that the positive self-concept is crucial for one's self-esteem especially for a deaf person.
β *top*

3 In this paper, I will write down some of my personal experiences that relate to what I have found in the research work from a sociological, psychological, and educational view of deafness.
text top

4 Also, how standard English can be learned or achieved at school in a proficient way.
text text top

Key:

	thematic element	β	clause as theme
top	topical--the ideational theme		theme of downranked clause
text	textual element in theme		marked rheme
int	interpersonal element in theme		predicated theme

90

Table 5
Semantic Elements in Theme and Rheme

Test A

1 The purpose of this study was to examine young readers' ability to assign pronoun reference, an important aspect of anaphora.

2 Baumann (1977) found that pronouns comprised 86.2% of all anaphoric devices used in the stories he analyzed.

3 Research into readers' ability to comprehend anaphoric relations by Barnitz (1979, 1986), Webber (1979, 1980), and others has been extensive and varied.

4 This research indicates that a number of variables comes into play as readers attempt to determine coreference.

5 Much of the research has focussed on readers' ability to determine pronoun reference.

6 The present study examines in some detail the text features, comprehending strategies, and correction patterns readers exhibit as they assign pronoun reference.

Test B

1 Analyses of classroom discourse usually focus on formulating the structures of talk between teachers and students.

2 Moving beyond this focus on structure, this paper will illustrate how discourse structures can be analyzed to explicate the ways in which they facilitate the accomplishment of pedagogic tasks.

3 I examine a variation of the familiar question-answer-comment discourse format which involves expansions of the basic structure.

4 These expansions have positive interaction and pedagogical functions and are directly related to the task at hand.

Test C

1 Hearing people, in general, differently communicate with deaf people with a tone of pity which they do not use when speaking to other hearing people.

2 Since hearing people don't know sign language, they are unable to communicate with deaf people.

3 Therefore, they think that the deaf people is inferior.

4 Employers also would rather hire a hearing person

5 even if the deaf person is capable of performing efficiently at a job.

Test D

1 How does a deaf individual develop the concept of self through social interaction and standard English at school?

2 Although it is an abstract and complicated question to investigate, I believe that the positive self-concept is crucial for one's self-esteem especially for a deaf person.

3 In this paper, I will write down some of my personal experiences that relate to what I have found in the research work from a sociological, psychological, and educational view of deafness.

4 Also, how standard English can be learned or achieved at school in a proficient way.

Key:

$A, B, \ldots N$	Semantic Field
$A_1, A_2 \ldots A_n$	Elements of a Semantic Field
________	theme
========	rheme

Table 6
Ideational Constituents of Discourse Genre

Ideational Components	Expressive/Narrative	Expository	Procedural	Hortatory
Process	–Mental –Relational –Verbal –Material	–Relational –Material –Existential	–Material –Relational	–Relational –Material –Existential
Tense/Aspect/Voice –main line	–non-durative preterite –historical present –may begin in past, switch to present, return to past –active voice	–present –past –active or passive	–customary present –imperative –customary past –active	–socially mitigated imperatives –past or present –passive or active
–subsidiary line	–future	–past, occasionally future	–future	–past or contingent future
Participants–	–subject as Agent: Sayer Senser Cognizant Behaver –object: Goal Phenomenon	Goal-, activity-, theme-focused or referenced	subject as Agent: –Behaver object: –Goal	Goal-, activity-, theme-focused or referenced
Pronouns	–1st or 3rd person, singular or plural	–3rd person –deictics	–non-focused Agent in 1st, 2nd, or 3rd, singular or plural	–2nd person or 1st person, singluar or plural –3rd person (when praising or blaming)
Circumstances	–Temporal –Cause –Spatial	–Cause –Manner –Matter	–Temporal –Spatial –Manner –Accompaniment	–Matter –Role –Cause

Table 7
Constituent Tagmemes of Discourse Genre

Syntagmeme	Expressive/Narrative Tagmemes	Expository Tagmemes	Procedural Tagmemes	Hortatory Tagmemes
INTRODUCTORY	((STAGE: time & place))* APERTURE: present topic, theme, object under discussion	PRELIMINARY: general nature or goal of discourse ((BACKGROUND)) TEXT: topic sentence, research question, or stance	INTRODUCTION: states topic or procedure to be explained TEXT: reason(s) for procedure	((GREETING: vocative)) INTRODUCTION: a preliminary remark relating to audience's situation or to topic
NUCLEAR	EPISODE 1, 2 . . N: narrative, dialogue, or explanatory sentences or paragraphs; each must have its own CLIMAX; individual INTRODUCTIONs and CLOSINGs for EPISODEs are optional CLIMAX: statement of conflict in EPISODE ((EXPOSITION: expansion of EPISODE))	POINT 1, 2 . . . N: explanatory, hortatory, or procedural sentences of paragraphs; each POINT may have its own INTRODUCTION and/or CLOSING ; POINTs may be parallel TEXT: topic sentence for each POINT ((EXPOSITION: series of explanatory clauses or sentences expanding TEXT)) ((REASON/RESULT: may co-occur or occur separately in some or all POINTs))	STEP 1, 2 . . . N: procedural or explanatory sentences or paragraphs, usually coordinating ((RESULTS: what may be expected as end result of STEP(s))) ((CAUTION: imperative concerning care to be taken in a specific STEP))	POINT 1 . . . N: coordinating, antithetical, or alternative sentences or paragraphs TEXT: topic sentence of each point ((EXPOSITION: expansion of topic sentence))
PEAK	DENOUEMENT: solution or outcome of EPISODE ANTI-DENOUEMENT: resolution of EPISODE	((Climax: occurs if POINTS are arranged in order of importance)) ((WARNING: rare; when it occurs is final tagmeme of PEAK; contains FIGURE which is a cautionary statement and GROUNDS for the caution))	No discourse PEAK	((CLIMAX: occurs if POINTs are arranged in order of importance, force, or interest))
CLOSING (( ))* elements in parentheses are optional	CLOSURE: commentary on main idea or text topic ((FINIS: ritualized ending))	TERMINUS: summary of argument or circling back to main subject	TERMINUS: concluding statement on the end point or product of procedure	CONCLUSION: statement of praise, blame, warning, or instruction which occurs late in final paragraph

Table 8
Tagmemic Analysis of Introductory Syntagmemes

Clause	Text A	Tagmemic Function
1	The purpose of this study was to examine young readers' ability to assign pronoun reference, an important aspect of anaphora.	Text
2	Baumann (1977) found that pronouns comprised 86.2% of all anaphoric devices used in the stories he analyzed.	Background
3	Research into readers' ability to comprehend anaphoric relations by Barnitz (1979, 1986), Webber (1978, 1980), and others has been extensive and varied.	Background
4	This research indicates that a number of variables comes into play as readers attempt to determine coreference.	Background
5	Much of the research has focussed on readers ability to determine pronoun reference.	Background
6	The present study examines in some detail the text features, comprehending strategies, and correction patterns readers exhibit as they assign pronoun reference.	Text Expansion

Clause	Text B	Tagmemic Function
1	Analyses of classroom discourses usually focus on formulating the structures of talk between teachers and students.	Preliminary
2	Moving beyond this focus on structure, this paper will illustrate how discourse structures can be analyzed to explicate the ways in which they facilitate the accomplishment of pedagogic tasks.	Text
3	I examine a variation of the familiar question-answer-comment discourse format which involves expansions of the basic structure.	Text Expansion
4	These expansions have positive interactional and pedagogical functions and are directly related to the task at hand.	Text Expansion

Clause	Text C	Tagmemic Function
1	Hearing people, in general differently, communicate with deaf people with a tone with pity which they do not use when speaking to other hearing people.	Aperture
2	Since hearing people don't know sign language, they are unable to communicate with deaf people.	Aperture Expansion
3	Therefore, they think that the deaf people is inferior.	Climax
4	Employers, also would rather hire a hearing person even if the deaf person is capable of performing efficiently at a job.	Episode

Clause	Text D	Tagmemic Function
1	How does a deaf individual develop the concept of self through social interaction and standard English at school?	Text
2	Although it is an abstract and complicated question to investigate, I believe that the positive self-concept is crucial for one's self-esteem especially as a deaf person.	Text Expansion
3	In this paper, I will write down some of my personal personal experiences that relate to what I have found in the research work from a sociological, psychological, and educational view of deafness.	Text Expansion
4	Also, how standard English can be learned or achieved at school in a proficient way.	Text Expansion

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BOOK REVIEWS

DWIGHT BOLINGER: INTONATION AND ITS USES; MELODY IN GRAMMAR AND DISCOURSE. 1989. xi - 470. Stanford University Press, USA/ Edward Arnold, UK.

This book is a companion to Bolinger's *Intonation and its Parts; melody in Spoken English* which appeared in 1986 under the dual publication pattern of this present volume. It is an enormous book in size and scope, and the two books together gather all Bolinger's wisdom on intonation in almost a thousand pages (he has been publishing on this theme since 1945!).

Wisdom, however, comes in different shapes and moulds, depending on training, background, priorities and goals; what *one* sees in *one* way, another sees in another. One can admire much in the approach taken by another, but sometimes see easier, more elegant ways of describing and accounting for phenomena in their *own* approach; nevertheless we can learn much from others.

The great value of Bolinger's treatment is, first, the great wealth of examples and thoroughness in probing alternative intonational versions to those examples, and, second, the thoroughness of the investigation of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors, particularly in those "marginal" areas of grammar like the tagged imperative and exclamatory idioms.

Bolinger's overall principle is to explicate intonation in terms of attitude. Intonation is "a nonarbitrary, sound-symbolic system with intimate ties to facial expression and bodily gesture, and conveying, underneath it all, emotions and attitudes" (p.1). He talks of accents of power and interest, but he eschews any form of linkage with syntax - he once referred to the "dead hand of transformational prosody" (p.357) and does not seem to recognize any theory of information structure and organization. Incidentally, he does not indicate any interest in units higher than a single utterance in an exchange.

The distinguishing feature of his theory of intonation is his notion of accent. Accent is the potential of word stress being realized with pitch. A word stress may be left without any pitch in an utterance, but if its potential for pitch is realized it is because of the speaker's intention to make it prominent either because of its interest, or because the speaker is expressing a message with power, i.e. forcefully. The pitch movement in such cases is described in terms of profiles:

profile A is a fall;

profile B is a jump up, with any following unaccented syllables usually continuing with a gradual rise;

profile C is a rise;

profile CA is a rise-fall;

profile AC is a fall-rise;

profile CB is a rise (not a jump up), with any following unaccented syllables usually continuing with a "slither" (i.e. a slight gradual fall).

("The CB profile is rare in American English and Southern British, but is fairly common in other dialects and languages" (p. 4), e.g. Scottish, Scouse (Liverpool).)

Although systemicists will recognize much of the above pitch movements, it must be emphasized that these accent profiles are not equivalent to tones. A tone is spread over a whole intonation unit, whereas an accent is associated with a word or phrase. For example, Halliday's

// 1 ^ now /silver /needs to have /<u>love</u> //

would need to be rendered by Bolinger as a series of falls on <u>silver</u> and <u>needs</u> to represent the falling pretonic, and a more prominent fall on <u>love</u>; thus we have a series of As with the third marked by an acute accent: A + A + Á, indicating three points of interest.

In essence, what Bolinger does is indicate the kind of interest for each of the terms in a message, e.g. their relative importance, the attitude associated with the term, and then he adds the individual profiles together to produce a contour that is superimposed upon the whole message, rather like the way Pike (1945) does. For example - taken at random, from p.148:

What appears to set the terminal C apart from the A as a conveyor of observations rather than fact transmissions is not just the shape of the profile but also the overall direction of the accents. A contour with multiple C's can be made to resemble one with a terminal A if the C's are arranged on a downmoving tangent: the result is an impression of terminal downmotion in spite of the terminal rise (which continues to function in its own right for reassurance or whatever). So if one says either (15) or (16),

(15) That (A+O)
was a silly mis
ta ke.

(16) That (A+C+Ć)
was a mis ta ke.
sil ly

the effect is still that of an observation - the tangent to <u>sil</u>- and -<u>take</u> in (16) is rising. Neither would be very appropriate in agreeing with a speaker who has just said <u>You should have been more careful</u>. On the contrary,

(17) That (A+C+Č)
was a
silly mis
ta ke.

with a downmoving tangent to <u>sil</u>- -<u>take</u>, would not be very good as an observation but, with a prefaced <u>Yes</u>, would be quite all right for agreeing with the other's criticism. The speaker is saying, in effect, 'You're right, I was careless.'

A little note on the transcription before we proceed. Bolinger's transcription is very distinctive - laying out a line of typescript to follow the pitch pattern; and that makes it very clear. It also makes it very precise, even too precise, as in many pronunciation manuals, not allowing for any non-significant variation. The value of Halliday's system is that allowance for such variation is built in (see Halliday, 1970: 15-18). Bolinger never explains the significance of the arrows at the end of the line. Altho' it does become obvious, it was not obvious when it first appeared, p.35, in relation to a description of Scouse intonation; the arrows happened to occur at the end of clauses, which were being commented on; it was not clear at that point, that the arrows simply indicated continuation. One weakness of the transcription is that you lose the sense of relative height of pitch when the transcription drops to the next line; has the pitch incidentally risen or lowered? You can't tell.

The book begins with a useful review of the acquisition of intonation, and the variation of intonation between the sexes. Then there is a dip into the differences between American and RP intonation and other regional variation too, before a brief review of the intonation of other languages. Bolinger brings out the similarities, but does not do justice to the differences. He only concentrates on contour-

final accents (i.e."tones"); he makes no reference to tonicity and tonality differences. Because of this limited interest, Japanese and English intonation are made to look much more similar than they really are. No reference is made to pretonic shapes or to relative frequency of accents. You have only to listen to Japanese airport announcements to get some feeling of how very different Japanese intonation is from English. Cruttenden's (1986) chapter on different intonations is very much more illuminating; I feel that Bolinger's interest in the iconic nature of intonation has been allowed to influence his judgement unduly; after all, if intonation is iconic and human emotion is to some extend uniform the world wide, then an interest in universals is inevitable, and similarities will be highlighted. But even in closely related languages like English and German there are noticeable differences; and, of course, there are very noticeable differences between regional variations of one single language.

The iconic nature of intonation is tempered by convention. It is in contrast to the arbitrariness of segmental phonology, which questions the position of intonation within phonology. This is not a question that seems to bother Bolinger. There is no attempt to link intonation into a hierarchy of phonological units as Pike and Halliday do. Intonation seems to be independent of other components of language - especially, if one may so, especially syntax.

Chapters 3 to 7 are grouped together as Part II: Intonation and Grammar: clauses and above, and Bolinger is at pains to show that clauses of all syntactic types can be rendered with intonations of all different types of contours - much as O'Connor and Arnold (1973) do.

There are no "neutral tones". Attitude is present always; emotion may be "tamed", it is all a matter of degree (p.68). This is a view that Crystal once held and then revised, similarly O'Connor & Arnold, in the light of Halliday's theory of neutral tones. Bolinger also admits to the notion of MARKEDNESS, which, he says, needs to be invoked here and there, in the sense that some intonations are more usual with certain utterances (see p.68).

In a chapter on 'demarcation', we seem to be more in the realm of rhythm than intonation. What get demarcated are constituents of phrases and clauses, not the clauses themselves nor 'tone-group' kinds of intonation unit. For instance, the difference between 20 7th Street and 27th Street is reminiscent of O'Connor's (1973) three hundred year old books. Because Bolinger deals in terms/items and not solely in messages, many will find the lack of distinction between rhythm and intonational operations rather confusing. This is the chapter where you might expect to find a discussion of 'tonality', but it is missing.

There follow three very thorough and comprehensive chapters on the intonation of questions, nonquestions and dependent clauses. The discussions and illustrations are rich and very informative. Tagged imperatives are dealt with at great length, indeed at greater length than in many reference grammars. This need not be surprising since tags provide transparent clues to attitude, which is what interests Bolinger. Wordless tags like oh, hunh are also included. The intonation of parenthesis - which even embraces non-restrictive relative clauses - is dealt with very thoroughly as well.

Chapters 8 to 11 are grouped together as Part III: Intonation and Grammar; below the clause. These include the rhythm structure of compounds (for Bolinger this amounts to the number of accents) and the rhythm structure of phrases, chapters 8 and 9 respectively. The latter relates mainly to non-tonic final lexical items and Bolinger's well known advocacy of the notion of semantically rich (i.e. accents of interest) and empty words. Systemicists feel that this is an area that simply cries out for a treatment in terms of neutral and marked tonicity, and the notions of given and new information. He lambasts the notion of syntactic rules - "this long and fruitless debate" (p.235). "The average noun easily outweighs the average verb in interest" (op.cit.). It is interest, i.e. the speaker's perception of information and focus, that dictates, not syntax. The demolition of the transformationalists' narrow theories is quite awesome!

The iconism of intonation comes very much to the fore in the fifty page study of exclamations and interjections (Chapter 10) and the absolutely brilliant forty page study of _well_ (Chapter 11). Here is the expert scientist at work, sifting the evidence, drawing upon historical developments, human nature, the linguistic evidence and producing a beautifully crafted study.

Part IV: _Intonation and logic_ takes up various issues and deals with them one by one, and pretty convincingly too. Chapter 12 assesses the claim for a distinctive intonation of contrast. Bolinger dismisses the claim since the alleged 'tones' are all used for other, non-contrastive, purposes; contrast is often indicated overly by lexis or syntax; where it is not so, intonation contributes to an interpretation that involves contrasts, but does not indicate contrast directly, for hearers must sort out implications for themselves from the linguistic context and the situation, and contrast is one of the possible implications. The discussion is confined to tones and does not touch on 'marked tonicity'.

Chapter 13 dismisses Sperber & Wilson (1986) as being simply just too confined theoretically. To tie intonation to

syntactic structure is like trying to tie the wind to a post - there is simply just too much of it to be tied like that. This where Bolinger's "dead hand" comment comes from. (Incidentally, Bolinger does often comment in a very colourful way; the analogy of the wind is mine, but I know who influenced me!)

Chapters 14 and 15 evaluate claims for intonations of denials (Gussenhoven) and factuality. I feel that Bolinger struggles in parts of his argument in 14 (especially p.367 where Bolinger has to resort to evidence from non-standard dialects), altho' his main argument still seems to stand, that the intonations of direct and indirect denial are broader than Gussenhoven supposed. 'Factuality' depends on other factors than intonation; as in the case of contrast, intonation contributes to the meaning but does not establish it. To establish factuality, "the main verb plus its complement plus the intonation will suffice, given a proper context" (p.384), i.e. there are at least four contributors, a complex of factors. "There are no defining intonations, but there are facilitating ones", he claims elsewhere (p.176).

To read over 400 pages of Bolinger on intonation is an exceedingly broadening experience. However, I miss a theory of information structure and organization, I miss the systems of tonality, tonicity and tone and their neutral and marked forms, and I miss the formal links to phonology, discourse and the rest of language. I wish the material was occasionally summarized and systematized. Perhaps Bolinger feels that the meanings of intonation are too fluid for that. I can not help but notice, however, that Kingdon, Crystal, Halliday and O'Connor & Arnold do not feature in the bibliography for this volume (altho' they do in Bolinger, 1986).

Occasionally there are items that a non-American may well puzzle over (including the idiom Your brother is a caution!), but generally speaking, the whole book is very clearly written, sometimes wittily so, and it carries Bolinger's convictions. It and its companion of 1986 are monuments in the study of intonation and, like monuments, will be visited time and time again, to great profit.

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Language as Behaviour, Language as Code, by Lynne Young, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins (1990)
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The practical necssity of teaching English as a Foreign Language to the increasing number of overseas students in British and North American universities has spurred much recent research into the sub-discipline known as Academic English (eg Nelson et al, 1987; Bazerman 1988; Swales 1990). Young's book, also inspired by her experience as a teacher, attempts a preliminary description of one subcategory of Academic Englishy, using a form of systemic linguistics as an instrument of description.

Young focuses on 'pedagogical' Academic English: her small corpus consists of three spoken discourses (freshman lectures in Engineering, Sociology and Economics), and three written texts (extracts from related introductory student textbooks). These she subjects to a detailed analysis based on Michael Gregory's development of systemic grammar (as sketched, for example, in Benson and Greaves, 1985), with passing reference also to tagmemics, stratificational grammar, and the analysis of metaphor undertaken by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

The core of the work is a phasal analysis of the texts and discourses, phase being a 'very delicate statement of register realization' identified on the basis of consistency in ideational, modal and textual selections as well as a consistent pattern of morphosyntactic choices (Young 1990) 42-3). Effectively, phases are 'strands' of functionally similar language, woven through the discourses and texts, offering a basis for linguistic comparison and contrast. Young labels typical phases 'Discourse/Text structuring', 'Content', 'Evaluation', 'Interaction' and so on - - the first consists of explicit references to the construction of the lecture or text; the last consists of instances of two-way communication (or pseudo-communication) between lecturer-student or author-reader.

A basis for comparsion having been established, Young offers results which may have more general application for this type of Academic English. For example, Discourse Structuring is the only phase common to all discourses and texts, suggesting the explicitly self-reflexive nature of Academic English. The lectures (all of which were semi-spontaneous in delivery) are, not surprisingly, much more interactive than the texts, displaying a higher degree of interrogatives and commands, rhetorical and real. The written texts also display relatively fewer instances of attitudinal marking and explicit modality, but have a higher incidence of agent deletion through passivisation -- all of which tends towards the 'dehumanization' of Academic writing. On the textual level there is greater sentence-level linkage in the spoken discourses than in the written texts, possibly owing to the lack in lectures of graphological indicators of cohesion (Young 1990: 198). Ideational selections differ according to phase: in general mental processes dominate the Discourse Structuring phase (eg 'Essentially we know the following'), while action processes dominate the Interaction phase (eg 'Could you dim the reading lights?').

The study concludes with a plea for further detailed study of Academic English leading towards a valid description and typology of its various registers, which in turn, will filter through to the teaching practices of EAP practitioners. The work, however, suffers from a number of crucial limitations even as a first step towards realising this desirable, if ultimately unattainable, goal.

First of all, as Young herself acknowledges (1990: 205) her sample is tiny: three lectures and three extracts from textbooks. Small-scale surveys are inevitable given the wealth of descriptive detail which systemic linguistics can extract from even a few clauses. Large-scale surveys, for which most authors can only piously wish, would demand a committed team working full-time for decades; however, only then might statistically significant claims about Academic English in general be made.

Secondly, such a team would also have to agree on classificatory procedure -- a problem Young tends to downplay, relying as she does, for example, on Gregory's taxonomy of process and participant types (Young 1990: 48-53). While related to those listed in Halliday (1985), Gregory's are nonetheless significantly different: for example, not everyone would wish to count verbal processes as a subcategory of mental processes. Moreover, even given a common descriptive procedure, certain processes defy easy categorisation: Young again, following Halliday, explicitly alludes to the dual classification of various processes -- some of whic hare metaphorical, some of which are simply ambiguous (eg 'respond' might be a mental (verbal) or an action process: context will not necessarily disambiguate it).

Finally, the reliance on register and the more delicate 'phase', while often illuminating, as in the discussion of Discourse and Text Structuring, may also be a weakness. The phase Content, for example, is much more general and more difficult to grasp than Discourse Structuring. If phase is defined by way of codal selections (as suggested above), the subsequent description of codal selections in terms of phase seems like a dangerously circular argument. Possibly recent work on genre (eg Swales 1990) offers a principled way out of the categorisation of language variation based only on codal selections.

Young's book is nevertheless an important preliminary step -- if not towards the full description of a language typology, then towards the continuing formulation of a descriptive instrument, one that can portray (if only as yet in miniature) the ebb and flow of language in use. The attraction of systemic linguistics is very much its practical applications; if it is to have a future then it must rise to the challenges such as that tackled by Young.

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NEXT DEADLINE FEBRUARY 1, 1992

WHO PUT THE STANDARD IN STANDARD LANGUAGES?

A Review of ***Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages*** by J.E.Joseph; 1987; Frances Pinter, London; pp. 199 + xi.

There are an estimated 700 million speakers of English in the world, of whom about 300 million are native-speakers. No doubt all of these people have some (ill-defined) notion of what they mean by *English*, although their notions are likely to vary according to their social status and geographical situation. Among native speakers, and frequently among foreign learners of English, views as to what counts as 'good' English are held passionately and frequently lead to vociferous argument.

Britain is currently undergoing such a debate in part because of the government's attempts to improve the standard of English teaching. The *Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Teaching of English Language* (1988), which was established to recommend a syllabus which could be incorporated into the core curriculum, argued that 'one of the schools' duties is to enable children to acquire Standard English, which is their right. This is not a matter of controversy: no item of evidence received by the Committee contained disagreement with this point.' (*ibid*; 14). However, the (admittedly brief) definition of Standard English that appears in the Report is both confusing and confused. The authors argue that it is not a dialect, since '"dialect" implies regular grammatical patterns and distinctive vocabulary which characterise the language of a particular area and distinguish it from its neighbours and from Standard English.' (*ibid*; 14). It is, however, derived from the East Midlands dialect, and has evolved a 'written form used by all writers of English, no matter which dialect area they come from' (*ibid*; 14). Equally, 'it is also used to communicate across local areas and between regions in a spoken form ' (*ibid*; 14).

Each one of these characterisations could be challenged. While not denying that there may be a 'core' vocabulary (Carter, 1987a, 1987b) and even a 'core' grammar, speakers who fail to venture beyond such 'cores' would have little interesting to say. Most (if not all) speakers make varied selections from the language system according to whom they are speaking, what they are talking about, and their specific intentions in speaking, and these selections are likely to contain 'distinctive grammatical patterns and distinctive vocabulary'[1] that are not dependent on geographical factors. Equally, the claim that *all* writers of English use Standard will come as a shock to the child who is trying to decode the ambiguities of *Finnegans Wake* or the poetry of Tony Harrison.

1. The Kingman Report was itself attacked for 'bad' grammar on the grounds that it failed to observe the rules of concord in the following sentence: '... it is plain that inservice education and training has a most important part to play ...' (62)

These criticisms have been anticipated in part by a disclaimer earlier in the Report. The authors comment:

> All of us can have only partial access to Standard English: the language itself exists like a great social bank on which we all draw and to which we all contribute. As we grow older and encounter a wider range of experience, we encounter more of the language, but none of us is ever going to know and use all the words in the Oxford English Dictionary, which is itself being constantly updated, nor are we going to produce or encounter all possible combinations of the structures which are permissible in English.
>
> (*ibid*; 14)

A peculiar sleight of hand is taking place here. While acknowledging that English is remarkably varied, the authors suggest that only part of that variety should be included under the heading of Standard English. The criteria they use to distinguish between those parts of this variety that count as Standard, and those parts which have to be excluded because they are regional dialects have been deliberately obscured, allowing the authors to make the spurious claim that the Standard is the variety used to 'communicate across local areas and between regions in a spoken form' without investigating *who* is doing the communicating.

The intentions behind the Kingman Report were worthy in that they were intended to empower children within a conflictual society, but the net effect of their proposals (and the syllabus that may follow from them) is more likely to render the pupils efficient operatives who understand the language of their managers. In this respect, the Report compares unfavourably with Cobbett's belief that 'Grammar, perfectly understood, enables us, not only to express

our meaning fully and clearly, but so to express it as to enable us to defy the ingenuity of man to give to our words any other meaning than that which we ourselves intend them to express.' (Cobbett, 1823, 7-8). Some of these issues are explored in Joseph's *Eloquence and Power*.

Joseph starts by distinguishing between 'language' and 'dialect' (Joseph, 1987, 2-3). This is a necessary distinction since he views a Standard language as one dialect which has undergone the processes of standardization and thus become synecdochic of the language itself. He then lists nine factors which are prototypical of Standard languages (*ibid*; 6), and outlines the standardization cycle which leads to Standard languages (*ibid*; 22-24). In the remainder of the book, he exemplifies the standardization cycle with detailed references to Inupiaq and French. However much one way disagree with some of his conclusions, they are always interesting and supported with a wealth of wide-ranging references and solid scholarship.

One of the more interesting points made by Joseph is that the very notion of a Standard language is essentially Western (see also Mühlhäusler, 1987, 1990). He argues this on two grounds. First, that it is the consequence of cultures that have come into contact with Graeco-Roman culture and that have measured their degree of progress according to the norms of that culture. Secondly, that the alphabetic principle is of particular importance in the codification necessary to the creation of a standard (Joseph, 19-22). The latter argument depends on the importance of writing and, in particular, the adoption of the alphabetic system in developing our awareness of, and reflections on, language. Joseph suggests at least ten ways in which this occurs (*Ibid*; 32-39) and his arguments are convincing. However, the first ground is considerably more controversial. To maintain such a position would involve demonstrating that Graeco-Roman culture was both homogeneous and, in some sense, contained a set of values to which others aspired. Joseph cannot do this satisfactorily because he conspicuously fails to identify those features of Graeco-Roman culture which were attractive in themselves. It is true that many of the higher functions of English society were performed in Latin and that Latin served as the model of language. But the history of Latin and its gradual loss of functions as an H language were complicated by the changing perceptions both of the culture it originated from and its 'classical' status. Thus, although Latin models of rhetoric and syntax exercised considerable influence over the developing functions of English, the particular models changed (or were viewed differently) according to the particular functions that were being replaced. I am inclined to believe that the functional elaboration of an L language redefines both the cultural institutions that it invades and the language itself. When English replaced Latin as the language of religion, it not only moved one step further in the process of standardization but was also followed by the Reformation.

Joseph makes some reference to the language of religion, commenting:

> The Judeo-Christian God is omniscient, and should be equally well served by any dialect, or for that matter by silence. But the standard dialect, being the prestigious dialect, with all the weight of the Golden Age tradition behind it, characterizes the user as more respectful in petitioning the deity. It is not unusual to hear even impromptu prayer being carried on in English with God addressed as *thou*. We would not term this usage 'non-standard'.
>
> (*Ibid*; 73)

One is tempted to ask, why not? Although *Eloquence and Power* makes a serious and valiant attempt to answer this question, I finally find the answer unconvincing since it suggests that the variety of functions (and therefore of forms) which are accessible to the standard have an underlying unity which distinguishes them from the various non-standard dialects. In respect of English, this seems not to be true. Although religious English may be 'marked' (Adams Smith, 1989; Samarin, 1976), it is so precisely because it performs a particular function, and to that extent it is no more (nor less) marked than legal English or scientific English. It may be true that religious practices are treated with respect just as lawyers and scientists belong to prestigious institutions within our society but to treat their utterances (when they are engaged in their professions) as manifestations of a single, standard English seems misguided. Joseph acknowledges these differences but suggests there is a common underlying norm:

> ... norms of various sorts are present and operative at every level of linguistic, behavioural, and social structure ... What I wish to stress is that although these norms are various and multileveled, their surface differences often belie deep structural and functional similarities. The norm which makes me hesitant to say *none are*, and which tempts me to castigate a student who writes it, is in a significant sense, a development from the kind of norm that prevents me from saying **speakment*, or **book the*, or *brick* with the meaning 'book.'
>
> (Joseph, 29)

One can see what he means while suggesting that the instances he adduces are incommensurable. If he were to produce any of the last three utterances, he would be excluding himself from the community of English speakers *tout court* and the paradoxical situation of putting himself in the paradoxical situation of speaking a unique and personal language. His hesitation over the use of the form *none are* is surely an uncertainty as to whether this is acceptable in the community of speakers to which he belongs or aspires, and his potential castigation of the hapless student is part of his role as a socialising force introducing her to those modes of speech and writing which are appropriate to the meanings she intends to convey.

Joseph, here, seems to be ignoring the social semiotic nature of language. A construction which conveys no meaning by definition has no meaning, while a construction that has meaning has more than a simple semantic since it serves to identify the speaker as a member of a social group and represent the values and meanings of that group. The size of the group is always an unknown variable. It may include all the speakers of a particular language, as has been suggested by Hasan (1984) and Martin (1988), or it may be restricted to a particular subset. When it is the latter, characteristic texts develop depending on the particular social meanings that the group are engaged in producing at that particular time. Kress (1989, 450) has suggested that:

> texts are the sites of the emergence of complexes of social meanings, produced in the particular history of the situation of production, and recording in partial ways the histories *both* of the participants in the production of the text, *and* of the institutions which are invoked, brought into play; and indeed a partial history of the language and the social system, a partiality due to the structurings of relations of power to the participants.

This is a particularly fruitful way of looking at texts in that it sees them as individual constructs occurring as part of a socio-historical process. Groups of texts which cluster around a particular discourse situation will tend to manifest similarities giving rise to an identifiable *genre*. Individuals' contributions to any given discourse will be admitted to the extent that they conform to the conventions of that genre. Genres therefore serve to contain and control the distribution of power within discourses and become sites of struggle when such power is challenged. Smith (1984, 30) observes that 'Between 1793 and 1818 (and later as well), Parliament dismissively refused to admit petitions because of the language in which they written.' Such behaviour reflected a complex of social and ideological concerns. To master the appropriate rhetoric of political discussion necessarily required an education in the 'polite' (and classically-based) forms of language. Such an education was expensive both in terms of finance and of leisure. By and large, the petitioners lacked such resources and had to rely on the demotic. Those radicals who had received such an education (e.g. Burdett) would frequently adopt a similar style, partly because they wished to show social solidarity but also because the choice of language reflected the ideals the petitioners sought. However, as the franchise was slowly extended, so the genre of political debate adapted to include the new voices.

It could be argued that people occupy overlapping discourse situations to such an extent that the various genres that they control will have marked features in common. This certainly seems to be the underlying argument in Joseph's book. However, such a view may be mistaken in that it overlooks the sense of strain that may occur when two discourses drawn from the same stratum of society come into competition. The recent invasion of 'market forces' into the public sector cannot really be understood if we assume that both sides are addressing each other using a 'standard' English. Rather, two different discourses have developed, each with their appropriate genres, and they have come into conflict over the distribution of power within our society. If I am right, what we need now are histories of genres. Halliday (1988) has made a pioneering effort in tracing the development of scientific English, and clearly there is room for more research in this area.

However, in arguing such a case I certainly do not intend to denigrate *Eloquence and Power*. It is full of interesting and provocative ideas. In particular, it has encouraged me to question the reality of 'standard languages'. Joseph, in tracing the history of the term, notices that it was first used in 1711, re-occurring in 1742. It then vanished until 1838-9, after which it appeared with increasing frquency (Joseph, 3-4). This is something of a paradox, and I would like to know whether the term was developed to describe a set of empirically observed features that had not previously been noticed, or whether it was a convenient shorthand to distinguish 'polite' speakers of a language from the rest, but which has slowly developed a life of its own. There is the possibility that when Stubbs (1986, 85) observes: 'Standard English is neither merely a dialect of English, nor a style: it is an intersection of dialectal and variation, and this makes it particularly difficult to define', it is because there is nothing there to define.

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The field of discourse analysis has expanded so rapidly in recent years that it is not always easy to keep track of the main issues involved in various approaches. A book reviewed here, Talbot Taylor's and Deborah Cameron's (henceforth T & C) Analysing Conversation, although already a few years old, can be recommended as a clear and extensive critical overview which efficiently outlines to the reader the main issues in various approaches to discourse analysis. The discussion includes the approaches by social psychologists, speech act theorists, Birmingham School discourse analysts, followers of Gricean principles in pragmatics and the work by ethnomethodologists, as well as approaches which deliberate on the relationship between grammatical analysis and conversational analysis. The comparison between the approaches is conducted by focussing the discussion on two fundamental issues in conversational analysis: units and rules. The book asks some interesting questions about the methodological principles used in the various approaches to conversational analysis, and presents and discusses the problems which the individual approaches face, when dealing with these two notions. It certainly inspires its readers to explore the issues and problems in conversational analysis further. The book can also easily function as a postgraduate textbook, although it is clearly not intended as such. If so used, it must be noted that some prior knowledge of discourse analysis is, however, required on the part of the students, so that they can fully appreciate the T & C's discussion. Below the contents of the book is examined in detail.

1. UNITS AND RULES

When conversations are analysed, the data must first be segmented and classified into units. According to T & C, "a satisfactory model must incorporate principled and reliable criteria for dividing data into segments, plus an exhaustive apparatus which does not leave segments unaccounted for, nor allow ad hoc categories to proliferate" (p. 12-13). T & C acknowledge that the notion of 'unit of discourse' is difficult. Different conversational approaches use different criteria to distinguish UNITS of talk. For example, units may be typed functionally (e.g. according to such speech act functions as requests, questions, answers, etc.). But even trained coders within one theoretical framework face difficulties when they have to classify tokens as types. Thus, conversational analysts often encounter the problem of intersubjectivity in their treatment of units; that is, it is assumed that interactants and analysts view units of talk in the same way. Questions which T & C ask (p. 2) are: Do interactants parcel their talk into the same kind of functional packages? Do they identify, and operate with, the same units, and how is the sameness established - by logical reasoning, by learning and experiencing, or by habit?

After the segmentation, the second concern is that of regularity and prediction. Most approaches aim at "reducing human behaviour to sets of (preferably elegant) generative rules" (p. 3-4). The RULES of talk seem to have been borrowed from two different sources. Some approaches use rules in the social scientists' sense of shared, 'social norms', which are prescriptive and directly influence behaviour, but which can also be flouted and violated. The other approaches visualize the rules as similar to the Chomskyan rules of grammar. These rules of talk are conceptualized as 'unconscious' and 'invariant'. They are used to predict well- or ill-formed discourses, and are internalized by human beings as universal constraints on language behaviour (p. 9-10). Similar to the notion of unit, the notion of rule also raises the problem of intersubjectivity. Questions about whether the interactants perceive rules in the same way or not are raised: Is communicative interaction governed by rules (tacitly) known to all interactants? And, if it is rule governed, how is it rule governed? Why do communicators follow the rules? How do communicators know if co-communicators are following the same rules they are? (p. 2).

The initial discussion of units and rules in the structure of talk is followed by reviews of how the various approaches have dealt with these notions in their analyses of conversational data.

2. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES OF CONVERSATION

T & C are very critical of the inductive and experimental methodology which has been employed by social psychologists on the study of units and rules of conversational data. As examples of social psychological studies, T & C have chosen the experiments reported in Duncan & Fiske (1977) and in Clarke (1983), of which they give a concise and a readable summary. In both experiments categories of conversational units are set up, tokens are classified into established types and rules which govern the sequencing of the units are discovered. Yet, the approaches differ. Duncan & Fiske's approach is etic, i.e. the acts are observable, physical acts, e.g. a speaking turn, a pause, which are to be recognized as objectively and explicitly as possible, e.g. by machine recognition. Or if that is not possible, then following 'ostensive definitions', i.e. the coders are taught to recognize the observable by pointing at them, e.g. "that's a smile". Clarke's approach is emic. The unit to be analyzed is a speech act. It is recognized by 'implicit recognition rules', which also take into account the unobservable, i.e. the interactants provide the analyst with information on speakers' intentions, hearers' unspoken reactions, etc.

Both approaches face problems. On one hand, if one only follows explicit recognition procedures, one faces the danger that phenomena which should not be counted as tokens will be classified as instances of a type, e.g. a coding machine identifies a cough as speech. On the other, in the case of ostensive definitions, there is always the danger that coders are, nevertheless, relying on unobservable information, such as their understanding and intuitions of what the speaker's state of mind might be, what the speaker might have meant, etc. Further, the emic categorization procedures which take these unobservables into account must unavoidably be somewhat vague. There is no unified cultural agreement on how, for example, speakers emically define what 'a threat' is. Quite rightly thus, T & C warn discourse analysts of the dangers of assuming an isomorphic relationship to exist between the metalinguistic categories established for the analysis and the 'real world' of conversational structure. T & C see social psychologists' approach to conversation analysis as speculative and demand more evidence specifically for their claims for conversational rules. Yet, in my view, such social psychologists as, for example, Argyle, Birdwhistell, Cook, Goffman, Kendon, Mehrabian (see e.g. Argyle 1972, 1973; Cook 1971; Goffman 1959, 1971, 1981) do deserve to be credited for their early work in discourse analysis. It was their work that inspired many linguists to turn their attention from the behaviour of an ideal speaker-hearer to the behaviour of man (although in experimental rather than in authentic contexts).

3. SPEECH ACT APPROACH TO CONVERSATION

When discussing the speech act approach to conversation, T & C are not interested in the overall philosophical theory of speech acts (Austin, Searle) as such, but rather in the unit with which language philosophers work, the speech act, and its combinatorial possibilities in conversation. The aim is to discover the procedures whereby speech acts acquire a certain communicative force, the illocutionary force. T & C summarize the approach by three questions: "First, what speech acts exist in a language, and second, what are the rules for producing and interpreting them, and third, what are the rules for sequencing them coherently?" (p. 45).

T & C consider Austin's and Searle's theoretical premises and consider Labov & Fanshel's (1977) and Edmondson's (1981) work as typically etic examples of speech act analyses of conversational data. A speech act analyst locates the speech acts in the data, and then engages himself in a procedure whereby the speaker's communicative intentions are 'matched' with the hearer's expectations. In other words, the recognition of the illocutionary force of speech acts relies on the assumption that people "share conventions for producing and recognizing these acts" (p. 47). Thus, it is assumed that it is possible to build up 'mental typologies' whereby, following the felicity conditions set, instances of acts can be classified as having a certain illocutionary force.

In both Labov & Fanshel's and Edmondson's analyses of data, the fundamental belief of sharing illocutionary taxonomies exists. Labov & Fanshel not only assume that interactants can distinguish one illocutionary force for an utterance, but also that any speech act can function multifunctionally. Recognizing several functions involves hierarchic[al] operations from the interactants: for example, they recognize an act as a requ[est] information on one level, as a request for action on another level, and as a challenge on a yet 'deeper' level. As T & C (pp. 50-51) suggest, the hierarchical position begs further questions: How do participants know which acts to treat multifunctionally at deeper levels and which not, and, if a certain set of 'rules of discourse' are introduced to help the interactants in this sorting task, how can the analyst be certain of the fact that a proposed rule rather than another has been used? Clearly, the analyst would here have to rely on emic evidence, i.e. the 'inside information' provided by the interactant.

The questions above lead T & C to present similar well-pointed criticism of Edmondson's work. Edmondson attempts to set up his speech act categories etically. He goes to great lengths to establish the illocutionary categories objectively and technically, without having to rely on shared conventions (Edmondson 1981: 27). Each speech act carries one and only one illocutionary force. However, as T & C (p. 53) point out, Edmondson cannot avoid using the lexis of illocutionary verbs in English as metalinguistic labels for the set of acts which he recognizes. Edmondson proposes a closed set of categories for discourse analysis. T & C (pp. 53-55) criticize Edmondson's categories on the grounds of poor replicability. They show that Edmondson's own analyses of acts do not always follow the objective criteria he sets up for recognizing the illocutionary force. Further, the categories he sets up are claimed to be applicable to all kinds of discourse; only the sequencing of illocutionary acts will differ. Yet Bowker (1983), who has applied Edmondson's model to conversational data collected in travel agencies, reports that he had to recognize some further categories when analyzing his data. In my view, one must also seriously query whether Edmondson's data really represent the behaviour of people in the kind of situations which the role-play is supposed to depict. Edmondson's data can be considered authentic and real only in the context of situation of 'a foreign language classroom', not 'at the doctor's', 'arranging baby sitting', etc. In a classroom, foreign language is used to play with the new linguistic system, to test its boundaries and to find its similarities to, and differences from, one's native tongue. The role-play data always show proof of this kind of playing and therefore one should not claim that the data correspond to the social situation they depict. The same criticism can be made of speech act categorizations and analyses which use data collected by questionnaires (see e.g. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984). Analysts using these kinds of data seem unaware that the change of channel from spoken to written has its consequences to the realization of texts.

One further serious criticism, in addition to the ones presented by T & C, is that the sequencing of speech acts is practically ignored in the philosophical tradition of conversational analysis. Austin and Searle pay no attention to it; neither do Labov & Fanshel. In Edmondson we find an attempt to account for sequencing of acts, although the approach is not very original. It has been borrowed from the Birmingham School of discourse analysis. Edmondson suggests a 'double coding' for speech acts: one for an illocutionary act and another for an interactional act. Interactional acts are constituency parts of a move, which is a constituency part of an exchange. Exchanges realize phases, which in turn realize encounters. In Edmondson's model, acts, moves and exchanges combine in a very complicated (and not very accurately replicable) fashion into the phase structure of an encounter: (AVE) BUSINESS (VALE) (where the parentheses indicate the optionality of the elements of structure; see Edmondson 1981: 114-115). I have elsewhere (Ventola 1987: 36) pointed out that Edmondson's account of the encounter suffers from the same handicap as the Birmingham School approach (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Burton 1980) does. The description of the combinatorial possibilities of the lower rank units is elaborate; yet it does not succeed in relating the proposed lower units satisfactorily to the units of higher ranks. This may be due to the fact that one descriptive level is set to do 'too much work' and that the constituency model, derived from grammar, may not be the best model to describe the discourse level (for a discussion, see Ventola 1987: 37).

4. THE SCALE AND CATEGORY DERIVED APPROACH

T & C's treatment of the Birmingham School of discourse analysis is relatively brief and the emphasis is on the rules rather than the units. They introduce the Birmingham approach as "a discourse version of Hallidayan scale and category grammar" (p. 67). The main questions which T & C raise as problematic in the Birmingham approach are: Is the discourse level different from grammar, and if so, can grammatical description be applied to it? How many ranks must be recognized in the analysis of data and where does the rank scale stop? Is discourse similar to grammar - segmentable and hierarchically [illegible] When Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) started their classroom interaction study, very [illegible] discourse studies had been carried out. Thus, it is not surprising to find that the approach first attempted to see whether the 'old tools' used for grammatical analysis would also work for the analysis of discourse. But were the structures discovered illuminating? Not in T & C's view. They ruthlessly condemn, for example, the Birmingham School analyses of lectures (see Coulthard & Montgomery 1981: 30).

> And what, in fact, does this analysis of the structure of lectures tell us? That lecturers habitually start at the beginning of their lectures, make a series of ordered remarks in the middle and finish at the end! As ever, the price of abolishing arbitrariness from a description (there is little argument about the presence of absence of conjunctions) turns out to be total banality and uninformativeness (p. 72).

In the discussion of rules, T & C concentrate on the work done by Stubbs (1983), who is concerned with discovering the rules which govern the sequencing of moves in exchanges. T & C criticize Stubbs' assumption that interactants have intersubjective knowledge of discourse rules, his argument that since there are regular patterns in exchange organization, rules must exist which govern the behaviour of interactants and speakers must tacitly know these rules (p. 74). Variation found in discourse sequence patterning is considered to be 'deviant behaviour', for example, when in a teaching exchange the teacher provides no feedback. Stubbs (1981: 129-130) also, analogously to the generative analysis of sentences, considers exchanges to be either well-formed or ill-formed. He argues that interactants protest against ill-formed sequences and demand repairs. In the issues concerning deviancy and wellformedness of sequences, T & C's criticism is well founded. Not giving feedback or not asking for repairs is a choice of behaviour, not an abnormality. Also cultural differences must be taken into consideration here. Keenan (1974) reports that in a Malagasy society asking for information with a question does not necessarily guarantee that one will be provided with an answer. In this society 'new information' is highly valued and therefore people are reluctant to part with it.

It is somewhat surprising that T & C have not chosen to evaluate Berry's systemic work on the sequences of moves in exchanges, although Berry's first article on exchanges (Berry 1981a) appears in the same volume as the report on the Birmingham analysis of lectures, and specifically since the example they use offers an alternative way of thinking about Edmondson's double coding (see p. 61-62). T & C do not agree with Edmondson that the coding for illocution and the coding for interaction should be considered independent of one another. Rather they should be seen as closely interdependent phenomena. This view is also supported by Berry who has been influenced by Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) and Burton's (1980) work on exchanges and who has rather well-founded criticism and further development to present.

On the whole Berry's approach is too complex to explicate in detail here and readers are advised to turn to Berry's own writings (Berry 1981a, b, c; 1987) and to the writings of Martin (1985), Turner (1985, 1987) and Ventola (1987, 1988), who further refine and apply Berry's proposals. The basic principle in Berry's approach is that there is no reason to suppose a separate discourse level, but rather the unit of exchange could be seen as the highest unit of grammar (counterviews have been presented in Turner (1987: 69) and in Ventola (1987: 89-96)). Instead of aiming to present one structure for the unit, we should aim to see discourse realization multifunctionally as creations of three, different, interdependent structures which relate to ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language, proposed by Halliday. The benefit of this kind of structural representation is that one can see how the structures "are alike and different, alike in one way, different in another" (Berry 1981a: 121). Berry (1981a) discusses the interpersonal level in terms of exchanges of information, where participants negotiate the information. One of the participants knows the information (primary knower) and he, as a result of negotiation in the exchange, departs with it in favour of the other interactant, who does not have the information (secondary knower). Berry (1981c) has also suggested a way to analyse action exchanges. Turner (1987: 82, 86) interestingly points out that interactants can be both primary knowers and secondary knowers during the same exchange. Judging by Turner's examples, though, it seems that Turner tries to match the turn boundaries and the exchange boundaries and this causes the dual interpretations in his analysis (for a discussion, see Ventola 1987: 89-96, 1988). Berry's account should be considered a significant step in the exploration of exchange structures, although it must be remembered that it is still at its very initial stages. It is an approach which is also useful in the analysis of global structures of texts (Ventola 1987).

5. GRICEAN PRINCIPLES: ALTERNATIVES TO RULES IN PRAGMATICS

T & C also review the work of Grice (1975). Grice appears to suggest that human beings do not follow strictly formulated rules, but rather more general conversational principles, which produce maximally efficient communication (the co-operative principle and conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner). Conversational principles are motivated by the rationale of "the desires and requirements imposed on any human agent interacting with another human" (p. 86). Pragmatic rationalism is thus set apart from conventionalism, where interactants are simply following "the arbitrary conventions of the linguistic community" and from empiricism, where interactants are following "habits, learned through the repeated experience of similar patterns" (p. 86).

Grice's rationalist views perhaps receive greatest support from Leech (1983). According to him (1983: 36), interactants are in their conversational activity involved in a problem-solving activity, where means are sought to achieve certain goals or purposes. Direct and indirect illocutions in speech acts are one way to reach a goal. Whether the former or the latter is used depends on whether in that particular context the interactant needs to follow 'the politeness principle'. Leech also makes it quite clear that speech acts can be oriented towards more than one goal; in other words, more than one illocution can be assigned to a speech act, depending on how many goals the interactant has. But, as T & C (p. 91) point out, it is as difficult to assign many illocutionary forces to a speech act as it is to assign one force to an act. For example, how can we be sure that the speaker used the utterance Cold in here, isn't it? to get the co-interactant to turn the heater on, and possibly at the same time tried to create a friendly, phatic atmosphere for the conversation?

One can agree with Leech (1983: 8) that it is more beneficial to speak of conversational principles rather than rules: principles are more flexible than rules (one principle may be paramount in one context, whereas another principle is more relevant elsewhere) and they are gradable (one can be more or less tactful in contexts). But conversational principles are extremely hard to falsify, and neither Grice nor Leech have attempted to test the hypotheses concerning the principles. Besides, as T & C (p. 93) point out, the theory is so 'flexible' that "any potentially falsifying example can always be 'explained away' by saying that the speaker may believe himself to be speaking in a context where the relevant principle does not apply, or in which it applies only to a negligible degree". T & C (p. 94) also point out that in the discussion of pragmatic conversational principles the role which society plays in the assignment of operating conversational principles has not been discussed by Grice and his followers. Are the principles to be acknowledged as 'societal commands' to community members? Do all societies obey the same rational principles?

6. ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

T & C offer a concise overview of ethnomethodology, its development from Garfinkelian sociological beginnings to the more independent conversational analysis, and its basic theoretical mechanisms are turn-taking, adjacency pairs and preference principles. As a theory, ethnomethodology has been so appealing that it has even been adopted by some branches of pragmatics to handle the interactive analyses which the single speech act and utterance-oriented pragmatic approaches could not handle on their own (e.g. Levinson 1983). Similarly to the other approaches reviewed, ethnomethodology assumes that there are rules which explain regularities of conversational surface patterns and that interactants tacitly know these rules and share this knowledge (p. 115). It uses two central notions, accountability and inter-subjectivity to explain how interactants in conversation "strive to produce what they and others in the community will recognize as orderliness" (p. 101).

An interactant's behaviour is not 'preset' by rules. Rather he chooses whether or not to follow the rules. If the selection not to follow the rule is made, the interactant knows that he is held accountable for his behaviour. In other words, he has to explain to others why a certain rule has not been followed; for example, if a question has been asked, why an answer was not given. Consequently, such accountability responsibilities make people conform to rules and provide the 'preferred' (i.e. the expected) rather than the 'dispreferred' pair part of an adjacency pair. If dispreferred second parts are given, they are marked by mitigating markers (see, pp. 111-112). Thus conversation is seen as a negotiating process, rather than as a predetermined sequence of utterances.

The interactants must also negotiate some kind of an intersubjective understanding as to what the conversation is about. Intersubjectivity is constructed sequentially in conversations: an interactant's response always displays his understanding of the previous interactant's contribution to the conversation. For conversational analysis this means that the current unit under focus is always to be analysed by reviewing it in the light of the understanding displayed in the next unit following it. The principle was introduced to bring more rigor to the ways of identifying discourse units in the analyses of conversations. Ethnomethodologists want to show that the interactants are in charge of determining 'what the conversation means' rather than the analyst (an emic view rather than an etic view). But this kind of intersubjectivity can, in T & C's view, lead to 'the problem of analytical circularity' (p.117). Turn A has to be identified on the basis of Turn B, Turn B on the basis of Turn C and so on. The task of unit identification is an 'infinite regress' (p. 122). T & C's major criticism of the ethnomethodological approach is, however, the same which they have directed towards the other approaches reviewed - whether the interactants actually share the tacit knowledge of the rules and their applications or not is not questioned. They do not, like Kreckel (1981), question the concept of sharing tacit knowledge about conversational organization and its principles. Too many analysts have, in T & C's opinion, assumed that "all interactants see their interaction in the same way, at least as concerns the units and rules employed" (p.123).

7. CONVERSATIONAL UNITS AND GRAMMATICAL UNITS

In the last chapter T & C discuss an approach which attempts to relate units of conversation (utterances) to units of grammar (sentences). A conversational unit is taken to be an instantiation of a sentence, defined by the grammatical rules of the language and a linguist's view is taken rather than a conversationalist's view. Linguists require that the units they analyse are 'grammatical units'. In order to be able to recognize these units in speech repertoire, which includes all kinds of repairs, hesitations, false starts, etc., they have developed a concept of 'editing rules', a way of 'idealizing' language so that it can be analyzed. Some conversation analysts who follow a 'target-sentence hypothesis' similarly assume that hearers idealize speakers' messages. Hearers are considered to edit the speech they hear in order to understand the grammatical target sentence the speaker has intended. These editing rules are part of 'a speaker/hearer's competence' (p. 130). It is assumed that speakers produce 'phonetic editing signals' to indicate the point where their speech requires editing. When such a signal has been heard, the hearer acts like a person editing a magnetic tape. What comes after the signal is 'clued' on the top of the 'false' pre-signal section so that the result is a grammatical unit. For example in the following, a pause (indicated by a full stop) functions as a phonetic signal: the logical foundation of quite a lot of . quite a lot of things (p.126). Once the hearer has interpreted the signal as an 'indication' that editing is now needed, in order to get rid of the unnecessary repetition in the message, he starts pushing what comes after the signal from right to left forward until the result is: the logical foundation of quite a lot of things.

T & C argue against the target-sentence hypothesis strongly. By using the Lund corpus data they show the difficulties which the target-sentence hypothesis has to face. For example, how does one know how far in the editing one ought to push? How does the hearer come to choose one version as a target sentence from the other possibilities which are also appropriate in the context? The approaches reviewed seem to pay little attention to what can be called the hearer's ability of 'contextual prediction'. Further, as T & C point out, speakers frequently give 'editing signals', even though editing is not needed: I don't know whether you . noticed (p.139). Furthermore, if the following The interview was - it was all right would be edited into It was all right, the hearer no longer "could determine to what the pronoun refers" (p. 143). T & C's point is that the target-sentence hypothesis does not take into account textual cohesion. Finally, T & C quite rightly draw our attention to the fact that the target-sentence hypothesis imposes the standards of written language onto spoken language (no extensive attempts to write grammars for spoken language has as yet been carried out: Hallid[illegible] attempt). T & C end their last chapter by noting that the units and rules of grammar and those of discourse are not the same phenomena and should not be forcefully related, as has been attempted by the target-sentence hypothesis. "Conversation analysis should learn not to take for granted sentence-based syntax as the starting point from which to study of 'structure-above-the-sentence' is to begin" (p.156).

8. FINAL ASSESSMENT

T & C have argued against the units and rules approach to conversational analysis. They have shown that in all of the approaches reviewed the recognition of units has proven difficult. Similarly, it has proven impossible to show that interactants share an intersubjective understanding of the rules which are hypothesized to govern their behaviour. The ultimate question is whether the study of human behaviour needs a methodological orientation to rules at all or whether they just are something that has been taken over from natural sciences and, have been readily taken over, for example, by transformational generativists. T & C encourage researchers of conversation to think 'bravely' about 'the new world' they are entering and not to take things for granted!

The reader's final assessment of T & C's book is naturally dependent on his/her orientation and background knowledge of conversational analysis. The focus of the book is naturally very limited. Many issues relevant to conversational analysis are not discussed, for example, what is the role of context and culture in the conversational analysis? None of the approaches reviewed really considers discourse as a realization of 'social semiotics' in the way it has been portrayed in the approaches deriving from the work of Malinowski, Firth, Halliday, and Hymes. Further, the question of levels of analysis remains unclear. T & C argue that one should not consider the levels of grammar and conversation to be alike. But naturally one has to consider also whether there is justification for these levels or whether we can put forward arguments for further levels (see Ventola 1987). Also slightly surprising is T & C's 'sentence-orientation'. They do not extend their evaluation to textually-based discourse approaches, which try to characterize texts globally, by analyzing, for example, their cohesive features and the structures which are created in texts dynamically rather than by constituency. Yet, on the whole, Analysing Conversation is a book well worth reading. At times it adopts an aggressive style of writing, attacking and rejecting various approaches (whether this style is the most constructive for the general development of linguistics is questioned by Halliday & Fawcett (1987: 1-5)). The book does not propose yet another theory of conversational analysis, but rather functions as a thought-inspiring book.

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